"... passed a bank of very red earth, which our squaw told us the natives use for paint."—Gass, July 24, 1805.
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 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. The annual meeting of the Foundation is traditionally held during August, on the 16th month of both Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The meeting place is rotated among the states, and tours generally are arranged to visit sites in the area of the annual meeting which have historic association with the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT DOERK

It’s remarkable how attendance at our annual meetings can impact on us individually. For me, the Nez Perce heritage, their assistance to the Corps of Discovery, and the beauty of the Weippe Prairie were inspirational. On behalf of the Foundation, I salute Jim Fazio and his hard working committees for giving attendees a slice of Idaho history that we will never forget.

Ralph Space has been known nationally for his efforts in preserving the Lewis and Clark heritage along the Lolo Trail. It was indeed fitting and proper that he receive a special award for his distinguished contributions. This was made possible, in part, by the support of Frenchy Chuiard, two Oregon medical societies (the Lane County Medical Society and the Marion County Medical Society), the Idaho Chapter and the Forest Service. Our thanks to all of you for making this recognition possible!

One final note on the annual meeting; Charles H. Hayes, Chairman of the Nez Perce Tribal Executive Committee, wishes to express his appreciation for our visit to Idaho and to personally thank the anonymous donor who so graciously provided “on the spot” financial assistance to the young dancers who so captivated us in Lapwai.

It is my sad duty to report the death of Foundation Director Richard Krieg. Dick passed away on September 18 and his illness prevented him from contributing to the

(Continued on page 29)

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*

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

** Please indicate grade and school when applying.
From the Editor’s Desk

“Ultimately, I don’t know what I am looking for,” archaeologist Ken Karsmizki said recently while describing his work in the field of archaeology.

Coincidentally, I am in the same boat as I begin editing We Proceeded On. It is a new adventure for me, and, I hope it will be a positive adventure for all of you faithful readers.

I started in this business of journalism 25 years ago as a technical writer. I have been a section editor of a business newspaper, a regional manager of corporate communications and a magazine editor. Along the way I also wrote three booklets on the history of the Montana territorial prison and did a weekly freelance newspaper column.

Like most people who grew up somewhere along the route Lewis and Clark followed on their journey, I knew, in a general sort of way, about their expedition. I learned some more when I wrote about one part of their journey in Rural Montana magazine.

What I have found out since Bob Doerk asked me if I would accept this position, is that the more I learn the more I don’t know about those two travelers and their crew.

So, where I am headed, is on a journey into the largely unknown with some expert guidance from the old hands in the Foundation.

My basic journalistic philosophy is to keep things as simple as possible. I can say ‘anti-disestablishmentarianism’ as well as the next person, but why should I if I can find a simpler way to express it? My goal is to help people learn—not to impress them.

Some of you are right about in the same spot I am in your knowledge of Lewis and Clark. Some are way ahead of me, some are behind. Wherever we are, we are all basically heading for the same goal—to learn as much as we can about the expedition; the people involved and how it changed the course of American history.

It is an exciting journey.

Marty Erickson

DELTA AIRLINES OFFERS SPECIAL CONVENTION DISCOUNT

Delta Airlines is offering a 40% discount for those of you planning to attend the 1991 L & C Convention in Louisville, Kentucky. The convention dates are August 3-7 and the discount off Delta’s domestic round trip full coach fares is good for August 1-10.

The tickets must be purchased at least 7 days prior to departure. Changes to the originating flight must be made 7 days in advance. Return flights may be changed at any time. Travel is valid on Delta only and must be round trip. Other restrictions may apply. A 5% discount on most of Delta’s published discounted fares and full first class fares has also been approved by Delta.

Call Delta or have your travel agent call 1-800-221-1212 and ask for Special Meetings Network. The office is open daily from 8:00 a.m. to 11:00 p.m. Eastern Time.

See you in Louisville!

Videos and voice-over slide presentations on the Lewis and Clark Expedition are now available to the general public. Great for meeting programs, excellent for schools. Copies of We Proceeded On, the video—$11.00 per copy (postage and handling included). The 111 voice-over slide presentation—$70. Also available on loan. Send your order to:

Lewis and Clark Video
Headwaters Chapter, LCTHF
P.O. Box 577
Bozeman, MT 59771-0577

ON THE COVER—
This bluff is near Townsend, Montana, on the Missouri River. Red was emblematic of peace for the Shoshones. On Clark’s field map he indicates “Bluff of red earth intermixed with Slate Stone.” (Moulton, Atlas, Map)
THE HUMBOLDT CONNECTION

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

Humboldt "is without exception the most extraordinary traveller I ever met with; he is the fountain of knowledge which flows in copious streams."

Baron Alexander von Humboldt never met the explorers of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. If he had, it's easy to imagine them handing a jug around while swapping tales about life on the trail of discovery.

William Clark: Talk about mosquitoes! There was that time on the Missouri, just below the Yellowstone, when I had an easy shot at this bighorn ram, but there was such a cloud of mosquitoes on my gunsights that I missed him entirely.

Baron Humboldt: Well, sir, perhaps I should tell you that the Spanish monks have a saying on the Orinoco, "mas moscas que aire"—there are more mosquitoes than air. And on the Caracas coast, the Indians must sleep buried in the sand.

Because their paths didn't cross, our storytellers would just have to read each other's mosquito yarns in their respective journals!

Beyond these common experiences was a more direct connection between Humboldt's meteoric 19th century scientific career and the exploration of the American west, with President Jefferson forming the initial link. The Prussian geographer made his only visit to the United States in May and June, 1804, on his way home to Europe from the five-year tour of Latin America that launched his international fame.

From Jefferson, Humboldt learned all about the planned journey of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to the Pacific Ocean just at the time of their departure from Illinois.

At that point in early June, Jefferson knew only that Lewis and Clark had been parked all winter at the mouth of the Missouri River, and he wouldn't get a firm report of their May 14 departure until after the baron was gone. But the President undoubtedly gave his visitor a complete fill-in on the Expedition's assigned mission of finding a commercial route across the Rockies to the Pacific Ocean. Humboldt was so fired up by this discussion that he vowed to return someday and explore the Pacific Northwest himself. On June 21, as Humboldt was about to take ship for France, he wrote a bread-and-butter letter to Secretary of State James Madison clearly anticipating a successful outcome of the Lewis and Clark adventure:
"I hope to return to this wonderful land within a few years. The route from the Missouri to the Pacific coast will then already be open. The lakes, Canada and the immense plains that stretch from Pittsburgh to the mountains, which Fidler saw, offer a vast field for geologic studies. With some aid from your government one could do a great deal and as prolific a work and as important as that done by Pallas. I would venture to proceed north to Mt. Elias (as nigh as the mountains of Quito) and onward to the Russian possessions. All this could be carried out with courage and in good health." 

Italics have been added to underscore Humboldt's awareness of the Lewis and Clark mission, for which he could only be a cheering spectator on the sidelines. He was a more active player, however, in helping the American government plan later Western investigations. Jefferson asked his expert guest for tips on how other land explorers could fix their longitudes without sophisticated equipment, a problem that had arisen in outfitting Lewis and Clark. More importantly, the American officials asked Humboldt, fresh from Mexico, what he knew about the unmarked southwestern border between the just-acquired U.S. lands of the Louisiana Purchase and New Spain, a viceroyalty covering Mexico and other Spanish possessions to the north. Their visitor overwhelmed the Americans with mounds of specific data and let them copy his own detailed map of New Spain. Zebulon Pike later incorporated much of Humboldt's map in tracing his own 1806-1807 excursion throughout the southwestern borderlands, and some of these features echo in William Clark's own giant summary map of the American west.

The 34-year-old Humboldt knocked them dead in Washington. "Mr. Jefferson appeared delighted with Humboldt and said he was the most scientific man of his age he had ever seen," wrote William Armstrong Burwell, the President's secretary. Humboldt was still far from the apex of the fame which he achieved during the 20 years it took him to publish integrated studies of geography, volcanism, astronomy, botany, animal life, and native human customs based on his Latin American journey.

Alexander Von Humboldt
1769-1859
by Charles Wilson Peale

The story of that trip, said Charles Darwin, changed "my whole course of life." Humboldt also inspired two of his European students, the Duke of Wurttemberg and Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied, to make their own fact-finding trips to the American west. U.S. government surveyors of the pre-Civil War west adopted what historian William Goetzmann has called "the Humboldtian world view" in using each wilderness trip to gather and synthesize data cutting across many scientific disciplines.

One of these survey leaders, John Charles Fremont, started the fashion of naming western
geographical features for their distant European hero. A disappearing Nevada stream on a dusty stretch of the California emigrant trail became the Humboldt River on an 1848 Fremont map. (Humboldt, in turn, praised Fremont's "excellent" depiction of the geography of California.) There now is a Humboldt Bay in California, a Humboldt Peak in Colorado, a Humboldt Range in Nevada, plus three U.S. counties and eight U.S. towns named Humboldt. Mare Humboldtianum is a basaltic plain on the northeast limb of the moon, where only history's heaviest scientists qualify for recognition.

Humboldt was born in Berlin on September 14, 1769 (only a year before William Clark) to a wealthy family of the minor Prussian nobility. One biographer has noted that Alexander's title of baron was extended less as a formal rank of ancient lineage than "a pleasant courtesy, after the fashion of the times." After attending elite universities in Frankfurt and Gottingen, Humboldt began learning geology in a brief job as mine inspector. Then a big inheritance freed him to adopt his life's role as a gentleman traveler, scientist, and author.

In 1799, Humboldt wangled a royal Spanish passport to visit the dominions of Charles IV in South America. With French botanist Aimé Bonpland, he arrived in Venezuela to begin one of history's greatest feats of scientific exploration. European soldiers, miners, farmers, and missionaries had been spreading across the continent for nearly 300 years, but there was little systematic record of its natural wonders. Humboldt and Bonpland were measurers—of altitude, temperatures, heights of Indians, voltages of electric eels—and collectors of every rock and plant in sight. With a split-view telescope Humboldt ranked southern hemisphere stars not visible from Europe in order of decreasing brightness. He obtained longitudes by a wealth of methods: comparison of local time with a chronometer set on Paris time, plus calculations based on a solar eclipse, the moon's passage in front of the star Spica and its distance from other target stars, and the orbital motion of the moons of Jupiter. In 1802 near Quito, Ecuador, Humboldt and
Humboldt still regarded that Chimborazo climb as literally the high point of his life.

In Peru the baron timed the planet Mercury's transit across the face of the sun, and then sailed northward along the Pacific coast. He measured the notably cold temperature of a strong coastal current which, though it had been known to sailors for centuries, also picked up the name Humboldt. In March, 1803, Humboldt's specimen-laden ship landed at Acapulco, Mexico. He stayed in Mexico for a year, visiting silver mines, measuring the height of volcanoes and Aztec pyramids, and listening to some well-informed local scientists describe their country. The distinguished guest personally ventured only 200 miles northwest of Mexico City, but used old maps and journals to get an idea of more distant regions. It all went down on Humboldt's own composite map of New Spain, showing features as far north as "Lac de Timpanogos," an early approximation of the Great Salt Lake. In March, 1804, Humboldt sailed for Havana.

To the U.S. consul in Cuba he outlined plans to visit President Jefferson on his way home, and the consul sent a barrage of introductory letters to his superiors in Washington. Humboldt landed in Philadelphia on May 23, 1804, and the next day wrote the President soliciting an invitation to Washington.

Humboldt told Jefferson of his admiration for "the liberalism of your ideas, which have inspired me from my earliest youth." He summarized his five-year Latin American adventure, adding he didn't know whether his budding reputation from the European publication of his early findings had

Bonpland climbed for practice the 15,700-foot Andean volcano, Pichincha, and then tackled the big one, unclimbed 20,700-foot Chimborazo. They got above 19,000 feet, setting an altitude record that stood for 30 years, but had to retreat short of the summit.

Both climbs typified Humboldt's way of doing science: "to investigate the interaction of all the forces of nature." As his barometer tracked his altitude, the temperature was noted to fall one degree for every 300-foot gain in height, and as the air cooled, Humboldt recorded changing zones of plant life from tropical flowers to Arctic lichens. Everything interacted—above 15,000 feet there were no more butterflies. Years afterward
reached Jefferson's ears or not, and in fact there's no evidence that it had.

The baron closed his letter with this clincher: “I would love to talk to you about a subject that you have treated so ingeniously in your work on Virginia, the teeth of mammoth which we discovered in the Andes of the southern hemisphere at 1,700 toises (10,900 feet) above the level of the Pacific Ocean.” If anything was guaranteed to ring Thomas Jefferson's chimes, it was the prospect of gossiping about mammoth bones with a fellow fossilizer.

“A lively desire will be felt generally to receive the information you will be able to give,” replied Jefferson within hours after receiving Humboldt's letter. Humboldt meanwhile had been calling on members of the American Philosophical Society, including Charles Willson Peale, artist and keeper of a museum of scientific curiosities. Peale somehow appointed himself tour guide for Humboldt's trip to Washington, and on May 29 he climbed aboard the 8 a.m. mail coach with his entourage, which besides two other Philadelphians included Humboldt, the faithful Bonpland, and Don Carlos Montufar, an Ecuadorian who had joined the scientists in Quito.

Peale kept a diary of the trip, valuable not only for his impressions of Humboldt but also for its illumination of the vivid personality of the artist himself. Peale later was to paint the best-known portraits of both Lewis and Clark after their triumphant return, and numerous specimens collected by the explorers found their way to his museum in Independence Hall.

Peale had firm views about the evils of both slavery and strong drink. A bone dry teetotaler himself, he offered parched advice to imbibers: “The criterion to judge by is whenever we feel our spirits raised beyond the usual pitch, it is then time to stop.” Yet Peale remained on close terms with the slave-owning, wine-loving Jefferson, in part because they were fellow tinkerers. Jefferson had asked Peale to make him a new polygraph, or duppen copying machine, which the artist personally delivered on arrival in Washington. Jefferson also sought Peale's help in repairing a leaky tube on a hookah-style water pipe used at the President's House for peace pipe ceremonies instead of a regular calumet, doubtless to the amusement of visiting Indian chiefs.

Peale's main job, though, was to introduce Humboldt to government leaders and show him around Washington, a scraggly government town of just 4,500 people. “The baron spoke English very well, in the German dialect,” said Peale, remarking on a Humboldt habit noted by many others: “It was amusing to hear him speak English, French and the Spanish Languages, mixing them together in rapid Speech.” Albert Gallatin, the Swiss-born Treasury Secretary, marveled in a letter to his wife that the visitor spoke “twice as fast as anybody I know, German, French, Spanish and English, all together. But I was really delighted, and swallowed more information of various kinds in less than two hours than I had for two years past in all I had read or heard.”

Peale took Humboldt to meet Jefferson on June 2, the morning after the party's arrival from Baltimore. The next afternoon the group "had a very elegant dinner at the Presidents," reported Peale, gratified that "not a single toast" was drunk. At a time when science had not yet built walls of specialization, Jefferson encountered a generalist whose breadth of interests matched his own. The conversation, said Peale, ranged across "subjects of Natural History, and improvements of the conveniences of Life." Thereafter Humboldt took sightseeing trips to the Navy Yard, Mount Vernon, and the unfinished Capitol between further meetings with Jefferson and dinner with James and Dolley Madison. "He is the most polite, modest, well-informed and interesting traveler we have ever met, and is much pleased with America," a dazzled Dolley told her sister.

Meriwether Lewis had left his job as Jefferson's secretary 11 months previously to begin his Expedition to the Pacific. He had been drilled by Jefferson himself and two astronomer-surveyor friends, Andrew Ellicott and Robert Patterson, in ways to find his longitude—measured from Greenwich, England—as he moved westward. Everyone agreed he couldn't use the easiest method, comparing his local noontime with a clock fixed on Greenwich time; the Expedition's chronometer wasn't expected to be reliable enough for that, and it wasn't. With Humboldt, Jefferson brought up the longitude problem confronting Lewis and future American land explorers.
New Spain's terrain was mapped by Alexander von Humboldt (detail on page 6) after studying records of earlier Spanish explorers of the region. Zebulon Pike's depiction of the same part of the upper Colorado River drainage (page 7) was borrowed from a copy of the Humboldt map made in Washington. William Clark used maps published by Pike in 1810 to fill gaps in his own master map of the West (detail at right) begun that same year, perhaps without realizing the Humboldt connection. Humboldt, Pike, and Clark actually never set foot in the area shown.
Jefferson recalled later that he himself had tried to devise a clockless longitude-measuring method "while Capt. Lewis's mission was preparing." The President thought a land traveler could compare the moon’s location against various reference points in the sky as a way of determining Greenwich time. He checked his idea with Isaac Briggs, another surveying crank, but "Capt. Lewis was gone" before Briggs could give a definite opinion. Jefferson’s account continued: "In conversation afterwards with Baron Humboldt, he [Humboldt] observed that the idea was correct, but not new & that I would find it in the 3d vol. of Delalande." 10

Humboldt, remember, had used a variety of ways to find his longitude in South America, and easily recalled having seen Jefferson’s method outlined in a 1782 multivolume work, Astronomie, by Joseph Jerome de Lalande. In its details the idea never proved practical.

Lewis and Clark made many measurements of the moon’s distance from target stars—a proven method—but their raw readings were never successfully converted to longitudes, as planned, by War Office mathematicians in Washington. In the end Clark had to use longitudes derived from his own reckoning, or from positions calculated by other explorers, in making his own maps of the west.

At any rate, Jefferson’s attention by the spring of 1804 had turned to future American explorations of the southwest, and Humboldt’s knowledge of that region was just the ticket. On June 9 the President gave Humboldt a note asking about the disputed borderlands, encompassing most of today’s Texas, between New Spain and the Louisiana Purchase. "Can the Baron inform me," said the note, "what population may be between those lines of white, red or black people? and whether any & what mines are within them? the information will be thankfully received." Besides letting the Americans copy his map, Humboldt replied with a detailed memorandum on the population, economy, roads, mines, and military strength of the region.

In 1810, Zebulon Pike published an account of his 1806-1807 Army expedition into present Colorado, New Mexico and (in Spanish captivity) northern Mexico. Pike’s trip was planned in St. Louis by James Wilkinson, the Army’s commanding general, who had been in Washington at the time of Humboldt’s visit. Wilkinson made his own copy of the Humboldt map, which explains why the map accompanying Pike’s journal showed many look-alike features. Pike’s version amounted to "direct plagiarism" of Humboldt’s work, in the judgment of a later American geographer, 11 and Humboldt thought so too. "I don’t find my name in his book and a quick glance at Mr. Pike’s map may prove to you from where he got it," Humboldt complained from Paris in a December 20, 1811, letter to Jefferson, who apologized for Pike’s "oversight" in not giving proper credit. 12

The borrowing didn’t stop with Pike. Late in 1810 William Clark began drawing a big map of the entire west, naturally emphasizing the regions he and Lewis had explored on their northerly route to the Pacific. The southwest was mostly a blank to him, until he saw the Humboldt-Pike maps published by Pike that same year. Clark then was able to incorporate features all the way south to the Gila River in present Arizona and Albuquerque in present New Mexico. 13 When that massive chart was prepared for publication with Nicholas Biddle’s 1814 narrative of the Lewis and Clark Expedition the engraver saved space by lopping off the southern reaches of Clark’s manuscript, including any of its borrowed Humboldt-Pike depiction of the Colorado River drainage.

By mid-June, 1804, Humboldt’s Washington visit was coming to an end. He continued to strike sparks with ideas on everything, including a scheme for digging a canal across the narrowest part of Panama. Peale, who went home separately to Philadelphia after many hours of contact with the visitor, concluded Humboldt "is without exception the most extraordinary traveller I ever met with; he is the fountain of knowledge which flows in copious streams." After a farewell dinner with Jefferson, the three foreigners left Washington on June 13 for Philadelphia by way of Lancaster, where they visited Lewis’s astronomy coach, Andrew Ellicott.

Back in Philadelphia, where the American Philosophical Society made him an honorary foreign member, Humboldt wrote a round of farewell letters and sat for a Peale portrait while waiting for a ship to France. The 63-year-old artist finished the picture at his museum on June
professing surprise on how well it turned out after a six-year layoff in portraiture. When somebody asked how he captured Humboldt so faithfully, Peale launched into a familiar sermon: "Sir, I am a water drinker, and do not live so fast as to wear out my faculties."

Humboldt landed in Bordeaux on August 3, 1804, happily refuting newspaper reports of his death from yellow fever. Lionized in Paris for his South American heroics, he began cranking out volumes of travel accounts. As always, he related his own eyewitness findings to the reports of explorers elsewhere, and this required him to keep up with news about the American west. In an 1811 *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, which finally included publication of his map of the region, Humboldt discussed the prospect that the Missouri River, among others, could allow transcontinental "communication" with the Pacific Ocean. He continued:

"But we have not yet sufficient acquaintance with the nature of the ground through which the communication is proposed to be established, to pronounce upon the utility of these projects. The journal of Captain Lewis, at the expense of the Anglo-American government, on the Mississippi and the Missouri, may throw considerable light on this interesting problem."

By then Humboldt must have known of Lewis's post-Expedition death in 1809, but also likely was aware that Clark was still trying to get the trip's story into print. At another point in his *Political Essay*, Humboldt showed that he had received only a garbled account of the Expedition's results, referring to "the route followed by Captain Lewis from the banks of the Mississippi to Nootka and the mouth of the river Columbia." Lewis and Clark actually never went near Nootka, an international trading mart on the Pacific shore of Vancouver Island, 300 miles north of the Columbia estuary where the explorers' westward trail ended. Wrong or not, Humboldt's statement was followed by a flowery compliment to the American enterprise: "This wonderful journey of Captain Lewis was undertaken under the auspices of M. Jefferson, who by this important service rendered to science has added new claims on the gratitude of savans of all nations."

The continued delay of an official account of the Expedition was embarrassing to Jefferson, as he made clear in a December 6, 1813, letter to Humboldt:

"You will find it inconceivable that Lewis's journey to the Pacific should not yet have appeared, nor is it in my power to tell you the reason. The measures taken by his surviving companion Clark, for the publication, have not answered our wishes in point of dispatch. I think however, from what I have heard, that the main journal will be out within a few weeks in 2 vols. octavo. These I will take care to send you with the tobacco seed you desired .... The botanical & zoological discoveries of Lewis will probably experience greater delay, and became known to the world thro other channels before that volume will be ready. the Atlas, I believe, waits on the leisure of the engraver." 13

The authorized two-volume narrative of the Expedition, written by Philadelphia lawyer Nicholas Biddle, was finally published in early 1814, along with Clark's engraved map of the west. The third volume on plants and animals never appeared.

A year after his U.S. visit, Humboldt was still talking about going back, writing a Philadelphia friend that "I have my mind set on Missouri, the Arctic Circle, and Asia." But he never went again. Basing himself mostly in Paris, Humboldt shuttled frequently to London, Rome and Berlin, and in 1829 made a nine-month tour of Siberia as a guest of Czar Nicholas I. He greeted many visiting Americans, and renewed an old friendship when Albert Gallatin went to Paris as the U.S. ambassador in 1816. Most of all Humboldt studied and wrote, ultimately trying to synthesize all of nature's workings in a five-volume blockbuster ambitiously titled *Cosmos*. As the 19th century progressed, however, many of his once-plausible scientific theories were overtaken by the research of faster-moving specialists like Darwin and Louis Pasteur. With Humboldt's death at age 89 in 1859, the era of Jeffersonian generalists came to an end.
NOTES


2 Helmut de Terra, “Alexander von Humboldt’s Correspondence with Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin,” Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, December, 1959, p. 797. Peter Fidler was a Hudson Bay Co. surveyor who sketched an early map of the Canadian west. Peter Simon Pallas, a German naturalist, rendered important studies of Siberia and Alaska. At 18,000 feet, Mt. St. Elias on the Alaska-Yukon Territory border doesn’t match the 20,700-foot Andean peak climbed by Humboldt near Quito, Ecuador.


6 de Terra, Correspondence. Humboldt’s initial letter and Jefferson’s reply are both at p. 788.


9 Friis, Visit, p. 23.


12 de Terra, Correspondence, p. 792.

13 The 1810 Clark manuscript map, currently at Yale University, is No. 125 in Gary Mounton, ed., Atlas of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1983) Clark probably received a published copy of Pike’s journal and maps in time to incorporate them into his manuscript map before sending it to Nicholas Biddle on December 20, 1810. If not, he added the material after getting the manuscript back from the engraver in 1813. For several years Clark kept updating his master map with new findings of fur traders returning to St. Louis.


15 Humboldt, Political Essay, 2:337.

16 de Terra, Correspondence, p. 749.

About the author ....

Arlen J. Large of Washington, D.C. is a former Foundation president (1983-84); a frequent contributor to WPO; a retired science correspondent of the Wall Street Journal, and continues to travel the world pursuing his many scientific interests. He certainly ranks among the top Lewis and Clark authorities in the nation; and he serves on the editorial board of WPO. Other articles by Large that have appeared in WPO 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; Vol. XVI, No. 1; and Vol. XVI, No. 2, 3.

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The Role of the Gass Journal

BY CAROL LYNN MACGREGOR

"Your observations are to be taken with great pains & accuracy, to be entered distinctly & intelligibly for others as well as for yourself," President Jefferson wrote to Meriwether Lewis on June 20, 1803, instructing him for the forthcoming expedition. To assure that the records would not be lost, the President added, "Several copies of these as well as of your other notes would be made at leisure times." 1

The response to this mandate was that men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition wrote much more than other explorers. Original journals have appeared from 1807 through 1953, expanding opportunities to compare them and contribute new information and interpretation of the most outstanding saga in the Age of Exploration. Eight to ten men were said to have kept journals on the trip: the two captains, the four sergeants, Floyd, Ordway, Gass and Pryor, and as many as four privates: Whitehouse, Frazier, Shannon,2 and Willard.3 Six of these are known today, of which five of the original manuscripts are known to exist. The journals of Willard and Shannon are not generally known to have existed. Pryor’s and Frazier’s journals, whose existence is well documented, are lost. So is the original manuscript of Patrick Gass. Numerous searches for the Gass manuscript have been conducted in earnest since Reuben Gold Thwaite’s work in 1904, through March 1990, when I discussed it with Beth Carroll-Horrocks of the American Philosophical Society, and Delores Antigo of the Wellsburg, West Virginia Library. Had we found it, you and I both would be very excited. However, there is still good reason for an annotated version of the original printing of Gass’s Journal, which has been my interesting fortune to pursue for the past year.

Only three of the six known journals are continuous accounts of the whole journey: They are Clark, Ordway and Gass. The journal of Patrick Gass was the first one to be published upon the return of the voyage, in 1807 in Pittsburgh. It was edited by David McKeehan, an educated man selected by Patrick Gass. This choice has engendered extreme criticism from Meriwether Lewis, scholars and other aficionados of the heritage of the expedition.

Patrick Gass
Taken when he was in his nineties.
for nearly 200 years. Nevertheless, McKeehan's edition of Gass's journal was the first journal published, and the only one to be produced for seven years.

When news of McKeehan's edition of Gass's journal reached him, Lewis wrote an editorial which was published in the National Intelligencer on March 18, 25, 27 and 30, and April 1, 1807, stating that he had heard of "several unauthorised and probably some spurious publications now preparing for the press, on the subject of my late tour to the Pacific Ocean by individuals entirely unknown to me." Lewis added that he wished to put the public on guard lest such publications "depreciate the worth of the work I am myself preparing for publication before it can possibly appear, as much time, labor, and expense are absolutely necessary in order to do justice to the several subjects which it will embrace." He went on to say that he gave permission only to Robert Frazier to publish memoirs of the voyage. Then he said Frazier was not qualified in geography, celestial observations, mineralogy, botany, and zoology, and any author of an "unauthorised publication" wouldn't be any better qualified. Lewis thought he had authority over the journals written by individual members of his troops.

Paul Russell Cutright in A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals presumes that the journals were owned by the United States Army, since the men were on a military mission and were asked to write them by suggestion of the President himself. Cutright points out that Jefferson's turning over the manuscripts to the American Philosophical Society for public use showed his intentions about private ownership or profit from the journals. Yet, no such specific instructions are to be found about journal ownership.

McKeehan did publish Gass's journals, and responded to Lewis's public advertisement with a scathing retort which said it "forced an obscure individual ... who ... has had the misfortune of being 'entirely unknown to you' to defend his character and his rights." McKeehan continued to say, "Your rapid advancement to power and wealth seems to have changed the polite, humble and respectful language of a Sir Clement into that of him who commands and dispenses favours ..." McKeehan then diminished the voyage in comparison to that of MacKenzie, who, he pointed out, had reached the Pacific first with fewer men. He said Lewis's remuneration of double pay, a grant of 1600 acres of land, pay as private secretary to the President, and appointment as Governor of Upper Louisiana, were royalties due a prince, not an army officer of a republican government.

McKeehan believed the journals were private property of the individuals who kept them, and said that the government had done nothing to "manifest or relinquish its claim" to them as public property. It was in the public interest for the information to be diffused, and there were no strategic or military reasons to keep the information from the public. McKeehan accused Lewis of "insatiable avarice" in fearing that Gass's publication would depreciate the value of his own. He pointed to Lewis's purchase of Ordway's and Pryor's journals as further proof of his own desire to profit. McKeehan said that Gass could lead the public where it wanted to go without scientific credentials, at an affordable price, and was a man who was lauded by Lewis himself.

We will never know the impact this unfortunate exchange had on Captain Meriwether Lewis or on Sergeant Patrick Gass. For himself, Gass received as compensation the copyright of his book, which was later disregarded, and 100 copies of it, only one of which was passed on to his heirs. However, about 26 copies are extant.

J.G. Jacobs published a biography of Gass in 1857, interviewing Gass personally. Jacobs states that David McKeehan was a schoolmaster and book seller who was recommended to Patrick Gass when he returned home to Wellsburg. (It was in Virginia then, and now West Virginia,) McKeehan would write in the current genre of exploration literature. An example of this were the writings of Alexander MacKenzie, to whom McKeehan often refers in footnotes in the Gass journal. Two other well known journals of the period had been published by members of Captain Cook's expedition. Both John Richman's and John Ledyard's journals had been narrated from the original manuscript to someone else who printed the book. Patrick Gass's decision to have McKeehan, who was an educated man known to him, edit his journal, conformed to the standard of the day. Gass later told his biographer that although he stayed
one year with his grand-parents for the purpose of an education, the sum total of his schooling amounted to only nineteen days, and that was after he was a grown man.8 He did learn how to read and write. His descendant, James S. Smith and his wife Kathryn, note in 1955 article that the Gass manuscript "must have ex­ceeded that of Captain Clark for uniqueness of spelling and punctuation."9

There are clear clues as to what is Gass and what is McKeehan in the text of the first edition. The style of the footnotes which are indicated to be McKeehan, is also found in the text heavily on the first day, May 14, 1804, and from time to time throughout the text, where diversions on direct observations are made in a more flowery prose. Most of the text is simple, clear reporting on daily events, which is Gass's style. A comparison with other journals shows that on many occasions, exact wording was copied by two or more journals. One could say that none were original, as camp­fire editing was encouraged as a practical way to have several copies of the same material, in case something might be lost.

The Gass journal was published in 1807 and 1808 in Pittsburgh by Zadok Cramer; in London in 1808 by J. Budd, bookseller to his royal highness the Prince of Wales, Pall-Mall; in 1810 in France, and, in 1814 in Germany. The third United States printing by Mathew Carey in 1811 has six charming woodcuts. These various publica­tions of the Gass journal are similar in format, with word changes only, when spelling errors are corrected. The content is identical.

The interim between publication of Gass's journals and those of the captains was significant in the awareness, interest, and response of potential readers. There was a great demand for Gass's book in this seven year period for two reasons:
1. There was a large audience of Europeans and Americans curious about what the explorers found while they were virtually out of touch and lost to the civilized world for two years and four months. These people would have read the book before 1814.
2. During the large gap of time between 1807 and the publication of the journals of the Captains by Allen and Biddle in 1814, other explorations, the War of 1812, and time itself diverted national attention away from the Lewis and Clark Expedition.


Twentieth century scholars have deprecated the Gass journal because of McKeehan's role in editing it. In 1904, readers had access to Thwaites's comprehensive edition including the Whitehouse and Floyd journals, all of Clark, and much of Lewis. Later, fabulous findings of original material surfaced, such as the Ordway journal with large portions of Lewis's journal, which were found in the attic of Edward Biddle, grandson to Nicholas Biddle, in 1913. These were published by Dr. Quaife of the Wisconsin Historical Society in 1916. Then, as late as 1953, some of Clark's field notes were found in the attic of a descendant of General Hammond, an official in the Indian Bureau. Scholars have been engrossed interpreting these exciting original materials.

Is Gass, then, to be "first and then forgotten?" Or worse yet, "first and then rejected?"

In the summary of the conference on the expedition at Lewis and Clark College in 1984, Willingham and Ingraham say that the "Patrick Gass account ... lacked accuracy due to a heavy handed editor ..."10 John Bakeless in his introduction to The Journals of Lewis and Clark, says "the complete bowdlerizing of Patrick Gass's [journal] (through the revision of a well-meaning clergyman who had no appreciation of its frankness and earthy vigor) [is] a regrettable loss."11 I wonder how Bakeless could have known the contents if no one in this century has read the manuscript ... However, there are many other qualified authors who have also criticized the McKeehan edition of Gass.

John Allen at the Lewis and Clark College conference stated, "while the Gass journals presented a reasonably accurate account of the essential facts of the expedition, the work was limited in its content; and the information from it was am-
biguous ..." Let me say that I agree with Allen. His comment provides my answer to your probable questions. "What is the role of the Gass journal today?" and "Why publish Gass again?"

Gass, as edited by McKeehan, covers the essentials, but it is not specific, nor is it an overall view. Gass has never been analyzed, according to his omissions, contributions, and perspectives in comparison with the other journals, day by day. Nor has a thorough annotation been done.

There is a need to identify the generalizations Gass consistently made. Comparison with Ordway, Clark and Whitehouse often makes this possible. Many names of places can be identified, which Thwaites, Moulton and the J. Neilson Barry Papers at Boise State University help to do. It is particularly important to annotate the events that Gass's modesty has omitted. One such item was his own election by popular vote to succeed Sergeant Floyd, who died early in the trip, probably of appendicitis. (This was the only fatality among expedition members.) Also, Gass omitted telling of his service twice on court martial cases. On the other hand, it is very important to point out, when it seems conclusive, that Gass has presented material which was original, significant, and sometimes copied by other journalists of the mission, such as the rich description of the Arikara villages, the dimensions of the lodges of the Teton Sioux, the manner of building the Mandan earthen lodges, the erection of Fort Clatsop and the way hovels were made near the Nez Perce village on a fork of the Clearwater when the party waited for snow to melt on the return trip.

Even though Gass's style is unadorned, it is possible to get acquainted with who he was, how he felt, and what he valued. Gass had volunteered at Kaskaskia along with Ordway. His superior officer, Captain Bissel, did not want to release Gass because he was a skilled carpenter. With Lewis as an advocate, Bissel had to release Gass, whose adventurous nature had already taken him through the Middle Atlantic region on horseback, down the Mississippi on a flatboat, over to Cuba and up the east coast, and through the Ohio Valley. The first trip west seemed made for him, and he certainly fits the description of the kind of hearty, practical, less educated man Lewis and Clark were looking for. Although his skills of reading and writing were elementary, Patrick Gass, the carpenter, saw trees, understood building, and loved land where trees and water were plentiful.

On Wednesday, May 30th, he has the best description of all the journals when he waxes of Missouri state along the river, "Here the soil is good, with cotton wood, sycamore, oak, hickory, and white walnut; with some grape vines, and an abundance of rushes." When they are stuck without food on the Lolo Trail of Idaho, he laments on September 19, 1805, "The men are becoming lean and debilitated, on account of the scarcity and poor quality of the provisions on which we subsist: our horses' feet are also becoming very sore. We have, however, some hopes of getting soon out of this horrible mountainous desert ..."

Gass is an enlisted man, and he sees the trip from a worker's eye. His few journal hiatuses occur during work periods and a couple of play periods—a hunting trip at the Mandan Village, constructing canoes to go up the Missouri at Mandan, at the portage of the Great Falls, building Fort Clatsop, and while taking leave at St. Charles, and again partying between Christmas and New Year's Day at the Mandan Village.

Gass is aware of one of the Expedition's missions when he notes his superiors go to explain "the change of government" to the Indians. He is eager to find the ocean, and he does briefly describe unusual animals and plants. Gass frequently identifies trees and notes whether an area is timbered or not. However, extensive descriptions, variety of vocabulary, and whimpering are absent in Gass's journal. There is no overview here of the esprit de corps or general health of the men, though Gass may note that a man was sick. His tone is succinct and often sanguine.

His references to the health of men are sporadic and casual compared to those of the captains, and especially in comparison to Floyd's brief journal. Gass's health is superb. He was described by his biographer fifty-six years later as, "a hale, hearty old man, with the apparent promise of many years of life yet to come ... in stature, somewhat low, never having in his best estate, exceeded five feet seven, stoutly and compactly built, broad-chested and heavy limbed, yet lean, sprightly and quick of motion ... remarkably alert and [an] active walker [who] can make the four miles from
his residence to Wellsburg, in about as good time as most of those of one fourth his years."16 During the expedition, Gass noted few bad days. He slipped and fell in a canoe and sprang his back, forcing him to go on foot a few days westward in Montana. He noted discomfort from eating the dried salmon and the camas roots that the charitable Nez Perce gave the starving men, to the abdominal chagrin of most of them. He claimed he had "ague," a form of malaria, with accompanying fever. It seems dubious Gass had ague instead of a bad fever, in light of the fact he lived 99 years, outliving his wife forty years younger than he, and outliving all other members of the expedition by many years.

The rich minutia in the captains' journals which fascinates sincere scholars of the expedition involves wading through difficult spelling, astronomical readings, long descriptions of plants, animals, Indian linguistics, and arduous repetition of journal entries. The original Gass journal, edited and published in 1807, answers the real, practical questions necessary to daily survival. It is a less intimidating introduction to a first hand account than the captains' journals are. It is seen through the eyes of one of the working members of the corps.

When everyday man or woman reads Gass, it becomes apparent, day after day, that eating was a problem, and weather something to contend with. Reading the wonderful novels by Vardis Fisher, David Lavender and others, elevates the exciting adventures to a yet more legible and interesting plane, but reading a novel is different from reading a daily journal entry that reflects on the blatant concerns of making it through to the next day—How many miles did we make it today? Did the hunters bring meat? What did we eat? Was it cold?—In Gass, one gets a real sense of the daily realities without tangential comment, and in a form that is possible for the neophyte journal-reader to easily peruse. There is merit in bringing Gass up to date with current scholarship because it is important to have today's children and interested adults learn again each decade about this journey of nearly 200 years ago. This expedition continues to be epic for all of us. As Donald Jackson noted, this is "every man's story because it describes ordinary men doing extraordinary things.”

NOTES

2 Hebard, p. .
14 Ibid, p. 139.
15 J.G. Jacobs, p. 10.

Carol Lynn MacGregor attended her first Lewis & Clark annual meeting at Lewiston, Idaho last August. She took two of the discovery trips and was kind enough to write a humorous recounting of one of them which is elsewhere in this magazine. The article on Patrick Gass is taken from a paper she presented at the Northwest History Conference at Boise, Idaho last March.
Convention Chairman Jim Fazio doing his duty (right). Mary Ann Swanzey, Hamilton, Montana, and Bev Hinds, Sioux City, Iowa, are obviously enjoying the convention.

Director Park Biehl looks over William Clark memorabilia furnished by Clark's great-great-great grandson, Bud Clark.

History came alive for many.
We followed in the footsteps of the Expedition 185 years later.

Bud Clark and Mylie Lawyer, great-great-great granddaughter of Twisted Hair, autograph programs.

LCTHF President Bob Doerk and his wife Mary (above) step out of the last century.
Your 1991 officers (above, middle, l. to r.) President Bob Doerk, 1st Vice President Winnie George, Secretary Barb Kubik and 2nd Vice President Jim Fazio. Treasurer John Walker was not present. Bob Lange (left) presented Jim Large (right) with the Award of Meritorious Achievement (above).

Hells Canyon on the Snake River is a challenge for the modern day traveler (top). Judy Space holds a plaque presented to her father Ralph Space "Mr. Lolo Trail." A large bronze plaque will hang in the National Forest Service office in Orofino, Idaho.
**IRON HORSE FOLLIES**

The adventures of the “Discovery Corps of 1990,” who precariously followed the footsteps of Lewis and Clark one hundred eighty-five years later on the awesome Lolo trail ...

BY PENNY RADDON, SONDRA ANNIS AND CAROL MACGREGOR Members of the Expedition

Wednesday, August 1, 1990. Twenty-seven fearless aficionados of the Corps of Discovery left the Lewis and Clark Heritage Trail Foundation Conference separately in fifteen varied iron horses from festering downtown Lewiston on a Sahara day to reconnoiter at Lolo Hot Springs. We arrived intermittently. An avid swimmer from our corps experienced the wonders of the healing, boiling springs, now captured in concrete and inculcated with jubilant children. Our wagon boss demonstrated tent pitching, attempting to drive pegs into solid rock, to then just sleep on the tent.

Thursday, August 2, 1990. We arose early to depart at 7:30 a.m. Some of the Corps had procured better provisions than others, who shamelessly accepted their gracious hospitality for breakfast. We proceeded on to Packer Meadows (Sept. 13, 1805) where a few dug for camas. The Lewis and Clark display at Lolo Pass was a modern wonder of interpretation on the way to “Cohkilled Camp” (Sept. 14, 1805) near the Powell Ranger Station. Amidst the S.O.S. cries of an endangered blue and white pinto-colored Bronco in our party, via C.B., we ascended the steep ridge up Parachute Hill Road. We reached Rocky Point Lookout where fifteen iron horses parked in a space large enough for three. Tell-tale purple stains marked members of our party who ate the huckleberries on the way to the Lookout, to the chagrin of the summer employee whose view we were privileged to share. We could see where the original Corps missed the turn-off, to follow the brushy creek to struggle up Wendover Ridge. These awesome peaks beckoned to our enervated, urban spirits, offering peace and relaxation, in contrast to Sergeant Gass’s description of this “horrible mountainous desert.” We drove on, passing Thirteen Mile Camp (June 28, 1806) and Papoose Saddle, past Snowbank Camp (Sept. 15, 1805) to pitch tents for the night at Cayuse Junction. Patriotic Texans flew the fifteen-star version of Old Glory. Our official Portland mechanic re-attached the broken nerve of the pinto Bronco, rectifying the tragedy of the day. Book worms read the journals, and pyromaniacs prepared a huge fire. (Some felt this was taking Lewis’s journal entry June 26, 1806 a bit too far ...) No one sang, danced or played the fiddle.

Friday, August 3, 1990. The obvious artifact of this campsite was clearly not from the original Corps. Neglectful hunters had abandoned a junkheap trailer. Unfortunately, it was not tuggable when we departed Cayuse Junction at 8 a.m. The stop at “Bear Oil and Roots” (June 27, 1806) was brief as there was an undercurrent about mail at Indian Post Office. Sure enough, the rock cairn held a birthday card for the rider of the Sun Valley Dasher. Discussion ensued about a discrepancy between Clark’s map and journal entries citing a descent into Graye Creek. Lunch time found us at the trailhead leading to the Smoking Place (June 27, 1806 where the party smoked with their Nez Perce guides), Indian Grave (where a Nez Perce boy from Kamiah was buried in 1895) and the “Sinque Hole” (Sept. 17, 1805). No one was smoking, but it certainly felt ceremonial atop this splendid ridge, viewing the endless scope of the Bitterroots. We proceeded on, afoot excellent trails recently blazed by the “Take Part in America” volunteers, absolutely missing Whitehouse’s “sinque hole.” Maybe it sank. At this point three of our party punished themselves by walking or jogging up the steep, rocky road to the iron horses about four miles. A minor rebellion among our corps ensued on where to camp for the night. (We hadn’t trained together long enough at the summer camp at the junction of the Clearwater and the Snake.) Anyhow, most of us parked at Dry Camp (Sept. 18, 1805) where cobwebs abounded and nary a drop of dew was to be found the next morn’. The Lewiston trooper found a rare breed of tree in an old chunk of firewood left by a forest fire. It was Alaska Yellow Cedar, 115 years old when killed by fire. Most of the present timber is Lodgepole, about seventy-five years old. So the cedar was probably young when our mentors passed.

Saturday, August 4, 1990. Two experienced woodpeople of our group separated themselves last evening to a magnificent, flat campsite at the base of Sherman Peak, which they had hoped to ascend for the sunrise. About 4:00 a.m., they were awakened by a giant moose, adorned with a sizable rack, which stepped from just outside their tent to their iron horse a

Continued on page 22
yard away. He peered at the couple on the ground in the tent and proceeded to tongue-wash their car from front to back, watching his stunned audience while he licked the hood and front windshield, flipping over a windshield-wiper in the process. The appreciative viewers recovered on the moose’s departure, and retained his tongue marks through the dusty windshield most of the day. Various members of our corps scattered, some proceeding to the University of Idaho at Moscow to pursue another Lewis and Clark class on the Lolo Trail, some lagging to swim in beautiful Rocky Ridge Lake, and some barreling back to 107° heat in Lewiston.

HISTORIAN SURE IT’S LEWIS-CLARK CAMP

Nail, tacks and slag found near Belt Creek convincing evidence

BY BERT LINDLER
Tribune Staff Writer
From an article printed in the
Great Falls Tribune, October 22, 1990

After four summers of searching, historian Ken Karsmizki is convinced he’s found the spot where Lewis and Clark camped while preparing to portage around the Great Falls of the Missouri River.

“I’ll eat my hat if they’re not in this five acres,” Karsmizki said in a telephone interview. “I have a good straw hat and I’ll eat it.”

So far, Karsmizki hasn’t found evidence of the expedition’s camp fires, but he has found a wooden stake, a square nail, two square tacks, slag he suspects was tossed aside after blacksmith work, and a fragment of flint resembling that used in flintlock rifles.

The artifacts were about 3 to 4 inches below ground in an area 50 feet in diameter. Karsmizki can’t prove they’re from the expedition, but he’s hoping to conduct tests to help determine their origin.

The site is on river bottom terraces along the Missouri about a mile downstream from Belt Creek. Just upstream is a rocky bluff and a ledge stretching halfway across the river known as “The Big Eddy.” Farther from the river are steep breaks that can only be traversed by four-wheel drive vehicles and then only during good weather. The site is on a private ranch.

Lewis and Clark knew Belt Creek as Portage Creek. According to the expedition’s journals, they established the camp on June 16, 1805. While there, they built wooden carts for the portage, dried their gear, dried meat, made moccasins and cached gear for their return.

Since so much took place at this site, there should be plenty of evidence of the expedition’s stay. Thanks to the rocky bluff protecting the area from flooding, the evidence should be intact, Karsmizki said.

During excavations in 1988 and 1989, Karsmizki’s crew uncovered prehistoric projectile points, obsidian flakes and a evidence of a small fire. The points indicate these artifacts are about 500 years old. They were about 9 inches deep. Since these older remains are intact, the younger remains of the Lewis and Clark expedition also should be intact, Karsmizki reasons. Based on those finds, expedition artifacts shouldn’t be deeper than 9 inches.

Karsmizki and his crews worked three summers before uncovering anything that could have been related to the expedition. Last summer, they found a sharpened juniper stake about 15 inches long with its top buried 3¼ inches below the surface. The rings in the juniper showed it was 30 years old, but didn’t have patterns that might have helped determine when the juniper lived.

The challenge Karsmizki faces is determining where
to dig in the five-acre area he's convinced is the camp­site. His test pits are five feet square. It takes two peo­ple a full day to scrape three inches of soil from the pit and sift it for artifacts. In four years, his crews have ex­cavated less than 3 percent of the area.

To speed up the exploration, Karsmizki used a magnetometer this summer. The magnetometer detects minute changes in the earth's magnetic field, such as those caused by a fire, or by realigning rocks when placing them around a fire. In August, Karsmizki searched 1½ acres with the magnetometer. For three weeks after­ward, he had a paid crew of four and two volunteers excavating the 10 areas the magnetometer indicated were most promising.

Gray, pea-sized slag was scattered in three of the areas. Tiny fragments of burned wood were found with the slag. Karsmizki thinks that was left after a blacksmithing project. Wood was commonly used by blacksmiths until 1850, with coal more commonly used afterward, Karsmizki said.

John Shields was the expedition's blacksmith. One of his projects at the portage camp would have been replacing a missing screw for the expedition's iron boat. There may have been other projects as the expedition prepared for the arduous journey over the Rocky Mountains.

Shields probably used a portable forge, which Karsmizki thinks would have been a metal tub lined with earth and sand. The slag contains glass-like fragments which Karsmizki thinks are fused sand. He hopes to examine the slag for metal fragments.

The square nail, two square tacks and flint fragment were found in two adjacent areas where most of the slag was found. The expedition’s inventory list shows they carried nails. The tacks are curled over as if they had been used as “clincher nails.” Such nails were used to hold leather to wood or hold small boxes together, Karsmizki said.

Nails were made differently before 1830. The nails have characteristics indicating they may have been made before 1830, but Karsmizki needs to conduct special tests before he can be sure.

Fur traders weren't working in the area before 1835, so the nails could only have come from the expedition or from Indians who had traded with whites, if they were made before 1830, Karsmizki said.

Only three Lewis and Clark campsites have been ex­cavated so far, with none producing incontrovertible evidence of the expedition’s presence, Karsmizki said.

“One day, somebody’s going to find one and then we’re really going to know a lot about Lewis and Clark,” he said.

Karsmizki’s research has cost about $50,000. It has been funded by the Museum of the Rockies, private individuals, a state coal tax grant and the Bozeman and Great Falls chapters of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. It would cost another $20,000 to use the magnetometer and a field crew to help search another 1½ acres. Karsmizki has no assured funding. But he’s determined to continue.

“I’m convinced that we are on Lewis and Clark’s campsite and it’s really a matter of being able to spend enough time there to find evidence,” Karsmizki said.

Standing near where he thinks Lewis and Clark camped before portaging the Great Falls of the Missouri in 1805, historian Ken Karsmizki shows slag that may have been produced by an expedition blacksmith.

Another photo on page 24.
A square nail and curled tack that were found where Lewis and Clark are thought to have camped are next to a camera lens cap for comparison.

Frazer's Mutiny

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

What distinguishes the Lewis and Clark Expedition from other great exploratory adventures is the wealth of day-by-day detail known to historians, and yet new nuggets keep turning up. Now a newly published Expedition notebook discloses for the first time an incident in which Captain William Clark accused one of his men of mutinous behavior.

The soldier who drew Clark's complaint was Private Robert Frazer. "Rd. Frasure behaved very badly, and mutonous," Clark reported on January 10, 1806, as a detachment of explorers returned to their Pacific Coast winter fort after viewing a dead whale on a nearby beach. Clark didn't specify what Frazer did to trigger the accusation. The captain wrote that he ordered Frazer away from the detachment to look for a lost knife, but there was no indication of further disciplinary action.

The hitherto unknown incident, coming midway during the 1804-1806 Expedition, is recounted in Volume 6 of The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, just published by the University of Nebraska Press. Clark referred to Frazer's behavior in a 48-page notebook containing a rough diary of events during a five-day round trip from the Expedition's Fort Clatsop at the mouth of the Columbia River to the beach where the stranded whale was being picked apart by Indians. Twelve of the Expedition's 26 enlisted soldiers (plus Sacagawea and her husband and child) accompanied Clark, while co-captain Meriwether Lewis remained at the fort with the rest.

Clark's notebook lay hidden for more than a century after the Expedition in papers collected by Philadelphia lawyer Nicholas Biddle. It was discovered in 1913 by Biddle's grandsons and given to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, repository of most of the Expedition's records.

On the last day of the whale excursion, Clark describ-
ed in his notebook an elk hunt by members of his traveling group:

“I divided the meat between the party, and the load of 3 men whom I sent with Gibson & Shannon to help Carrey the 2 Elk to the Salt makers, and I my Self and the party returned by the Same rout we went out to the Canoes. Rd. Frasure behaved very badly, and mutinous—he also lost his large Knife. I Sent him back to look for his knife, with Directions to return with the party of Serjt Gass, I proceeded on . . .”

The notebook’s contents weren’t used by Nicholas Biddle in writing his 1814 narrative of the Expedition and they were unknown to editor Reuben Gold Thwaites, who published nearly all of the manuscript journals in eight volumes in 1904-1905. For events during the trip to see the whale Thwaites used a rewritten account by Clark, known as Codex I, which omitted any reference to misbehavior by Frazer. In that version, Clark reported only that he told Frazer to go look for his lost knife.

Gary Moulton, editor of the new University of Nebraska Press edition of the manuscripts, said in a footnote to the notebook account that no reference has been found in any Expedition record to a court martial or other punishment of Frazer for mutiny. “Evidently Clark, perhaps after consultation with Lewis, decided that Frazer’s behavior during the difficult and trying trip to and from the whale site was not serious enough to warrant disciplinary action,” Moulton wrote.

The apparent leniency shown Frazer stood in sharp contrast to the punishment given Private John Newman in the Expedition’s only other case of mutiny. In October, 1804, during the explorers’ ascent of the Missouri River, Newman was formally charged with uttering “repeated expressions of a highly criminal and mutinous nature.” He was convicted by a court martial of fellow soldiers, sentenced to receive 75 lashes on his bare back and “discarded” from the permanent party bound for the Pacific. Though Newman begged Lewis and Clark for forgiveness, the officers sent him back to St. Louis as a disciplinary example.

Ironically, Frazer owed his place with the Expedition to another disciplinary action by the captains. He originally was part of a support group of soldiers slated to return to St. Louis, but was promoted in 1804 to fill a vacancy in the permanent party left by the discharge of deserter Moses Reed. After this early rash of disciplinary problems the men settled into a military harmony from which Frazer’s January, 1806, outburst was a newly discovered exception. Frazer may have told his side of the story in his own never-published journal of the trip, which so far remains lost.

Volume 6 of The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition is part of a projected 11-volume edition of Expedition manuscripts being published by the University of Nebraska Press. The Foundation has been giving the project modest financial support.

Fortunately, two good likenesses of Meriwether Lewis have been preserved. A splendid portrait was painted in oil by the famous artist, Charles Willson Peale, in 1807. That portrait is often used to illustrate articles about Meriwether’s life. The author is particularly fond of the 1807 portrait—a crayon drawing—by Saint-Mémin (shown above). This handsome profile reflects Meriwether’s great strength of character.
In southcentral Tennessee, a little east of the Tennessee River, is a place where the old Indian path called Natchez Trace can still be seen. The earth begins to swell and roll in wooded hillocks in this part of Tennessee where the gray granite and the stacks of shale break the surface of the ground. It is a scenic drive east through Perry County, Tennessee, into Lewis County where the land becomes less hilly and wide stretches of flat land appear. Across such a mesa the Natchez Trace once cut its narrow way. The wilderness still holds fast to the land that borders the remnant of that ancient trail which is preserved today in Lewis County. The acres set aside for this preservation lie close to the Natchez Trace Parkway, which shelters over one hundred sections of the original Trace along its almost uninterrupted route from Natchez, Mississippi, to Nashville, Tennessee.

How different is this country from the westering way of the Corps of Discovery that Meriwether Lewis and William Clark led up the Missouri River and across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean and back again. How seemingly unrelated to the Lewis and Clark Expedition is the level clearing where the Old Trace once ran past a rustic hostel, a small group of crude buildings known as Grinder’s Stand. Yet this was Meriwether Lewis’s way, as he travelled the Trace northeast towards Washington City. And it was here at Grinder’s Stand in the early morning of October 11, 1809, that this explorer, adventurer and Governor of the Upper Louisiana Territory, died.

This is a quiet spot where only a few visitors stop to view the rangers’ cabin, a modern log structure that houses a small exhibit on the history of the Natchez Trace with a little information on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Just behind the cabin one can see in the earth the outline of rough stones that was once a chimney of Grinder’s Stand. It is a beautiful place—well-kept and utterly still in the gathering shadows of evening.

As the sunlight fades I am alone here. Is there a feeling of melancholy in the woods and over the clearing? A mysterious tragedy happened here. Perhaps the memory of it lingers. Walking along the sunken path of the Old Trace I approach the clearing on my right as Meriwether Lewis approached it. One can almost see him, the tall solitary traveller speaking to Mrs. Grinder to make arrangements for accommodations for himself and for the servants following some distance behind him. He was to go no further on his way. The following dawn would find him a dying man. Anyone interested in his life will contemplate the many questions associated with his death. Never more poignant will those questions feel than here, where the loss of his life actually occurred.

Across the clearing is the Pioneer Cemetery where a number of graves lie close to the broken column of Lewis’ monument and final resting place. This is a place of honor, the simple, graceful marker surrounded by the whispering woodlands.

Meriwether Lewis’s true monument is the living history of the words he left us. The handwritten legacy we treasure today as the Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition travelled to this place with him. The tragic loss of Lewis’ life would have been unspeakably compounded had his papers not been delivered into responsible hands. So much of what we possess on the Corps of Discovery made its way successfully past Grinder’s Stand along the Natchez Trace to Nashville, Tennessee, to William Clark and finally, after much chagrin and struggle, into printed history. To visit Grinder’s Stand brings into sharp focus the delicacy and pricelessness of Lewis and Clark’s journals and adds a very human dimension to the study of the Expedition itself.

It is the human element of the journals that makes them readable, reachable and memorable. As a writer, Lewis was sometimes humorous and always articulate and beautifully descriptive. His words often reflect the banding together of the men of the Corps into a single
unit in which no man was ever truly alone. In contrast, the loneliness of Grinder's Stand makes even brighter the wonderful story of adventure and accomplishment he left us.

This Tennessean has happened by this spot before. I will come back again. Though far removed from the new America Meriwether Lewis and William Clark explored, this quiet southern wildforest is God's country; it is hallowed ground. What Lewis did for us and for his country will always be remembered. In this remote corner of Tennessee, in the county that bears his name, Meriwether Lewis is not forgotten.

REFERENCES*

1 For a concise presentation of the events leading to and surrounding the death of Meriwether Lewis, see Paul Russell Cutright’s “Rest, Rest, Perturbed Spirit,” We Proceeded On, March, 1986, Vol. 12, No. 1.

For a more comprehensive and more speculative presentation of these events, see Vardis Fisher, Suicide or Murder? The Strange Death of Meriwether Lewis, Alan Swallow, Denver, 1962.


3 Donald Jackson (Editor) Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783-1854, 2nd Edition, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1978 II: 468. (This reference is to Major Neelly’s letter to Jefferson in which Neelly describes Lewis’s death and in which he informs Mr. Jefferson that he has Lewis’s trunks containing his papers and wishes to be given instructions as to where to send them.)

*Where specific references have been used, I have described the subject matter of that reference in parentheses, following the reference listing.

FROM THE EDITOR’S DESK #2

Editing We Proceeded On is a real switch for me. When I was doing Rural Montana magazine, that is exactly what I was doing—I did the entire magazine. I researched, wrote, photographed, “dummied” the layout, solicited advertising—the whole nine yards.

Now, I have these great contributors, like Jim Large, who are doing all the writing for me and my job has become one of really being an editor. That is: editing someone else’s writing. That is okay with me because I have, as I mentioned, a long way to go to even begin to be qualified to write for WPO.

What I need now is to know you contributors better. I need to know who is interested in what aspect of the Expedition and who has the time to write. If you want to contribute to the magazine, either with articles or photographs, let me know. I will look at almost anything as long as it is related to the journey.

I need sharp transparencies for the cover and (preferably) clear black and white photos either with articles or standing alone.

The articles should be typewritten and double spaced. Drop me a line so we can get to know each other. Tell me what you like or don’t like about the magazine. I have some ideas of my own on what the magazine and the Foundation can do to move forward. I will probably be expressing these ideas in coming issues of WPO. Let me hear your ideas.

I think we are in this thing together.
Lewis-Clark Center contract to Seattle firm

From the Great Falls (Montana) Tribune
August 21, 1990

A contract to prepare the thematic and conceptual design for a Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center near Giant Springs has been awarded to The Portico Group of Seattle.

The Seattle firm was selected as the most qualified after review of credentials submitted by various designers.

Agreement was reached this week on a negotiated price of $199,477 for the first phase of designing, according to Al Hinman, contracting officer for the U.S. Forest Service. Portico will submit proposals for the first phase by Oct. 11, he said.

Theme and concept will be the first part of a three-phase design project. The second phase will be design development, and the third phase will include construction documents.

Awarding the design contract marked a major step toward construction of a center to interpret the Lewis and Clark Expedition’s presence in Montana. Congress authorized establishment of the center in October 1988 and authorized $200,000 last fall to begin designing it. Additional funding will be needed for the next phases of development.

Winter 1992 is the target date for beginning construction, which is expected to take one year.

The proposed $3.5 million center would be managed by the U.S. Forest Service which contributed $200,000 for initial startup of the planning effort. The Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife & Parks agreed to donate up to 50 acres of land in Giant Springs Heritage Park northeast of Great Falls for the visitor center.

Experts on Lewis and Clark history met in Great Falls for three days in early January to develop specific ideas for the story the center will tell. That was considered a prerequisite before offering a design contract.

The Portico Group comprises 10 architects, eight landscape architects, and an administrative support group. The firm’s previous projects include the Mount St. Helen’s National Volcanic Monument, Oregon Trail Center, and Point Defiance Zoo exhibits.

Becca Hanson, a landscape architect and partner in the firm, will lead the project. Architect Jonathan Taylor will be project manager.
Record Turnout for the 4th Lewis Run

Great Falls, MT—A record 232 runners turned out for the fourth annual Meriwether Lewis Run. The run follows along the banks of the Missouri River where Meriwether Lewis first viewed the Great Falls area on June 14, 1805. Each year, the run is dedicated to a member of the Expedition or to an incident of significance which happened in the Great Falls area. This year’s run was dedicated to Patrick Gass, the carpenter of the Expedition.

Darlene Fassler, a great, great, great granddaughter of Patrick Gass, was on hand to help start the race and hand out the awards. Darlene lives in Great Falls and is a member of the Portage Route Chapter which sponsors this event.

Charlie Lucero and Patricia George captured overall honors in the 3.5 mile competition. Lucero covered the course in 18 minutes and 54 seconds to top the men’s field. George won the women’s title in 22:48.

In the one mile run, Brian Allen and Anne Avery captured overall honors with times of 5:54 and 6:06, respectively.

Darlene Fassler (left) presents an award to one of the Lewis Run participants.

PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE (continued from page 2)

Foundation in the way he had anticipated. His counsel to me over the past year was most welcome and our heartfelt condolences to Laura and the family. A replacement will be named in the near future.

This is a time of change and transition at the same time we opt for continuity. Martin L. Erickson, “Marty” Erickson, has assumed the duties as Editor, We Proceeded On. Marty will be introducing himself in this issue and speaking for the Board of Directors, we are delighted to welcome Marty with all his experience and talent. He knows he follows two previous editors, Bob Lange and Bob Saindon, who have set high standards for our publication, which remains the backbone of our Foundation. Bob Saindon is now hard at work, in his spare time, on his research of the Assiniboine. I also wish to welcome Max Lippman, St. Louis, Missouri, as one of our new directors, along with Patti Thomsen, elected to a second three year term.

I mentioned “continuity” above and for the first time, the same slate of officers who served in 1989-1990 will carry forth until August, 1991. The reasons are two fold: the many projects we have in being coupled with the changes mentioned above, and, more importantly, the responsibilities Winnie George, our First Vice President, has with respect to the 1991 Annual Meeting in Louisville. The Filson Club is our host for this forthcoming meeting but Winnie will be serving as the Foundation liaison and will be heavily involved. Until such time as we can fund an Executive Secretary position, the administrative duties for the President are such that it is difficult to do the two jobs simultaneously. I believe Don Nell and John Poole would agree with that. So, you are “stuck” with me for another year and I will do my best to serve your needs. Each of you is an important member and voice in our organization.

A bit of potpourri ... Because of the number of requests the Foundation receives for information related to genealogy, a Genealogy Committee has been formed on an ad hoc basis. Consult the enclosed committee list for members and let them know if you have unresolved questions in this area. Our Speakers Bureau/Resource Directory continues to expand. Contact Patti Thomsen if you are interested in serving. She has forms to be completed. Membership pins were a hot item at the Annual Meeting and are being sent out in New Member packets. Existing members who would like one and can't wait for Louisville, please write the Foundation address requesting one. They are hard to mail, which is why they haven't been sent with renewal forms. Special thanks to Don Nell for making the pins available and to Sheila Robinson for the basic design.

The 1991 Annual Meeting is scheduled for Louisville (August 4-7) so put the dates on your calendar and I look forward to seeing you in William Clark country!!
Increases in Printing and Distribution Costs
Causes Price Adjustments for Foundation Publications

Studies of printing costs, packaging, and postage by the Foundation's Publication Committee have necessitated increases in prices for back issues of We Proceeded On, and for several We Proceeded On Supplementary Publications.

Members are advised that all back issues of the Foundation's quarterly magazine We Proceeded On are available. At this writing forty-eight issues have been published since the magazine's inception in the fall of 1974. The original printing of twenty-two issues are depleted, and copy machine reproductions of these issues are available. Illustrations in these reproduction are slightly depreciated.

Effective September 15, 1990:
1. The price for single or a random selection of issues is $3.00 each issue.
2. A price of $2.00 each issue will be charged for orders for complete sets of back issues (Volume One, Number One, through the Current Volume and Number—forty-eight or more issues). The Publication Committee justifies this ($2.00 each) pricing, since earlier issues weigh less (fewer pages) and there are substantial savings in bulk packaging and postage for bulk mailings of complete sets of back issues.

Price increases have been necessary regarding We Proceeded On: Supplementary Publications. As first, second, and third printings have been made for several of these publications, there have been substantial increases in printing and mailing costs.

An up-to-date listing of Supplementary Publications, and current prices follows:

**WPO Publication No. 1, October 1976 $2.00**
"Proceedings of the Eighth Annual Meeting, August 15-18, 1976, Great Falls, Montana."

WPO Publications No. 2 and 2A

WPO Publications No. 2 and 2A are out of print, and are now published under one cover. The superseding title is:

"The Lewis and Clark Expedition's Newfoundland Dog," and the publication, as noted below, is identified as WPO Publication No. 10.

WPO Publication No. 3, July 1978 $1.50


A reprint of Biddle’s 1925 monograph concerning the acquisition and preservation of the 600 foot high landmark on the Columbia River. Lewis and Clark described the geologic formation in 1805-1806. Annotations by Robert E. Lange, Jr.

WPO Publication No. 4, December 1980 $3.00

"Three Papers Presented at the Foundation's 12th Annual Meeting, Omaha, Nebraska, and Sioux City, Iowa, August 20-22, 1980."


WPO Publication No. 5, August 1981 $1.00


The visit to the Missoula, Montana, courthouse was an event during the Foundation’s Annual Meeting. This publication provides biographical information about Montana artist Edgar Paxson, and descriptions of two of the eight Paxson murals in the courthouse that depict incidents related to the Expedition in the Missoula area.

WPO Publication No. 6, July 1982 $4.00


The late Dr. Cutright has provided an in-depth study of the activities related to the Expedition in Philadelphia, both before (1803) and after (1807-1814) the explorers’ return. Litterateur Nicholas Biddle’s contribution toward seeing the publication of a narrative based on the Captains’ journals is included in Dr. Cutright’s fine monograph.

WPO Publication No. 7, May 1984 $4.00

"Lewis’s Woodpecker—Clark’s Nutcracker"

Color portraits of birds whose names memorialize the surnames of Captains Lewis and Clark. Reproduced from color paintings by Marie Nonast Bohlen through the courtesy of Fawcett Publications and publisher Prentice-Hall, Inc.

Two 8x10 inch portraits with descriptive captions on fine paper stock in authentic color, and suitable for framing.

For more information concerning the ornithology of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, see We Proceeded On, Vol. 10 Nos. 2 & 3, May 1984.

WPO Publication No. 8, November 1984 $3.00


This is an unabridged transcript of a paper presented at the 16th Annual Banquet of the Foundation, Great Falls, Montana, August 8, 1984. Dr. Fritz, in his fine speaking and writing style, and backed by his extensive knowledge, has produced this review of the purpose, organization and personnel of the exploring enterprise. In addition he presents a fine recapitulation of the Expedition’s documentation of their experiences and discovery of what is today the great state of Montana. It was in Montana where the exploring party spent the most “traveling” days while traveling the most miles, overcame one of their greatest obstacles to their favorite river travel (the Great Falls of the Missouri), and established their most numerous night encampments.

WPO Publication No. 9, August 1990 $10.95


This is a collection of eight essays, each dealing with a unique subject related to some aspect of the Expedition, or the literature written about the exploring enterprise (articles published in historical periodicals, or transcripts of papers/lectures presented at the historical conferences, symposia, or at the Foundation’s Annual Banquets). Individuals who have attended conferences where Dr. Ronda has been the speaker quickly recognize both the range of his scholarship and the enthusiasm of his delivery.

WPO Publication No. 10, September 1990 $4.50

This publication reprints WPO Supplementary Publication No. 2, the late Dr. Ernest S. Osgood’s monograph "Our Dog Scannon—Partner in Discovery," and WPO Supplementary Publication No. 2A, the late Dr. Donald Jackson’s monograph "Call Him A Good Old Dog, But Don’t Call Him Scannon" (an investigation and conclusion concerning the correct name for the Expedition’s Newfoundland dog). Since both previous publications have often been purchased together, were related, and are now out of print, it seemed advantageous to present both monographs in a single publication.

Prices for the above publications include postage and cost of production only.

Order from: WPO Publications, 5054 S.W. 26th Place, Portland, OR 97201

Make checks payable to the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. Postage stamps are acceptable in lieu of checks.
"... Saw a large brown bear ... he took the River and was near catching the Man he chased in, but he went up against the Stream and the bear being wounded could not git to him. one of the hunters Shot him in the head ..."

From the journal of Sergeant Ordway, May 14, 1825, near the mouth of the Musselshell River in Montana.