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 historic research, writing, or deeds which promote the general purpose and scope of activities of the Foundation. Membership in the organization comprises a broad spectrum of Lewis and Clark enthusiasts including Federal, State, and local government officials, historians, scholars, and others of wide-ranging Lewis and Clark interests. Officers of the Foundation are elected from the membership. The annual meeting of the Foundation is traditionally held during August, the birth month of both Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The meeting place is rotated among the states, and tours generally are arranged to visit sites in the area of the annual meeting which have historic association with the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT JIM FAZIO

One of my regrets from college days is that I listened to my advisor. Among some other bad advice I received in forestry school was the suggestion to not enroll in a history course for an elective, as I had planned to do. It was, in my advisor’s opinion, a waste of time and would probably kill my grade point average as well.

Now here I am as president of one of the nation’s finest history-oriented organizations. My advisor would be aghast, and I’m terrified. Actually, it is with humility that I face the coming year as your president and in the true spirit of Lewis & Clark. I intend to try my best to administer this undertaking successfully.

Fortunately, the real success of our organization rests with my fellow officers on the Executive Committee and our members who serve on 23 other committees. These committees work hard throughout the year to carry out the mission of the Foundation. There is also the Past President’s Advisory Council to keep the new kid in line, and a talented, dedicated 7-person board of directors.

If there is one thing I have learned

(Continued on page 31)

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.

2 WE PROCEEDED ON—NOVEMBER 1992
From the Editor's Desk

We are through with another annual meeting of the Foundation and those of us who were able to attend are already looking forward to the 1993 meeting. The meeting in Vancouver, Washington was both a learning experience and a time of fellowship. (I'm starting to sound like the pastor at my church.) There were highlights and lowlights at the meeting as there always are at any gathering of this magnitude.

Most of this issue of WPO is filled with meeting related articles. There were major discoveries reported on as there were at last year's meeting in Louisville. Your better-late-than-never editor is finally getting around to printing the banquet talk from Louisville which was on the then newly discovered Clark letters. The contents of the letters are still "new hat" for many of you folks out there and it is pretty interesting stuff.

We will be covering the two major discoveries reported at Vancouver in the February WPO.

There should be enough room this time for a series of articles on the efforts of both the National Park Service and our Lewis & Clark Trail Coordination Committee members to document and upgrade the Lewis and Clark Trail from Philadelphia to Astoria. To me it is a pretty darn exciting effort requiring both hard work and sometimes serious detective work on the part of those involved.

Also in this WPO I am starting a letters to the editor column. If you have something to say, say it here.

And, if we get all that squeezed in on these pages, then it looks like Jim Large's article on "Sacagawea, the Guide vs. the Purists" may have to wait until next time.

Annual Meeting pictures will also be featured in the February WPO as space permits.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Mr. Erickson:

I am a long time member of the Foundation. Over the course of several summers in the '50s I traveled over most of the trail before there were any real guidebooks except Wheeler's "The Trail of Lewis and Clark" which is largely unrelated to modern roads. So you see that I am a great admirer of the Expedition.

However, I think the Foundation's publication has for a long time been too parochial. Every minute detail of the Expedition is bisected and trisected yet again. The details are overpowering. Is there any cosmic importance to finding whether Capt. Lewis stepped here or whether, instead, he stepped there?

The journal even gives the false impression that Lewis and Clark were the first across the continent. That honor belongs to that young Scotsman, Alexander Mackenzie, a diminutive man who stood 5'5", but who had great strength and an iron will. On his explorations he made a wrong turn and discovered the Mackenzie River that flowed north into the Arctic Sea. Trying again and overcoming great hardships he came down the Bella Coola River into the Pacific, and in Dean's Channel wrote in vermilion on a great rock "Alexander Mackenzie, From Canada by Land, the 22nd of July, 1793." That inscription is now chiselled into the face of the rock. Mackenzie finished his ex-

(Letters on page 30)
One never knows where historical material will be discovered or encountered. In the fall of 1988 the six grandchildren of Temple Bodley faced the task of settling matters regarding a family home. In 1941 their grandmother and uncle had moved to the house on Bassett Avenue, in Louisville, following the death of Bodley the previous year. Earlier in 1988 the last resident—a family friend and former caregiver for their uncle Temple Bodley, Jr.—had moved to a nursing home. In cleaning out the house prior to selling it the family made a startling discovery. The attic of the house was full of family memorabilia, none of which the grandchildren had been aware of. In opening up trunks they discovered family papers, and among those they discovered a stack of letters marked "Old Clark Letters Chiefly Gen. Wm. Clark's." The bundle primarily was comprised of letters written by the famed explorer to his eldest brother Jonathan. Temple Bodley was a great-grandson of Jonathan Clark and the letters had descended in the family to him. Upon his death they apparently had been packed away in a trunk and forgotten until discovered almost fifty years later. The family looked through the letters and soon realized they had important historical content.

In early December 1988 I learned of the possible existence of a group of Clark family papers, including William Clark letters. I wrote to James W. Stites, Jr., one of the grandchildren and owners, immediately and followed it up with another letter in January 1989. On February 10, 1989, I received a telephone call from William F. Stites, also one of the grandchildren and owners, about the papers. His brief description of the papers, including the William Clark letters, gave me an absolute jolt! Among the William Clark letters were ones written in 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806 from opposite the mouth of the Missouri River, St. Louis, and Fort Mandan. Letters from other years were written from Kentucky, St. Louis, and other locales; including a run of letters dated 1809, an important date which all Lewis and Clark enthusiasts know well. An appointment was scheduled for February 15, in order that I could examine the letters. Upon perusal of the letters I immediately realized their significance. The Expedition date and other letters contained information that I recognized as being hitherto unknown and providing the answers to questions and mysteries that had bedeviled Lewis and Clark scholars and students for years. February 15 happened to be my birthday and I told Mr. Stites then, that the thrill of seeing the letters was a wonderful present. After discussing the letters and family plans regarding them with Mr. Stites I expressed The Filson Club's obvious interest and reasons for placing the papers with us. One major reason was the already large collection of Clark family papers and artifacts at the Club, including letters of William Clark. We also had Lewis and Clark Expedition related material; ranging from William's famous September 23, 1806 letter to published Expedition related books and one of the very few, and possibly only, verified animal artifacts—the horn of a bighorn sheep.

Over approximately the next two years The Filson Club counseled the family regarding the letters and discussed their eventual disposition and possible acquisition by the Club. In addition to the papers/artifacts connection there was a people one. Members of the Clark family had been Filson Club members since its earliest years; Club Director James R. Bentley and William Stites had been college classmates; and Filson Club Board Member John S. Speed and James Stites were close friends. Personal ties such as these further helped The Filson Club in acquiring the papers. In July 1989 the papers were placed on loan to the Club for safe-keeping and study and on October 29, 1990, the Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodley Collection was presented as a gift to The Filson
Club. Although The Filson Club already had an excellent manuscript collection—including the best pioneer, ante-bellum, and Civil War manuscripts in Kentucky—this was one of the most significant acquisitions in its 107 year history. The Filson Club and the historical community owe a real debt of gratitude to the six grandchildren of Temple Bodley to whom possession of the papers had descended. Their generosity and historical awareness is to be commended.2

The core of the Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodley Collection is forty-seven William Clark letters; forty-two to brother Jonathan, three to his brother Edmund Clark, and two to his nephew, Jonathan’s son, John Hite Clark. It is this group of letters that have such tremendous historical significance. The amount of information—whether new, clarifying, confirmatory, or even contradictory in nature—is simply overwhelming. William’s letters are a significant addition to the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, other people and events contemporary with him, and of William Clark himself. In reviewing information on William and his known correspondence, no profile or understanding of the personal or private William Clark clearly emerged. He tended to be quite businesslike and rather formal. Letters to family members are more personal, but what the real man was like in many respects still remained unknown.

The letters William wrote to Jonathan change that. They open up a window to his heart. They allow the reader to see what the personal man was like, taking one beyond the surface personality and feelings, or official persona, of one of the greatest explorers in the history of the United States. This was the feeling I had after reading the letters, and conversations about them with Gary Moulton and James Ronda confirmed this impression. These letters are an integral part of any biography or study of William Clark.3

To use a couple of cliches, William “bears his soul” or “pours out his heart” to Jonathan. Jonathan was twenty years older than William and was held in great esteem and affection by his youngest brother. To term Jonathan a father figure to William would not be inappropriate. These letters, again, are more personal than most of William’s correspondence and reveal his hopes, fears, ambitions, frustrations, activities, and plans. He regularly sought Jonathan’s advice and approval and expressed concern and disappointment when he did not hear from him.

William’s own words relay this feeling for Jonathan best. In an undated letter, probably written about January 1809, William wrote “I have not heard from you for a long time, and have been trying to recollect what I could have written,—I can’t recollect of anything that I have said to you out of the way. I keep no copies of letters I write to you and have and shall feel no restraint either in style or grammar.”4

Requests and wishes for Jonathan’s counsel regularly appear in his letters. Soon after returning from the Expedition he expressed his desire for Jonathan’s advice, writing on January 22, 1807, from Washington, D.C. that “I wished I had 20 minutes conversation with you on some points which I am much at a loss.”5

Here are William Clark and Meriwether Lewis, the toast of the capital after their successful voyage to the Pacific and back; being wined and dined and honored. Maybe it was a bit much for William. Possibly he was having to deal with propositions or decisions he had not anticipated. But whatever the case, he turned to Jonathan, wishing for his counsel. On October 5, 1808, having recently settled in St. Louis, he wrote:

I wish you to be possessed of the knowledge of all our intentions, views, & prospects, & receive your advice & opinion … I wish I was blessed as much with your Counsel as with your good wishes for my interest & prosperity—do just as you please in all my business which you may have in your care …

You must not expect either Connection grammar & good Spelling in my letters as I write to You without Reserve & at Such times as I can find leisure.6

Over a three day period the following month, William found the “leisure” to write Jonathan a seven and one-half page folio size letter in a small hand.

I received your kind letters … with greater pleasure than you can imagine. I do assure you that advice was never given to one who received it with more Satisfaction, and red the letters of another with more real pleasure than I do yours … I hope you will do for me in this business as you would do for yourself; I know you will, and therefore feel more secure than if I had the Settlement to make myself … I wish to See you much very much indeed … as I have in all Cases Sought your advice and good Coun­cils words Cannot express the pleasure which I feel in receiving it unasked.”

NOVEMBER 1992 — WE PROCEEDED ON 5
In January of 1811 William wrote Jonathan about his acting as a second in a duel. One of the people involved in the affair, Lt. John Campbell, was in jail. Clark passed along to Jonathan that Campbell wished Jonathan was convenient so that he might take his advice! Jonathan should have had a syndicated advice column. He could have been the Dear Abby—or Dear Jonathan—of his day! Not only did William yearn for his advice, but others did as well.

Complete confidence, complete trust, complete candor. These sentiments are a constant in William’s letters to Jonathan. His writing “without reserve” provides incredible insight into and knowledge of William Clark the man, as well as the people and events around him. William would not write to just anyone that he considered Louisiana territorial secretary Frederick Bates a “little animal whom I had mistaken as my friend” and for whom he had “neither love nor respect .”

Subjects in addition to the Lewis and Clark Expedition that William wrote about are his military activities in 1792; moving Jonathan’s family to Kentucky in 1802; the Burr Conspiracy; their brother General George Rogers Clark; fossil excavations at Big Bone Lick, Kentucky in 1807; his move to St. Louis and St. Louis news—much of which is very informative and interesting to read. For example, prairie fires were a problem west of town in November 1808; grass fed beef on the hoof brought three cents a pound and corn fed pork from three to four cents; a tame turkey sold for three dollars and a pair of tame ducks for one dollar; Irish potatoes sold for two to three shillings a bushel, and on and on, a very complete listing of stock, produce, and other consumer goods prices. William was interested in establishing a store in St. Louis in partnership with his nephew John Hite Clark (who had a store in Louisville). He stated what was in demand and what was not and the great profits they could make if they acted quickly.

William also wrote about York and his other slaves; his business affairs; building Fort Osage; Indian affairs; the death of Meriwether Lewis and his reaction to and thoughts upon it; the preparation of what became the Biddle edition of the Lewis and Clark Expedition book; the Missouri Fur Company; family news; and much more.

It gives insight into the personal William Clark to read his account of his pleasure in seeing his first born, Meriwether Lewis Clark, get a bath—or being “Soused in a tub of water” as he puts it—and then being “washed with whiskey” afterwards. The little fellow did not mind the bath at all as long as he got his whiskey rub! One hopes that such a practice corresponded to today’s alcohol rub or the little guy may have gotten soused in a different way!

It is also enlightening to know his thoughts regarding love and romance. On October 27, 1810, William wrote John Hite Clark, mentioning that John’s Uncle Edmund had hinted at the former “being a little in love.” He then relates his observation regarding a man in that condition:

“I know when a man is in that way his mind is bent on the Object of his admiration and he thinks every attention he can pay to the fair Object is Scarcely Sufficient to Show the Arder of his passion. man in that State of Mind desires not only pity but the applause of his friend[s].”

Here is one of the giants of western exploration; a man who successfully helped lead an epic journey through unexplored country; who stared down hostile Sioux, affectionately relating his views on a man in love. An intrepid explorer and leader who confessed to Jonathan in January 1810 that he was afraid he would be offered the governorship of Louisiana and does not feel himself to be equal to the task, writing “I am afraid, and Cannot Consent if I was nominated, ... I do not think myself Calculated to meet the Storms which might be expected.” Of course, the death of his dear friend Meriwether Lewis was still fresh in his mind and he in part blamed the troubles Lewis had experienced as governor for his tragic death.

Three years later, apparently feeling himself equal to the task and the painful memory of Lewis’s death having faded with the passage of time, he accepted the governorship of Missouri Territory when it was offered to him.

Two subjects that Clark wrote about that are of significant interest concern two Expedition members: York and Meriwether Lewis. York is one of the better known or remembered members of the Corps of Discovery. The only African-American member of the Expedition, he accompanied his master, William Clark, on the journey. But York was much more than a manservant. Such a luxury could not be indulged on an undertaking of this nature. York became a valued member of the Expedition and contributed to its success.
In 1985 Robert Betts had published a good book he had written entitled *In Search of York*. In it Betts attempted to chronicle the facts and myths regarding York. It is the most complete biography of York yet written. However, primarily due to gaps in the record, some areas of York’s life remained a mystery. One of the most intriguing gaps concerns what happened between William Clark and York following the Expedition to have caused a rather serious falling out between them. Betts located an 1811 source that stated William was displeased with York and that he had been hired out to a severe master, but Betts was unable to find a source concerning why their relationship had reached that sad state. The sources were simply not available to answer fully that question. Betts also believed, given the lack of information, that York was not married at the time of the Expedition.

This latter belief is disproved in William’s letter of April 1805 from Fort Mandan. As stated in the Expedition letters article in the July 1991 issue of *The Filson Club History Quarterly*, William wrote Jonathan that York was sending back two buffalo robes, one for his wife and one for Ben.

As an aside regarding the Expedition letters, especially given the name of the Foundation’s quarterly, one of the new Clark Expedition letters apparently makes first use of the phrase that was to become famous: “We proceeded on.” Writing Jonathan on December 16, 1803, from the Corps’s winter quarters on Wood River, William related that after leaving Cohokia “we proceeded on under Sales & Cullers to St. Louis ...”

To return to York. In addition to establishing that York was indeed married at the time the Expedition left Louisville in October 1803, the letters also answer the question of why the two men’s formerly close relationship soured. William mentions or discusses York in eleven of the letters. A few references are in passing, but most go into some detail and leave no doubt as to why they had a falling out.

Prior to the Expedition William lived near Louisville and in late 1802 or early 1803 moved across the Ohio River to Clarksville, Indiana Territory. Following their “Western tour” Clark settled in St. Louis, taking his slaves, including York, with him.

Slavery, of course, was an abhorrent institution. The human tragedies caused by it are countless. Slaves, although well-liked and highly valued by their owners were generally looked upon as property first and people second. Their feelings and desires often were not taken into account and many times the basis for a decision regarding them—sometimes no matter how close the owner-slave relationship—was economic or financial. Slaves simply were seen as inferior to whites, without the same capacity for feeling or level of intelligence. They were seen as children, and often naughty children, in need of supervision and upon occasion stern discipline. William Clark was the product of a slaveholding society. This must be remembered, because the beliefs and environment regarding slavery shaped the way in which he viewed and treated his own slaves.

William’s first mention of York following the Expedition was in June 1808, when he, his bride Julia Hancock, and their party journeyed to St. Louis from Virginia and Kentucky. Their party left Louisville on June 2, and by June 7 had descended the Ohio to the mouth of the Cumberland River. There the party split. While William and most of the party continued down the Ohio, York (as part of a small group) was sent overland to Kaskaskia with Clark’s horses, carriage, cart, and a few other slaves. Once they arrived in St. Louis, York was set to work doing various chores.

Trouble between William and York manifested itself by early November 1808, and the cruel realities of slavery and the attitudes it engendered were to blame. The reason for the trouble; York and his wife had been separated. He was owned by William and taken to St. Louis. However, his wife was owned by someone else and remained behind in the Louisville area. York did not want to be separated from her and began agitating to return to Louisville. William wanted him in St. Louis and became irritated with York’s attitude. By early November he had relented enough to allow York to visit his wife, but the rift between the two men is obvious. On November 9, William wrote Jonathan that he would:

send York ... and promit him to Stay a few weeks with his wife. he wishes to Stay there altogether and hire himself which I have refus'd. he prefers being Sold to retiring here, he is Serviceable to me at this place, and I am determinded not to Sell him, to gratify him, and have directed him to return in John H. Clarkes Boat if he Sends goods to this place, this fall. if any
attempt is made by York to run off, or refuse to prove his duty as a Slave, I wish him Sent to New Orleans and Sold, or hired out to Some Severe Master until he thinks better of Such Conduct I do not wish him to know my determination if he conducts himself well (This Choice I must request you to make if his Conduct deserves Severity)\textsuperscript{23}

Such strong statements leave no doubt that their relationship had deteriorated and was now strictly one of displeased master and recalcitrant slave.

On November 22, William reiterated his wishes regarding York and his directions to York to return with John Hite Clark's goods, and in the meantime to work for his nephew if he had "any thing to his services on the Expedition is mentioned, as there more unfavourable than he expected me here and perhaps he will See his Situation more unfavourable than he expected & will after a while perfur returning to this place."\textsuperscript{24}

William's troubles with York were still on his mind in mid-December. In a letter dated December 10, York's belief that he should be set free due to his services on the Expedition is mentioned, as well as William's disagreement with this opinion and his refusal to manumit York on those and also financial grounds. William regretted the course of action he was taking, but believed it was necessary, writing:

I did wish to do well by him, but as he has got Such a notion about freedom and his emence Services, that I do not expect he will be of much Service to me again; I do not think with him, that his Services has been So great or my Situation would promit me to liberate him—I must request you to do for me as Circumstances may to you, appir best, or necessry and will ratify what you may do—he could if he would be of Service to me and Save me money, but I do not expect much from him as long as he has a wife in Kenly. I find it is necessary to look out a little and must get in Some way of making a little, you will not disapprove of my inclinations on this Score, I have long discovered your wish (even before I went [on] the Western trip) to induce me to believe that there might be rainey day, Clouds Seem to fly thicker than they use to do and I think there will be a rainy day—\textsuperscript{25}

This situation continued to gnaw at William. Not only did he write Jonathan about his problems and course of action, but he discussed the situation with his good friend Meriwether Lewis. Just a week after last writing his brother about York, he returned to the vexing matter.

I do not ... care for Yorks being in this Country. I have got a little displeased with him and intended to have punished him but Govr. Lewis has insisted on my only hiring him out in Kentucky which perhaps will be best.--This I leave entirely to you, perhaps if he has a Severe Master a While he may do Some Service, I do not wish him again in this Country untill he applies himself to Come and give over that wife of his—I wished him to Stay with his family four or five weeks only, and not 4 or 5 months— ... Dear Bro. I give you a great deal of Trouble about my Concerns shall I ever Compensate you?\textsuperscript{26}

And York was not the only slave causing William problems. Several of his slaves still in St. Louis also were giving him trouble. He wrote Jonathan that he was often "much vexed & perplexed ... with my few negrows,"\textsuperscript{27} So much so that he had found it necessary to chastise them and was considering selling all but about four; not only to relieve the frustration of dealing with them but to obtain needed money. And he was troubled by his temptation to sell some of his slaves. "I wish I was near enough to Council with you a little on this Subject will you write a few lines about this inclination of mine to turn negrows into goods & c."\textsuperscript{28}

By May 1809, York had returned to St. Louis, "York brought my horse" William wrote on May 28, "he is here but of veryr little Service to me, insolent and Sulky, I gave him a Severe trouncing the other Day and he has much mended[?] Sence Could he be hired for any thing at or near Louisville, I think if he was hired there a while to a Severe Master he would See the difference and do better."\textsuperscript{29}

York's inclination to mend his ways was temporary apparently, because on July 22, William informed Jonathan that he had "taken York out of the Calebos and he has for two or three weeks been the finest Negrow I ever had."\textsuperscript{30}

What trouble York had gotten into that merited him being jailed is not known. Indications are that it was for continued "insolent and Sulky" behavior because in writing Jonathan a month later, William stated that "Sence I confined York he has been a gadd fellow to work."\textsuperscript{31} Clark seems to contradict himself somewhat by writing that York has been good for two or three weeks and then later writing that he has not done better at all. The facts seem to be that York improved his attitude for short periods of time following punish-
ment, but then soon returned to openly expressing his unhappiness and resentment. William, although undoubtedly having genuine affection for York at one time and despite their formerly close relationship was, again, a product of a slave-owning society, and when slaves disobeyed or misbehaved many an owner took certain steps.

William was at the end of his patience with York and he determined to take such a step now. Continuing his August 26 letter, he stated regarding York that “I have become displeased with him and Shall hire or Sell him, on the 5 of next month I [shall] Set him off in a boat to Wheeling as a hand, on his return to the falls I wish much to hire him or Sell him—I can’t sell Negrows here for money.”

That is the last time that York is mentioned in the letters. The letters date to September 1811 and not another mention is made of him. It is believed that there are other William Clark to Jonathan Clark letters and it is possible that if such letters do exist they may mention York and provide further information. It is known, from available sources, that York was hired out in Louisville. Clark’s family in Louisville all knew York, knew him well, and they may possibly have hoped for a reconciliation between the two men. That might be why he was hired out rather than sold upon his return to Louisville. However, a more likely answer is found in a letter Edmund Clark wrote William on September 3, 1809, in which he started that neither he nor anyone else liked York and that it was only their friendship for William that had kept York from being “roughly used” when he had been in Louisville earlier that year. York apparently worked on Jonathan’s plantation for a time. An entry in the latter’s account records lists an expense incurred for “Welding 1 Staple for York.”

A May 13, 1811, letter from John O’Fallon to his Uncle William Clark written from Louisville provides important information regarding York. O’Fallon related that York had been hired to a severe master and that he was very repentent and apparently despaired of ever being able to make amends to William. His situation and the fact that it was believed his wife’s owner was going to move to Natchez may have accounted for this attitude.

He had been separated from Clark for almost two years (except for when they probably saw each other when Clark visited family in Louisville) and the latter apparently preferred it that way. His disgust with York must have been mingled with compassion because York was not sold, but was either hired out or worked for the Clarks in Louisville. If William had wanted to sell him no matter what he could have sent him to New Orleans, as he had once considered doing.

More than four years later York was still in Louisville and still a slave. On November 14, 1815, William and John Hite Clark entered into a business agreement to purchase a wagon and team to be operated in and around Louisville. The driver of the wagon: York. It is not known how long their business lasted or how long York drove the wagon. However, this document establishes York’s whereabouts and activities four years beyond the last previously known source and also that he was experienced in the livelihood he attempted upon being freed.

Clark did eventually grant York his freedom and set him up in the drayage business. York reportedly hauled goods between Nashville, Tennessee and Richmond, Kentucky. According to notes Washington Irving took of a conversation with Clark in September 1832, York did not fare well in his business, lost it, and eventually attempted to return to St. Louis and Clark, but died in Tennessee of cholera before doing so. Perhaps York was given that very wagon and team he drove around Louisville. There is a rather fantastic tale that York returned to the West, where he became a chief among the Crow Indians. That seems unlikely. What really was the fate of York may forever remain unknown, but these recently discovered Clark letters certainly provide much new and important information.

The other Expedition member frequently mentioned in William’s letters is Meriwether Lewis. Lewis and Clark were of course great friends and their names are forever linked with one another. The records of the Corps of Discovery and other sources all illustrate how well they worked together and their high regard for each other. Lewis is mentioned in the Expedition letters, in letters concerning publication of an Expedition book, and occasionally regarding his activities and plans in letters written from St. Louis. It has already been noted that Lewis interceded on York’s behalf in December 1808 and persuaded Clark not to punish him. However, the really significant information concerning the ill-fated Governor of Louisiana occurs from August to November 1809 and concerns
his death and the events leading up to it. Lewis’s
death at Grinder’s Inn in Tennessee was a terrib­
le blow to Clark. He had lost his closest friend
and afterwards talked little of Lewis’s tragic end.

There is little doubt among historians that Lewis
took his own life. Dawson Phelps’s very persuasive
article in 1956 issue of the William and Mary
Quarterly weighed the suicide or murder evidence
and debate and concluded that the facts pointed
to the former. The contemporary evidence and
accounts all supported the great explorer dying by
hand. Those associated with Lewis during his
last days pronounced it suicide and Thomas Jef­
ferson believed it to be as well, citing not only the
accounts but a family history of mental instabili­
ty. It also must be remembered that Lewis was
experiencing considerable difficulty in his personal
and official affairs. He had overextended himself
financially and his second-in-command, territorial
secretary Frederick Bates, was a political enemy.
The courage, resolve, and leadership Lewis ex­
hibited as a leader of the Corps of Discovery did
not necessarily serve him well in the Expedition’s official affairs. He had overextended himself financially and his second-in-command, territorial secretary Frederick Bates, was a political enemy. The courage, resolve, and leadership Lewis exhibited as a leader of the Corps of Discovery did not necessarily serve him well as a territorial administrator. In addition, the financial “carte blanche” he had enjoyed regarding the Expedition and as a close associate of President Jefferson helped cause him mistakenly to practice in part the same kind of fiscal policy as governor. It is believed no malfeasance was intended or necessarily even engaged in, but given the often penurious prac­tices of the government at that time some of
Lewis’s vouchers for government payment had been protested. Unless he could convince the government differently, he would be personally responsible for those considerable debts. Conse­quently, he was in dire financial straits and his creditors demanding payment exacerbated the situation. This was a most unfortunate situation, but a rather common one. Many a government official was ruined by the government’s refusal to pay legitimate bills on it. William Clark’s own brother, George Rogers Clark, is a perfect example. In fact, William and his family started East not long after Lewis with one of William’s intentions being to go to Washington and settle some of his own protested bills.

On August 26, 1809, William wrote Jonathan regarding their brother George, personal financial matters, York, the Missouri Fur Company, and Meriwether Lewis. William was very concerned about his friend and firmly believed he had done

nothing wrong.

Gover. L. I may Say is absolutely by Some of his
Bills being protested for a Considerable Sum
which was for Moneys paid for Printing the Laws
and Expenses in Carrying the mandan home all
of which he has vouchers for, ...

I have not Spent Such a day as yesterday for
mancy years, ... [I] took my leave of Gover. Lewis
who Set out to Philadelphia to write our Book,
(but more particularly to explain Some Matter
between him and the Govt.[]) Several of his Bills
have been protested, and his Crediters all flock­ing in near the time of his Setting out distress­ed him much, which he expressed to me in Such
terms as to Cause a Compassy which is not yet
off—I do not believe there was ever an honester
man in Louisiana nor one who had purer or motives than Gover. Lewis. If his mind had been
at ease I Should have parted Cherefuly. he has
given all his landed property into the hands of
Judge Steward Mr. Carre & myself to pay his
debts. ... I think all will be right and he will return with flying Colours to this Country—prey

do not mention this about the Gover except Some
unfavourable or wrong Statement is made—I
assure you that he has done nothing dishonestable, and all he has done will Come out to be much to his Credit as I am fully
persuaded.

By late October William and his family had
visited relatives in Louisville and had departed for
Virginia. Their route eastward took them through
Shelbyville, Frankfort, and Lexington, Kentucky
and then south-southeastward through the Cumberland Gap into Tennessee and then north­ward up the Great Valley to Finacaste, Virginia,
the home of Julia’s family. Two days after parting
from Jonathan they arrived in Shelbyville. It was
October 28, seventeen days since the death of
Meriwether Lewis. It was there that William first
received news of his friend’s possible death. As
William related it to Jonathan in a letter dated that
day, he had picked up a copy of a Frankfort
newspaper (The Argus of Western America) and
in it saw a report that gave him “much concern.”
It reported that Lewis had killed himself by cut­
ting his throat. Clark was very upset regarding this
news and transmitted his reaction to his brother,
writing “I fear this report has too much truth, tho’
it may have no foundation—my reason for thinking
it possible is founded on the letter I received
from him at your house, ... I fear O’ I fear the
weight of his mind has overcome him, what will
be the Consequence?’”

10 WE PROCEEDED ON ——— NOVEMBER 1992
Two days later William wrote Jonathan from Lexington and reported he had "heard of the Certainty of the death of Govr. Lewis which gives us much uneasiness ... I wish much to get the letter I recev'd of Govr. Lewis from N[ew] Madrid, which you Saw it will be of great Service to me prey send it ... I wish I had Some Conversation with you ..."46

A little more than a week later his party had reached Bean Station, Tennessee. William was still shaken by the tragic news, writing Jonathan that "You have heard of that unfortunate end of Govr. Lewis, ... I am at a loss to know what to be at his death is a turble Stroke to me, in every respect. I wish I could talk a little with you just now."56

By late November William had received additional information regarding Lewis's death through letters from Captain Gilbert Russell, commander at Chickasaw Bluffs, and apparently from an interview with John Pernier, the late governor's servant. The story Pernier apparently related to Clark provides a specific example of Lewis's "derangement," as they referred to it.

I have just reciev'd letters from Capt. Russell who Commands at the Chickasaw Bluffs that Govr. Lewis was there detain'd by him 15 Days in a State of Derangement most of the time and that he had attempted to kill himself before he got there—his servant reports that on his way to Nashville, he would frequently "Conceite [con­ceive] that he herd me Comething on, and Said that he was certain [I would] over take him. that I had herd of his Situation and would Come to his releav"—Capt. Russell sais he made his will at the Bluffs and left Wm. Meriwether & myself Exectors and directed that I Should dispose of his papers & c. as I wished—poore fellow, what a number of Conjectural reports we hear mostly unfavourable to him. I have to Contredit maney of them—I do not know what I Shall do about the publication of the Book, ..."41

Clark obviously believed Lewis was unstable mentally during this period; thought him capable of taking his own life; and believed he had. If he had not, he most assuredly would have written Jonathan voicing his objection to the verdict of suicide. Clark's statement that he must contradict many of the unfavorable reports that were circulating about his friend is believed to refer to rumors of dishonesty and such. The letters Clark received from Lewis and Russell have apparently been lost to history. A survey of published sources and various collections failed to reveal them.

Clark occasionally mentioned Lewis in later letters, generally regarding the publication of the Expedition book and his difficulties with the government.52 What he wrote in his letters to Jonathan was hitherto unknown for the most part and is certainly significant.

Meriwether Lewis and York were two important individuals in the exploration of the American West. Because of the existence of William Clark's letters and their recent emergence from an attic, significant new information is now known about these men. And they, again, are only two subjects that William's letters shed immense light on. One of the foremost subjects is Clark himself. William was as good as his word when he wrote Jonathan that "I wish you to See & know all,"53 He did indeed write him "without reserve"; communicating his feelings, his activities, and about the people and events around him. It is these letters that provide a window through which the real William Clark and the people and events around him can be seen, and we, and history, are much the richer for it.

Address delivered at the banquet of the 23rd Annual Meeting of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Louisville, Kentucky on August 7, 1991.

---FOOTNOTES---

1Gary E. Moulton and James J. Holmberg, " 'What We Are About': Recently Discovered Letters of William Clark Shed New Light on the Lewis and Clark Expedition," The Filson Club History Quarterly 65 (July 1991):387-90. The article is intended as an overview and discusses some of the more important revelations. There is additional new Expedition information that was not included.
2The donors of the collection were William A. Stuart, Jr., George Rogers Clark Stuart, James W. Stites, Jr., Ellen Stites Thurber, Dr. Temple Bodley Stites, and William F. Stites.
4William Clark to Jonathan Clark, no date (ca. January 1809), Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodley Collection, Manuscript Department, The Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky. This collection is hereafter cited as JCP-TBC and William and Jonathan Clark as W.C. and J.C., respectively.
5W.C. to J.C., January 22, 1807, JCP-TBC.
6W.C. to J.C., October 5, 1808, JCP-TBC.
7W.C. to J.C., November 22, 24, 1808, JCP-TBC.
8W.C. to J.C., January 31, 1811, JCP-TBC.
9W.C. to J.C., July 16, 1810, December 14, 1810, JCP-TBC.
10W.C. to J.C., November 24, 25, 1808, JCP-TBC.
11W.C. to J.C., May 28, 1809, JCP-TBC.
12W.C. to John Hite Clark, October 27, 1810, JCP-TBC.
13W.C. to J.C., January 12, 1810, JCP-TBC.

Betts, p. 117.

WC to J.C., April 1805, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., December 16, 1803, JCP-TBC. A survey of the journals and known correspondence failed to reveal the actual phrase "we proceeded on" prior to its use in this letter. Phrases very similar in wording appear, but not those three famous words in that order.

York is mentioned or discussed in letters dated April 1805, June 6, 7, 1808, July 21, 1808, November 9, 1808, November 22, 24, 1808, December 10, 1808, December 17, 1808, May 28, 1809, July 22, 1809, August 26, 1809, no date [ca. January 1809].

George Rogers Clark to Thomas Jefferson, December 12, 1802, Donald Jackson, ed. *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783-1854* 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:7-8; Jonathan Clark, diary, February 7, March 19, May 20, 21, 1803, vol. 15, Jonathan Clark Papers, Clark-Hite Collection, Manuscript Department, The Filson Club. The two sources obviously conflict regarding when William moved to Clarksville. Jonathan was a meticulous record keeper and I tend to side with his diary, that indicates that William actually settled in Clarksville by May 1803. George Rogers Clark perhaps knew that William planned to move across the river and may have been making final preparations to do so and may therefore have unintentionally written it as an accomplished fact. It is possible that further research may determine when William actually began residing in Clarksville.

Jonathan Clark, diary, October 26, 1803, vol. 15, Jonathan Clark Papers, Clark-Hite Collection; WC to J.C., June 6, 7, 1808, July 2, 1808, JCP-TBC.

Jonathan Clark to Isaac Clark, June 2, 1808, Isaac Clark Papers, Clare-Hite Collection Manuscript Department, The Filson Club; Betts, p. 111; WC to J.C., June 6, 7, 1808, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., June 6, 7, 1808, July 21, 1808, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., November 9, 1808, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., November 22, 24, 1808, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., December 10, 1808, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., December 17, 1808, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., January 2, 1809, JCP-TBC.

Ibid.

WC to J.C., May 28, 1809, JCP-TBC. Although a question mark was placed after "mended," I believe that that rather than "minded" is the correct word and is used in the sense of having mended his ways. In another letter Clark uses mend in the same sense. I do not believe it in any way is used to mean physically mend.

WC to J.C., July 22, 1809, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., August 26, 1809, JCP-TBC.

Ibid. The falls of course means Louisville, where Jonathan would apparently handle the hiring or selling of York. This letter explains why York was not with Clark and his family on their trip east in September. Not only did his fall from favor account for his absence, but the fact that he had been sent to Wheeling on September 5, as a boathand.

Edmund Clark to William Clark, September 3, 1809, Clark Family Papers-E.G. Voorhis Memorial Collection.

Jonathan Clark, account records, February 28, 1810, Jonathan Clark Papers, Clark-Hite Collection. Listings for welding yoke staples commonly appear. When this entry re: York was first discovered I questioned whether Jonathan might have mistakenly written York instead of Yoke, but a study of the accounts and knowing the former's meticulous record keeping I concluded that he did indeed mean York and that the latter may well have been working on his plantation.

John O’Fallon to William Clark, business agreement, November 14, 1815, John Hite Clark Papers, fl. 36a., Clark-Hite Collection. While it is possible that York returned to St. Louis in the interim, it is probable that he either primarily or entirely resided in the Louisville area.

Betts, pp. 119-32.

Ibid., pp. 135-43.

WC to J.C., December 17, 1808, JCP-TBC.


Phelps, pp. 210-12; WC to J.C., August 26, 1809, July 16, 1810, JCP-TBC.

Phelps, p. 311.

WC to J.C., August 26, 1809, JCP-TBC; Jackson, pp. 456-63.

WC to J.C., August 26, 1809, September 16, 1809, January 12, 1810, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., August 26, 1809, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., October 28, 1809, Temple Bodley Collection, 76(2), Manuscript Department, The Filson Club. This letter is a typescript copy. The whereabouts of the original is unknown. There is no doubt that the typescript was made from an original letter. It fits perfectly in time, content, and style with the original Clark letters in JCP-TBC. It is assumed that Bodley borrowed the letter from its owner (probably a kinsman), had it copied, and then returned it. No information indicating who owned the letter has been found. A copy of this typescript is on file at the Missouri Historical Society and is published in Jackson, 2:726-27.

Ibid.

WC to J.C., October 30, 1809, JCP-TBC. No record of this letter, with its undoubtedly tremendously significant content, could be found.

WC to J.C., November 8, 1809, JCP-TBC. The letter was mistakenly dated October 8, 1809. However, where it was written from and its contents indicate that November 8 is the correct date.

WC to J.C., November 26, 1809, JCP-TBC. This letter provides important information regarding Lewis's death. Not only does it reveal hitherto unknown details of Lewis's behavior shortly before his death, but it establishes that Russell wrote to Clark soon after the sad event with his account. Russell wrote two letters to Jefferson in January 1810 and a statement in November 1811 regarding Lewis's death. The veracity and accuracy of his 1811 statement have been questioned by some, especially since it was written two years after the incident, but what Clark reports to his brother in November 1809 is consistent with Russell's 1811 statement. No other reference to Russell's letters to Clark have been found. See Jackson, 2:573-75.

WC to J.C., [March], 8, 1810, July 16, 1810, JCP-TBC.

WC to J.C., December 17, 1808, JCP-TBC.
RETURN TO THE BEGINNING IN 1993
Lewis & Clark Expedition, Site #1

BY M. JOSEPH HILL
GENERAL CHAIRMAN, 1993 MEETING

In August 1993 members of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation return to the beginning. The annual meeting will gather in Illinois not far from the point which marked the beginning of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. The meeting is scheduled for August 1, 2, 3 and 4 with organizational meetings on July 31 and optional post meeting excursions on August 5 and 6.

You are invited to return to the beginning to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Foundation and enjoy a great program.

Saturday, July 31 is a good day to arrive since a stay over Saturday evening will likely result in a reduction in air fare which will more than offset the cost of hotel and meals for the extra day. In addition, you will have time on Saturday and Sunday as free time "on your own."

The headquarters hotel, the Holiday Inn in Collinsville, Illinois, is situated in the Illinois countryside about 15 minutes from the St. Louis Arch. The Holiday features the amenities of a convention hotel, is quite reasonable in cost and is in a central location which tends to minimize travel to planned events. Other hotels are close by.

While most of the featured events are still in the planning stage, your meeting committee is very proud of the expected offering. You should expect full days and a fast pace during your stay in Illinois.

The meeting will focus on the beginning of the Lewis & Clark Expedition in Illinois, and the French influence. You will hear more of these plans later, but here are the highlights.

Sunday afternoon, August 1, starts with a get-acquainted party of registrants, authors and artists, followed by dinner and theatre at Lewis & Clark Community College in Godfrey, Illinois. We expect to enjoy an original, full length play based on the Expedition with some emphasis on the winter of 1803 at Camp Du Bois.

On Monday, August 2, Illinois Native American history is in the spotlight at the new Cahokia Mounds World Heritage Center followed by a visit to the village of Cahokia where the French settled late in the 17th century. That evening we can expect to enjoy a French dinner and to dance the Virginia Reel.

Tuesday, August 3, is the day to return to the beginning, Site #1. We will first visit the Lewis & Clark Center in St. Charles, Missouri, and then go aboard a barge for a ride downstream on the Missouri to Site #1 across from the confluence of the Missouri and the Mississippi. We expect to enjoy an original, full length play based on the Expedition with some emphasis on the winter of 1803 at Camp Du Bois.

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Wednesday, August 4, is the concluding day of the formal conference. Plans include a visit to the Jefferson Memorial for lectures and viewing artifacts from the Expedition, and then a trip to the Gateway Arch and its museum which features the Expedition. That evening the annual Awards Banquet will be held at the hotel.

On Thursday, August 5, French history is again highlighted with an optional post-meeting visit to Kaskaskia, and Fort DeChartres in southern Illinois and then to the old French village of St. Genevieve, Missouri. On the way home there will be a stop at U.S. Jefferson Barracks Museum.

On Friday, August 6, a second optional post-meeting tour features the Lincoln Shrines in and around Springfield, Illinois.

Our plans are preliminary but fairly well established. Stay tuned for final information in the February issue of WPO when we will include specific registration, and post-meeting information, and add additional detail.
In the beginning, there was a trail...

THE LEWIS AND CLARK
NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

BY RICHARD N. WILLIAMS
Coordinator, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail
National Park Service

My career with the National Park Service (NPS) began in the early 1970s as a park ranger in Yellowstone. It was obvious to me that the NPS had a very special mission. It was my job to protect Yellowstone and preserve the cultural and natural resources for the benefit and enjoyment of the people. Twenty some years later, many things have changed in the NPS, but the basic mission remains the same.

In 1991 I was serving as chief park ranger at a small historic site in Nebraska when Tom Gilbert offered me the job as coordinator for the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. I had been interested in American history, especially western history, for some time. It appeared to me that the story of Lewis and Clark was more intriguing and more important than many other events in American history. For that reason, and many others, I accepted the job.

I had a few questions about the job, however. So I asked these questions:

—What is the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail?
—How is the Trail managed?
—What does the coordinator actually do?
—Why is the office of the coordinator in Madison, Wisconsin?

Prior to taking the job I learned the answer to those questions and more. I suspect some members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation may be curious about those answers, too.

Let me answer the last question first. To understand the reason for the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail office being located in Madison, Wisconsin, you must first understand something about bureaucracy. The National Park System is divided into 10 geographic regions, with a regional director for each, reporting to the director in Washington. All the parks in a region have a superintendent who reports to the regional director. National historic and scenic trails cut across regional boundaries, but administratively, they are placed under the supervision of the various regional directors. Lewis and Clark, Ice Age, and North Country National Trails were placed under the administration of the Midwest Regional Director in Omaha, Nebraska.

For various reasons in 1989, constituents of the Ice Age National Scenic Trail in Wisconsin wanted the NPS to open an office in Wisconsin. The NPS responded, opening an office in Madison. In 1991 the midwest regional director decided that it would be more efficient if all three trails were administered in one office, with one manager reporting to him. Tom Gilbert was named manager of the three trails and moved from Omaha to Madison.

What is the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail? In the 1960s the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission was created by Congress. This organization, the predecessor of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, recommended creating the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. In 1978 Congress amended the National Trail System Act creating the Trail to commemorate the historic events associated with the Lewis and Clark Ex-

14 WE PROCEEDED ON — NOVEMBER 1992
pedition. The law defines the Trail as beginning near Wood River, Illinois, following the expedition's outbound and inbound routes to the Pacific Ocean. The law also directed the Department of the Interior (delegated to the NPS) to prepare a comprehensive plan for management and use of the Trail. That plan was completed in 1982 and provides us with basic guidance.

How is the Trail managed? Congress knew that a 4,500 mile trail, crossing 11 states and hundreds of jurisdictions, could not be managed like the more traditional parks. Management was to be accomplished through partnerships with other federal agencies, local and state governments, non-profit organizations, private enterprises and individuals. The management plan defined components of the Trail in terms of sites, segments, and motor routes. There are land segments as well as water segments. I like to think of the Trail as a very linear National Park that is managed in a new and more democratic manner than traditional NPS units. We, the bureaucracy, form a genuine partnership with the American people. Foundation Secretary Barbara Kubik once described the Trail as a very long Lewis and Clark museum. We are the curators of that museum. Since most of the sites and segments are owned and managed by organizations other than the NPS, it is our job to assist these organizations and to unify the Trail into one cohesive entity. Through these efforts we will provide the public with a meaningful experience relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

There are a number of management tools we use to accomplish these goals. Mutual agreements with federal, state and local organizations are negotiated that provide coordination and assistance. The NPS has a wealth of experience in museum planning, visitor center operations, interpretation, and many other aspects of cultural and natural resource management. Often we provide cooperating organizations with technical expertise in interpretive planning, wayside exhibits, publications, and visitor management. Another management tool is the process of certification. All federally owned segments and sites were considered initial protection units of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. The NPS can certify non-federal sites.

What does the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Coordinator actually do? The following are some of the projects I am now working on.

TRAIL COMMITTEE PROJECT
I am working with Bob Doerk and members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Trail Committee to gather information on all historic and recreation sites along the Trail. This is a very important project. It will provide us with the information necessary for developing the most effective means of providing service to the public. We recently drafted a Memorandum of Agreement with the Foundation to provide funds from the NPS to purchase a computer for the Foundation's use on this project.

BICENTENNIAL
I am preparing a recommendation concerning NPS participation in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Celebration. There is a great deal of interest in the bicentennial at the local and national level. I will continue to work with Jerry Garret and other members of the Foundation's Bicentennial Committee to plan the Foundation's role in the celebration.
MAPPING HISTORIC SITES
We currently have a project to locate and identify all Lewis and Clark campsites and plot them on USGS 7.5 minute topographic maps. A summer intern hired through the Cooperative Parks Study Unit at the University of Wisconsin is collecting historical research data from all the known sources, including very important contributions from Bob Bergantino and Martin Plamondon II. The information is then plotted on acetate map overlays. Eventually we will plot other information on these maps including land jurisdiction, developed and potential interpretive sites, etc. The maps will be used as a basic reference and planning tool.

NEBRASKA CITY AND COUNCIL BLUFFS PROJECT
The NPS continues planning for a Lewis and Clark Visitor Center near Nebraska City, Nebraska, and a Western Trails Center in Council Bluff, Iowa. Other wayside interpretive exhibits are also being planned in Nebraska and Iowa. While working on this project last year I made several trips to Iowa, Nebraska and the NPS design center in Harper’s Ferry, West Virginia. There are a number of agreements that must be negotiated with local and state governments working on this project. Completion of these projects will require additional funding initiatives. Congress has decided that these visitor centers projects will be done on a cost sharing basis with state governments and local interest groups.

IOWA
I am working with Foundation members Ron Williams and Strode Hindes and others in Iowa to prepare wayside interpretive exhibits along the Missouri River. There is some interest in the Sioux City area in certifying a hiking/biking segment of trail. We are also exploring the possibility of establishing an Iowa Lewis and Clark Committee to coordinate development of sites and segments in Iowa.

WOOD RIVER PROJECT
The State of Illinois is planning for a visitor facility at the Lewis and Clark Historic Site near Wood River, Illinois. The site is located near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers where the Corps of Discovery spent the winter of 1803-1804 preparing for the expedition. The NPS purchased 39 acres of property from the Lewis and Clark Society of America at this location. We will be working closely with the State of Illinois and George Arnold’s organization on this project.

POMPEYS PILLAR
The NPS is consulting with the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) on preparing plans for a visitor center at Pompeys Pillar near Billings, Montana. We are offering the BLM technical assistance on exhibit planning and other aspects of the project.

SOUTH DAKOTA
We are working with the local historical society in Pierre, South Dakota, and other interest groups to determine the needs for interpretive facilities along the Lewis and Clark Trail in South Dakota. I made one trip to South Dakota last year and it appears there may be some funds for more planning in South Dakota this year.

OTHER PROJECTS
I plan to complete a Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail slide program that was started several years ago. Copies will be distributed to sites along the Trail that request it.

Interpretive exhibit along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in North Dakota. Designed in a cooperative effort between the State of North Dakota and the National Park Service.

NPS Photo

16 WE PROCEEDED ON — NOVEMBER 1992
An important project being planned for next year is an NPS newsletter that will be sent to all federal, state, and local sites, and other interested parties. The purpose of the newsletter will be to open lines of communication between various sites and to keep people informed about NPS projects.

We plan to establish and renew agreements offering assistance to state and local governments. We will certify more non-federal sites and negotiate agreements with other federal agencies. We hope to do more to tie NPS areas like the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (the Arch), Knife River Indian Village NHS and Ft. Clatsop National Memorial together as a part of the Trail. There are a number of other documents that will be prepared including a Statement for Management which describes the direction we are taking in management of the Trail.

Sometimes we just put oil on the wheel that squeaks the loudest. When there is an immediate need, when a constituent group or elected representative asks for NPS assistance, we respond (within the limits of the resources available to us). Often that means we change priorities and work on the problem at hand. It is difficult to determine which wheel will squeak the loudest this year.

Someone asked me for a time frame for development of the Trail, or maybe the question was, “When will the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail be completed?” The Trail exists now. Of course it exists in a different form than it did when the Corps of Discovery crossed it. Along the way there are now cities and towns, dams and bridges, roads and highways. Rivers have changed course and time has changed the cultures of the Native Americans, as well as the European influences of the 19th century. It is probably not possible to know the exact locations where Lewis and Clark walked, rode or sailed their boats. But the Lewis and Clark Trail still exists. The land and the water are still there. You can still stand on the high plains of South Dakota, in the Rocky Mountains, or along the Columbia Gorge, and see and feel what Lewis and Clark saw and felt. You can learn to understand Thomas Jefferson’s genius as you look at exhibits in the Museum of Westward Expansion under the Arch in St. Louis. You can appreciate the tenacity and fortitude of the Corps of Discovery as you watch a living history interpreter try to fire a musket in the rain at Ft. Clatsop National Memorial. There are many outstanding federal, state and private interpretive and recreational facilities that give people the opportunity to vicariously experience the Expedition and to learn more about history. Many people follow parts or all of the Trail by vehicle, boat, and on foot each year.

The potential for further development of the Trail is great. The 1982 comprehensive plan lists over 500 potential sites and segments that may be developed to provide the public the opportunity to experience the Trail through historic interpretation and recreation. With the help of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and others, the NPS plans to improve facilities and develop strategies that will make Trail sites and segments more accessible and more meaningful to the public in years to come.

My job today as Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Coordinator is challenging and interesting. I view it as being only slightly different than my earlier job as a park ranger in Yellowstone. The United States has a wealth of fascinating natural and cultural resources that need to be preserved for the benefit and enjoyment of future generations. Preserving the heritage of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is indeed a special mission.

... that began ...
... some say in Philadelphia ...

NEW TREASURES IN OLD DEPOSITORIES

BY FRANK MUHLY
PENNSYLVANIA CHAIRMAN,
NATIONAL LEWIS & CLARK TRAIL COORDINATION COMMITTEE

In 1982, Dr. Paul Russell Cutright, a prolific and skilled writer about all things related to Lewis and Clark’s Expedition, but particularly its biology and literature, prepared a publication for the Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. (LCTHF). Titled Contributions of Philadelphia to Lewis and Clark History, it has been available since that time as a Supplementary Publication of We Proceeded On (WPO).

In 1991, after the Twenty-third Annual Meeting of LCTHF in Louisville, the author was appointed by Robert Doerk to be “Pennsylvania Chairman of the Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.” As a newspaper article put it on March 18, 1992, “The title may sound important, but Muhly is quick to explain he’s merely an ‘unpaid committee of one’ whose job is to help document all the Lewis and Clark connections in Pennsylvania.” Since there were no sites in Philadelphia similar to those after May 14, 1804, which have been documented along the Missouri River, the Bitterroot Mountains, the Columbia River, etc., the author directed his efforts into three areas. First, were any buildings still standing in which Lewis purchased tons of supplies in 1803?; second, were all the items listed by Cutright in Contributions still held by the organizations he listed?; third, what was each institution’s opinion about and possible cooperation in a 200th anniversary celebration in 2003 commemorating Lewis’ significant activities in Philadelphia, Lancaster and Pittsburgh?

Results so far include these findings: Street names in Philadelphia and the city’s building numbering system were changed in 1854 so considerable investigative (desk) work and field (leg) work must still be done and every institution is enthusiastic about a celebration in 2003!

Regarding the second question, which is the subject of this report, owners of Cutright’s Contributions will want to make notes and revisions regarding these recent discoveries related to pages 40 and 41.

“Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia (ANSP) …” (Page 40)

Lewis and Clark Herbarium. More than 200 dried, preserved plant specimens brought back by the explorers.

Alexander Wilson’s original sketches of Lewis’s woodpecker and Clark’s nutcracker.

Letters pertaining to the botany and zoology of the Expedition by Charles J. Maynard, Witherstone, and Edward Tuckerman.”

Our visit with A.E. Schuyler of the Academy’s Botany staff disclosed that an inventory had been made of their Lewis and Clark holdings. In addition to the three items listed above by Cutright, the inventory revealed scientific specimens in two other collections beside those in the Botany Department. Compiled in 1988 by Robert M. Peck, a Fellow of the Academy, Cutright’s information should be enlarged by the following items: Mineralogy—Historical records indicate that there were once as many as 34 individual specimens from the Expedition in this collection. Regrettably, curators in the 1970s could locate only five minerals. All are housed now behind security-alarm glass in the Seybert Mineral cabinet.

Specimens of Selenite (gypsum) collected at Calumet Bluffs, Missouri, by Captain Lewis.

Piece of pumice found floating on the Missouri River by Captain Lewis.
1—Supposed lava slag from burning coal strata
near Ft. Mandan. (Received from the
American Philosophical Society (APS).

Vertebrate Paleontology—Donated to ANSP by
the APS, this single specimen is preserved now
in the Vertebrate Paleontology Collection's TYPE
cabinet.

1—Fish jaw fragment with teeth from the
Cretaceous Period found by Lewis "... a few
miles distant from the Missouri, S. side of
the river ... Aug. 6, 1804."14

Peck's inventory concludes with the following
question:

"Additional Lewis and Clark Materials
at ANSP??? In view of the size and com­
plexity of many of the Academy's col­
lections, it is entirely possible that ad­
tional specimens with Lewis and
Clark provenance will turn up in the
years ahead."15

"Franklin Institute ..." (page 41)
Auction Catalogue of Isaiah Luken's
[sic] estate. Among the items listed for
sale, on January 4, 1847, was: '1 large
[Air Gun] made for, and used by
Messers. Lewis and Clark in their
exploring expeditions. A great
curiosity.'"

This catalogue is no longer here; delete the
Franklin Institute (FI) as a depository. Over the
past 168 years, the FI had accumulated a
monumental collection of industrial catalogs (over
500,000) and related materials. All of it was de­
accessioned in 1989. After efforts by other
Philadelphia institutions to acquire it, or parts of
it, were unsuccessful, the assemblage was auctioned
off. After a two-day search by both the librarian
and archivist at the FI, we reluctantly concluded
that Lukens' Catalogue was irretrievably lost, and
that no file card or de-accession record in the FI
referred to its purchaser. What a pity! The air gun
fascinated uncounted Indians in the 19th century
and countless ordnance buffs in the 20th.

"Library Company of Philadelphia ..."17
(Continued on page 41)

On the fly leaf of this book is an inscrip­tion
in Lewis's handwriting which reads: 'Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton was
so obliging as to lend me this copy of
Monsr. Du Pratz's history of Louisiana
in June 1803. It was since conveyed by
me to the Pacific Ocean through the in­
terior of the Continent of North America
on my late tour thither and is now
returned to its proprietor by his Friend
and Obt. Servt. Meriwether Lewis,
Philadelphia, May 9th, 1807.' (See
pages 20 and 21.)"18

When we stopped in to chat with John Van
Horn," he unhesitatingly assured us this book was
still here. When he took us up into the stacks to
examine it, we discovered that a copy of the
familiar print of Meriwether Lewis in his ermine
tippet garb had been pasted down on the second
cover. Somehow, Cutright's meticulousness had
missed this interesting feature. One can surmise
that Lewis himself had done it to give his thank
you note to Barton an added personal fillip.

We also described to Van Horn our difficulty in
trying to run down Lukens' Catalogue at the FI
a few days earlier. He smiled knowingly; he was
quite familiar with the de-accessioning program
and knew that much of the FI's library of over
200,000 volumes and its scientifically valuable
trade catalogs as well as irreplaceable technical
data were very widely dispersed. Nevertheless, he
immediately volunteered to check the LCP's cards
for any Lukens references.

Voila! They had a copy of the auction catalog
to which Cutright referred and it was just around the
corner from the Du Pratz book up in the stacks,20
Van Horn "made our day" by kindly giving us
copies of the title page, page 5, and permission
to bring this new information to the readers of
WPO. Obviously, the title page gives one a sense
of the skills, scope and stature of Isaiah Lukens21
but it also spells out the names of the auctioneers,22
a significant detail Cutright omitted in Contribu­tions.
Hereafter, it is possible for someone to come
across that veritable needle-in-a-haystack bit of
information—Whatever happened to Lewis and
Clark's air gun? Because, you see, there should
be—could be—must be!—a copy of this catalogue
on which has been noted "who" purchased
"what" and at "what cost." And that might lead
eventually to a final conclusion about "A great
curiosity." In view of the fact that Lewis and Clark
scholars continue to discover even more unlikely
and hidden data, this too will come to pass.

(Continued on page 21)
CATALOGUE

OF

TOWN CLOCKS,
GOLD CHRONOMETERS,
NAUTICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL AND CHEMICAL INSTRUMENTS,
TURNING LATHES,
STEAM, CUTTING, AND DIVIDING ENGINES,
Tools, Air Guns, Curiosities, Library, Medals,
Cabinet of Minerals, Rain Gauges,
Stocks and Dies, &c. &c.

BELONGING TO THE ESTATE OF THE LATE
ISAIAH LUKE\NS, DEC'D.
TO BE SOLD AT AUCTION,
By order of the Executors.

ON MONDAY, JANUARY 4th, 1847,
AT THE N. W. CORNER OF EIGHTH AND MARKET STREETS,
PHILADELPHIA.

Sale to commence at 10 o'clock, A. M.

W. S. BERRELL & J. S. BURR, AUCTIONEERS,
No. 247 Market Street.

The Goods can be examined on and after December 28th.

CONDITIONS OF SALE.
Cash upon delivery of the Goods—which are to be removed immediately after the Sale—except the Town Clocks, upon which an advance of 10 per cent. will be required to be paid down, and the balance within 30 days from the day of Sale. The Clocks will be taken good care of during that time.
All bills must be paid in Bankable Funds.

Copy of title page from catalog of auctioned material in Isaiah Lukens' Estate.
Cutright's *Contributions* continues to be an exciting account; hopefully this update will add to its stimulation.

**NOTES**


2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 111.

4. Former president of LCTHF, 1989 to 1991. He is serving presently the second of five years as chairman, National Lewis and Clark Trail Coordination Committee.


6. Ibid., pp. 40-42.

7. Ibid., pp. 2-18.

8. Ibid., pp. 40-42.

9. The Academy, founded in 1812, is the oldest scientific institution of its kind in the country. Its research library totals over 150,000 volumes. Its study collections include: birds (over 150,000 specimens), insects (over 2,000,000), shells (13,000,000), herbarium (about 1,000,000), and fish (about 2,000,000). It is located at 19th & The Parkway, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103. It is a member of LCTHF.


15. Ibid.

16. The Institute, founded in 1824, was one of the oldest in the country devoted to scientific education, was a pioneer in public education (free instruction to young men) which led to the establishment of the city's first public high school. Pennsylvania's first engineering and architectural schools were sponsored by FI before 1829. It is located at 20th & The Parkway, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103.

17. This library was founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731 and it is, therefore, the oldest subscription type library in the country. Its collections document history for the colonial period to the Civil War. A rare book collection of national importance includes 450,000 books, 50,000 graphics, and 160,000 manuscripts. It is located at 1314 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19107.

18. These pages refer to those in *Contributions*.

19. Although his title is merely librarian, he is responsible for all operations.

20. No, it was not the FI's copy!

21. Isaiah Lukens, 1779-1846, was an uncommonly skillful mechanic. His air gun is item 95. In the same Catalogue, p. 4, item 35 is "1-Bank Clock. Strikes only at 9 and 3 o'clock." They were the only hours to which employees were to respond, we presume. At present, a similar 14 foot tall tower clock, which was obtained over 150 years ago from the Second Bank of the United States on its demise, still operates at The Athenaeum of Philadelphia at 219 South 6th Street, 19106. A portrait of Lukens by Rembrandt Peale also hangs there.

22. McElroy's Philadelphia Directory shows that both William S. Berrell and Joseph S. Burr not only conducted their business at 297 Market Street but also gave 139 N. 11th Street as their homes. Although Berrell auctioneered in other years, Burr did not. Obviously, their partnership was not too stable.

Glenn Bishop's keelboat replica which was used on a float for St. Charles, Missouri's entry in the Washington, D.C. July 4th parade. The St. Charles delegation consisted of 80 people including the Discovery crew, St. Charles' Fife & Drum Corps, the Militia de San Carlos, a Color Guard of local veterans and four direct descendants of William Clark.

Photo courtesy Mimi Jackson.
... eventually to cross ...

This plaque on a rock commemorates the BLM dedication and ribbon cutting at Pompey's Pillar east of Billings, Montana on July 25, 1992.

Photo courtesy of Stella Foote

Foot trail segment in the Clearwater National Forest, Idaho. All sites and segments on federal property were considered initial protection components of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. NPS Photo

... Montana and Idaho until at last reaching the end of the trail ...

22 WE PROCEEDED ON — NOVEMBER 1992
... at the mouth of the Columbia River.

Fort Clatsop

END OF THE TRAIL

BY CYNTHIA ORLANDO
SUPERINTENDENT, FORT CLATSOP NATIONAL MEMORIAL

It was our pleasure to have hosted annual meeting participants at Fort Clatsop for an evening of fresh salmon, period music and companionship. After all, we are in Oregon and this was a Washington meeting! Thanks to the entire planning committee for including us in the program.

I hope on your bus ride back you had a chance to reflect on the volunteer efforts of the Astoria Lions Club, our musicians and "Seaman." Fort Clatsop has long been a grassroots park and has become a tremendous source of pride for the Astoria area, the state of Oregon and the National Park Service. Community support began long before your visit however.

On the 150th anniversary of the Lewis and Clark Expedition twelve organizations donated the resources to construct the existing fort replica. The Oregon and Clatsop County Historical Societies, Astoria Jaycees, Lions Club and numerous private interests were a part of this historic community event. In 1963 the Fort Clatsop Historical Association was established to "aid and promote the historical, scientific and educational activities of the National Park Service." The cooperative relationship that exists between the National Park Service and the Association has built the strong living history program the park currently offers, commissioned the Wanlass bronze, completed a successful fund-raising effort of over $600,000 for the recently expanded visitor center, acquired 32 acres of land adjoining Fort Clatsop which will be donated to the park and most recently purchased the Robert E. Lange Library. This shared vision provides us greater opportunities to advance the continuing study of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

I briefly mention this as private citizen groups around the country are pitching in to support and maintain America's natural and cultural wonders. Congressional delegations also seem very impressed with volunteer efforts which translates into more support for specific projects. It is not, however, just organizations that do good deeds, but the people involved in them. As outgoing President George noted "an ... extraordinary group of volunteers ... with admirable energy and talent, have helped turn the Foundation objectives into reality." We feel that way too, about our volunteers, and are proud to give something back as we share with our visitors the Foundation and its goals.

Another interesting parallel ... like the Foundation, Fort Clatsop is also undergoing a dramatic transition. Our small site has become one of the most popular visitor destinations along the northern coast of Oregon, serving over 280,000 visitors in 1991. This steadily increasing visitation and the newly expanded visitor center has launched a new era for the Memorial. Recognizing that we could no longer operate as a 1960s park in a 1990s world, park staff outlined a strategic plan to address the environment in which we will be doing business over the next few years and beyond, identifying future needs, reassessing priorities and setting new directions. The original
Master Plan for the area was done in 1961, over 30 years ago and within the context of today's issues had become obsolete. "Normal" National Park Service policy is to prepare or revise such plans at least every 10 years! Many calls and letters later, a new General Management Plan would be developed to guide the future protection, public use and management of Fort Clatsop National Memorial for the next 10-15 years. (My boss will tell you I am persistent!) The Plan will also provide direction regarding opportunities for regional coordination and participation in the development and enhancement of sites and programs related to the significant contribution that Lewis and Clark made to the history of the United States.

Several pressing issues facing the park that have been identified include the cumulative effects of higher visitation, area land use changes and land protection issues adjacent to the park boundary, opportunities to protect and commemorate the route of the Lewis and Clark Trail between the Fort and the Pacific Ocean, routing of the Highway 101 bypass north and south, use and interpretation of the Salt Works site in Seaside, care for the natural, historic and archaeological artifacts in park collections, and future research, staffing, administrative and visitor facility needs.

In the years between 2003 and 2006, our nation will celebrate the bicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase and the historic journey of Lewis and Clark. In the winter of 2005-2006, the Nation will mark the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition at Fort Clatsop. The new 10 year plan for Fort Clatsop National Memorial will provide the National Park Service, and our cooperating agencies, with an opportunity to target the completion of GMP identified program and facility development needs to coincide with these two historic milestones, while providing the necessary blueprint for the future preservation, use and management of park and related resources.

Though we had little time to discuss these kinds of things at our recent gathering, I feel it is important to share them with you and hope you have a sense of the challenges we face as the social, cultural and economic revolution in the world outside Fort Clatsop radically alters the environment in which we exist. This affects all of us within our Lewis and Clark "social system," and I invite you to join with us in our vision to take Fort Clatsop National Memorial into the 21st Century.

Seaman awaits your return to Fort Clatsop.

(More Trail articles in February WPO)
THE SECOND COMING

Standing in the sterns of their canoes, John Hilton, left, and Tom Warren approach the landing along the Lewis and Clark River at Fort Clatsop National Memorial on August 13 after retracing Lewis and Clark’s 4,000-mile journey. Working as guides in the bows of the canoes are park employees Ron Tyson, left and Gary Jenks. Photo by Robin Loznak–The Daily Astorian

Pair Retrace Trek By Boat, Canoe, Bike

BY JEFF BARNARD
ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

ON THE BEAVERHEAD RIVER (Montana)
After a week of poling his canoe upstream, Tom Warren sat in the smoke of the campfire to escape the mosquitoes—and vaulted from the 19th century to the 21st century.

Warren is retracing the steps of Capt. Meriwether Lewis and Lt. William Clark. But where Lewis and Clark used compass, sextant and their own wilderness smarts, Warren uses the Garmin global positioning system.

“We’re 1.4 miles from Clark’s Aug. 10 campsite,” Warren said.

Gizmo in one hand, he pointed with the other across the river. There, through a stand of dead cottonwoods crowned with blue heron nests and beyond, his heroes walked 187 years ago.

At the behest of President Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark sought a Northwest Passage to wrest the fur trade from the English and eliminate the need for Yankee sailing ships to round
dangerous Cape Horn. They trekked the Louisiana Territory, just purchased from France.

"The thing that stuck me the most about the Lewis and Clark Expedition is that it demonstrates the can-do American spirit," Warren said.

So the 39-year-old chiropractor from Tulsa, Oklahoma, spent two years researching the trip and signing up sponsors. He recruited his friend of 20 years, John Hilton, 46, an administrator at Mineral Area Community College in Flat River, Missouri, and Hilton's son, Johnnie, 24, who drives the support truck.

And on June 1, they set out from St. Louis to retrace the westward route of Lewis and Clark, using the Missouri and other rivers that were the highways of the 19th century.

Others have tracked Lewis and Clark. Many do it in cars. Some Green Berets ran an outboard raft up the Missouri in 1972, but they hiked overland rather than follow the Jefferson and Beaverhead rivers, as Lewis and Clark did (and as Warren and Hilton are doing).

This is not to suggest that Warren and Hilton are re-creating the Expedition in every particular.

Lewis and Clark ate flour, corn and pork they carried and buffalo, deer and elk they shot along the way. Warren and Hilton carry heat-and-serve packages of Nutri-System fettuccine Alfredo, beef stew and oatmeal.

Lewis and Clark bought horses to cross the Rocky Mountains; Warren and Hilton are riding bicycles 350 miles.

And Warren and Hilton are roaming over all but about 500 miles of the route in a Jetcraft jetboat powered by a 270 Chevy engine, their extra gear loaded in a pickup. Lewis and Clark set out in a keelboat and two big canoes.

It took Lewis and Clark a year and a half to travel 4,000 miles, departing in May 1804, and finally arriving at the mouth of the Columbia River in November 1805. Warren and Hilton are making the trip in 2½ months; they expect to finish this week.

And while the 1992 trip is expected to cost about $250,000, Lewis, Clark and their 45 men made do with $2,500 from Congress.

But in Montana, where the central thread of the mighty Missouri becomes just a meandering stream, the modern expedition stepped back in time into canoes, poling against the current for 100 river miles.

The Beaverhead runs down the eastern slope of the Continental Divide, meandering through a valley. It gets its name from Beaverhead Rock. Viewed from downstream, the landmark is the image of the beaver.

"In the jetboat, you just throw a bunch of gas in it," Warren said.

"In the canoe, you throw your soul in it," added Hilton.

They were joined on the Beaverhead by Ed Hayden, a muscular, retired bricklayer, carpenter and plasterer from Oakdale, Connecticut, and a national masters canoe poling champion. Hayden read about the trip and called Warren.

With poling, there is no rest without losing headway. Lose control and the canoe swings crosscurrent, where it can easily dip a gunnel, fill with water or capsize. Turning corners is tougher than going straight, and the river is one corner after another.

After a week of poling, Hilton had a new appreciation for exploration in the 19th century. Sitting in camp, he quoted from Lewis: "The men were so muchfortiegued today that they wished much that navigation was at an end that they might go by land."

One thing that hasn't changed is the mosquitoes, which Lewis and Clark wrote of so often that they spelled it 16 different ways.

"Having now secured my supper, I looked out for a suitable place to amuse myself in combating the musquetos for the ballance of the evening," Lewis wrote.

If Lewis and Clark were to retrace their trek, they would be impressed with the progress civilization has brought to the wilderness, but not with the state of the rivers, Warren said.

Conservation group American Rivers helped organize the modern expedition; just as Lewis and Clark's trek awoke an infant nation to the possibilities of the western wilderness, Warren and Hilton hope their trip will show a mature nation the damage done by progress.

"The Indians cared for the land," Warren said.

"After they see the fences and the damage that's been done ... I think they would be pretty disappointed."
Our Foundation lost a good friend and hard worker when Jean Hallaux died last December.

Even though Jean and Charlotte attended some of our annual meetings, many of our members did not know Jean very well. He was not one of our prominent experts and quoters of the Journals. What he was, and what he did so well, was make things happen, especially in Oregon.

Jean graduated from high school in Astoria and after World War II service in the Navy Seabees, returned to Astoria in 1950.

Jean already had a strong interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition when the people of Astoria and Clatsop County decided to celebrate the Sesqui-centennial of the Expedition and their winter on the Pacific Coast. Jean and his local Lions Club decided to take a major role in this celebration. This was the start of the construction of the replica of the Fort Clatsop 1905-06 winter quarters. Under Jean’s leadership the Astoria Lions Club provided the material for and constructed the foundation of the Fort. They also provided other materials for the construction of the replica. At the formal Sesqui-centennial celebration in 1955, when the replica of Fort Clatsop was transferred to the National Park Service, Jean was chosen to make the presentation.

Jean also played a prominent role in the transfer of the replica Salt Works to the National Park Service as a satellite of the Fort Clatsop National Memorial. This effort was instigated and carried through by the Oregon (Governor’s) Lewis and Clark Trail Advisory Committee. This committee was chaired by Dr. “Frenchy” Chuinard, with Jean as vice-chairman. Jean was appointed chairman by the Oregon governor at the time when Dr. Chuinard retired.

Since that time our major endeavor under Jean’s leadership was to identify, locate and authenticate the Expedition campsites in Oregon and to provide interpretive signing for these sites. Jean was our leader in cooperative endeavors with the National Park Service and Clatsop County to establish the hiking trail from Fort Clatsop to the coast, and the canoe trail on the inland waterways from Fort Clatsop to the Salt Works. These projects will be continued. Jean was great to work with. He knew how to inspire others to work as hard as he did and he knew how to make participation in our committee endeavors interesting and enjoyable. We shall miss him.

Gifts to the Foundation in Jean’s memory may be made by writing your check directly to the Foundation with a notation.
Before Nicholas Biddle decided to refer to her as Sacajawea in an 1814 publication of Lewis and Clark's journals, she did not have a widely accepted English name. When Lewis and Clark—or even her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau—asked her what her name was and what it meant, she had no way of giving them an adequate response. A Northern Shoshoni, she could explain her name in her own language, but they had no idea what she was talking about. So she had to translate her name into Hidatsa—a language she and her husband could employ for conversation. Hidatsa was a foreign language that resembles neither English nor French nor Shoshoni, but they had no other option. They each had at least some knowledge of Hidatsa. Through that medium, her translation of a Shoshoni term for bird woman was passed off as her name. So Charbonneau reported in French that it meant Bird Woman (which was doubtless accurate), and his explanation—including a garbled version of an Hidatsa word—finally was rendered in English. After almost a decade, Biddle gave it a variant English form that came into general use.

All of that clumsy transaction corresponds to an awkward situation that would have arisen if another Expedition member—Joseph Whitehouse—had needed and tried to explain his name to a Russian investigator who had to pass it on to another Russian interpreter who had an Arabic wife with whom he could communicate only in Chinese. Then after all that effort produced a garbled version of a white house, a later argument developed over an appropriate way to refer to his name in Chinese. Whitehouse, however, might have preferred to retain his own name rather than to have it converted into some dubious foreign equivalent.

For practical literary purposes, any English version of Nicholas Biddle's Sacajawea interpretation is bound to be inexact. Norman Bowers, a competent linguist who has specialized in Hidatsa, has established that sakaka wiiya (a highly simplified transcription of words that still can be recognized as a term for bird woman, which still cannot be pronounced correctly in an Anglicized version) has survived as a source from which Sacajawea was derived. Lewis and Clark clearly encountered a highly complex situation in which they could provide only an inaccurate English approximation of an Hidatsa translation of a Shoshoni name for something like bird woman. They did what they could in a time in which modern linguistic analysis remained undeveloped. Any number of additional serious problems remain in dealing with Sacajawea's actual Shoshoni name which certainly is speculative, but presumably related to "Bird Woman." After Biddle finally adapted some English variants from their Hidatsa derivation and got Sacajawea accepted as an English name, any further meddling with that outcome really is useless.

**Sacajawea May Get More Credit Than Deserved**

**BY BOB GILULY**
**TRIBUNE COMMUNITY EDITOR**

Reprinted from the Great Falls Tribune, Great Falls, Montana, August 9, 1992

A Wisconsin woman who recently visited Great Falls lambasted the community in a letter to the editor this week for neglecting Sacajawea's role in the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Patricia Rudy-Baese of Milwaukee said Sacajawea's contributions were not visible anywhere in Great Falls. She suggested that women and Indians were being ignored here.

Had Rudy-Baese spent more time here, she might have discovered that Great Falls has a...
school, a street and an island in the Missouri River
named for Sacajawea. She might also have found
a wealth of information about the "Birdwoman"
at the Great Falls Public Library and the C.M.
Russell Museum.

In fact, there may be too much emphasis.

Some years ago, a Lewis and Clark historian
reported that of all the paintings and statues done
about the Expedition, Sacajawea appears in a third
of them.

That’s at the expense of other valuable members
of the party, including Sgts. John Ordway and
Patrick Gass and Pvt. John Coulter (who later
discovered Yellowstone National Park) and Joseph
Fields and John Shields. Their names have nearly
been forgotten.

Sacajawea’s role in the success of the Corps of
Discovery has been discussed and debated for
decades.

She accompanied the explorers because her hus­
band, Touissant Charbonneau, was hired as an in­
terpreter. They joined the Expedition from a Man­
dan encampment in what is now North Dakota.

Sacajawea was a Shoshone who had been kidnap­
ped by another married Charbonneau, a fur trader,
and bore him a son just before the Expedition em­
arked upriver in the spring of 1805.

There’s little doubt about Charbonneau’s con­
tribution to the Expedition. It was nil. He was a
cowardly incompetent.

Sacajawea’s primary niche in history came as the
Expedition reached the uppermost headwaters of
the Missouri River and prepared to cross the Con­
tinental Divide west of Dillon. A chance meeting
with her long-lost Shoshone band produced horses
that carried the party across the Divide.

After Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis in
the fall of 1806, Sacajawea dropped from sight.

Charbonneau abandoned her and historians now
tend to agree she died in 1813 or 1814 along the
lower Missouri River. Capt. William Clark helped
raise and educate her son, Pomp.

It’s interesting, I think, to note that Great Falls
artist Charles M. Russell included Sacajawea in
several of his paintings about the Expedition. In
one, she is the central figure. In others, she ap­
pears simply as a member of the party.

That’s probably accurate.

Russell also was accurate when he portrayed
Sacajawea not as a woman but as an Indian.
Russell’s emphasis on Native American influence

on the Expedition has been recognized for nearly
a century. Russell decided, rightly, that Indians
had a key role in Lewis and Clark’s success.

Charlie Russell obviously called on his common
sense before committing himself to oil.

The Milwaukee woman, Rudy-Baese, should
have done the same before committing her opin­
ions to paper.

WE NEED YOUR SLIDES

The Foundation is currently collecting slides
from its members of views of the Trail, sket­
ches/paintings by various artists and related im­
ages as well as an inventory of all signs and statues.

Besides our goal of having all information about
the Expedition in our library, we need this infor­
mation to assist in our further education programs
and to share with our many joint history partners
for upcoming activities along the Trail as well as
a tremendous program for the 2003-2006 era. A
select committee is currently working on
upgrading our current video, which modern
technology has now made cost effective for small
non-profit groups. We are making this plea to our
members. WE NEED YOUR SLIDES. Any of
the following will be appreciated:

- Donate outright to the Foundation
- Loan to us so we can copy and return to
  you
- Send list of slides and let us pick the ones
  we need

Any expense in this program will be borne by the
Foundation and turnaround time is about 30 days
for duplication. We also need a note from you that
we may reproduce and use in any manner approv­
ed by our Board of Directors.

A card or phone call to:

Don Nell
Chairman,
A/V Committee
Box 577
Bozeman, MT 59715
Home (406) 587-4806
Office (406) 586-0266
Summer (406) 222-0721

“PIONEERING LINGUISTS” by Dr. Criswell now available, $22.50 postpaid.
Headwaters Chapter, Lewis & Clark Trail
Heritage Foundation, Box 577,
Bozeman, MT 59715. A must for those
interested in natural history.
LETTERS
(continued from page 3)
ploration at age 30.
Even the most chauvinistic should be able to accept Mackenzie because he depended on the ideas and visions of that strange Connecticut Yankee, Peter Pond, of whom a very great historian said “[H]e, more than any other man, had taken the first steps on what was to be the first transcontinental path to the Pacific.” Yet he died in poverty in Milford, Connecticut in 1807.
With all the literature that has in recent years been written on the Expedition, examining at great length into every possible detail, isn’t it time for the journal to stop that everlasting droning on and instead put the Expedition into context? The Expedition was but one step in the exploration of the continent. Even after the Expedition, there were the explorations incident to the fur trade, including the exploits of perhaps the greatest American explorer, Jedediah Strong Smith, and others down to Wesley Powell in the Grand Canyon and beyond. In other words, cannot we show exploration as a continental design, with the Expedition one part of it?

Sincerely yours,
Lawrence R. Eno

You will be happy to hear that what you are suggesting in your letter is the direction WPO is heading—to an expanded view of events that shaped the Expedition (including Alexander Mackenzie) and events and people that shaped the West after the Expedition.

Dear Mr. Erickson:
Arlen Large’s contribution concerning Sacajawea-Sakakawea provides some very useful information that should not be overlooked. Yet we still need to be aware that although her name clearly has an Hidatsa derivation, Lewis and Clark’s Bird Woman had good reason for translating her name into Hidatsa for Lewis and Clark, as well as for Toussaint Charbonneau. More than that, Sakakawea has still more possible variants in spelling. Perhaps you might wish to publish my brief summary of this matter, that is enclosed. A great deal more could be said concerning Shoshoni personal names, which differ greatly from almost anything we are accustomed to, but that would confuse this aspect of our Bird Woman problem. Actually, if later fur trade practices had been followed that early, Lewis and Clark would have provided her name. I had not even thought of such a possibility until this moment, and it seems decidedly unlikely. But we need to be more aware of how complex this entire problem is.

Jim Fazio’s explanation of that Mex Mountain timber sale problem certainly is a matter for concern. We (in our Idaho State Historic Preservation Office) have been watching it for some time—and have been assured that their dangerous alternative is one that Forest Service officials do not plan to pursue. But here is a situation that demands eternal vigilance.

Sincerely,
Merle Wells

Mr. Wells’ article is on page 28.

ADOPT-A-LIBRARY
One of the many good ideas that emerged at the annual meeting in Vancouver was a way in which all members can not only help financially, but at the same time help inform others about the fascinating history of Lewis & Clark. This is to buy a membership for your local public and/or school library. To do this, please check with the library to find out if they would welcome such a gift, then complete the following and send it with your check to:
Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation
P.O. Box 814
Miles City, MT 59301
The cost is the same as a general membership ($20.00/yr; $55.00/3 years).

Library name __________________________
Mailing address __________________________
__________________________________ Zip.
Your name __________________________

THANK YOU!
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
(continued from page 2)

through many years of affiliation with the Foundation, it is that this is not only an organization of individuals with a common interest in a historic period, it is a dynamic group with an interest in sharing their excitement and the values of the Corps of Discovery with fellow citizens young and old. If you were at the annual meeting in Vancouver, or would obtain a copy of Secretary Kubik's 30 pages of minutes from the various business and board meetings, you will have an idea of the astonishing number of projects being carried out by the Foundation. There is no dust gathering in this history group!

Through the year, we will make an effort to share with you some of the progress being made by our committees. Every one of them is active and one, in particular, is about to move to center stage. This is the Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Committee. It has been working quietly for several years gathering ideas and doing preparatory work, but the board of directors has decided that the committee should now explore the possibility of securing the celebration's national leadership. In the months ahead, feelers will be put forth to determine what possibilities exist for funding, cooperation and perhaps even a Congressional mandate.

I encourage you to look over the list of committees that accompanies this issue. Offer your help to any of interest and perhaps extend a "thank you" to the folks doing the work.

I also encourage you to consider becoming part of the founding group of Lewis & Clark Fellows with a major financial contribution. Or, to help with the work of the Foundation through a smaller gift. Ed Wang and others on the Planned Giving Committee would be happy to answer your questions. Our dues do not begin to cover all the expenses of the Foundation's activities; it is only through the generosity of financial gifts from our members that we are able to proceed on.

Thank you for your confidence in me, our other officers, and committee chairs to carry on the affairs of the Foundation during the 1992-93 term. Please help with your financial support and by making more people aware of the opportunity to become a member.

Foundation Grants Are Available

As authorized by its charter, the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is prepared to award monetary grants to individuals or organizations for projects that would "stimulate and increase public knowledge" of the significance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Board of Directors has established priorities for grant awards. Other factors being equal, preference will be given to proposals in the following order:

1. Scholarly research and publication.
2. Research and text-writing for road markers and other interpretive signs.
3. Construction or restoration projects.
4. Actual sign purchase and installation.
5. Youth Projects and contests such as prizes for essays, posters, etc.
6. Creative or performing arts such as theatrical performances, films, TV productions, etc.

Examples of previous or continuing grants include funds for the new edition of Expedition journals by the University of Nebraska Press, a monument at Clark's Lookout near Dillon, Montana, and a student essay contest sponsored by the Portage Route Chapter, Great Falls, Montana.

Grant application forms may be obtained from Arlen J. Large, Monetary Grants Committee Chairman, 120% Rumsey Court S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Completed forms are due by May 15 to permit the committee to make recommendations to the Board of Directors at the Foundation's annual meeting in August.

"ONLY ONE MAN DIED," the medical aspects of the Lewis & Clark Expedition by historian Dr. E.G. Chuinard, paperback, $19.00 postpaid. Don Nell, Box 577, Bozeman, MT 59715.
Letter from Thomas Jefferson to Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, 27th Feb., 1803.

... It was impossible to find a character who to a compleat science in botany, natural history, mineralogy & astronomy, joined the firmness of constitution & character, prudence, habits adapted to the woods, & a familiarity with the Indian manners & character, requisite for this undertaking. All the latter qualifications Capt. Lewis has. ... I must ask the favor of you to prepare for him a note of those in the lines of botany, zoology, or of Indian history which you think most worthy of inquiry & observation. He will be with you in Philadelphia [at the University of Pennsylvania] in two or three weeks ...


... rainy (wet. disagreeable weather. We all moved in to our new Fort, which our officers name Fort Clatsop after the name of the Clatsop nation of Indians who live nearest to us ...