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 interests. Officers of the Foundation are elected from the membership. The annual meeting of the Foundation is traditionally held during August, the birth month of both Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The meeting place is rotated among the states, and tours generally are arranged to visit sites in the area of the annual meeting which have historic association with the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT GEORGE

It is with deep humility that I thank the members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation for electing me to be the president of the Foundation. Among our membership there are many more qualified and more knowledgeable than me. I am really at a loss for words to tell you how grateful I am that you have honored me so generously. I pledge to do my best in this capacity.

It is with regret that this first message comes to you with the sad news of the death of Robert E. Lange on August 30. This is a personal loss to many of us and to our Foundation. Bob inspired us, worked diligently for our Foundation and was gracious in sharing his great knowledge of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and its men and times. We send our love to Ruth and keep her in our prayers.

We are just getting over the excitement of our meeting in Louisville. We hope all who attended our meeting returned home safely and with happy memories of a grand experience in Louisville. We thank again the Filson Club folks, the Kipfers and Ernie Ellison for the many hours they spent preparing for our meeting. The theme was "The Con-

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 New Zealand.

(Continued on page 10)
From the Editor’s Desk

Louisville, Kentucky—hot, humid and a whole lot of fun.

The 23rd Annual Meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, my first annual meeting, turned out to be a real eye opener for your old editor. I looked, listened, talked and watched the people gathered at the meeting.

It was a learning experience for me listening to speakers on a variety of topics—speakers like George Yater (The Nine Young Men from Kentucky) and Lynn Reneau (The Clark Connection to the Kentucky Derby). We will make the talks available to you in some form or other as soon as possible. Trips to Locust Grove, Mulberry Hill and the Falls of the Ohio put the places with the names.

Mostly, though, the annual meeting was a people experience. Every now and again I say that people are the most interesting human beings I know. That sure proved out at Louisville.

It is not too early to start planning for the 24th annual meeting at Vancouver, Washington. August 1992 is a good time to go west. Martin Plamondon and his team are putting together a humdinger of a meeting.

If I were to ask you—what is the relationship between Meriwether Lewis, Christopher Columbus and Isaac Newton?—what would you say? I figured Newton would throw you for a loop. Newton, you remember, is the guy who got bonked on the head by an apple.

Give it some thought.

Our New President

Our new president, Winifred C. “Winnie” George, tells us about herself: Sometimes when I conclude my talk as a volunteer interpreter in the Museum of Westward Expansion under the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, a visitor will ask: “Were you a history teacher?” My answer is, “No, but I come from a long line of preachers and teachers.”

My father and mother were from Chicago. My father followed in his father’s footsteps and became a Lutheran minister. He was sent to western Canada as a Lutheran circuit pastor. They settled in a little town outside of Edmonton called Wetaskawin. It is noted as the place where the Blackfeet Indians finally signed a peace treaty with the Canadian government. I was born in Wetaskawin. Subsequent pastorates took our family to Minneapolis and Chaska, Minnesota; Cincinnati, Ohio and Valparaiso, Indiana.

I was employed for eight years in the special promotion of educational toys as an assistant toy buyer for Carson Pirie Scott in Chicago, then moved with my family to St. Louis where I followed a career in insurance. My insurance career spanned 33 years. I retired as senior supervisor-sales for Wausau Insurance Companies. During my insurance career I served as president of the Insurance Women of St. Louis and regional director of the National Association of Insurance Women. I earned my Chartered Property & Casualty Underwriter designation in 1970 and was elected president of the St. Louis Chapter CPCU in 1976. Over the years I have conducted classes in insurance, workshops for insurance career orientation, developed and conducted leadership seminars and conducted defensive driver classes. Since retiring, I have been on the board of directors and was president of the St. Louis Visitors Center, an all volunteer service organization. I became a VIP (Volunteer in Parks) in 1978 and serve as an interpreter in the Museum of Westward Expansion.

I was chairman of the L&CTHF 1985 annual meeting in St. Louis. After that meeting, the Metro St. Louis (Continued on page 29)

ON THE COVER—
A view of the Rocky Mountain Front west of Dupuyer, Montana. The mountain to the far left is Mt. Frazier, one of five mountains in this area named for Lewis & Clark Expedition members. Jim Large tells us about it on page 17.
How Did Meriwether Lewis Die?

IT WAS MURDER

BY E.G. CHUINARD, M.D.

Editor's Note: In the first part of this article, Dr. Chuinard laid the background for the supposition of Meriwether Lewis having committed suicide by citing reports of Lewis's death. He then reviewed Paul Cutright's and Donald Jackson's writings on the presumed suicide of Lewis.

Correction: The cabin pictured on page 7 in the first part of this article is not the Grinder House. It is a small modern structure housing a museum.

Part 2
Lewis's Last Journey

Lewis arrived in St. Louis on March 8, 1809 to take up his duties as the Governor of Louisiana. He served actively in that capacity until September 4, 1809, when he left for Washington to remonstrate with Secretary Eustis about denying payment of his vouchers. Frederick Bates, the secretary who had come to like being acting governor while waiting for Lewis to arrive, pestered Lewis with a continuous barrage of vicious criticism. Despite copious notes of criticism by Bates, he said nothing to imply that he considered Lewis mentally deranged, or intemperate. In trying to explain subsequent events, Jefferson later wrote that Lewis left St. Louis in a paroxysm of depression. "There is no evidence or record that..."
justifies such a statement. Lewis was surely disturbed on receiving the letter from Secretary of War Eustis denying payment of several of his vouchers. Bakeless says that "Lewis's notebook entries at this very time were eminently clear and sensible." The Missouri Gazette noted that he "set off in good health for New Orleans on his way to the Federal City." Apparently the new administration under President Madison was questioning many expenditures from the previous administration. "Clark, too, had had to go to Washington not too long before to straighten out a similar situation." An identical situation was faced by Gilbert Russell, the commanding officer at Fort Pickering: "Being placed then myself in a similar situation with him (Lewis) by having Bills protested to a considerable amount and had made application to the General and expected leave of absence every day to go to Washington on the same business with Governor Lewis. In consequence of which he waited six or eight days expecting that I would go with him but in this we were disappointed & he set off with a Major Neelly who was going to Nashville." This indicates the true reason why Neelly accompanied Lewis, and not that Lewis asked him for companionship or protection, as is often stated.

One thing to be noted in Lewis's letter of remonstrance to Eustis is "Be assured Sir, that my Country can never make 'a burr of me,'" which gives support to the story that he was acting as a "hearing aid" for Jefferson at Burr's trial for treason at Richmond, and explaining for some of the delay in reporting to St. Louis as the Governor of Louisiana—possibly with continuing bouts of malaria.

September 4, 1809 to September 15, 1809, Lewis traveled by boat down the Mississippi River to Fort Pickering at the present-day Memphis. He was met there by Major James Neelly, Indian Agent to the Chickasaw nation, who was the first to report Lewis's death to Jefferson on October 18, 1809, "by his own hand." Two years later, on November 26, 1811, Gilbert Russell, in charge of Fort Pickering, wrote in a statement that "... learning from the crew of the boat that Lewis made two attempts to kill himself, in one of which he nearly succeeded ..." There is nothing in the record of who constituted "the crew," and no additional information about the wounds, their location, the amount of bleeding, the healing or possible infection. Neelly's letter had not mentioned such previous attempts at suicide.

Clark wrote to his brother Jonathan on October 28, 1809 when on a trip to Washington with Judith and his young son Meriwether Lewis Clark, and included the following news: "When at Shelbyville to day I saw in a Frankfort paper called the Argus a report Published which give me much concern, it says that Govr. Lewis killed himself by Cutting his throat with a Knife ... I fear this report has too much truth, tho it may have no foundation." (Italics mine.) [And yet, Jackson flatly states that Clark believed it was suicide. Jackson, Letters, p. 748] "My reason for thinking it possible is founded on the letter [not found] I received from him at your house, in that letter he says he had some intention of going thro' by land & his only objection was his papers ... and set out from the Bluffs with a view to pass thro' the most direct route, which is by Nashville. I fear O! I fear the weight of his mind has overcome him, what will be the Consequence? What will become of his Papers? ... I am quite distressed about this report." Clark readily gave credulity to unusual things more than is generally realized. On the lower Columbia he wrote in his journal, "Ocean in View! O! the joy!" when he was seeing only the wide expanse of the estuary of the Columbia River. This reaction of joy was opposite to the emotional response when he read of Lewis's death in the newspaper.

In between these wide ranges of response were the concerned but less volatile reaction recorded in his journal with Judith, he and his year old son, Meriwether Lewis Clark, were on the same trip in 1809, and they stopped to spend the night with friends whose "children have the Hopping Cough. Tied a string around my child's nake to prevent him taking it." Clark never abated from the use of home remedies. Like Jefferson, he used a multitude of "cures" suggested by well-meaning home-remedy doctors.

From a notebook he kept in 1820 we find the following treatment for a cough: "Pine or light wood splinters put into a Bottle of Brandy or Rum and drank 3 or 4 times a day, in small quantities." The small quantities were added probably as a precaution to those who might like the brandy or rum too much!
The following is taken from the same notebook, "Croupe immediate relief Bind a large tobacco leaf to the heart, it pukes the child instantly, before any medicine could have effect."

Clark recommended the use of no such remedies in his journal to the Pacific. Apparently he was restricted to the things which Lewis brought with him from Philadelphia.

September 15, 1809. There is no doubt that Lewis arrived at Fort Pickering (Chickasaw Bluffs, Memphis) in less than good health—what he called "indisposition"—and Russell called "mental derangement." He wrote to President James Madison, dated September 16, 1809, "I arrived here about 2 o’Clock P.M. yesterday very much exhausted from the heat of the climate, but having taken medicine feel much better this morning." (Malaria attack again? And was Lewis taking quinine?) It is to be recalled that one-third of the cost of drugs Lewis ordered to be taken on the Expedition was quinine. Lewis changed some wording of this letter which he might have planned to use as a first draft but sent it to Madison with the corrections noted perhaps because he was too exhausted to write a new draft. Under Russell’s supervision, Lewis gradually recovered and "... on the sixth or seventh day all symptoms of derangement disappeared and he was completely in his senses and thus continued for ten or twelve days." This is the usual time required for patients with estivo-malaria attacks to recover.

September 22, 1809. Lewis wrote to Amos Stoddard, an old Army buddy, from Ft. Pickering, a very clear letter (previously quoted) which gives testimony to Russell’s statement that Lewis’s state of mental derangement had disappeared by the fifth or sixth day. He was able to leave Ft. Pickering on the 29th. Russell also wrote in his statement to a J. Williams on November 26, 1811: "By much severe dejection during his illness he had been considerably reduced and debilitated, from which he had not entirely recovered when he set off (to the Trace), and the weather in that country being yet excessively hot and the exercise of traveling too severe for him, in three or four days he was again affected with the same mental disease." This statement by Russell could very well describe a periodical elevation of temperature and delirium due to malaria; but Russell attributes it to having no one in the party to control Lewis’s "propensities," apparently meaning the use of liquor.

Lewis had not recovered fully and had to rest for two days upon reaching the Trace. Neelly was accompanying Lewis and supposedly watching over him; however, he forebore to attention to the Governor to look for the lost horses, instead of sending one of the servants for them. Here Neelly’s judgment of conflicting responsibilities comes into question. It is not known if the party was following the usual custom of tethering the horses at night to prevent their wandering off, and thus permitting an early start on the following morning. The stories of Lewis’s suicidal attempts, so variously reported, and now the lost horses, makes it look like Lewis was being set up for something. After looking for the lost horses all night in the dark and cold, Neelly comes to the Grinder cabin just after Lewis’s death, but he was not an eyewitness to the shooting. Although he is a convinced believer in the suicide theory, Phelps notes that Neelly gave no details of his own activity during that day or where he stayed that night. Neelly was in no way a witness in the true sense, but rather an informant of what Mrs. Grinder told him. Neelly’s arrival soon after Lewis’s death makes it fair to ask if, instead of looking for the horses (which he did not find), he had been "waiting in the wings?"

Fisher says Neelly’s account of what happened "is one of the most unsatisfactory documents in all of history." Olin Wheeler has this to say: "... Neelly, the guardian, is about hunting horses at the supreme moment and the guardianship proves a farce."

Neelly steadfastly evaded making any statement about what he did during the night that Lewis died. His report to Jefferson is essentially a "hearsay" account of the last hours of Meriwether Lewis’s life, told him by Mrs. Grinder: "He (Neelly) is the only witness from whom we have a written report who was with or near the man (Lewis) constantly during the last twenty-three days, save one, before the firing of the fatal shots." That one day was important to Lewis; the last day of his life.

**Lewis’s Death As I Think It Occurred: A Plausible Explanation**

A third account of Lewis’s death is given here because it describes the course of the second bullet in Lewis’s body. This account is less frequently referred to and is from a letter to J. Williams from
Gilbert Russell dated 26th of November, 1811.

"... Some time in the night he got his pistols which he loaded, after everybody had retired in a separate building and discharged one against his forehead without much effect—the ball not penetrating the skull but only making a furrow over it. He then discharged the other against his breast where the ball entered and passing downward thro' his body came out low down near his back bone. (Italics mine.)

After some time he got up and went to the house where Mrs. Grinder and her children were lying and asked for water but her husband, being absent, and having heard the report of the pistols, she was greatly alarmed and made him no answer. He then, in returning, got his razors from a portfolio which happened to contain them and sitting up in his bed was found about daylight by one of the servants, busily engaged in cutting himself from head to foot ... he lay down and died with the declaration to the Boy that he had killed himself to deprive his enemies of the pleasure and honor of doing it."

In the medley of accounts of Lewis's death, it seems to me that a more plausible one has not been advanced. I totally dismiss the account of the actions and conversations that Mrs. Grinder attributes to Lewis on his arrival at her place to stay overnight. The variations and inconsistencies in her stories are more fitting of an endeavor to portray a suicide as a coverup of the robbery, which was a fact, and which has been disregarded by the essayists for suicide. Neither do I think that the theatrics described by Mrs. Grinder after Lewis was shot are believable, and therefore did not happen.

I believe Mrs. Grinder was totally dishonest in her stories, and that this accounts for the inconsistencies. To me, a surgeon, it is unbelievable that Lewis could survive the second shot for two hours, self-inflicted or otherwise; and move about as related, asking for care of his wounds and contrary asking for someone to complete the job. Similar disbelief can be given to her account of being afraid to give a dying man a drink of water. Surely she would not have been surprised by such a request. Such occurrences were to be expected living on the Natchez Trace.

Lewis was a sick man because of malaria; which gave rise to the symptoms of "mental derangement" with a fluctuating course of fever and
delirium that explains the periods of alternating "mental depression" and "in six or seven days he was completely restored to his senses."

Neelly forsook the more important charge of watching over Lewis to hunt for the lost horses; he spent all night in the dark and cold, and appeared at the cabin soon after Lewis died. Are we to believe he was out all night in October in the dark and cold?

I believe that the following scenario is a reasonable explanation of what happened: Sometime after midnight Neelly entered Lewis's cabin and was rumaging through his trunk when Lewis awoke. Neelly, who had first sought and loaded Lewis's pistols, fired in the dark toward Lewis's raising body, and this shot barely grooved Lewis's scalp, but momentarily stunned him. (Some reports have Lewis walking about with his brain exposed.)

The second shot entered the chest and went downward to exit in the low back, a course explained by the fact that Lewis was in the semi-upright position of coming erect. (See Russell's account of 26th November 1811.) This fact has been overlooked or disregarded by the exponents of suicide. This second shot would be expected to have killed Lewis instantly, or have disabled him so that he could not have gone through all the perambulations described by Mrs. Grinder. What do the supporters of suicide think that this second shot would have done to the heart, lungs, aorta and/or intestines? Certainly Lewis would have been in dire shock and soon have bled to death; or perhaps paralyzed from spinal cord injury. It is ridiculous to think he could have survived such an assault to his body and remained as active as Mrs. Grinder related. The two hours of activity described, after being shot, is totally unbelievable! My opinion is that Lewis died almost instantly and that the unreasonable story was a coverup.

Nothing is said of powder stains on Lewis's face or body or clothes, which certainly would have been present if the gun was held close enough for Lewis to commit suicide. There is no description of blood marking Lewis's trail of moving about following the shooting. So Neelly slipped out of the cabin leaving Lewis to die, and to make his appearance at a more convenient time.

We are left without an explanation of the rummaging of the trunk, and the robbery of Lewis's money. Is it not believable that it was the same person who took his pistols, dirk, tomahawk and other items: Neelly?

Why didn't Mrs. Grinder send her children to the barn for the servants sooner? It would have been safer, one can suppose, for the children to go to the barn under the cover of darkness, rather than waiting for the light of approaching dawn. The urgency of the situation should have been the determining factor in sending the children promptly.

Pernier has been thought a likely candidate for the murder, but this seems improbable in view of the fact that he was sleeping in the stable loft with the other servants. My second suspect for the murderer would be Mr. Grinder, who was away from home, conveniently, at this historic moment.

Comments Regarding Phelps' Article

Because both Dr. Cutright and Dr. Jackson seem to put great reliance on the article of Dawson Phelps, "The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis," I think it pertinent to make some comment about it.

Phelps explains/excuses the variations of Mrs. Grinder's story as "probably" due to hysteria or lapse of memory. It is hard to accept a "lapse of memory" in a middle-aged woman after such an impressive event, in so short a time. I know of no other author who has propounded hysteria and loss of memory as reasons for Mrs. Grinder's excuse for the inconsistencies in her stories.

Phelps states that traveling the Trace was not a dangerous thing to do in 1809. "... it was not ... a dangerous road ... it was the most heavily traveled road of the southwest." To the contrary, Fisher says there was continuing trouble along the Trace, and cites several cases during the following years; so does Dillon. We get the same picture from Daniels.

Phelps mentions Amos Stoddard, but does not mention Lewis's letter to him of September 22, 1809 (about two weeks before his death)—it being free of any suggestion of mental derangement.

Phelps quotes Jefferson to the effect that after returning from the Expedition to sedentary occupations, Lewis's symptoms of mental derangement returned with double vigor. May not his former symptoms have been due to malaria? Phelps is undoubtedly referring to Jefferson's prior statement regarding Lewis's symptoms of depres-
I HATE IT WHEN THERE'S TWO SIDES TO A STORY!


sion. Phelps further quotes Jefferson thus: "He (Lewis) was much afflicted & habitually so with hypocondria. (Referring to the preceding time when Lewis served as his private secretary.) This was probably increased by the habit into which he had fallen ..." By "habit," Jefferson undoubtedly meant intemperance; what was Jefferson's evidence for this? Lewis's mortal enemy, Secretary Frederick Bates, does not accuse him of this and he probably would not have missed the chance if it was so; we can thus safely conclude that there was no intemperance on Lewis's part while he was in St. Louis.

Lewis had every prospect of having his financial affairs straightened out as indeed they were after his death; the federal government admitted his claims were just, and paid them en toto.

Phelps says: "That nearly thirty years passed before the possibility of murder was raised is in itself evidence of a high order that the original verdict of suicide was correct." In this statement Phelps gives no consideration to the fact that Mr. Grinder was suspect from the first, that an inquest was held involving him, and the statements of some of the jurors afterwards that they were afraid to render any other verdict than death by suicide. Lewis's mother believed Pernier was guilty of murdering her son when he reported to her.

Phelps is really pushing for evidence of Lewis's mental trouble when he quotes his candid and dedicated statement of good intention as "... the introspection he indulged in on his thirty-second birthday ... suggests the mood of depression." On the contrary, Lewis wrote of that time as "one of the happiest moments of my life." To most people, I would wager, Lewis's soliloquy recorded in his Journal notes expressed a sincere and candid appraisal of past performance and ending in a mood of exhilaration and challenges that the present enterprise offered him.

Phelps says of James Neelly "... very little is known of the man." However, Fisher gives a comprehensive and unfavorable account of him.

Phelps calls Pernier, the servant of Lewis, an eyewitness to the tragedy; he was not an eyewitness to the murder, but was called to the scene by the children of Mrs. Grinder after the shooting. Pernier saw Jefferson about one month
after Lewis's death; neither of them made notes of their conversation.

Phelps summarizes his article with this concluding statement: "In the absence of direct and pertinent contemporary evidence to the contrary of which not a scintilla exists, the verdict of suicide must stand." This is contrary to what is customary in the American judicial system; that a man is considered innocent until proved guilty. In the case of Lewis, there is too much doubt—really contrary evidence—which the author of this article has endeavored to present.

Dillon lists the "zealous researcher" who cannot produce the perpetrator of the crime (as Dr. Cutright thinks is necessary to prove murder) as Dr. Elliot Cones, O.D. Wheeler, Reuben Gold Thwaites, John Bakeless, Vardis Fisher, and, erroneously, Donald Jackson, and it is the well-written essay of Dawson Phelps, historian of the National Trace Parkway, that has seemed to finally convince Cutright and Jackson that Lewis committed suicide.

The most worrisome thing is that Phelps can give unqualified belief to all Mrs. Grinder's excuses, as her being hysterical and forgetful, and little credit to those of opposite opinions.

(To be continued.)

NOTES

55 Jackson, Letters, p. 582.
56 Bakeless, Partners, p. 412.
57 Bakeless, Partners, p. 413.
58 Bakeless, Partners, p. 410.
59 Fisher, p. 54.
60 Jackson, Letters, pp. 459-463.
62 Earlier in May of 1793, while serving under Wayne, Clark kept a journal as was his usual custom; in it he noted "... one man very sick. I bleed him and gave him a sweet and a alue." There were several references to men having alue.
63 Jackson, Letters, p. 567-568.
64 Jackson, Letters, p. 573-574.
65 Jackson, Letters, p. 726-7. The "not found" in brackets in the above letter, has an explanatory note by Jackson below it: "Typed transcript (KyLoF). An extensive search for the original of this letter has been made by members of the Filson Club Library staff ... there is every reason to suppose the letter is genuine and the transcript accurate. Clark's shocked assumption that Lewis has taken his own life is strong testimony."

There is room for doubt, it seems to me, when a "shocked assumption" is "strong evidence" particularly when it may have no foundation (Italics above). Clark's niece is supposed to have said at a later date that Clark insisted that his friend had not taken his own life. (Dillon, p. 338)
68 From William Clark's Notebook, seen at the Missouri Historical Society.
71 Jackson, Letters, pp. 573-575.
72 Jackson, Letters, pp. 572-575.
73 Fisher, p. 128.
74 Fisher, PP. 127-128.
75 Phelps, Ibid, p. 314.
76 Jackson, Letters, pp. 360-361. Jackson identifies J. Williams as Jonathan William, the first superintendent of the U.S. Military Academy.
77 Phelps, Ibid, p. 316.
79 Fisher gives a detailed account of the Natchez Trace in Chapter VI of Suicide or Murder, pp. 77-117.
80 Dillon, p. 349.
82 Jackson, Letters, p. 575.
85 "This day I completed my thirty-first year, and conceived that I had in all human probability now existed about half the period which I am to remain in this Sublunar world. I felt that as yet done but little, very little, indeed to further the happiness of the human race, or to advance the information of the succeeding generation. I viewed with regret the many hours I have spent in indolence, and now so far the want of that information which those hours would have given me had they been judiciously expended, but since they are past and cannot be recalled, I dash from me the gloomy thought, and resolved in future, to redouble my exertions and at least endeavor to promote those two primary objects of human existence, by giving them the aid of that portion of talents which nature and fortune have bestowed on me; or in future, to live for mankind, as I have hitherto lived for myself."
87 Fisher, Suicide or Murder, pp. 127-138.
88 Phelps, Ibid, p. 313.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR—Dr. E.G. Chuinard is a past president of the Foundation, founder and frequent contributor to WPO, and author of Only One Man Died: The Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
EDITOR’S NOTE: In the first part of Robert Hunt’s article, he wrote of the tradition of liquor rations in the military, the logistics and sufficiency of the Expedition ration, problems caused by liquor on the journey and the point at which they ran out of booze.

Part 2

Why No Beer?

Collins’ inventiveness raises a further question as to Lewis’s pre-departure plans for the Expedition. Why were there no plans for producing self-made “spirits” from natural resources available in the interior during the course of the journey? The question is especially pertinent, considering that in this era of voyages of discovery, famous expeditions had been harassed by scurvy and similar diseases, and had relied on spruce beer as an antiscorbutic and a very palatable brew served to crews in lieu of “Spirits.” These measures had been happily employed by such notables as Captain Cook, and later by Captain George Vancouver in 1792, navigating America’s Northwest waters.35 Dr. Rush must have known of the risks of scurvy for Lewis’s voyage and such curative measures. Both Rush and Lewis (and Jefferson also) would be expected to have professionally reviewed the lessons and experience of these famed explorers. Indeed, Lewis did experience medical problems among his men which Dr. Chuinard has suggested may have been “mild scurvy.”36 Lewis had had access to Vancouver’s work while in Philadelphia preparing for the Expedition.27 If he had studied Vancouver’s narratives (and those of his lieutenants) as carefully as he studied the Vancouver surveys and maps of the Western Coast, Lewis would have read of the excellence of their spruce beer. This brew had been made from pine, fir and spruce trees of Northwest shores, following the example and methods recorded earlier by Captain Cook. It was then considered a rewarding refreshment and a specific scurvy fighter. But Lewis’s notes and sketches from Vancouver’s work were by his own admission “taken in a hasty manner” and he did not acquire a copy of the work because it was “both too costly and too weighty for me either to purchase or carry.”38 It is thought that he did carry however a copy of a reference commonly called “Owens Dictionary.”39 This volume purported to comprehend “all the branches of useful knowledge, with accurate descriptions as well of the various machines, instruments, tools, figures and schemes necessary for illustrating them, as of the classes, kinds, preparations and use of natural productions, whether animals, vegetables, minerals, fossils or fluids ...” It would seem safe to expect that simple beer brewing methods such as used by Private Collins as well as Cook, Vancouver, et al would have been included therein. One can only surmise that Lewis and Clark were preoccupied with other weightier matters and did not take the time to learn how to produce beer—but at what discomfiture to the Corps! Lewis’s party was thus deprived of the “consolation” of the customary drams—beer which could have been produced freely from the countryside, by “do-it-yourself” methods on a “pay-as-you-go” basis ...

Though “spiritious refreshments” were not on hand after July 4, 1805, they were not out of mind—poignantly so on Christmas Day at Fort Clatsop. In that cold, wet and dismal setting, on
the very day which was a traditional time for sharing grog in the harshness of the frontier, Lewis and Clark are able only to divide out "the last of their tobacco among the men that used it;" to the rest of the men "they gave each a silk handkerchief as a Christmas gift." Sergeant Ordway adds bravely, with a nostalgic air, "but all are in good health which we esteem more than all the ardent Spirits in the world ..."40

Spirits and Ethnography
The Captains used much of their time during these disheartening winter days to write up their findings, recollections and observations, and to bring their records up to date—just as Clark had done the previous winter with his "Mandan Miscellany." Recall that Dr. Benjamin Rush had prepared a series of ethnographic questions for Lewis in Philadelphia about Indian customs. On the basis of this list and others, Clark compiled for his own reference an elaborate further list which included the following queries "Relative to Morals":

"Do they use any liquor or Substitute to promote intoxication, besides ardent spirits? Are they much attached to spirituous liquors, and is intoxication deemed a Crime among them?"

While at Clatsop, both Captains recorded observations in response to these questions. On January 8, 1806 Lewis comments on "the Clatsops, Chinook, and others inhabiting the Coast."

"these people do not appear to know the use of spirituous liquors, they never having once asked us for it; I presume therefore that the traders who visit them have never indulged them with the use of it; from what ever cause this may proceed, it is a very fortunate occurrence as well as for the natives themselves as for the quiet and safety of those whites who visit them."

Lewis adds that these natives are "excessively fond of smoking tobacco," and by inhaling it "no doubt the smoke of the tobacco in this manner becomes much more intoxicating." Other "ethnographic" comments of the Captains about Indian liquor usage appear elsewhere in the documents:

Concerning the above observations, there is a tinge of inconsistency with the notes written by Nicholas Biddle during his visit with Clark in Virginia, April 1810, preparing for his editing of the journals. Biddle recorded then, that "none of the nations except Sioux fond of drink"—hardly
a sustainable proposition in light of the above-referenced entries. It seems clear that the Captains attributed any native propensities for drink to the fur trade and the prevalence of liquor as a medium of exchange on the frontier.

Gifts to the Natives

The Expedition itself frequently contributed liquor in native encounters, surprisingly liberally on occasion. For example as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 23, 1803</td>
<td>Camp Dubois</td>
<td>&quot;Several Deleaway pass, a chief whom I saw at Greenville Treaty, I gave him a bottle of whiskey...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 25, 1803</td>
<td>Camp Dubois</td>
<td>&quot;Three Indians came today to take Christmas with us. I gave them a bottle of whiskey...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 5, 1804</td>
<td>Camp Dubois</td>
<td>&quot;a Sauckee Chief with 8 or 10 arrive &amp; stay all night. 2 perrogues of Kickapoos return from St. Louis. I gave 4½ gals whiskey &amp; some Tobacco&quot; [this gift could have supplied the Corps with an additional 4 days of &quot;legal&quot; ration on the upriver voyage]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 22, 1804</td>
<td>near St. Charles</td>
<td>&quot;Soon after we came too the Indians [Kickapoos] arrived with 4 Deer and a Present, for which we gave them two qts of whiskey...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 14, 1804</td>
<td>Smoke Creek</td>
<td>Encountered a group of Pawnees loaded with furs—&quot;We gave them Some whiskey...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 3, 1804</td>
<td>Council Bluffs</td>
<td>After a council with the Ottos and the Missouris who asked for a &quot;Drop of Milk,&quot; gave them a &quot;Bottle of Whiskey&quot; with other small gifts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 19, 1804</td>
<td>near Sioux City (Iowa)</td>
<td>Chief Big Horse in Council begs for &quot;a Spoonful of your milk&quot; to quiet his young men—&quot;gave them a dram &amp; broke up the Council.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 31, 1804</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sioux Chief complains &quot;you have given 5 medles I wish you to give 5 kegs [kegs] with them—&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By this time the whiskey supply had been so diminished that no further gifts to natives are recorded, the balance being reserved for the occasional drams to the troops (referenced earlier in this paper) and entirely consumed by July 4, 1805.

Homeward Bound

No prospect for replenishment of a supply occurs until July 25, 1806, more than a year later on the homeward journey; Clark then commissions Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor with three other privates to take the party's horses, at the Yellowstone, cross country to the Mandans. There, Pryor was to trade the horses "for such articles as we may stand in need of..." such as flints, knives, paint, pepper, sugar, coffee, tea, handkerchiefs and "2 small kegs of Sperits..." This mission died aborning as the horses were soon stolen in an Indian raid before Pryor managed to get very far; he and his men were reduced to improvising small "bull-boats" to float down river to their rendezvous with the rest of the party. Any hope for all those good things which were to come from Pryor's mission (including renewed "consolation") had vanished with the horses in the dark of night!

It is not until the last three weeks of the homeward voyage that the dry spell ends. Drawing close to "civilization" and the river traffic on the lower Missouri, the party met one of Chouteau's trading boats, out of St. Louis, on September 7, 1806. Clark records that "we purchased a gallon of whiskey of this man [Henry Delorn], promised to pay Chouteau who would not receive any pay and gave to each man of the party a dram which is the first spiritious liquor which had been tasted..."
by any of them the 4 of July 1805." In rapid succession after this, the party passed other up-river travelers on September 10 and September 14, who greeted them very warmly and "with great friendship... pressed on us Some whisky for our men." After the latter of these meetings "our party received a dram and Sung Songs until 11 oClock at night in the greatest harmony." The party is indeed getting closer to home!

On September 17, meeting Captain John McLellan who also replenishes the whiskey ration, the party is informed that it "had been long since given out [up] by the people of the U.S. Generally and almost forgotten..." And a final jarring note on September 20—"we purchased of a citizen two gallons of whisky... for which we were obliged to give Eight dollars in Cash, an imposition on the part of the citizen."

Biddle's narrative, of notes taken from his discussions with Clark, has a passage for the date of September 13, 1806 which capsulates this entire chronicle of spirits on the Expedition. Reflecting upon the first week in which abstinence of more than a year had been ended, Clark says (as Biddle recorded it)—

"We had among us several men who had been accustomed to drink a great deal—others who had not—this last observed that the liquor seemed as it always did—the others after a long privation were perfectly weaned from it, & did not care anything about it. But they after relapsed into their old habits."

Afterword

This comment was recorded in 1810, well after Lewis's death on the Natchez Trace on October 11, 1809. Is it possible that of those men who had "relapsed," Clark was thinking not only of certain privates of the Corps but also of his old friend and fellow officer, Captain Lewis himself? Students of the Expedition and of Lewis's life cannot ignore the dialogue and insinuations which have accumulated over time concerning Lewis's alleged intemperance. This has been dealt with by others in some detail; any further speculation about it here is beyond the scope of this paper. Suffice it to say that both Clark and Jefferson have been described as suggesting that a "habit" or dependency did indeed contribute to Lewis's apparent suicide. His biographer, Richard Dillon, ponders the correspondence and statements of Captain Gilbert C. Russell, the commanding officer of Fort Pickering at Chicasaw Bluffs (where Lewis recuperated from "mental derangement" shortly before embarking on his last fateful journey on the Trace). Russell refers to Lewis's "in-disposition," taken by some to have meant "alcoholism." Further, Donald Jackson has quoted Jefferson's letter to Russell of April 10, 1810, opining that Lewis's "hypochondria" was "probably increased by the habit into which he had fallen & the painful reflections that would necessarily produce in a mind like his." 47

A nagging question lingers with the reader while reflecting upon Meriwether Lewis's military career, his masterly management of the Expedition, the incalculable heritage he brought to his country, and the tragic circumstances of his death. Was he indeed a casualty of a soldiery tradition in his time of the value of ardent spirits? Had there been a "habit" developed with years of the daily ration which, under political pressure of a governor's life, incompatible with that of a soldier's, was reasserted, causing a fateful relapse?

These questions crowd into mind alongside the image of that late evening songfest when Lewis's men were "in the greatest harmony." One is left with a sense of melancholy in the wake of Lewis's last days on the Natchez Trace. But mercifully, we can turn back to the final leg of the river journey, and share in the warmth and cheer of the homecoming of the Corps of Discovery as the last drams of consolation are measured out and Lewis's men part to go their separate ways.

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NOTES


47Quaife, 4:139 n.

48Moilnton, 4:139 n.

49Thwaite's, 3:193, 198, 206, 222, 226.

50Thwaite's, 7:225.


52Quaife, Ordway's Journal, p. 318.
Author’s Note: Concerning the first installment of this article (WPO, Aug. 1991) several readers have addressed comments to the author, two in particular: (1) Dr. Bob Holcomb of Corvallis, Ore., questioned whether General Nathaniel Greene’s order on the State of Virginia of April 4, 1781 for $14,500 [sic] for 110 gallons of whiskey could be the correct dollar figure. Did the author or editor slip a decimal point? To reassure the reader, this figure is indeed exactly as reported in the footnote accompanying that reference, i.e. The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Charles T. Cullen, Editor. The figure is even spelled out there in words, as well as arithmetically written. (2) Past Foundation President Don Nell of Bozeman, Mont., refers us to the entry in Sergeant Ordway’s Journal under the date of July 19, 1804, near Nebraska City, Ordway reports there that “we gathered a quantity of cherries at noon time and put in to the whiskey barrel . . .” The author regrets having omitted this noteworthy reference. Could Ordway have been recording the origin of what is now called an “Old Fashioned,” or even “Marinetti”? Let Dr. Chuinard have the last word here. He reminds us in his Only One Man Died that we do not know whether Ordway thought this was “a means of preserving the cherries or of improving the palatability of the cherries in the whiskey” . . .
WEST BOUND IN '92

BY MARTIN PLAMANDON II
1992 Annual Meeting Chairman

The Washington Governor’s Lewis and Clark Trail Committee is looking to the future. The future is the hope locked in the evergreen seeds distributed by the Washington Committee to those people attending the 1991 annual meeting in Kentucky. With the gift of the seeds the invitation was extended to meet in Vancouver, Washington in 1992 for the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Foundation. The meeting is scheduled for August 2, 3, 4, 1992.

The committee has been working since the fall of 1990 and plans are moving ahead at a quick pace. The meeting place will be the recently renovated Red Lion Inn at the Quay overlooking the wide waters of the majestic Columbia River. The theme of the meeting will focus on the relationship between the sacred salmon and the peoples of the Chinook nation. The meeting will bring the exploring partnership of Lewis and Clark into the Northwest Regional event that will be known as the Bicentennial Maritime Celebration. The celebration will pay homage to the presence of the Spanish, Russian, English, and American presence in the Pacific Northwest, the achievements of Captains Gray, Vancouver, Lewis, Clark and David Thompson. Also included will be a recognition of the detrimental effects of European settlement on the native Americans who called the area home.

While most events of the 1992 annual meeting are still in the planning stages, some highlights are now probable enough to be able to talk about. For those who do not mind a long, long day there will be a trip to the Oregon and Washington Coast and the mouth of the Columbia River with two opportunities to cross that estuary. There will be a visit to Fort Columbia, built on the Washington shore to defend the entrance to the mighty River of the West. The fort is now a museum of military life defending a major river. Of special interest is a recently opened exhibit on the Chinook Nation as traders along the coast and on the river. There will be a visit to the very fine Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center at Fort Canby, Washington, at Point Disappointment. Yet another visit to the Lewis and Clark Park at Long Beach, Washington, featuring a heroic bronze of the explorers and stone memorials sent by cities along the trail. The evening will feature a look at the newly remodeled Fort Clatsop Visitor Center and dinner served at the center, followed by a living history demonstration.

For those looking for a shorter day there will be a less demanding alternate trip to the awesome Columbia River Gorge. Stops will include a preview of the privately financed Columbia Gorge Interpretive Center at Stevenson, Washington, which was the dream of Ruth and Emery Strong and Roy Craft.

Other highlights will include an evening at Fort Vancouver for a period dinner and a long look at one of their famous living history happenings. A half day is planned to be spent with Native Americans learning about the culture. Some very exciting exhibits and demonstrations are planned. Informative speeches and interesting history papers will be given. We hope to have history publishers available to you. Other activities to precede and follow the meeting days are being explored.

Surprises? Look for them.

WALTER OBERST

Walter Oberst, a member of the Washington State Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, passed away July 11, 1991 at the age of 92. The Pasco, Washington history teacher and author helped organize the Franklin County Historical Society in 1967 and was the author of “Railroads, Reclamation and the River: A History of Pasco.” He also co-wrote, “Pasco, 100 Years in Pictures.” Born in Fall City, Nebraska, he graduated from Cheney (Washington) Normal School. He started teaching in Pasco in 1927 and retired in 1967 as chairman of the Columbia Basin College Social Science Department.
MONTANA'S MYSTERY MOUNTAINS

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

Just west of the town of Dupuyer, Montana, the front range of the Rocky Mountains rises abruptly from the wheatland prairie. No towering Matterhorns jab the sky—just a jumble of slabs and points poking sometimes above 8,000 feet.

But most of those bare limestone summits have names on government maps, and therein lies a puzzling legacy of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Clustered within a seven-mile radius are five peaks named Mt. Patrick Gass, Mt. Drewyer, Mt. Field, Mt. Frazier and Mt. Werner.

Students of the Expedition will immediately recognize these names as members of the exploring party led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to the Pacific Ocean in 1804-1806. The five mountains actually commemorate six explorers; Mt. Field, sitting right on the Continental Divide, is named for a pair of brothers, Joseph and Reubin. Mt. "Drewyer" echoes the Expedition journals' chronic misspelling of the name of George Drouillard, the only civilian in this cartographic clump of Army enlisted men.

Neighboring features carry descriptive, wild-country names that sound native to the Rockies: Bighorn Mountain, Crooked Mountain, Old Man of the Hills. Little wonder that the cluster of personal names on the Lewis and Clark roster jumps out at anyone looking at an official map of the area.

"Theme" names for mountain groups aren't that unusual. Perhaps the best-known is the Presidential Range in New Hampshire, featuring Mt. Washington, Mt. Adams, Mt. Monroe, Mt. Jackson and more. Mt. Harvard, Mt. Columbia, Mt. Princeton and Mt. Yale—all 14,000 feet—make up the Collegiate Group in Colorado's Sawatch Range. The Uinta Mountains in Utah bristle with peaks named for 19th century naturalists and surveyors: Louis Agassiz, Ferdinand Hayden, Clarence King, Samuel Emmons. The five Montana mountains under discussion doubtless take their common identity from their presence in the Lewis and Clark National Forest.

Even after that's recognized, two questions remain:

—Among the Expedition's 33 members, why were those six men and no others chosen for mountaintop honors?

—Who named the mountains?

At first glance the list seems an illogical mixture of personalities. Drouillard and the Field brothers were Expedition superstars. Just those three were with Lewis during his bloody July 27, 1806 skirmish with Blackfeet warriors on a Marias River tributary in Montana. Of Drouillard, the civilian interpreter, Lewis later said it was his "fate" to have been present at "all the most dangerous and trying scenes of the voyage, in which he uniformly acquitted himself with honor." Lewis used almost the same words to praise Private Field.

Patrick Gass evidently was a competent soldier and valuable carpenter but unlike the unit's two other sergeants, he was never entrusted with an important independent command during the trip. Private Robert Frazer (the accepted spelling, without the "i" of the map name) was an erratic performer. He seems to have pulled his own weight most of the time, but once he nearly shot Lewis while duck hunting and later "behaved very badly, and mutinous," on a Pacific coast mission, according to Clark. Private William Werner was a rather unremarkable cipher in the Expedition's records, except for Lewis's remark that he wasn't a very good woodsman.

So how did this unlikely collection of names get lumped together on five unspectacular Montana mountains? In fact, there's a plausible answer: that
exact lineup was singled out in Lewis's journal for July 1, 1806. Headed homeward, the party had paused at a camp called Travelers Rest in Montana's Bitterroot Valley. There the group would split, with Lewis leading an exploration of the Marias River's northern watershed and Clark moving down the Yellowstone River. Lewis described what happened when he called for volunteers to go with him:

"many turned out, from whom I selected Drewyer the two Feildes, Werner, Fraizer and Sergt. Gass."

There, I believe, are the men who became the mountains. The identity of the six Marias Volunteers with the later map names fits too well to be a random coincidence.

Lewis and nine men headed east on horseback across the Continental Divide to arrive at the Great Falls of the Missouri River on July 11. According to the original plan, three soldiers were to be left at the falls while Lewis and his six volunteers rode northward to the Marias. At the falls, however, unseen Indians stole half of the party's 20 horses. That forced Lewis to leave three of his volunteers—Gass, Frazer and Werner—also behind at the falls while he trotted off with superstars Drouillard and the Field boys.

If the six names of the original Marias Volunteers did indeed inspire the five mountain names, the harder question remains: who actually fixed them to the mountains, and when?

It can be said with some confidence that the mountains weren't named by any of the explorers themselves during the Expedition. The officers usually did the naming of new features, and while both Lewis and Clark hung names on every river and creek they encountered, neither showed much interest in naming mountains. (An exception was Mt. Jefferson in the Oregon Cascades.) It's noteworthy that various streams were named for all six Marias Volunteers during the trip, but no Expedition journal or map links them with any mountains. The range of modest peaks bearing the volunteers' names on modern maps was too far away from the Expedition's outbound route up the Missouri River to have been seen as anything but a smudge on the horizon, if that. And on the way home, Clark re-crossed the divide much too far to the south.

For his part, Lewis surely saw the northern part of that range during his excursion to the upper Marias watershed in July 1806, accompanied by three of the volunteers. Looking west from Camp Disappointment, where Lewis tried and failed to fix his position by astronomical sightings, individual snowy crags of modern Glacier National Park loom up dramatically at a distance of 25 miles or so. The five mountains in question, however, are south of the park boundary marked by the defile of Marias Pass. From the captain's vantage point this range fades away to the south in the Lewis and Clark National Forest, individual features becoming less and less distinct. Nothing can be seen of the five individual mountains that would have impelled Lewis to name them (Mt. Werner, the southernmost, is 45 miles from Camp Disappointment), and there's no evidence whatever that he did.

If not Lewis, then who? Playing detective, many Lewis and Clark enthusiasts in recent years have examined several theories about the names' origins. Two theories have led to dead ends, including the official version in the historical files of the U.S. Forest Service. A third theory is the most likely: the mountains were named by the government cartographers who first mapped them. Even that sensible surmise has holes that may never be filled because of the destruction of confirmatory map-making records.

Theory A

The Mountain-Namer Was Elliott Coues

On first sight of those Expedition names on government maps it's only natural to assume that they were all bestowed by one person, at one time. If the mountains were deliberately named for the six Marias Volunteers, that alone provides a clue about the time of naming, if not the namer himself.

The first account of the Expedition's plan for splitting at Travelers Rest was provided by Sergeant Gass in his 1807 book on the trip. "Capt. Lewis, myself and four or five men intend to go up Maria's river as far as the 50th degree of latitude," said Gass, without identifying the others. Next to appear in 1814 was Nicholas Biddle's paraphrase edition of the captains' journals. Biddle wrote only that six men were to accompany Lewis up the Marias, naming none. For nearly 80 years thereafter the identity of the Marias Volunteers, except Gass, remained hidden from public view.
In 1893 a new edition of the Biddle narrative appeared. Its editor was Elliott Coues, a naturalist who had already toured much of the West as an Army doctor. Coues peppered Biddle's original text with footnotes quoting directly from the captains' manuscript journals borrowed from their musty tomb at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. At the point where Biddle said six anonymous men would go with Lewis up the Marias, a Coues footnote quoted the passage from Lewis's journal naming all six. This was the first published listing of the Marias Volunteers' names as a distinct unit. It follows that the mountains could have been named only after the 1893 appearance of Coues' four-volume work.

In September of that year, Coues and his wife were vacationing in Chicago, where he was handling his new Lewis and Clark volumes just off the press. By rail the couple kept heading west through Minnesota, North Dakota and Montana. By stagecoach Coues retraced the Expedition's crossing of Lemhi Pass, and made further stops at Butte, Helena, Great Falls and Fort Benton. An early settlement on the Missouri River, Fort Benton was just 100 miles east of the mountains that were to sprout the names of the Marias Volunteers.

Coues' head was full of the Lewis and Clark minutiae he had just been working on. In Helena he gave a lecture on the Expedition. A book in his suitcase contained his own footnote linking the Marias Volunteers with a planned adventure in the neighborhood of mountains not far away. He didn't mention any mountain-naming in his sketchy record of his western trip but who was in a better position than Coues himself to make use of those names?

Unfortunately, there was no immediate market for them. Nobody was yet mapping the jumbled range south of Marias Pass, which four years after the editor's brief visit was made part of the Lewis and Clarke [sic] Forest Reserve. Not until 1899—the year of Coues' death—did the U.S. Geological Survey make a rather crude contour map of the area's features, and it gave no names at all to the peaks in question. A more detailed USGS survey in 1901 produced a map published two years later (the Saypo quadrangle) showing on its northern edge the peak that was to become Mt. Werner, but no name was attached. Coues may have been the first to publish the names of the Marias Volunteers, but they were pinned on actual mountains by somebody else.

The Mountains Were Named By Mistake

The U.S. Forest Service office in Great Falls keeps a file on the origin of mountain names in the Lewis and Clark National Forest. There are no entries for the mountains named for Expedition members, with one exception. Says a 1938 entry explaining the inspiration for Mt. Patrick Gass: "From Patrick Gass, U.S. Army Lieutenant engaged with or under Captain Wright in cutting and removal of wood or tie timber from the head of the North Fork Teton River about the year of 1890." That startling account was attributed to C.A. McNeal and E.F. Chenault, "old residents" of the area who had worked for the Forest Service.

The story picks up some credibility from another look at the map. Just four miles south of Mt. Patrick Gass is an 8,875-foot peak named Mt. Wright, after the woodchopping colleague of "Lieutenant Gass" referred to in the Forest Service name file. Again citing "old resident" McNeal as its authority, the 1938 name file for Mt. Wright gives this origin:

"From Captain Wright in charge of tie or wood cutting operations on the head of the Teton River for the Government about 1890 ... The wood cut on the head of the Teton was floated down that stream to the Marias River and thence conducted to Fort Assiniboine for use there by the soldiers. This fort was located near what is now the town of Havre, Montana."

And just west of the mountain is Wright Creek, which the Forest Service file says was also named for the woodchopping captain. The source is listed as Freeman "Dirty Shirt" Page, yet another old resident who himself had worked on Mount Wright for the Forest Service.

So somebody named Wright may have been active in that immediate area at some point. That 1903 USGS map of the Saypo quadrangle does indeed show Mt. Wright by name, well before any adjacent mountains got their Expedition names.

However, most of the Forest Service's Army woodchopping story doesn't check out. The Expedition's Patrick Gass never returned to the West,
never ranked more than a sergeant, and died in 1870. Perhaps the woodchopping lieutenant was somebody else called Patrick Gass, but Army registers show no officer of that name serving during the entire 19th century.\footnote{The Forest Service name file implies that the military woodcutters were detached from Fort Assiniboine to send logs back to their home base.}

That post was garrisoned at the time by the 20th Infantry Regiment. The regiment’s monthly strength reports are stored at the National Archives in Washington. An examination of those returns from 1888 through 1891 turned up nobody named Gass or Wright in the monthly roll of officers, or on the roster of enlisted men on detached duty.

Fort Assiniboine was 150 air miles from the sup-
posed woodcutting site. A more logical source of Army visitation was Fort Shaw, just 60 miles to the southeast of Mt. Patrick Gass. Based there between 1888 and mid-1891 were three companies of the 25th Infantry Regiment, made up of black troops and white officers. Again, however, regimental monthly returns show nobody of any rank named Gass or Wright at that post.

In September 1889, the garrison marched up to Marias Pass, but the records mention only military exercises, not woodcutting.

At bottom, it makes little difference to the theory of mistaken names whether Lieutenant Gass and Captain Wright were real Army woodcutters—hardly officers' work, anyway. The theory merely requires a sequence of errors. Somebody named a peak Mt. Patrick Gass, for the elusive woodchopper. Somebody else later saw that name and assumed it was meant to honor Lewis and Clark's Captain Wright, one of the Marias Volunteers. This student of the Expedition commemorated other volunteers by hanging the names Drewyer, Field and Frazier on neighboring peaks. The list was rounded out with Werner, a name which didn't appear on some maps until much later. In fact, the notion that the mountains were named piecemeal turned up during my visit to the U.S. Forest Service office in Choteau, Montana. Interviewed there in 1984, ranger Ray Mills said: "I've heard that Patrick Gass was named first, and then the others came as a kind of afterthought, but I don't know whether that's true."

Theory C

Was the Namer Richard T. Evans?

On USGS maps, old and new, a quadrangle boundary separates Mt. Werner from the other four more northerly Lewis and Clark mountains. This division of the group has made it hard to determine from old published maps the earliest date by which all five mountains had received their names. A USGS map of the Heart Butte quadrangle engraved in 1917 shows Mt. Patrick Gass, Mt. Drewyer, Mt. Field and Mt. Frazier. If Mt. Werner in the Saypo quadrangle, just below, was named after 1917 the sequence-of-errors piecemeal naming theory would be reinforced.

Well, that theory is wrong. At the National Archives' cartographic branch office in Alexandria, Virginia, I turned up a 1915 USGS manuscript map of the Heart Butte quadrangle—a detailed contour drawing being prepared for publication, complete with marginal instructions to the printer. The map shows all five mountains named for the Marias Volunteers. In that pre-publication version, the draftsmen deliberately broke through the southern Heart Butte quadrangle boundary to show—and name—adjacent Mt. Werner in the context of its Expedition brethren.

That 1915 manuscript almost surely marks the first appearance of the Marias Volunteers on any official map. Because they were applied as a group, all at once, the five names clearly were intended to honor members of the Expedition, and nobody else. The manuscript thus is a fatal blow to that woodchopper story allegedly explaining Mt. Patrick Gass, and to any idea that the other names were accidental afterthoughts.

In the lower left corner of the manuscript is a notation saying the features were based on a 1914 survey of the area. That clarifies the government's timetable for mapping the Lewis and Clark National Forest. After its 1899 sketch of the whole reserve, the USGS worked its way northward with more detailed surveys. The Saypo quadrangle was surveyed in 1901 and then new mapping stopped, with no Expedition mountains yet named. Surveying resumed in 1914 in the next-northerly Heart Butte quadrangle, and the five Expedition mountains got their names when the resulting map was drafted at USGS headquarters in Washington the following year.

One topographer's name appears on both the Saypo and Heart Butte maps: R.T. Evans. A marginal insert on the 1915 Heart Butte manuscript shows that Evans specifically provided the survey data for the area that includes all five Marias Volunteers mountains.

Richard Trantor Evans was just 18 years old when he joined the USGS for a Grand Canyon survey in 1899. He went to Montana in 1901 to survey the Saypo quadrangle and later wrote an article reminiscing about the job: "Topographers were the pioneers in these forested areas. The mapping of a 30-minute quadrangle, consisting of 900 or more square miles, in one summer, was high adventure."

Evans returned to Montana for the 1914 Heart Butte survey, amid other mapping projects in the West. He was an Army mapper in France during
World War I and in the 1920s temporarily left the USGS for national park assignments in Utah and Hawaii. When he retired in 1951, Evans was the Geological Survey’s senior topographer. He died in Washington in 1966 at the age of 85.9

So far no record has been found in the National Archives or elsewhere indicating whether Evans personally named the Marias Volunteers mountains during his 1914 Heart Butte survey. He may have recommended the names in the raw data he sent to Washington, or higher-ups there may have ordered them added to the 1915 manuscript map. A complete explanation may be forever lost. Topographers’ field notes of Rocky Mountain surveys were stored for a time at the USGS regional office in Denver, but according to the staff there, many were destroyed for lack of space.

-Notes-


3Moulton, Journals, Vol. 6, p. 237.


As in so many other matters, it was the late Robert E. Lange who inspired the years-long search by Foundation members for an explanation of how five Montana mountains got their Lewis and Clark Expedition names. “Something is amiss” in the U.S. Forest Service’s account of the naming of Mt. Patrick Gass for an Army woodcutter, wrote Lange in 1979. The former Foundation president and We Proceeded On editor noted four nearby mountains also bear names of Expedition members, and asked: “Shouldn’t this be researched further?”

No single government document has been found that describes why all five mountains received Expedition names, who named them, and when. The best repository for such history is the U.S. Board on Geographic Names in Reston, Virginia. However, the Board mainly keeps records only in cases involving name disputes. A lone file on Mt. Patrick Gass contains only a 1960 Board letter to an inquiring citizen saying the mountain “might have been” named for the Expedition sergeant, without providing a further history.

The absence of a central record has required Foundation members to piece together a naming history from clues in the Interior Department library and Library of Congress in Washington; U.S. Geological Survey libraries in Reston and Denver; the National Archives in Washington and Alexandria, Virginia; and in Montana, U.S. Forest Service offices in Great Falls, Choteau and Augusta, the Bureau of Land Management office in Billings and the Montana Historical Society in Helena.

Foundation members who’ve been active in the search include Gass descendants Jeanette Taranik and Kathleen Wade, plus Bob Salindon, Edrie Vinson, Harry Fritz, Irving Anderson, Jane Schmoyer-Weber and Marcia Staigmiller.
The Brothers Clark
BY MARTIN ERICKSON

The Brothers Clark and I set out on an expedition one night—an unplanned expedition. An open evening at the 23rd Annual Meeting led us to decide to go out to dinner. Lewis and Clark on their trek west had more information on where to go and what to expect than we did. We, through no great skill on our part, eventually got there.

Peyton “Bud” Clark, John Clark, John Clark, Jr. and I ended up at a small yacht club on the Ohio River. Our evening turned out to be a superb one of outdoor dining, talking and camaraderie. I even saw a parking lot exhibition of John Jr.’s karate skills (he is a 1st degree black belt).

The Brothers Clark are interesting, intelligent, lively and fun guys to spend time with. They are ordinary people with some extraordinary ancestors—William Clark and his brother George Rogers Clark.

John and Bud Clark are both skilled journeymen in the automotive industry. John, 41, is a millwright who went on to become an international representative for the United Auto Workers. Forty-six year old Bud started as a tool and die maker and is now a manufacturing engineer for Ford. John, Jr., 21, is a student at Lawrence Tech in Detroit.

John and Bud grew up knowing about their famous ancestors but they kept it low key.

“I never knew a time,” John says, “when it wasn’t known to me that William Clark was a great man who had done great things for his country. I didn’t grow up idolizing him, but I always carried a unique sense of pride that he was a relative. "Very, very few people were aware of our ancestry. When we told them, they either didn’t believe us or they truly believed us. One history teacher expected me to be a better history student because of my ancestors. We were pretty tight-lipped about it,” John notes, “but we were always proud of it. The feeling is hard to describe.”

Bud comments that “the relationship had little or no impact on our lives or relationships. Close friends don’t care. Actually it has become a more significant factor since we got involved with historical groups, Lewis and Clark re-enactment groups, etc.

“Most people would rather be known for who they are, not who their ancestors are. I’m proud of it but I don’t flaunt it.”

The brothers have taken different approaches to their journeys to learn and share about William Clark. Both say they were late bloomers in pursuing an interest in their famous great-great-great grandfather.

Bud became a serious student of the Expedition about 10 years ago. His first love was—and is—“cowboy stuff.”

“I’ve always dreamed of having a Colt six-shooter and a rifle,” he says. “I’m interested in antique guns and it ties into Lewis and Clark. When you go to antique shows you find Lewis and Clark-related things—books, guns and so on. I’ve bought a lot of Lewis and Clark books at antique shows.

“Another thing—vacations in the West have always been a family thing. We hit Lewis and Clark spots.”

Bud notes that his thrust has been to try and show people the kinds of equipment the Corps of Discovery had with them. What he shows people are similar accoutrements, guns, surveying tools and all the other equipment carried and used on the Expedition.

“I particularly enjoy outings and exhibits where there are hands-on things for people like the encampment where people can touch and see them in action,” he says. “My exhibit is designed so people can touch and feel period muskets. My talk is geared to set the stage for the exhibit.”

Bud says the exhibit has created an interest and awareness among people who weren't previously aware of the Expedition.

“I would like to continue to show the exhibit and refine the interpretive aspects of it—the significance of the blacksmith for example. I think I would like to put more emphasis on quality rather than quan-
tity. I've been too occupied with acquiring things and have not put enough emphasis on providing interpretive information.''

Bud notes that the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was the "golden age of the Plains Indians. It started around 1750 and lasted about 100 years. Horses didn't reach the Plains Indians until the mid-18th century.

"The Indians were, in part, experiencing a new way of life. They had time for the arts and ceremony.

"It is important to recognize that Lewis and Clark were not traveling into a barren wilderness," Bud comments.

"Horses allowed tribes who were already nomadic to really move around. The horses followed the same trade network the tribes had already established."

He feels that "you can't study Lewis and Clark without studying the Native Americans. I think it is important to recognize the diplomacy and the way Lewis and Clark dealt with the tribes instead of concentrating on where they went.

"I am a novice student of Lewis and Clark, but I would encourage the student of the Expedition to read the journals—go beyond the condensed versions. I think people who read an abbreviated version of the journals don't really get the flavor of the Expedition."

John Clark has had an interest in his ancestors since childhood. When he was young he read a book written by their father's aunt—Beatrice Clark Turner—titled "The Choteau Family."

"I was fascinated by what people I was related to had done," he says, "particularly William Clark and George Rogers Clark. I wanted to know what they were like—their habits, personalities and humor."

Eventually that evolved into an interest in genealogy.

"In my young adult years I was pursuing other interests. It wasn't until 1987 when I took a trip to St. Louis and spent a full day at the Missouri Historical Society looking at the elkskin journals of the Expedition that I really began to get involved. I was also able to look up genealogy there and at the Filson Club in Louisville.

"What really got me going," John says, "was a 1939 family tree that our grandfather, William Glasgow Clark I, did. It hadn't been updated in almost 50 years. I felt compelled to accurately update it.

"I spent two years working on it. It culminated with the unveiling at the 23rd L&CTHF annual meeting."

John, Jr. drew the chart.

Now that the genealogy is updated, John and John, Jr. have discussed going in the opposite direction—back three generations from William and George Rogers Clark. The information was destroyed in a fire.

"Our cousin, Christy Bond, who is also a direct descendant of William Clark, has been working in that direction. She has already done extensive work on the American connection. We would like to trace the European connection."

John notes that in his travels networking and consulting reliable sources on the Clark genealogy, he gets letters and calls from people who think they are related.
"It is important," he says, "to have documented facts. It is a question of following the genealogy accurately."

There are 307 names in the genealogy. Only 25 to 30 percent of those names were on the 1939 chart.

"I dug and dug and networked. I started with a couple of cousins, then continued with Filson Club names from a 1990 Clark family reunion. From there they put me in touch with their siblings or gave me the information. Sometimes I had to write for additional information. The networking really helped!"

John would like to see more descendants of William Clark get involved in bicentennial activities "in ways we are doing now. Some are interested and always have been, but have not been involved before. The Lewis and Clark Expedition needs to be brought to light and the Expedition bicentennial is the perfect tool."

After attending his first annual meeting, John says he feels very comfortable in talking to Foundation members.

"They have a great feeling for William Clark."

John summed up the feelings of the Brothers Clark about their famous relative when he said, "In a nutshell, being a direct descendant of William Clark has had a real effect on us, but it never opened any doors for us. It had an effect on our morals and values, but not how we made our living."

It didn't teach them how to find a place to eat, either.

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**FAMILY TREE WILL HELP SAVE CLARK MONUMENT**

When John Clark updated the William Clark family tree, he did it as a labor of love. It now appears that the Clark genealogy chart may help make a substantial contribution to the funds now being raised to restore the William Clark monument in St. Louis.

Interest in the chart was high and sales were brisk at the 23rd Annual Meeting in Louisville last August. John Clark is following up on this with an offer to use all proceeds from chart sales to help restore the monument.

John says, "The extent of repair needed concerning the monument includes removing most of the stones, excluding the center obelisk, completely replacing all concrete decking and replacing the stones. This is a major restoration project. The superintendent of Belle Fontaine Cemetery, Don Meyer, has received estimates which exceed $50,000. This would only restore the monument, not perpetually endow it. We estimate that over $100,000 will be needed for restoration and perpetual endowment."

Chart options range from a full size, limited edition chart on mylar for $75.00 (including color portraits of William and Julia Hancock Clark and a Clark coat of arms) to a three-quarter size chart copy for $15.00. In between is a full size chart copy for $25.00.

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—$12.00 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, LCITFH
P.O. Box 577
Bozeman, MT 59771-0577

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For additional information concerning the William Clark Family Tree, contact John Clark at the above address.

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By E.G. Chuinard, M.D.

The third printing of "ONLY ONE MAN DIED": The Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition by E.G. Chuinard, M.D., is now available in hardbound at $29.95, or paperback at $18.95.

"ONLY ONE MAN DIED" provides insight into the medical practices and theories at the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. It gives an account of the medical care given by Lewis and Clark to their party, as well as the medical help they gave to the Indians along their route.

The third printing has been done in a large, easy-to-read typeface by Ye Galleon Press, Fairfield, Washington. However, this printing is very limited—only 300 hardbound and 700 paperbound copies.

The recent printing was prompted by a survey of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation membership, which revealed a high demand for the book.

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The Bicentennial Committee has as one of their goals the republishing of significant Lewis and Clark books that are now out of print. WPO readers are asked to submit to the committee the names and authors of books they would like to have back in print. Send your suggestions to Foundation member Ron Laycock, 1000 Oakwood, Benson, MN 56215.
A strong voice in assuring the preservation and perpetuation of factual Lewis and Clark Expedition history has been stilled. Whether it involved serious historical works, movie docu-dramas or media expressions in any form, Bob Lange had no tolerance for apocrypha when it came to his heroes, the two commanders and their partners in discovery. For more than half a century, Bob distinguished himself as an outstanding student, writer and trustee of our nation's cherished legacy: the first recorded knowledge of natural resources, peoples and lands extending from the Mississippi River west to the Pacific Ocean.

Born in Portland, Bob lived in Oregon his entire life, except for four years of military service during World War II, which included duty as an X-ray technician in the Burma-China-India theater of operations. In 1953, Bob married Ruth Kincaid, whom he had met during the time he was in training at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Indiana. By profession, Bob was a lighting engineer specializing in lighting design for schools, athletic fields, factories, and stores. Employed by Eoff Electric Company, he worked up in various levels of administration, holding the position of operations manager of the Portland branch at the time of his retirement in 1980.

Bob's interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition was introduced to him and nurtured in him during his teenage years while involved in Boy Scout activities at Camp Meriwether on the Oregon coast. As his interest in the exploring mission expanded, he became immersed in the pure form of its documentation, checking out from the State Library each successive volume of the Thwaites Edition of the journals to take with him on his sales trips across the state of Oregon. His serious study of the Expedition led to his acquisition of a fine collection of the explorer's published journals and related literature.

Bob became active in the Foundation's movement in 1971 and attended every annual meeting from then through 1990. In 1973 he was elected Foundation president. During his tenure the Foundation moved from an informal confederation of individuals interested in the Lewis and Clark story, to the formally structured, vibrant, orderly organization it is today. He initiated the program format for annual meetings which feature field trips to important Lewis and Clark historic sites.

In 1974, Foundation officers authorized publication of a quarterly magazine. Ingeniously christened We Proceeded On by its founder, Dr. E.G. "Frenchy" Chuinard, versatile Bob Lange volunteered to be its editor. Under Bob's skillful editorship the magazine became a fine professional product, recognized nationally for its literary vignettes of little known gems of Lewis and Clark history. Bob became "Editor Emeritus" of We Proceeded On in 1987. Following his retirement as editor, he remained as chairman of the publications committee, giving his assistance to researchers and writers, and corresponding with school children seeking information about the Expedition. The latter, especially, afforded him much pleasure.

In addition to his Lewis and Clark history interests, Bob pursued several other activities and hobbies. One of these interests was astronomy, in-
cluding grinding lenses, building telescopes and participating in star studies under the auspices of Harvard University. Another was classical music. He built a vast collection of records and tapes, and regularly attended piano and symphony concerts performed in Portland. He had a life-long interest in botany and grew orchids and other plants in his greenhouse, together with cultivating bonsai trees. He was a philatelist of many years standing, and possessed an extensive collection of U.S. issue stamps.

Robert E. Lange was a many-faceted person imbued with the worth of old fashioned idealism. His vast knowledge of Lewis and Clark history, gained from original research through rare, antiquarian books, maps, and other primary source materials, assures him a lasting place among trans-Mississippi-west history authorities.

Bob is survived by his wife Ruth, who reinforced his life’s achievements, and matched his love of the outdoors. To you Ruth, the Foundation membership extends its deepest sympathy for a loss that we share with you, as we bid a final adieu to our esteemed colleague and friend.

AWARDS AND HONORS


A memorial fund has been set up in Bob Lange’s name. Please send contributions to:

LEWIS & CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION
Box 3434
Great Falls, MT 59403

OUR NEW PRESIDENT
Continued from page 3

chapter of the Foundation was formed. I served as president until 1990. I was co-chairman of the 1991 Louisville annual meeting. I am an advisor for the 1993 annual meeting in Collinsville-St. Louis.

I was married to Gerard J. George on June 1, 1947. We were married for 28 years when Jerry died following an operation for the removal of a brain tumor. We had no children.

I work as a volunteer for the visitors center at the airport on Wednesdays. I am a VIP at JNEM twice a week. I love meeting thousands of visitors and do not lose an opportunity to talk about the Lewis & Clark Expedition. Visitors notice my Lewis and Clark tie tack and I quickly say, “I’m a Lewis and Clark person.” I believe Abe Lincoln when he said, “Those who would lead must learn to serve.” I am here to serve the Foundation members and I plan to do it to the best of my ability. Please do not hesitate to let me know how you feel I can best serve you. Call me. My number is (314) 863-5245.

FROM THE EDITOR’S DESK #2

The pictures from the 23rd Annual Meeting will show up in the February issue. There just wasn’t room for them in this issue.
Robert A. Bivens, 54, who blazed the trail for renewed recognition of Lewis and Clark in Great Falls, Montana, died August 29 in a local hospital after an extended illness.

Memorials are suggested to the American Cancer Society.

Born in Comanche, Okla., on Sept. 6, 1936, he graduated from Oklahoma State University in 1959 and later earned a master’s degree in business management from Oklahoma State.

Bivens, who spent 24 years in the Air Force, was assigned to Malmstrom AFB in 1979. He retired there as a lieutenant in 1983 and adopted Great Falls as his home. He joined Cogswell Real Estate Agency and became actively involved in the community.

It was his interest in the Corps of Discovery and its impact on future Great Falls that spurred the Lewis and Clark heritage movement here eight years ago. Friends have said Bivens was frustrated that local natives were often ignorant about the history surrounding the Lewis and Clark Expedition’s role in this area. He stood up at a community goal-setting meeting at the Rainbow Hotel in 1983 and asked for an opportunity to ignite interest in the Expedition.

A Lewis and Clark interest committee formed at the session soon grew into the Portage Route Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Heritage Foundation. He served as its first president and was named to the board of directors of the national organization.


He also testified before Congress on the bill and was chairman of the committee which drafted the mission statement for the interpretive center, was named to the center’s Citizen’s Steering Committee as the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation representative, and wrote and narrated the script for performances by the Lewis and Clark Honor Guard Inc.

Bob Doerk of Great Falls, immediate past president of the foundation, paid tribute to Bivens in the May 1991 issue of We Proceeded On, the organization’s national publication. Doerk likened Bivens’ vision that led to creation of the Portage Route Chapter to that of President Thomas Jefferson who commissioned the Exploratory Expedition. Both laid the groundwork for a myriad of results.

Bivens’ community involvement went beyond Lewis and Clark.

He had served on the board of directors of Big Sky Chapter of the American Red Cross since 1979, served on the United Way Board from 1980 to 1986, and had belonged to the Great Falls Advertising Federation since 1984, serving on the publications committee and as contributing editor of the club’s newsletter, Advents. He also served on the Great Falls Area Chamber of Commerce Tourism Advisory Committee helping to initiate a conceptual design for a chamber visitors’ center.

In 1980 Bivens was instrumental in forming the Missouri Breaks barbershop quartet which later became the Boothill Betterment Society. As a member of the Treasure Statesmen, he wrote the script for the last three annual shows and often was master of ceremonies.

Bivens sang with the 1989 Montana State Centennial Barbershop Chorus which toured the state.

Survivors include his wife, Diane; daughters, Jill of Bozeman and Jenny of Great Falls; mother, Myrtle Bivens of Healdton, Okla.; brothers, Marlin “Bud” Bivens of Tulsa, Okla., and Lonnie Bivens of Healdton, Okla. His father preceded him in death.
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
(continued from page 2)

distribution of Kentucky to the Lewis & Clark Expedition” and I believe these Louisville folks were the present-day contribution of Kentucky to our Foundation! We had wonderful television and newspaper coverage, and picked up new members who heard about us on TV. Good public relations, I would say. Of course, the reason we picked up those members is because they wanted to be a part of our great objective—“to stimulate nationally, 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 and following the Expedition which are of historical import to our nation.” There it is—the reason we are members of this organization. We put forth many an effort to carry out this objective. Most of it is done by our committees, and I am happy to say that our committees are all functioning admirably. Bob Doerk is busy organizing the Trail Coordinators and that committee is growing. He also gets our Foundation mail, routes it and answers some inquiries. We thank him for his daily effort on our behalf and it is working very well. Irving Anderson, John Walker and John Montague stepped in and took care of our immediate printing needs. Bill Sherman represented our Foundation at the dedication of the expanded interpretive center at Fort Clatsop. Bob Gatton, our new board member, is going to work on an annual meeting evaluation form which will establish some guidelines for our meetings. Jerry Garrett has had a meeting of his Bicentennial Committee at Louisville and has developed a Mission Statement. Ed Wang’s Planned Giving Committee also had a meeting at Louisville and they certainly have accomplished far beyond expectations in contributions via planned giving. There are exciting things going on all along the Trail with visitors from many foreign countries visiting Lewis and Clark sites. Word from Martin Plamondon II about our meeting in Vancouver, Washington promises to be another great meeting for all of us to attend. Put the dates in your date book—August 1-5, at The Quay in Vancouver. I thank all of the dedicated committee members who certainly are “proceeding on.” These troops are so gracious in their contributions to our Foundation—I feel very comfortable being your president. One summer day in 1981 Strode and Bev Hinds visited our Visitor’s Center on the S.S. Sgt. Floyd on the St. Louis riverfront. I was the volunteer on board and with the name of Sgt. Floyd, we naturally started talking Lewis & Clark talk. Strode said, “You ought to be a member of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.” He gave me the address and some months later I joined the Foundation, went to the Philadelphia Annual Meeting and that is how this all started! Please do not hesitate to let me know of any ideas you may have in regard to furthering our goals and objectives. I am here to serve you.

Borden Foundation Makes Grant

The Borden Foundation, Inc. of Columbus, Ohio, has made a $700 grant to the Archives Committee of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. This money was given to the Foundation through Meadow Gold Dairy of Great Falls, Montana.

The money will be used to develop a computer program to catalog and track all of the books and historical documents owned by the Lewis and Clark group. The collection is currently housed in the Russell Museum in Great Falls. Eventually, it is hoped that the collection will be in the Interpretive Center in Great Falls.

By the time the Interpretive Center is on line, the Archives Committee will have this project complete. The computer program will accommodate future acquisitions and will provide Foundation members with complete accounting of what items are in the Archives. Ella Mae Howard is chairman of the Archives Committee.
Drewyer killed a buffaloe this morning ... we halted and breakfasted on it. Here for the first time I ate of the small guts of the buffaloe cooked over a blazing fire in the Indian stile without any preparation of washing or other cleansing and found them very good ...

Meriwether Lewis—July 16, 1805