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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 and 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 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 their work of distinction, achievement in the broad field of Lewis and Clark historical research, writing, or deeds which promote the general purposes 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 Robert E. Gatten, Jr.

It is a great honor to be able to serve the foundation as president this year. My experience as a foundation member, committee member, director, and officer over the past decade has been such a positive and stimulating one that I hope to be able to repay the foundation and its members in a small way by my service this year.

As I write this column on September 12, I realize that it will be at least two months before you read it. Thus, the contents will not exactly constitute hot news but rather items of enduring importance to the foundation. First, I want to acknowledge the fine leadership over the past year of President Stu Knapp, Secretary Barb Kubik, Treasurer John Montague, the directors, and committee chairmen. It was a pleasure working with all of you, and I appreciate your many significant contributions. I look forward to working with this year’s officers, directors, and committee chairmen.

Enclosed with this issue is a list of committee chairmen and members.

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

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

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

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES*

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*For foreign memberships add: $5/year in Canada; $10/year in Europe; and $15/year in Asia, Australia and New Zealand.
From the Editor's Desk...

We are starting a new year for the foundation (as defined from annual meeting to annual meeting), and it looks and sounds like it will be a ripsnorter. The easiest definition of ripsnorter for those of you not familiar with the term is “a great many exciting things happening.” Our new president, Bob Gatten, already has things moving at a fast pace.

We are adding new columns in WPO starting with this issue. They are designed to give you the big picture of how our foundation operates. One column will tell you about the 19 committees we have and what their functions are. The other is a feature about one of our nine local chapters starting in the next WPO.

The foundation is made up of many small parts. Each small part is a vital piece in the goal of giving you as much information as possible about the epic journey of those intrepid explorers. The goal of the foundation is education and understanding.

Speaking of education, I ran across a wonderful word while looking for some information in Elliot Coues’ three volume history of the expedition. In a footnote “eupatoriaceous” suddenly appeared before me. Now, isn’t that a word that just rolls across the tongue? I had to go to a really big dictionary at the library to find the definition. Good luck in your search for the definition.

Our search for education and understanding will swing this year from western Montana to the eastern seaboard as our 1995 annual meeting will be in Charlottesville, Virginia. In this issue you will find a Jim Large article about that history-rich area and a Joe Jeffrey article about Harpers Ferry. Bob Hunt contributes an article about the use of horses on the expedition, and Ron Therriault tells us of a Salish/Kootenai view of Lewis and Clark. It is all good reading.

Other changes are coming down the pike so standby, learn and enjoy!

LATE BREAKING NEWS!
The new executive director of the foundation is Jay Vogt. Jay is currently executive assistant at the South Dakota Historical Society and executive director of the South Dakota Heritage Fund. Welcome aboard Jay!

NOTICE OF MUSTER AT FT. ATKINSON STATE HISTORICAL PARK
FT. CALHOUN, NEBRASKA: MARCH 11, 12, 13, 1994

Editor’s Note: In the spirit of getting in the spirit of the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-1806, the 1994 Discovery Corps of Iowa and Nebraska uses the same language in its newsletter to chapter members. The following is an example from the newsletter—it makes for interesting reading.

In order that the upcoming Discovery Corps Muster and School of the Soldier may be attended by the maximum number of the members and recruits of Discovery Corps, the following missal is directed to be sent by post to all members, who will then cause said information to be made known to any potential recruits of their acquaintance. It is presumed that all members possess knowledge of reading or dwell in the house of one who does.

At the express wish of the Captains, all members of the Corps and prospective recruits will assemble on the Council Bluffs above

(Continued on page 31)

ON THE COVER—Lewis and Clark Memorial, one of the sites to see in downtown Charlottesville during the 1995 Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Annual Meeting. The monument is located in Midway Park at the corner of Ridge and Main Streets.

Photo by Bob Gatten
HOO~BE:AT~.
&
NIGHTMARE:~
A Horse Chronicle of the Lewis and Clark Expedition by Robert R. Hunt

PART I of II
meriwether Lewis was on horseback both at the beginning and end of his appearance in the pages of history. Each time he was haunted by horse mishaps.

In early March 1801 Lewis had set off from Pittsburgh, headed for Washington, traveling with three horses, to accept the appointment as President Jefferson’s private secretary, which ultimately led to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. One horse went lame on the rugged, muddy roads. Delayed by this disability, Lewis did not reach Washington until three weeks later, April 1st—an inordinate delay for accepting an important presidential assignment.

And in the final days of his life, eight years later, he again headed for Washington on horseback, this time from St. Louis to defend his expeditionary expense accounts. On the Natchez Trace en route two of his horses were lost in the wilderness, forcing his companion, Major James Neelly, to remain behind to search for them. Lewis rode ahead alone, apparently in a distracted state, to lonely Grinder’s Stand where his tragic death occurred by gunshot wounds October 9, 1809. It was a death which might have been averted had Neelly not been absent searching for lost horses.

Lewis’s horses thus furnished both a preface in 1801, and a somber epilogue in 1809, of the difficulties he had with his mounts on the Expedition of 1804-1806. For it was on horseback that Lewis, his co-leader William Clark, and their men faced their most dangerous trails. Yet despite the critical importance of these animals in the Lewis and Clark drama, there appear to be no paintings or images of any kind in the pictorial record depicting the two captains astride horses. Typically, they are shown standing on a promontory overlooking rivers and mountains, pointing forward, or poised in the prow of a canoe, or grouped with native chieftains parlaying in the wilderness. Rarely, if ever, do horses (other than native mounts) show up in the graphic literature of the expedition.

But without their horse luck Lewis and Clark may have been just two other minor figures in the opening of the West. It was only through their fortuitous purchase of horses from the Shoshone Indians on the edge of the Rocky Mountains, August 1805, that their mission was saved from probable defeat. Those purchases enabled them to stumble with their baggage across “those terrible mountains.” Staving off starvation by eating “killed colts,” they managed to reach the Pacific watershed before winter could shut them down. Thanks to their horses they would proceed on to fulfill a mission critical to the new nation’s future. The Expedition thus became unique testimony to the precept that “man on a horse’s back is history’s dominant figure.”

As horsemen however, Lewis and Clark were not very “dominant.” Instead, at times on horseback they seemed pathetic and bedraggled, more like Quixote than heroic cavaliers worthy of statues in the court house square. Their men also, when dependent on horses, were often a disheveled, disoriented bunch, especially on the Lolo trail, bungling along in front of, or behind, or astride their equally pitiful nag’s. Lewis himself called this stretch with the horses the most “wretched portion of our journey, the Rocky Mountain, where hunger and cold in their most rigorous forms assail the waried traveller; not any of us have yet forgotten our sufferings in those mountains...and I think it probable we never shall.”

HORSE TRACKS, WHERE?
What was the actual geographic extent of the Lewis and Clark horse trail? Captain Clark measured it out in his “Postexpeditionary Miscellany.” After river mileage of 3096 miles westward up the Missouri, the party went by land, i.e. by horse, from the Shoshone encampments (near the present day southwestern Monta-
Idaho border) “over to Clark’s river and down that to the enterance of travellers rest Creek...thence across the rugged part of the Rocky Mountains to the navigable branches of the Columbia 398 Miles.” Eastbound on the return trip, the party had the help of horses from present-day Dalles on the Columbia, overland at least 360 miles to the Nez Perces, thence back to Travelers Rest. From there, directly across the mountains to the plains and the Great Falls of the Missouri was a distance of 340 miles. Though the party was divided into different groups, all with horses, at Travelers Rest each of these groups on their different routes would have traversed at least a minimum of the 340 miles cited by Clark as the distance between Travelers Rest and the Great Falls. There were, of course, additional daily sorties of hunters and special rides (such as Lewis’s all night gallop of 120 miles from the fight with the Blackfeet at the Two Medicine River site).

In short, the Expedition left horse tracks of at least four to five hundred miles on a westward lineal course, plus at least a thousand miles easterly, widely scattered over strikingly varied terrain—with horses ranging in number from two or three at a time up to 65. The Corps of Discovery had become, in effect, a kind of cavalry unit for a cumulative period of six months during its approximate 28 months of absence from St. Louis. These men had then to manage a large squadron of unruly animals on which they were absolutely dependent for surmounting the most dangerous fifth of the total round trip.

**PREPAREDNESS?**

How did the corps measure up in horsemanship? Tracking their hoofprints reveals a curious mixture of ingenuity and instinctive skill adapted to the circumstances—but also ineptitude, incompetence, and at times inexplicable negligence. It was not until the winter at Fort Mandan (1804-5) that the need for horses began to dawn on them. Previously, the two captains could hardly have realized the extent to which they would become horse traders, horse managers, horse doctors, horse breakers, horse trainers—horse factotums!

Once in possession of these animals, from the Shoshones onward, the men were constantly frustrated in managing them. Rarely did a day pass while moving on the trail when one or more of the horses had not been lost, strayed, stolen or injured. Untold hours were wasted searching for missing animals, or recovering from accidents. Could these troubles have been avoided? Did the horse problems result simply from the circumstances of the voyage, the weather, the geography? Was the corps properly prepared with the needed skills, knowhow, plans for dealing with the circumstances?

Consider first the pre-expeditionary planning for the journey: neither Lewis nor Jefferson appear to have foreseen any compelling need for horses or for training their men in horse management. Remember, however, that the Rocky Mountains weren’t there yet! The “height of land” notion still prevailed among geographers who looked to the unknown West. Conventional wisdom presumed a continental divide, comparable to the Alleghenies in the East, offering only a relatively narrow rise, not too formidable, separating the watersheds of the Missouri and the Columbia. Jefferson’s message to Congress of January 18, 1803 proposing the Expedition contemplated continuing navigation on the Missouri River “possibly with a single portage from the western ocean...” By implication, any need for horses would be merely incidental and transitory.

Besides, Jefferson seemingly had little use for horses. As early as 1785 he had expressed his disdain:

> “The Europeans value themselves on having subdued the horse to the uses of man; but I doubt whether we have not lost more than we have gained by the use

of this animal. No one has occasioned so much the degeneracy of the human body. An Indian goes on foot nearly as far in a day, for a long journey as an enfeebled white does on his horse; and he will tire the best horses."

One wonders if Jefferson would want to eat those words 25 years later on reading the Lewis and Clark journals, learning how horses had saved the expedition from disaster, or imagining Lewis's all night ride after the Two Medicine fight.

As for Lewis, he most likely felt no need for horse competence beyond what he already possessed. He had lived and traveled as an army officer, a paymaster serving units in the Ohio Valley for years on horseback—a fitting career for a young man born and reared in Virginia, the land of renowned horse flesh. The same would have been true of his co-leader. Clark had had military experience with horses under General Anthony Wayne's command in Ohio in the 1790s, leading pack trains of several hundred animals through the wilderness, and he certainly must have been at ease on horseback in his Kentucky environs. But could either captain have foreseen the unique problems for coping en masse with the restless, semi-wild animals of the natives on the prairies and in the mountains, so unamenable to the disciplined pack train requirement for expedition purposes?

It comes then as no surprise that there is but one mention of horse-related items in the record of Lewis's preparation before his embarkation from Pittsburgh on August 31, 1803: listed for shipment from the "U.S. States Military Dept."

1803, March 21-June 30.  

***************

"1 Packg Boxes for Horseman's Cloths—$1."

***************

It is not clear from the journals how or when these "cloths" were used en route...Lewis had also arranged for shipment of a saddle from Monticello on leaving there for Pittsburgh. Jefferson wrote to him July 11, 1803: "your bridle left by the inattention of Joseph in packing your saddle is too bulky" to go by post. Did the bridle ever catch up with him, and did the saddle and bridle accompany him to Mandan and beyond? There seems to be no record to this effect. In any case, these minimal references in the otherwise voluminous documentation of items taken on the Expedition show scant attention to thoughts of horse travel in the Great West. Nor is there any mention in the cargo shipment references of Lewis's branding iron, often assumed as intended for branding horses such as those left in the custody of the Nez Perces in the fall of 1805. It can be doubted, however, that Lewis's iron, found in 1892 and now in possession of the Oregon Historical Society, was actually used to brand horses. [See especially, Note 14 at end of this article.] Lewis did use it at the Marias on June 10, 1805 "to put my brand on several trees" near the stashed red pirogue.

HORSES EN ROUTE

A few domestic horses did play a part in the voyage down the Ohio from Pittsburgh, thence to St. Louis, and later from St. Louis to Fort Mandan, most notably as follows:

- Lewis hired local farm horses on several occasions to pull the keel boat over sand bars in the Ohio River, then at record lows.
- At Camp Dubois near St. Louis in the winter of 1803-04, local animals were used for courier rides between the city and the camp.
- Two horses were acquired to accompany the party up the Missouri. These steeds helped tow the keel boat over difficult places and were occasionally used by the hunters roving on shore; one such episode figured in the near tragedy of 18 year old Shannon getting lost on the trail—"missing in action" for 12 days and having to abandon one of the two horses. The remaining horse was shortly after stolen by the Teton Sioux.
- While with the Mandans in winter's grip the captains borrowed or hired local horses several times to pack buffalo meat in sleighs across snow fields; in another encounter with the Sioux two of these horses were stolen.

WINTER PLANNING

During the stay with the Mandans, numerous reports of Indian war parties stealing horses from each other dramatized to the captains how crucial horse trafficking had become amongst the natives. But as far as the corps itself was concerned, during these winter months the actual use of horses was occasional and incidental—not absolutely essential for the needs of the expedition.
It was at Mandan that the captains first seriously faced up to their ultimate travel needs. Almost immediately on arrival there, they began to hear about the mountains to the west and the need for guides and land transportation beyond the river route. On October 29, 1804, before they had even located winter quarters, they learned that a chief of the Minnetarees (the “Big Bel­lies”) was then on a war party (to steal horses) “against the Snake Indian who inhabit the Rocky Mountains...” Just a few days later, November 4th, Clark recorded that

“a french man by Name Chabonah who Speaks the Big Belly language visit us, he wishes to hire & informed us his 2 squars were Snake Indians, we engau him to go on with us and take one of his wives to interpret the Snake language.”

During the long winter nights and days, as Lewis and Clark gained further information from their hosts about the westward route, those Snake Indians (i.e. the Shoshones) and their horses loomed ever larger in their plans. Lewis wrote to President Jefferson from Ft. Mandan, April 7, 1805, just as the Corps was to resume the journey upstream toward the mountains:

“...The circumstances of the Snake Indians possessing large quantities of horses, is much in our favour, as by means of horses, the transportation of our baggage will be rendered easy and expeditious overland, from the Missouri to the Columbia River.”

**SACAGAWEA = HORSES**

The horses would be not only “much in their favour”, they would be absolutely essential—explaining why the captains would dare to include Charbonneau’s wife, Sacagawea, a teenage girl with a new born babe, in a party entering upon such a hazardous journey. The theorem was self evident:

- To reach the Pacific over the mountains requires horses
- The Snake Indians (the Shoshones) have horses
- We must talk their language to acquire their horses
- Sacagawea is a Shoshone and speaks the language

Sacagawea is our key to horses, and THEREFORE our key to success

But the captains almost lost the key. On June 6th, while Lewis was absent reconnoitering for the Great Falls, Clark recorded “our Indian woman very sick I bleed her.” She became progressively worse over the next several days. By June 16th Clark thought she might die. The urgency of the situation struck Lewis forcefully as he rejoined the party after locating the Great Falls:

June 16, 1804—“about 2 P.M. I reached the camp found the Indian woman extremely ill and much reduced by her indisposition. This gave me some concern as well for this poor object herself, then with a young child in her arms, as from the consideration of her being our only dependence for a friendly negotiation with the Snake Indians on whom we depend for horses to assist us in our portage from the Missouri to the Columbia River.”

Fortunately Lewis had also discovered Sulphur Springs nearby, “the virtues of which...[he] now resolved to try on the Indian woman.” His prescriptions were effective, and within a few days she had sufficiently recovered, able to proceed on—and later, to help in the horse talks with the Shoshones.

WHERE ARE THE HORSES?

Once beyond the falls, Lewis became increasingly aware that horses would be the only means of fighting against time and geography which were racing against him toward another winter. He voiced his worries on July 27th: “we begin to feel considerable anxiety with respect to the Snake Indians. if we do not find them or some other nation who have horses I fear the successful issue of our voyage will be very doubtful...now several hundred miles within the bosom of this wild and mountainous country...” Still no Indians in sight by August 8th as Lewis scouted ahead of the party with three of his men. His record of the day had a desperate note—“without horses we shall be obliged to leave a great part of our stores, of which it appears to me that we have a stock already sufficiently small for the length of the voyage before us.”

Finally, by August 11th near the Continental Divide, he made contact with the Shoshones.

But Lewis was afraid the Shoshones could
not be relied upon to make their animals available; many of the Indians were nervous, not yet ready to trust the strangers, suspecting a trap. Lewis feared they might bolt and disappear with their horses, which

"would vastly retard and increase the labour of our voyage and I feared might so discourage the men as to defeat the expedition altogether...I slept but little, my mind dwelling on the state of the expedition which I have ever held in equal estimation with my own existence."

There would indeed be further nightmares before the captains could determine "whether to prosecute...[the] journey from thence by land or water." On August 17th Clark and the main party were reunited with Lewis, and the Shoshones became more trusting—"the spirits of the men were now much elated at the prospect of getting horses." Still, the Captains remained uncertain whether to continue by horseback or canoe.

Clark set off with eleven men armed with axes for canoe building, to reconnoiter the Salmon River. Several days of stumbling over dangerous terrain and viewing impossible canyons convinced him that the Indians had been right all along in ruling out such a route. He sent a letter by messenger to Lewis, who remained with the Shoshones, advising that land travel by horse appeared the only feasible course.

In the interim, Charbonneau had learned that the Shoshones were about to leave surreptitiously with their horses for the buffalo country; he had neglected to tell Lewis until almost too late. "I could not forbear speaking to him with some degree of asperity," Lewis noted. He knew that his chance of obtaining additional horses could suddenly disappear, and he lost no time in cajoling the Shoshone chiefs to countermand their movement orders. After this new nightmare of vanishing horses, on receipt of Clark's letter, Lewis promptly determined to commence the purchase of at least 20 additional animals, still fearful that "the caprice of the Indians might suddenly induce them to withhold their horses..."

**HORSE TRADING**

It was here that the horse trading careers of the two captains began in earnest. They offered uniform coats, shirts, leggings, knives, handkerchiefs, axes, and trinkets (in one case even Clark's pistol with powder and balls) for animals which they considered generally in excellent condition, though later they would complain about sore backs and previous overuse of these animals. By
August 30th they had purchased 29 or 30 (the number varies in their records) to begin their journey into the Bitterroot Mountains. Ten more were acquired further along the route when they encountered a band of Flathead Indians who had abundant herds. By September 6th, 40 horses plus three colts were on hand; some of the men thus had to manage two horses each during this most difficult segment of the journey.

PRICES PAID

When making their purchases, the captains generally recorded the prices paid for their animals. These prices varied considerably at different stages of the journey. (For perspective on the wilderness economy, the reader is referred to the schedule appearing at the end of this article, a ‘Horse Buyer’s Guide and Price Index, 1805-1806’.)

From the Shoshones, the captains had acquired animals of varying quality for merchandise valued at around $6.00 per head on average. This was a remarkably good price when compared with what Lewis had earlier observed on the lower Missouri domestic frontier. Recall that on his way to St. Louis from the East Lewis had visited Louis Lorimier, the well-known horseman at Cape Girardeau. There, he wrote on November 23, 1803, that among the ‘uncivilized backwoodsmen’ in that area “the circulating medium is principally Horses...for $50 to $200.” This contrast between the wilderness prices and the frontier prices was blithely exaggerated when Lewis wrote up his commentary on the horse market while at Fort Clatsop on the Pacific. On February 15, 1806, deflating the $6.00 prices paid to the Shoshones, he stated that “an elegant horse may be purchased of the natives for a few beads and other paltry trinkets which in the U.S. States would not cost more than two dollars.”

On the return journey, however, when the captains desperately needed horses to maneuver back up to Nez Perce country, they had to bargain with the unfriendly Eneshers and Skillutes. These groups either refused to sell or charged “extravagant prices”—double the prices paid to the Shoshones and the Flatheads; and this at a time when the corps ultimately needed twice the number of horses used while westbound, and was also nearly impoverished in the number of trade goods with which to bargain. “Two handkerchiefs would now contain all the articles of merchandise which we possess,” Lewis recorded March 16, 1806 at Clatsop.

Thus practically destitute, the captains then seem pitiful in their bargaining—reduced to offering their personal, “last resort” property: Clark ponied up his own blanket, coat, sword, and plume; Lewis, his dirk. They were literally trading the shirts off their own backs, but to no avail. “I used every artifice decent & even false Statements to induce those pore devils to sell me horses,” Clark said. “I could not procure a Single horse of those people...at any price.” The captains then had no more to deal with than their bare hands for trade purposes.

But their manual skills finally did prove more effective than merchandise. Clark had achieved a reputation as a physician among the natives as he dressed sores, relieved back pains, and gave small things to a chief’s children. In due course the medical practice produced horses when other stock in trade had been spurned or bargained away.

By May 1806 when the corps reunited with the Nez Percé, practically the entire capital of the expedition had been invested in horses, a seemingly risky commitment when the party was still thousands of miles from home and not yet over the mountains. Moreover, this investment would erode. Horses had become the “life blood” of the Expedition, and were subject to debilitating losses.

(To be continued)

Foundation member Robert R. Hunt is a frequent contributor to WPO. He is a member of the WPO editorial board.

NOTES

4Gary E. Moulton, ed. The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1991) Vol. 7, p. 325. All quotations or references to journal entries in the ensuing text are from Moulton, volumes 1-6, by date unless otherwise indicated, without further citations in these notes.
5Ibid, Vol. 8, p. 388 et seq.
8Jackson, Vol. 1, p. 92.
Beyond the Blue Ridge
Virginia's Role in Western Expansion

by Arlen J. ("Jim") Large

The rolling Piedmont region of Virginia was a fertile seedbed for America's growth away from the Atlantic seaboard toward new promises in the West.

Virginia's late-18th century frontier spirit will be a major topic of the 1995 annual meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation in Charlottesville. Attendees at the July 30-August 2 meeting will acquaint themselves with a countryside that gave birth to explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, and to their brilliant hilltop mentor, Thomas Jefferson.

The 27th annual meeting in Charlottesville will be the foundation's second gathering in an eastern state. In 1982 the foundation met in Philadelphia.

The Virginia landscape sloping eastward from the Appalachian Mountains was settled by a mixture of big landholders and farmers of smaller tracts. In the late 18th century the area within a 25-mile radius of Charlottesville was home to three major estate owners—future presidents all—who would play important roles in the expansion of the United States beyond the Mississippi River: Thomas Jefferson of Monticello, James Madison of Montpelier and James Monroe of Ashlawn.

In 1803 Jefferson lived at the President's House in Washington, commuting home to Monticello twice a year. Before his presidency Jefferson had acquired what has been called the biggest library in America on western geography. He never ventured past the Blue Ridge himself, but his interest in lands beyond Virginia's sunset helped put in motion the mid-19th century's great flood of emigrant wagons to Oregon and California. Western historian Donald Jackson has written eloquently:

"The prairie mornings rang with the eager chatter of westering settlers, and every turn of the wheel broadened a roadway that began at Monticello in Virginia."

The President's private secretary in 1803 was a young army captain named Meriwether Lewis. The Lewis family plantation at Locust Hill was seven miles west of Charlottesville. Jefferson himself acknowledged the "distinguished" standing of Meriwether's father and uncles in the community. Albemarle County's woodlands served as a wilderness classroom for the future explorer. In a Lewis biography written after the Pacific expedition, Jefferson said:

"When only eight years of age he habitually went out in the dead of night, alone with his dogs, into the forest to hunt the raccoon and opossum, which seeking their food in the night, can then only be taken. In this exercise no season or circumstance could obstruct his purpose—plunging through the winter's snows and frozen streams in pursuit of his object."

Meriwether was just five years old when his father died. Lucy, his mother, soon married John Marks, whose death 11 years later again left her a widow. Lucy Marks was locally famous for treating sick neighbors with herbs from her Locust Hill garden. Lewis absorbed some of her medicinal knowledge and made good use of it years later when attacked by a disorder of the "intestens" on the Missouri River in Montana. He drank two pints of a "strong black decoction" made by boiling astringent twigs from a chokecherry bush. By nightfall, he reported in his expedition journal for June 11, 1805, "my fever abated, a gentle perspiration was produced and I had a comfortable and refreshing nights rest."

William Clark's parents lived for five years in Albemarle County, where their oldest sons, Jonathan and George Rogers, were born. In 1754 the family moved some 45 miles east of Charlottesville to a flatland farm located midway between Fredericksburg and Richmond. The Clarks' other eight children, including William, were born there. William was just a boy during the Revolutionary War exploits of George Rogers
Clark in Kentucky and the Illinois country. Those regions then belonged to Virginia, so the elder Clark served part of the war under the orders of the state’s governor, Thomas Jefferson. As a federal congressman after the war Jefferson suggested to George Rogers in 1783 that he lead a U.S. exploring party overland to California. The old campaigner declined, but the two remained strong friends.

When William Clark went to the Pacific he was accompanied by another Virginian, his slave York. According to York’s biographer, Robert Betts, the slave “almost certainly” was born at the Clark family’s flatland farm. In his 1985 book In Search of York, Betts plausibly speculates that William Clark and York were boyhood playmates until they grew old enough to assume the stations of master and slave.

After the Revolution George Rogers Clark impressed on his parents the opportunities awaiting in little-settled Kentucky. So the Clarks in 1785 (when William was 15 years old) established a new family seat at Mulberry Hill near the Falls of the Ohio, a locale visited at the foundation’s 1991 annual meeting in Louisville. But the Clarks didn’t forget their Virginia roots.

Right after the Pacific expedition William Clark became something of a fixture at the home of Colonel George Hancock in Fincastle, Virginia, at the head of the Shenandoah Valley. He was

The 1995 Annual Meeting Planning Committee (top) is hard at work planning visits to Shadwell, the birthplace of Thomas Jefferson (middle), Monticello (bottom) and Locust Hill (left). These are just a few of the sites to be visited.
courting the colonel’s daughter, Julia, whom he married in 1808. In the Hancock home two years later Clark spun out previously unrecorded anecdotes about the expedition to Nicholas Biddle, a young Philadelphian writing an authorized narrative of the trip. That Clark-Biddle interview in Fincastle preserved lore of the Pacific adventure that otherwise would have been lost to historians. For example, Clark gave Biddle colorful details of the touching Rocky Mountain reunion of Sacagawea and her brother, Cameahwait, that appear nowhere else in the expedition literature.

* * * * *

President Jefferson in 1802 revived his old idea of sending explorers beyond the Mississippi River, then the western U.S. boundary, in response to incursions of British fur traders from Canada. In January, 1803, he asked Congress for money to send a small army unit across the Rockies in search of a future American trade route. Approval came in February and the President put Lewis, his secretary, in command of the project.

Meanwhile, a separate foreign policy crisis dogged Jefferson and his Secretary of State, James Madison. France owned the vast trans-Mississippi territory of Louisiana. Americans feared Napoleon might block their right to ship farm products from the port of New Orleans. In early 1803 Jefferson and Madison sent their political ally and neighbor, James Monroe, to Paris with the assignment of buying New Orleans from France. On his arrival in April, 1803, Monroe discovered Napoleon wanted to sell all of Louisiana. The quickly-made deal extended the western U.S. boundary to the crest of the Rockies.

Lewis’s trip was already in the final planning stages when the first hint of the Louisiana Purchase reached Washington in June. Jefferson observed that Monroe’s purchase “increased infinitely the interest we felt in the expedition through the new territory.

* * * * *

Thus did the pivotal year 1803 bring together a cast of western expansionists with roots in Virginia’s Piedmont: Jefferson, Lewis, Clark, Madison, Monroe. The foundation’s 1995 meeting will examine the cultural and family backgrounds of these influential figures. The program on Monday, July 31, will center on Jefferson and Monticello. On Tuesday, August 1 (Clark’s birthday), participants will visit Virginia landmarks of the Clark family. Events dealing with Lewis’s Albemarle background are scheduled for Wednesday, August 2.

A Message from the Governor

On behalf of the Commonwealth of Virginia, it is an honor and a privilege for me to invite you to Charlottesville for the 1995 Annual Meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

I am pleased that your organization has selected Virginia as the site of the 1995 meeting. In the heart of central Virginia, Charlottesville offers you a world of historic resources to explore, including the homes of three United States Presidents and the birthplaces of Thomas Jefferson, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark.

As the birthplace of our nation, Virginia claims four centuries of American history, and it is here that you will discover the true spirit of the United States of America. From the soaring peaks of the Blue Ridge and the Appalachians, past the rolling hills of the Piedmont, to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean and the Chesapeake Bay, our Commonwealth offers our guests an enjoyable visit, no matter where your interests lie.

Once again, it is my hope that you will visit Virginia in 1995 for the Annual Meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. I know that if you do, you will want to return to our Commonwealth again and again.

George Allen, Governor
27th Annual Meeting
Charlottesville, Virginia
PRELIMINARY SCHEDULE
Friday, July 28, 1995
Meeting of the Bicentennial Council—Board of Directors

Saturday, July 29, 1995
Early registration at the Omni
Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Foundation
Exhibits—Albemarle Historical Society/Alderman Library/Discovery Museum
Book Vendor Displays—Omni Charlottesville Hotel

Sunday, July 30, 1995
Registration
Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Foundation
(continued)
Book Vendor Displays/Presentations by Local Historians
Opening Reception—Albemarle Historical Society/Discovery Museum
Dinner and Entertainment at Ashlawn-Highland, home of James Monroe

Monday, July 31, 1995
Jefferson’s Day
Business Session at the University of Virginia
McGregor Room Reception/Map Presentation and Display
Tour of the University of Virginia
Lunch and Seminar at UVA
Monticello—After Hours Tour and Reception

Tuesday, August 1, 1995
William Clark’s Birthday
Breakfast Meeting at Omni
Trip to Clark Home Site—Public Commemoration/Marker 11:45 a.m.
Picnic Lunch and Birthday Party
Tour and Tea at Monticello, Home of James Madison
Dinner and Speaker at Omni

Wednesday, August 2, 1995
Meriwether Lewis Day
Breakfast Meeting at the Omni
Morning visits to Shadwell, Cloverfields, Franklin, Locust Hill, Locust Hill Graveyard,(burial place of Lucy Marks and other Lewis family)
Picnic Lunch
Free afternoon for local sightseeing—vineyards, Michie Tavern, and more
Awards Banquet—Stephen E. Ambrose, noted biographer, keynote speaker

Optional Pre or Post Meeting Trips under consideration include:
Williamsburg, Jamestown, Yorktown; Fredericksburg area; Richmond area; Shenandoah Valley, Harpers Ferry, Skyline Drive, Southwest Jefferson and Clark County—Fincault, Poplar Forest.

Lewis & Clark Going High Tech

Discovering Lewis and Clark, an interactive multimedia program, will employ the unique features of CD-ROM technology to peel away successive layers of history and explore the Lewis and Clark Expedition in its varied dimensions.

The program will focus on The Land, The People, and The Visions. Organized according to six separate topic areas, it will 1) reveal, beneath multi-dimensional maps and modern photographs of significant sites, the topography of key points on the explorers’ route as it may have appeared around 1800; 2) examine the characters and motivations of the men and women involved in the journey; 3) look closely at the technology on which the expedition relied; 4) observe the principles of scientific inquiry which the men employed, and the significances of their work; 5) scrutinize the expedition and its aftermath from the perspectives of various Native American cultures; and 6) illuminate the westward visions that inspired successive generations of Euro-American men and women of action, beginning with Thomas Jefferson.

These six areas are connectable at any point via the interactive paths of the CD-ROM. The humanistic disciplines of history, literature, political theory, Native American studies, anthropology and cultural geography will be among those utilized.

In style, Discovering Lewis and Clark will combine scholarly humanistic integrity and visual richness to convey the energy and excitement of exploration. Interactive games and puzzles will be used to present topics such as nutrition, or Indian sign language. The target audience will be the general population from age 12 to adult.

In anticipation of the forthcoming bicentennial celebration (2003-2006) of the expedition, the creator of Discovering Lewis and Clark, a non-profit corporation called VIAs, will publish a limited edition of 1000 copies with an accompanying teacher’s guide which, with the assistance of one or more sponsors yet to be named, will be distributed to selected intermediate and secondary schools, as well as certain museums, libraries, and historical societies throughout the United States.

Research, writing and production will be carried out by qualified scholars, artists and multi-

(Continued on page 31)
Meriwether Lewis at Harpers Ferry
by Joseph D. Jeffrey

The early days of March 1803 marked the end of the two year planning phase for the expedition that had been carried out largely in the sanctity of President Jefferson's White House office. 1 Those days also began a four month period during which Meriwether Lewis, as the first and yet sole member of the Corps of Discovery, constantly traversed the roads connecting Washington, Harpers Ferry, Lancaster, and Philadelphia assembling his supplies and taking cram courses that would qualify him to be the expedition's resident scientist. Curiously though, the progress of events at Harpers Ferry set the pace and dictated the timing of Lewis's travels during that period. For it was to be on the Harpers Ferry Armory and Arsenal that Lewis relied for guns and hardware that would meet his unique requirements.

In 1803, the Harpers Ferry Armory was a new facility. In retrospect it could be considered the precursor for a 200-year succession of government agencies that drew on the national talent available at the time and that performed outstanding services in their early years. In its ability to implement new designs and adapt the designs for production, the Harpers Ferry Armory was unique, exactly the combination laboratory, job-shop, and manufactory that Lewis needed.

Today, Harpers Ferry, West Virginia, is a small town, the lower part of which is a national historical park. The clean streets and handsomely restored buildings set on the point of land at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers in a rural mountainous setting, make it a visual delight for the casual sightseer as well as the Civil War buff. There the National Park Service has chosen to place its emphasis exclusively on the Civil War period. Yet 56 years before infamous John Brown, the 1859 abolitionist raider now so prominently featured by NPS, Harpers Ferry played its significant part at the start of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

HARPERS FERRY—A DISTINGUISHED HISTORY

While Lewis was the first historic personage
to do business with the Harpers Ferry Armory, he was not the first to have his name associated with the area. As far back as the time of the French and Indian War, George Washington, then an officer in the British colonial militia, was familiar with the upper Potomac River and the line of forts to Pittsburgh and beyond. Before the Revolution, Washington had also served as surveyor for Virginia's British governor, Lord Fairfax, and after the Revolution as president of the Patowmack (land development) Company. 2 Washington's familiarity with the area was later instrumental in establishing the Federal Armory and Arsenal at Harpers Ferry.

Unlike Washington, Thomas Jefferson did little traveling west of his Virginia estates (Monticello and Poplar Forest) or west of the Atlantic coast population centers. However, at the time he was elected a Virginia representative to the 1783 Continental Congress, he decided to take a westerly route to Philadelphia by following down the Shenandoah River and through the village of Harpers Ferry. 3 On October 25 he climbed the steep hill above the town to a rocky outcrop, where, so impressed with the mountain and river view, he described the setting in his book Notes on the State of Virginia. Wrote Jefferson as he looked to the east:

On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain a hundred miles to seek a vent. On your left approaches the Patowmac in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea.—This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic. 4

Long before Washington and Jefferson, the Harpers Ferry site was on the natural transportation corridor connecting the frontier villages of Fredericktown [Frederick, Maryland] and Charles Town [then Virginia, now West Virginia] and continuing on to the few settlements to the south-
west in the Shenandoah valley. In 1733 a trader, Peter Stephens, recognized the possibilities of the site. Noting that the Potomac River was the major travel impediment on the route, he set up a primitive ferry service. Fourteen years later, millwright Robert Harper, alert to the water power possibilities of the rivers, bought out Stephens's ferry boat operation and took on a deed on Stephens's squatters rights holdings. Harper proceeded to put his new holdings on a firm legal basis and in 1751 obtained a land patent from the Royal Governor and exclusive charter for the ferry concession from the Virginia General Assembly. In 1763 the town of “Shenandoah Falls at Mr. Harper’s Ferry” was established by act of the Virginia General Assembly. Harper’s combined mill and ferry boat operation impressed land developer/surveyor George Washington with the larger possibilities of the site.

In its early days the site was referred to as Harper’s Ferry. Today it is Harpers Ferry without the apostrophe.

In 1775, Robert Harper began construction of a stone house, but with the wartime scarcity of labor it was not completed until 1782. Unfortunately, Harper died in October of that year without ever living in the house, but the name stuck. From 1782 to 1803, the building functioned as the town’s only tavern and served, among others, Thomas Jefferson and George Washington. As an 1803 tavern it was certainly visited by Meriwether Lewis and, in keeping with the custom of the times, quite possibly housed Lewis during his stay.

In 1794, Congress passed legislation “for the...
erecting and repairing [translated to mean construction, equipping, and maintenance] of Arsenals and Magazines.” The first of two national armories/arsenals was then planned for Springfield, Massachusetts. George Washington, now president, was given wide discretionary powers in executing the legislation and, not surprisingly, selected Harpers Ferry for the second.

The U.S. government in 1796 purchased 118 acres from Harper’s heirs for its new facility, referred to officially as the “United States Armory and Arsenal at Harper’s Ferry.” Construction began in 1799. The terms “armory” and “arsenal” seem to have been used somewhat interchangeably although “armory” meant a manufacturing facility while “arsenal” referred to a storage site for completed arms.

Although there was much criticism of his selected site because of its flood damage potential, Washington believed it to be ideal because of its available water power, access to raw materials, secure position, and proximity to the new capital. Washington’s view prevailed. (It might be noted that for the 63 years the armory was in production, floods never shut it down. It took the ravages of Civil War to finally bring its demise; by that time it had, in any event, outlived its usefulness. After the Civil War, floods harassed the town and closed the last commercial mills in 1936.)

By 1801 the Harpers Ferry Armory was producing its first weapons. At that time the workmen were skilled artisans drawn from the Philadelphia area. Their specialty was individual piece-work, but the armory was able to begin mass production of rifles shortly after Lewis’s visit.

LEWIS—EARLY HARPERS FERRY CUSTOMER

Freed from the restrictive Washington atmosphere in March 1803, Lewis hit the ground running. For four months his track was difficult to follow as Jefferson discovered. One quick inspection of equipment available from the regular army supply depot, Schuylkill Arsenal at Philadelphia, convinced Lewis that hardware to meet his anticipated special needs (such as for guns, tomahawks, boat frame and the like) was not available in normal military provisioning channels.

The new facility at Harpers Ferry with its talent was obviously the source of choice. Lewis lost no time in getting his logistic supply line in order. Beginning on March 14th, a succession of orders emanated from the War Department. The first, and of primary interest, was from Secretary of War Henry Henry Dearborn himself, addressed to Joseph Perkins, superintendent of the Harper’s Ferry Arsenal:

14th March 1803
Sir:
You will be pleased to make such arms & Iron work, as requested by the Bearer Captain Meriwether Lewis and to have them completed with the least possible delay. I am &c.

H. Dearborn

The secretary’s order in hand, and now having a good idea where the various classes of equipment were to be obtained, Lewis’s priority rested with specialty items that would require his design and approval. Accordingly, he hurried to Harpers Ferry where he arrived about March 16th.

With a little imagination one can picture some of Harpers Ferry today as Lewis would have found it in 1803. In addition to Jefferson Rock and Harper House, three other sites in the lower town reflect the Lewis era. On Potomac Street is a modest building with a sign in front claiming that it was built in 1799 to be the home of the armory superintendent. Now near the railway station, in 1803 it was across the street from the armory’s then-main entrance. (All armory buildings have long since disappeared, their site now covered by an elevated railroad grade.) Since the house lies outside the park boundary, it has not been historically authenticated by the National Park Service. However, dedicated Lewis and Clark followers may well accept it for what it purports to be.

The second Lewis-related site is at the point of land (the “Point”) where the Shenandoah and Potomac Rivers converge. There is displayed a copy of an 1803 lithograph showing the large arsenal with the rivers beyond, surrounded by mountains, and with a ferry boat midstream from the Maryland shore as Lewis would have ridden it several times to and from Frederick [town]. Here, truly, is depicted the landscape as Lewis would have seen it, not too different from today’s similar mountain and river vista.
The third site as seen today is the foundation of the large arsenal, now outlined in stone in the grass of a pleasant parklike setting. The large arsenal (so called to differentiate it from the later "small" arsenal) shown in the 1803 lithograph was a two-story building with attic, built in 1799-1800 and measuring 125 by 32 feet, used to store completed arms manufactured in the armory. Lewis’s travels were now so unpredictable that it was difficult for Jefferson to keep his paternal eye on his protege’s progress. Indeed, as Jefferson somewhat petulantly suggested, he had heard nothing from Lewis for six weeks or so after March 7.13 Of course, some portion of that six weeks may have been due to Jefferson’s own absence from Washington while Lewis remained in the capital. It was Jefferson’s yearly custom to take an early spring break for a month at Monticello, his home near Charlottesville, Virginia.14 With that pattern, it is quite probable that Jefferson departed Washington on or shortly after March 7, eight days ahead of Lewis’s March 15 departure.15 In any event, Lewis was not keeping his mentor well advised as to his movements although, as the one-man task force, he was literally scheduling his activities on a day-to-day basis that stretched his intended one week stay at Harpers Ferry to a month.
Finally, on April 20, Lewis wrote Jefferson to explain, if not his silence, at least his activity. "My detention at Harper's Ferry was unavoidable for one month, a period much greater than could reasonably have been calculated on; my greatest difficulty was the frame of the canoe, which could not be completed without my personal attention to such portions of it as would enable the workmen to understand the design perfectly. My Rifles, Tomahawks & knives are preparing at Harper's Ferry, and are already in a state of forwardness that leaves me little doubt of their being in readiness in due time."

Lewis's letter went on further to explain that he was unwilling to risk the canoe's design on theoretical calculations alone. He, therefore, decided to conduct a "full experiment" after which "I was induced from the result of this [successful] experiment to direct the iron frame of the canoe to be completed." With a transportable weight of only 99 pounds and able to carry a load of 1770 pounds, the canoe seemed to justify Lewis's optimism as to its potential. That the "iron canoe" failed of its purpose was not the fault of the armory's skill or of Lewis's great idea. Much later, when the time came to put the iron frame to practical use following the Great Falls portage, the natural resources of that local area, on which Lewis had planned to rely, simply did not provide the necessary waterproofing material for seams of the boat's elkskin covering.

Lewis departed Harpers Ferry April 18 for Lancaster and Philadelphia, confident that all was now firmly on track. Jefferson, not yet in receipt of Lewis's April 20 letter, wrote to him April 23 noting that two army officers had informed him (Jefferson) they had seen Lewis in Frederick about April 20 and that Lewis had been detained in Harpers Ferry until April 18.17

Jefferson's concerns about Lewis's whereabouts during this period of silence were also expressed in the president's letter to Lewis Harvie. Harvie had been selected to be Lewis's replacement as Jefferson's secretary. Jefferson apologized for not moving Harvie into the job earlier but did not want it to appear that he was dissatisfied with Lewis's actions or in a hurry to replace him. Jefferson explained that he had anticipated Lewis's return to Washington and start on his Mississippi expedition [still carrying on the fiction of the purpose] some time earlier, but only two days earlier had learned that Lewis had been detained at Harpers Ferry a month instead of a week.18

THE TRANSPORTATION CHALLENGE

On May 29 Lewis reported to the president his successful completion of preparation in Philadelphia and planned departure for Washington June 6 or 7.19 Lewis's major chore now was to make arrangements for transport of his small mountain of stores from Philadelphia and Harpers Ferry to Pittsburgh, the embarkation point for the expedition's keelboat.

Transport of all military materials from the various supply centers to forts and outposts was under the control of area "military agents" of the War Department. For the middle Atlantic area, which included Philadelphia, Harpers Ferry, and Pittsburgh, the military agent was one William Linnard. Lewis called on Linnard in Philadelphia to state his requirements and then backed up his request with a letter dated June 10.20 Lewis emphasized that the stores would weigh at least 3500 pounds and that the road by "which from necessity they must travel is not good." Accordingly, he recommended a five-horse team.

Last minute delays held Lewis in Philadelphia until June 17.21 He then returned to Washington hoping everything would fall into place. Certainly his attention to detail had provided for every reasonably anticipated contingency. Lewis's last days in Washington were a flurry of activity.22 He had intended to visit his mother at Locust Hill (near Charlottsville) but so anxious was he to get started west, he could only write her that "circumstances have rendered this impossible."23 As Lewis informed his mother, he was to depart Washington on July 4, 1803. Actually Lewis left the city, now for the last time, on July 5. His one-day delay was probably due to last minute details and a possible July 4th Independence Day-Louisiana Purchase celebration.24

Agent Linnard started the transport wagon west from Philadelphia in timely fashion. Unfortunately, with bureaucratic inefficiency, he failed to verify the wagon's carrying capability. As Lewis later reported to Jefferson, the wagon passed Harpers Ferry June 28; however, "The waggoner determined that his team was not sufficiently strong to take the whole of the articles that had
Painting of Harpers Ferry watergap and armory about 1835.

Courtesy of Harpers Ferry National Historic Park.
been prepared for me at this place [i.e. Harpers Ferry] and therefore took none of them:—"\(^{25}\)

It is not clear when Lewis learned of the transportation breakdown at Harpers Ferry. But on July 5 he was in Fredericktown, 35 miles from Washington and 20 miles from Harpers Ferry seeking transport. There he “engaged a person with a light two horse-waggon who promised to set out with them this morning [i.e. July 8] for Harpers Ferry,—."\(^{26}\)

However, once again the promised transport failed at the appointed time. Lewis’s intestinal fortitude must have been sorely tried. On that same day he engaged yet another person now scheduled to depart Harpers Ferry the morning of July 9. This time Lewis must have been sure of the driver, team and wagon since he planned his own departure from Harpers Ferry a day ahead of the wagon.

Attesting to the high quality of work performed by the Harpers Ferry Armory, Lewis wrote the president, “Yesterday [July 7], I shot my guns and examined the several articles which had been manufactured for me at this place; they appear to be well executed.”\(^{27}\)

Lewis departed Harpers Ferry for the last time the afternoon of July 8, by “the rout of Charlestown, Frankfort, Uniontown [Pennsylvania] and Redstone old fort [now Brownsville, Pennsylvania].”\(^{28}\) His direction was now irrevocably west. He reported to Jefferson his arrival in Pittsburgh July 15 with nothing happening on the trip “worthy of relation.”\(^{29}\) Lewis’s final references to Harpers Ferry were made in a July 22 letter to Jefferson. “—the knives that were made at Harper’s ferry will answer my purposes equally as well and perhaps better [than a dirk inadvertently left behind in Washington].—The Wagon from Harper’s ferry arrived today, bringing everything with which she was charged in good order.”\(^{30}\)

**LEWIS RIFLES AND EQUIPMENT**

This paper concerns more the circumstances of the Harpers Ferry acquisition than the details of the articles themselves. However, from Jackson’s *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*\(^{31}\) and other references one may deduce what articles came from Harpers Ferry. One author lists as probably acquired there:\(^{32}\)

15 rifles

24 pipe tomahawks
36 pipe tomahawks “for Indian presents”
24 large knives
15 powder horns and pouches complete
15 pairs of bullet molds
15 wipers or gun worms
15 ball screws
15 gun slings
Extra parts of locks and tools for replacing arms
40 fish gigs such as the Indians use with a single barb point
Collapsible iron frame for a canoe
1 small grindstone

This listing, if not wholly accurate, is certainly representative of what Lewis obtained at Harpers Ferry. The rifles and rifle accessories, of course, were of primary importance.

Other than a brief note in the visitors brochure that arms produced here were used by Lewis and Clark, the only signage today at the Harpers Ferry National Historical Park referencing Lewis and Clark is a small card in the Master Armorer’s House (c. 1858), alongside an 1803 rifle reading:

U.S. Model 1803 Flintlock Rifle.

The first rifles made at Harpers Ferry reflect the popular American design of the Pennsylvania and Kentucky rifles. Like the early muskets, craftsmen produced the various parts of this rifle by hand. Many historians believe that Lewis and Clark traveled west with these rifles during their Louisiana Territory expedition in 1803-1804.

That the signage is in error as to the dates of the expedition makes it suspect, or at least unclear, also as to the type and model designations of the Lewis rifles. Biographer Richard Dillon gives some characteristics of the Lewis rifles and asserts that so efficient was the Lewis design that the Secretary of War ordered them (presumably meaning the U.S. Model 1803 noted in the NPS sign) into mass production with only one or two minor changes.\(^{33}\)

A detailed analysis of the Lewis rifles is beyond the intended scope of this article. However, any person interested in the gun history and
subsequent influence of the Lewis design might find helpful the references provided by the Harpers Ferry National Park historian’s office cited in the endnote.34

IN PERSPECTIVE

No expert’s knowledge or indeed any knowledge of rifles is necessary to appreciate Harpers Ferry today. But one should be armed with foreknowledge to find the elusive 1803 tracks of Meriwether Lewis. So plan to climb the quarter mile section of Appalachian Trail that leads up to the panoramic view at Jefferson Rock. Then stand below at “the Point” and compare the pictorial representation of the 1803 scene with today’s mountain and river vista. Walk through Harper House, the oldest surviving building in the park, and see it in the mind’s eye, not as presented in its later years, but as familiar to Lewis while engaged in conversation with townspeople and armory artisans over a friendly ale. Nearby, walk slowly by the reputed superintendent’s home where Lewis, after presenting his impressive credentials and consistent with military niceties of the time, would certainly have been socially entertained of an evening as the not-yet-famous but nevertheless illustrious representative of the United States president. Finally, view the stone foundation of the large arsenal and imagine Lewis at the door giving a final instruction for loading the supply wagon, eager to start west within the hour on his big adventure.

Except for one small plaque on a rifle of questionable relation to Lewis and Clark, and brief reference to them in the National Park visitors brochure, the presence of Lewis and Clark is not recognized at Harpers Ferry. This is a pity because in its very early days the Harpers Ferry Armory and Arsenal made a notable contribution to the success of the expedition. Backed by this history, Harpers Ferry is a significant site on the eastern Lewis and Clark Trail.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:
Joseph D. Jeffrey is a retired naval officer and aviator. He is the former chief legal advisor in the Federal Aviation Administration, Office of Aircraft Safety Standards. He is a member of the National Lewis & Clark Trail Coordination Committee serving as state chairman of the Virginia, West Virginia, District of Columbia area.

-NOTES-
7Ibid.
8Ibid, p. 38.
9Ibid.
11A print from the original, shown at Monticello as part of Jefferson’s 250th birthday celebration is dated c.1810. This is reproduced in Susan R. Stein, The Worlds of Thomas Jefferson at Monticello (Harry N. Abrams, Inc., New York, and Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation, Inc., 1993) pp. 190, 192. However, the NPS display copy is characterized as an 1803 print. See also Gilbert, Walker’s Guide, at p. 26 for a reprint of the lithograph.
12Gilbert, Walker’s Guide, p. 27.
13Jefferson to Lewis, April 23, 1803. Reported in Jackson, Letters, p. 43.
14The pattern of Jefferson’s annual spring break seems to have been established shortly after his first inaugural. He moved into the President’s (White) House March 19, 1801, and shortly thereafter “was away for a month’s rest at Monticello.” See Seale, The President’s House, at p. 93. That it was a yearly event for Jefferson to go to “Monticello for his usual spring holiday,” see Peterson, Thomas Jefferson and The New Nation, at p. 804.
15The two dates may be logically reconciled. Lewis’s March 15 departure date was given in Treasury Secretary Gallatin’s 14 March letter to Jefferson. See Jackson, Letters, at p. 27. This same letter also notes Jefferson’s absence from Washington at the time, saying in effect that nothing of importance in the Treasury Department would be done “till you return.”
17Jefferson to Lewis, April 23, 1803. (Note 13 reference).
22Lewis was receiving last minute instructions, some in writ
National Trails Day is Workday in Idaho

The Idaho Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation celebrated "National Trails Day" once again this year. For 1994, the Salmon District of Bureau of Land Management (BLM) organized a work day on the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in the Flume, Pattee, Sandy and Kenney Creek areas of Lemhi County.

Last year, a very successful public event was held on the Lewis and Clark Backcountry Byway and Adventure Road in Lemhi County southeast of Salmon. National Trails Day 1993 commemorated the 25th anniversary of the National Trails Act. The event, which attracted nearly 100 people, was coordinated by BLM-Salmon District, Salmon National Forest and the Idaho Chapter with several local Salmon businesses contributing to the effort.

This year, in the foothills of the Bitterroot Range which was carpeted with Lewis Rediviva (bitterroot), volunteers including members of the Salmon Backcountry Horsemen removed the old style "Lewis and Clark Trail" signs and wooden posts which were placed there approximately 15 years ago. The reasons for removal were two-fold: it has been determined the expedition's route was mislocated in this area and a new method of signage, Carsonite posts, can be placed with less impact and easier maintenance requirements. The new posts carry the official Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail logo.

J. Wilmer Rigby, Salmon pharmacist and Lewis and Clark enthusiast, determined that the actual route was several miles from the marked course in the foothills. Using the Journals for descriptions of the trail, he pointed out the probable route for BLM officials who are in charge of much of the land in this area. BLM has designated the trail as a Special Recreation Management Area and officials want to ensure that the correct area is within this designation. The BLM is very much aware of the importance of trails and recreation to the people and were instrumental in the development of the Lewis and Clark Backcountry Byway as well as the signing of the Lewis and Clark Trail in this area.

BLM also installed an information kiosk on the Warm Springs Road (the first part of the Byway) to aid in the interpretation of the Lewis and Clark Trail. The Byway road intersects the trail twice but leaves most of the actual trail route in a natural state—much like it was 189 years ago.

**DID YOU** miss the Missoula meeting? We have a few extra of the very special Road Guide, maps and mile-by-mile explanation from Missoula to Lost Trail Pass, Bighole Battlefield, Lolo Pass to Powell Ranger Station, Lewis & Clark Pass on the Continental Divide, and National Bison Range. $14.95, include postage. Publications, Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Box 577, Bozeman, MT or Collectors Showcase, 1359 W. Broadway St., Missoula, MT 59802.
EDITOR’S NOTE: The following is excerpted from a talk given by Ron Therriault during the foundation’s 26th annual meeting. Therriault, who is chairman of the Native American Studies Department at Salish Kootenai College on the Flathead Indian Reservation in western Montana, spoke at a luncheon at Kwa Taq Nuk Lodge in Polson, Montana.

We had 3,000 ponies on our reservation in 1905. The agent planning for the opening of the reservation to white settlement thought they ate too much grass. They were sold for as little as $2 a head. My grandfather kept one when most of them had been sold off. A man came along who offered to pay $20 for the pony. Grandfather said, “He don’t look so good.” The man still wanted the pony. Grandfather took his money and repeated the pony don’t look so good. The man took the pony home and it walked right into the barn door. It was blind. The man said he was cheated and wanted his money back. He didn’t get it. Grandfather said, “I told you he don’t look so good.”

We oftentimes use different words, but mean the same thing. We do not communicate well. Chief Three Eagles was the head of our tribe in Lewis and Clark’s time. When he first saw Lewis and Clark he thought, “Funny looking, but brave.”

When he saw York he thought he was painted black and he knew York was ready to die because of the war paint he had on.

Three Eagles said Lewis and Clark and their men were brave people because they traveled in a small group, but poor since they had no robes. Even a poor Indian had a buffalo robe.

Three Eagles’ grandson, Charlo, gave a speech in 1876. It was a bitter speech about taxes imposed by white men on Indians in the Bitterroot Valley. About the first meeting with white men he said, “We were happy when he came. We often saw him and heard him. We first thought he came from the light, but he comes from the dusk. Like a wolverine he comes often and takes more than he leaves…”

Light comes from the east. Lewis and Clark came from the east. They were military men. They respected Indian people and did not try to change them. It went downhill from there. The people who followed Lewis and Clark were not so honorable.

The Indians were not expected to stay the same. They were expected to change to the white man’s ways. Many thought it would be the end of the trail for the Indians. We are sneaky little devils. We never did disappear.

For 450 years we have been part of a one-way conversation. We listened. The other side talked.

When Lewis and Clark came, Indians were descendants of a society that had been in place for thousands of years. We had a tribal family structure that had law and order, education and welfare built in. Now we go to strangers to get it.

We are not strangers to this land. If you go above the high water mark on the hills on the National Bison Range (on the reservation) you will find ancient Indian graves. We were here when those were islands in the last Ice Age.

The key to our survival was responsibility.

One of the misconceptions of some white men is that we are not considered to be human beings. I love to talk to those people. They operate from a position of ignorance.

We have had thousands of years of a stable society. We are human beings—not noble savages. We have been locked in time and space like frozen pictures. In the minds of many it is comfortable to keep us there. We can’t progress if we are locked in time and space.

You look on Lewis and Clark as heroes. So does out tribe. They were the bright spot in a rough relationship.

After Lewis and Clark, people came in with an interest in changing us, our spirituality, our education, our very way of life.

The federal government determined Indians could become farmers. It didn’t know the Indians. We weren’t used to getting up early in the morning and working till late at night and not paying our bills.

In 1802, the government established an Indian education system. It taught our men how to repair farm tools for 58 years.

We are a people who came out of a society of hunters, warriors and survivors. We were forced
to change. We didn’t have to change. We did it for convenience.

I could teach my son how to make a knife from obsidian with a bone handle. We don’t do that. It became too easy to buy. It gave us more time to trap furs. We denied ourselves the technology of who we were as a tribal people.

We took the easy path. It is a sign of how human we really were.

We destroyed ourselves. We had a lot to do with our own destruction. We have not carried out our responsibilities. We did it because we thought there was more to this world. There was not. There was family, responsibility, duty and honor.

We bought into the grass is greener philosophy.

We got honor from Lewis and Clark.

We did not get it from the United States.

We lost our power. Land is power. We had 22 million acres of Montana. We used all of the land to survive. We have 1,240,000 acres on the reservation. We ceded the rest of it to the U.S. We can’t live on this amount of land the way we did on 22 million acres so it means we must change.

In the old days women did all the work. Men hunted and fought. When we were put on the reservation it took away our honor to fight and to be warriors. Our men found a hideout in booze. We destroyed ourselves. If the government had only been like Lewis and Clark...

We are still dealing with the reality of the U.S. federal policy and how it impacted tribes with the allotment policy, termination policy and all the other policies. I spend 90 hours in the classroom just on the allotment policy so I can’t begin to tell you what could be said today.

The world has changed. Each and every tribe is different in their concepts and abilities.

When I was tribal chairman I voted (the first time) not to build this beautiful Kwa Tlaq Nuk Lodge, at least not until some improvements were made in the plans. I guess I didn’t always make wise decisions.

Our people are now educated in a different way. Our Salish Kootenai College was opened in 1975. We teach people to survive in the modern world. We teach some to be lawyers, doctors, technicians, but we also teach them who they are as Indian people.

The past doesn’t disappear. It allows reflection on how far we have come.

There is a woman on the reservation who was a camp cook for me nine years ago. Now she has a doctorate in biology. I remind her how she poisoned us a couple of times with fry bread (just to keep her humble).

Our glory time goes way back. There are dark spaces in between. We don’t whimper. We get up on our feet and move forward. The tribes that have resources can do it.

I am proud my son and daughter are proud to be descendants of this tribe.

I used to dance the tribal dances. I am not so agile anymore. My little grandkids follow me as a dancing role model.

The drinking is starting to stop. Ten years ago my uncle would be passed out drunk in front of the Ronan Bar by midday. No more.

It all started with a good impression. If it starts with a good impression you can’t kill it.

Lewis and Clark didn’t realize what they started. If the people who followed had had one half of the integrity and courage of Lewis and Clark the world would have been different.

Without education, that we control, our position is weak. Every federal policy carried out against us had opposition, but no one would listen. We had no power.

The reservation opened for settlement in 1910. It was allotted against our wishes. We didn’t have the education to defend ourselves. Now there are no more rifles, no more headbands. We go and see a lawyer.

We know what the bottom looks like but we are coming back up. If you listen to what we have to say we could keep you from hitting bottom. We are no longer noble savages.

We have lessons to help us. Maybe it’s time for a two way conversation.

Seven years ago I received a call from an elderly lady back east. She and her sister were thinking about coming out West to visit the reservation. Since they were elderly they would need someplace to stay, she said. Did we have motels? She was concerned about being alone. I told her the burning, raping and pillaging—we haven’t done those things for weeks (I haven’t heard from them since).

It is a mindset.
EDITOR'S NOTE: The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has 19 committees ranging from the Annual Meeting Site Selection Committee to the Young Adult Committee. Beginning with this issue the chair of each committee will explain what his or her committee does. We hope you will have a clearer understanding of how your foundation functions.

NATIONAL LEWIS & CLARK TRAIL COORDINATION COMMITTEE

This committee is structured in such a way that it can “hone in” to a given segment or trail location to gather information, provide information to individuals and organizations, and create an on-site presence when required. We have state chairmen in each of the 11 trail states as well as Kentucky/Indiana, Tennessee, Pennsylvania, and Maryland/District of Columbia/West Virginia/Virginia...in short, in every state having a significant Lewis & Clark event or happening. In addition, there are “segment Coordinators” reporting to the state chairmen in states where there were many Lewis & Clark locations such as Montana and Idaho.

Committee projects include, but are not limited to, the following: 1) A survey of the current trail to determine what signage, brochures, access to sites, ownership, campgrounds, monuments, etc., are in place. Information is input into an NPS computer. The second phase will be to determine where we have weaknesses/needs for more signage, brochures, etc. 2) A brochure listing all Lewis & Clark events of any size or description happening along the trail in 1995. 3) Facilitate funding opportunities for trail enhancement, whether it be federal/state/local or private funds. 4) Organize attendee(s) and input for the Fourth National Long Distance Trails Conference in April 1995. 5) Review detailed projects/studies submitted to the committee from outside sources. 6) Devise ways to involve “off-trail” committee members in foundation projects (such as the reviews mentioned in #5 above).

Robert K. Doerk, Jr., Chairman

WE SAVED OURSELVES
(Continued from page 24)

We are still who we were. We are still Indian.
We will survive with education, moving forward and picking ourselves up.

Our education level has changed. If 5,000 young Indians hit the streets now, it won’t be with rifles and headbands. They should do it as lawyers and educators.

People often ask why do you stay on the reservation when you and other professionals could make more money elsewhere? The answer is simple. One is seeing a camp cook become a biologist and the other is: This is home.

BICENTENNIAL COMMITTEE

Following the 25th Annual Meeting in 1993, the bicentennial committee devoted the greater share of its time establishing a new entity whose sole purpose is to plan, organize and coordinate an observance of the 200th Anniversary of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. With the approval of the foundation’s board of directors, a non-profit corporation was formed and titled the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council. The founding board members are Stuart Knapp, Robert Gatten and Harry Hubbard.

The bicentennial committee of the foundation will continue to function. There are projects initiated under the able leadership of Jerry
Garrett, the founding chairman of the committee, that are ongoing. A partial list of these activities and the committee member in charge follows:

Book republishing. Ron Laycock has successfully convinced several publishers to reissue out-of-print books covering various aspects of the expedition.

Artifact list. Jim Large has tracked down, located and listed an extensive array of existing artifacts left over from the expedition.

Other projects that are of interest to the committee are: A statue and monument list, a commemorative stamp, and a documentary film.

A recent addition to the committee, Dr. Robert Weir, will pursue research concerning William Clark’s actual army rank during and after the expedition. If Clark’s captaincy is lacking its bestowal would be a fitting bicentennial event. As another bicentennial observance, Dr. Weir will also research the possibility of a special congressional medal to be established and awarded posthumously to all expedition members.

Additional projects, when appropriate, will be added to the bicentennial committee’s agenda. The progress and activities of the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council will be reported in a succeeding issue of WPO.

Harry Hubbard, Chairman

PLANNED GIVING COMMITTEE

Why are more Lewis & Clark fellow funds needed now?

Historically, most foundations have been created by persons of wealth. Examples of very-large-asset funds include ones created by Ford and Rockefeller fortunes. The primary purpose of those foundations, and numerous smaller ones, has been to distribute investment income from accumulated assets to finance countless projects for organizations and, in some cases, individuals according to broad guidelines designated by the creators of those foundations.

Unlike foundations created from existing wealth, the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) began with no assets. Initially, the only source of income for the LCTHF was its annual membership dues. Early on it became apparent that relatively small membership dues could not support publication of the quarterly journal, We Proceeded On (WPO). To resolve that problem the LCTHF engaged in the “selling” of bronzes. Thanks to the long (17 year) and highly successful effort of past president Wilbur Werner, bronze sales have produced enough funds so that current investment income from that fund pays the largest part of publication costs of WPO. As of June 30, 1994, Bronze Fund assets amounted to more than $177,000.

Several years ago, before the Bronze Fund was as large as it is today, Robert and Emily Betts made a substantial gift to the LCTHF to pay for computer equipment and software needed to publish WPO.

Just as it was necessary at an earlier time for the LCTHF to create a separate source of income—apart from modest membership dues—to pay the cost of publishing WPO, so it is necessary presently to add to a special fund whose investment income can be used to finance part of the cost of compensation for an executive director of the LCTHF. Three years ago the LCTHF requested its planned giving committee to commence such a fund.

To become a charter member of the Lewis & Clark Fellow Fund, one needs to make a contribution of $1,000 or more to that fund. Including 33 individual gifts, one bequest, one memorial gift and two corporate matching gifts, more than $43,000 has been pledged of which more than $40,000 cash has been paid. Some persons elected to make their contribution to the Lewis & Clark Fellow Fund on an installment basis rather than to pay it at one time. Including accumulated investment income and fund payments received at the Missoula meeting, the Lewis & Clark Fellow Fund amounts to more than $45,000.

This year the National Park Service has agreed to underwrite the largest part of the cost of a part-time executive director for the foundation. However, in exchange for that financing, the executive director will be required to use the greatest part of his or her time for oversight of the establishment of Lewis & Clark trail sites.

The Lewis & Clark Fellow Fund needs to be increased materially over the near-term future so that a significant share of compensation for the LCTHF executive director can be financed with investment income from that fund. You are in-
vited, in fact strongly encouraged, to help the LCTHF now with your contribution to the Lewis & Clark Fellow Fund. If the minimum $1,000 amount cannot be paid at once, installment contributions are welcome. Please send your contribution to: The Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403.

The Planned Giving Committee is most grateful for all the financial support given to the LCTHF. Questions of LCTHF members are always welcome and will be answered as promptly as possible.

L. Edwin Wang, Chairman

EDWIN WANG, Chairman
Planned Giving Committee

DONNA MASTERS, Chairman
Genealogy Committee

GENEALOGY COMMITTEE

Before the Genealogy Committee was formed in 1990, letters inquiring about a family connection to an individual expedition member were answered by sending foundation information and a membership application. Sometimes the letters were passed along to an officer or board member who would reply. Now, a committee member will reply with some basic information about the expedition member along with the foundation brochure. We also ask the descendant to share what they know with us and offer advice in getting started if they haven’t done any research to prove the connection.

We have had good response from announcements at genealogy conferences and in periodicals. Computer bulletin boards are another resource we use for locating descendants or researchers. There are many family historians who have done extensive research on their ancestors and we are especially grateful to them for sharing with us. In this way we add to the genealogical files we have on each expedition member.

Our goal is to reach descendants who are interested in learning about the part their ancestor played in this remarkable journey and hope that this interest will lead to their becoming members of the foundation.

Donna Masterson, Chairman

Cut Bank, Montana Will Be Home to Extensive Lewis & Clark Collection

by Joe Dee Black
Cut Bank Pioneer Press Reporter

Wilbur Werner’s knowledge and enthusiasm about the Lewis and Clark Expedition is well known around this part of the country. He has led hundreds of folks to both the camp sites [the Two Medicine fight site and Camp Disappointment] near Cut Bank, where the expedition stayed. He has been a member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation since 1971, serving as president in 1976. Werner has also sat on the board of the Montana Historical Society.

After generously sharing his knowledge on one of the most exciting parts of Montana’s history for years, Werner recently made another generous gesture. He has donated his extensive collection of Lewis and Clark Expedition artifacts to the Glacier County Historical Society and the Glacier County Library.

The donation includes two original oil paintings, one of Camp Disappointment and one of the Two Medicine Fight Site, two Bob Scriver bronzes, black and white photographs of the Camp Disappointment site, prints of the route the expedition took through Montana and the different instruments used by the party, a print by Howard Terpning of George Kicking Woman telling a youngster of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and many other items.

Werner has also donated his extensive collection of books, about 65 volumes, and many pamphlets and leaflets, to the county library. “Over the years I have accumulated many volumes of very authoritative books on different facets of the expedition,” he explained. His collection includes books on plants, animals, the geog-
raphy, rivers and lakes, the climate and the Indian tribes the expedition encountered. "These works were all based upon the very extensive journals kept by Lewis and Clark."

Werner said Montanans have a special interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition because one-third of the expedition, 282 campsites, was spent in Montana. His own interest in the expeditions started long before he came to Montana though. His undergraduate studies at Creighton University in Omaha, Nebraska included a minor in history.

"I have donated these items now because I will be spending more time away from Cut Bank and I want people with an interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition to have access to a library covering most all of the aspects of it," Werner said. He estimates his collection is as extensive as any in the state.

"I want people to know the collection is at the museum and the library so they can see the paintings and read through the books. It is intensely interesting."

In addition to Lewis and Clark Expedition memorabilia, the donation includes several reproductions of Great Northern Calendar Weinhold Weiss prints, which now hang on the walls of the office of Werner, Epstein and Johnson, as well as several Native American artifacts.

Although Werner will now be spending more time away from Cut Bank, the tours tracing the expedition's route near Cut Bank will not be abandoned. "Larry Epstein and Don Topp will be carrying on," Werner assured. "In fact, Larry was one of the scouts in Troop 44 who, along with Helen West and Bob Anderson, discovered and pinpointed the locations of Camp Disappointment and the Two Medicine Fight Site."

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**Nell Assumes "The Mapmaker" Bronze Sales Duties**

After 17 years as chairman and mostly sole member of the AdHoc Committee of the Bronze Fund, Wilbur Werner is retiring and I have agreed to assist in closing out the balance of Bob Scrivers' "The Mapmaker" depicting Capt. Clark with the various instruments he used on the expedition route. The casting has been set in limited edition of only 100. Seventy-seven have been sold. As some of you know, the companion previously done by Bob Scriver, "Lewis & His Dog Scannon," has been sold out for several years and that casting has been scratched. Some people would now like to obtain the Lewis bronze and if there are those who wish to sell theirs, your foundation will act as a clearing house and forward names to interested people in rotation as they are received. Negotiations can then be made between the parties with no involvement or fee to the foundation or myself.

The Mapmaker bronze sells for $1200 plus $10 postage if shipped. We have various numbers available but if none is requested we will ship the next one cast. We do have three on hand, but normally it takes 60-90 days to have one cast by the foundry in Kalispell, Montana, and it will be shipped direct from there. We will consider a consignment from established museums and bookstores by separate treaty. A $500 tax write-off is an option to those who wish to take it in reporting their income taxes. Terms are open to fit your situation, if desired. A free full descriptive brochure is available.

Here's a way to have an excellent bronze for your home, office or gift at a very reasonable price and assist your foundation. The bronze fund is a restricted fund, the interest of which can only be used to subsidize the publication of our magazine, We Proceeded On, which now exceeds our membership dues.

Call or write me any time. Donald Nell, Box 577, Bozeman, MT 59715, (406) 587-4806 winter; (406) 222-0721 summer.

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**THE ARCHIVES COMMITTEE of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is looking for donations of needed Lewis and Clark books for the foundation archives. Needed books are an edition of Thwaites and Moulton Volumes 3, 4, 5, 6. Any other Lewis and Clark donations would also be appreciated. Please contact Ella Mae Howard, chairman, 1904 4th St. N.W., Great Falls, MT 59404 or any member of the Archives Committee.**
The following is an abstract of a presentation made by Gary Moulton at the annual meeting of the Association for Documentary Editing, October 1993, in Philadelphia. This abstract was printed in Documentary Editing, March 1994.

Gary E. Moulton (Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition), in his paper entitled “Lewis and Clark: Pictures on an Expedition,” observed that beyond the heroic exploits of their transcontinental crossing, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark have been universally admired for their great work of scientific inquiry—for their constant activities of observing, collecting, and recording. In spite of praise for the captains as scientific observers, one has to admit that the men were not artists. This statement is not intended necessarily as a critique of their abilities with pen, ink, and paper but as a reflection on the manner in which they responded to the realm of discovery laid before them. Neither man’s first impulse was to set pen to paper and graphically illustrate a magnificent scene, a new plant, or a native curiosity. Their inclination was either to describe notable phenomena with words or to collect interesting specimens for later observation, either by themselves or by trained scientists in the east. Recognizing the paucity of the men’s iconographic material we still find some interesting illustrative material in their journals—much to admire, much to study.

In the journals of Lewis and Clark, numbering about 40 notebooks or separate components and counting nearly one million words, the explorers drew only about 55 sketches. Some are little more than doodles on a page, while others are of great use to expedition researchers. So, rather than the matter of artistic quality, investigators have tended to concentrate on the question of quantity: Why do we have so little illustrative material in the journals? I would answer that query in a number of ways. Since the men were not particularly artistic, they were not inclined to illustrate a scene with graphic representation. Looking at a landscape, Clark was more likely to sketch it as a map, in flat relief, and show a route of travel or mark Indian tribal boundaries. His was the pen of a draftsman and the mind of an engineer. Lewis was more comfortable with prose. When viewing the magnificent Great Falls of the Missouri River in the summer of 1805, he tried to draw a picture, but he was dissatisfied with the results and yearned for the talents of a great artist. Perhaps he was so dissatisfied with his drawing that he destroyed the effort since no picture of the falls by Lewis exists. He settled for his narrative description, with which he also was not pleased, and he longed for the gifts of a poet.

We should also look to the architect of the expedition for answers. Jefferson, in his lengthy instructions to Lewis, made no mention of pictorial record of the enterprise. Jefferson was quite familiar with the great exploration narratives of the days and knew that they were illustrated, so this neglect is something of a puzzle. Perhaps Jefferson understood Lewis’ limitations or perhaps he was himself equally unqualified and thus he ignored the point and thought it not a matter for mentioning.

Finally we ought to consider the time constraints imposed on the explorers. To lead a band of about 40 persons across a continent, deal with natives, and carry out scientific duties, seem accomplishments enough. Portaging falls, crossing deserts, traversing mountains, and fighting rapids left little time for artistic endeavors. To add art to their expedition baggage might well have overloaded the men. Indeed, the great bulk of expedition art comes from the winter of 1805-06, when the explorers were on the Oregon coast where they found time for such activities. Over half of all the expedition drawings were made during this period. In fact, of all the drawings from the expedition only about a dozen were made east of the Rocky Mountains. Novel phenomena partly explain this fact. Much of what they saw east of the Rockies was familiar or at least not fundamentally new to them, so only a few lines of explanation were needed and drawings may have seemed superfluous.

Lewis and Clark were involved in creating graphic images mainly in three large categories. They were making maps, featuring flora and fauna, and picturing people and their cultural elements. Each of these elements was discussed in the presentation, and slides of expedition drawings were shown and commented on.
On May 4, 1805, Meriwether Lewis observed an insect infestation on the high plains of northeastern Montana. “There are great quantities of a small blue beetle feeding on the willows,” the explorer reported.

Within two years NASA plans to launch a new earth-scanning satellite nicknamed “Lewis” that will perform the same function from an orbit 314 miles high. It will be joined by a space partner, “Clark,” imaging cities and towns from 285 miles up.

In announcing the twin project in June, NASA Administrator Daniel Goldin said the satellites will be named Lewis and Clark “because they are blazing new trails.”

The Lewis satellite “is designed to tell us whether it’s looking at a sugar maple or an elm, and whether the tree is diseased or healthy,” said Goldin. “It will tell farmers when pests are invading their crops, monitor Superfund cleanup sites from space, track coastal erosion and help high-tech prospectors search for minerals worldwide.”

The Clark spacecraft, said the NASA chief, is intended “to locate utility pipelines and cables from the sky, help city planners evaluate their transportation needs and problems, and help developers and contractors assess construction sites.”

Goldin said the new satellites will observe the earth’s surface in several wavelengths, providing data “far more cost-effectively and efficiently than traditional methods can do the job.”

“Traditional methods” of the 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific involved eyeball observations of the landscape at ground level, conveyed in pen-and-ink reports to scientists back home. It cost the government a reputed $38,722 to finance the expedition, which also included low-tech trade discussion with western native tribes.

TRW, Inc. will make the new Lewis satellite for an estimated $59 million, NASA said. The Clark satellite, to be built by a Maryland company named CTA, will cost $49 million.

Those prices are light-years higher than the original Lewis and Clark bankroll, but the space agency claims the new spacecraft will be smaller and cheaper than earlier models of earth-scanning satellites.
The vital work of the foundation is conducted by these people; without their efforts, very little would be accomplished in the months between the annual meetings of the foundation. Several important changes in committee names and goals were approved by the board of directors at the annual meeting in Missoula. Of special significance is the new Education Committee, which will work to broaden the ways in which we tell the story of the expedition both to adults and to children. A second important change is the new focus of the Chapter Formation and Liaison Committee. This group will work not only to create new chapters of the foundation but also to maintain communication between the chapters and the foundation. In order to keep you informed of the work of the committees and the activities of the nine chapters, I have asked the Publication Committee to arrange for the regular publication in these pages of short articles describing committee functions and chapter activities.

Recently the foundation and the National Park Service signed a cooperative agreement that formalizes our joint commitment to protect the Lewis and Clark Trail and to inform the public of the contributions of the Corps of Discovery. The agreement specifies that the National Park Service will provide funding to the foundation to help us carry out our trail-related activities, especially the work of the National Lewis and Clark Trail Coordination Committee chaired by Bob Doerk. The funds will permit us to employ a part-time executive director to work toward the joint goals of the foundation and NPS. We hope that the executive director will be at work before the end of 1995. More news on this important development will follow in subsequent issues.

Finally, a word about foundation finances. At the meeting of the board of directors in Missoula, we discussed the fact that the cost per member to publish We Proceeded On and to maintain membership records is $25.44, whereas the dues revenue per member is only $21.82. Income from investments and from donations makes up the difference. (Note that other expenses of operating the foundation are not included in the cost per member figure.) Because of the anticipated increase in postal rates in 1995, the imbalance between total cost per member and income per member will increase. In order to raise revenues but keep the cost of membership for individuals and families low, the board of directors voted to increase the dues for higher membership levels (Sustaining and Contributing) and to create three new categories of membership at higher levels of giving (Patron, Grantor, and Benefactor). The dues levels are listed on the inside of the front cover. In order to keep the foundation on sound financial ground and to maintain the dues levels for individuals and families, the Board of Directors asks that you strongly consider renewing your membership at a higher level for 1995. Planned Giving Committee Chairman Ed Wang will discuss this matter at greater length in this issue.

I offer my best wishes for a successful year in carrying out the goals of the foundation.

**HIGH TECH**

(Continued from page 13)

Media designers, with the cooperation of the Center for the Rocky Mountain West (University of Montana), the Center for Great Plains Studies (University of Nebraska), and the Center for Columbia River History, Historian Harry Fritz will be the principal narrator. It is expected that Discovering Lewis and Clark will be completed by the spring of 1998.

**WANTED:** Scriver bronze of Lewis and his dog Scannon. We have a request on file. Contact Don Nell, Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Box 577, Bozeman, MT 59715.
Monsieur President [Jefferson]

...I learned from your letter that you are going to have the sources of the Missouri explored, and to seek a river which, at its source, is near to the source of the Missouri, and bears its waters to the great northern ocean....If your nation could establish an easy communication route by river, canal and short portages between New York, for example, and the town which would be built at the mouth of the Columbia, what a route that would be for trade from Europe, from Asia, and from America, whose northern products would arrive at this route by the Great Lakes and the upper Mississippi, while the southern products of the New World would arrive there by the lower Mississippi and by the Rio Norte of New Mexico, the source of which is near the 40th parallel! What greater means to civilization than these new communication routes!...

Paris, 23 floreal, year 11-13 May 1803.
B.G.E.C. Lacépède
[French naturalist]