THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.

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ABOUT THE FOUNDATION

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

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

Membership in the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., is open to the general public. Information and an application are available by sending a request to: Membership Secretary, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.; P.O. Box 3434; Great Falls, MT 59403.

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

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES*

General: $20.00 (3 years: $55.00)
Sustaining: $30.00
Supporting: $60.00
Contributing: $150.00

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

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT GEORGE

We have all just completed the big celebration time of our calendar year. I hope you are all still in the "celebration mood" because we have much to celebrate! The very most exciting news for all of us is the good news of the purchase of Pompey's Pillar by the Bureau of Land Management. Elsewhere in this issue you will read an article about this historic acquisition. Congratulations to John Foote and family who also contributed eight J.K. Ralston paintings of Lewis & Clark scenes and a fine collection of books and antiques to BLM. Many of us who attended the annual meeting in Billings will remember seeing the Clark inscription on Pompey's Pillar and the paintings. We congratulate the Foote family and the dedicated local, state and federal personnel who made this transaction possible. Further good news involved with this BLM purchase, Bob Doerk tells us, is that Gary Leppart of BLM will play a key role in the preservation of Pompey's Pillar. Gary Leppart was president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation in 1974-75.

More good news to report is the formation of a new entity—Camp Fortunate

(Continued on page 31)
From the Editor's Desk

Your old editor has started going to school to learn more about Lewis and Clark. Well, not actually going to school, but in mid-January I started attending 12 hours of seminars on Lewis and Clark done by Bob Doerk (immediate past president of the L&CTHF) and Ella Howard (local L&C scholar).

One thing I've learned in this life is that the more you know the more you know you don't know. I expect if I studied the two explorers and the expedition for the rest of my natural days, I still would not know all of the facts about the expedition. Even if I did know all of the facts, I would forget some of them so it is always a good thing to take a refresher course now and then.

A short article in this issue of WPO on the National Trails conference highlights the work that is being done to put a spotlight on this important aspect of our national heritage. Another article, by first time contributor Michael Dotson, clues us in on what famous western artist Charlie Russell contributed to our visual understanding of Lewis and Clark along the trail. Jim Large zeros in on the western end of the expedition and with this issue we complete Dr. E.G. Chuinard's three part article about the strange death of Meriwether Lewis. Also, a short picture essay of the Louisville meeting will be found in the center of the magazine. If I have room I will include an article on the American Philosophical Society and Thomas Jefferson. That should about cover it for now.

P.S. I didn't have room for the APS article.

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The Lewis & Clark-Daniel Boone Connection 1991

After the Lewis & Clark convention in Louisville, the St. Louis Metro Group traveled to the home of another famous Kentucky explorer, Daniel Boone. A rainy day offered a special camaraderie for this hardy group who were hosted and welcomed by Randall Dean Andrae who is developing Boonesfield Village on property adjacent to the Boone Home. This is a village of buildings and homes built in the early 1800s which are being acquired and restored in a living history village.

Sheltered from the rain in the beautifully restored village church, the Metro Group was educated and entertained by the Militia de San Carlos, the historical re-enactment group of St. Charles. The demonstrations of weapons, tools, and clothing brought to life the daily activities of the Lewis & Clark period.

Dr. Joe Rogers led a discussion on the use of firearms during the Expedition. As he spoke, the men of the militia demonstrated the loading and

(continued on page 17)
EDITOR'S NOTE: In the first two parts of this article Dr. Chuinard, citing a variety of reports on Lewis's death, reviewed Paul Cutwright's and Donald Jackson's writings on the presumed suicide, detailed Lewis's last journey, gave his version of Lewis's death (murdered by Major James Neelly) and commented on Dawson Phelp's article on Lewis's death.

Regarding Jefferson's Acceptance of Suicide As the Cause of Lewis's Death

It is important to make some judgments about the man whose acceptance of Lewis's suicide gave such widespread support to it. Jefferson's stature was so dominant in the nation that his opinion was readily accepted. Now it seems fair to ask, with the studious retrospect of ensuing years: did Jefferson act wisely or fairly in accepting the stories of Lewis's death as reported by Neelly and Perrier without immediately ordering an investigation? Who or what gave Neelly the right to bury the corpse so soon, the corpse of such a prominent person of whom there would be a universal interest in his death?

Lewis was a national figure, a national hero—a man who had served the President as his private secretary for two years without any recorded criticism from his employer, and was chosen to lead what was to become known as the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and had performed all of these duties so satisfactorily that he was chosen as the Governor of the new Louisiana Territory.

It seems to me that Jefferson's ready acceptance of Lewis's death by suicide was a disgraceful way to treat a man, who heretofore he had treated as the son he did not have, and who had served him so well, and who revered him as a father. To lamely justify such action by citing mental problems in his family and particularly the father's side, and periods of depression noted during the time he served as his secretary for two years, leaves Jefferson's action of appointing him to lead the Expedition open to the charge of poor judgment.

Neelly's prompt attention to Lewis after his death is in marked contrast to his abandonment the night before, when he put attention to hunting for the horses ahead of watching over his distinguished charge. And what business had Neelly to take it upon himself to bury the corpse without making a prompt effort to notify the President and Lewis's family? Could it be that the urgency was prompted by some ulterior motive, such as diverting attention from the obvious robbery and probable murder? Jefferson seemed not to be interested in pursuing such details, and evidenced no displeasure with Neelly's conduct.

Jefferson should have been concerned about what happened to the records of the Expedition, which were in Lewis's trunk. Examination of the contents of the trunk after Lewis's death showed that his money was gone, but the records of the Expedition and his vouchers were left—a definite indication of robbery and reasonable presumption of murder.

Was this course of events an effort of Frederick Bates to carry to completion his vicious hatred of Lewis? Jefferson's mind seems to have been
prevented for the ready acceptance of Lewis having committed suicide. If Jefferson truly felt at the time, as his words of high appraisal of Lewis indicate in the introduction to the Biddle Narrative of 1814, he would surely have acted expeditiously to have seen that the circumstances of Lewis's death were thoroughly investigated, and due national honor given to his memory.

In contrast we find Jackson alleging thusly: "Jefferson believed that Lewis was both an alcoholic and had committed suicide, not on the basis of fact, but on what he knew of the man." This assertion is hard to understand; if Jefferson did have facts for his belief, this belief can only be attributed to supposition. And again we ask, would Jefferson have appointed Lewis to all the important and intimate positions he did if he had believed Lewis was an alcoholic and subject to periods of depression? Intemperance on Lewis's part is not consistent with his severe criticism of the boat-builder at Pittsburgh because of drinking. One would have supposed that if intemperance were a problem with Lewis he would be drinking with the boat-builder, of which there is not the slightest evidence.

In retrospect what Jefferson should have done, and in this he was truly remiss, was to have given both Captains a higher commission in the Army, with a better salary, and secretaries and advisory help, and kept them in Washington where they could give undivided attention to getting their journal ready for publication. To separate them and burden them with new administrative responsibilities, and send them to St. Louis where there was a dirth of publishers, was a most grievous mistake of the President.

Regarding Donald Jackson's Opinion of Lewis's Death

On pages 574-575 (Volume 2, published in 1978), Jackson discusses the evolution of his opinion regarding the question of suicide or murder, and states: "Thoughtful men still hold opposing views on whether Lewis killed himself or was slain. Conflicting testimony and the absence of solid documentation has made the case a difficult one, and a strong oral tradition claiming murder has been hard for observers to ignore." Jackson then states his own conviction: "I am inclined to believe that Lewis died by his own hand." He then reviews the causes which troubled Lewis which may have led him to commit suicide. Finally, he states: "That Clark clearly believed him capable of suicide is shown by his anguished statement of hearing of Lewis's death: 'I fear, O! I fear that the weight of his mind had overcome him ...' but leaves out the rest of the sentence in which Clark expresses reservations (quoted elsewhere).

And finally, Jackson quotes the absurd statement of Phelps: "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 seems a ridiculous statement to make in a land where a man is considered innocent until proven guilty!

When Jackson published Among the Sleeping Giants in 1987, he softened his opinion somewhat by stating that "Most historians now believe Captain Lewis shot himself three years after the Ex-
petition,' and added that 'Nobody can ever be sure because there were no eyewitnesses.'

For those who have, or may now be stimulated to get Jackson's interesting book, Among the Sleeping Giants, and who might care to delve further into the Jackson criticism of Fisher, they will find this discussed in greater detail under the title, "My Vardis Fisher Experience.'

In this book Jackson writes: 'At that time it was commonly believed that the former explorer, then governor of Upper Louisiana, had been murdered at a tavern along the Natchez Trace ... But a single article by Dawson Phelps ... had reintroduced the original belief about Lewis's death, embraced by Jefferson and by William Clark, that Lewis had taken his own life. My own study of the documents, and the cogency of Phelps arguments, had persuaded me to adopt the suicide theory as highly tenable.' (Italics added) A review of the history of Lewis's death shows that both murder and suicide were believed to be the cause of his death from the first.

By 'at the time,' Jackson refers to when Fisher published his Tale of Valor (1962) and 'was deeply caught in the question of how Lewis met his death.'

In Among the Sleeping Giants, Jackson also is finally definite about Lewis's death. He writes: "Meriwether Lewis, you will be dead by your own hand within less than five years. Not what the American people expect of their heroes.'

Jackson recognizes the difference in writing history and writing story-telling, and that both must be identified; thus he refers to Fisher's difficulty with 'contemporary testimony and sparse evidence.' Jackson, too, has been a story teller, having written two novels; he errs, I believe, in trying to discredit Fisher by making him obey a drill sergeant's 'hup' orders. After all, Jackson must have known that he was wrong when he said in Valley Men that Clark was his second choice to go with Lewis to the Pacific. The story teller who tries to make his history compatible with the known facts (as Jackson does in Valley Men) is not to be criticized so severely as Jackson, the historian, in his statement regarding Clark being second choice.

Even he who tries to be exact in writing history (as this author was in writing Only One Man Died) will run into problems. It took four print-

ings of the book to get all the bugs out of it, with the help of a patient publisher!

**Summary**

Admittedly, some of these items do not offer proof that Lewis did not commit suicide, but are strong and reasonable doubts of his not being guilty of the deed.

I offer the following reasons for believing that Meriwether Lewis was murdered; I believe that there is enough preponderance of doubt that he committed suicide to permit anyone to hold with certainty a contrary opinion.

1. Robbery was the obvious motive that led to Lewis being killed when the robber awakened him.

2. Robbery is established as the motive by Lewis's trunk being opened and some of its contents missing, particularly his money.

3. The implausible, unbelievable and varying accounts of Lewis's death; such disbelief was also held by Dr. Coutes, Wheeler, Thwaites, Dillon, and Bakeless.

4. As a surgeon, I do not believe that Lewis could have sustained the second and fatal shot with the injury to his vital organs, and live for two hours and do all the moving about related by Mrs. Grinder.

5. If Lewis had held the gun close enough to himself to have committed suicide, there should have been powder stains on his clothing and body.

6. The absence of a bloody trail if Lewis had lived two hours and done all the moving about described by Mrs. Grinder, is incredible.

7. The probable murderer, Neelly: where did he spend the night in the dark looking for horses, to appear conveniently soon after Lewis's death? (He was not an eyewitness to the shooting.)

8. It is highly improbable that Clark, Lewis's closest friend and confidant, would have permitted him to leave St. Louis if he was "mentally deranged;" citations herein support their conclusions.

9. The periodic erratic behavior of Lewis can be explained by the malaria which he is known to have had, with its days of exhaustion, fever and delirium, and for which he carried medicine for relief.

10. Lewis's letters showed he planned to return to St. Louis; he was not considering suicide. That he was capable of committing suicide is not proof of his having done so.
11. Why was Lewis's body buried so promptly and cruelly by Neelly, and no effort to immediately contact Jefferson for possible instructions? Lewis was like a son to Jefferson, and had served him faithfully in many trusted positions; and there would be national interest in his death.

12. Jefferson's ready acceptance of the suicide story, gave authority to and wide acceptance of it.

13. Quoted "evidence" is often nothing more than someone's opinion, although it is recognized that certain opinions are more reasonable than others.

14. The quotation attributed to Clark on reading of Lewis's death (found in Jackson's Letters, page 767): "I fear O! that the weight of his mind has overcome him ..." is almost never preceded by the earlier portion of the same letter, which reads: "... I fear that this report has too much truth in it, tho' it may have no foundation." (Italics mine.) This doubt is consistent with the story that Clark's niece related that her uncle later expressed doubt that Lewis committed suicide.

15. The question about the lost/misplaced report of the inquest held regarding Mr. Grinder, with his uncertain guilt.

16. Although Lewis left St. Louis in good health, during the less than two weeks enroute from St. Louis to Ft. Pickering, he was reported by "the crew" to have attempted suicide twice. Although Gilbert Russell reported that he took Lewis under his care because of his condition, nothing is recorded by him of scars, dressings, or infection of wounds anywhere.

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There is no evidence that Meriwether Lewis's alleged mental problems came from his father's side as Jefferson said. He served with distinction in the Revolution and died from pneumonia as a result of falling in the river when coming home.


Meriwether's half brother, Dr. John Marks, apparently had a mental problem as indicated by a letter from Dr. Harper to Reuben Lewis, dated May 12, 1819 at Albermarle, Va. (Meriwether had helped John get his medical education):

"Our neighborhood has been severely afflicted for some months past, among which your mother's family have a large share, owing to the Doctor's situation which has become to appearance so that it has been found necessary to confine him ..."

Dillon's statement that no such evidence of mental problems has been brought forward, is in error; Dillon, Richard, Meriwether Lewis, A Biography, Western TANAGER Press, Santa Cruz, 1988, p. 342.

Jackson, Letters, pp. 589-590.

"I had now had opportunities of knowing him intimately. Of courage undaunted, possessing a firmness of perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction, careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order & discipline, intimate with the Indian character, customs & principles, habituated to the hunting life, guarded by exact observations of the vegetables & animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed, honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves, with all these qualifications as if selected and implanted by nature in one body, for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him."

Jackson, Letters, p. 592.

"Governor Lewis had from early life been subject to hypochondriac affections. It was a constitutional disposition in all the nearer branches of the family of his name, & was more immediately inherited by him from his father. They had not, however, been so strong as to give uneasiness to his family. While he lived with me in Washington, I observed at times sensible depressions of mind but knowing their constitutional source, I estimated their course by what I had seen in the family. During his Western expedition the constant exertion which that required of all the faculties of body & mind, suspended these distressing afflications; but after his establishment at St. Louis in Sedentary occupation they returned upon him with redoubled vigor and began seriously to alarm his friends. He was in a paroxysm of one of these when his affairs rendered it necessary for him to go to Washington." This "paroxysm" is contrary to the facts.


Jackson, Among the Sleeping Giants, Univ. of Ill. Press, 1987, p. 21.


Vardis Fisher

I think it is important to relate a brief association through correspondence I had with Vardis Fisher, which gives an impression of him which is contrary to those expressed or implied by Cutright and Jackson.

I was prompted to write to him after reading his Tale of Valor, a historical novel about Lewis and Clark. In this book he used the name Brewster for Lewis's dog, which he obviously got from the biography of Lewis by Charles Morrow Wilson.
Wilson also stated that the dog was a “cut dog picked up from the Indians,” whereas Lewis states that the dog was of the Newfoundland breed and that he paid $20 for him—quite a sum to pay for a dog at that time.

The correct account of the dog is related in The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and John Ordway, and this I pointed out to Vardis Fisher. I was prepared to have my letter disregarded, or to receive an answer that “would put me in my place.” I was pleasantly surprised to receive a very gracious letter of appreciation from him, thanking me for informing him about The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and John Ordway, which he stated that he did not know about.

The reception of bringing this error to the attention of an award-winning Ph.D. did not leave me with the impression that he was a purposely careless researcher and deserving of the critical appraisal given to him by Jackson and Cutright.

The following biographical notes regarding Vardis Fisher were abstracted from several biographies of American authors.

He was born on March 31, 1895 in Annis, Idaho. He attended and graduated from the University of Utah with an A.B. degree in 1920 and then attended the University of Chicago from which he received an M.A. and Ph.D., the latter with the honor of magna cum laude. He was born of Mormon parents, but did not follow the religion and has been called an atheist and an agnostic. He was married three times—his first wife died, his second marriage ended in divorce.

He served in the Army in WWI. In 1939 he received the Harper Prize for the best novel, “The Children of God.” He was a prodigious reader and writer, author of 26 novels, and set for himself the depiction of the evolution of man in a series of books called the “Testament of Man.” He wrote seven books in this series but died before completing the task he had set for himself.

He taught English at the University of Utah before assuming the directorship of the Idaho Writers’ Project from 1935 to 1939. He also was a columnist for a group of western newspapers from 1941 to 1968.

His main publisher was Doubleday, which published his Tale of Valor, novelized story of Lewis and Clark, in 1958. In studying the history of the Captains and their great trek, he became interested in the manner of the death of Lewis and spent several months in detailed research at the site; this resulted in publication of Suicide or Murder. He agrees with most authors that the actual facts will never be known, but if pushed to express an opinion, he would lean toward murder.

Fisher has been compared to Thomas Wolfe, because he has been more critical of his own work than others have. His place in the echelon of writers has not been settled, perhaps mainly because he chose to live in remote Hagerman, Idaho. He probably would be satisfied with the description of himself as “an objective writer of historical fiction.”

In my opinion, Vardis Fisher made an effort, more than any other author, both by extensive investigation and interrogation of all sources available to him, to show both sides of “suicide or murder?”

Regarding Vardis Fisher, Dr. Cutright verges on the hypercritical when he writes of Fisher’s Suicide or Murder as being a “combined anthology and personal commentary, with the latter presenting a crowded rambling amalgam of apocrypha, hearsay and improbabilities suggestive of what someone has called ‘chimney corner history.’ ”

After reading his finished book in manuscript (Suicide or Murder), Dr. Jackson wrote to Fisher, “You have convinced me that Neelly was dishonest and Mrs. Grinder was a real nut.”

Jackson says that “Both Fisher and Dillon use a disquieting technique in the absence of hard evidence; they attempt to discredit contemporary witnesses.” This is an old game in which we all participate—if we don’t like the evidence or opinion offered, attack the witness! Jackson, in a gentle way, does so with this statement.

Jackson says of Suicide or Murder: “This book is verbose and inexact, and Fisher approaches the subject not in the manner of a historian, but like a detective following a very cold trail.” Perhaps, if Jefferson had put a detective on the trail when it was hot, the question of an inquest, or asking Neelly questions, would have yielded more than historians quibbling over poor testimony.

NOTES

1Doubleday and Company, Inc., N.Y., 1959
2Thomas F. Crowell Co., N.Y., 1934
3State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Vol. XXII, 1916
5I have read Suicide or Murder several times, and although it is tiresome in detail, I was impressed that the author spent
Malaria

The records show clearly that both Lewis and Jefferson had malaria and that this malady probably explained the abnormal actions of both. That Lewis was sick with malaria, accounting for his fevers, general illness and deliriums on his fatal journey, is the belief of this author.

Malaria takes a variety of forms: The tertian and quartan are the regular forms and get their names from the regularity of the recurrence of the chills and fever. By the third or fourth week, they are characterized by the recurring paroxysms of chills, fever, and sweat. The patient generally knows he is going to have a chill a few hours before its advent by unpleasant feelings and uneasy sensations, and sometimes by a headache. The paroxysm is divided into three stages—hot, cold and sweating.

The cold stage is indicated by lassitude, yawning and stretching, by headaches, uneasy sensations in the epigastrium, and sometimes by nausea and vomiting. Gradually the patient begins to shiver, and in the fully developed rigor, the whole body shakes, the teeth chatter, and the movements may be enough to shake the bed. The face is blue and the skin temperature is reduced. The oral temperatures may be increased to 105° or 106°. The chill lasts from ten minutes to over an hour.

The sweating stage is characterized by slight to profuse sweating, and involves the whole body. As the sweat appears, the nausea, vomiting and headaches disappear, and the patient usually sinks into a refreshing sleep.

The hot stage may be slight or intense and the other symptoms vary accordingly.

The fevers in some patients may be irregular, remittent, or continuous. The Estivo-autumnal Fever type occurs in the temperate climates, mainly the southern states, and chiefly in the autumn. The symptoms are often irregular. This type may be devoid of chills. Some cases may have a high and continuous fever. The fever is usually 102° to 103°; but in severe cases, resembling typhoid, may go to 105° to 106°. Delirium of a mild type may occur.

Comatose Form: This may be due to infection of two or more types of the regular form. It is therefore seen in the Estivo-autumnal type. The cerebral symptoms are paramount, often only one, in which coma is the most obvious. The type may go from the comatose state to death. The cure of this form of malaria has a grave prognosis.

Four types of malaria are known and I think from the description of Lewis's trouble that he had the most severe type: the Estivo-autumnal, which has a high fever of 105°, slowly receding in five to seven days to normal. When the fever is high, there may be associated deliriums, which subside as the fever recedes. Lewis might have contracted more than one type of the disease during all of his extensive travels.

After arriving at Fort Pickering very sick, Lewis gradually improved as his fever receded, so that he was normal "in every regard" within five or six days. It is highly probable that both Lewis and Jefferson had malaria and that this was the cause of Lewis's "mental disorder;" and the cause of both being inattentive to correspondence.

As was pointed out by the old Greek physicians, the quartan infection is difficult to cure. Disappearing for a time spontaneously, or yielding to quinine, it has a proneness to relapse, even after energetic treatment.

A daily intermittent fever may be due to infection with tertian or quartan parasites. The diagnosis is readily made by blood examination.
if the patient has not taken quinine, as the parasites are present as a rule at all times. They are usually easily found in a specimen of fresh blood.

After a few paroxysms, or after the disease has persisted for ten days or two weeks, the patient may get well without any special medicine but relapses are common. The infection may persist for years and an attack may follow an accident, an acute fever, or a surgical operation. A resting stage of the parasite has been suggested to explain these intervals. Persistence of the disease leads to anemia owing to the destruction of blood cells. Ultimately the condition may become chronic—malaria cachexia.

NOTE—The word “malaria” is a descriptive term derived from French, “bad air.” It was used to describe the assumption that the symptoms were due to the affluvia and miasma of the lowland along the rivers; the mosquitoes were noted, but their place in the contagion was not known.

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.

Sparks Reference Center Opens at Hartford Library

BY NETA CANDELA

Telegraph Correspondent, Edwardsville, Illinois Telegraph, Edwardsville, Illinois

Editor’s Note: Everett Sparks was a contributor to We Proceeded On. Gwen Dake is a member of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Audio-Visual Committee.

More than a hundred Hartford residents hit the trail to the Hartford Public Library for the opening of the Everett Sparks Lewis and Clark Reference Center.

The center, funded by a $16,000 grant from the Illinois State Library, contains books, videos, film strips, slides, maps and displays about the Lewis and Clark Expedition, which began near Hartford in 1804.

Reference materials include contributions from the late Everett Sparks, a Hartford native and local history buff.

“Everett did extensive research on the Lewis and Clark Expedition and on the legend of the Piasa Bird, and through the years he donated his collection to us,” Hartford Librarian Gwen Dake said.

“People stop by here all the time wanting directions to the Lewis and Clark Monument,” Dake said. “Then they come back wanting to know more about the Expedition. Now we’ll be able to offer it to them, along with new furniture, new books and even some new rocking chairs,” she said.

The collection is housed in a wing of the library containing a wood carving of Camp DuBois crafted by local resident Kenneth Draper and a likeness of the explorers’ Indian guide, Sacajawea, donated by library board member Becky Stevens.

Dedication ceremonies included a program presented by the library district’s summer reading classes. More than 60 children made up the cast of An Ode to Lewis and Clark, an olio of songs, essays, poems and dances relating to the explorers.
Next year will mark the 200th anniversary of the discovery of the Columbia River by Robert Gray, an American merchant ship captain, followed by a detailed coastal survey of the area by Captain George Vancouver of the British Navy. Numerous bicentennial observances are planned in Washington and Oregon.

Vancouver’s Legacy to Lewis and Clark

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

The snowy mountain’s shape on the far southwest horizon was conical, or “conocil,” in William Clark’s spelling. He first glimpsed it on October 18, 1805, from the junction of the Columbia and Snake Rivers in present-day Washington state.

Two more weeks of westward travel down the Columbia brought the explorers of the Lewis and Clark Expedition abreast of the mountain, now towering to the south. “the mountain we saw from near the forks proves to be Mount Hood,” Clark noted in his journal. The next day, looking north, the captain remarked upon “a full view of Mt. Helien.”

Clark and co-captain Meriwether Lewis were strangers from the other side of the American continent. They had come in search of the Pacific through country they had never seen before. Now that they supposedly were lifting the last veil of geographical mystery, how did they seem to know the territory in advance? How did they know the names of those mountains?

For Mt. Hood and Mt. St. Helens, the British Navy had supplied the names 13 years before. The overland explorers knew all about a 1792 Pacific coast survey commanded by Captain George Vancouver; they carried a map recording the British names and positions of both lofty volcanoes. By the time Lewis and Clark arrived, in fact, the neighborhood where the Columbia River empties into the Pacific was a sort of maritime museum of place-names bestowed by various visiting seamen. Already named were the
Columbia River itself, and its seaward entrances, Cape Disappointment and Point Adams, all recognized by Lewis and Clark and still in use today.

Names weren't all that the overland discoverers found pre-discovered. Lewis and Clark had no independent way of judging how far west they were, but the sea-captains knew. The Columbia estuary's longitude had already been calculated and mapped by Vancouver and others. Their measure of degrees west from Greenwich, a London suburb, became the western anchor for Clark's own maps of the American interior, though the exact number was still something of a muddle for everybody.

Results of the British naval survey of the Pacific northwest coast were published in London in 1798, and they were factored into plans for the Lewis and Clark Expedition from the outset. In November, 1802, even before Congress assented to the project, Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin urged President Jefferson "to procure 'Vancouver's Survey' one copy of which, the only one I believe in America," was being advertised by a Philadelphia bookseller for a hefty price of $55, complete with charts. In May, 1803, Lewis was in Philadelphia buying equipment for his trip. He sent Jefferson some sketch copies "taken in a haisty manner" from Vancouver's published maps, explaining: "The maps attatched to Vancouver's voyage cannot be procured separately from that work, which is both too costly and too weighty, for me either to purchase or carry."

In Washington, Nicholas King fitted Lewis's sketches into a master map he was making expressly for the Expedition, one that incorporated the latest geography of North America from several sources. The following year Lewis and Clark set off for the west with a copy of King's map, or at least some of its components. The explorers thus expected well in advance to encounter a mountain named Hood.

As a navigator, George Vancouver started at the top. He was just 14 years old in 1772 when he reported aboard Captain James Cook's HMS Resolution as a midshipman, a prize job wangled through his Tory father's political pull. Cook, already England's most celebrated sea-dog, was about to start his second great voyage of discovery in the Pacific. During the three-year trip young Vancouver was coached by expedition astronomer William Wales in the art of finding latitude and longitude at sea. In 1776 Vancouver signed on for Cook's third and last voyage, this time aboard the Discovery, a companion to the flagship. Afterward he saw service in the West Indies and in the process assumed the despotic ways of a stereotypical British naval officer.

The Admiralty in 1790 named Vancouver to command a long-planned survey in the eastern Pacific, with an extra task of checking up on Spain's promised surrender of a fur trade monopoly at Nootka Sound on Canada's west coast. The new captain's "character for Passion & Tyranny was well known among the good Seamen of the Navy," making it hard to recruit a crew, according to a surgeon's mate who became Vancouver's toughest critic during the voyage. Vancouver left Falmouth in April, 1791, in his old ship Discovery, accompanied by the smaller, shallower-draft Chatham. The little fleet rounded Africa, stopped at Tahiti and Hawaii, and arrived off the California coast in mid-April, 1792.

Sailing north, Vancouver on April 27 sighted what he called "a very conspicuous point of land." Just to the south of this promontory, he added, "was the appearance of an inlet, or small river, the land behind it not indicating it to be of any great extent." Figuring a latitude of 46° 19' north of the equator, Vancouver knew he was looking at Cape Disappointment. How? Well it, too, had been pre-discovered. A Spanish captain, Bruno de Hezeta, had mapped the place in 1775 and reasoned that an offshore current too strong to overcome was the sign of some great river entering the sea. He even gave it a name, Rio de San Roque. Then in 1788 a British merchant captain, John Meares, tried to enter de Hezeta's supposed river, but he also was driven back by turbulent waters. "The name of Cape Disappointment was given to the promontory," Meares reported. "We can now
with safety assert, that there is no such river as that of Saint Roe exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts."

Inspecting the same scene in 1792, Vancouver noticed a change in seawater color that he attributed to "some streams" entering the ocean. Nevertheless, he decided to keep sailing north, "not considering this opening worthy of more attention." Later he was sorry about that, as were future British diplomats vainly seeking arguments to counter American claims to Oregon.

Two days later, on April 29, Vancouver reported the "very great novelty" of seeing an approaching ship, which "soon hoisted American colours." It was the Boston trading vessel Columbia, commanded by Robert Gray. All the ships stopped and Vancouver sent two officers to Gray's cabin for a conference at sea. The Englishmen were most interested in learning shoreline details of the nearby Strait of Juan de Fuca, a suspected outlet of the phantom Northwest Passage. Gray told them what he knew (quite a lot), and remarked in passing that he, too, had recently tried without success to enter that river at latitude 46° plus. He apparently said nothing about going back to try again, and the ships parted.

The Discovery and Chatham rounded Cape Flattery to begin an extended survey of the Juan de Fuca Strait and upper Puget Sound, a name bestowed by Vancouver for one of his officers, Peter Puget. There were plenty of features needing names. An eye-catching peak at a "very remote distance" to the northeast became Mt. Baker, in honor of the Discovery's third lieutenant, Joseph Baker. Vancouver noted "a round snowy mountain" to the south, "which after my friend Rear Admiral [Peter] Rainier, I distinguished by the name of Mt. Rainier."

Meanwhile, Captain Gray headed the Columbia back for another stab at everybody's mystery river. On May 11, just two weeks after Vancouver's half-hearted examination, Gray caught an onshore wind and steered over the submerged sandbars that had defeated all previous intruders. "When we were over the bar, we found this to be a large river of fresh water, up which we steered," a triumphant Gray wrote in his logbook. The Columbia spent nine days in the river's broad estuary trading with the local Indians. On May 19, 1792, came a third-person log entry: "Captain Gray give this river the name of Columbia's River, and the north side of the entrance Cape Hancock, to the south, Adams's Point."

Gray's attempt to flatter Massachusetts politicians proved only half successful. Cape Hancock—honoring John Hancock, the heavy-handed signer of the Declaration of Independence and current governor the state—couldn't dislodge Cape Disappointment on the charts of Vancouver and future mariners. Thanks to the British survey, however, the southern point of flat sand commemorating U.S. Vice President John Adams has kept that name (with the words reversed to Point Adams), and so of course has the Columbia River itself.

On May 20, the Columbia raised anchor, made sail and picked its way through the breakers at the river's mouth. "At 5 p.m. we were out," wrote Gray, "clear of all the bars."

Now the scene shifts to Nootka. This fur trading port on the west coast of the big Canadian island eventually named Vancouver had almost occasioned a war between Britain and Spain, but peace reigned in July, 1792. British, American and Spanish ships operating in the northeast Pacific all used it as a sort of revolving door rest stop. On July 24 Gray's Columbia pulled in, forced to safe harbor for repairs after hitting a rock. His host was Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra, a naval officer serving as Spain's governor of the port, who invited Gray to stay at his house. At some point Gray told Quadra of his successful entry into the Columbia River and previous May, and gave Quadra a sketch of the estuary. Gray pulled out on August 24 and four days later Vancouver arrived with the Discovery and Chatham, now reinforced by a new supply ship from England. Vancouver and Quadra were officially antagonists in negotiations over control of Nootka, but they soon became good
A detail from Captain George Vancouver’s map of the Pacific Northwest showing the mouth of the Columbia River and adjacent mountains.

Courtesy of The Library of Congress.
friends. The affable Spaniard gave Vancouver a copy of Gray’s sketch of the Columbia estuary. Reporting his decision not to explore the river in April, the Englishman said in a message to the Admiralty in London: “It has however since been entered by Mr. Gray, and proved to be a river, which he has called Columbia, a sketch of which, as he has drawn it, I have herewith transmitted. In my rout to the South, which I hope will take place in a few days, I shall fully examine it, as I conceive it an important post from the surrounding country ...”

Gray briefly reappeared at Nootka on September 21 and left the next day to resume the Columbia’s Indian trade. On October 7 the Jenny, a Bristol trading schooner, checked in for some Quadra hospitality.

Vancouver departed Nootka on October 12 and reached Cape Disappointment a week later. As the Discovery stood offshore, Vancouver saw to the east a “high round snowy mountain,” which he said, “I have distinguished by the name of Mount St. Helens, in honor of His Britannic Majesty’s ambassador to the court of Madrid.” He was referring to Alleyne Fitzherbert, Baron St. Helena. On October 19 both Vancouver’s Discovery and the smaller Chatham, commanded by Lieutenant William Broughton, headed into the wild waves at the mouth of the Columbia. Alarmed by the bar’s shallow depth Vancouver turned back, but Broughton spent the night anchored amidst the breakers. The next day his Chatham found an entrance channel and pushed to a safe berth inside the estuary. Repulsed again, Vancouver himself finally gave up and pointed the Discovery south to a previously agreed rendezvous at the Spanish port of Monterey.

If Broughton thought he’d been left alone, he was due for a surprise: there was the Jenny, already anchored within the protective curling arm of Cape Disappointment. The schooner’s captain, James Baker, evidently had heard tips from the grapevine at Nootka on how to enter the river, and had stopped off for some Indian trading on his way home to England. The Jenny’s place of anchorage became Baker Bay in the river survey immediately begun by Broughton. The lieutenant had a copy of Gray’s sketch of the first 20 miles of the estuary, but he soon pushed beyond it in the ship’s cutter and launch loaded with a week’s provisions. On October 27 the British rowed past a hilltop Indian cemetery which they named Mount Coffin. The boats passed the site of present Longview, Washington, and the mouth of the Willamette River leading to modern Portland. On October 30 Broughton came to a halt near the confused place where the Sandy River enters the Columbia, more than 100 miles from Cape Disappointment. To his right stood an 11,000-foot peak which Broughton named for Lord Samuel Hood, a member of the Board of Admiralty. “Its appearance was magnificent,” Broughton later reported to Vancouver, “and it was clothed in snow from its summit ...”

Traveling with the British boats was a “friendly old chief” named Soto. Here the chief cupped some water in his hands and, nodding eastward, let it trickle out in “the manner of its falling from rocks.” Broughton correctly interpreted that to mean that the Columbia was blocked by rapids just ahead, so there was no use going further. He named a nearby river bend Point Vancouver for his easternmost advance, and formally claimed possession of the territory for King George III. The British then got in their boats and rowed back downstream to their ship at Baker Bay. On November 10, 1792, the Chatham and Jenny together crossed the Columbia bar into the Pacific.

Reunited, Vancouver’s ships continued their coast survey during 1793. On June 4 of that year Vancouver explored Dean Channel, a Pacific inlet north of Vancouver Island, just seven weeks before the arrival of Alexander Mackenzie on his overland trek across Canada. The Discovery and Chatham returned to England in October, 1795. After years of declining health, Vancouver died on May 10, 1798, just short of his 41st year, and four months before publication of his journal.

Lewis and Clark passed the Sandy River outlet on November 3, 1805, having safely negotiated all of Chief Soto’s predicted Col-
umbria River falls. Paddling seaward, the Expedition came to Broughton's Mt. Coffin three days later. It evidently wasn't marked on any of the Vancouver map copies the Americans carried; Clark merely called it "a verry remarkable Knob." On November 8 Clark saw ahead a jutting point of land he identified by name as Cape Disappointment from the Vancouver maps, but that proved premature. A week later the rain-lashed explorers were camped on the estuary's north bank. A scouting party went forward "to find a Small Bay as laid down by Vancouver just out of the mouth of the Columbia River," Clark explained. This was the 1792 Baker Bay anchorage of the Chatham and Jenny, but evidently not knowing that name, the Americans called it Haleys Bay, after a ship captain who had since been trading with the local Indians. The original name has prevailed. Finally, on November 15, Clark reached a spot where he had a "full view of the Ocean from Point Adams to Cape Disappointment," using the Vancouver map names appropriated from Gray and Meares, respectively. But Clark also said "I could not See any Island in the mouth of this river as laid down by Vancouver." Vancouver had quoted Lieutenant Broughton as reporting "within the Cape are three rocky islets in the bay, the middle one being the largest." A rivermouth smudge on one of the British maps could be interpreted as an island or a shoal, but it apparently was gone 13 years later.

Few names added by Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Northwest landscape have survived. A major exception was a volcanic peak in the Cascade Range that the British may not have seen. Heading homeward up the Columbia, the Americans on March 30, 1806, spotted to the southeast of modern Portland a high mountain "which we call Mt. Jefferson," Clark reported. "Like Mt. St. Heleans its figure is a regular cone and is covered with eturnal snow." It was the only major mountain named by the Expedition on the entire trip, and the label stuck.

Since leaving St. Louis the Americans had filled their journals with astronomical observations for latitude and longitude. Lewis and Clark easily computed latitudes on the spot by measuring the sun's height from the southern horizon at noon. Longitudes west of the prime meridian at Greenwich were to be figured by "lunar distances" — marking the local time that a measured angle between the moon and a bright star matched the same angle seen simultaneously in Greenwich, as forecast in the British Nautical Almanac. The captains merely recorded these raw angles in the field; the actual longitudes were to be computed by the War Department when they got home.

Now at their western destination, the explorers' astronomical efforts to fix their position were blinded by day-and-night clouds. It wasn't until November 16 that the sky opened enough for a noontime sun measurement showing a latitude of 46° 19' for the Columbia's north shore. And during the Expedition's entire four-month stay on the coast only one complete set of lunar distance measurements could be obtained, on November 24. At the Expedition's soggy winter base on the river's south side, Lewis lamented on February 25, 1806: "I am mortified at not having it in my power to make more celestial observations since we have been at Fort Clatsop, but such has been the state of the weather that I have found it utterly impracticable."

Not to worry. The place had already been nailed to the world's maps by sailors. In 1792 Captain Gray's navigators had made a lunar distance calculation of longitude shortly before the Columbia's successful May entry into the estuary. From that position a dead-reckoning estimate of course and distance produced a longitude for Cape Disappointment of 122° 47' west of Greenwich, as recorded in the log of John Boit, the fifth mate.

Vancouver's ships were virtual latitude-longitude factories, equipped with five of the British Navy's best chronometers used for comparing local time with the time in Greenwich. The difference was easily convertible to longitude at the rate of 15 degrees of distance for every hour of time. The chronometers were double-checked by lunar distance readings made by professionals. Vancouver placed Cape Disappointment's
longitude at 123° 54'. Both Gray and Vancouver put the spot a bit too far inland; the Cape's modern reading is 124° 3'.

Nicholas King's composite map of the American continent placed the Columbia's mouth just short of 124°, showing that Lewis supplied him with accurate copies of Vancouver's charts. So when it came time for Clark to fix that spot as the western extremity of his own maps, he needed only to follow the King-Vancouver reading, never mind the Expedition's shortage of fresh celestial observations at Fort Clatsop.

That Clark didn't do so with precision is one of the many baffling inconsistencies in the Expedition's whole navigational record. In a list of landmarks compiled at Fort Clatsop, Clark placed Cape Disappointment's latitude at 46° 19', from his own reading on November 16, 1805, and its longitude at 124° 57', from God knows where. That was more than a whole degree west of Vancouver's number. Close enough on a continental scale, perhaps, but it would have moved the cape nearly 50 miles out to sea. Clark nevertheless used that somewhat off-base value for his big map of the west drawn in 1810 and published in 1814.

It's not news that Lewis and Clark had trouble with pinpoint navigation, like many explorers before and since. The prior efforts of Meares, Gray and Vancouver couldn't solve all the problems of Pacific northwest geography for Jefferson's men, but the sailors certainly made the job easier.

NOTES
7Howay, Voyages of the Columbia, p. 438.
8Vancouver, Voyages, Vol. 4, p. 1573.
11Howay, Voyages of the Columbia, p. 396.
12Vancouver, Voyages, Vol. 2, p. 497. Shown as 236° 6' East of Greenwich. In rendering his longitudes Vancouver followed the antique custom of counting degrees all the way around the world eastward from the prime meridian. To get the customary division of a hemisphere west of Greenwich, Vancouver's northwest coast longitudes must be subtracted from 360°.

About the author...
Arlen J. Large of Washington, D.C., is a former Foundation president (1983-84), a frequent contributor to WPO, a retired science correspondent of the Wall Street Journal, and continues to travel the world pursuing his many scientific interests. He certainly ranks among the top Lewis and Clark authorities in the nation, and he serves on the editorial board of WPO.

The Bicentennial Committee has as one of its 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.

DANIEL BOONE CONNECTION
(continued from page 3)

firing of their weapons emphasizing the challenges of providing food and protection for the members of the Expedition.

The St. Louis Metro group was invited to tour the Boone Home where Daniel Boone lived and died. We saw many of the items that were used daily by the Boone family on the Missouri frontier in the early 1800s. Period furniture and crackling fires brought forward vivid images of frontiersmen like Daniel Boone, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark who opened up the West.
A PREVIEW OF THE 
24TH ANNUAL MEETING 
August 1-4, 1992 
Vancouver, Washington 

BY MARTIN PLAMONDON II 
Annual Meeting Chairman

The year 1992 may see much of North and South America involved in various types of events denoting the 500th anniversary of Columbus' "discovery" of the New World. Out here, among the tall evergreen trees, glacier clad volcanos, and youthful cities, Christopher Columbus and his discovery are not the imposing legacies they are on the East Coast and in the Caribbean. We have our own history of European adventurers and native peoples. This year will begin a two year commemoration in the states of Washington, Oregon, and the Canadian province of British Columbia called the Pacific Northwest Bicentennial Maritime Celebration. This regional happening will use the 1792 entry of Captain Gray into the Columbia River, the 1792 mapping of Captain Vancouver, and the 1793 crossing of North America by Alexander Mackenzie to commemorate the history of the Pacific Northwest that begins with the beautiful culture of the native people who called this area their homeland. Along with the Chinook, Spanish, Russian, and British we will remember the American presence in the persons of Captain Robert Gray, and Lewis and Clark. As a part of that commemoration the Washington Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee will host the National Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation in Vancouver, Washington, during the first week of August, 1992. The theme will focus on the relationship between the coveted salmon of the Pacific Northwest and the native peoples for whom the salmon meant survival.

Activities will begin Saturday afternoon, August 1, 1992. There will be landscape models to look at and other displays to study. We will have demonstrations of various facets of life on the expedition. With the coming of evening, the Publisher's Show will open. Later in the evening a Get Acquainted Social, an opportunity to celebrate Clark's birthday. Sunday will see opening activities with a business meeting and later a special luncheon with welcoming speeches from several dignitaries. In the afternoon speakers will address briefly the many aspects of Lewis and Clark in the Northwest giving a background for the remaining events of the meeting. The evening will see a short trip to the Fort Vancouver National Historic Site. The meeting participants will dine on traditional British fare as was served at the fort 160 years ago. Talks will explain the significance of Fort Vancouver in British and American history and as dusk settles a special program will be offered.

Monday, August 3, will be travel day. We highly recommend this day of travel because each trip will experience a full day of interesting sights. For those wishing to take part in the shorter trip to the Columbia River Gorge we have some new things to offer. The day will begin with visits to Multnomah and some of the other falls of the Oregon side. Lunch will be served in the Sam Hill Dining Room of the regionally famous Charburger Restaurant at Cascade Locks, Oregon. From the windows of this room one views the site of the Cascades of the Columbia, one of the most historically rich areas in the Northwest. A speaker will describe the history of the area during lunch. Across the river in Stevenson, Washington, the group will see a preview of the soon to be built Columbia Gorge Interpretive Center. Return to Vancouver will include a stop at the new powerhouse at Bonneville Dam. Featured here will be a new display of native artifacts from the area visited by Lewis and Clark in 1805 and 1806. A fine buffet dinner will await returning travelers at the Red Lion Inn at the Quay (pronounced "key").
Other travelers this day will take a longer trip to the Pacific Coast. During the day they will stop at Fort Columbia. Here the traveler will see exhibits on the importance of the forts and gun emplacements that once protected entry to the river. They will be treated to a new exhibit on the culture of the Chinook people. Another stop will be at the impressive Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center at Fort Canby on Cape Disappointment with an opportunity to see the Patrick Gass exhibit. A third stop in Washington will be the Lewis and Clark Park in the coastal resort of Long Beach. A small park built by the city as a home for a heroic statue of Clark carving his name on the pine tree and the inscribed stones sent by the various cities and towns along the Lewis and Clark Trail. The evening will feature a salmon barbecue across the Columbia River in Oregon, at the newly remodeled visitors' center at Fort Clatsop with special programs to follow. The day will end with a quiet ride back to Vancouver.

Tuesday, the last day of the meeting proper, will feature a day long visit with people of the Chinook nation. The program is not yet settled but it promises to be exciting with lunch including some authentic native dishes. The day's activities will lead into the Awards Banquet which will feature Dr. Stephen Dow Beckham. Dr. Beckham is the preeminent expert on Northwest Indian treaties. He has served many tribes with his highly respected research and testimony. We think listeners will find his talk on the Chinook and their struggle to live with white civilization a new and insightful look at an old and painfully misunderstood issue.

There is so much to do and see in Washington and the Pacific Northwest that we want you to consider spending extra days using Vancouver as a base from which to see the other sights, wonders and places where history was made. The Inn at the Quay is offering special Lewis and Clark discounts on rooms before, during, and following the annual meeting. The Quay is committing its entire complement of rooms to this meeting. Even so we expect to more than fill the facility. If you value the convenience of staying at the site and being close to all the activities, please contact the Red Lion Inn at the Quay early to reserve your room. Special airline rates have been arranged for the period (see sidebar). Three days of special post meeting tours will be offered including a visit to Mount St. Helena, a stern wheeler trip on the Columbia, and a white water experience.

These are only the highlights. We continue to work on special surprises, little dividends which will make going through the registration packet upon arrival a special treat. We are working on a special surprise for the meeting itself. And remember, for early registration there is the very special opportunity to purchase a copy of the limited edition Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting Poster. Please see the Special Registration Instructions and Registration Form for this and other offerings. This annual meeting promises to be something different and memorable. Plan to join us for all the excitement and fun.

United Airlines has been chosen the official carrier for the Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation to be held in Vancouver, Washington, August 1, 1992 through August 4, 1992. As official carrier United Airlines will be offering fare discounts to meeting participants and family members traveling with them of 5 to 40 percent. Those participants wishing to take advantage of this offer should call K.O.P. Travel Inc. at the toll free number 1-800-841-0808 or fax their request to K.O.P. Travel Inc. at (206) 693-7296. To access the offer give the following identifying number: 520PX. Discounts will be in effect July 30, 1992 through August 9, 1992. Questions concerning this offer should be directed to Ms. Debi Frome, CTC at (206) 693-2502, K.O.P. Travel in Vancouver, Washington.

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, LCTHF P.O. Box 577 Bozeman, MT 59771-0577
From Locust Grove, the last home of William Clark (top left) to Clarks Point, Indiana (left) where a new interpretive sign was dedicated, the meeting delegates (p. 21 lower left) traveled to Mulberry Hill, the site of the former family home and other Lewis & Clark attractions. From the George Rogers Clark statue at Locust Grove (above), they traveled to the plaque commemorating Col. M. Lewis Clark at
Churchill Downs (top right). The new officers are (top left, 1 to r) Stuart Knapp, 2nd vice president; Barbara Kubik, secretary; Winnie George, president, and James Fazio, 1st vice president. Treasurer John Walker was not present. Representatives posing for a picture are from the National Park Service (middle left, 1 to r) Cynthia Orlando, supervisor, Fort Clatsop National Memorial; Pamela Schuler, coordinator, Ice Age Trail; Richard Williams, coordinator, Lewis and Clark Trail, and Thomas Gilbert, manager, Lewis and Clark Trail. Bob Doerk (above) immediate past foundation president, had two arms full will his wife Mary (left) and Beverly Hinds who took these pictures.

(more on page 22)
Jim Large, the prolific contributor to WPO gives a committee report (above top); Jim Holmberg, Filson Club curator, was the banquet speaker (above); Bud Kipfer and his wife Margo, convention co-chair, coordinated everything including bus rides (top right) and your old editor scratched his neck while visiting with Jacie Rudeen.
The snort of a pony and the deep throated growl of the wolf-dog are all that interrupts the muffled words and sobs of joy. The interpreter turns toward the red-headed captain and gestures at the two women embracing. The five horsemen sat amazed at how such a thing could happen. For the Shoshone girl, captured so long ago by the enemy from down below, had returned home!

The above scene is not from a romantic historical novel nor a script for a soon to be released motion picture. However, it is a verbal description of a Charles M. Russell painting. Students and scholars of the epic American Odyssey of the Lewis and Clark Expedition have been blessed by scores of literary and artistic works recording the great adventure. Writers have the actual words of the explorers to describe the campsites and trails. Artists must rely on not only the written word but also historical articles and reproductions to accurately portray Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Northwest Discovery Cowboy artist Charles M. Russell created more Lewis and Clark artwork than any other American artist of his time.

Hardly any follower of the Expedition has not had the opportunity to see Russell’s masterpiece “Lewis and Clark Meeting Indians at Ross’ Hole.” Members in attendance at the 21st Annual Meeting in Bozeman, Montana were offered a chance to see the 11' x 29' canvas hanging in the House of Representatives at the State Capitol in Helena. This painting is among the most published pieces to illustrate the Lewis and Clark adventure.

Members in attendance at the 23rd Annual Meeting in Louisville, Kentucky were treated to another of Russell’s works. By the number of questions this print aroused the author was curious about the provenance of the piece and proceeded on a quest for further information about it.

Charles Russell was, and still is, one of America’s most outstanding western artists. He was extremely interested in the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He owned a copy of the Journals. With some companions he took a boat trip on the Missouri River and at the evening campfire would read aloud from the Journals. Between 1896 and 1918 he created eighteen sketches, oil paintings, watercolors, and
pen-and-ink drawings with the Expedition as a subject. Because of the interest generated at the Louisville meeting we'll first examine the painting which inspired so much inquiry. At a future date we will backtrack to Russell's other Lewis & Clark works.

The print on display in Louisville was simply titled "The Lewis and Clark Expedition." The original painting is 47" x 29½" and the medium is oil. It is owned by the Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art, Tulsa, Oklahoma. A brass plate on the original reads "Lewis & Clark Expedition, Clark & Party with Sacajawea Meeting Indians on August 13, 1805, Armstead, Montana, Charles M. Russell, Oil on Canvas." Russell painted it in 1918 in his studio in Great Falls, Montana.

A description of the painting, in the Summer 1966 issue of Montana Magazine, describes, "Russell depicts the Indians laughing and happy at the reunion, while Captain Clark in the foreground appears expressionless, since he was probably not yet certain of the friendship of the Shoshones." The title of the painting in this issue is "Lewis & Clark Reach Shoshone Camp Led By Sacajawea." In A Bibliography of the Published Works of Charles M. Russell by Karl Yost and Frederic G. Renner the piece is listed under several different titles. "Lewis and Clark Reach Shoshone Camp, Led By Sacajawea, the 'Bird Woman';" "Lewis and Clark Reach Shoshone Camp West of Continental Divide, i.e., Lewis and Clark Reach Shoshone Camp Led By Sacajawea The 'Bird Woman';" "Sacajawea Meeting Her People ...," "Sacajawea and Lewis and Clark, i.e., ...," and "Sacajawea Meets Her Brother, i.e., Meeting of Sacajawea and Her Relatives of the Shoshone Tribe."

The painting's first published appearance was on May 27, 1918 in the Montana Newspaper Association Insert. It again appeared in the same publication August 29, 1921. It has appeared in Montana The Magazine of Western History two times in the past 25 years.

In 1985 The Gilcrease Museum produced 1000 limited edition prints, one of which was auctioned in Louisville. The prints are numbered and carry a certificate of authenticity signed by Mr. Fred Meyer, director of the Gilcrease. The prints are of excellent quality and when compared with the original are of exceptional integrity and validity of color.

The scene depicted by Russell, though labeled August 13, 1805, did not take place until Saturday, August 17, 1805. Meriwether Lewis writes: "... Shortly after Capt. Clark arrived with the Interpreter Charbono, and the Indian woman, who proved to be a sister of the Chif Cameahwait, the meeting of those people was really affecting, particularly between Sah cah-gar-we-ah and an Indian woman, who had been taken prisoner at the same time with her, and who had afterwards escaped from the Minnetarees and rejoined her nation."

We don't know where or when the August 13, 1805 date was assigned to the painting. As noted above when it first appeared in print the title was simply "Lewis & Clark reach Shoshone camp led by Sacajawea, the 'Bird Woman'. The painting does indeed record the dramatic event in a way only Russell could treat it.

Charles M. Russell was a storyteller, orally and artistically. His paintings convey humor, warmth, action, and tragedy. There is no question that this is Russell at his best, compositionally. The artist draws our eyes into the picture by the attention of the seated horseman on the left. Two of the Shoshone men gaze at the women on the far right of the painting. Two other Shoshone are more interested in the red-headed Captain Clark. One of the two holds his hand over his mouth which signifies his curiosity or astonishment.

The Shoshone seated on the white horse signs that the woman is one of his people. The white horse seems to point to Captain Clark whose gaze is fixed on the women. Clark's stance, his rifle and tomahawk all lead us to the right.

There is no doubt Russell was at his best sentimentally either. For a blaze of sunshine spotlights the women as well as Charbonneau, in red cap and blanket, gesturing to them. An old crone, one of Russell's recurring characters, appears to the left of Charbonneau. Another recurring Russell trick is the inclusion of an animal not readily involved in the action and in this case it is the dog on the far right.

Critically we could take offense at the August 13, 1805 date. But we could speculate that a misinformed editor assigned the wrong date. We know for a fact many of Russell's pieces were renamed. We could question the beadwork on the robes, shirts and dresses of the Shoshone. But couldn't
it be porcupine quillwork? The artist did include the ermine tippets that Captain Lewis so faithfully described the Shoshone as wearing. Captain Clark though is wearing a fur cap and dressed entirely in buckskins in Montana in August. We know for a fact that Clark did wear a lynx fur cap at Fort Mandan. However, Russell uses artistic license in his depiction of the Captain. He set a precedent for future artists by showing Clark in a fur cap and buckskins. Charbonneau looks to be wearing the red toque of the French-Canadian voyageurs. His blanket is questionable as that particular pattern is similar to a Pendleton which was not available in 1805. His leggings are more of a Metis style worn in the mid-19th century. Sacajawea is wrapped in a similar blanket more late than early 19th century.

Disregarding these minor inaccuracies we view “Lewis & Clark Meeting the Shoshone Led By Sacajawea, the ‘Bird Woman,’” as a piece of Americana. Charles M. Russell, Montana’s Cowboy Artist, has given us through his creativity, an interlude between two cultures in the epic American Odyssey.

---NOTES---

*This painting is also known as “Lewis & Clark Meeting the Flathead Indians at Ross’ Hole.”


*Throughout this article the spelling of the Shoshone girl’s name will retain what was written in the original title given the piece of art.


*Personal communication with Wayne D. Williams. Prints are currently available through Mr. Eli Assoulin, The Art Spectrum, LTD., Vista Hotel, 3 World Trade Center, New York, New York, 10048.


*Research notes for The Sketchbook of the Lewis & Clark Expedition by Michael E. Dotson.

About the Author ...

Michael Dotson serves on the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation board. This is his first contribution to WPO.
The keelboat that Lewis ordered in 1803 from the Pittsburgh boat builder was a fairly unusual vessel compared to most river boats of that day. Several artists since then have tried to capture the Lewis & Clark Expedition and their boats on canvas with a variety of interpretations as to what their boats were like. Only since 1964, when “The Field Notes of William Clark” were published, have historians, artists and students of Lewis & Clark known what the keelboat actually looked like. William Clark’s two sketches of the keelboat now permit a more accurate portrayal of this aspect of the expedition but only a few artists have completed art works since 1964 that depict the correct keelboat.

One that is now available in signed and limited edition print form has been painted by J.D. Speltz of Armstrong, Iowa. He has depicted the expedition in the three boats proceeding upriver on the Missouri as they passed the present day Lewis & Clark State Park near Onawa, Iowa, on August 9, 1804. These prints are offered as a commemorative print to help fund the annual Onawa, Lewis & Clark Festival held each June in this park.

This river channel has now been abandoned by the Missouri but the State of Iowa maintains the old channel as Blue Lake and this state park on its western shore.

A group of volunteers, “The Friends of Discovery” have been working since 1985 to construct replicas of the three boats of this expedition for exhibit in the park (see WPO Vol. 11, No. 4, Vol. 13, No. 3 and Vol. 14, No. 4). 1988 marked completion of the keelboat. The White Pirogue was built in 1990 and now the group has finished the Red Pirogue. The 55 ft. keelboat was built of solid oak and designed after the above mentioned drawings by William Clark. The two pirogues were designed after Macinaw boats which very likely were available on the Ohio River where the expedition acquired them in the fall of 1803. Much discussion has revolved around whether the pirogues were constructed or dugout vessels. The Friends of Discovery felt that due to the cargo capacity (8-10 tons) of these vessels, they very likely were constructed boats so designed these replicas accordingly. The White Pirogue replica is approximately 27 ft. long and 8 ft. wide. It is

Morning of Discovery Art Prints
BY RON WILLIAMS
designed with a pointed bow, square stern, square main sail, and oar locks for 4 oars. The Red Pirogue replica is 37 ft. long, 8 ft. wide, with pointed bow and stern, 6 oar locks and gaff rigged sail with a bow spirt on the mast. Both pirogue replicas are fitted with sweep type rudders or "steering oars" for better maneuverability.

Butch Bouvier, volunteer boatwright/foreman of the construction crew says he'd still like to add the iron framed "Experiment" to the exhibit but is still considering various ideas as to how the sections might have been designed so as to be transported the considerable distance it was before assembly.

Meanwhile, if you would like to order one of these "Morning of Discovery" art prints, either complete the order blank of page 31 and send to the artist or order by phone with credit card. 350 prints and 35 artist's proofs are available as bare prints or in a variety of mats and frames. The print image size is 9¾'' x 15'' and matted is 16'' x 20''. Phone no.: 712-864-3001.

**About the Author**
Ron Williams is an Iowa Department of Natural Resources Ranger stationed at Lewis & Clark State Park, Onawa, Iowa.

For those of you who want to maintain contact with Bud and Margo Kiefer, the co-chairs of the 1991 annual meeting, their address is:
3902 Graf Drive
Louisville, KY 40220
(502) 491-8242
SECOND NATIONAL TRAILS CONFERENCE

BY BOB DOERK

The second National Trails Conference was held at Menucha Conference Center, approximately 23 miles outside Portland, Oregon, overlooking the gorge of the Columbia River with Beacon Rock in the distance. The first conference was held in Wisconsin in 1988. The intent was to have the seventeen historic and scenic trails meet together to develop common goals and share experiences. It was a smashing success from all accounts. Those who attended both conferences indicate great strides are being made. The Conference was held November 14-17, 1991.

The National Trail System was mandated by Congress and perhaps should have the same level of funding support as the National Highway System. The fact is, it has remained largely unfunded and yet crisscrosses the United States in such a manner that few locales are left out of some contact with at least one of the trails. To remedy the funding problem, a Committee of 17 was established to develop a strategy for base funding and to lobby congressional committees involved in appropriating funds for the trail system. The Committee of 17, as the name suggests, has a representative from each of the 17 trails. The first step after the conference was to have our Board of Directors approve a resolution of support for this concept and then to approve a very loosely framed budget request of $250,000 to be included in the overall budget request of $4 million. (There would be $250,000 per trail with the Appalachian Trail not currently in the request due to separate funding they already receive from the federal government.) This has been done, meeting a suspense of January 15, 1992. Hearings will be held within the February-April time frame.

Foundation attendees at the conference included Barb Kubik, Dave and Bernice Paige, and Bob Doerk. Tom Gilbert and Dick Williams, along with Jan Lee, attended from the National Park Service and played a major role in making the conference a success. What was particularly timely for us was the inter-relationship of this conference with our newly revitalized Trail Coordination Committee within the Foundation. We now have state chairmen in place from Virginia to Washington and Oregon with segment coordinators identified by the state chairmen when the Lewis and Clark involvement in any one state is vast or complex. The committee has now put together an inventory questionnaire and will be inventorying virtually all aspects of the trail beginning this spring. The National Park Service will computerize this data and it can be selectively arranged to meet specific project applications or serve a variety of purposes. If you want to get involved in your state, simply drop a line to your state chairman (consult your committee roster mailed out with the November issue of WPO) or write to the Foundation, P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403.

George R. Arnold, president of the Lewis and Clark Society of Wood River, Illinois has been appointed by Governor Jim Edgar to represent Illinois on the Mississippi River Corridor Study Commission. Representatives from the Mississippi River States will determine the advisability and feasibility of designating the Mississippi River Corridor as a National Heritage Corridor. The study commission is to report to Congress. The Lewis & Clark Society of Wood River, Illinois will be our host for the 1993 annual meeting.

George was a guest on a one-hour talk show October 3 on WBGZ-FM, Alton, Illinois. The subject was the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
BLM Purchases Historical Pompeys Pillar

POMPEYS PILLAR ("POMPY'S TOWER"): "Arrived at a remarkable rock in an extensive bottom on the Starl Side of the [Yellowstone] River & 250 paces from it, this rock I ascended and from its top had a most extensive view in every direction. This rock which I shall call Pompy's Tower [after the nickname Clark had given Sacagawea's child] is 200 feet high and 400 paces in circumference and only accessible on one side which is the N.E. the other parts of it being a perpendicular cliff of lightish coloured gritty rock ... the natives have ingraved on the face of this rock the figures of animals & near which I marked my name the day of the month & year."

William Clark's Journal, July 25, 1806

Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Director Cy Jamison recently announced that the BLM has purchased Pompeys Pillar, a 366-acre Montana site that shows the only remaining physical evidence of the 1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition explored and helped map the western United States. Captain William Clark, with 11 men, Shoshone-Indian interpreter Sacajawea and her son, stopped near a 200-foot rock outcropping on the return journey. On July 25, 1806, Clark named it "Pomp's Tower" and carved his signature into the rock. Historians changed the name, but Clark's signature remains today.

"This acquisition is a winner for the BLM, for Billings, Yellowstone County, Montana and for the American public," Jamison said. "The site includes major cultural and historical values, Yellowstone River frontage, bald eagle roosting habitat, and areas suitable for recreational development." Jamison credited the successful acquisition to the support of Senators Baucus and Burns and Representative Marlenee.

Jamison has been negotiating with the private owner of Pompeys Pillar, John Foote, for some time to have this landmark owned by the public. The acquisition has received tremendous local support. In 1989, the Committee for the Preservation of Pompeys Pillar was established to ensure the protection, preservation, use, interpretation and enjoyment of the site by the public. In 1990, the committee was among the top winners of the national Take Pride in America Awards for the outstanding stewardship projects involving the nation's lands and resources. The committee's efforts brought the value of Pompeys Pillar to BLM's attention and helped gain support for public ownership.

Jamison said, "This is a great accomplishment for BLM and Montana. Now that we have acquired Pompeys Pillar, we can begin planning for future developments and move ahead rapidly." Immediate plans for the Pillar include making appropriate site preparations and taking necessary safety precautions that will enable the BLM to open it to the public this spring. A team will be established to plan for the long-term management and development of the site. The plans will incorporate and encourage public involvement.

Also included in the acquisition is the donation by the Foote family of eight original Ralston artworks of Pompeys Pillar, an almost complete set of all the books written about Lewis and Clark, some dating from 1814, and numerous antiques relating to the development of the West. The appraised value of all these items is $167,000.

Pompeys Pillar and the surrounding land, purchased by the BLM for $879,621, is located 28 miles east of Billings.
Nebraska City Site is Chosen for Lewis and Clark Center

The National Park Service has chosen a site near Nebraska City, Nebraska for the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center.

The center, with outdoor exhibits, a lobby staffed year round, exhibit area, tourist information, publication sales and auditorium, will be constructed on the south side of Nebraska 2 overlooking the Missouri River.

The site selection concludes a two-year study by the National Park Service. The Nebraska City site was strongly opposed by representatives from Omaha, who wanted the center located at Fort Atkinson Historical Park.

Don Castleberry, director of the Midwest Region of the National Park Service, said the primary reason for choosing the site was its accessibility, its excellent view of the Missouri River route of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and the desire not to duplicate efforts to interpret the Lewis and Clark Trail like those at Fort Atkinson and the proposed Western Historic Trails Center in Council Bluffs, Iowa.

The site may incorporate components from competing plans for both the visitor center and access, depending on the amount of funds allocated, Castleberry said.

Site development includes a trail with kiosk at an overlook, a trail to the river, living-history areas near the center and by the riverside, picnic sites, roads and parking.

IN THE SPOTLIGHT
Carol MacGregor Deserves a Pat on the Back

Idaho Statesman, October 22, 1991

LCTHF member Carol MacGregor, Boise, received the Joel E. Ferris History Award for the best manuscript written on Inland Empire history by the Washington State Historical Society's History Committee for 1991. Her book, "The Journal of Patrick Gass, Member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," was chosen for the $500 stipend for research and writing of a topic significant to history of a region.

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“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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at Dillon, Montana. The growth of our foundation depends on the formation of these local entities whose purpose is the same as our nationally stated objective and who engage in various local activities to create interest in and knowledge of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. I have just received the newsletter that Gene Swanzy, president of the Traveler’s Rest entity has written and the activities being planned there are very exciting. I am sure many locals will “climb on the bandwagon”—so to speak—and join the Foundation. When I read of some of our chapter activities I almost wish I lived in that area to take part in the excitement!

Elsewhere you will read that Barbara Kubik, our secretary, and Bob Doerk, NPS Lewis and Clark Trail Coordinator, attended the second annual NPS National Trails Conference on November 14-17.

Out of this conference a Committee of 17 was formed. I am happy to report that our Board approved Bob Doerk becoming a member of this committee to represent our Foundation. The committee represents the 17 historic trails and scenic trails and is geared to get congressional appropriations for 16 of these trails. In unity there is STRENGTH and I applaud our Board for approval of this giant step forward!

More good news is in this issue—that is the information about our planned annual meeting in Vancouver, Washington. Martin Plamondon II and his committee are “set to go” and I am looking forward to that meeting—there is so much about the Lewis and Clark Expedition out there that we have yet to see.

More good news—Don Nell has completed the slide library of 1057 slides which will be stored at the Russell Museum with our archives. Our funding for the Interpretive Centers at Great Falls and at Wood River is on the front burner for the next session of Congress—we thank our local, state and federal people for their perseverance in our behalf. This is the second time I have said

local, state and federal combined action is necessary to get our job done. Another reason for more local entities and working up a “ground swell” at the grass roots level. Bob Doerk and his NPS Trails coordinators will need all the local help we can muster to get the tremendous job of inventorying Lewis and Clark Sites across the country—which we hope to have completed by the Bicentennial.

Guess what? Bob has people VOLUNTEERING to work on this committee because it is a very exciting project. With all this good news it seems unnecessary to wish all of our members a most happy and healthy and exciting new year, but I do send my best wishes to you all.

Morning of Discovery
Lewis and Clark Festival
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a foggy morning ... we Saw a high round mountain on the Lar'd Side which we expect is the Same we Saw ab' the great falls and the Same that Lieut Hood gave an account off (it is nearly cov'd with Snow) ... towards evening we met Several Indians in a canoe who were going up the River. they Signed to us that in two Sleeps we Should See the Ocean vessels and white people ...

Pvt. Joseph Whitehouse/Sunday 3rd Nov 1805