THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.

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OFFICERS—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President
Stuart E. Knapp
1317 S. Black St.
Bozeman, MT 59715

1st Vice President
Robert E. Gatten, Jr.
3507 Smoketree Dr.
Greensboro, NC 27410

2nd Vice President
Joseph D. Jeffrey
3308 Fairview Road
Cherry Chase, MD 20815

Secretary
Barbara Kubik
1712 S. Perry Ct.
Kemewick, WA 99337

Treasurer
H. John Montague
2928 N.W. Verde Vista Terrace
Portland, OR 97219-3356

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.
Membership Secretary
P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403

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Seattle, WA

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

PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE

by Stuart Knapp

One of my first duties as your new president was to respond to an article in the July 23rd issue of The Oregonian concerning Sacagawea. The LCTHF Board of Directors had expressed the view that the allegations made against Sacagawea in the article were factually incorrect, that a full point by point rebuttal was warranted. In my letter I informed the editor that we would appreciate the newspaper giving space for a rejoinder to the main points of the article and these would be provided by Irving W. Anderson, a Foundation past president and recognized Lewis and Clark scholar. Irving wrote to me a few days ago with the news that his article had been published in the September 2, 1993 issue of The Oregonian under the headline “Myths cloud true role of Sacagawea in white conquest of the West.” Hopefully the record was straight but this episode started me thinking about the purpose of the foundation. In search of an answer I again crossed paths with Irving Anderson when I read his 1980 President’s Message in the November issue of We Proceeded On.

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: $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.
From the Editor’s Desk

A sort of new feature is appearing on the pages of this issue of WPO—book reviews. They have been lying dormant for several years, but beginning with this issue we will be running them on a fairly regular basis. I say fairly regular, because if there are no reviews to run, we won't have the column. Makes sense to me.

Classified ads will be accepted in WPO beginning with the February 1993 issue.

Our friends to the north have had a successful celebration of the Alexander MacKenzie Bicentennial. They completed a Canada Sea-to-Sea Expedition that followed the route that MacKenzie took from Montreal to MacKenzie Rock. The canoeing expedition by students from Lakehead University in Thunder Bay, Ontario, was spread out over three years.

Foundation members Jim Large and Chris Patton were on hand at MacKenzie Rock to greet them last summer. Jim’s article on MacKenzie starts on page 4, with related articles following.

Also a different view of the expedition from 25th annual meeting banquet speaker Dr. Robert Archibald, president of the Missouri Historical Society. He spoke about Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus, the Spanish lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana. DeLassus was the person who formally signed the territories of the Louisiana Purchase over to the United States.

For those of you who like to get an early start on making your travel plans along the Lewis and Clark Trail, Stephen Ambrose’s letter to the editor will give you a good kick start.

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Award-Winning Exhibit

AT LUNA HOUSE MUSEUM

The Nez Perce County Historical Society is hosting a special exhibit entitled “Lewis and Clark: Corps of Discovery” at the Luna House Museum.

This exhibit was developed by Brian Horn and Ian Walsh when both were eighth-grade students at Santa Lucia Middle School in Cambria, California during the 1991-92 school year. The exhibit won first place at the National History Day competition in Washington, D.C., in June 1992. Horn and Walsh were subsequently presented with the Youth Achievement Award of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) for their excellent work in developing the interpretive display.

Through the efforts of Ludd Trozpek of Claremont, California, 1991-92 Awards Committee Chairman for the LCTHF, arrangements were made with Horn and Walsh to display the exhibit at a museum along Highway 12, the Lewis and at

Horn-Walsh display at Luna House Museum, Lewiston, Idaho. Photo by Steve Lee

(Continued on page 27)

ON THE COVER—Meriwether Lewis named this western Montana creek Seaman’s Creek on July 5, 1806. It is now called Monture Creek and is one of the sights to see during the 1994 annual meeting.

Photo by Charles Campbell
It's been 200 years since a bold young Scot wrote the headline for his own triumph of exploration: "Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three."

Mackenzie stroked his graffiti "in large characters," he recalled, on the rocky bank of a Pacific Ocean fjord he had reached the day before. He was the first literate traveler to cross the North American continent north of Mexico, beating Meriwether Lewis and William Clark by nearly 12 years.

MA CK ENZIE'S Wonderful Trail to Nowhere

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

Sir Alexander Mackenzie.
Engraving from a portrait by Thomas Lawrence, the only known likeness of the explorer.

—National Archives of Canada
Those observing the 1993 bicentennial of Mackenzie's journey from the Canadian interior can cite important differences from the later, more elaborate Lewis and Clark traverse. Mackenzie at heart was a businessman, an important partner in a private fur-trading company based in Montreal. He led a party of nine other men on a 2,800-mile round-trip dash lasting less than a year. Lewis and Clark were Army officers executing a U.S. government mission planned by the President and paid for by Congress. They led 31 soldiers and civilians on a trip covering more than twice as much ground and lasting two and a half years.

Yet there were striking similarities. Both exploring parties traveled most of the way on rivers. Both came to river junctions requiring an agonizing decision: which way to go? Most of the men pointed one way, but the leaders chose the opposite. Both parties relied on help from native people met en route. Both pioneered paths across the Rocky Mountains that never became useful highways for later travelers, so it's been said that both expeditions failed to meet their own objectives. In compensation, though, both trips generated priceless journals of wilderness travel that thrilled stay-at-home readers with an early inkling of the wonders of the far West.

Mackenzie's journal was published in London eight years after his Pacific trip. 1 The Scottish-born explorer told first of a 1789 canoe voyage from Fort Chipewyan, a North West Company trading post on Lake Athabaska high up in modern Alberta. He was looking for a western route to the Pacific, but the big river he followed (it now bears Mackenzie's name) carried him north to the Arctic Ocean instead. Mackenzie then went to London to learn navigation, and returned through Montreal to Fort Chipewyan in 1792. Still looking for a way to transport furs to the Pacific, he took a canoe 500 miles southwest up the Peace River to a spot where his party holed up for a winter so cold that ax blades "became almost as brittle as glass." He resumed the journey up the Peace in May, 1793. Upon reaching the Pacific coast in July of that year, he returned to Fort Chipewyan the same way after an absence of 11 months.

Mackenzie's 1801 book, "Voyages from Montreal," (written with the help of an English ghostwriter named William Combe) recited these adventures in exciting detail. It had a major political purpose as well. The businessman-adventurer closed his story by urging British ministers to establish government-protected ports in the Pacific Northwest for shipment of furs to China.

King George III in 1802 knighted Mackenzie for his exploring feats. The king's ministers, however, stonewalled any notion of costly subsidies for Canada's fur business. In America, President Thomas Jefferson had no way of fore­telling the British government's indifference when he read Mackenzie's book in the summer of 1802. The President saw Mackenzie's plan as a challenge that could be met by establishing a more southerly trade route along the Columbia and Missouri Rivers, which he thought nearly interconnected at a single ridge of the Rockies. In January, 1803, he asked Congress to finance a small expedition to explore that route. 2

If Mackenzie's book triggered the Lewis and Clark expedition, it also appeared to guide some of the American logistical planning. Mackenzie's party numbered 10 men, so Jefferson told Congress "an intelligent officer with 10 or 12 chosen men" should be enough. Only later did Lewis and Clark decide to triple their party's size. Noting that Mackenzie smashed his single thermometer early in his trip, Jefferson's men took three as insurance, but all were likewise broken on their outbound journey; thereafter the Americans, like Mackenzie, had to guess at the temperatures of the West. The Scot said coastal natives prized beads as currency; Lewis and Clark took a big supply, but not enough blue ones as it turned out. Mackenzie took a dog; so did Lewis.

Several historians have suggested that Lewis and Clark carried Mackenzie's book with them to the Pacific for on-route reading. Bernard DeVoto said so flatly in a 1955 essay, without offering evidence. 3 Donald Jackson was more cautious in his 1959 inventory of books in the baggage of the American explorers. 4 Mackenzie's book might go on the list "by inference," he said, because the captains' journals "reveal a familiarity with the ideas of Mackenzie and a knowledge of his cartography." Jackson noted that another of the names Lewis and Clark applied to the Columbia River was "Tacoutche Tesse," which was also Mackenzie's name for it. (Mackenzie was wrong: what he thought was the Columbia was really the Fraser River.)
The idea that the Americans consulted Mackenzie's account along the way is reinforced by some literary echoes found in the Lewis and Clark journals:

—Mackenzie's memorable notice that he had arrived at the Pacific "by land" from Canada probably inspired Clark's own inscription on a big tree near the western end of his journey. The captain said he "engraved my name & by land the day of the month and year, as also Several of the men."5

—The Scottish explorer made a lyrical entry just eight days westward of his wintering post on the Peace River: "At two in the afternoon the Rocky Mountains appeared in sight, with their summits covered with snow, bearing South-West by South. They formed a very agreeable object to every person in the canoe..." Lewis knew it was an important milestone when on May 26, 1805, he "beheld the Rocky Mountains for the first time," so he fancied up his prose a notch to mark the occasion: "these points of the Rocky Mountains were covered with snow and the sun shone on it in such manner as to give me the most plain and satisfactory view."6

—Lewis gushed optimism as his expedition left Fort Mandan in North Dakota for the Pacific on April 7, 1805. This trip, he wrote, "had formed a darling project of mine for the last ten years." A curious expression, "darling project," but it could have been picked up from Mackenzie's lament on the Fraser River that "my darling project would end in disappointment" if no native guides were found.2

Mackenzie ultimately enticed a come-and-go series of local people to show him the way west from the Fraser River, where he abandoned his canoe, to Canada's indented coastline. Not for him was the Lewis and Clark luxury of buying Indian horses for this two-week, 218-mile trek over mountains streaked yellow and red by vulcanism. There seemed to be no horses at all in that country, so Mackenzie and his eastern voyageurs had to walk like everybody else.

The journals of both expeditions dwelt on the ups and downs of relations with Indians, due more to like circumstances than to any literary copying. Both parties depended on the neighborhood people for food and direction. Like the later Americans, Mackenzie tried to cultivate good relations by acting as a wilderness doctor for various native ailments. Like them, he awed the locals with simple displays of European technology. The use of a magnifying glass to make fire from sunbeams so astounded some coastal Indians, he reported, "that they exchanged the best of their otter skins for it." More than once, on meeting families of wary natives, Mackenzie melted the adults' reserve by handing out sugar to the kids. His long descriptions of the appearance and manners of Cree, Tsattine, Sekani, Kluskus, Bella Coola and Bella Bella people anticipated the even more detailed ethnography of Lewis and Clark.

But in his patient dealings with western Indians, as with underlings in his own party, Mackenzie was making an effort. The Scotsman may have been a brilliant wilderness leader, judged Bernard DeVoto, "but he is a hard man to like."8 Biographer James Smith, in a book provocatively titled Alexander Mackenzie, Explorer: The Hero Who Failed, saw "more than a touch of pride and arrogance" in his subject.9 Maybe that attitude explains Mackenzie's sparing use of names in his journal, both of the faceless individuals he traveled with and the natives he met.10

The more forthcoming Americans made their journals as rich as Russian novels with the names—in careful phonetic renderings—of nearly every Indian in sight, including some who gave them a hard time.

Mackenzie never gave names to people who guided him, and he bothered to put down the name of just one coastal village chief—Sooocomlick—who particularly befriended the party. At his graffiti rock on the Dean Channel, Mackenzie felt himself harassed by a never-named "troublesome fellow" who kept complaining that Europeans had recently fired guns at members of his Bella Bella tribe. The troublesome fellow identified his

Mackenzie's 1801 map of his route from "Lake of the Hills" (modern Lake Athabaska) to the Pacific Coast north of Vancouver Island. Note Mackenzie's mistaken belief that the segment of the Fraser River he descended briefly was the "Tacoutche Tesse" or Columbia River flowing southward to the estuary surveyed in 1792 by Capt. George Vancouver. The Fraser actually reaches the Pacific at the modern city of Vancouver, B.C. —Library of Congress
white persecutors as “Macubah” and “Bensins,” as Mackenzie recalled. Not until the trader returned to Britain did he learn he had nearly been involved in a chance exploratory traffic jam. Just seven weeks before Mackenzie’s arrival in the Dean Channel, Captain George Vancouver had sailed into that same spot on his 1792-1794 survey of the Northern Pacific coastline. Some historians have suggested Vancouver himself was the trigger-happy “Macubah” of Mackenzie’s story, while “Bensins” may have been the survey’s naturalist, Archibald Menzies.11

White travelers—Lewis and Clark among them—commonly referred to the natives they met as “savages.” Even for his time, however, Mackenzie went out of his way to assert an explicit doctrine of white racial dominance. In a revealing incident on the Fraser River, a tribesman broke into Mackenzie’s interrogation about the land ahead. If white men already know everything, said the uppity Indian, why do you have to ask the way? The explorer replied that he knew about the whole world, including the location of the ocean he was trying to reach, but only needed information from you backwoods rubes about petty local obstacles. Mackenzie wanted his readers to understand that he had scored a heavy point on the Indians in this exchange: “Thus I fortunately preserved the impression in their minds, of the superiority of white people over themselves.”12

Lewis and Clark never expressed that attitude so bluntly, though they may have shared it. Nevertheless, Mackenzie got most of what he wanted from the natives without any fighting or killing. On his trip not one man died, either in his own party or among the people he met.

Jefferson needed no prompting from anyone’s journal on the need for his explorers to take good measurements of latitude and longitude across the continent, but he must have been impressed by Mackenzie’s diligence in that task. The Scot recorded 34 latitudes on his round trip from Fort Chipewyan to the Pacific, obtained by measuring the sun’s noon altitude with his sextant. Special perseverance was required when Indians flocked around to watch the white wizard perform this mysterious rite; on one occasion some coastal residents anxiously told Mackenzie to put his sextant away, lest it scare away the salmon on which their lives depended.

The latitude readings helped Mackenzie realize how far south he drifted while aiming west. The graffiti rock on the Dean Channel stands more than 6 degrees of latitude southward of his Fort Chipewyan starting point, about equal to the north-south distance between Chicago and Nashville.

With similar diligence on their longer trip Lewis and Clark computed just over 80 latitudes in the field. The Americans stumbled, however, by shunning Mackenzie’s method of getting relatively accurate longitudes. On his London visit in early 1792 Mackenzie bought a telescope big enough to pick out the four brightest moons of the planet Jupiter. He also got a British Nautical Almanac predicting the Greenwich times these moons would disappear behind the planet. By comparing his local time of seeing these eclipses with the Almanac times, the explorer could figure his longitude west of Greenwich at the rate of 15 degrees for each hour of time difference.

Mackenzie had to lug the telescope on his own back during the final march over the mountains from the Fraser River to the saltwater inlet at the modern village of Bella Coola, British Columbia. When he set up the instrument in the fjord near his graffiti rock, Mackenzie got a rare cloudless shot at Jupiter and a fairly good longitude of 128°02’ W. That was by far the most important of the six longitudes obtained from Jupiter during his round trip.

Jefferson read Mackenzie’s account of that method’s success, and it’s puzzling why the President didn’t tell Lewis to use Jupiter too. Perhaps he feared a telescope might be too easily broken on a long trip, but the American choice of a trickier way of getting longitude didn’t pay off. Lewis used a sextant to measure angles between the moon and nine bright stars, or the sun, as a way of knowing Greenwich time with the help of the Nautical Almanac. On the expedition he and Clark took 60 such “lunar distance” measurements, but postponed the tough calculations needed to produce actual longitudes in the field. Mackenzie took three lunar distance angles himself, also without recording a computed answer. Evidently he found that Jupiter gave easier results.

Astronomy aside, both parties carefully re-
corded “courses and distance,” or miles traveled on each compass heading, to mark their progress by dead reckoning. At the outset neither group knew much about pioneering through world-class mountains like the Rockies. Mountain geography was a difficult learning process for these explorers, but they got pretty good at it.

In May, 1793, Mackenzie left the plains and wrestled his single canoe upstream through a deep canyon where the Peace River flows from the Rockies. Still moving west, he came to a place in modern British Columbia between two mountain chains where the Peace forms itself from tributaries coming from the north and south. Mackenzie wrote he would have taken the northern branch, “if I had been governed by my own judgment.” Likewise, his Canadian voyageurs looked with professional eyes at the angry current of the Parsnip River coming from the south, and agreed that the gentler Finlay was the way to go. But to the horror of his men, Mackenzie ordered the canoe southward up the Parsnip. As a result, he reported, “we were the greatest part of the afternoon in getting two or three miles.”

Mackenzie took that unpromising turn because he had been coached in advance by “an old man”—unnamed, of course—met earlier on the trip. The Indian warned Mackenzie that when he reached the forks of the Peace, he was “not on any account” to go north. The southern branch, said his coach, would take him to a portage leading to a big new river the explorers were looking for. (Twelve years later Lewis and Clark faced a similar decision when their eight-boat flotilla arrived at a branching of the Missouri River in modern Montana. They had received no prior Indian advice. The men said go north up the Marias River, but the captains studied the waters and correctly picked the southern branch as the main Missouri.)

For 11 more days Mackenzie struggled southward against the Parsnip’s current. The hun-
We proceeded on, squeezed within a long, deep V-shaped canyon with timbered sides scoured by avalanche chutes. On the morning of June 12 the explorers pushed to the end of a narrow lake nearly choked with driftwood fallen from the hillside. Here, Mackenzie showed that remarkable ability to decipher the direction of watersheds within wildly tumbled terrain, a sense shared with other early travelers of the West. He was at the Continental Divide, and he knew it.

The waters of that driftwood-choked lake have as their ultimate destination the Arctic Ocean, via the Parsnip, Peace, Slave and Mackenzie Rivers. That's why its modern name is Arctic Lake, and there Mackenzie unloaded his canoe and portaged over "a beaten path leading over a low ridge of land of 817 paces to another small lake." This span of about seven football fields was labeled "Height of Land" on Mackenzie's 1801 map of his route, the classic name for a division of waters, though the elevation above sea level is only 2,500 feet. The portage ended at a smaller lake with a current at last flowing Mackenzie's way. After another short portage there was yet another narrow body of water, now appropriately named Pacific Lake, because it flows to that ocean by way of the McGregor and Fraser Rivers.

Lewis could also read drainage divides. Lemhi Pass sits on the modern Idaho-Montana border in a jumble of ridges. Approaching the pass from the east on August 12, 1805, Lewis drank at a spring he knew would reach the Gulf of Mexico via the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. "We proceeded on to the top of the dividing ridge," he said, and on the opposite side soon "tasted the water of the great Columbia river." Heading back home through west-central Montana on July 7, 1806, Lewis climbed on horseback a partly wooded slope to arrive at what he identified at first sight as "the dividing ridge between the waters of the Columbia and Missouri rivers."

That's the pass (now named Lewis and Clark Pass) which Lewis later told Jefferson was the linchpin of "the most practicable rout which dose exist across the continent" by way of the Missouri and Columbia. The captain, alas, was a better reader of drainages than a prophet of transportation routes. No highway or railroad has ever crossed Lewis and Clark pass; the lonely saddle barely shows a jeep track.

Similarly, the three turquoise-colored lakes in the remote valley enclosing Mackenzie's Arctic-Pacific divide are today just scenic backwaters, hardly throbbing with commerce. As his trip to the Pacific unfolded Mackenzie knew his route was no good.. Murderous rapids in Pacific Lake's outlet creek nearly ended his mission right there. When he finally reached the Fraser for a downstream cruise to the ocean, he discovered a "violent" river threatening death at every bend. His decision to abandon the river and march directly westward won his nominal goal of reaching the sea, but that overland route offended the paddle-and-portage tradition of Canada's fur culture.

Heroic though it was, Mackenzie's journey produced no commercial return for the £1,500 it had cost the North West Company. "He had reached the Pacific, but he knew that his route could not be used for trade," observed Walter Sheppe, a modern editor of Mackenzie's journal.

Mackenzie's post-expedition career partly paralleled the experiences of Lewis and Clark. Like Lewis, the earlier conqueror of the Rockies suffered a bad case of writer's block in trying to compose a quick account of his trip. Like Clark, Mackenzie lived long after the big adventure, but neither of them ever went back West to reexperience its exhilarating rigors. "I think it unpardonable in any man to remain in this country who can afford to leave it," said Mackenzie in a post-expedition letter. Mackenzie left Fort Chipewyan and the Canadian north for good in 1794, and thereafter busied himself in fur trade matters at more comfortable stations in Montreal and London. He ultimately returned to Scotland where he died on March 11, 1820, at age 56.

The notion that both expeditions were failures is true only in the sense that they couldn't find an easy water route across the continent. They couldn't find it because it wasn't there, and the discovery of what's there—and what isn't—is the definition of exploring success, not failure. That's why their negative findings were themselves valuable additions to the buildup of geographic knowledge about the West. The incremental
nature of that buildup can be traced in the succession of maps produced each page of discovery was turned. Vancouver's naval survey map of the Pacific Northwest was published in 1798, allowing Mackenzie to incorporate that coastline in his 1801 map of his route through the Rockies. These cumulative Vancouver-Mackenzie features, in turn, were used by American cartographer Nicholas King in his summary of Mackenzie's word pictures were as important as his map pictures. The Scot began his 1801 book with a disclaimer about his descriptive powers: "I am not a candidate for literary fame." After that, some readers might have been surprised by the author's detailed attention to the landscape and its animals and plants. After seeing tracks of "large bears," Mackenzie reported: "The Indians entertain great apprehension of this kind of bear, which is called the grizzly bear, and they never venture to attack it but in a party of at least three

NOTES


5 Mackenzie's account of his inscription in in Sheppe, First Man West, p. 239. Clark's tree carving on Nov. 18, 1805, is in Gary Moulton, ed., The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition. 8 Vols. to date (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1990) Vol. 6, p. 66.

6 Sheppe, First Man West, p. 88; Moulton, Journals, Vol. 4, p. 201.

7 Moulton, Journals, Vol. 4, p. 10; Sheppe, First Man West, p. 174.


10 Only once in his journal did Mackenzie give a roster of his party, naming 8 of the 9 men. Sheppe, First Man West, p. 79. Mackenzie never again referred to most of his voyageurs by name, and one of the two Indian hunters went entirely nameless through the whole trip. However, the leader frequently mentioned his second-in-command, Alexander Mackay, who later in his career joined John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company. Mackay was killed in the 1811 Indian attack on Astor's ship Tonquin at Nootka Sound.

11 Sheppe, in a note on p. 235 of First Man West, ventured that Vancouver and Menzies "apparently" were the reason that the Bella Bellas complained about, in his Vol. 1 introduction to Vancouver's A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, (The Hakluyt Society, London, 1884 edition of the 1798 original) editor W. Kaye Lamb on p. 137 said "Mucabah would seem to be unmistakably a reference to Vancouver." However, Lamb observed that naturalist Menzies couldn't have been "Bensins" because he wasn't with Vancouver's party on June 4, 1793. Vancouver himself reported no trouble with Indians on that stop.

12 Sheppe, First Man West, p. 166.


14 Sheppe, First Man West, p. 281.


16 Ibid, Mackenzie described grizzly bears on pp. 85, 89; the botanical descriptions at Peace River Canyon are on p. 101.
A SOGGY CELEBRATION AT "THE ROCK"

Festive Canadians last July 22 observed the 200th anniversary of Alexander Mackenzie’s arrival at the western end of his 1792-1793 journey across the North American continent.

Site of the British Columbia celebration was the rocky north shore of the Dean Channel, a saltwater arm of the Pacific, where Mackenzie halted his quest for the ocean.

Low clouds choked the fjord as 25 students from Lakehead University, Ontario, paddled three canoes through an off-and-on drizzle to Mackenzie’s Rock in a ceremonial re-enactment of the original landing. The student voyageur brigade had re-traced the explorer’s route from Alberta’s Lake Athabaska starting in August, 1992.

The students had to cancel re-enactment of that portion of Mackenzie’s overland trip from the Fraser River to the ocean, due to objections by some native groups. However, leaders of the local Bella Coola tribe cordially welcomed the students in speeches at the Rock itself.

The 250-member Alexander Mackenzie Trail Association honors the Scottish fur trader’s journey as “a heroic endeavor that demonstrates our shared Canadian heritage,” in the words of John Woodworth, editor of the Association’s newsletter.

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

BY JERRY MACDONALD

Vancouver Sun
July 24, 1993

BELLA COOLA—About 2:30 p.m. on a windy but clear coastal day earlier this week, three huge canoes lay a few yards off shore from a national monument known as Mackenzie Rock.

For the 25 university students from Lakehead University in Thunder Bay there was a sudden realization that they had reached the end of a five-year dream. Indeed, after 8,000 kilometres of enduring all that Mother Nature could throw at them and after several weeks of political upheaval, they had arrived. There would be no more cold food, wet blankets and freezing nights.

As the students sat quietly, staring at the inscription “Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the 22nd of July, 1793”, somebody started singing O’Canada. Many of the young voyageurs joined in. Others sat quietly, paddles across the gunnels.

PHOTO 1: Lewis and Clark Foundation members at the Mackenzie ceremonies were former director Chris Patton (L) and past president Jim Large. Alexander Mackenzie said he wrote his full first name on the rock with a perishable mix of vermilion and grease. That was shortened to “Alex” when park authorities permanently carved the inscription into the rock and highlighted the letters with cement.

PHOTO 2: A flotilla of 40-plus boats carried bicentennial spectators through a maze of fjords to the lonely Mackenzie Rock, 33 water miles west of the town of Bella Coola. The commemorative inscription is carved in the sloping rock face at the immediate lower left of an obelisk erected by Canada’s Historic Sites and Monuments Board.

PHOTO 3: The goal is achieved for the Lakehead University brigade that retraced most of Mackenzie’s route. Students pose here at the rock’s obelisk with leaders of the coastal Bella Coola tribe, whose ancestors loaned Mackenzie a canoe for the final saltwater leg of his trip. The frock-coated student in the fancy hat is Dwayne Smith, who portrayed Mackenzie.

and were alone with their thoughts. Like Mackenzie and his voyageurs 200 years before them, they had overcome adversity, confrontations and their own fears. In short, like the motto of the North West Company, they had “persevered.”

Two days later and the uncertainty of this Canada sea-to-sea voyage came to an official end. Under cloudy skies and a constant drizzle, the brigade—re-enacting the explorer’s journey—officially beached its canoes as a flotilla of some two dozen ships and pleasure crafts blew their horns, whistled and cheered.

Awaiting at the rock itself, which overlooks the Dean Channel, was a delegation of four hereditary chiefs and a half dozen elders representing the Bella Coola Nation. The welcome, complete with Chief Andy Siwallace tying a ceremonial eagle’s feather in the hair of student Dwayne Smith—who played the role of Mackenzie—marked the end of three weeks of tension between brigade organizers and several Indian bands in the Cariboo-Chilcotin region.

Indeed, the tension had been so great that it threatened to cancel the closing ceremonies in this central coastal village. As it was, the message that “the second coming of Mackenzie is not welcome” resulted in the cancellation of the brigade’s 500-kilometre overland journey across the Mackenzie Grease Trail.

But the anxiety was swept away in a few words. Said Chief Siwallace: “you are a welcome sight. You followed in Mackenzie’s footsteps from beginning to end, and we are proud of you for doing this. While you are here you will be living in peace with us.”

Added fellow Chief Billy Andy:

“There are always problems with history and there are always problems with our own people, too. But there’s nothing we can’t do if we talk together...because times change. We speak from our hearts, not from our mouths. Be yourselves...and stand firm in what you believe.”

(continued on page 14)
CLIFFORD IMSLAND HONORED

At the 1993 annual meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation that convened in Collinsville, Illinois, it was announced that Clifford Imsland had been chosen to receive the Foundation’s Distinguished Service Award. The award is presented each year to a person who has made outstanding contributions toward furthering the purposes and objectives of the Foundation.

Because Cliff Imsland was unable to attend the annual meeting, Harry Hubbard, board member, accepted the award on Cliff’s behalf. Twenty-eight people gathered at a Seattle restaurant September 16 to honor Cliff Imsland and congratulate him for receiving the Distinguished Service Award.

In his presentation remarks, Hubbard noted that Cliff was a founding member of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and had served on its board of directors for several years. He was second vice president in 1983-84.

The original Congressional Act of 1964 that created the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission (from which emerged the L&CTHF) urged the governor of each trail state to form a committee to work with the commission. Cliff Imsland was appointed to the Washington State committee at its inception and has been with it ever since.

Cliff traveled extensively along the route of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and captured on film innumerable pictures of significant sites and views. From his extensive library of slides, Cliff prepared a show that he presented in classrooms throughout the state, instructing the students concerning the historical significance of the “Voyage of Discovery.”

Cliff presented a series of photographs taken along the Lewis & Clark Trail to the Washington State Historical Society. The photographs were on display at the Society’s museum in Tacoma for many years. For his contribution, the society presented Cliff with its prestigious David Douglas Award.

Washington state members of the Foundation attending the luncheon honoring Imsland used the occasion to begin planning for a L&CTHF chapter in the state. Previously, Cliff had mentioned that such a project had been one of his goals. There will be more on this story in the future.

MACKENZIE
Continued from page 14

For the brigade and the estimated 500 people who witnessed the ceremony of Mackenzie’s second coming—including the crew of the destroyer HMCS Mackenzie, which was performing its last official duty after 31 years in service—the 45-minute celebration kicked off two days of festivities in the Bella Coola Valley.

Concluded Smith, a Newfoundland native who for three years has played the role of Mackenzie:

“Mackenzie had a vision 200 years ago as to what he thought this country could be like, and we are supporting that vision today of a commitment among the various cultures which make up this country.”

During the past three weeks, he has delved into Mackenzie’s diaries to put the hardships and politics of the day into perspective. In those 200 year-old-writings, he says he found the strength to put it all into perspective.

“I like thinking about our journey moderately: We’ve been sunburned, frozen to death, bit by mosquitoes and the whole deal. But we had modern gear—Mackenzie and his people had leather moccasins...they had their brawn and whatever valor they had from their history. And they made a work ethic that built this country that is so admirable that we feel, as a team, fortunate to have had a chance to share in a part of that.”
Along the Lolo Trail
Getting Ready for 1994

BY NANCY K. MAXSON
Annual Meeting Chair for 1994 Missoula Meeting

Nine members of the Traveler’s Rest Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation assisted Forest Service personnel on May 22, 1993 with clean-up operations along a section of the Lolo Trail near the Howard Creek trailhead. The Trail is an archaeological artifact, and “we must be judicious in how we use it,” Forest Service archaeologist Milo McLeod explained to the chapter members.

The Lolo Trail, the ancient path used by Native Americans for centuries, provided Lewis and Clark with a well marked, though difficult, route for their westward and eastward journeys over the Bitterroot Mountains. Today the Lolo Trail is a 150 mile National Historic Site, an artifact from the Corps of Discovery’s journey and the thousands of journeys made by historic and prehistoric Indian peoples. In Montana the Trail is also designated the Lewis and Clark Nez Perce National Historic Trails. Near the Howard Creek trailhead the tread from the centuries of travelers is etched into the hillside. In places the grade is 18 to 20 percent and the path less than a foot wide—as precarious today as it was for Lewis and Clark’s horses in September of 1804.

The Forest Service is developing the Howard Creek trailhead as an interpretive site, which will be ready for the 1994 Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation’s Annual Meeting in Missoula. This new interpretive site will be a major stop on one of the meeting’s field trips; participants will have the opportunity to walk in Lewis and Clark’s footsteps along one of the most strenuous segments of their journey.

The Forest Service has already erected interpretive signs at the Howard Creek trailhead. By summer 1994 a two mile interpretive trail loop will be completed, incorporating a quarter mile of the ancient trail and adding one and a half miles of new, modern trail.

Further up the trail, the Forest Service is returning the forest to its 1804-1805 appearance. “Fire suppression activities for over 100 years allowed the intrusion of thick Douglas fir, which in many places completely choked the historic trail,” Milo McLeod explained. Lewis and Clark would have walked through open Ponderosa Pine stands, where the natural fire frequency of 17-25 years would have controlled the intrusive Douglas firs.

Fifteen years ago the Forest Service began planning the Howard Creek trailhead project when a timber sale offered the opportunity to reduce the Douglas fir encroachment and recreate open Ponderosa Pine stands with controlled burns. Traveler’s Rest Chapter members joined the effort in the spring by helping to clear partially burned slash along the trail. “It’s all part of our plans for the ’94 Missoula Meeting,” Chuck Mead, the chapter’s past vice president explained. “We want the participants to experience the trail as Lewis and Clark did.”

For more information on the 1994 Annual Meeting, please contact the meeting chair, Nancy Maxson at 622 Bickford, Missoula, MT 59801 or call her at (406) 542-2907.

1993 GRANTS NOTICE

As authorized by its charter, the 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.

Previous grants have been made for such projects as a special museum exhibit on Northwest exploration at Richland, Washington, and the new edition of expedition journals by the University of Nebraska Press.

Grant applications may be obtained from Arlen J. Large, Monetary Grants Committee Chairman, 120-1/2 Rumsey Court, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003. Completed forms are due by May 15.
CARLOS DELASSUS:

Another Point of View

EDITOR’S NOTE: The following speech was presented at the Foundation’s 25th Annual Meeting Banquet by Robert R. Archibald, President, Missouri Historical Society.

From PrairieErth by William Least Heat-Moon

And, with the flame-blackened cups, we drank, and we watched the fire, then lifted them to the wood rat that long ago hauled in our heat, and, when its sticks were gone, I pushed in one end of the old hedge post, and we lifted cups again, and the Venerable said, To the Wind People, and the damp post hissed like a serpent, spit sparks, resisted its going.

Then came something I’d never seen before: a bird flew into the small cottonwood, and from its silhouette against the moon I could see it was a jay. We stared at it in disbelief, and finally the Venerable whispered, Since when do birds fly into campfire circles?

-Isn’t just a bird.

The Venerable slowly stood, pulled me up, raised his arms, I did too, palms outward, and he said, Old Ones.

A circled presence, like a miasma, pressed in, and how long it remained I don’t know, but a meteor, the slowest falling one I ever saw, dropped right across the Great Bear like a thrown spear, and then the circle, seemed to loosen, and things regained their accustomed positions, disposition. The jaybird was gone. I pushed the last of the hedge post into the coals. Tashmoo emptied his tocky: In all my life I never encountered anything like that. What brought them in?

-Memory.

Ours or theirs?

Yes, I said.

Let us talk about memory this evening, personal and historical.

I. History is a matter of perception, of points of view.

a. It is a process of gaining understanding of how the world appears or once appeared in the eyes of others.

II. I want to tell you a story this evening about:

a. A man long dead, who I know well, who disdained democracy, competitive business and distrusted the motives of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark; for he stood in their pathway.

b. The Lewis and Clark Expedition was a salient of American Westward movement and an intrusion into foreign territory. An opening gambit of American expansionism—From an American perspective the two leaders were master explorers, superb woodsmen, exemplary military leaders and brilliant naturalists.

III Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus was none of these as he wrote these words in St. Louis on Feb. 25, 1804 to Capt. Amos Stoddard of the United States Army;

“In virtue of the contents of the letter which you sent me, I have made the necessary arrangements to give you possession of Upper Louisiana. I am ready to give you possession of this province on the day and the hour you may name, in the most authentic form, as the circumstances and nature of the country will permit.”

Less than two weeks later, American troops crossed the Mississippi into St. Louis. On what is now the Gateway Arch grounds, the American and Spanish officials gathered at Government House. The group included the Spanish Lt. Governor, Don Carlos DeHault DeLassus, Capt. Amos Stoddard and Meriwether Lewis. A small group; momentous occasion.

Carlos DeLassus, son of French nobility, loyal servant of the King of Spain, was a man for whom duty, rather than personal gratification was life’s guiding principle. He was reserved, gentle and staunchly loyal by character. He subdued his feelings on March 9, 1804 as he prepared for his role in the transfer of Upper Louisiana as the representative of the King of Spain. For the last time he addressed the King’s subjects in Upper Louisiana:
By the King’s command, I am about to deliver up this post and its dependencies. The flag under which you have been protected for a period of nearly thirty six years is to be withdrawn. From this movement you are released from your oath of fidelity you took to support it. The fidelity and courage with which you have guarded and defended it, will never be forgotten; and in my character of representative, I entertain the most sincere wishes for your perfect prosperity.

Following his proclamation, Carlos DeLassus and Amos Stoddard signed six copies of the document of possession each of which was formally witnessed by Meriwether Lewis and two other residents.

Carlos DeLassus remained in St. Louis until late fall, finishing the affairs of the Spanish government. He could barely hide his dismay over how quickly the residents switched loyalties and how unwilling people were to assist him despite previous protestations of friendship. He was distressed, I sense, with the freewheeling pursuit of profit in which the values of duty and loyalty, central to his life, were cast aside in pursuit of cash flow.

Carlos DeLassus was the son of the Chevalier and Madame DeLassus de Luziere, refugees from the violence of revolutionary France, who he followed to Upper Louisiana, compelled by his sense of family obligation to see to their welfare.

In 1796, Moses Austin visited the Chevalier, Pierre Charles de Hault DeLassus de Luziere and Madame de Luziere at their home on the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi River; just south of St. Genevieve, Missouri, then in Spanish Upper Louisiana. This family, removed from royal favor and an estate in northern France to a log house along a dusty trail, never reconciled with their diminished position and loss of honor which they had suffered fleeing France and the threat of the guillotine. Moses Austin commented upon Madame de DeLassus’ discomfiture:

Madame DeLassus, he observed, did not appear to support the change of situation so well as the Chevalier. I was examining a large piece of painting, which was in Madame DeLassus’ bedchamber, representing a grand festival given by the citizens of Paris to the Queen, on the birth of the Dauphin and a parade of all the nobles on the same occasion. She came to me and putting her finger on the picture pointing out a coach, “There,” said she, “was I on that happy day. My situation is now strangely changed.”

Strange indeed is the story of these royalist refugees who fled from the Revolution and who were subsequently lured to a royalist refuge at Gallipolis, Ohio by the blandishments of the Scioto Land Company. Virtually bankrupt, but clinging to pride, the DeLuzieres gave up the precarious Ohio settlement and moved to Upper Louisiana, Missouri, where Bourbon cousins of the guillotined Louis XVI still ruled as Kings of Spain. At their new home just south of St. Genevieve, appropriately named New Bourbon, they hoped to create a new settlement of French refugees. The royalist refuge amounted to little. The DeLuzieres hung on in constant debt, depression and destitution until their deaths in the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Their son, Carlos DeLassus remained behind in Europe. He had escaped the upheavals in France by joining the Spanish military service where by 1794, he had been promoted to colonel. Carlos DeLassus was a man of the old regime for whom personal and family honor were paramount. Hence when in 1794, he received a letter from his father in New Bourbon painfully describing his destitution and pleading for help, Carlos, his eldest son, determined to join him in Missouri and accordingly requested and received a transfer to the regiment of Louisiana from the King of Spain. He arrived in Missouri in 1796 where he first served as Commandant of New Madrid and then in 1799 he was promoted to Lieutenant Governor of Upper Louisiana and he moved to St. Louis, its capital.

Carlos DeLassus and his family left France to escape the violence of the radical revolution which espoused democratic principles and prom-
ized death to Kings. Now he faced American democrats who inundated Upper Louisiana and were anti-monarchist. In 1804, for example, residents of Mine a Breton, just west of St. Genevieve harassed a government surveyor. The ruffians, DeLassus reported, assembled with the weapons and “using very harmful phrases against the government, hallowing: Viva Gifferson.” He planned to arrest them, but before he could do so he was ordered to surrender the entire province to the Americans in consequence of the Louisiana Purchase.

With heavy heart he relinquished the province to Amos Stoddard in March and headed down the Mississippi to rejoin his Louisiana Regiment in Pensacola and then moving to Baton Rouge as Commandant, where once again he was to become embroiled in revolutionary democratic politics.

Baton Rouge, the capital of Spanish West Florida, felt the onslaught of a full-scale rebellion unleashed by American settlers against Spanish rule. DeLassus, once more to feel the effects of radical and unruly democrats, foolishly attempted to compromise, a mistake which only fed the frenzy of the Americans.

Carlos DeLassus saw to the Spanish defense with only a ruined fort, damaged equipment and two dozen men. There were gaps in the stockade, and the arsenal and storehouses were inadequately supplied with provisions and munitions. On the morning of September 3 only fourteen soldiers were present. On the fatal night of September 22, the doomed fort contained a little garrison of twenty-eight men, when Carlos DeLassus received word that the insurgents intended to attack before daybreak.

The insurgents, well supplied with American supplied arms and shouting “Hurrah Washington,” swarmed through the gate and the gaps in the palisade. Shots were fired and several of the Spanish defenders fell. Colonel DeLassus was violently seized by the attackers and held under arrest for several months.

The rebels, meanwhile, declared the province the independent Republic of West Florida and sent President Madison a letter pleading for annexation to the United States. Madison annexed the region to the Territory of Orleans with the approval of Congress.

The Spanish made Carlos DeLassus the scape-goat for allowing Baton Rouge to fall into American hands. The formal inquiry began in Pensacola, which was still Spanish Territory in March 1811. The examination resumed in Havana in June of 1812. DeLassus refused to appear. After a long delay, finally in August of 1814, the Spanish tribunal meeting in Havana, sentenced the absent DeLassus to death, a sentence which later received royal approval.

Carlos DeLassus escaped to New Orleans, thereby avoiding the imposition of the death sentence. He spent the rest of his life in the Louisiana capital and in St. Louis where he returned to live for ten years, attempting to obtain confirmation of his Missouri land claims in order to pay off his own debts and those which he inherited from his parents and which his acute sense of honor obliged him to pay. This man, whose life expectations had been dashed by revolutionary France, truncated by the take over of Missouri by the young American democracy and eliminated by the American revolt in Baton Rouge, now in bitter worry sought refuge from his death sentence in the American Republic. Carlos DeLassus was a nobleman, an aristocrat and a man of honor and family born into a world which had not only crumbled, but had been swept off the table, by forces at work in his world for which he had no sympathy and over which he had no control.

The aristocratic world to which he was born had cast him aside after the Baton Rouge rebellion. Years later he expressed his feelings to Auguste, his son:

...I was sent to Baton Rouge to relieve Governor Grand Pre, and I remained there as Governor until 1810 when the inhabitants revolted. Then feeling disgusted and tired of a service rendered unworthy by the neglect of authorities in Ravanna and Pensacola, upon which I directly depended to take notice of my entreaties, since I had no means to resist an attack because the fort and everything in it was in a state of abandonment shameful for the Spanish flag, I wrote that my health did not permit me to continue my ser-
vice and I remained with my family. Thus ended thirty years of good service which I exercised with zeal, fidelity and sincere attachment to the Spanish nation.

Carlos DeLassus died in New Orleans in 1843. The outlines of New Bourbon can still be seen on the bluffs south of St. Genevieve. A vertical log house built by his family still stands on St. Mary’s Road.

Although Carlos DeLassus could only acquiesce in the provisioning of the Corps of Discovery in St. Louis and facilitated the formal Louisiana transfer as the King’s good soldier, he did so with heavy heart. It represented the destruction of the world as he thought it should be. A world in which duty, honor and polite behavior prevailed over individual advantage, competition and uncouth behavior. He associated the young American democracy with rule by rabble, destructive of principles of civilization. He undoubtedly would have viewed the Corps of Discovery as the vanguard of what he feared was coming. He was appalled by how quickly his former compatriots in St. Louis, such as the Chouteaus, made common cause with the Americans, especially with Lewis and Clark, because it was in their financial interest to do so. The Chateaus, ardent allies of DeLassus when he was Lt. Governor, abandoned what he thought was deep felt loyalty and friendship in favor of the new American officials who offered business advantage. This DeLassus understood although he found it disagreeable. What he could not abide was their refusal to loan him a boat with which to transport his departing administration downriver, thereby reducing friendship to a matter of personal advantage.

DeLassus could well have spoken these words of his astute compatriot, Alexis de Tocqueville, author of Democracy in America,

It is strange to see with what feverish ardor the Americans pursue their own welfare, and to watch the vague dread that constantly torments them lest they should not have chosen the shortest path which may lead to it. A native of the United States clings to this world’s goods as if he were certain never to die, and he is so hasty in grasping at all within his reach that one would suppose he was constantly afraid of not living long enough to enjoy them. He clutches everything, he holds nothing fast but soon loosens his grasp to pursue fresh gratifications.

...They have swept aside the privileges of some of their fellow creatures which stood in their way, but they have opened the door to universal competition; the barrier has changed its shape rather than its position...

In democratic times enjoyments are more intense than in the ages of aristocracy, and the number of those who partake in them are vastly larger; but, on the other hand, it must be admitted that man’s hopes and desires are oftener blasted, the soul is more stricken and perturbed, and care itself more keen.

History is not only a matter of perception as with Carlos DeLassus, it is also a process of selection.

1. We cannot and would not want to construct a universal compendium.
2. History is a process of selecting what we will remember and how we will remember it.
3. This process of selection is based in part on our own personal preferences, but also upon the issues of concern to the time in which we live.
4. History, and this process of selection is really about our hopes and fears for the present and the future.

Our perceptions are shaped by times in which we live. Over time our views of the expedition of Lewis and Clark have changed, shaped by the concerns of the times.

1. In 1836 William Grimshaw wrote a History of the United States from their first settlement to 1830.
a. A time of unbounded optimism amidst the first industrial revolution, rapid growth, unlimited natural resources.

b. Little romanticism about nature and Indians. Indians were removed, resources seemed unlimited and were there for the use of civilized humans.

c. Confident, sometimes arrogant, The Age of Andrew Jackson.

2. In his history, Grimshaw says that in the Louisiana Purchase, “A new field of enterprise is opened, and new productions are added to the rich variety of their former catalogue.” In his estimation the Lewis and Clark expedition was largely undertaken for commercial purposes. “To render the purchase of the utmost benefit...to explore the river Missouri and the contiguous countries, and discover the best communication with the Pacific Ocean.”

d. Bears were dangerous enemies to be eliminated. Indians were savages whose actions were either “Martial or ludicrous, or voluptuous and indecent.”

e. This was an America which had no time for romantic notions concerning unspoiled nature or appreciation for Indians who were impediments to progress. Views of the Lewis and Clark Expedition changed little in the 1880’s and 1890’s despite the official end of the frontier.

f. The nation was in the midst of the second industrial revolution. Our predecessors believed in the power of science and civilization to solve all problems. Natural resources still seemed unlimited.

In 1890, Henry Adams published his History of the United States during the Second Administration of Thomas Jefferson.

I. “They were forced to pass the winter,” Adams observed, “in extreme discomfort, among thievish and flea-bitten Indians, until March 26, 1806, they could retrace their steps.” Further he commented, “Creditable as these expeditions were to American energy and enterprise, they added little to the stock of science or wealth. Many years must elapse before the vast region west of the Mississippi could be brought within reach of civilization.”

II. In Scribner’s Popular History of the United States published in 1898 author William Cullen Bryant devoted only one paragraph to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He viewed the expedition as irrelevant to the course of American history except for buttressing America’s claim to territory west of the Rocky Mountains.

By the end of WWI, America’s frontier period had receded into memory. The complexity of world power status combined with an increasingly urban nation and the final confinement of Indians on reservations created a romantic nostalgic view of the frontier, pristine nature and Indian nomads.

I. The Lure of the Frontier, authored by Ralph Henry Gabriel reflected the times when it was published in 1929.

1. This volume elevated Lewis and Clark to heroic proportions and it included images of romantic artwork by C.M. Russell and others memorializing the expedition.

2. Includes biographical sketches—Sacajawea, Charbonneu portrayed as major figures.

3. Nature is beautiful instead of threatening.

4. Indians were helpful, Sacajawea is portrayed as a heroine.

II. I do not need to spend time reviewing with you this evening, current views of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Our views, like the others are shaped by the time in which we live.

1. We know natural resources are finite and some of us worry about destruction of our planet.

2. As wilderness has become scarce we have developed an appreciation for its beauty and we seek to preserve what remains.

3. In a world which is global, complex and sometimes threatening we seek solace in the accomplishments of these men in a less complicated world.

4. We are no longer so confident in the superiority of our own civilization and we find much appeal in the lives of Indians whose lives rhymed with nature before confinement to destitute reservations.

5. In our own time, exploration of nearly every frontier requires technology which is so complex that humans seem unnecessary to the achievement—human
LEWIS & CLARK
Historic Places Associated with Their Continental Exploration (1804-06)

BY ROY E. APPLEMAN
A Book Review by Ray Breun

True to its historic uniqueness, the Lewis and Clark Expedition has been the inspiration for many classical works. When the National Park Service was researching the Lewis & Clark Trail, Roy Appleman wrote about the availability of historic resources for the Trail. His book was made available to the public in 1975. With its plain yellow hard cover, it looked unassuming and similar to the other historic works in the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.

In fact, it has turned out to be the “Lucky 13” and a classic since it was the 13th volume in that series. The Government Printing Office did the work on the first printing of Lewis & Clark. It sold very slowly but gained respect as “the best one volume treatment of the Lewis & Clark Expedition available,” according to Dr. Gary Moulton. Finally, in 1981 GPO gave up on the entire National Survey series.

DELAUSSUS
(Continued from page 20)

voyagers are unnecessary to space exploration.

This ongoing discussion of Lewis and Clark is not about the past, but rather it is a discussion of the sort of world and the transcendent values we want for the future, for our own children and children’s children.

1. As I hope was evident in my comments concerning Carlos DeLassus and perspectives of Lewis and Clark which have changed through time, history is not a discussion of who is right and who is wrong.

2. To engage in history is to develop empathy for other points of view. It is to select and interpret information so that it is useful to the living and the unborn. It is to learn to judge the good from the evil and the beautiful from the ugly.

There is in all of us I believe to recapture that side of our natures which is not rational, craves adventure, seeks the romantic, revels in singular accomplishment, and sheds tears at poetry. That side of us which still reverberates with the natural world and is not explicable by science.

During the following 10 years, several attempts were made to begin the process of reprinting this truly great piece of literature as well as a great compendium of photos and information. The Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, at its annual meeting in St. Louis in 1985, was thrilled to find copies of the original edition still available for sale in the museum shop under the Gateway Arch. By the end of that meeting there were none left. Six years later the Foundation was working with the National Park Service to locate any of the “plates” from the original edition. It was finally determined that the only “plates” left were the maps from the original Appleman 1975 edition. These maps in fact were among the most significant aspects of the book. It was easier to regenerate copy from the maps in the book than to use the well-worn maps from the National Park Service.

Without a doubt, Roy Appleman, pictured in a National Park Service photo on page 157 of the book, produced a classic text bringing together historic information, maps, photos, and then current information about sites along the Lewis & Clark Trail. Appleman had a gift for using English in addition to knowledge about the Trail. His book is a truly remarkable effort which produced a great volume.

The current reprinting has very few changes to the original text. The incredible index in the original volume is kept totally accurate as well. The cover is the only real change. Rather than using the non-descript (some would say “ugly”) style of cover GPO/NPS used for their survey series, a full color of an oil by J.K. Ralston in the National Park Service collection in St. Louis adds a great deal of life to the book. Appleman’s work is complemented by the energy Ralston instilled into this painting of the meeting of the Corps of Discovery with the Shoshoni on August 17, 1805. Called “Into the Unknown” by the artist, this painting is a depiction of one of the major historic events of American western history. Like the book itself, it shows the people involved with the events of the Lewis & Clark expedition in a magical space still much the same today as it was then. Roy Appleman managed to portray in his work both the exquisite importance of this expedition as well as the creatve ordinary nature of the people who carried out the orders of President Jefferson to explore this new land to its limits and who helped see that it was done.
A Letter to the Editor from Steve Ambrose...

On the Trail in Montana and Idaho

In the summer of 1993, as part of my research for a biography of Meriwether Lewis, I spent six weeks on the Trail in Montana and Idaho, accompanied by my wife Moira. This was our eighth or ninth trip to such sites as the White Cliffs on the Missouri River, Lemhi Pass, and the Lolo Trail, but this one was extra special for two reasons. First, we had three of our own children, a son-in-law and a daughter-in-law, and three grandchildren accompany us on various parts of the trip. Second, we had professional outfitters for the Missouri River and the Lolo Trail segments. The purpose of this letter is to recommend the outfitters—and the experience of sharing the Trail with grandchildren—to readers of We Proceeded On.

The least-changed sites associated with the trail are Two Medicine Fight Site, Camp Disappointment, Lemhi Pass, the Lolo Trail, and the 160-plus mile stretch of the Missouri River downstream from Fort Benton.

Lemhi Pass is easy to reach on your own. We spent the Fourth of July on Lemhi Pass. My old college roommate, the former governor of Colorado, Dick Lamm, read the Declaration of Independence aloud around the campfire. Other old friends read from Common Sense, John Adams, Abe Lincoln, and other great American writings, in a glorious orgy of patriotism. Two Medicine and Camp Disappointment are hard to reach on your own; the Lolo Trail and the Missouri River can be done in grand style with Triple "O" Outfitters of Pierce, Idaho and Missouri River Outfitters of Fort Benton.

Harlan and Barb Opdahl run Triple "O". They are everything you hope for in a western outfitter, and more. Strong, healthy, gentle horses; good food and lots of it; a well-planned itinerary; good tents and equipment; a trailing van to carry the gear and provide a ride for the saddle sore.

The first morning, Harlan spent an hour fussing with children’s saddles, getting the stirrups just right for our grandsons, six-year-old Alex and three-year-old Riley Tubbs. I suggested that he better ask their mother, Stephenie, if it was o.k. for them to ride by themselves. He knew better—he asked the boys. By the time Stephenie found out, they were mounted and it would have taken an act of God to get them off. They rode for the entire week, through the mountains, on rough trails, in the rain, having a grand never-to-be-forgotten time.

I learned about Triple "O" from an article in We Proceeded On. It said Harlan could take us to Lewis and Clark sites no one else could locate. He did—many of them. Our favorite was Jerusalem Artichoke camp site of June 25, 1806, perhaps the most remote and hard-to-get-to of all Lewis and Clark sites. We rode a few miles through a deep forest, then tied the horses and hiked on foot a half-mile or so to the camp site—it is so pristine that Harlan refuses to take horses to it. It was raining hard, so we got no photographs, but this perfect gem of a site is indelible in our memories.

Since Moira and I first back-packed the Lolo, in 1976, the Forest Service has done a great deal of much appreciated work in locating, improving, and sign posting sections of the original trail. One night a six-man team of Forest Service administrators camped with us. They were following the Trail to consider further improvements, such as placing outhouses at various camp sites, tables, a better road, possibly black-topped, etc. We had a heated debate, based on Carol MacGregor's article on the Lolo in the February, 1993 issue of We Proceeded On. Harlan, Barb and our party protested vigorously against making access easier, so that RV's could get to the Trail; we argued that the sites associated with Lewis and Clark should be kept as close to their original state as possible.

The Forest Service leader challenged us: What is so special about Lewis and Clark, he asked.

They were first, we replied. There are lots of places in Idaho where the Forest Service can provide easy access and people can see great scenery from their RV's, parked on pavement with hot showers and a camp store nearby. But there is only one Hungry Creek camp site, only
one Jerusalem Artichoke site. Everyone who follows the Lolo Trail today walks in the footsteps of Lewis and Clark. They deserve to be honored and recognized by maintaining the integrity of their route as possible.

Everyone who gets on the Missouri River follows in the wake of Lewis and Clark. For the wild and scenic portion of the river, beginning at Fort Benton, there is little danger of any major change. Indeed, this is one of the most unchanged sections of the lower 48 states, now preserved by an act of Congress. There are no bridges, no ranches, and only the occasional gravel road reaching down to the river. You see what Lewis and Clark saw, minus the buffalo but plus some grazing cattle.

For the Missouri River, Larry and Bonnie Cook, and their assistant Dave Parchen, provide a pontoon boat that can carry 15 people and their gear, plus canoes. Larry took over the Missouri River Outfitters business from Bob Singer a few years ago (Bob still runs the land shuttles) and is doing a superb job. Larry, Bonnie and Dave wear authentic Lewis and Clark clothing—colorful wool jackets, felt hats, leather pants, mockersons, and so forth.

We had a party of six children, all under ten-years-old, plus five parents, plus grandma and grandpa. People could canoe or ride in the boat as they wished; in bad weather, the boat was a blessing beyond value, as it has a roof and plastic curtains that keep out the wind and rain but allow you to see the sights.

And what sights you see! Especially with Larry as a guide, as he knows the river, the Lewis and Clark camp sites, Indian sites (he found some trade beads in a circle of Indian tipi rings), hidden canyons, and more. The White Cliffs are truly "seems of visionary enchantment" that "exhibit a most romantic appearance." The bad lands, further down, are other-worldly, delightful to the eye and a joy to hike.

Bonnie serves outstanding meals. As on the Lolo Trail, we spent five days without contact with the outside world. Larry delivered on his promise to show us bighorn sheep. Also lots of deer, geese, pelicans and ducks. On the Lolo we saw moose, elk, and again lots of deer.

Triple "O" and Missouri River Outfitters are reasonable in price, well within the range of an average vacation week. They get you into the heart of Lewis and Clark country in comfort, if not quite luxury. Best of all, Larry and Bonnie, and Harlan and Barb, are Lewis and Clark enthusiasts, good people to sit around the campfire with at the end of the day, reading aloud from the journals on the spot where Lewis and Clark wrote their entries 190 years earlier. This is about as close to heaven as you can get. The children (with the exception of three-year-old Riley Tubbs, who is a little young to follow the conversation) listened closely and actively participated in the questioning about how Lewis and Clark did this or that. We claimed that Riley is the youngest person to float the Missouri River and ride over the Lolo Trail since Pomp did it in 1805-06.

For more information, write Triple "O" Outfitters, Box 217, Pierce, ID 83546 and Missouri River Outfitters, Box 762, Fort Benton, MT 59442.

As a final note on our 1993 research trip, the Great Falls Re-enactment was extraordinarily realistic. The men, the equipment, the cooking, the techniques for canoe making and putting the skin over the iron-frame boat, the portage activities, cannot be praised too highly. I’m a sucker for re-enactors, whether Revolutionary War, War of 1812, Civil War, or World War II. The Great Falls bunch is easily the best I’ve ever seen.
RALPH S. SPACE

Ralph S. Space, 92, a University of Idaho graduate, died of pneumonia June 16 at Clearwater Valley Hospital at Orofino, Idaho.

He was born April 13, 1901, at Wuenemo, Kan., to Christian and Ida Wildin Space. The following year, the family moved to a ranch between Weippe and Pierce and he grew up and attended schools in the area, graduating from Weippe High School in 1918.

Space then attended the University of Idaho and studied forestry. He graduated with a bachelor's degree with honors in 1925.

He then joined the United States Forest Service and worked as a ranger on the Blackfoot Forest in Idaho. In 1936, he was assigned to the Northern Region headquarters at Missoula, Mont.

He married Myrtle Lake on Sept. 27, 1937, at Kalispell, Mont. In 1954, he was appointed supervisor of the Clearwater National Forest, a position he held until retiring in 1963.

His wife died in 1975 and he had since moved to the Orofino area.

Space was a member of the Clearwater Historical Society and was a past president of the group that established the Nez-Perce National Historical Park. He had written numerous articles on local history, for which he was given a Meritorious Achievement Award from the Lewis and Clark Heritage Foundation.

He was a member of the Society of American Foresters, to which he was elected a Fellow in 1984. He had published three books, including The Clearwater Story, a book chronicling the history of the Clearwater National Forest.

His book, The Lolo Trail, detailed the travels of Lewis and Clark over the historic trail. It includes excerpts from the journals and comments by Space describing the flora and fauna as well as the geographical features along the trail.

In January, 1992, Ralph was featured in a Lewiston Morning Tribune article which mentioned the following: "Space's interest in history began in Weippe, where he grew up just a few miles from the trail of Lewis and Clark. He'd also worked along the Lolo Trail in 1924, but his interest didn't really take off until he became supervisor of the Clearwater forest in 1954.

"I could see then that someday there were going to be a lot of people interested in it, so I thought I'd better get acquainted with it," he says.

"Acquainted' meant more than a little casual reading. Space copied portions of the journals of Lewis and Clark, then followed the route with the journals as a guide. He found the mileage estimates to be remarkable.

"They said they'd go six miles and come to a creek or something and there it was, every time," Space says. He speculates the party paced distances.

Ralph will also be remembered for his role in marking and protecting Lewis and Clark sites along the Lolo Trail. He was also involved in the establishment of the Nez Perce National Historic Park and preserving the Lewis and Clark Grove.

Survivors include a son, James Space of Fairfax, Va.; a daughter, Judith Space of Orofino; a sister, Ida Ruth Space of Coeur d'Alene; and two grandchildren.

LEWIS & CLARK FELLOW DONORS RECOGNIZED AT AWARDS DINNER

During the Awards Dinner at the Collinsville meeting, the Foundation, as a token of its appreciation, presented a gift to each Lewis & Clark Fellow donor present. That gift involves three parts. First, there is an attractive recognition certificate which designates the donor as a Lewis & Clark Fellow. Second, there is an exact replica of the Jefferson Peace Medal. Lewis & Clark gave such medals to principal chiefs of large Indian tribes on condition they would promise to live peacefully with their tribal neighbors. Third, there is a handsome Red Cedar box that encases the certificate and the medal. In addition to its multiple uses by the native population, "redcedar" was used to construct Fort Clatsop.

Each donor who received such a gift has given $1,000, or more, to the Lewis & Clark Fellow Fund. That fund will be used primarily to help establish a permanent "home" for the Foundation. A secondary use of that fund will be to create a second fund whose investment income will be used to help pay publication costs of WPO. Donors decide the purpose for which the funds given will be used. At present, $32,675 has been paid and $6,400 has been pledged to the Lewis & Clark Fellow Fund bringing the total to more than $39,000. To become a part of this most worthy effort, contact any officer of the Foundation or any member of the Planned Giving Committee.
LEWIS AND CLARK REDUX

Transcription of Diaries Takes a Lot Longer Than the Trip

BY HOWARD GOODMAN
Knight-Ridder, Washington Post

For 14 years, Gary E. Moulton has pored over the diaries of the mythic explorers—page by page, word by word, comma by comma.

"I'm very concerned," he says of the Lewis and Clark journals that are in his care, "to get every jot and tittle correct."

The University of Nebraska scholar is transcribing the precise, antique handwriting for publication, creating the standard text for researchers to come.

Now working on Volumes 9 and 10, he figures he has three more years to go before he's done.

"You have to be like a Talmudic scholar with this," he says.

By the time he finishes the 16-year project, Moulton, 51, will have spent about one-third of his life on the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

It took Meriwether Lewis and William Clark about 2-1/2 years—from May 1804 to September 1806—to walk from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean and back along the Missouri River in their epic trek to chart the continent's unknown Northwest.

For "documentary editors" like Moulton—scholars who convert historic writings into readable form, while hewing to authenticity—16 years isn't all that long a time.

Lewis and Clark left a relatively modest 18 volumes. It could be worse. "I could have Woodrow Wilson [69 published volumes]," he says, "or Thomas Jefferson," whose writings have been worked on since 1944, and continue.

Moulton is a tall man with a trim gray beard, a calm gaze and the wide-open plains of his native Oklahoma in his voice. Most of the year he works at the University of Nebraska, meticulously copying the diaries from microfilm of the originals.

But once a year, for one week, he visits Philadelphia to check his work against the genuine articles, which are kept in the American Philosophical Society vault, a temperature- and humidity-controlled redoubt whose treasures include many of Benjamin Franklin's papers and an original draft, in Jefferson's own hand, of the Declaration of Independence.

The Lewis and Clark journals rest on the top shelf on the fifth floor of the vault in the society's library, across Fifth Street from Independence Hall—five green boxes encasing 18 stenographer's notebooks written in powdered ink by campfires across a wilderness nearly 190 years ago.

In their day, the little volumes contained most of European Americans' knowledge of the western half of the continent.

These days, Moulton is one of the few people allowed to slip through the diaries' pages.

At the moment, he is worried about punctuation.

He is in the Philosophical Society library's reading room, looking over an entry from Sgt. John Ordway, one of four enlisted men who also made notes on the trip. Peering at the Ordway original, he decides he needs to add a period to a sentence he copied from the microfilm he read in Nebraska.

Another look at another sentence, and another decision. A period "there" must be removed.

"It might seem silly, but that's the sort of thing we have to look at," Moulton says.

"Because if you aren't careful about the particulars, then where do you start and where do you stop? If people want a correct version, then we want to make it correct in every respect."

Moulton makes the changes on a laptop computer he carries around. It's an intriguing contrast—the electronic word processor alongside the yellowed 5-by-8-inch sheets of paper lined with assiduous penmanship nearly two centuries old.

The 250-year-old Philosophical Society is a fitting home for the diaries. President Jefferson, who commissioned the expedition, sent military officer Lewis to Philadelphia to huddle with the society's savants for a six-week crash course in
the sciences: how to calculate by the stars, preserve plants, handle a sextant, treat illnesses.

After the trip, Philadelphia aristocrat Nicholas Biddle ghostwrote a paraphrased version of the journals for publication in 1814.

Biddle handed over most of the volumes to the Philosophical Society, which has kept them ever since, except for sending them to Washington ornithologist Elliott Coues—who had the audacity to write in them!—in 1892, and to Wisconsin historian Robert Gold Thwaites, who oversaw their publication in 1904 and 1905.

Although most of the Lewis and Clark papers are stored in the Philadelphia vault, other pages have turned up at Yale University, the Newberry Library in Chicago and at historical societies in St. Louis and Madison, Wis.

Moulton’s job is to update the Thwaites volumes to include some passages discovered in the meantime and scientific entries that were earlier ignored.

“We’re supposed to do the final edition that will stand for all time,” Moulton said.

That seemed a daunting task when Moulton first took the job. The graduate of a state teachers college and Oklahoma State University headed the papers of Cherokee Indian chief John Ross. The doctoral dissertation was later expanded and published as a two-volume work.

“I just supposed I would be in Oklahoma the rest of my life and work on Indians,” Moulton said.

But the University of Nebraska decided to republish the Lewis and Clark journals, with some financial help from the American Philosophical Society and the National Endowment for the Humanities. When Moulton’s wife saw an ad seeking an editor, she urged him to apply. The university was looking for a scholar who knew the West.

“This looks just like your resumé,” she told him.

Moulton spent most of his first year getting organized.

“A lot of the time, I just pinched myself,” he said, “and wondered if I could do it.”

By now, he has traveled most of Lewis and Clark’s route. Cities, roads and dams have changed it. “Just in remote sections, can you see it as Lewis and Clark saw it,” Moulton said.

In those stretches of Montana and Idaho, Moulton said, “you can take Lewis and Clark’s maps, and lay down a modern map, and it’s incredible.”

Lewis and Clark had no idea how large the continent was. Traders had brought reports from as far west as North Dakota, and British explorer George Vancouver had traveled the Columbia River inland 100 miles from the Pacific. But the young United States knew hardly anything of the great gap in between.

“There’s a sense of the newness of the land” in the journals, Moulton said, “a fascination of how beautiful it all was.”

“Oh, for the paintbrush of an artist and the prose of a writer,” Lewis wrote, as he sought to describe “scenes of visionary enchantment.”

Other passages speak of the arduousness of the journey—hunger, weariness, tense encounters and Indians.

Moulton will wrap up his version of the journals in 11 volumes of 400 to 600 pages each—or a single ROM compact disc. One million words.

“The phrase ‘We proceeded on’ appears in all the men’s journals,” Moulton said, “and it was really a kind of a testament to what they endured. They didn’t give up when the going got tough. They were kind of uncomplaining.

“We proceeded on.”

Moulton paused.

“After 14 years, every now and then, I have to tell myself the same thing.”

WPO TO OFFER CLASSIFIED ADS

Beginning with the February 1994 issue WPO will accept classified ads. Rates will be 50 cents per word for Foundation members; 75 cents per word for non-members; $10.00 minimum. The address, city, state and zip count as one word.

Payment must accompany all ads.

The deadline for ads is six weeks before the publication month of the scheduled quarterly issue, e.g. December 15 for the February issue.

Please send ads to: Editor, We Proceeded On, 1203 28th Street South #82, Great Falls, MT 59405.

No ads will be taken over the phone. The Foundation reserves the right to decline to accept any ad submitted. Ads will be limited to offering sales of services or material related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
EDITOR’S NOTE: The following excerpts are taken from the sixth of a 14-part series in the Portland Oregonian newspaper celebrating the 150th anniversary of the opening of the Oregon Trail. It is followed by a response from Foundation member Irving Anderson.

The cemetery is parched by the unyielding sun, the grounds bleached by more than 150 Wyoming summers and winters. Some of the graves are marked with elaborately carved granite stones; others with simple wooden crosses and whitewashed sandstone blocks. All are decorated with flowers.

In the middle of the cemetery, a Shoshone woman and her young son are pulling weeds and tidying one of the bigger stones—the grave of Sacajawea.

"She was my great-great-great-great-grandmother," says Charlene Charging, 41, while 6-year-old Jeffrey gathers up sun-dried straw.

"And we take care of her grave so she is not forgotten."

Of course, there is little chance that Sacajawea could be forgotten anywhere, except on western Wyoming’s Wind River Indian Reservation—and that is partly by design.

This is where the Shoshones and Arapahos still live daily with the consequences of Sacajawea’s dual legacy.

This is where the native peoples must decide how to interpret their own history.

This is where the Oregon Trail is most often called a trail of pain.

To some, Sacajawea is a great heroine in the history of the Shoshones, the West and the United States. She was undeniably brilliant—a woman who could speak English, French and many Indian languages well, while getting by in several more. She could read the terrain clearly and helped Lewis and Clark chart a route to the Pacific Northwest on their 1804-06 journey.

But to others, Sacajawea was the one whose actions most directly led to the conquest of all North America by whites. The one who sold out. The one who opened the gates to sickness and whiskey, settlers who demanded military protection and railroads that divided a previously seamless land. The one who eased the way to virtual cultural obliteration and genocide.

"Some people don’t like to talk about her," says Nelda Afraid of Hawk, project coordinator at the Shoshone Tribal Cultural Center in Fort Washakie, Wyo. "But, at the center, we want to know and keep all of the history, as much as we can."

That history includes many confrontations between races touched off by ignorance, fear, disrespect and racism; some by simple misunderstanding.

Sacajawea, for example, was not sure how she would be seen in history. After the Lewis and Clark Expedition, she traveled around from tribe to tribe, never speaking of her trek with the white explorers. After the Wind River Reservation was established for the Shoshones in 1871, she returned to live among her own people. She and her son, Bazil, were given the house closest to the tribal agency because she could speak English and French so well.

On April 9, 1884, Sacajawea died—nearly 100 years old and nearly forgotten—and was buried at the reservation. By that time the Shoshones called her Wad-ze-Wipe, the Lost Woman. But history has proved that they were wrong.

LUNA HOUSE
(Continued from page 3)

a museum along Highway 12, the Lewis and Clark Trail. The Luna House Museum was selected as an appropriate site through the Idaho Chapter of the LCTHF. The exhibit is presently available to the public and will remain at the museum until September, 1994.

The Luna House Museum is open 9 a.m.-5 p.m., Tuesday-Saturday. Admission is free.
MYTHS CLOUD TRUE ROLE OF ‘SACAGAWEA’ IN WHITE CONQUEST OF THE WEST

BY IRVING W. ANDERSON

In The Oregonian’s July 23 front-page story, “Sacajawea’s dual legacy: heroine in discovery, catalyst in conquest,” reporter Rick Bella regrettably has perpetuated erroneous, but long-accepted mythology and folklore pertaining to the role of the Shoshoni Indian woman who was a member of the Lewis and Clark expedition, and her fate afterward.

First, her name was never spelled “Sacajawea” by her contemporaries. In total, her name is found spelled 15 times by Capt. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and once by Sgt. John Ordway in their original manuscript journals, all primary sources. Although their flair for inspired spelling created some interesting variations, in all instances the three journalists were consistent in the use of a “g” in the third syllable.

Lewis’ journal entry for May 20, 1805, reads: “a handsome river of about fifty yards in width discharged itself into the shell (Musselshell) river...this stream we called Sah-ca-gah-we-ah or bird woman’s River, after our interpreter the Snake (Sho-shoni) woman.”

Although Sacagawea was a Shoshoni by birth, her name traces its etymology to the Hidatsa Indian tribe, among whom she lived most of her adult life. There is no “j” in the Hidatsa alphabet. The Sacajawea spelling, popular in most Western states, derives from the 1814 narrative of the journey, a secondary source published two years after Sacagawea’s death.

Second, Sacagawea could speak neither English nor French. Her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian, was conversant in French and Hidatsa, but spoke no English. Sacagawea spoke both Hidatsa and Shoshoni. Because Lewis and Clark spoke no French, the matter was resolved through the services of Pvt. Francois Labiche, who spoke French and some English.

When the expedition was among the Tushepaw (Flathead) Indians, Clark explained: “I spoke to Labiche in English—he translated it to Charboneau in French—he to his wife in Minnetaree (Hidatsa)—she in Shoshonee to the boy—the boy in Tushepaw to that nation.”

Third, contrary to your reporter’s account, Sacagawea did not “chart a route” for the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific and back. Sacagawea had never before seen most of the route the party traveled westbound.

As the journals document, when the captains needed guides after leaving Sacagawea’s homeland, they hired local Indians.

It was not until the water-borne party neared her homeland straddling the Continental Divide of the Rockies that Sacagawea sighted landmarks remembered from her childhood.

Fourth, Sacagawea neither died nor is buried on the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming. On Dec. 20, 1812, while stationed with her husband at Fort Manuel, a fur-trading post in the state of South Dakota, Sacagawea died of a “putrid fever.” Extensive archaeological investigations have been made at Fort Manuel, but no identifiable grave for Sacagawea has been found. On Feb. 8, 1978, the Fort Manuel site was entered into the National Register of Historic Places, giving formal recognition of Sacagawea’s death there in 1812.

There indeed was a celebrated Shoshoni Indian woman interred on the Wind River Indian Reservation in 1884. But through a regrettable circumstance of mistaken identity, she was not the woman of Lewis and Clark expedition fame. Contrasted with the complete chronology of primary records identifying the Shoshoni Indian woman who died at Fort Manuel, all references to the Wind River “Sacajawea” were based upon 20th-century hearsay testimony.

Fifth, writer Bella’s statement—which he attributes to unnamed “others”—that “Sacajawea was the one whose actions most directly led to the conquest of all North America by whites,” is totally contravened by documentary history. Long before Sacagawea’s birth, the displacement of North American Indian cultures had commenced through the fur trade in Canada and in what was
Sacagawea was not, as claimed in the article, "The one who opened the gates to sickness and whiskey." Missouri River Indian tribes encountered by the Lewis and Clark Expedition had, through the fur trade, been long exposed to white man's "fire water."

Upon reaching the Pacific, Clark, on Nov. 21, 1805, reported that "Pocks & venereal is common amongst Indians" of the lower Columbia River region. The commanders also reported on their observations of the decimating ravages of smallpox among native peoples of the lower Willamette River.

Similarly, the "cultural obliteration" alluded to by Bella had been set in motion among Indian populations long before Sacagawea appeared on the scene. Even her own people were using white people's cultural objects when visited by the expedition.

The tragic decimation of vast populations of native Americans across the length and breadth of our nation endures as a wretched era in America's history. But none of the allegations defaming Sacagawea for this unconscionable wrongdoing have validity when examined in the context of documented events associated with her life.

It is unclear how an attempt to malign an acclaimed heroine of American history could be formed when evaluated objectively against a body of authoritative evidence that indisputably refutes such misrepresentations of fact. Indeed, the American women's suffrage movement in 1905 chose Sacagawea to exemplify the objectives of its mission.

The statue of her that today stands in Portland's Washington Park was commissioned and funded by the suffragettes during Portland's 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition.

Irving W. Anderson is chairman pro tem of the Governor of Oregon's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee; a past president of the National Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.; and a past chairman, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council, U.S. National Park Service. In 1976 he chaired a bicentennial committee that created a Lewis and Clark Botanical Memorial within Portland's Downtown Waterfront Park. His published research includes six articles on Sacagawea and the Charbonneau family.

COMMUNITY COMMITTED TO FINDING FUNDING FOR CENTER

Commitment makes for powerful results. The community of Great Falls, Montana can attest; a handful of dedicated futurists have committed countless hours promoting the construction of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center in their hometown. Their commitment is paying off, literally.

Not surprising, federal funding for projects like the Interpretive Center have been painfully slow in coming. Undaunted by the delays, community business leaders, teachers, administrators, politicians, and volunteers incorporated a nonprofit organization, the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Fund, Inc. pursuing private donations to lessen the burden to the federal pocketbook.

A recent $100,000 donation from the Great Falls Shipping Association and an anonymous association member verified the local commitment to this worthy project. Seizing the opportunity, fund raisers have challenged the community of Great Falls to match the Shipping Association's generous offer. Within four weeks of the challenge announcement, more than $16,000 worth of pledges and cash contributions were received by the Fund Inc.

Donations take all forms. Harold Poulsen, a Great Falls businessman, recently donated a 1966 cherry red Mustang convertible to "sweeten the fundraising pot." A collector's dream, the original odometer reading stands at 30,000 miles. Fund, Inc. board members are finalizing plans to capitalize on the sale of this classic car, since all sale proceeds augment the growing nest egg.

While federal funding continues to wind through the congressional maze, Montanans have long realized the value of commitment. Commitment to the dream of a major Interpretive Center in Great Falls, Montana remains foremost in the community's heart. Spurred by the unending dedication, the private fund raising has topped $675,000 within three years. The dream is within reach.

NOTE: If you are interested in more information about the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center, contact:

Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center Fund, Inc.
P.O. Box 398
Great Falls, MT 59403
The annual awards banquet in Collinsville provided an excellent opportunity to publicly thank the more than thirty founding donors of the Lewis & Clark Fellows Fund. From the inception of the Planned Giving Committee, which is responsible for this fund and the many benefits it will provide, Dr. Robert Holcomb has been an active and imaginative member. In fact, it was Bob's idea for Fellows (donors of $1,000 or more) to receive the Jefferson medal and its beautiful cedar case and certificate. It is terrible irony, then, that as I read the list of founding donors at the banquet, I inadvertently skipped over the name of Dr. Robert Holcomb. I apologize for this unfortunate omission.

If anything positive might result from this oversight, perhaps it is this opportunity to again highlight the Fellows Fund. I would like to remind everyone that they are encouraged to join the circle of supporters whose generosity is helping to assure the bright future for the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. A permanent headquarters and staff person, and the guarantee of the continued excellence of our quarterly publication, *We Proceeded On*, will be the results from this fund as it grows. Bob Holcomb's gift, like his contribution of a fruitful idea in the Planned Giving Committee, sets a high standard for all of us. Once again, many thanks to Bob, Ed Wang, and all the members of this important committee for a job well done—and to all who have or will donate to the Fellows Fund. For more information, feel free to phone me at (208) 882-0965 or write to the Planned Giving Committee at the Foundation address.

Sincerely,

James R. Fazio
Past President

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**PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE**

(Continued from page 2)

He wrote:

"...we need not be a big organization, but we should strive to be a great organization. Toward this objective there is a compelling need for leadership in preserving and perpetuating the integrity of the expedition story and the lives of its members in literature, educational media materials, movies and artwork."

In this regard I can see numerous projects and activities that will be forthcoming from the variety of committees serving the LCTHF. Perhaps the most significant of these is the relatively new Bicentennial Committee. The committee is currently working its way through a maze of ideas and opinions with a goal of doing this in time to really have an impact on the Bicentennial Celebration of

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Donors to the Lewis and Clark Fellows Fund receive a replica of the Jefferson Peace Medal that was given to principal chiefs of large tribes encountered on the expedition. It is encased in cedar, symbolic of the wood used to construct Fort Clatsop, and includes a certificate of appreciation with the donor's name added in calligraphy.

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30 WE PROCEED ON— NOVEMBER 1993
the Louisiana Purchase and the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Another committee, that will strongly impact the foundation’s education mission is the Audio-Visual Committee which after producing the widely circulated video cassette on the Lewis and Clark Expedition produced by Ralph Rudeen is now moving on to compact disc productions using the vast 35mm slide series Don Nell and his committee have put together.

In his 1975 presidential message, Wilbur Werner wrote that:

"The number one goal for this coming year must be a sharp increase in membership. The members and directors agreed, without exception, that the publication of ‘...We Proceeded On...must be continued. It can continue only if we have a minimum membership of approximately 500.’"

Eighteen years later the membership has increased three-fold from this number and We Proceeded On has become an excellent publication, widely circulated and of great value to both students and scholars of the expedition. One of our tasks this year is to make certain that the content of this journal be maintained at its present high quality and to determine if its production quality can be raised to still a higher level. This is the challenge to the Publications Committee.

At the 23rd Annual Meeting in Louisville, three years ago, the Planned Giving Committee initiated a fund drive to raise a number of $1000 or greater contributions to the Foundations. The long range objective was to find financial support for development of a foundation office and an executive secretary. This year, at the annual meeting, over 35 individuals were recognized for making such contributions and with the addition of other financial assistance from grants and contributions the foundation may, in the near future, have a central office to support its growing list of activities. The other committee working on this project is the Program Development Committee.

Several other developments occurred that should affect the educational mission of the Foundation. One of these was the creation of a family membership that hopefully will encourage participation in foundation activities by the children or grandchildren of members. In this regard the Young Adults Activity Committee, with its new chairman, Steve Lee, has been asked to develop plans for getting young people involved in the study of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and with the foundation. Another committee that will ultimately have a high impact on continuing education is the National Lewis and Clark Trail Coordination Committee with its goal of perpetuating and preserving this historic trail. Bob Doerk, as chairman, has ambitious plans for this project of which you’ll hear much more in the future.

Well, it was not my intent in this message to review all the activities of all the committees serving the foundation but I wanted to give some highlights of what will be happening in 1993-1994 as we proceed on through our 26th year.

If you were in Collinsville this past August attending the 25th Annual Meeting you were probably just as impressed as I was at the marvelous or miraculous adjustments the host committee kept making as the Mississippi River kept rising and various components of the municipal infrastructure kept failing. I am still amazed at how 200 people could survive a one hour dinner and two hour play in Alton, Illinois with only one Porta-Potty available. Our special thanks and appreciation go to George Arnold, president of the Lewis and Clark Society of America, and to Joe Hill, program chairman, and all of his committee.

A number of by-laws changes were made this year but perhaps the most significant one was the return to a nine-member Board of Directors from a six member board. I wish to extend congratulations to new directors Harry Hubbard, Richard Kennard, Ron Laycock, James Peterson and David Mellor and I hope we will see all of you at next year’s annual meeting, July 29-August 3, in Missoula, Montana.

Finally, I want to say that it is indeed an honor and a pleasure to serve the foundation this year as your president.
MERIWETHER LEWIS / JULY 5th, 1806.

Set out at 6 A.M....

3 M. to the entrance of a large creek 20 yds. wide Called Seamans' Creek passing a creek at 1 m. 8 yds. wide, this course with the river, the road passing through an extensive high prairie rendered very uneven by a vast number of little hillucks and sink-holes....