**THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.**

Incorporated 1969 under Missouri General Not-for-Profit Corporation Act IRS Exemption Certificate No. 501(C)(3)—Identification No. 51-0187715

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**We Proceeded On**

**We Proceeded On** is the official publication of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. The publication's name is derived from the phrase which appears repeatedly in the collective journals of the famous expedition.

E.G. Chuinard, M.D., Founder

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**PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE**

by Robert E. Gatten, Jr.

If all has gone as planned, the envelope that brought you this issue of We Proceeded On also included your invitation from the Home Front Chapter to attend the 27th Annual Meeting of the Foundation in Charlottesville, Virginia. Meeting will be unique: it will be the first in Virginia, home of Thomas Jefferson, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark; it will offer the opportunity to hear from Jeffersonian scholars at the University of Virginia and elsewhere; and it will provide tours of the birthplaces of Jefferson, Lewis, and Clark as well as the homes of three Presidents of the United States (Jefferson, James Madison, and James Monroe). The organizers of the meeting, led by Jane Henley and Howell Bowen (both Lewis family members), have planned an extraordinary mix of stimulating lectures and field trips to Lewis and Clark sites in central Virginia.

I urge all Foundation members to consider carefully the special benefits of attending the Charlottesville meeting. For those from the eastern United States, this is an opportunity to participate in the meeting in full without the cost and inconvenience of additional travel. Please feel free to contact the Foundation office with any comments or suggestions you might have for future meetings.

(Continued on page 31)
**From the Editor’s Desk...**

Have you ever wondered why we celebrate Washington’s and Lincoln’s birthdays and not Thomas Jefferson’s or either of the Roosevelts or even Martin Van Buren’s? Why don’t we celebrate the birthdays of Lewis and Clark or Thomas Edison or Henry Ford? How about Mark Twain? How many of you remember the date when Meriwether Lewis died but don’t remember the date of his birth? Quick now, tell me when William Clark was born. Hah, I thought so.

It is strange sometimes how we pick our heroes.

The new National Standards for United States History are a glaring example of the wrong way to select our heroes. In those new standards Senator Joseph McCarthy and McCarthyism are mentioned 19 times, George Washington is mentioned only briefly and not as the first president of our country, and Abraham Lincoln is mentioned only once. The Ku Klux Klan receives mention 17 times, Alexander Graham Bell, Thomas Edison, Albert Einstein, Jonas Salk and the Wright brothers receive no mention.

To quote Lynne V. Cheney, former chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities, “The authors [of the standards] tend to save their unqualified admiration for people, places and events that are politically correct.”

Were Lewis and Clark politically correct? They had bumps and warts in their lives as all of us do, but on their epic journey they rose above pettiness and personal agrandizement to achieve more than they were called upon to accomplish. Their journals are a record of a rare feat of mankind, something to be remembered. If there had been no journals there would be little remembrance of their accomplishments. They both made and wrote history.

Whether or not they were politically correct, they were heroes and history makers and wonderfully human.

We couldn’t ask for much more.

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**IDAHO CHAPTER ENJOYS FALL OUTING ON LOLO TRAIL**

Cool, crystal clear weather provided a pleasant bonus for 20 members, friends and families of the Idaho Chapter who spent an October weekend on the Lolo Trail. Part annual meeting and part for fun, the group traveled the trail route from Long Camp to Eldorado Ridge high above the Lewis and Clark Cedar Grove. The night was spent at the Lolo Campground near Pheasant Camp, with a cookout the Corps of Discovery would have traded their horses for.

Chuck Raddon of the U.S. Forest Service provided the guide service and Chapter President Steve Lee handled the business end. Plans were made for additional combined meeting-outings next spring and summer, and participation in Lewis-Clark State College’s dedication of their centennial sculptures of Lewis and Clark meeting Twisted Hair.

**ON THE COVER—**Fincastle, Virginia is located near the James River and Appalachian Mountains which form the western boundary of Virginia. The town was the last stopping place before departing to Kentucky through the mountains. Both Lewis and Clark stopped here frequently and visited the Hancock family. William Clark married Judith Hancock in Fincastle in January 1808.

*Photo by Jane S. Henley*
HOOFBEATS & NIGHTMARES
A Horse Chronicle of the Lewis and Clark Expedition
by Robert R. Hunt

PART II of II

APITAL EROSION
A few of the many misfortunes, both westward and eastward, which drained the reserve of horses are recapped here below:

- Accidents—causing lost time and attrition of the stock

September 2, 1805
“Several horses fell, some turned over and other slipped down...one horse crippeled & 2 gave out...”

September 9, 1805
“Two of our horses gave out, pore and too much hurt to proceed”; one, carrying Clark’s desk and trunk “turned over & roled down a mountain for 40 yards.”

September 19, 1805
“one of our horses fell backward and roled about 100 feet down...& dashed against the rock in the creek, with a load of ammunition...did not get damaged...” Lewis added “this was the most wonderful escape I ever witnessed.”

September 22, 1805
(Clark’s) “young horse in fright threw himself & me 3 times on the side of a steep hill and hurt my hip much.”

June 30, 1806
Lewis’s horse “on the steep side of a high hill...sliped with both his hinder feet out of the road and fell, I also fell off backwards and slid near 40 feet down the hill...”

Other horse mishaps in June and July 1806 resulted in serious injuries for Colter, Thompson, Potts, Charbonneau and Gibson.

- Stragglers and strays—causing delays, fatigue and morale problems:
The journals record at least 30 different dates when one or more of the men thrashed around in the wilderness, apart from the group for untold hours looking for missing mounts, lost, strayed or stolen—not infrequently separated for two or three nights at a time. Forward movement of the party was delayed while men and animals were unaccounted for, always a major concern for a military commander.

A maddening number of these delays resulted from carelessness and lack of discipline, and occurred when time was of the essence. Stuck in the mountains September 18, 1805 with little water and no food (except the last of a killed colt and the portable soup) the captains were intent on hurrying on “to the level country” where the hunters could find game. Lewis directed

“the horses to be gotten up early being determined to force my march as much as the abilities of our horses would permit.”

But Private Willard had failed to attend to one of his mounts which could not be found. The early morning march had to be scratched while Willard was sent back in search of his loss. He did not rejoin the party until 4 p.m., still without the horse—hardly a morale boost for his weary companions, then encamped on the side of a steep mountain after a rugged 18 mile march, and one less horse to help.

Charbonneau caused a similar delay during the eastbound trip. In the bare plains of the upper Columbia, the captains were anxious to make a “timely stage” which was then all-important to get beyond the semi-desert. Lewis wrote on April 23, 1806:

“at day light...we were informed that the two horses of ur InterpreterCharbono were absent; on enquiry it aperead that he had neglected to confine them to picquets [i.e. tied by the leg(s) to stakes in the ground] as had been directed last evening...”

Searching for the missing animals, two men along with Charbonneau were diverted several
hours; only one of the horses was found, and the party could not get moving until 11 a.m.—a misfire for Lewis's "timely stage."

Charbonneau caused a second such misfire four days later, April 27th. "This morning we were detained until 9 A.M." Lewis wrote, "in consequence of the absence of one of Charbono's horses."

These derelictions in April 1806 were cruel punishment for the corps. "We had not a sufficiency of horses to transport our baggage," Clark wrote on April 19th—a biting comment on the same date when Willard became at least a two-time offender. He had "suffered...[his horse] to ramble off." This inattention was a last straw for Lewis. "I reprimanded him more severely for this piece of negligence than had been usual with me."

During spring time the horses were "extremely restless." Lewis recorded that they "required the attention of the whole guard through the night to retain them, notwithstanding they were hobbled and picketed, they frequently threwed themselves by the ropes by which they were confined. All except one were stone horses [i.e. uncastrated] for the people in this neighborhood do not understand the art of gelding them, and this is a season at which they are most vicious."

The hobbling and picketing didn't always work. On May 2nd the party could not start moving until 1:30 p.m.—courtesy of a steed which had been obtained from a Chopunnish man along the route. This animal had just been separated from the other Chopunnish horses the previous day. To prevent escape to rejoin its fellow creatures the captains had it "securely hobbled both before and at the side" [i.e. the front legs were tied together by rope, with further lines tying the front to the hind feet]. The horse "broke the strings in the course of the night and absconded."

Lewis sent out several men on a search party but had to resort to hiring a young Indian who found the animal 17 miles away headed for its former master.

To calm things down, the captains finally resolved to castrate these frenzied animals. Drouillard was given the job on May 14th, but botched it in part, at least when compared with Nez Perce methods. Lewis wrote on May 23rd that the horses "cut by the indians will get well much soonest and they do not swell nor appear to suffer as much as those cut in the common way."11 Lewis's own horse was a victim of this operation, "being much reduced and...in such an agon of pain that there was not hope of recovery" and had to be shot on June 1st.

- Thievery; faulty security
Once east of the Continental Divide, the party was acutely vulnerable to native theft and piracy. But strangely enough, security measures (such as picketing, hobbling, night sentinels, etc.) became lax and indifferent. The captains proclaimed firm resolve for heightened security, but alongside their rhetoric disastrous thefts occurred. Three conspicuous examples:

**CAPT. CLARK TO THE YELLOWSTONE**

Homeward bound for the Yellowstone route, Clark with 49 horses on July 5, 1806 observed "fresh sign of 2 horses and a fire burning on the side of the road" which he presumed was evidence of native spies nearby. The very next day he discovered that nine of "the most valuable horses we had" had been stolen during the night.

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From: Summerhays' Encyclopedia for Horsemen...compiled by Reginald Sheriff Summerhays (London; New York, H. Warne 1952)
Closing the barn door, so to speak, after this loss, he directed that “the rambling horses should be hobbled and the sentinel to examine the horses after the moon rose.” But again a few days later Clark noted further smoke signals, on July 18 and 19, which appeared again to be a possible hostile warning. He woke up two days later to news that “Half of our horses were absent.” Once more, ex post facto, he wrote “I determined to have the balance of the horses guarded...” Having thus lost at least 29 horses to thieves, just when ready to resume river travel, he placed the remaining horses in custody of Sgt. Pryor and three companions to take them overland to the Mandans, intending them to be traded there for the further needs of the Corps on the final homeward leg.

**SGT. PRYOR TO THE MANDANS**

Despite the warning lessons with Clark, Pryor’s security was similarly deficient. On the second night after leaving Clark, all of his horses were stolen. Pryor reported having discovered tracks of the thieves within 100 paces of his camp! Clark’s contingent thus became utterly destitute—“we have now no article of Merchandize, nor horses to purchase with.”

**CAPT. LEWIS TO THE GREAT FALLS**

Lewis also, on his separate mission toward the Great Falls and the upper Marias River, was aware of the presence of nearby raiding parties. He noted on July 6, 1806 that his party was “much on our guard both day and night.” But the guard was not good enough. On the morning of July 12th, he learned that “ten of our best horses were absent,” three of which were recovered. Drouillard, perhaps the most versatile and valuable member of the party, was absent three days searching for the missing horses. Lewis became deeply anxious over his possible ill fate, thinking a grizzly had killed him. When Drouillard finally had safely rejoined the party, Lewis wrote—“I felt so perfectly satisfied that I thought but little of the horses although they were seven of the best I had...”

**CAPITAL RETENTION**

Some of the ways in which the Corps contrived to preserve the investment in horses are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>THREAT</th>
<th>RESPONSE</th>
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<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>Animals left with Nez Perces were branded; 14 the two expedition horses going up the Missouri were apparently taken on board the keel boat at night.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Animal restiveness</td>
<td>Castrating rambunctious males, picketing and hobbling; corralling; impoundments and posting of night sentries generally effective on westbound trip (but see above for failed measures eastbound).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Slipping on ice</td>
<td>Shields, the blacksmith, shoed horses at Fort Mandan.</td>
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<td>Sore hooves</td>
<td>Clark on the Yellowstone put “mockersons” made of green buffalo skins on the horses’ feet.</td>
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<td>Food, water and fatigue</td>
<td>Pace of the journey and camp sites had to be adapted to availability of pasture and need to rest tired animals; the captains were surprised at Mandan that local horses spurned bran meals and would eat only cottonwood bark “usually given them by their Indian masters in the winter season.”</td>
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<td>Sore backs</td>
<td>Often “in a horrid condition,” the horses’ backs had been wounded by “illy constructed” saddles and too hard riding by their native masters. Sgt. Gass obtained “goats hair to stuff the pads of our Saddles.”</td>
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<td>Overuse</td>
<td>The captains “apportioned the horses to the several hunters in order that they should be equally roled,” thereby preventing any horse “being too constantly hunted.”</td>
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<td>Mosquitoes</td>
<td>Clark’s party kindled large fires—their horses stood in the smoke to avoid the torture.</td>
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This theft resulted in a reduction of the planned Marias scouting party—with extremely dangerous consequences erupting in the Blackfeet confrontation just two weeks later. During these few weeks of July practically the entire stock had been stolen away. How to

HORSE BUYER'S GUIDE & PRICE INDEX*
1805 - 1806
(LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION)

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<th>DATE</th>
<th>SELLER</th>
<th>PRICE PAID</th>
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<td>August 18, 1805</td>
<td>Shoshones</td>
<td>3 “very good horses”—“uniform coat, pair of leggings, a few handkerchiefs, three knives and some other small articles...about 20 $ in the U. States.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 19, 1805</td>
<td>Shoshones</td>
<td>“A good mule cannot be obtained for less than three and sometimes four horses and the most indifferent are rated at two horses. their mules generally are the finest I ever saw without any comparison.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 22, 1805</td>
<td>Shoshones</td>
<td>5 “good horses” @ “six dollars a peice in merchandize”</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 24, 1805</td>
<td>Shoshones</td>
<td>3 horses; for each: “an ax, a knife, handkerchief and a little paint;” 1 mule; same as above plus “another knife, shirt, handkerchief &amp; pair of legings” (price was double that for a horse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 23, 1805</td>
<td>Chinooks</td>
<td>for “this butiful one” Lewis gave “our smallest canoe” plus “a Hatchet &amp; few trinkets”</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 18, 1806</td>
<td>Skillutes</td>
<td>4 horses @ double price paid to Shoshones and Flatheads.</td>
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<td>May 5, 1806</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>1 “eligant grey mare” for a phial of eye water and opening an abscess.</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 20, 1806</td>
<td>Eneshers</td>
<td>Clark offered “a blue robe, callico shirt, a handkerchief, 5 parcels of paint, a Knife, a wampom moon, 4 braces of ribin, a piece of Brass and about 6 braces of yellow beeds, also my large blue blanket for one, my Coat Sword &amp; Plume none of which seem to entice these people.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 23, 1806</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Charbonneau bought one horse for a “Shirt &amp; 2 lether Sutes of his wife.”</td>
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<tr>
<td>April 28, 1806</td>
<td>Wahhowpuns</td>
<td>1 white horse “very eligant” Chief Yellep wanted a kettle. Instead Clark gave his “Sword, &amp; 100 balls &amp; powder &amp; Some Small articles.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 29, 1806</td>
<td>Wahhowpuns</td>
<td>2 horses, Lewis gave medals, sundry articles &amp; “one of my case pistols and several hundred rounds of ammunition.”</td>
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account for this hemorrhaging? Was it failure of military discipline in maintaining security? Or lack of know-how in controlling restive animals? Or simply professional expertise of the thieves? These losses, seemingly due to negligence, must have been devastating to the captains—finding their vital investment, so laboriously and expensively acquired, suddenly disappear in the night.

HORSE HIGHS AND LOWS

Acquiring horses and adapting to threats against them was a constant challenge. High and low points in the morale of the expedition had been linked with horses—joy and revival on finding them at the Shoshones in August of 1804, but pain and humiliation on losing them in the plains in the summer of 1806. The expedition’s experience echoes a saying attributed to the Omaha Indians: “A horse you may possess but never own.”

It was a saying which Chief Blackbird of the Omahas must have known. And indeed it was the figure of Blackbird which had earlier dramatized to Lewis and Clark the intimate bond between man and horse in the West, a bond expressed in burial customs observed among numerous nations along the route. On Blackbird’s death in 1800, his followers had “buried him according to his wishes, sitting erect on a horse on top of a high hill overlooking the Missouri so that he might ‘watch’” the river traffic below. Lewis and Clark had visited this site (near present day Macy, Nebraska) on August 11, 1804 and decorated it with flags.

Returning there on their homeward journey in 1806, as they swept downstream below that bluff, they might have recollected their own vivid ties with horses, back in the “terrible mountains”—how horses had made the difference between success and failure, life and death. A sobering reflection—which inevitably brings to mind once again the Tennessee wilderness of October 1809 when Meriwether Lewis rode alone on the Trace, while his companion stayed behind searching for two missing horses.

NOTES

16See the Oxford English Dictionary for distinction between these terms: “picket” = to tether (i.e., by rope, cord or other fastening) a horse, etc. to a picket or peg fixed in the ground; “hobble” = to tie or fasten together the legs of (a horse or other beast) to prevent it from straying, kicking, etc. with cords or leather straps. Cf. also Elijah Harry Criswell, Lewis & Clark—Pioneering Linguistics, University of Missouri Studies, Vol. XV, No. 2, April 1, 1940, Columbia, MO, pp. 47-8, 64.

17If the captains did in deed carry with them Ephraim chambers’ Cyclopedia or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Science...with the supplement and modern improvements incorporated in one alphabet by Abraham Rees...(London, 1778-86 and later)—as Donald Jackson thought possible (see Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society, Vol. 36, No. 2, Oct. 1959-Jul. 1960, pp. 3-13)—they and Drouillard would have had available a very specific set of instructions for accomplishing the operation. This may or may not have been “the common way” referred to by Lewis. See Volume II of Chambers Article on “Gelding” which further counsels that “the wane of the moon is preferred as the fittest time.”

18The author is indebted to Arlen Large for citing the serious operational consequences of this theft. In letter to the editor dated June 7, 1994, Large noted that Lewis “originally had planned to take six men with him on his reconnaissances of the Marias. With the loss of...horses from his herd he had to cut this escort back to three. Would the Blackfeet later have dared to mess with seven soldiers, including the leader, as they tried to do with just four?”

19See Vernam, pp. 210-11 for discussion of horse stealing as “the highlight of Indian existence” —which “must not be judged by the precept of the white man’s Eighth Commandment”... “success depended on skill, bravery, and physical prowess, being commonly rated a higher honor than killing an enemy.”

20Milo M. Quaife, ed., The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway... (State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Collections, Vol. XXII, Madison, 1916), p. 293. Ordway’s entry of October 5, 1805 states that “a stirrup Iron” [underlining added] was used to brand the 38 horses left with the Nez Perces...Wayne Williams, long-standing member of our Trail Heritage Foundation and student of horse lore, believes that Lewis’s branding iron referred to herein could not have been used to brand horses. His opinion is in concert with that of Manfred R. Wolfenstine, in The Manual of Brands and Marks, (University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1970, p. 103) who assumes that this iron (dimensions and design as illustrated) “was not used to brand animals but rather to mark bales of specimens which were sent back east wrapped in hides.” The brand may be too large for branding horses; it is also too intricate in design and manufacture to be considered as having been forged en route by Private Shields, the expedition blacksmith. Though not listed in the inventory, the iron must have been part of the freight accompanying the party on debarking from Camp Dubois in May 1804...that “stirrup
Annual Grants Program Announced

The Monetary Grants Committee of the Foundation is inviting applications for financial assistance with projects related to Lewis and Clark scholarship and public education. Proposed projects must "stimulate and increase public knowledge" about the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Proposals are accepted from individuals or organizations, with preference given in the following order when all other factors are equal:

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

Final awards are made at the discretion of the board of directors and depend on the availability of funds. Awards in recent years have ranged from $200 to $5,000. Application forms may be obtained from James R. Fazio, Chairman, Monetary Grants Committee, 1049 Colt Rd., Moscow, ID 83843. Completed forms are due May 1 with final decisions made at the annual board meeting in August.

GRANTS PROGRAM NEEDS HELP

The annual grants program is an important part of foundation activities. It is consistent with the mission of the foundation as outlined in our charter, and it received strong endorsement from members sampled in a survey in 1992. The grants program has supported such projects as the University of Nebraska edition of the Journals, provided seed money for launching the upcoming Ken Burns TV documentary on Lewis and Clark, and helped with numerous local interpretive projects.

In the opinion of some of us, the grants program is at the heart of what makes the foundation unique and useful to the nation. It separates us from hobby clubs and study groups and truly makes ours a foundation worthy of the name.

The problem is that each year we encourage grant applications, then look to operating funds in the general treasury for help in awarding grants to the most worthwhile projects. The amount of money awarded is then dependent on what may be available, or how well the treasurer can juggle the books hoping to stay one step ahead of expenses. The situation is awkward and best at best and annually causes the board some of its most fitful moments. Still, the program continues because it is so important.

What is needed is a separate source of funds that provides predictable income from interest. Some of us view this as a worthy inclusion in our wills, but hoping for the best, it would be a shame to wait that long to endow a Monetary Grants Fund. This, then, is an appeal for your consideration. If you are in a position to make a major gift to the foundation, and would like to establish a lasting memorial, please contact me or Ed Wang of the Planned Giving Committee. This is truly an opportunity to give to a cause of which can be said, “There is no end to the good it will do.”

—James R. Fazio
Past President
1995 Annual Meeting
Offers Many Optional Side Trips

As President Gatten notes in his column in this issue, the attendees at the 1994 Annual Meeting in Missoula enjoyed the optional pre- and post-meeting trips offered by the host committee, and asked that more such excursions be offered in future years. The organizers of the 1995 Annual Meeting in Charlottesville have responded in exemplary fashion by presenting an array of five exciting pre- and post-meeting journeys.

Registrants for the meeting in Charlottesville will have two options for trips on Saturday, July 29. Both of these one-day trips are to sites to the east of Charlottesville that were settled early in Virginia’s history. One trip takes visitors to Williamsburg, which began as Middle Plantation, an outpost of Jamestown, in 1633. Williamsburg became the colonial capital in 1699, and served as the social and cultural center of Virginia for eight decades. The central part of the city, one mile long and nearly a half-mile wide, is now restored to its appearance in the 1750s. Eighty-eight buildings surviving from the 18th and early 19th centuries have been restored, and other buildings that have disappeared have been rebuilt on their original sites. Thomas Jefferson studied law there at the College of William and Mary and later served there in the Virginia House of Burgesses. Trip participants will have lunch in Williamsburg and have time to tour some of the historic buildings, such as the capitol and the governor’s palace. The trip will also include a morning visit to Yorktown Victory Center and Yorktown Battlefield National Historic Site, where General Cornwallis surrendered to Colonial troops in 1781, effectively ending the Revolutionary War. Participants will leave Charlottesville on air-conditioned, lavatory-equipped buses at 7 a.m. and return in time for evening activities in Charlottesville. The tour price includes transportation, lunch, and some admission fees.

Also on July 29 is an optional trip to Richmond, laid out in 1727, and the city to which the capitol was moved from Williamsburg in 1779. Richmond also served as the last capital of the Confederacy, and many monuments to southern generals dot the city. Trip participants will visit St. John’s Church, where Patrick Henry made his “give me liberty or give me death” speech, and tour the Richmond National Battlefield Visitors Center, which commemorates the struggle for possession of the Confederate capital during the Civil War. Also included is a stop at the state capitol, designed by Jefferson after the Maison Carrée, a Roman temple at Nîmes, France. Participants will also visit the White House of the Confederacy, home of Confederate President Jefferson Davis and his family during the Civil War, recently restored to its Victorian splendor. A final stop will be the Virginia Historical Society Museum that displays many maps, portraits, prints, murals, and photographs covering all aspects of Virginia’s long history. The trip includes lunch at the noted Tobacco Company Restaurant. Participants will leave Charlottesville on air-conditioned, lavatory-equipped buses at 7 a.m. and return by 5:30 p.m. Included are transportation, guide, lunch, and admission fees.

On Sunday, July 30, those eager to experience the dominant, aquatic mode of travel of members of the Corps of Discovery will have the opportunity to travel by bateaux (flat-bottom boats) down the James River. This half-day trip (9 a.m.-2 p.m.) will involve transportation by van to Scottsville, 45 minutes from the hotel, and a trip down the James River in 40-foot bateaux, with the opportunity to experience both light white-water and the adventure of poling the boats. Bag lunches and drinks will be provided. A signed waiver is required for this trip.

Attendees who wish to add a day to their stay after the meeting in Charlottesville may elect to take one of two post-meeting trips that explore sites to the west on August 3. One trip will head west at 9 a.m. across the Blue Ridge Mountains to Staunton (pronounced STAN-tun), settled in 1732, for a visit to the Museum of American Frontier Culture. This museum displays original farm buildings purchased and moved from Northern Ireland, England, Germany, and the Valley of Virginia, to show how the cultures of these foreign countries were adapted to meet the needs of the American frontier farm. The Visitors Center...
will feature a very special exhibit, "Away, I’m Bound Away" about the Virginia roots of westward expansion and settlement of the continental U.S. Included in the exhibit is the rifle believed to be Meriwether Lewis’s air gun. Participants will enjoy a box lunch as they travel along the Shenandoah Valley to Fincastle where they will visit the court house to see the original versions of William Clark’s marriage license and land records. Guides will provide narrated tours of the town where Clark met his first and second wives, was married to Julia Hancock, and helped prepare his journals for publication. The buses will then re-cross the Blue Ridge to Lynchburg for a visit to Poplar Forest, the octagonal house built by Jefferson to serve as his retreat from the hustle and bustle of Monticello. The building is under restoration, so the tour will provide a look at parts of the building not normally seen. There will be a stop for dinner on the return to Charlottesville. Admissions, box lunch, and travel by air-conditioned, lavatory-equipped buses are included, but dinner is not.

A second post-meeting trip, beginning at 8 a.m., will take visitors across the Blue Ridge Mountains and through the Shenandoah Valley to New Market, Virginia. The trip will include a visit to the New Market Battlefield Historical Park and the Hall of Valor, both commemorating the Battle of New Market on May 15, 1864. The battle was notable for the contribution of 247 cadets from the Virginia Military Institute to the Confederate victory over Union troops. The buses will then proceed, with a lunch stop at Woodstock, to Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. Meriwether Lewis obtained important supplies for the expedition from the U.S. Arsenal at Harpers Ferry, including rifles, bullet molds, knives, tomahawks, and the frame of the iron boat. Officials of the National Park Service will give participants a special tour of the restored area. (An excellent description of the importance of Harpers Ferry to the expedition is given in the article by Joe Jeffrey in the November 1994 issue of We Proceeded On.) Admission fees and transportation by air-conditioned, lavatory-equipped buses are included, but dinner is not. The buses will return to Charlottesville by 6:30 p.m.

Those registering for pre- and/or post-meeting trips should be sure to register for housing for the additional night(s) required.
HISTORIC FINCASTLE ONE OF POST-MEETING TRIPS
by Jane Lewis Sale Henley

Finca lle, Virginia, nestled in the foothills of the Appalachian Mountains near the James River, is the county seat of Botetourt County, which in 1770 included most of the land in present-day Kentucky, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Historians from far and wide come to Finca lle to go over the well preserved records in the court house. Visitors may see the marriage bond of General William Clark and Judith Hancock, records of Revolutionary War participants, and deeds to lands purchased by George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Thomas Jefferson (including the deed to Natural Bridge).

William and Julia (or Judith) were married in Finca lle January 1808. Clark visited his inlaws frequently, and in 1810 he invited Nicholas Biddle to come to Finca lle and the Hancock's home to go over Clark's books and notes from the expedition as preparation for writing the official narrative of the expedition.

Finca lle was a gathering place and the last place to get supplies before going further west as well as a place to socialize with the female relations of the Hancock and Breckenridge families. Meriwether Lewis also frequented the Hancock home on his way to Kentucky and St. Louis. In a letter from Reuben Lewis, Meriwether's younger brother and traveling companion, to his sister Mary Marks dated November 29 (probably 1807) Reuben vividly describes encountering Leticia Breckenridge and Julia Hancock.

"We arrived at this place on this day—and on the next day had the pleasure of seeing the accomplished and beautiful Miss Leticia Breckenridge, one of the most beautiful women I have ever seen both in form and features, but unfortunately for his excellency she left the 2 days after our arrival so that he was disappointed in his design of addressing her. It is supposed her female acquaintance(s) as she had contemplated accompanying her father to Richmond for some time before we arrived and having heard through some channel of the Governor's intention of courting her that if she remained it would look too much like a challenge and therefore determined to go. So be that as it may she is a very sweet looking girl. I should like to have her as a sister. General Clark's intended is a very charming woman and she is very handsome and when I tell you she very much like my ... L.B." (Continued on page 31)
CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

Lewis As Ethnographer: The Shoshones
by Steven Ambrose

EDITOR'S NOTE: Steven Ambrose has generously given WPO readers a sneak preview of his new book on Meriwether Lewis. Due to be published in early 1996, the working title is Of Courage Undaunted; Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson and the Opening of the American West. His co-author is Moira West. Ambrose is the Boyd Professor of History at the University of New Orleans and author of books on Crazy Horse, Custer, Eisenhower, Nixon and others. A second preview chapter will be printed in the May WPO.

If the Shoshones were fascinated by the men and equipment of the expedition, Lewis was no less fascinated by them. They were the first Indians he had seen since the Mandans. They were about as close to being untouched by contact with whitesmen as it was possible for any tribe to be at the beginning of the 19th Century. Cameahwait’s people had perhaps seen a Spaniard or two; they had some trade goods of European manufacture, not much; they had three different rifles.

The biggest effect of the whiteman on the Shoshones was horses, brought to the New World by the Spanish. Next came rifles, provided by the English and French to their trading partners on the Plains, the Blackfeet, Hidatsas and some others. As Cameahwait so movingly noted, the arms trade with the enemies of the Shoshones put his people at a terrible disadvantage and regulated their lives. They had to sneak onto the Plains, make their hunt as fast as possible, and retreat into their mountain hide-a-way, or as Lewis put it, “alternately obtaining their food at the risk of their lives and retiring to the mountains.”

The civilized world knew nothing about the Shoshones. In describing them, Lewis was breaking entirely new scientific ground. His account, written mostly at Camp Fortunate, is therefore invaluable as the first description ever of a Rocky Mountain tribe, in an almost pre-contact stage.

Lewis’s ethnography, if not up to the standards of academic ethnographers of the late Twentieth Century, was wide-ranging. His curiosity, his catholic interests, and his responsibility to report to Jefferson on the tribes he met combined to make for an informative, invaluable and altogether enchanting picture of Cameahwait’s people. Lewis covered their appearance, personal characteristics, customs, population, clothing, health, economy, the relations between the sexes, and politics. The richness of detail can only be hinted at here; interested readers are urged to go to the original journals for the full account.

The Shoshones were “deminutive in stature, thick ankles, crooked legs, thick flat feet and in short but illy formed, at least much more so in general than any nation of Indians I ever saw.” Their complexion was darker than that of the Hidatsas or the Mandans. As a consequence of the losses they had suffered in the spring to the Blackfeet, men and women alike had their hair cut at the neck: “This constitutes their ceremony of morning for their deceased relations.: Cameahwait had his hair cut close all over his head.

As to their demeanor “notwithstanding their extreme poverty they are not only cheerful but even gay, fond of gaudy dress and amusements; like most other Indians they are great egotists and frequently boast of heroic acts which they never performed.” They loved to gamble. “They are frank, communicative, fair in dealing, generous with the little they possess, extremely honest, and by no means beggarly.”

Cameahwait’s band numbered about 100 warriors, 300 women and children. There were few old people among them and so far as Lewis could tell the elderly were not treated with much tenderness or respect. As to relations between the sexes, “the man is the sole proprietor of his wives and daughters, and can barter or dispose of either as he thinks proper.” Most men had two or three wives, usually purchased as infant girls for horses or mules. At age 13 or 14 the girls were surrendered to their “sovereign lord and husband.”
Sacagawea had been thus disposed of before she was taken prisoner, and her betrothed was still alive and living with this band. He was in his thirties and had two other wives. He claimed Sacagawea as his wife "but said that as she had had a child by another man, who was Charbonneau, that he did not want her."

That was lucky, because Sacagawea was accompanying the expedition to the Pacific. Neither Captain Lewis nor Captain Clark ever thought to discuss the matter in his journal, so it is unclear whether she chose to leave her people after a reunion of less than a month, or Charbonneau forced her to come along. As she had never been in the territory they were entering, and so could recognize no landmarks, and as her linguistic abilities would be of little help with the Nez Perce or any other tribe west of the mountains, the captains had no pressing need to bring her along. One would like to think that the question of whether she should stay with the expedition never came up, that she was by now so integral a member of the party that it was taken for granted that she would remain with it.

Lewis noted, with disapproval, that the Shoshones "treat their women but with little respect, and compel them to perform every species of drudgery. They collect the wild fruits and roots, attend to the horses or assist in that duty, cook dress the skins and make all their apparel, collect wood and make their fires, arrange and form their lodges, and when they travel pack the horses and take charge of all the baggage; in short the man does little else except attend his horses hunt and fish."

Lewis failed to note that the warriors had to be always prepared to defend the village, which required them to be constantly on the alert, with their hands free. He did point out that the men had their best war horse tied to a stake near their lodges at night.

"The man considers himself degraded if he is compelled to walk any distance," Lewis noted. He did not add that in this they were very like Virginia gentlemen. The literal translation of Cameahwait, as best Lewis could make it out, was "One Who Never Walks."

"The chastity of their women is not held in high estimation," Lewis wrote. The men would barter their wives' services for a night or longer, if the reward was sufficient, "tho' they are not so importunate that we should caress their women as the siouxs were and some of their women appear to be held more sacred than in any nation we have seen." Lewis ordered his men to give the Shoshone braves "no cause of jealousy" by having a sexual relationship with their women without the husband's knowledge and consent. To prevent such affairs altogether, he recognized, would be "impossible to effect, particularly on the part of our young men whom some months abstinence have made very polite to those tawney damsels."

Knowing that the Shoshones had no contact with whites, Lewis wrote that "I was anxious to learn whether these people had the venerial." His purpose was immediate—he had the health of his men in mind—but also scholarly. One of the oldest questions in medical history, still a subject of debate today, was whether syphilis originated in the Americas and spread to Europe after 1492, or was native to Europe and spread to the North American Indians by Europeans.

Through Sacagawea, Lewis made inquiries as to the presence of venereal disease among the Shoshones. He learned that it was a problem "but I could not learn their remedy; they most usually die with it's effects." So far as he was concerned, "this seems a strong proof that these disorders bothe gonaroehah and Louis venerae are native disorders of America."1

But it was not conclusive, as Lewis realized, because the Shoshones had suffered much from the small pox "which is known to be imported," so they must have contracted it from other tribes that did have intercourse with whites. They might have contracted venereal disease in the same manner. Still, the Shoshones were "so much detached from all communication with the whites that I think it most probable that those disorders [venereal disease] are original with them."
collars, porcupine quills dyed various colors, earrings and so forth.

Lewis pronounced the tippet of the Shoshones “the most elegant piece of Indian dress I ever saw.” It was a sort of cloak made of dressed otter skin to which 100 to 250 rolls of ermine skin were attached. Cameahwait gave him one, which he prized. Footwear could also be ornamental. “Some of the dressy young men,” Lewis noted, “ornament the tops of their mockersons with the skins of polecats [skunks] and trale the tail of that animal on the ground at their heels as they walk.”

For all that he wrote on clothing and customs, Lewis was most interested in Shoshone economics and politics. Here his goal was specific, to integrate the tribe into the trading empire the United States was going to create in Louisiana and beyond the mountains. The first requirement was a general peace along the Missouri River and in the mountains, but of course the Shoshones needed no prodding in that direction. They were not aggressors, but victims.

What the Shoshones could contribute to the overall goal was ermine, otter, and other exotic skins of the mountain animals, if they could be taught to trap and if they could be made dependent on a steady flow of the whiteman's goods. The Shoshones were so desperately poor that there was almost no economy to speak of. In the spring and summer they lived on salmon, in the fall and winter on buffalo.

That they could successfully hunt buffalo was thanks to their horses, the sole source of wealth among them. Having few to no rifles, without horses they would have been indifferent hunters at best. On August 23, Lewis watched a dozen young warriors pursuing mule deer from horseback. The chase covered four miles and “was really entertaining.”

Shortly after noon the hunters came in with two deer and three pronghorns. To Lewis’s surprise, there was no division of the meat among the hunters. Instead the families of the men who had made the kill took it all. “This is not customary among the nations of Indians with whom I have hitherto been acquainted,” Lewis wrote. “I asked Cameahwait the reason why the hunters did not divide the meat; he said that meat was so scarce with them that the men who killed it reserved it for themselves and their own families.”

Their implements for preparing food and eating were primitive. They had neither ax nor hatchet to cut wood; instead they used stone or elk's horn. Their utensils consisted of earthen jars and spoons made of buffalo horn. Lewis did an inventory of the metal objects possessed by Cameahwait's people: “a few indifferent knives, a few brass kettles, some arm bands of iron and brass, a few buttons, worn as ornaments in their hair, a spear or two of a foot in length and some iron and brass arrow points which they informed me they obtained in exchange for horses from the Crow or Rocky Mountains Indians.” Any people so primitive that they were forced to trade horses for a few metal arrowheads obviously needed to get into a more extensive trading system.

What the Shoshones valued above all else, and depended on absolutely, was the bravery of their young men. Their child-rearing system was designed to produce brave warriors. “They seldom correct their children,” Lewis wrote, “particularly the boys who soon become masters of their own acts. They give as a reason that it cows and breaks the Spirit of the boy to whip him, and that he never recovers his independence of mind after he is grown.”

In politics, they followed not the oldest or wisest or the best talker, but the bravest man. They had customs, but no laws or regulations. “Each individual man is his own sovereign master,” Lewis wrote, “and acts from the dictates of his own mind.”

From this fact sprang the principle of political leadership: “The authority of a Chief [is] nothing more than mere admonition supported by the influence which the propriety of his own examplary conduct may have acquired him in the minds of the individuals who compose the band. The title of chief is not hereditary, nor can I learn that there is any ceremony of instalment, or other epoch in the life of a Chief from which his title as such can be dated. In fact every man is a chief, but all have not an equal influence on the minds of the other members of the community, and he who happens to enjoy the greatest share of confidence is the principal Chief.”

(Continued on page 30)
On its epic journey through the American interior from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean and back, the Lewis and Clark Expedition went 80 percent of the way by water. The explorers traveled at various times in 25 vessels, including:

- One big custom-built river keelboat.
- Two flat-bottomed outsized rowboats called pirogues.
- Fifteen dugout canoes made en route by the explorers themselves.
- Four native canoes bought from Indians.

- One native canoe stolen from Indians.
- Two explorer-made skin bullboats.

Mindless expedition trivia? Not quite, for it was in this ragtag fleet that Meriwether Lewis and William Clark made the most important geographic discovery of the whole trip: you can't sail across the West by water.

President Jefferson had hoped that you could, or maybe 95 percent of it. He wanted to find an interlocked river system allowing a "direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce." In theory, his agents could move up the Missouri River to the Continental Divide in the Rocky Mountains and, after a short portage, descend the Columbia
River to the Pacific Ocean. In trying to give the idea a fair shake Lewis and Clark found that even 80 percent was a stretch, confining them to streams that would never become anyone's commercial artery. They came home reporting that they had found a route to the Pacific, all right, but a "water" route it was not.

If there was a single moment of recognition that Jefferson's theory was wrong, it may have come on August 5, 1805. The explorers were in a broad valley in southwestern Montana, trying to wrestle their way up one of the Missouri River's ever-dividing shallow tributaries. Against a brutal current the expedition soldiers tugged eight heavy dugout canoes cut from the trunks of cottonwood trees.

Expedition records allow a running count of the number of vessels in use at each stage of the journey, as shown in this diagram. Also shown is the origin of each boat obtained en route, whether made by the explorers or acquired from Indians. In some cases the final disposition of individual boats is conjectural.

"The men were so much fortiegued today that they wished much that navigation was at an end that they might go by land," said Lewis in his journal. But the shrinking river hadn't yet come to the theoretical ridgetop portage to the Columbia, so the canoes pressed on. A week later, near the modern town of Dillon, the weary boatmen again gave voice to geographic reality. Reported Clark: "men complain verry much of the emence labour they are obliged to undergo & wish much to leave the river. I passify them."

It was one thing for a veteran Army officer to pacify some young enlisted men, but it wouldn't have been so easy for a fur company foreman dealing with a crew of pouting civilians. Yet the government expected private fur traders to be
the main users of any water route found by Lewis and Clark. Without the goad of military discipline these merchants wouldn't bother with the barriers met by the Army men on Jefferson's hoped-for waterway: the Great Falls of the Missouri, the vanishing water near the Continental Divide, the Salmon River's angry rapids, the Columbia's staircase of cascades. Their rocky voyage put the last nail in the much-nailed coffin of the Northwest Passage.

All this couldn't have been known at the beginning, as Lewis prepared in 1803 for his long boatride across America. He wanted a big wooden boat to take him as far as possible up the Missouri, at which point he would switch to a lightweight collapsible vessel that could be carried easily across the Rocky Mountain portage. The Army arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, fashioned an iron boat frame to his specifications. He hired a Pittsburgh builder to make a 55-foot-long decked keelboat typical of cargo-hauling river vessels. Lewis also bought a pirogue to escort the keelboat down the Ohio River from Pittsburgh. Possibly this was the craft that the explorers later called their "red" pirogue. If so, it was a flat-bottomed, single-masted boat made from planks and rowed with seven oars.

Lewis embarked on the Ohio at the end of August, 1803. Very quickly he encountered a problem that would vex the expedition leaders on their whole way by water: how to find a safe balance between the three always-changing variables of cargo, river conditions and the available number of boats. It was a tricky juggling act requiring constant improvisation, but these Army landlubbers learned enough to get by, mostly.

The Ohio was running short of water, so Lewis lightened the keelboat by giving much of its cargo to the escort pirogue. It wasn't enough. He hadn't crossed the Pennsylvanian line before the big boat was bumping bottom. He bought an extra canoe and redistributed the lading. At Louisville he paused to pick up Clark and some expedition recruits, and then sailed into comfortably deeper water.

Meanwhile, Secretary of War Henry Dearborn had ordered the Army post at Kaskaskia, Illinois, to provide soldiers to escort the expedition part way up the Missouri. The escort was to use "the best boat at the Post" to help carry expedition cargo. Foundation past president Bob Saindon has suggested plausibly that this boat later became known as the expedition's "white" pirogue. The white pirogue was made of poplar planks and rowed with six oars. 3

In January, 1804, the expedition was camped on the Illinois shore of the Mississippi River just north of St. Louis. There the officers worked out an initial lading formula: the Pacific-bound "permanent party" of 27 men would ride in the keelboat, eight hired French boatmen would use the red pirogue and six Kaskaskia escort soldiers would row the somewhat smaller white pirogue. In designing conjectural models of these vessels, Richard C. Boss has calculated that the keelboat could carry 12 tons of cargo, the red pirogue nine tons and the white pirogue eight tons, besides the weight of the men. 4

Loaded, the keelboat drew four feet of water. A week before departure the novice Army crew, wielding 20 oars, took it for a spin on the Mississippi to check its handling. No name for the keelboat was ever mentioned in the expedition journals; the captains usually just called it "the barge."

On May 14 the three-boat flotilla crossed the

Clark's drawing of the Pittsburgh-built keelboat which initially took the explorers up the Missouri River.
Mississippi and nosed into the entrance of the Missouri River. It took special skill to navigate that river, with its roiling current, dangerous driftwood and collapsing banks. The officers enrolled two local experts with previous experience on the Missouri, Pierre Cruzatte and Francois Labiche. Probably on their advice some of the keelboat’s cargo was soon moved forward to make the bow heavier and steadier.

The crew learned fast. On June 9, less than a month out, the big boat hit a submerged log and swung broadside to the current. It was freed quickly by men who jumped into the water with a rope. Clark was proud of them: “I can Say with Confidence that our party is not inferior to any that was ever on the waters of the Mississippi.”

When the wind was right the boats hoisted sails to supplement the usual rowing, poling and towing by men walking on the bank. Masts and oars broke, but were replaced. On August 28, near modern Yankton, South Dakota, the red pirogue was pierced by a snag and nearly sank. The captains ordered its cargo and French civilian crew transferred to the white pirogue. The Kaskaskia escort soldiers, who were supposed to leave the party shortly, could go home in the battered red pirogue.

Just two weeks later, however, the old problem of cargo distribution forced another change of plan. In trying to skirt the deep-channel current the keelboat was bumping into sandbars. Lewis and Clark lightened it by putting part of its cargo in the fixed-up red pirogue. Instead of splitting for Kaskaskia, that boat’s escort soldiers would just have to remain with the expedition until the following spring.

In late October the party reached the Mandan-Hidatsa villages in North Dakota, where it built a winter fort. There the captains worked out new cargo equations.

The smaller Pacific-bound party would have less bulk to carry. Plant and animal specimens accumulated so far would go back to St. Louis in the keelboat, along with the Kaskaskia soldiers and French boatmen. The original stock of storebought provisions, such as flour and whiskey, was now reduced. Many of the Indian presents had already been given away to the Mandans and other tribes below. The iron boat frame would be held in reserve. Besides the red and white pirogues, how many other boats would be needed to haul about 30 people and the remaining supplies?

On February 28, 1805, the officers sent Sergeant Patrick Gass and 15 men five miles upstream with orders to cut down four cottonwood trees and carve them into dugout canoes. The work of gouging out the cracked, windshaken cottonwood trunks was hard and slow. Axes broke; George Shannon sliced his foot with an adze. On March 9 Clark walked up from the fort to inspect progress and thought the four boats looked pretty small. Recalculating, the officers ordered two more canoes built. On March 18 Clark divided all cargo into eight packs, one for each of the two pirogues and six canoes. The new dugouts were all at the fort by March 27. It had taken a month to get them, a lesson that would be remembered.

* * *

The Pacific party of 33 people left Fort Mandan on April 7, 1805. Lewis observed that while his “little fleet” might not match the ships of Christopher Columbus or James Cook—previous seekers of a westward water passage—the eight boats “were still viewed by us with as much pleasure as those deservedly famed adventurers ever beheld theirs.”
But the very next day one of the heavily burdened new canoes was reported "in distress," victim of upper Missouri winds and waves that threatened the careful lading equations. The low-riding boat filled with water, ruining most of a barrel of precious gunpowder. As Lewis and Clark headed into High Plains country never before seen by literate travelers they might have regretted not building a seventh dugout to share the load. Wind-lashed waves ran so high "that it was with difficulty we could keep the canoes from filling with water," observed Lewis on April 18. The men tried to shelter the dugouts from the waves by steering the bigger pirogues just upwind as floating breakwaters. The river here demanded extra skill from the still-learning navigators. "Bad management of the steersman" caused a dugout's cargo to get soaked on May 7, Lewis reported. A week later a wind gust nearly capsized the white pirogue when interpreter Toussaint Charbonneau froze at the tiller.

Despite everything the expedition was still afloat when it reached the entrance of the Marias River on June 2. The explorers knew from the Hidatsas that an obstructive waterfall wasn't far upstream on the main Missouri. The heavy pirogues probably couldn't negotiate any required portage, so the captains decided this would be a good place to park the red one. Loss of their biggest boat meant there had to be a corresponding subtraction of cargo. Cruzatte taught his companions how to dig a trapper's cache. Into the cache went the heavy stuff: blacksmith tools, grocery kegs, winter clothing. The red pirogue was tied down and sheltered with brush. This boat may have accompanied Lewis all the way from Pittsburgh, but here it would stay for good.

In mid-June the remaining boats arrived at the falls. The series of five cataracts forced an unexpectedly long portage, bad news for the waterway theorists in Washington. The men transported all six Mandan dugouts on wooden wheels, using axles cannibalized from the white pirogue's mast. They pushed the boats up from the Missouri's eroded gorge for a 17-mile trek across the Montana prairie to a riverbank camp above the falls. The white pirogue was hidden in the gorge below the first cataract. Again there was surplus cargo.

A cache was dug near the pirogue for more food kegs, Lewis's desk, spare guns, ammuni-

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but this I can scarcely hope...” Here was the rub: the elevation achieved with the Missouri’s gradual ascent to Divide would have to be given back on the Columbia’s westward descent to sea level. From Pacific Coast longitudes determined by British surveys, however, Lewis knew the Columbia would run only a “comparitively short course to the ocean.” The descent therefore promised to be steeply dangerous for people in boats.

Lewis’s reasoning was confirmed by Clark’s reconnaissance of the Salmon River, the first major branch of the Columbia met by the explorers. The rapids looked lethal, so they remained on horseback until reaching flat country beyond the Rockies. On the gentler Clearwater River in northern Idaho the officers decided it was safe to resume a water journey. New boats would have to be made from a stand of Ponderosa pines on the riverbank. How many?

The party was traveling lighter now. Hunters had shot away more ammunition; fewer Indian presents were left. Just five canoes would do, especially because everyone was sick from the local diet of fish and roots. Work at Canoe Camp started September 27 and continued for 10 sluggish days. To save effort the choppers fudged by burning cavities in the pine trunks, Indian style. Upon launching, the new vessels “carried all our baggage with convenience,” said Sergeant Gass. A good call by the captains.

The explorers floated downstream—for the first time since leaving Illinois—on the Clearwater, then the Snake, then the Columbia itself. The Ponderosa hulls tended to split if they bumped a rock in fast water, but progress was swift until the expedition hit the first of a series of falls on the Columbia. At an Indian village near Celilo Falls the captains bought a native canoe by giving a hatchet and their smallest Ponderosa dugout in exchange. Clark praised these native craft, wide in the middle and pointed on both ends, as “neeter made than any I have ever Seen and Calculated to ride the waves and carry emence burthens.” The new vessel excelled in the rough water ahead, where the boats had to be emptied and lowered by ropes.

On November 2 the party met tidewater in the Columbia. There would be no more rapids, but the tides themselves would give these Eastern woodsmen a new kind of trouble.

Clark’s sketch of the expedition’s six-oared white pirogue.

In December the expedition parked its five canoes at a winter fort built near the Columbia’s broad exit to the Pacific. When moving on land, here and elsewhere, the men often borrowed or hired Indian canoes for short ferrying trips, or built rough rafts themselves.

For Gass and Shannon, one rafting incident became a comic tale to tell their grandkids. In early January, 1806, these two left Fort Clatsop for the seashore and found their path blocked by a creek. They built a one-man raft and Shannon crossed first. He tried to shove it back, recounted Gass, “but when he attempted it only went half way, so that there was one of us on each side and the raft in the middle. I however, notwithstanding the cold, stript and swam to the raft, brought it over and then crossed on it in safety.”

The explorers used their traveling canoes for trips in the estuary. On January 11 somebody failed to tie up the cherished Indian canoe and the tide carried it away. It still hadn’t been found when, three days later, a rising tide broke the mooring of one of the big Ponderosa canoes and it, too, floated off. It was found later that day, but tidal problems continued. At one point a falling tide left two of the dugouts propped half-in, half-out of the water. “they split by this means with their own weight,” said Lewis; repairs were required.

As spring approached boats became a major preoccupation. The Celilo Falls native canoe was finally recovered, but on March 8 tides again broke the mooring of a Ponderosa dugout being used by hunters. It was never found. The officers sent interpreter George Drouillard shopping among nearby Indian villages for a replacement. After several attempts he returned with a Cathlamet craft bought with Lewis’s laced uniform coat.
Cargo calculations demanded another small boat. Earlier the soldiers had accused some local Clatsops of stealing elkmeat left in the woods. Though the Indians had made an apologetic payment of dogs, Lewis ordered his men to "take" a Clatsop canoe as further restitution. Expedition scholar James Ronda has deplored this canoe heist as "at worst criminal and at best a terrible lapse of judgment." 10

The expedition started homeward up the Columbia on March 23, 1806, in six boats: three Idaho Ponderosa dugouts, the purchased Celilo Falls and Cathlamet native canoes and the stolen Clatsop canoe. The fleet paddled smoothly upstream until it reached the first falls east of modern Portland. There, so soon, the Columbia return route proved discouraging. The river was much higher than it was the previous October, and "these rapids are much worse," said Lewis. On April 12 one of the unloaded Ponderosa dugouts being towed up the turbulent current got loose and spun downstream. To replace it the officers bought two small canoes at a local village. They also started buying horses "to rid us of the trouble and difficulty of taking our canoes further."

At The Dalles the last two Ponderosas and one of the native canoes were cut up for firewood. On April 21, Lewis sold two of the remaining Indian boats for beads. With the sale of the other two a few days later, the whole expedition was back on land.

On horseback, the explorers returned to the Clearwater River in Idaho, where in mid-May they encamped to wait for snow to melt in the mountains ahead. The leaders decided a commuter canoe would be useful for local errands on the river. Choppers made a dugout big enough to carry 12 men, but after less than a week's service the Camp Chopunnish commuter canoe sank in an accident.

In June the party rode back into Montana and divided. Lewis cut east to the Missouri's Great Falls, while Clark returned to Camp Fortunate, where the cottonwood canoes were stashed.

One of them was judged "of no account," said Sergeant John Ordway, and became fuel for campfires. 11 Into the other six went the party's now-skimpy baggage, but space was reserved for goods to be recovered from the three caches downriver. When Ordway and his boat crews cast off, they savored the prospect of traveling with the current all the way to St. Louis. The six boats proceeded to the Missouri's Great Falls, where the men emptied the two caches and pulled the white pirogue from its hiding place. With the big rowboat's cargo capacity again available, one of the cottonwood dugouts was abandoned. 12 The other five were portaged back across the plains to the foot of the falls, this time with the aid of horses.

The six-boat fleet continued down the Missouri. On July 28 it was rejoined by Lewis, returning from a mounted excursion on the upper Marias. At the mouth of that river the party reclaimed baggage from the last cache, but the rotten-out red pirogue was left behind.

Meanwhile, Clark and 12 others on horseback had said goodbye to Ordway's canoes at the Missouri's Three Forks. Clark rode east across Bozeman Pass to the Yellowstone River, then followed it downstream looking for a tree big enough to make a new canoe. Not far from modern Billings his soldiers cut down two junior cottonwoods.
and spent three days hollowing them out. The two slender hulls were tied together to form a single catamaran 28 feet long.

Clark resumed his journey by water on July 24 after detailing Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor and three others to keep traveling on land with the horse herd. Indians soon stole Pryor's horses, however, so he went back to the river and fashioned two round bullboats from boughs and buffalo skins. These were the last vessels constructed on the Lewis and Clark expedition. Pryor's group floated down the Yellowstone several days later these three boats were joined by Lewis's white pirogue and five cottonwood dugouts. At this grand reunion site in North Dakota Pryor's bullboats were abandoned. The entire party's seven vessels pulled into the Mandan villages on August 14.

The expedition was back in big game country and no longer needed many supplies in the canoes. But with extra passengers picked up at the Mandan and Arikara villages the seven boats became jammed with 38 people as the voyage continued.13 Wind-blown waves again drenched

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2Gary Moulton, ed., The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1988) vol. 5, p. 46. Lewis that day was scouting ahead of the main canoe party, but the soldiers' complaints were relayed to him by Clark. Clark's own August 12 report of similar griping is on p. 76.
5Patrick Gass, in his Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery (Ross & Haines, Minneapolis, 1958 reprint of the 1807 original), asserts on p. 86 that Lewis only "agreed" to take the white pirogue after a disappointing March 27 weight-carrying test of the new dugouts. This is contradicted by Clark's entry reporting the division of baggage into eight packs on March 18, in Moulton, Journals, vol. 3, p. 316. Perhaps Lewis was just informing Gass of a decision already made.
6Moulton, Journals, vol. 4, p. 149. Lewis's plans for using the collapsible boat evidently were made at Fort Mandan after hearing the Hidatsas describe the falls of the Missouri.
7Ibid, vol. 5, p. 65.
9Ibid, p. 216.
10James F. Ronda, Lewis and Clark Among the Indians (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1984) p. 211.
13At the Mandans, the 33-member returning party lost John Colter and the three Charbonneaus, but gained as passengers Big White, his wife and child, plus interpreter Rene Jusseaume, his wife and two children. Downriver at the Arikara villages the fleet picked up a young French trader and an 1804 expedition engage called "Rokey" by Clark, for a net St. Louis-bound roster of 38.
LIMITS TO GROWTH?

The Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (L&CTHF) secures its operating income from membership dues, investment income, sale of publications, annual meeting "gain," and gifts and memorials. Among those categories, membership dues—including voluntary extra contributions—on the average, have accounted for more income than the other four combined. Consequently, this article will focus on membership dues as our primary source of operating income. "Use" of income will be addressed in the May 1995 issue of We Proceeded On.

TABLE I illustrates the foundation’s operating income by source for fiscal years 1990 through 1994. During those years, membership income—including voluntary extra contributions—provided from 45-63 percent of total operating income. Contributions to restricted funds such as the Bronze, Fellow and Betts Funds, have been excluded from operating income because only investment income, not principal, from those funds may be used for operations and then only for designated purposes. However, for sake of simplicity in this article, all investment income—including that from restricted funds—will be shown as though there were no restriction on its use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>6-30-90</th>
<th>6-30-91</th>
<th>6-30-92</th>
<th>6-30-93</th>
<th>6-30-94</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Membership Dues</td>
<td>$23,694</td>
<td>$23,535</td>
<td>$29,540</td>
<td>$32,732</td>
<td>$29,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment Income*</td>
<td>19,646</td>
<td>16,958</td>
<td>12,550</td>
<td>12,902</td>
<td>22,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication Sales</td>
<td>2,042</td>
<td>7,721</td>
<td>2,761</td>
<td>4,363</td>
<td>2,294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Meeting</td>
<td>3,663</td>
<td>3,904</td>
<td>1,327</td>
<td>1,700</td>
<td>4,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loan Repaid</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Income</td>
<td>3,199</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,234</td>
<td>1,239</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income</td>
<td>$52,244</td>
<td>$51,748</td>
<td>$46,178</td>
<td>$62,931</td>
<td>$59,232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Excluding realized and unrealized gains and losses

TABLE II shows the difference between minimum membership dues and voluntary extra contributions. Currently, minimum membership dues are $20 annually except for those paid three years in advance which are $55. Family memberships are $30. Sustaining memberships are $75. Supporting memberships are $100 and Contributing memberships are $200. Beginning in the 1994-5 fiscal year, three additional voluntary extra membership categories were added. Patron memberships, $500; Grantor memberships, $1,000 and Benefactor/Business memberships, $5,000. Additional annual revenue from memberships is needed from both minimum membership dues and voluntary extra contributions if the L&CTHF is to continue to grow.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Membership Dues Fiscal Year Ending</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minimum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-30-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$20,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$23,694</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE II illustrates also the impact of the most recent minimum dues increase on membership income. In 1991, the minimum membership dues were increased from $15 to $20 yet total membership increased from 1,230 in 1991 to 1,270 in 1992 and to 1,324 in 1993. L&CTHF membership records indicate that much of the turnover in membership is related to the different location each year of the annual meeting site. Membership tends to increase in a particular region—one where the annual meeting is held—only to be lost in the following year or the second to the following year. Unfortunately, such losses are not always offset by membership gains resulting from the next or second to the next meeting site. It is difficult to establish with certainty all the reasons for changing membership numbers. However, at present, normal attrition of membership is not being replaced with an equal number of “new” members.
Related to total membership income, voluntary extra contributions have declined during the most recent five years. In 1990 voluntary extra contributions amounted to 14.7% of total membership dues. By 1991, that percentage had increased to 16.6%. In 1992, the percentage had declined to 14.7%. And, by 1993 it was down to 11.0%. In 1994 it was 11.3%.

There are two quite different perspectives among L&CTHF directors concerning what the minimum rate should be for membership dues. One position is that $20 is too small an amount to charge for L&CTHF minimum dues; $20 does not even cover the per-capita cost of (1) membership records, $2.42, and (2) We Proceeded On, $20.50. The Oregon California Trails Association (OCTA)—“closest relative” of the L&CTHF—charges $30 for its basic membership. The relatively low membership dues may place an unduly low value on membership in and services of the L&CTHF. By maintaining “below market” membership dues, the L&CTHF may limit its growth potential.

The other position is that low membership dues attract and hold L&CTHF members whose numbers would otherwise be reduced if dues were to be increased. Subsidized memberships are worthwhile because ultimately some such members may become voluntary extra contributors. Memberships are valuable just for the sake of numbers. Total revenue may be reduced if the membership dues are increased. Admittedly, a few memberships have been discontinued because of “affordability.”

Some limits to growth could be overcome. Family memberships could be changed to two minimum memberships or to one minimum and one family. Members could increase their use of gift memberships for friends, relatives and others. Voluntary-extra-contribution memberships could be increased. Present minimum-dues members could upgrade their memberships from the minimum to some gradation that includes a voluntary extra contribution. Persons presently making use of a voluntary extra contribution membership could move to one, or more, levels higher than they are. Minimum dues could be increased from $20 to $30. Three-year memberships could be raised to $80. Family and supporting memberships could be lifted from $30 to $40.

We will be happy to hear your views about membership dues. If you have thoughts about them which you would like to share with us, please address your comments to the Chairman of the L&CTHF Membership Promotion and Public Relations Committee: Darold Jackson, 625 S. Main St., Saint Charles, MO 63301.

Whatever your membership rate is presently, please consider upgrading it to a higher level. For your convenient reference again, the present annual rates of L&CTHF membership are: Individual $20, except for 3-year which is $55; Family, $30; Sustaining, $75; Supporting, $100; Contributing, $200; Patron, $500; Grantor, $1,000; and Benefactor/Business, $5,000.

—L. Edwin Wang
Chairman, Finance Committee

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**LEWIS & CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION**

**ASSETS BY YEAR SINCE 1985**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>UNRESTRICTED</th>
<th>RESTRICTED</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1985-86</td>
<td>$100,080</td>
<td>$81,091</td>
<td>$181,171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986-87</td>
<td>92,893</td>
<td>115,945</td>
<td>208,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987-88</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988-89</td>
<td>77,947</td>
<td>157,204</td>
<td>235,151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1989-90</td>
<td>73,510</td>
<td>172,595</td>
<td>246,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990-91</td>
<td>78,227</td>
<td>176,698</td>
<td>254,925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991-92</td>
<td>75,420</td>
<td>182,875</td>
<td>258,295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993-94</td>
<td>37,458</td>
<td>229,856</td>
<td>267,314</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Equipment was first depreciated in fiscal year 1992-93.
The temporary location of the foundation archives is in the confines of the C.M. Russell Museum in Great Falls, Montana. A recent computerized listing of all materials in the collection has been made and is now being refined so that specific items can be retrieved upon request. For example, over 500 books from Robert Taylor’s estate are included in the collection and it is imperative that we be able to utilize this vast fount of information for research purposes.

The committee has three primary goals this year: (1) To develop a policy whereby important foundation papers are added to the archives each year; (2) Actively encourage additions to our archives to make them ever better (including a policy of what is/is not acceptable, a good publicity campaign, and contact with known collectors/institutions that we have such archives available); (3) Recommend a permanent location for the archives if the matching funds are not raised by September 30, 1995 to build the Interpretive Center in Great Falls, Montana. (Current plans call for room for the archival collection in that center.)

If you, as a valued member of this foundation, have any suggestions or recommendations, this committee is more than willing to receive them. In the past, many important Lewis & Clark papers have been consigned to the "trash bin" of history but now that is not happening, thanks to the existence of this important committee!

Robert K. Doerk, Jr. Chairman

MEMBERSHIP PROMOTION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

The goals of this committee are to increase membership and promote the foundation by creating a greater public understanding of the purpose of the foundation.

The highest priority effort at the moment is to deal with a declining and aging membership. For any organization to sustain itself, it needs controlled growth to infuse new energy, new perspectives and financial backing. The interests of
Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation members are very diverse as were the interests of the expedition itself. To sustain critical mass in all of these areas demands a sizable organization with both adequate energy and resources.

People belong to organizations for many reasons; value added functions, interest spectrum, camaraderie, etc., and they continue to belong and fund an organization if they feel there is value added for their time and money. One of our specific objectives this year is to find out from you, our existing and loyal members, what your interests are, what the value added functions are, and why you joined. To obtain that input, we will be designing and sending out a membership survey. We encourage your participation when you receive it and in the meantime, if any of our members have professional expertise in the survey field, the chairman would be delighted to hear from you.

Cost of membership is always an issue, and that is being addressed in another article by the Finance Committee.

Past experience seems to indicate that most members joined because of contact with existing members; you are our best recruiters! Because of that, one of our additional goals is to work closely with Chapter Formation and Liaison Committee in the belief that strong, active chapters will strengthen the overall foundation and that the national organization can offer so much to new and growing chapters. Let me hear your ideas and keep recruiting!

Darold W. Jackson, Chairman

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**National Frontier Trails Center Continues to Grow**

by John Mark Lambertson

One of the sites certified by the National Park Service to interpret the Lewis and Clark Expedition is the National Frontier Trails Center in Independence, Missouri. Independence's early history is mostly closely tied to three other major historic trails, the Santa Fe, Oregon, and California. From about 1827 to 1850 Independence was the principal "outfitting" and "jumping off point" for those prominent pathways to America's West and America's future. Tens of thousands of wagons passed through the muddy streets of this frontier town with cargos of either trade goods or excited emigrants bound for "the promised land."

The National Frontier Trails Center is also the home of the Merrill J. Mattes Research Library and archives, which houses a collection of 2,000 volumes and 100 cubic feet of manuscript materials on the western trails. Named for the noted trails scholar whose personal library is the nucleus of the collection, the library is already believed to be the largest in the nation focused on the overland trail experience. Subjects range from the Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Transcontinental Railroad, with special collections of overland trail diaries, letters and first person recollections. The library is open free to the public, although appointments are recommended for research.

Currently, the Santa Fe, Oregon, and California Trails exhibits are undergoing major expansions with the addition of two authentic nineteenth-century wagons. A Conestoga freighter with a large mural of Santa Fe's plaza as a backdrop is being added to the Santa Fe Trail exhibit. A "prairie schooner" with a landscape mural of Scott's Bluff, Nebraska behind it is being added to the Oregon-California Trail exhibit. The murals are being painted by the artist Charles Goslin who has created other historical murals in the Kansas City area.

For travelers who wish to follow or learn more about any of the famous western trails, the National Frontier Trails Center is an excellent and logical starting point or destination. The center is open daily except for major holidays at 318 W. Pacific, Independence, MO 64050, five blocks south of the old courthouse square. For more information call (816) 325-7575.

**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.

A Review by Albert Furtwangler

This children's book presents a selection of journal entries from May 13, 1804 to March 23, 1806—from the explorers' last day at Camp Dubois to their last day at Fort Clatsop. It seems designed for very young readers, grade 3 and up; it contains many warmly colored illustrations, and it highlights adventures.

All the entries have been rewritten for such a young audience, but the rewriting is not careful or sensitive. This very short book contains many gross errors. The entry for September 25, 1804, for example, presents the encounter with the Teton Sioux in these words: "Most of the warriors appeared to have their bows strung, and took out their arrows from the quiver. As Clark, being surrounded, was not permitted to return. The perogue returned with 12 of our determined men ready for any event." Clark's journal for this date reads: "As I [being surrounded] was not permitted [by them] to return, I sent all the men except 2 Inpt. [interpreters] to the boat, the perogue soon returned with about 12 of our determined men ready for any event." The italicized interpolations were written later by Nicholas Biddle, and the crucial point, that Clark sent for help, has simply dropped out of the children's book, leaving an inscrutable fragment. In the entry for the next day, we read that the Indians' tambourines made "a jingling noise": Clark spelled it "gingling." For April 13, 1805, this new version reads that "the spritsail, jibbing, was as near oversetting the pirogue as it was possible to have missed." The captains knew a jibe from a jib, and so will an alert nine-year-old who has been aboard a sailboat for an hour. The simplified map on the end papers shows the Yellowstone River flowing from east to west and emptying into the Missouri far above the Great Falls.

An edited selection of journal entries could make a good children's book. But an attentive young reader deserves better—including a sample, at least, of the journals as we now have them; a glossary of hard or obscure terms; and some sensible suggestions for reading more about the expedition.

Albert Furtwangler is a history professor at Mt. Allison University in New Brunswick. He is the author of Acts of Discovery: Visions of America in the Lewis and Clark Journals.


A Review by James R. Fazio

The parade of expedition retracements continues, this one by two young men somewhere in their mental development between teenager and young adult. "Two lucky fools" is their own description and I agree.

Don't look to this book for historical insights. Lewis and Clark actually play a minor role in the tale. There are also some liberties taken with the facts, such as a whole chapter titled 'Lewis and Clark Never Retreated.' Hodding and his buddy, Preston, were at one point driven back by five-foot whitecaps on the dammed Missouri, forgetting Lewis' "retrograde march" in the face of deep snow in the Bitterroots. But the transgression is minor and for anyone familiar with the country traversed by the two, the book is simply fun to read.

Hodding and Preston retrace the route first in a small rubber raft powered by an outboard motor. They resort to a rental car when the Missouri runs out of navigable water in North Dakota, then backpack across Lemhi and Lost Trail Passes to Lolo, Montana. There they are met by outfitters Harlan and Barb Opdahl who haul them to their camp in Idaho for a taste of the Lolo Trail by horseback. Finally, they are reunited with their raft (brought over by a Montana friend) at Canoe Camp, where they float, then motor their way to the Pacific.

The heart of this book is the people the pair meet—some helpful, some treacherous—and to a lesser degree the weather, the mosquitoes, and all the other challenges of a modern expedition. All is seen through the eyes of these intrepid city dwellers.
HEADWATERS CHAPTER OF LCTHF

The Headwaters Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation located in Bozeman, Montana, was formed in 1985 in corporation form.

We presently have 66 members and meet four times during the winter months with a 45 minute program and question and answer time. We generally have from 18-25 at each meeting. In the summer we try to squeeze in 2-3 field trips and a picnic. Last year we floated the upper Missouri on a 3-day float by canoe and hit good weather. The year before an overnighter on the Lolo Trail kids thrilling at the sounds of coyotes and the sight of scats or fresh animal tracks. They key out trees, look up birds and even watch insects. They fight and are moody, and Carter reports all in vernacular that will shock readers who are unaccustomed to the language used by young people today.

Importantly, Carter is candid and irreverent. There is disdain for his well-funded, much-publicized predecessors Warren and Hilton who jet-boated the route earlier the same year. There are unflattering descriptions of Corps of Engineers facilities, the California-izing of the otherwise beautiful Bitterroot Valley, and the filth and litter in campgrounds and little western towns that ostensibly try to attract tourism. He sees bigotry along the way, clearcut forests, and bad elements hanging out in public campgrounds. None are spared his opinions. In short, this book has none of the fare of travel guides, and if you encountered the two men during their journey, you will need to hope for the best until you read what they may have said about you!

Many readers will see their own kids in these two would-be adventurers. I think most will develop a fondness for the pair as they fumble, grumble and laugh their way west. When the journey ends in Astoria, I sensed a strong feeling of relief that they made it. They may not be history scholars, but in their unique way they are kindred spirits among all who appreciate the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

James R. Fazio is a professor at the University of Idaho and past president of the foundation.

added to our knowledge and first-hand experience of the trail. Our members are involved in lecturing to high schools, clubs and others as the occasion arises. Stuart Knapp and John Taylor both teach at least one Elderhostel annually as well as serving as guides on bus tours for the Museum of the Rockies and the Alaska Tours on the Lower Columbia.

Our current president is Cheryl Farmer, who was also president during the time the 1989 annual meeting was held in Bozeman.

Although we feel we are quite active in the community, it is amazing that we pick up new members constantly who never heard of us.

Activities for the 1995-1996 season will be scheduled during the next directors meeting in January. We have seven directors and all are very active in our chapter as well as many more organizations; which confirms the adage: "If you want something done, ask a busy person."

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

I am very pleased since becoming a member of your foundation. I just received my first issue of We Proceeded On and I find it most enriching. I especially enjoyed the Harpers Ferry story.

I am interested in knowing how I might be able to contribute to the foundation. I enjoy writing and some time ago I wrote the poem "Shoshoni Woman." If you could use it in any way, please feel free to do so. In the meantime, I've ordered some back issues of We Proceeded On and I'll continue supporting and promoting your foundation. Congratulations on a very prestigious publication, We Proceeded On.

Janice Struble
Riverview, Michigan

EDITOR'S NOTE: "Shoshoni Woman" will be printed in the May issue of WPO.

LCTHF JOINS ELECTRONIC AGE

The foundation is moving into the electronic age. Don Nell has recently headed a project to place the images from approximately 300 2x2 color transparencies onto three compact disks, readable by CD-ROM players. If you are interested in purchasing or borrowing the CDs, contact Don at P.O. Box 577, Bozeman, MT 59771-0577.
As bravery was the primary virtue, no man could become eminent among the Shoshones "who has not at some period of his life given proofs of his possessing [it]." There could be no prominence without some war-like achievement, a principle basic to the entire structure of Shoshone politics.

These observations led Lewis to an insight into the problems the Americans were going to have in integrating not just the Shoshones but all the Indians west of the Mississippi River into their trading empire. He recalled the day at Fort Mandan when he was explaining to the Hidatsa chiefs the advantages that would flow to them from a general state of peace among the nations of the Missouri. The old men agreed with him, but only because they "had already gathered their havest of larals, and having forceably felt in many instances some of those inconveniences attending a state of war." But a young warrior put to Lewis a question that Lewis could not answer: "[He] asked me if they were in a state of peace with all their neighbours what the nation would do for Cheifs?"

The warrior went on to make a fundamental point: "The chiefs were now old and must shortly die and the nation could not exist without chiefs."

In two sentences, the Hidatsa brave had exposed the hopelessness of the American policy of inducing the Missouri River and Rocky Mountain Indians to become trappers and traders. They would have to be conquered and cowed before they could be made to abandon war. Jefferson's dream of establishing through persuasion and trade a peaceable kingdom among the western Indians was as much an illusion as his dream of an all-water route to the Pacific.

This was a great disappointment, but it could not be helped. It was characteristic of the men of the Enlightenment to face facts. Lewis's ethnology helped establish the facts. It was therefore a great contribution to general knowledge—exactly the kind of contribution Lewis berated himself for not making in his thirty-first birthday musings.

-NOTES-

1 *Luca* venerea is Latin for syphils. Gonorrhea was often confused with syphils at the beginning of the 19th Century, but Lewis here made a clear distinction. Moulton, *Journals*, vol. 5, 125.

2 In 1807 the artist Charles B.J.F. de Saint-Memin painted Lewis wearing the robe. See illustration above.
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
(continued from page 2)
States who have never attended an annual gathering, the location of the meeting makes it more easily accessible than our past meetings that have focused on the western portions of the Lewis and Clark Trail. For those members from the West, the meeting offers the chance to see the Virginia roots not only of the Expedition but also of much of the nation’s history. Two books that will give you an excellent introduction to the intellectual focus of the meeting are:


Although I have been a member of the Foundation for over a decade, the first annual meeting I attended was the one in Bozeman, Montana in 1989, hosted by President Don Nell and the members of the Headwaters Chapter. It was a great joy to walk in the footsteps of Lewis and Clark and to meet others with a deep interest in the expedition, especially those whose names I had come to know from reading this magazine. What struck me then, and amazes me even now, is that most of us are not professional historians but rather citizens with diverse backgrounds who, by extraordinarily varied routes, have come to see in the expedition and its accomplishments something very special. The personal realization of the special nature of the legacy of Lewis and Clark has led many of us to want to do all we can to preserve the physical remnants of the trail and to help educate Americans about the significance of the expedition. A visit to Charlottesville, where the expedition began in the mind of Thomas Jefferson, will undoubtedly stimulate us to greater efforts in meeting the goals of the foundation.

At the annual meeting last year in Missoula, attendees were asked to complete an evaluation of the meeting. Eighty-six forms were returned and have been analyzed, and I want to thank all of you who took the time and effort to complete the evaluation. The response to the meeting was overwhelmingly positive, and many people commenting on the excellent combination of scholarly presentations and field trips. We are grateful to meeting chairman Nancy Maxson and all the volunteers from the Travelers Rest Chapter for all their hard work in making the meeting such a fine one. One thing that we learned from the evaluations is that many of you would like more opportunities for pre- and post-meeting trips. The folks in Charlottesville are planning such trips, and I hope you will be able to take advantage of them.

Many of you know that the foundation has hired its first executive director, Jay Vogt. Jay began part-time work for the foundation November 1 and is busy learning the ropes and working on foundation business. Jay continues to work part-time for the South Dakota Historical Society. If you would like to welcome Jay to his new position or if you can think of some way that Jay can be of service to you, please write to him at the following address: Mr. Jay D. Vogt, Executive Director, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, P.O. Box 7076, Pierre, SD 57501-7076. Welcome aboard, Jay!

HISTORIC FINCASTLE
(Continued from page 12)
you will believe I think so. We have made Col. Hancock’s headquarters since we have been here. I have lived at the fountain head but I don’t think I have gained any flesh but am in good health as likewise my brother. We shall leave this tomorrow and shall make another stop between this and Kentucky.” [The original letter is at the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Missouri]

Attendees at the 27th Annual Meeting in Charlottesville can choose to visit historic Fincastle as part of one of the post meeting trips on August 3.
[2 December 1802]
Most Excellent Señor [Pedro Cevallos, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Spain]
  My Dear Sir: The President [Jefferson] asked me the other day...if our Court would take it badly, that the Congress decree the formation of a group of travelers, who would form a small caravan and go and explore the course of the Missouri River in which they would nominally have the objective of investigating...commerce; but that in reality...the advancement of the geography. He said they would give it the denomination of mercantile, inasmuch as only in this way would the Congress have the power of voting the necessary funds...I replied to him that...an expedition of this nature could not fail to give umbrage to our Government...
  The President has been all his life a man of letters, very speculative and a lover of glory, and...he might attempt to perpetuate the fame of his administration not only by the measures of frugality and economy which characterize him, but also by discovering...the way by which the Americans may some day extend their population and their influence up to the coasts of the South Sea...
  May God keep Your Excellency many years.
  Washington December 2, 1802
  Most Excellent Señor
  Your most attentive and constant servant,
  kisses the hand of Your Excellency
  Carlos Martinez de Yrujo
  [Spanish Minister to the United States]