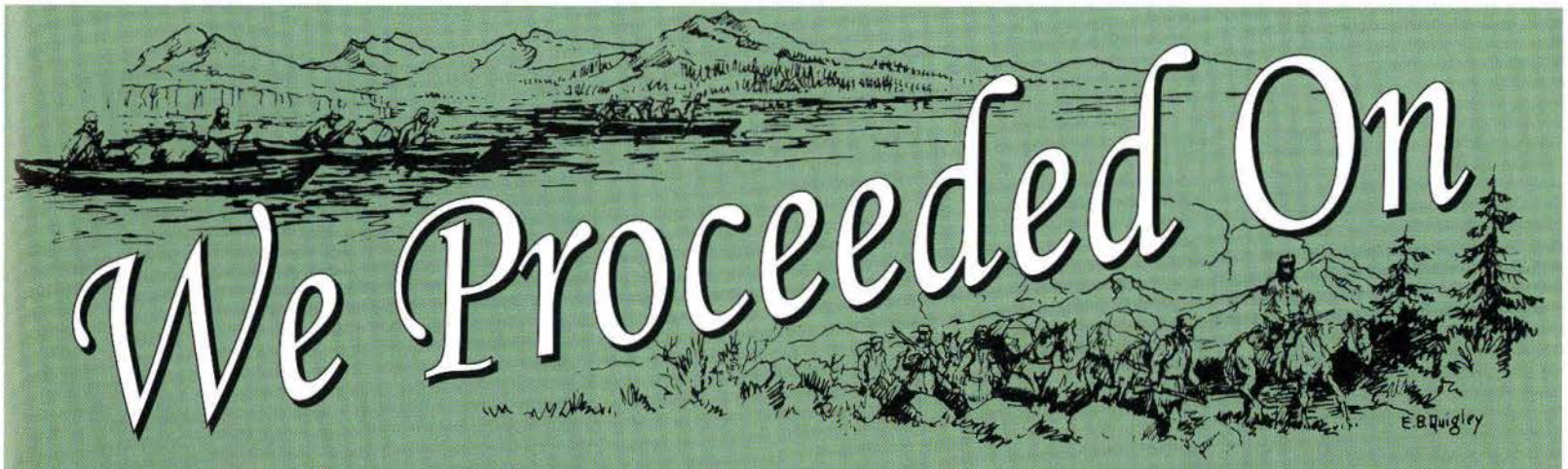


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# Knife River Indian Villages

# THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.

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## *Mission Statement*

*The mission of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. is to stimulate public appreciation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition's contributions to American heritage, and support education, research, development and preservation of the Lewis and Clark experience.*


## *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.

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## MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

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

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

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# President's Message

by James M. Peterson

Greetings to the Lewis and Clarkers!

Nearly a year has passed since our last annual meeting. As the president's term of office nears an end, it is appropriate to note some of the more significant developments which have occurred in the foundation's annals. It has been a busy (even hectic) year with changes of marked significance for the foundation.

Our membership has increased substantially. We now have about 2,200 members and the growth continues. This can be attributed to three principal factors: the continuing robust sales of Dr. Ambrose's "Undaunted Courage," the airing of Ken Burns' "Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery," and the burgeoning interest in the expedition as its bicentennial nears.

A truly pressing need was met with the hiring of a full time executive director and her occupancy of our new office in the U.S. Forest Service's new Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center at Great Falls. This is a real milestone and should be of immediate and telling value to the foundation. Those attending the annual meeting at Great Falls will have an opportunity to meet Sammye Meadows and view the new office.

Well underway as this is written is an undertaking which typifies the sort of thing which perhaps best characterizes the foundation's work. This the "feature article" project. Feature articles (and some others) are being extracted from *We Proceeded On* and will be published in book form. What better way to bring the history of the expedition to life—and to our members and others drawn to the story. The work is being done by a former editor of *WPO* and former president of the foundation, Bob Saindon. With respect to this project, I would be remiss in my duties if I did not acknowledge and commend Don Nell for his assiduous efforts to get this project going. Thanks, Don!

*(President's Message continued on page 39)*

# From the Editor's Desk

A fresh start, new ideas, that is what we are looking at. (It is okay these days to end a sentence with a preposition.)

With an expanded *WPO*, with new features, new horizons have opened for us. I'm shooting for more color in the magazine, starting with the November issue. We will probably have two or more pages in the middle splashed with color photos. It would have been great to have the pictures of the new interpretive center in the May *WPO* in color (they started out as color slides), but looking towards October I am thinking green fields, fields filled with flowers as Lewis and Clark may have seen them on their journey.

A fresh start and new ideas are popping up all over the place.

In Philadelphia, Frank Muhly and others are using unique approaches to tell the Lewis and Clark story. Faced with the problem of how to get more people involved with the chapter and the foundation, Nancy Davis and others brought humor into their chapter promotional brochures. They didn't stop there. Starting with this issue of *WPO*, we will be looking at the men who trained Meriwether Lewis in the things he needed to know such as medicine, astronomy, etc. The first person that Nancy Davis wrote about is Andrew Ellicot. You will find him on page 28. The series will be featured periodically between now and 2003 when the bicentennial gets underway.

The Travelers Rest Chapter in Missoula, Montana, has started a daily newspaper feature on the Corps of Discovery. Look in the News Update section for their great idea to catch peoples' attention.

The Portage Route Chapter in Great Falls will be presenting its brand new Lewis and Clark Montana vests (for sale) at the annual foundation meeting in Great Falls.

*(Editor's Note continued on page 39)*

**ON THE COVER**—Circular depressions up to 40 feet in diameter are silent testimony of the 50 or more earthlodges which stood in the Awatixa Village on the west bank of the Knife River in North Dakota.

# PRONGHORNS

## As Documented by the 1804-06 Lewis and Clark Expedition

by Ken Walcheck

When the Corps of Discovery entered the smooth undulating sweep of the mid-continental prairie of North America on their outward 1804 journey, the rolling grasslands and its colorlul vistas linked with a myriad of previously undiscovered plants and animals must have surely appeared to the explorers as striking in appearance, exhilarating in extent, graceful in outline, and of infinite complexity and diversity.

The uncharted prairies which had been molded by climatic and historic geological forces for eons had not yet been subjected to the invasion of European cultural activities. Selective outdoor theaters consisted of early spring courtship displays of excited dancing male sharptail grouse and prairie chickens on their traditional dancing-booming grounds, and the fighting arenas of rutting wapiti and bison who battled time after time with rival males. Prairie art galleries consisted of a variegated spattering of prairie flowers in broad painted fields embraced by a running spread of cloud shadow and sun. Musical amphitheaters consisted of prairie birds singing on the wing and westerly winds rustling prairie grasses, their musical notes rising and falling with soothing sighs and whispers. Architectural landscape creations consisted of a remarkable diversity of rolling grasslands, hills, meandering river bottoms bordered by deciduous woodlands, bluffs and ravines, buffalo wallows, and dissected badlands.

For some expedition members, the sheer, limitless openness of the prairie country must have occupied stage-center in their memory banks fixing attention with a tenacious magnetism of awe and wonder that can be felt but never flilly understood, that sureness of pristine wilderness. Other members may have viewed it as an alien land, not only in physical appearance but also in its harsh rejection of familiar patterns, customs, and institutions. Even so, they could not deny the uniqueness of its floral and faunal composition that had been molded by the historic forces of geology, climate, and evolution; forces which at this early timeframe could not be comprehended by Meriwether Lewis or the scientific community. Because of the far-reaching visibility on the prairie, animal adaptations and behavioral traits adjusted accordingly.

Adaptations in structure, physiology, and behavior were shaped and reshaped through centuries of natural selection to fit, more or less closely, a combination of the physical and biotic characteristics of its prairie environment. In the case of the pronghorn, natural selection processes molded their visual acuity, respiratory and circulatory systems, fused specific leg bones for additional strength, and improved other subtle features which provided for a survival plasticity to cope with environmental hazards associated with the prairie.

The first pronghorn observation recorded by William Clark occurred on September 3, 1804, in present day Bon Homme County, South Dakota: "Several wild Goats Seen in the Plains they are wild & fleet."[1] On September 14, near the vicinity of Bull Creek, Lyman County, South Dakota, Clark was the first member of the expedition to bag a "Buck goat" which we now recognize as the pronghorn, *Antilocapra americana.* On this date, he provided the scientific community with the first description of the strikingly colored prairie speedster: "I walked on shore to find an old Volcanoe...in my walk I killed a Buck Goat of this Countrey, about the height of the Grown Deer, its body Shorter the Horns which is not very hard and forks 2/3 up one prong Short the other round & Sharp arched, and is immediately above its eyes the Colour is a light gray with black behind its ears down the neck, and its face white round its neck, its sides and its rump round tail which is Short & white; Verry actively made, has only a pair of hoofs to each foot, his brains on the back of his head, his Norstrals large, his eyes like a Sheep he is more like the Antilope or Gazelle of Africa than any other Species of Goat."[2]

On the same date, Lewis recorded six body measurements of Clark's estimated 65 pound "wild goat."[3]

"Such an animal was never yet known it in U.S. States," concluded Sergeant Ordway.[4] It's true that inhabitants of the eastern seaboard had no knowledge of the existence of the prairie pronghorn, but other early explorers such as Narvaez

and Cabeza de Vaca in 1528-36, De Soto in 1539-42, Coronado in 1540-42, Vérendrye and sons in 1742 undoubtedly observed pronghorns but left no records concerning the prairies and their plant and animal inhabitants. As naturalist Ernest Thompson Seton noted: "Coronado and his contemporaries, when they discovered the antelope, were too busy adding to the Spiritual Kingdom of their masters...to bestow a second thought on this wonderfiil wild thing. It remained for Lewis & Clark, 270 years later to give the world detailed information about the pronghorn of the plains."[5]

The pronghorn discovery of the only North American mammal having horns that consist of a permanent, laterally flattened bone core covered with a keratinous sheath that is shed annually after each breeding season, was placed in a new and separate taxonomic family *(Antilocapridae)* meaning antelope-goat, and was technically classified as *Antilope americana* in 1815 by zoologist George Ord.[6] In 1818, Ord reclassified the generic name to *Antilocapra.*[7] In both of his classifications, he relied upon the materials and diary notes furnished by the expedition. Clark's use of the words goat and the Spanish word capra plus a variety of other spellings such as cabrie and cabberrie had some merit as pronghorns do have some features of the goat family including a variety of scent glands and a gall bladder. Clark's comment, "None of these Goats has any beard..."[8] perhaps persuaded some expedition members that the term goat was not an appropriate name for this animal that was so "keenly" made. Lewis, in contrast to Clark, favored the term antelope and was consistent in its use. That name remains firmly entrenched and is widely used by hunters as well as the general public.

Pronghorns originally occupied open prairie country from eastern Washington to Nebraska and from the Canadian prairie provinces to Baja California and northern Mexico.

Population estimates by wildlife authorities indicate there were about 35 million pronghorns in North America prior to the arrival of European explorers. Ernest Thompson Seton estimated 100 million. Montana wildlife biologist, James Beer, concluded from Seton's estimates that Montana's pronghorn population was about 2,500,000.[9]

When one closely examines the Lewis and Clark Journals and sifts through the 253 pronghorn notes[10] recorded by the painstaking chroniclers, one can clearly see the particular niche that pronghorns fill in the prairie environment.

Bison and pronghorns were sympatric species, mutually complementary in their forage requirements. Ranking second in numbers to bison, pronghorn were the most numerous inhabitants of the rolling sagebrush-grasslands. Occupying a niche between wandering grazing bison and the sedentary prairie dog, there was no serious competition for forage with either associated species. The pronghorn, a browser and grazer, relied on sagebrush (Lewis's wild hysop), forbs, grasses, and other plants.

With observant eye and active pen, Lewis was the first to report on predator-prey interactions between wolves and pronghorns. On April 29, 1805, somewhere between Little and Big Muddy Creek in Roosevelt County, Montana, Lewis wrote: "We have frequently seen the wolves in pursuit of the Antelope in the plains; they appear to decoy a single one from a flock, and then pursue it, alturnately relieving each other until they take it."[11]

Patrick Gass reported a similar hunting technique on the return trip in the vicinity of the Teton River in Choteau County, Montana, on July 27: "the wolves in packs occasinally hunt these goats, which are to swift to be run down and taken by a single wolf. The wolves having fixed upon their intended prey and taken their stations, a part of the pack commence the chase, and running it in a circle, are at certain intervals relieved by others. In this manner they are able to run a goat down. At the falls where the wolves are plenty, I had an opportunity of seeing one of these hunts."'[2] To a given pronghorn, death may appear in many forms. It may pounce suddenly with red fangs, or it may creep in slowly and agonizingly in the form of a bactierial infection, a dwindling food supply, a hunter's gun, or a wind-driven prairie fire. Whatever guise death may take, it serves an effective agent in regulating population numbers.

Adverse weather plays a major role in regulating pronghorn population density. We now know from years of accumulated weather data that last year's weather in plains country will tell you very little about this year's. Prairie weather is highly unpredictable and when properly primed can move temperatures violently up and down, sometimes producing devastating havoc.

Despite the fact that pronghorns endure temperature extremes ranging from blistering summer heat and brutally cold below zero temperatures in some of the most shelterless wildlife habitat in the mid-continent, mortality does occur, sometimes with disasterous results. The danger comes from deep snows followed by periods of thaw and refreezing which crusts the snow into a concrete-like hardpan making forage difficult to obtain. Follow this up with howling ground blizzards driven by 50-70 mph winds that build 10-20 foot

drifts and drive the wind chill factor to 80-100 degrees below zero, you then have a sure-fire recipe for pronghorn losses.

From Lewis's weather table diary, we recognize that the 1804-05 winter at Ft. Mandan was bitterly cold and accompanied by deep snows. On December 12, Lewis recorded a temperature of -38°. On December 17, it fell to -45°. For an eleven-day stretch from December 7 to December 18, temperatures hovered between -1° to -45°F. Lewis was informed by the Mandans that the resident pronghorn herd failed to migrate to the Black Hills as they normally did each year. Cold weather and deep snows continued through January with a low of -40° recorded on January 10. Interestingly enough, the journals report only three pronghorns were harvested by the explorers during the October 27-April 7 stay at the Mandan villages. Despite the remarkable plasticity of pronghorns to cope with environmental hazards, this particular harsh winter undoubtedly culled a fair number of animals. Numerous remarks by the captains to the "poreness" of bison, elk, deer, and antelope suggests one tough winter for both wildlife and humans.

The Lewis and Clark Journals provide us with the first information on how various Indian tribes employed a variety of capture techniques to harvest large numbers of pronghorns.

Nov. 5, 1804 (Fort Mandan)—"A camp of the Mandans, a few miles below us Cought within two days 100 Goats, by driving them in a Strong pen, derected by a bush fence widening from the pen...and are then at the mercy of the hunters."—Clark'[13]

April 15, 1805 (Mountrail Co., ND)—"I saw the remains of several camps of the Assinniboins; near one of which in a small revene, there was a pack which they had formed of timber and brush, for the purpose of taking the cabrie or Antelope. It was constructed in the following manner. A strong pound was first made of timbers, on one side of which there was a small apparture, sufficiently large to admit Antelope; from each side of this apparture, a curtain was extended to a considerable distance widening as they reached from the pound."—Clark'[14]

Oct.16, 1804 (Emmons Co. SD)—"Saw great numbers of goats or Antelope on Shore Capt Lewis one man & the Ricara Chief walked on Shore, in the evening I discovered a number of Indians on each Side and goats on the river or Swimming & on Sans banks, when I came near Saw the boys in the water swiming amongst the goats & Killing them with Sticks...I saw 58 killed in this way"—Clark[15]

Prior to the expedition's departure on the outward journey from Camp Dubois, it was clearly understood that they would be partially living off the land. Little did they realize that pronghorns would provide part of their requirements for fresh meat. During the westward trek, 64 pronghorns were killed in South Dakota, North Dakota, and Montana. One the return trip, 19 were harvested in Montana and North Dakota. Most of the pronghorn kills occurred in Montana with 38 being bagged in 1805 and 18 taken on the return 1806 trip. Twenty nine percent of the Montana pronghorn kills occurred in Cascade County. For a summary of the harvest data for the entire 1804-06 trip, see Table 1 (pp. 8-9).

How accurate is the harvest data? The figures may be regarded as fairly reliable as game animals harvested by hunters were usually mentioned in the various diaries. Pronghorn kills, however, should be regarded as a minimum number as there are discrepancies in the Journals on kill dates and numbers of pronghorns taken. In some instances, kills are reported but no numbers are provided. While at Ft. Clatsop, Lewis listed the native animals encountered, including antelope, from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. For the pronghorn he wrote, "the Antelope is found in the great plains of Columbia and are the same of those on the Missouri found in every part of that untimbered country."[16]

No pronghorns were killed in the Columbia Basin by the explorers, and only two observations were recorded on the return trip, in Klickitat County and the second in Benton County, Washington.

Surprisingly, no information was recorded by either Lewis or Clark on territorial disputes occurring between dominant male pronghorns and other subordinate males. Opportunities to view such disputes, undoubtedly, were there. Even though an understanding of the function of territorial ownership was not fully understood by scientists in the early 19th century, the concept of territoriality goes back in history at least as far as Aristotle (ca. 350 B.C.) who wrote "Each pair of eagles needs a large territory and one that allows no other eagle to settle in the neighborhood."[17]

Typically, when a territorial male spots a rival, he first stares at the intruder which is considered to be aggressive behavior, and the avoidance of a stare is considered submissive. If the rival pronghorn holds his ground, there may be loud vocalization, an aggressive chase, and occasionally a fight.

In retrospect, Clark, perhaps, felt that his brief comment on "Antilopes ruting"[18] was sufficient enough. Even if Lewis did have some insight on the territory concept, higher priorities were first in order.

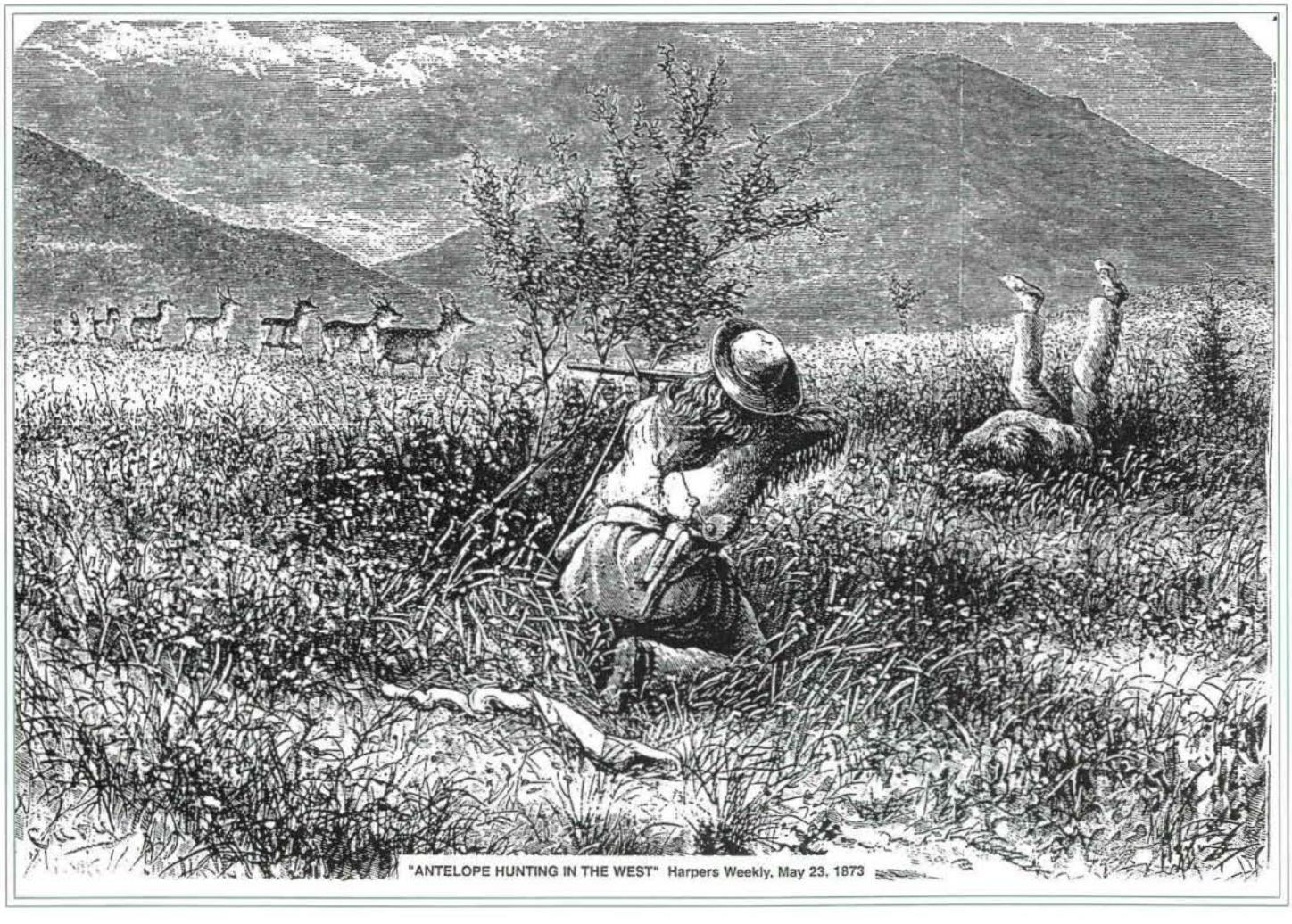
## The Wind Drinker

Lewis's diary entry for September 17, 1804, mentions the "Agility and supeior fleetness" of pronghorns after attempting to stalk them while hunting. After futile attempts to approach within shooting range, he was quite amazed at how fast and how far his quarry could move in a relatively short period of time. He concluded his entry with "...I beheld the rapidity of their flight along the ridge before me it appeared reather the rappid flight of birds than the motion of quadrupeds. I think I can safely venture the assertion that the speed of this anamel is equal if not superior to that of the finest blooded courser."[19]

Lewis learned, as all pronghorn hunters eventually do, that a combination of open, limitless space and the pronghorn's superb architectural design serves as its key for survival. Pronghorns have phenomenal running endurance in addition to their speed. They rank number one as the swiftest hooved terrestrial mammal in North America. Cruising speed averages about 30 miles/hr and maximum speeds have been clocked at 54 miles/hr. Fast, accelerated runs of 3-4 miles are common, but then exhaustion occurs rapidly. On long, slender laminated leg bones with large skeletal muscle attachment and cartilaginous shock-absorbing two-digit hoofs, the prairie speedster effortlessly runs in a linear straight-out line with no up and down movements, thereby conserving energy. Equipped with a large heart and a large diameter trachea, pronghorns run with an open mouth drinking in excessive amounts of air to supply the lungs.

It's a little surprising that expedition recorders failed to take notice of the pronghorns method of alerting other pronghorns of imminent danger. When alarmed, a pronghorn will erect the hairs of its rosette white rump patch, a conspicuous warning to other pronghorns who in turn see the flashing of the "heliograph" and pass the warning on to other nearby pronghorns.

If there is any weakness in the pronghorn's packet of survival traits, it's a behavioral curiosity trait. In Lewis's April 30, 1805, dairy entry, he mentions how the



"ANTELOPE HUNTING IN THE WEST" Harpers Weekly, May 23, 1873

"fleet and quick-sighted animal" often becomes the victim because of its own curiosity. A hunter, Lewis explains, that lies down on the ground and raises his arm or feet in a straight-up vertical position can sometimes entice a pronghorn into shooting range. He further elaborated on how wolves would capitalize on this technique in decoying pronghorns in for the kill.[20]

Just prior to the Corps of Discovery's departure from Ft. Mandan on April 7, 1805, to the west and the misty mouth of the Columbia, male and female pronghorn hides, and "skelitons" were packaged and boxed on April 3, along with other articles and specimens, for transport by keelboat to St. Louis and eventually by other transportation to the Atlantic seaboard where a museum mount was prepared, presumably by Charles Willson Peale, and displayed in the Quadruped Room of the Peale Museum which contained approximately 200 mammals. It resided here until 1828, and at this point the trail becomes a littly murky. The natural history museum collection changed locations twice and according to Paul Russell Cutright, who did a superb job of tracking the "Lewis and Clark Booty,"[21] the natural history collection remained intact until 1850. Due to a decline in revenue, the museum collection was sold that year with P.T. Barnum purchasing one-half of the collection and Moses Kimball of the Boston Museum the other half. Barnum's acquisition and his American Museum was destroyed in 1865 by fire. At this point, the trail seems to disappear. Was the pronghorn mount destroyed in the American Museum fire? Was it sold at auction? What did happen? Only those researchers familiar with the scarcity of early 19th century zoological specimens can fully appreciate the extent of this loss.

Fortunately, the journals were retained which provided natural history scientists with a window of opportunity to better understand the light-filled wilderness and its inhabitants. Whereas the North American Steppe had been an area of mystery, rumor, and speculation, Lewis and Clark provided a clearer focus freeing natural historians of certain dogma, breaking old institutions, and shaping new ones to fit the land. The proper groundwork was laid for a surge of new knowledge and stirring discoveries about the prairie environment that would unfold in later years.

**About the author...**
Foundation member Ken Walcheck is a retired information officer for the Montana Department of Fish, Wildlife and Parks.

Table 1. Pronghorn Harvest Data (1804-1806).

| Date | Location | Kill(s) | Volume and Page Number |
|---|---|---|---|
| 9/14/04 | Lyman Co., SD | 1 | 3:70-72 |
| 9/17/04 | LymanCo.,SD | 1 | 3:82 |
| 9/20/04 | Lyman Co., SD | 2 | 3:93-94 |
| 9/23/04 | Hughes Co., SD | 1 | 3:106 |
| 10/5/04 | Dewey Co., SD | 4 | 3:144 |
| 10/16/04 | Emmons Co., SD | 3 | 3:176-177 |
| 10/18/04 | Morton Co., SD | 4 | 3:182-183 |
| 10/20/04 | Burleigh Co., ND | 3 | 3:188 |
| 2/6/05 | McLean Co., ND | 3 | 3:488 |
| 4/13/05 | McLeanCo.,ND | 2 | 4:31-33 |
| 4/16/05 | Mountrail Co., ND | 1 | 4:46 |
| 4/25/05 | McKenzieCo.,ND | 3 | 11:139 |
| 5/1/05 | Roosevelt Co., MT | 1 | 4:96 |
| 5/16/05 | GarfieldCo.,MT | 2 | 4:157-158 |
| 6/6/05 | Chouteau Co., MT | 2 | 9:163 |
| 6/8/05 | Chouteau Co., MT | 2 | 4:266 |
| 6/12/05 | CascadeCo.,MT | 1 | 4:280 |
| 6/24/05 | Cascade Co., MT | 3 | 9:172-173 |
| 7/2/05 | CascadeCo.,MT | 1 | 9:178 |

| Date | Location | Kill(s) | Volume and Page Number |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7/3/05 | Cascade Co., MT | 2 | 4:356 |
| 7/5/05 | Cascade Co., MT | 3 | 4:363 |
| 7/7/05 | Cascade Co., MT | 1 | 9:181 |
| 7/8/05 | Cascade Co., MT | 2 | 4:366 |
| 7/11/05 | Cascade Co., MT | 1 | 4:374-375 |
| 7/19/05 | Lewis & Clark Co., MT | 1 | 4:402 |
| 7/23/05 | BroadwaterCo.,MT | 1 | 10:16 |
| 7/24/05 | Broadwater Co., MT | 1 | 4:423 |
| 7/25/05 | Broadwater Co., MT | 1 | 4:426 |
| 7/27/05 | Gallatin Co., MT | 3 | 9:190 |
| 8/6/05 | Madison Co., MT | 1 | 5:55 |
| 8/8/05 | Madison Co., MT | 1 | 5:59 |
| 8/9/05 | Madison Co., MT | 2 | 5:63 |
| 8/11/05 | BeaverheadCo.,MT | 1 | 5:72 |
| 8/12/05 | Beaverhead Co., MT | 1 | 11:266 |
| 8/14/05 | Beaverhead Co., MT | 1 | 5:93-94 |
| 8/16/05 | Beaverhead Co., MT | 1 | 5:104 |
| 8/17/05 | Beaverhead Co., MT | 2 | 9:204 |
| 7/5/06 | Missoula Co., MT | 1 | 8:90 |
| 7/7/06 | Beaverhead Co., MT | 1 | 9:333 |
| 7/8/06 | Lewis & Clark Co., MT | 1 | 10:251 |
| 7/9/06 | Liberty Co.,MT | 2 | 8:116 |
| 7/13/06 | Broadwater Co., MT | 1 | 9:335 |
| 7/15/06 | Broadwater Co., MT | 1 | 9:336 |
| 7/19/06 | Stillwater Co., MT | 1 | 8:204 |
| 7/22/06 | Cascade Co., MT | 1 | 9:342 |
| 7/27/06 | Chouteau Co., MT | 1 | 10:258 |
| 7/28/06 | Rosebud Co., MT | 1 | 8:245 |
| 7/28/06 | Chouteau Co., MT | 7 | 9:342 |
| 8/10/06 | Williams Co., ND | 1 | 8:287 |

**Harvest, observation dates, and page numbers from Gary E. Moulton, Ed.,* Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, *Volumes 3,4, 5, 8, 9, 10, and 11.*

## —FOOTNOTES—

[1]Moulton, Gary E., Ed., The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Vol.3 (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996, p.142.)
[2]*Ibid*,3:70-72.
[3]*Ibid*,3:72.
[4]*Ibid*,9:59:
[5]Seton, Ernest Thompson. *The Life Histories of Northern Animals*. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1909.
[6]Gutherie's Geog. 2nd Ed., Vol.11., pp.292-308, 1815.
[7]Bull. De la Societe Philomathique, p.146, 1818.
[8]Moulton, op. cit 3:93-94.
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[10]The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Gary E. Moulton, Ed., list 120 journal entries on pronghorns in volumes 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8; 54 in Vol.9 (Journals of John Ordway), 32 in Vol.10 (Journals of Patrick Gass); and 47 in Vol.11 (Journals of Joseph Whitehouse).
[11]Moulton, op. cit. 4:87.
[12]*Ibid*, 10:258.
[13]*Ibid*, 3:229-30.
[14]*Ibid*, 4:42-44.
[15]*Ibid*,3:176-177.
[16]*Ibid*,6:313.
[17]Nice, M. M. The earliest mention of territory. *Condor*, 55:316-317, 1953.
[18]Moulton, op. cit., 3:131.
[19]*Ibid*,3:81-82.
[20]Coues, Elliot, Ed. *History of the Expedition under the command of Lewis and Clark*. New York: Dover Ed., reprint of 1893 Francis P. Harper Vol.1: 291, 1965.
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# It Felt Like They Were There

by Martin Erickson

Larry Zabel used to go hunting along the Missouri River in north central Montana "It felt like Lewis and Clark were there," the Montana artist says.

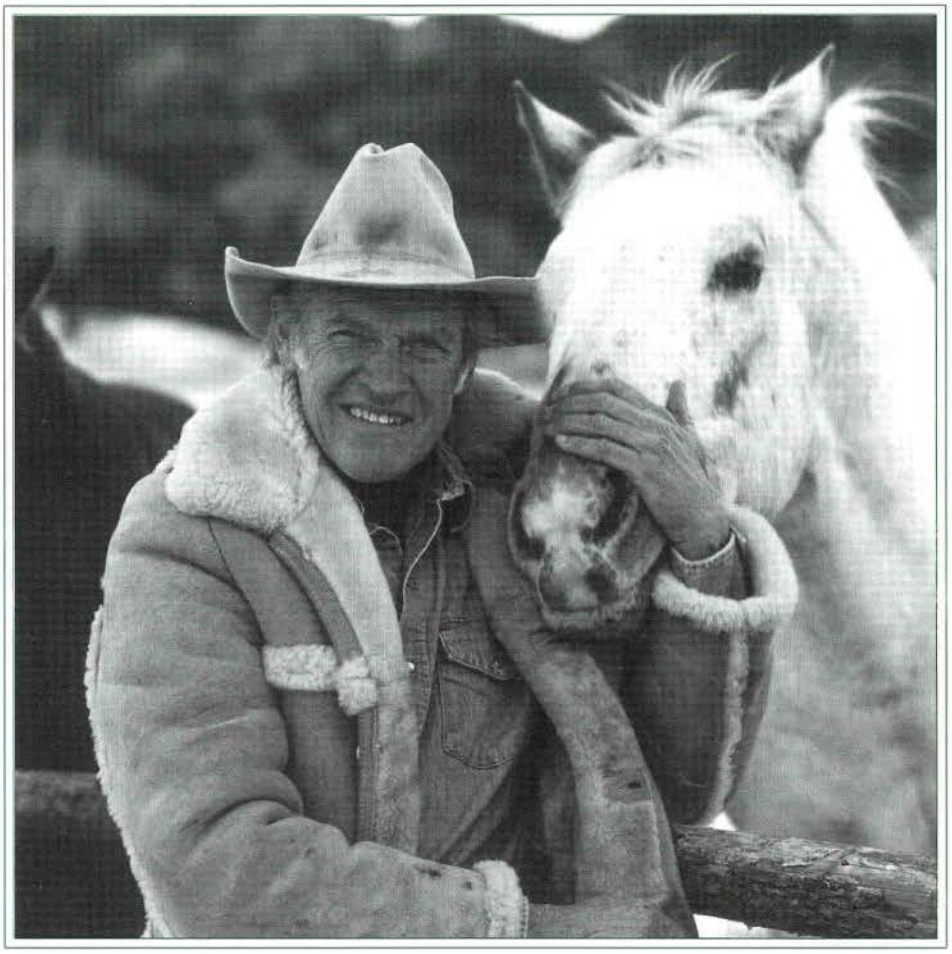
Zabel has been a commercial artist and now concentrates on western art. In the summer of 1997 he took a float trip through the White Cliffs area of the Missouri River with Larry and Bonnie Cook of Missouri River Outfitters and a group of Lewis and Clark enthusiasts. As he describes it, he photographed the White Cliffs at all hours of the day and evening.

"I shot a whole series of telephoto photos and then reconstructed the scenes in paintings," he says.

The award winning artist turned those telephoto shots into a series of Lewis and Clark and Native American paintings. One of them, "Legend of the Falls," won the People's Choice Award at the C.M. Russell Auction of Original Western Art in Great Falls in March 1998 (see February 1998 WPO News Update). It sold for $10,000. At the same auction his Quick Draw, an acrylic painting of a buffalo on a shield, brought the top price of $2,800.

A native of Deer Creek, Minnesota, Zabel has painted all his life, first as a commercial artist for Douglas Aircraft then for the federal government. He has a bachelor's degree in art from Cal State-Long Beach.

In 1957 he worked for Douglas painting pictures for flight handbooks. These were used in documentary films. At the same time he started doing fine art paintings on weekends. A navy public affairs officer saw his paintings and asked him to go to Vietnam .



*Larry Zabel and friend.*

He was a combat artist in Vietnam for the Naval Weapons Center. During two tours in Vietnam in 1967 and 1970, he shot documentary films. He flew 26 combat missions shooting slides and films.

"The pilots took me places they wouldn't go by themselves," he notes. From those flights he has 16 paintings in the naval historical collection. "It was similar to Lewis and Clark. We and they were under fire in both cases."

As his backlog of commissions for fine art paintings grew, he decided to quit working for the government and go full-time as an artist. By then he had a two year backlog of commissions.

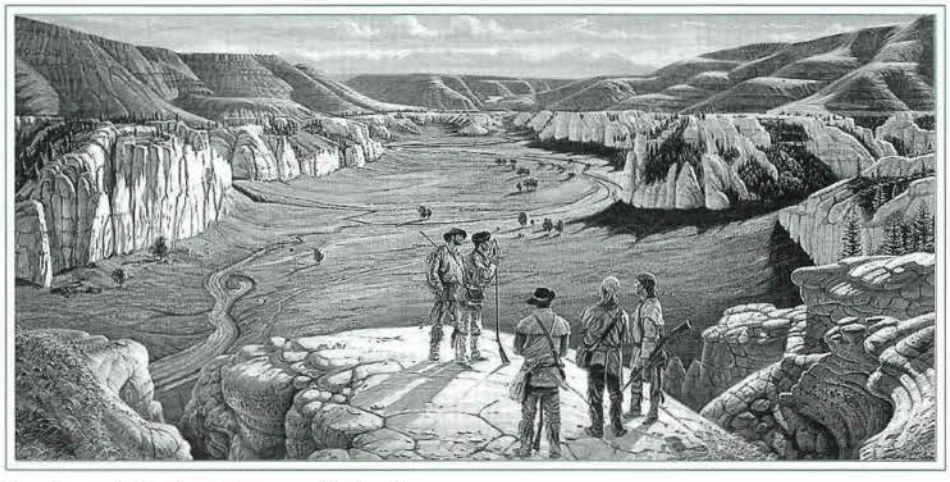
Larry and his family moved to Ennis, Montana in 1987.

"We had no ties. We came to visit and stayed. You can paint where you want. Montana is a good place to be creative. Double for me. I just moved in with the cowboys and Indians. My models were my friends. We had two small places and two horses, two buffalo, two dogs and three cats. We needed a proper environment for the buffalo. I know everybody in the valley. I eventually got rid of the buffalo but still have two

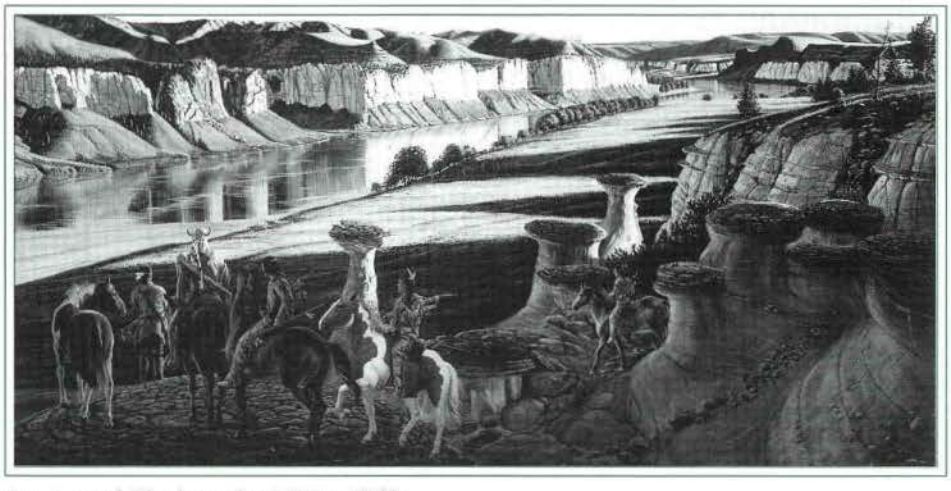
## "On the Trail of Lewis and Clark Art Shows"

*Steve Zabel is gathering as many Lewis and Clark paintings as he can find for an art show and sale during the "Week of Discovery" in Great Falls.*

*In his words: "Personally enthralled with this journey, I began to seek out the art that depicts either the people, wildlife or landscapes encountered along the Lewis and Clark Trail. Unfortunately, not many artists to date have created works about this historical event. Don Nell, founder of the Headwaters Chapter and past president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has assembled a list of all the known noteworthy paintings that directly depict a portion of the expedition or its members. This list consists of approximately sixty artists including such greats as Benton, Bodmer, Catlin, Clymer, Delano, Lovell, Morgan, Paxson, Ralston, Remington, Russell, Seltzer and others. I think the timing is right to add to the list! It is in this spirit that Montana Trails Gallery will host the opening reception for "On the Trail of Lewis & Clark" Art Show & Sale July 2-4 during the Lewis & Clark Heritage Week in Great Falls. The exhibition will continue at Montana Trails Gallery through the month of July."*



*Lewis and Clark at Stonewall Creek*



*Lewis and Clark at the White Cliffs*

horses. I went right into cowboys and Indians as subjects.

"The first thing I painted was the Montana Centennial Wagon Train in 1989.1 did a painting of the Tobacco Root Mountains. It was the first painting I entered in the C.M. Russell Auction in 1991. Been in the auction ever since. My first auction sale of a painting went for $2200. Now they sell for up to $22,000. I've been fortunate enough to win the People's Choice Award three times. The auction has been good to me. I sold out 500 copies each of 20 western and wildlife paintings."

Along the way he also got a commission to do four paintings for the 5Oth anniversary of China Lake (California) Naval Air Test Station.

Larry Zabel works closely with the Elk Foundation. He was the first artist to be honored by the foundation as Artist of the Year in 1996.

"My prices for my elk paintings went up every year. I now have a half dozen rolls of film and lots of ideas from my elk trips."

Larry's son Steve who owns Montana Trails Gallery in Bozeman, Montana, and is Larry's business manager and general coordinator behind the scene says he has made an interesting discovery about Larry. He has evolved into a western ranch painter and it has further evolved into a series. A cur-

*Legend of the Falls*

rent commission is to do a series on a working 340,000 acre cattle ranch in Wyoming. Larry says he thrives on such assignments. "Every one is an adventure."

How did Larry become so successful as an artist?

"In my business," he says, "I have a good production and advisory crew. My wife, Sharon, knows the standards. Steve has a pulse on the art world and can speak for the art publishing voice and fine art originals. Our daughter, Becca, works for Steve at his gallery and handles sales."

Their main service to Larry, he says, is that they "keep me from becoming flaky and self serving. My product is my service. I have learned to handle success and scheduling. They try hard to keep me from having failures and keep me on a marketable track. For example, in hunting paintings I don't show blood on the snow. In Gary Carter's elk series his hunters are always stalking, never killing.

"Cowboys are more marketable than cowgirls. The myth of the West is cowboy. What people want to see is not the real world of cowboys wearing baseball caps. I paint them wearing cowboy hats. Brandings are 90 percent men who brand with regular irons not electric irons."

Larry is working with long-time foundation member Don Nell on a painting of Clark's return to the Three Forks. Don is researching to see how many horses were Appaloosa. The artist is also looking at doing a Sacagawea painting.

"I was interested in Lewis and Clark before the float trip. I will continue to paint Lewis and Clark stuff as long as I paint. They did the things I like to paint and in the places I like to paint."

## *DISCOVERING LEWIS AND CLARK* EARNS KUDOS

*Discovering Lewis and Clark* opened on the World Wide Web on February 2, at http://www.lewis-clark. org, and quickly gained critical approval, reports foundation member Joe Mussulman, who is the producer and principal writer for the non-profit sponsor, VIAs, Inc.

The noted western historian, Elliott West, of the University of Arkansas, is among those who have applauded the new web site. "It manages to respect the fact that the expedition was by any measure an extraordinary story," he writes, "while still recognizing that it was only one event in a country shaped by many peoples and understandable only through many perspectives."

*Discovering Lewis and Clark* looks back through the intervening 200 years, to view the land and the people as they are, and as they were, and inks in some of the lines connecting them. "It's essentially interactive, and definitely non-linear," says Mussulman, "sort of like 3-D Scrabble."

The site is to be enhanced with a major interpretive episode once each month for the next three years. Early enhancements have included collections of video inter-

*(Kudos continued on page 38)*

## Home Front Chapter Members Encouraged to Adopt a Book

At a recent meeting, the board of directors of the Home Front Chapter (Virginia) enthusiastically endorsed the idea of donating copies of new educational resources to area schools.

*Lewis and Clark*, a workbook by Bonnie Sachatello Sawyer, published by Scholastic, is a collection of background information, activities, and a poster for grades 4-8. The books sell for $9.95.

Because of the great expense of donating copies to local schools for use in the fifth grade (where Virginia's Standards of Learning include the Lewis & Clark Expedition), members are encouraged to follow the lead of board members and "Adopt a Book"—donate the cost of a book.

A sample book will be on display at the May 19 Annual Meeting.

The chapter hopes to have the materials in the hands of teachers early in the 1998-99 school year. Jean Myers heads the chapter's Educational Outreach Committee.

# North Dakota to Host '99 Gathering

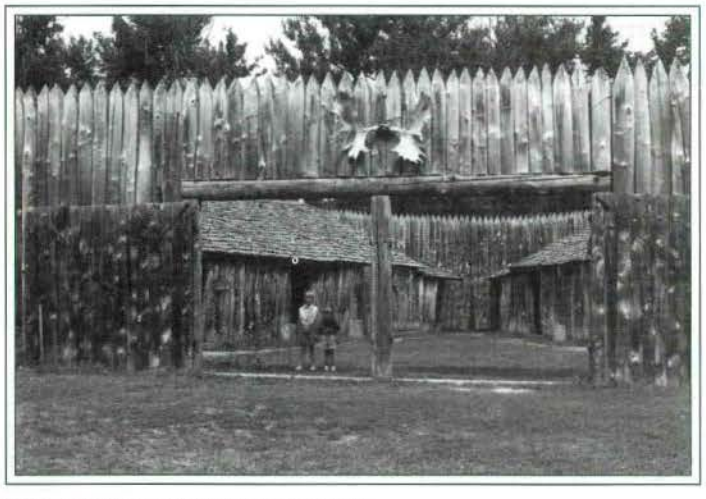
The nearly 200 participants in the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council Workshop in Bismarck this past April were given a sneak preview of what to expect from the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation's annual meeting in 1999, with visits to the new North Dakota Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center and Fort Mandan at Washburn; and a program staged by members of the Three Affiliated Tribes at the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site at Stanton.

Those three Lewis and Clark Trail sites, plus Fort Abraham Lincoln and the North Dakota Heritage Center, are all features of next year's meeting, set for July 31 through August 4 in Bismarck and Washburn.

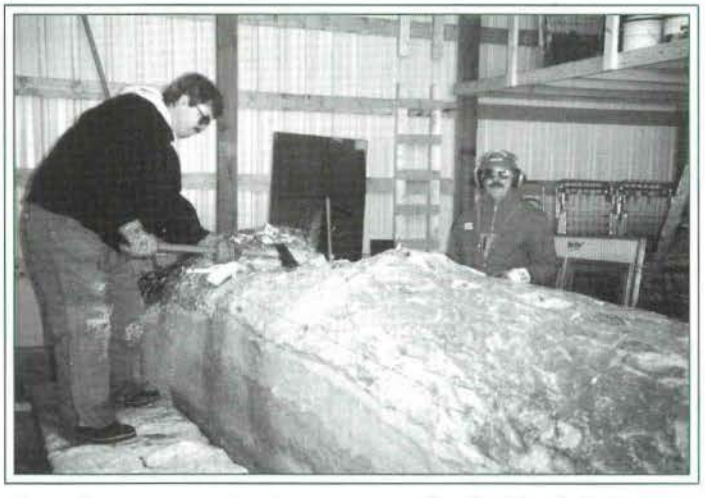
"With Fort Mandan as our centerpiece, North Dakota will showcase itself as a premier host on the Lewis and Clark Trail," said David Borlaug, chairman of the North Dakota Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Foundation, which maintains both the interpretive center and Fort Mandan.

"And you can't tell the story of Lewis and Clark in North Dakota without a strong emphasis on their relationship with the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians," Borlaug continued, "so expect a strong Native American element in our program next year."

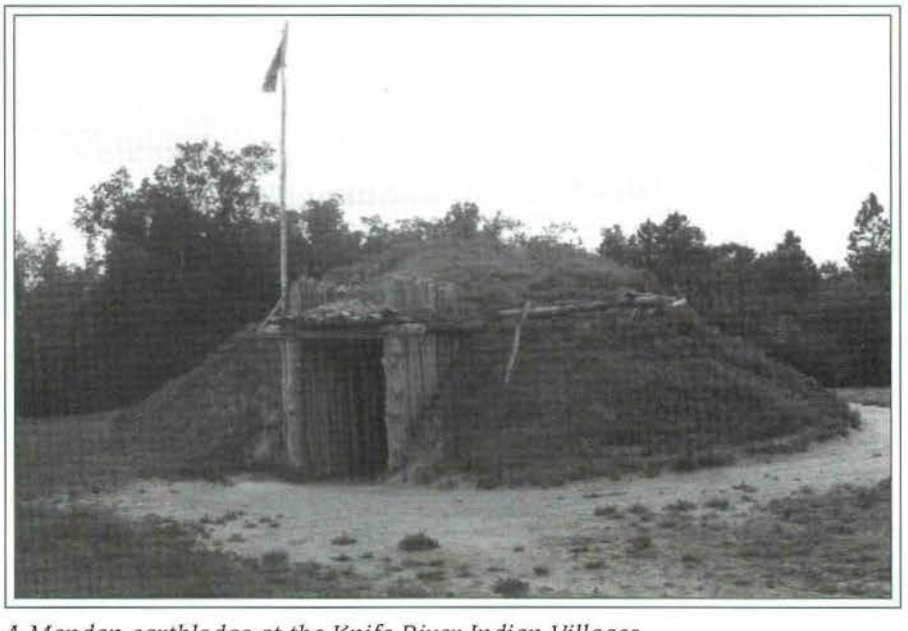
Meeting attendees will find the usual strong, scholarly schedule of programs, plus exciting field trips, all less than an hour away from the headquarters hotel, the Radisson Inn of Bismarck (phone 701-258-7700, special rates are available).



*The reconstructed Fort Mandan.*



*Chopping away at the dugout canoe for the North Dakota Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center.*



*A Mandan earthlodge at the Knife River Indian Villages National Historic Site.*

# George Armstrong Custer
## And the Mandan Indians

by Tracy Potter
*Director, Fort Abraham Lincoln Foundation*

Before there was a United States, the Mandan Indian nation numbered perhaps 15,000. They called themselves the *Nu'eta*. In one of their golden ages, from about 1650 to 1781, they lived in 10 or 12 fortified earth lodgecities from which they farmed many miles of Missouri River bottomland. The "heart" of their culture was a smaller village, maybe 1,000 population, where the Heart River meets the Missouri. We call the village "On-a-Slant."

A new city was formed a few hundred yards and not quite a hundred years away. This was fabled Fort Abraham Lincoln, home to George Armstrong Custer and the 7th Cavalry. Custer inherited, in 1873, an infantry post built in 1872 on the bluffs above On-a-Slant. The cavalry built on a broad flat along the Missouri. With room for six companies of men in three barracks, seven officers' quarters, stables, granaries, commissaries, and quarters for Arikara Indian scouts and the fort's laundresses, the post also housed about 1,000 persons.

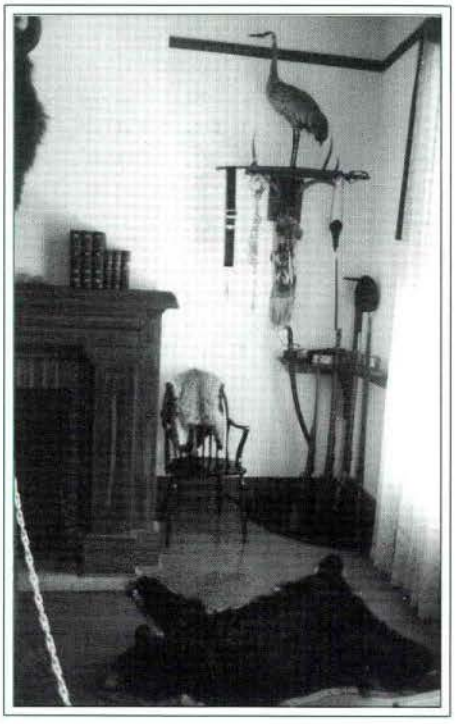
The inhabitants were a colorful mix. Irish and German immigrant soldiers served side-by-side with Civil War veterans. Arikara scouts served along side an African-American scout who spoke Lakota Sioux. Officers' proper Victorian wives shared the protection of the fort with women not of their class.

The fort was headquarters for a string of posts in what became North Dakota. With Fort Lincoln as a base, Custer led surveying expeditions into the Yellowstone country and the Black Hills, the sacred Paha Sapa of the Lakota and Cheyenne. Custer's men found gold, as expected, and broadcast it to the world, setting in motion a flood of illegal immigration to the Black Hills.

When President Grant and his military advisors determined that 1876 would be the year to drive all the free bands of Indians united with Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull onto reservations, Custer's 7th Cavalry marched to Montana. On June 25, 1876, the 7th suffered total defeat. Custer and his closest friends and relatives at Fort Lincoln were among the 265 men killed.

The fort and village have been partially reconstructed within Fort Lincoln State Park. The park is open year-round. Hours of operation for the historic attractions including the Custer House, 7th Cavalry Barracks, park museum and Mandan earthlodges, are 9 am to 7 p.m., daily in the summer. Tours are available on a reduced schedule, daily from April 1 to November 11, and by appointment the rest of the year. Call (701) 663-4758 for more information.

*(More on North Dakota on p. 39)*



*A corner (above) of the Custer house at Fort Lincoln. A view (below) of Custer's study.*

*"If it wasn't for the mosquitoes..."*

# Building Partnerships

STORY & PHOTOS
by Martin Erickson

"If it wasn't for the mosquitoes, Reunion Bay (North Dakota) would not be a historic site," North Dakota governor Edward Schaefer, told the assembled audience. Lewis and Clark were to rejoin forces at the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers on their return trip in 1806. Great idea, but Clark who got there first found the mosquitoes were so bad he moved on down the Missouri to a better spot.

Governor Schaefer was the opening speaker at the Third Annual Planning Workshop sponsored by The National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Council and hosted by the North Dakota Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Foundation and the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Washburn, North Dakota. The workshop, held in Bismarck, North Dakota, April 26-28, was attended by 180 participants from trail states, federal agencies, sovereign nations and dozens of other states. The governor set the tone for the workshop by using the mosquito plague to urge the council to work with only the best ideas. Don't waste all your energy fighting mosquitoes, find a better place to stay.

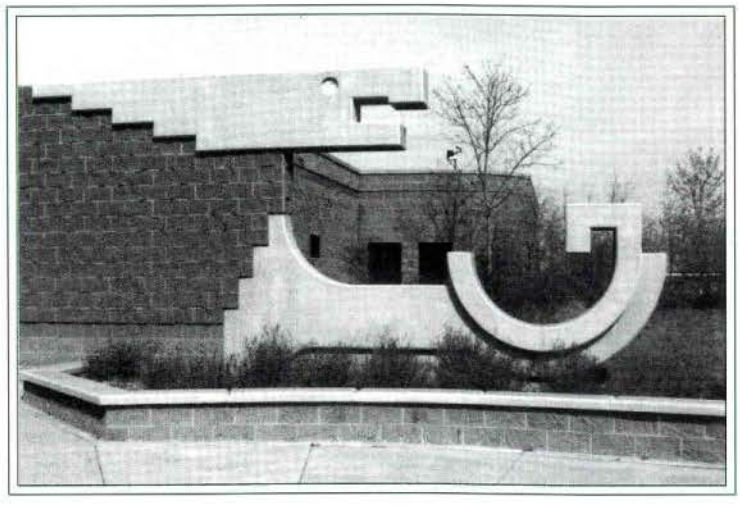
Keynote speaker U.S. Senator Bryan Dorgan (ND), commented that being in the top five of a high school graduating class of nine qualified him to be a U.S. Senator. Dorgan introduced bicentennial bills in Congress and also a bill to finance the Mandan Village restoration. He called the Lewis and Clark Expedition "a remarkable human event".

The senator also played a highly influential role in securing a $250,000 appropriation in the National Park Service budget to be used on the Lewis and Clark experience.

"I'm so delighted with what's been happening," he said. "It's not an enterprise of the U.S. Congress. This is an enterprise of the people. I'm so excited we can share this with the rest of the world."

With those words of enthusiasm

*(Partnership continued on page 24)*

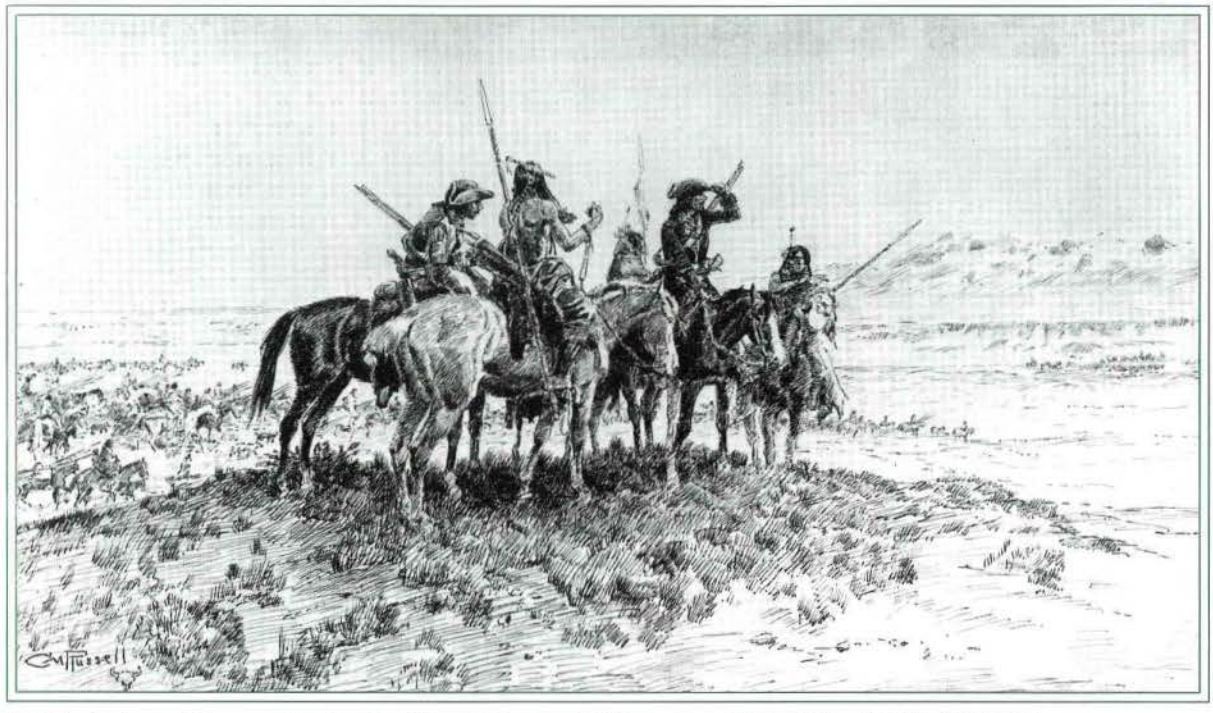


*North Dakota Gov. Schaefer (top) welcomes the participants. The unique entrance to the Knife River Indian Villages Museum (center). Indian dancers and drummers (above) at the Knife River Villages.*

## *A Sampling of...*

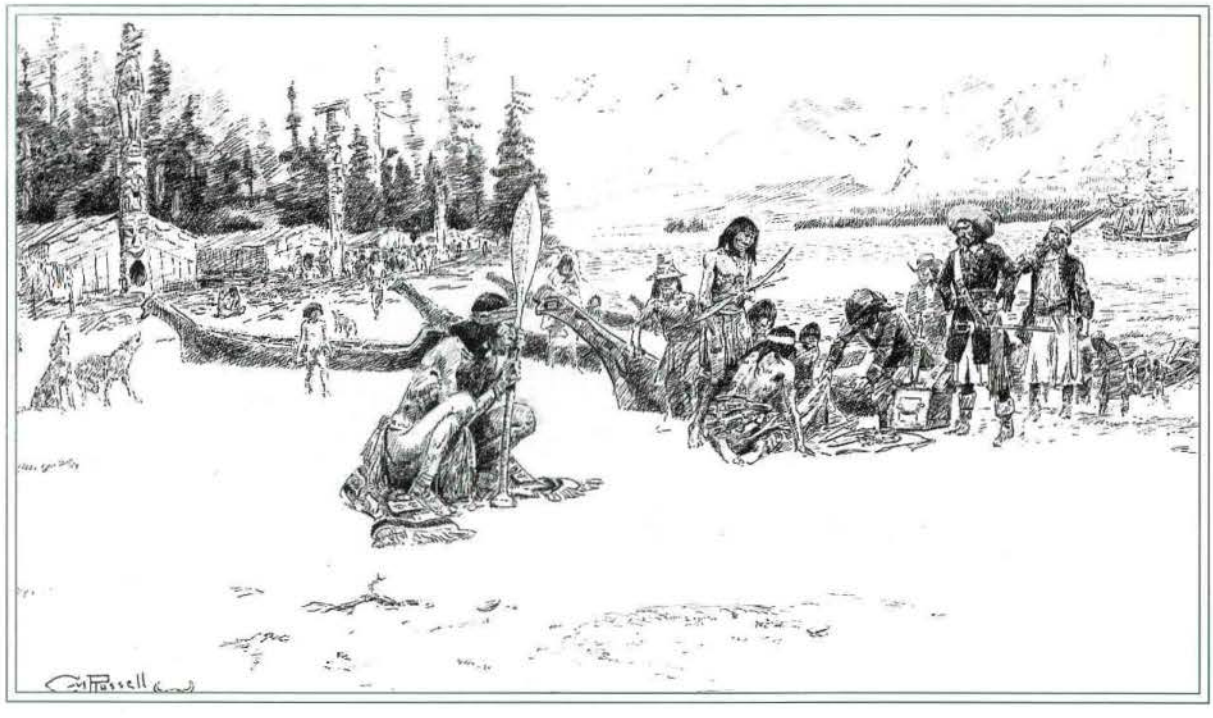
# The Grand Expedition of Lewis and Clark

***An exhibition of the paintings and pen and ink sketches from before to after the expedition.***



*La Verendryes Discover the Rocky Mountains, c. 1922, pen and ink, 14" x 22¼" 1961.128.*

*Courtesy of Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.*



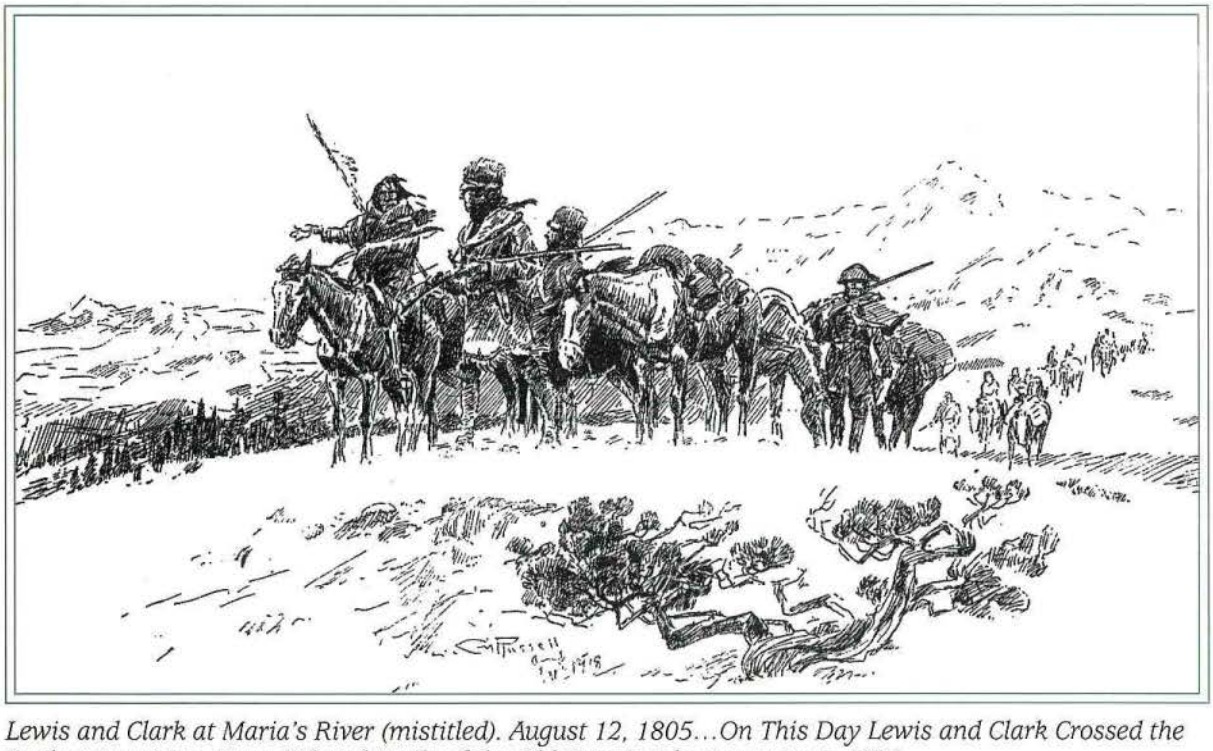
*Captain Gray Making Gifts to the Indians at the Mouth of the Columbia River, 1922, pen and ink, 14" x 22", 81.40.*

*Courtesy of Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Allen.*

# As Seen by C.M. Russell

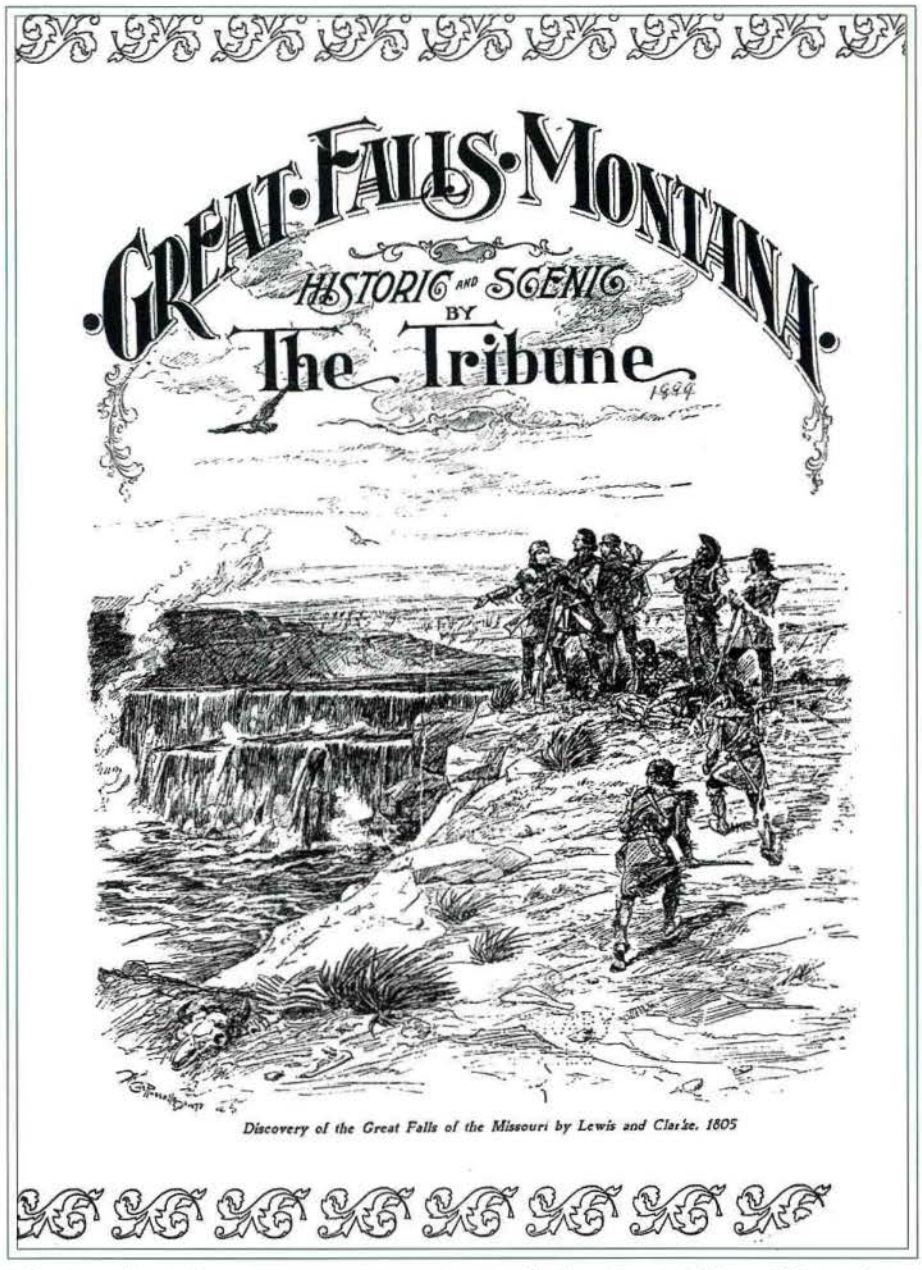
*A Mandan Village, c. 1922, pen and ink, 1961.131.*

*Courtesy of Amon Carter Museum*



*Lewis and Clark at Maria's River (mistitled). August 12, 1805…On This Day Lewis and Clark Crossed the Rocky Mountains. From "Blazed Trails of the Old Frontier" by Agnes Laut, 1926.*

Courtesy of the Montana Room, Great Falls Public Library

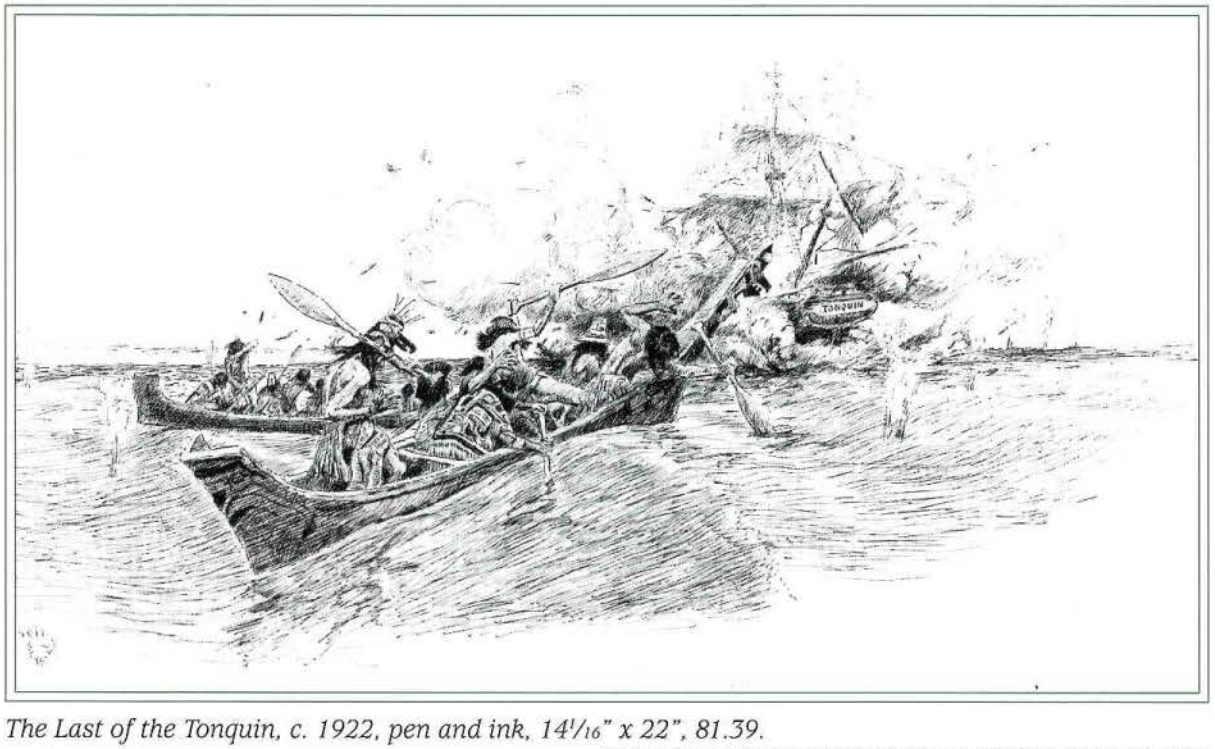



*Believing this to be a very opportune time to display Great Falls and Cascade county before the gaze of hundreds of home seekers and investors throughout the eastern states; The Tribune has taken upon itself to compile an illustrated, historical edition setting before the world the many great advantages of this section of the state. This edition will contain much historical matter relative to early times and all of the great industries will be entertainingly described and an honest effort will be made to strikingly picture the natural resources. One of the very attractive features will be the many and varied illustrations with which the edition will abound. Mr. Charles Russell has been engaged to make especially for this edition, a large pen and ink drawing, illustrating the discovery of this section by Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, which will appear on the front cover and will add much to the beauty and general attractiveness of the edition.*

The Tribune, Great Falls, MT 1898. Courtesy of the Montana Room, Great Falls Public Library, Great Falls, Montana and the Great Falls Tribune.

*Colter's Race for Life, c. 1922, pen and ink, 14" x 22¼", 1961.129.*

*Courtesy of Amon Carter Museum.*




*The Last of the Tonquin, c. 1922, pen and ink, 14 1/16" x 22", 81.39.*

*Courtesy of Henry Art Gallery, University of Washington, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William Allen.*

# David B. Weaver Would Have Monument Erected to Memory of Patrick Gass; Sketch of the Life of the Famous Explorer

**Editor's Note:** The following article is from the Fergus County Argus, Lewistown, Montana. Since the newspaper didn't have a date on it, the nearest date we can figure is early April 1924. Darlene Fassler of Great Falls, a direct descendant of Patrick Gass, loaned us the article.

**About the author...**
David B. Weaver, one of the discoverers of gold at Emigrant Gulch, and one of the few surviving Montana argonauts, sends to this newspaper a story recently published in the Pittsburgh Gazette Times, of his efforts to bring about the marking of the grave of Sergeant Patrick Gass, who accompanied Lewis and Clark on their memorable journey across the continent in the early days of the last century.

Gass, who was a resident of Wellsburg, W.Va., died there in 1870, aged 99. He was born in what is now Perry County, Pa., in 1771. We are to notice here that he lived in an eventful century. Had he been close enough, his infantile ears could have heard the shots at Lexington and Concord. He was old enough to remember the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, Va. We are to remember also that he was a contemporary of Napoleon Bonaparte. Gass was a soldier in the small Regular Army of the United States previous to the Second War with Great Britain (1812); too old to serve during the war with Mexico he yet lived five years after the close of our Civil War.

## Was With Lewis and Clark

His chief fame comes from his service with Lewis and Clark in that wonderful expedition of the small band of intrepid men, 46 in number, who crossed the North American continent in 1804-06. With the exception of President Jefferson's message to Congress, Gass gave to the world the first published account of that expedition in a small book, entitled "The Gass Journal" first printed in Pittsburgh by Zadok Cramer in 1807, and reprinted in Philadelphia in 1812.

J.G. Jacobs, for 50 years editor of the Wellburg Herald, published in Wellsburg, in 1859 a book, entitled "The Life and Times of Patrick Gass," etc. Both of these works are now rare. Almost a centenarian, Patrick Gass was older than the Republic when he passed away. It is fitting that he should be remembered and appropriately commemorated.

The Gazette Times story referred to below, which is accessible in the files of the paper in the Reference Room of the Carnegie Library, tells the salient events of his life. These were brought out by the writer of the story to Mr. Gass' daughter, who resides at present in the village of Independence, Washington county, Pa., who is the wife of George Brierly, formerly a rural mail carrier, and now retired.

## Gass' Romance

There will not be room today to go into Patrick Gass' biography. The romance of Gass and his good wife surely deserves mention. Mrs. Brierly told this story to The Gazette Times' correspondent in 1919:

"When over 60 he married; 15 years later his wife died, leaving him with six small children. At 75, had these children been his grandchildren there would have been nothing extraordinary about the fact, but a widower so encumbered at that advanced age is unusual surely. The combined span of his life and that of his surviving children 153 years after his birth, is sufficient to call forth notice aside from the recital of his exploits on field and in fort. We are justified in believing that a parallel case cannot be found in our country.

"Patrick Gass, who was supposed to be a confirmed bachelor, married in 1831. His wife was Miss Maria Hamilton and her home [was] near Wellsburg. The event created surprise in the community. People remarked: 'Strange that this old hero of so many adventures should be now taken captive by one of the opposite sex.'"

It may be remarked incidentally that for many years past, elopements have caused no excitement in Wellsburg.

"Mrs. Brierly relates the circumstances of her parents' love affair as follows:

"'My father had learned the carpenter trade and was working on a building that my Grandfather Hamilton was having

erected, and while thus engaged fell in love with my mother, who was an only daughter and then a young woman in her teens. She reciprocated and the result was a runaway match for my grandparents objected seriously on account of the disparity of the ages of the lovers. They walked many miles over the hills to Squire Plummer, who married them.'"

### As Told By Biographer

Gass' biographer, Editor Jacobs, refers to the story thus:

"'He had taken his place in the innumerable army of old bachelors and was deemed incorrigible by his acquaintances and the gentler sex. He who had fought the wild animals of the mountains, slept with the buffalo, on the plains, swam the Mississippi River, who ate unseasoned meat, even dog meat, faced the British at Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie, and fought his way through blood and flame, it was little thought would ever surrender to weak woman's smiles or winning ways, but people misjudged him or they were ignorant of human nature. At this time Hamilton had to cheer him a pretty daughter, whom he called Maria. She was blooming into womanhood, and thrown into the society of our hero, a mutual feeling spring up between the two and gradually doubtless wooed her with "tales of hair-breadth escapes and of perils by sea and land" and as she listened she doubtless breathed the wish as maidens often do, "that heaven had made her such a man.'"

"Shortly after the birth of Mrs. Brierly her mother died and as her father was then well advanced in years and no longer able to care for his family the children were put in other homes so she did not have an opportunity to talk with her father of the events of his life except when he came to visit her. She remembers well of his telling her of many events in his long life and especially those occurring during his journey across the unknown plains. His thrilling stories impressed themselves on her youthful memory and she has retained them almost verbatim. She says he recounted to her many times the hardships he endured on the Lewis and Clark expedition from cold and lack of proper food.

### Thrilling Story

The history of the Lewis and Clark expedition has been told at various lengths and in various volumes, and has never lost interest. It is one of the thrilling stories in our country's history, so today those who are not fully informed can find recourse to these works in our libraries. Naturally Mrs. Brierly has some carefully preserved relics of the expedition brought back by her father which no money can buy. One is the hatchet which he carried with him all through the long journey. Another memento is a small wooden razor box presented to him by an Indian princess of the Mandan tribe. It resembles in size an ordinary school pencil box and looks as bright and new as if it had been made recently. It reminds one of the boxes country school boys carve out of wood with a groove for the lid to slide in."

Patrick Gass' life story has been brought into view again in what we may call a peculiar way and the credit for this must be given to a man whose own life story is extraordinary; a man long past the allotted period of life; a hardy man with an active interest in the history of Montana, where he spent some eventful years and has not been forgotten there as will appear from extracts of Montana newspapers.

Several weeks ago an aged man came into the editorial rooms of The Gazette Times with a copy of the paper of June 1, 1919, which contained a story of Miss Frances E. Scott, a former school teacher of Washington county, entitled "Patrick Gass, Journalist—Tales of Centenarian." The stranger announced himself as David R. Weaver of Saxton, Bedford County, Pa. He asked the city editor how he could get to Burgettstown, Pa., as he wanted to see Miss Scott and interview her, and also to meet Mrs. Rachel Brierly, of Independence Washington county, Pa., a daughter of Patrick Gass. Mr. Weaver was not aware that Independence is 18 miles southwest of Burgettstown, and he did not have Miss Scott's address correctly.

### Monument Movements

When she was in correspondence with The Gazette Times in 1919, she resided at Hanlin's Station. The weather was severe, but that did not deter the rugged pioneer of the Montana Rockies, who forthwith took passage on the auto-bus and landed at the home of the Brierly's where he was most hospitably received and he obtained from Mrs. Brierly a succinct account of her father's life, took a number of pictures at the Brierly home, and obtained a picture of her father in his extreme old age and also one of his unmarked grave in the Brooke cemetery at Wellsburg, W.Va.

Mr. Weaver may tell his own story of his pilgrimage to the Brierly home as he has written it in a recent letter to the writer hereof and by solicitation has sent the writer hereof many newspaper accounts of his own eventful life and has detailed his plans to have the National Government erect a monument over the unmarked grave of Patrick Gass, to which end there is now pending a bill in Congress to which reference will be made further on in this story.

Now we are not to understand that Patrick Gass lies in an unknown, or neglected grave. What Mr. Weaver means is a grave not properly marked. Mr. Weaver's fear is that there may come a day when the graves will be lost, a fear shared by others. This will be

apparent in the reading of this story.

The extraordinary manner in which Mr. Weaver has revived interest in Patrick Gass and has undertaken to have him venerated in a practical and enduring monument, will become impressed upon our readers as we proceed to read his own account of it.

### Weaver's Letter

Mr. Weaver writes:

I will state that my visit to Mrs. Brierly was to have an interview with her and secure pictures of herself and the relics mentioned in Miss Scott's story; to illustrate stories quoted for the Newspaper Association of Montana with headquarters at Great Falls. This association numbers over a hundred Montana weeklies. I got that copy of The Gazette Times containing Miss Scott's interview with Mrs. Brierly soon after it was issued and put it in 'storage' hoping that I too might have a talk with Mrs. Brierly. I had waited six years when the opportunity had arrived, so armed with that copy of The Gazette Times I went to the newspaper office in Pittsburgh and was most cheerfully given the information I desired. When I learned that I had 18 miles to go to Independence I got aboard the auto-bus at Burgettstown and two others in turn before I reached my destination.

### Credits The Gazette Times

"When I went to Mrs. Brierly's home I did not know that her father's remains rested in an unmarked grave. In our conversation she expressed the regret that when she would be called from this world that her father's grave would be lost forever to posterity. So stick a pin in right here and say that it was that copy of The Gazette Times that I have kept for six years, and The Gazette Times that has started the movement to have a monument erected over the 'unmarked grave' of Patrick Gass, hero of the battle of Lundy's Lane and the last survivor of the Lewis and Clark Exploring Expedition of 1804-5-6."

Now we come to the mention of Mr. Weaver's endeavor to have the national government put up a monument to Patrick Gass. This is best told by publishing verbatim the following official copy:

**68th CONGRESS,**
**1st Session. S. 2893**
**IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES**
**March 21, 1924**

Mr. Elkins introduced the following bill: which was read twice and referred to the Committee on the Library.

---

A BILL

*Providing for the erection of monument over the grave of Patrick Gass, at Brooke Cemetery, Wellsburg, West Virginia, a soldier of the War of 1813, and the last surviving member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.*

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That there be erected, under the supervision of David B. Weaver, Colonel Samuel W. Miller, United States Army, retired, and Mrs. Milda Kyle, who shall serve without pay, other than incidental expenses in connection therewith, a monument over the grave of Patrick Gass, located at Brooke Cemetery, Wellsburg, West Virginia, a soldier of the War of 1812 and the last surviving member of the Lewis and Clarke Expedition, and there is appropriated therefor, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of $2,500.*

Mr. Weaver was already given publicity to his monument plans in the state of Montana, as the following clipping from the Park County News of March 14 last, printed at Livingston, Mont., evinces:

"Proof of the fact that the few survivors of pioneering days in Montana are still interested in the west, particularly Montana, is contained in a letter recently received by The News from David B. Weaver, pioneer prospector in the early days in Emigrant gulch, now living at Saxton, Pennsylvania, last survivor of pioneering days, made famous by such men as James and Granville Stuart, David R. Shorthill, Thomas Adams, Rezin Anderson, John White, William Gibson, Colonel McLean, William Fairweather, Henry Edgar and Frank Garret. Mr. Weaver is now engaged in a campaign to interest United States senators in the passage of a bill to erect a national monument over the unmarked grave of Patrick Gass, one of the three sergeants with the Lewis and Clarke expedition in 1804-5-6.

"Of interest to Livingston residents is the following extract from Mr. Weaver's letter:

"'On the Fourth of July, 1806, Captain Clarke divided his party at the three forks of the Missouri, leaving Sergeant Patrick Gass to descend the river below the falls, and to meet Captain Lewis at that place Captain Clarke, guided by Sacajawea, what is now known as the Bozeman Pass, across the divide, and down to near where the city of Livingston now stands and encamped. That was on the 15th day of July, 1806. Fifty-eight years later, and 60 years ago this summer, the writer of this letter camped on that same historic spot.

"'There are at this writing, but two living relatives of Patrick Gass, who died in West Virginia in 1870, 54 years ago, and who now lies in an unmarked grave. They are his two daughters, one living in California and the other, Mrs. Rachel Brierly, in Independence, Pa.

"'I went to see Mrs. Brierly last fall and told her that I had camped on the same places her father did when I was in Montana 60 years ago, and that I desired to have any Kodak pictures she might have of her father as well as any relics brought back from

this trip to Oregon. These she cheerfully granted me. I found her a fine and pleasant talker. She told me that her only regret was that when she should be called from this world by death, her parents' graves, being unmarked, would be lost to friends and posterity. I told her that I would endeavor to get funds by means of a bill through congress. If that failed then I would take the matter up with the D.A.R. This seemed to please her very much.

"'With that interview in mind, I have communicated with several United States senators during the past few months, particularly with Senator B.K. Wheeler of Montana and Senator Davis Elkins of West Virginia, with the promise of their aid in the matter of introducing a bill in congress providing for the erection of a monument over the unmarked grave of one whom I consider a known hero.'"

The repetition of what Mrs. Brierly said is allowable because it shows that the Montana people have been informed to Mrs. Brierly's one great desire. Mr. Weaver made a trip to New York city last week and called on the editor of the New York Times and showed him the pictures he had obtained while at Mrs. Brierly's and also the copy of the issue of The Gazette Times of June 1, 1919, containing Miss Scott's story. The editor retained these and promised to publish a story and thus further the Gass monument project.

Writing to The Gazette Times historian under date of March 14 lst, Mr. Weaver inquires, "If it had not been for a copy of The Gazette Times of June 1, 1919, with Miss Scott's story, falling into my hands, how, long would the 'unmarked grave' of Patrick Gass have remained unmarked?"

"Yes, The Gazette Times has been the real 'starter' to have a monument over the grave of the last survivor of the Lewis and Clark expedition. The monument matter will soon be noticed in the Associated Press dispatches and when the bill is on the congressional calendar it will receive editorial comment and you should lay claim to the fact that The Gazette Times was the beginning of the monument; and, if the bill becomes a law there will be a widespread inquiry about Patrick Gass and it will enlighten the public greatly if you reprint or rewrite Miss Scott's story; if so, I shall want a number of copies of the paper containing such an article."

## Movement Furthered

Mr. Weaver has been in correspondence with Senator Elkins of West Virginia and Senator Wheeler of Montana. Senator Elkins named the commission mentioned in the bill at Mr. Weaver's suggestion. Col. Miller and Mrs. Kyle, the latter a resident of East Pittsburgh. Col. Miller is a retired officer of the United States Army. Mrs. Kyle was formerly a school teacher in Huntingdon county, Pa. Senator Elkins named Mr. Weaver first on the commission. Mr. Weaver states that he has known Col. Miller since his cadet days at West Point and that the Colonel readily accepted the appointment. Mr. Weaver is optimistic. He has great faith in the success of his project. In his letter of March 18th from New York he says: "If all things 'pan out' all right there will be a big time at the unveiling of this monument and, of course, being a national matter, the entire press of the United States will note the news. I know the Pittsburgh Gazette Times will not be remiss in giving the public all the news relating to the subject that I have written about."

To the question how he became so greatly interested in the life story of Patrick Gass, Mr. Weaver replied: "When I was a schoolboy in Huntingdon county, Pa., my grandfather had a copy of the original edition of Patrick Gass' 'Journal' and, like other boys, I delighted in reading of the Indians, bears and buffalo and of the great West. So greatly was I impressed with these stories that I resolved that when I got big and had money enough I would try to see the country traveled over by Patrick Gass when with Lewis and Clark. After working in the coal mines of Broad Top and saving enough money, the year 1864 found my face looking westward to the Rocky Mountains."

## Crossed the Plains

Mr. Weaver is a native of Huntingdon county and in his youth was a coal miner by occupation. With David R. Shorthill he traveled to Iowa City, Iowa, where they outfitted with ox teams and crossed the plains to Montana. Here Mr. Weaver remained for two years, and then went to San Francisco and later to Contra Costa county, California, where he worked in the coal mines of Mount Diablo, but in short time returned to Pennsylvania. He has made several trips to Montana in recent years to attend meetings of the Montana Society of Pioneers. He has gone down into the history of that state with his pals as the discoverers of the fifth placer mine in the state. These were in Emigrant gulch, Yellowstone Valley, where gold was found in paying quantities by Shorthill, Weaver and Frank Garret on the thirtieth day of August, 1864, being 45 days after Last Chance discovery. These were the first widely separated and distinct mining camps, and not local to each other, where gold was discovered before September 1, 1864.

The Last Chance discovery was on the creek of that name, July 15, 1864.

Of the 23 men concerned in discovering gold in five placer mines between May, 1858, and September, 1864, Mr. Weaver is the last survivor.

PARTNERSHIPS
*Cont. from p. 15*

to guide them, the workshop participants broke into small focus group of states, government representatives, tribal representatives, economic development and tourism groups and others, to share resources, identify projects and priorities.

I joined the sovereign nations group for the focus on tribes. Their focus was how to tell the Native American side of the Lewis and Clark story. Equal partners with all the other participants was their goal. Pointing out that Lewis and Clark were equal participants with the tribes, they noted that Sacagawea is North Dakota's best known citizen.

In a later workshop, Allen Pinkham, a Nez Perce, a member of the Bicentennial council's board and Forest Service tribal liaison; Calvin Grinnell, a member of the Three Affiliated Tribes of North Dakota and the North Dakota Bicentennial Council; and Jeanne Eder, also a member of the Bicentennial Council's board, a Dakota and member of the Montana Bicentennial Committee urged people to include Indian voices in their planning and told of the Indian efforts for reconciliation (see News Update on page 33).

One of the most exciting parts of the entire program was hearing reports from the various states, regional groups, tribes and federal organizations about bicentennial projects planned, underway and completed.

Picking one at random from notes I took at a luncheon, Darold Jackson, reporting on the midwest states of Missouri, Illinois, Kansas, Ohio and Michigan, said a $4 million renovation of the Camp Wood Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center is underway, Illinois and Missouri are working on a plan to connect

*"We had an escort to the Knife River Villages."*

Lewis and Clark trails in both states, group tours are planned along the trail, the Missouri Historical Society has been tracking down all the Lewis and Clark exhibits around the U.S. and will have an exhibit, the replicas of Lewis and Clark boats will be finished and on the river, and the St. Louis Arch (Jefferson Memorial) will have a special exhibit. Also, the Tavern Cave development and interpretation are underway, four expedition member gravesites are in Missouri (Clark, Colter, Shannon and Frazier), the Katy Trail is being rebuilt along the Missouri, the Lewis and Clark State Park at Arrow Rock, Missouri is being refurbished, a new interpretive center is going to be built on the Missouri side of the Missouri River overlooking the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers and interpretive signs are being placed across midwest states. Ohio will have a bicentennial newsletter in 2003, the St. Charles (MO) interpretive center is gearing up and a 14 foot statue of Lewis, Clark and Sacagawea is being dedicated in Frontier Park in St. Charles as I write this. And, public interest in the bicentennial is growing with two new Lewis and Clark chapters being started on the west and southern sides of Missouri.

One item that was not in the report, but which I received notice of today was that a group was heading out (late May) to a hill north of Jefferson City, Missouri to check out a report of a newly discovered Lewis and Clark site.

One thing that Dave Borlaug, the chair of the North Dakota Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Foundation at Washburn and host of the workshop, and those wonderful North Dakotans do is plan good tours. We spent a late afternoon and an evening touring the year-old North Dakota Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center, Fort Mandan and the Knife River Indian Village National Historic Site and enjoyed a sumptuous dinner served by the ladies of the Stanton Civic Club assisted by the Boy Scouts.

The last event at the workshop was a luncheon featuring Steve Ambrose as the speaker. He talked about the importance of the Native American involvement during the expedition and said, "Look around with awareness, don't look back in anger."

He cautioned the planners to be

aware of the tremendous challenge of crowd control and adequate rest facilities during the bicentennial. "Everybody is going to want to be on the trail," he noted. "You're going to have to rent a lot of porta-potties and have police and emergency service ready. Imagine 10,000 people at Lemhi Pass on the Fourth of July. Be prepared."

Ambrose talked about his envy of Meriwether Lewis, who took the greatest camping trip of all time, and dined alone with Thomas Jefferson who was his private tutor. Lewis was the first literate person to hear a meadow lark sing and first to step over the Continental Divide. Ambrose envies him most for his friendship with William Clark. Lewis gave Clark "an invitation to greatness". They were equals and nowhere in the journals is it recorded that they argued or criticized each other. After the expedition was finished Lewis "pushed hard" for equal treatment for Clark. He was the first to refer to the expedition as the Lewis and Clark Expedition. At Clark's wedding to Julia Hancock, Lewis gave Julia a complete set of Shakespeare. Ambrose closed by saying Lewis and Clark demonstrated there is nothing men cannot do if they get together and cooperate and then he reiterated the importance of friendship.

*Stephen and Moira Ambrose received several gifts from a representative of the Three Affiliated Tribes following his luncheon address.*

At the conclusion of his remarks he was presented with a pair of handmade beaded white moccasins as a gift from the Three Affiliated Tribes, symbolic of the same gift given to William Clark nearly 200 years ago.

Earlier keynote speaker Senator Bryan Dorgan had given another view of the changes since the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

"It is hard today in America to have heroes," he said. "Lewis and Clark are true heroes. If they tried today to get an appropriation to buy whiskey for an expedition...if they sought a $2500 secret fund to explore an unknown wasteland, Congress would probably start an investigation."

# The Wild and Scenic Missouri River... The Degradation of a National Treasure

To whom it may concern:

I am writing this letter with a sense of urgency on behalf of Montana's Upper Missouri Wild and Scenic River (UMWSR). With the upcoming Lewis and Clark Bicentennial rapidly approaching, visitations on the river are growing at an alarming rate. It is likely that visitor days doubled between the 1996 and 1997 river seasons. Visitation will certainly continue to increase again in 1998 and in future years. In what was not an isolated incident, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) counted 138 canoes on one portion of the river in a single afternoon this past season. The BLM needs to control overcrowding of this historical resource.

As river use has multiplied, existing desirable campsites have become overused and frequently overcrowded, diminishing the experience for all river travelers. Sites that would be otherwise desirable are repelling because they are extensively grazed in the hot season. If campers try to use these areas they inherit bare dirt, fresh manure, and flies. Fencing cattle out of six or eight additional campsites of from six acres to a quarter section would help alleviate this critical, immediate problem.

The riparian areas of the river have deteriorated to a critical condition. Within twenty years long stretches of the river will become a treeless, shadeless, near desert environment. Future generations of river travelers will not be able to enjoy the cottonwoods they read about in the Lewis and Clark Journals. While some factors in this tragedy are not easily controlled by the BLM, the agency has a mandate to control the leading cause: hot season grazing. Extensive hot season grazing is devastating riparian ecosystems on the UMWSR. There can be no question that the riparian areas on the river have deteriorated beyond the limits of acceptability.

I do not oppose responsible livestock grazing in the UMWSR corridor. Working ranches dependent on BLM grazing permits are an important part of the local economy and culture. Many of the ranchers are to be praised for their conservation efforts and good neighbor policies. What I do oppose is grazing that degrades the health of riparian areas on the river, grazing that makes

*(Wild and Scenic continued on page 26)*

WILD AND SCENIC MISSOURI
*Cont. from p. 25*

it hard for a reasonable number of people to enjoy traveling on to river, grazing that does not conform with the management plans for the river corridor, and grazing that does not comply with the terms of an allotment holders permit. There is room on the UMWSR for a variety of interest groups, but all of these groups must be responsible stewards of the land.

We have suddenly arrived at a critical time for the future of the wild Missouri. With uncontrolled acceleration of river use, overcrowded and overgazed campsites, mass destruction of riparian habitat, and the ominous threat of future subdivisions; it is painfully obvious that the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) needs to make Montana's Wild and Scenic River a high priority in its management plans. If immediate action is not taken we are risking everything we love about this national treasure.

Fortunately, a window of opportunity exists to preserve and enhance the UMWSR in a quality condition for our children's children. if we act now the crown jewel of the National Lewis and Clark Trail can be preserved for posterity.

Missouri River Regards
Larry J. Cook
Missouri River Outfitters

# Pioneers Honored at Western Historic Trails Center

On October 5, 1997, the Western Historic Trails Center in Council Bluffs, Iowa opened its doors as an educational reminder of those who pioneered the West and how the westward trails they traversed relate to travel today.

> *Out of the true and simple records [of their] lives upon the Trail may come something that will help the youth of this and other generations to appreciate the making of America.*
>
> *—Ezra Meeker, 1906*

The Western Historic Trails Center hosts a collection of resources capturing accounts of the western migration along the Lewis and Clark, Mormon, Oregon and California trails with interactive photograph and video exhibits, sculptures and film detailing the pioneer travelers and Indian tribes across the Great Plains, the experiences these travelers endured, sacrifices made and legacies they left behind.

While there were many points along the Missouri River where travelers left for the great westward migrations to Oregon, California, Utah, Colorado and to other future western states and territories, the northernmost point covering the Council Bluffs, Omaha, and Bellevue area was the most important during the overall covered wagon migration period, 1841-1866. The Western Historic Trails Center is both a historically and geographically significant location.

Visiting the center is an experience families will not soon forget. Nestled and blending into the Missouri River levee, the building is preluded by a "Path of Names," a granite structure etched with the names of pioneers and Native Americans who crossed the plains. Flanking the path of hand-cut stones that leads to the Center is a 75-foot-long granite sculpture depicting a cross-section of North America from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. A lobby wall is adorned with postcards sent by modern-day adventurers who have traveled the trails in recent years.

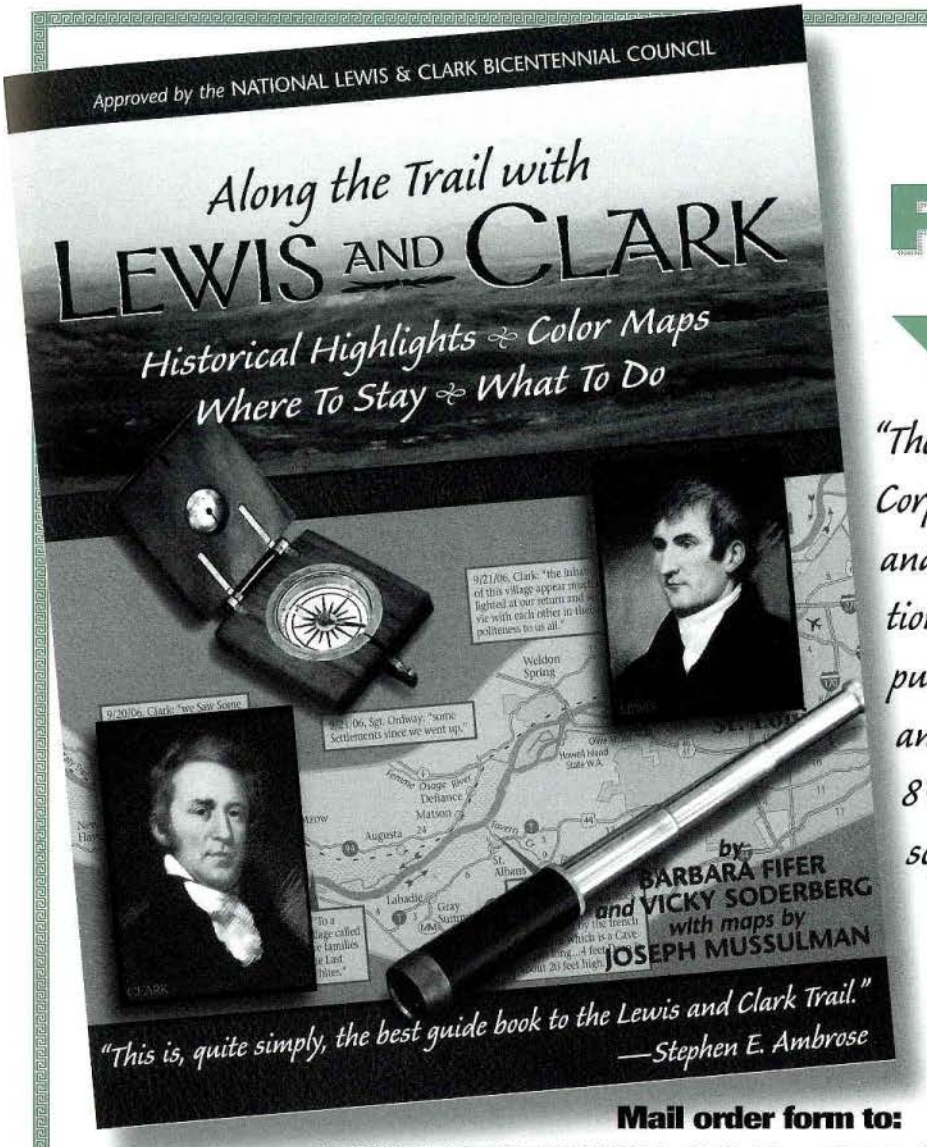
The first exhibit at the trails center show a large wooden map of the United States with the four historic trails marked and the exhibit allows a guest to press buttons and have the entire trail light up or a portion of the trail lit. On each side of this map are copies of four historic engravings—one on each of the four trails.

Another area of the exhibit hall of the Western Historic Trails Center is called "People and Their Experiences." This area houses 10 different historical scenes which give perspective of individuals and groups who participated intentionally and unintentionally; willingly and unwillingly in the western trails movement. The trails are about people. Historical human figures and their environments are displayed through hand-cut, oil painted polychrome aluminum sculptures created by New York artist Timothy Woodman.

Historical Sites Coordinator Steve Ohrn calls the center a sophisticated interpretive encounter. "We want people to think of the trails center as a menu," said Ohrn. "A main purpose of the site is to act as a catalyst for people to see our history in new light...and we will encourage tourists to stick around and see other sights in the area."

Also available in the facility, as part of the Iowa Welcome Center information area, are trail maps and brochures from many other southwestern Iowa towns and historical sites.

The Western Historic Trails Center is operated by the State Historical Society of Iowa, and is located at 3434 S. 34th Street (Richard Downey Ave.), just off the South 24th Street exit of 1-80 in Council Bluffs, Iowa. Open 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily except Thanksgiving, Christmas and New Year's Day. Admission is free. For more information on the Western Historic Trails Center, call (712) 366-4900.

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# ANDREW ELLICOTT

## *Astronomer...mathematician...surveyor*

**This is the first in a series of articles the Philadelphia Chapter of Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is planning on the mentors of Meriwether Lewis in the Philadelphia area.**

by Nancy M. Davis

In his lifetime, Andrew Ellicott earned a reputation as a man of integrity and ability. The man who loved the stars and science was known for his "honesty of purpose," a trait highly valued by those who commissioned him to survey the boundaries of states and countries. The accuracy of his work is demonstrated today by the lines themselves which in almost every instance remain unchanged. Add to this the difficulty posed by the inaccuracy of the instruments of the time and one must admire both the man and his methodology.[1]

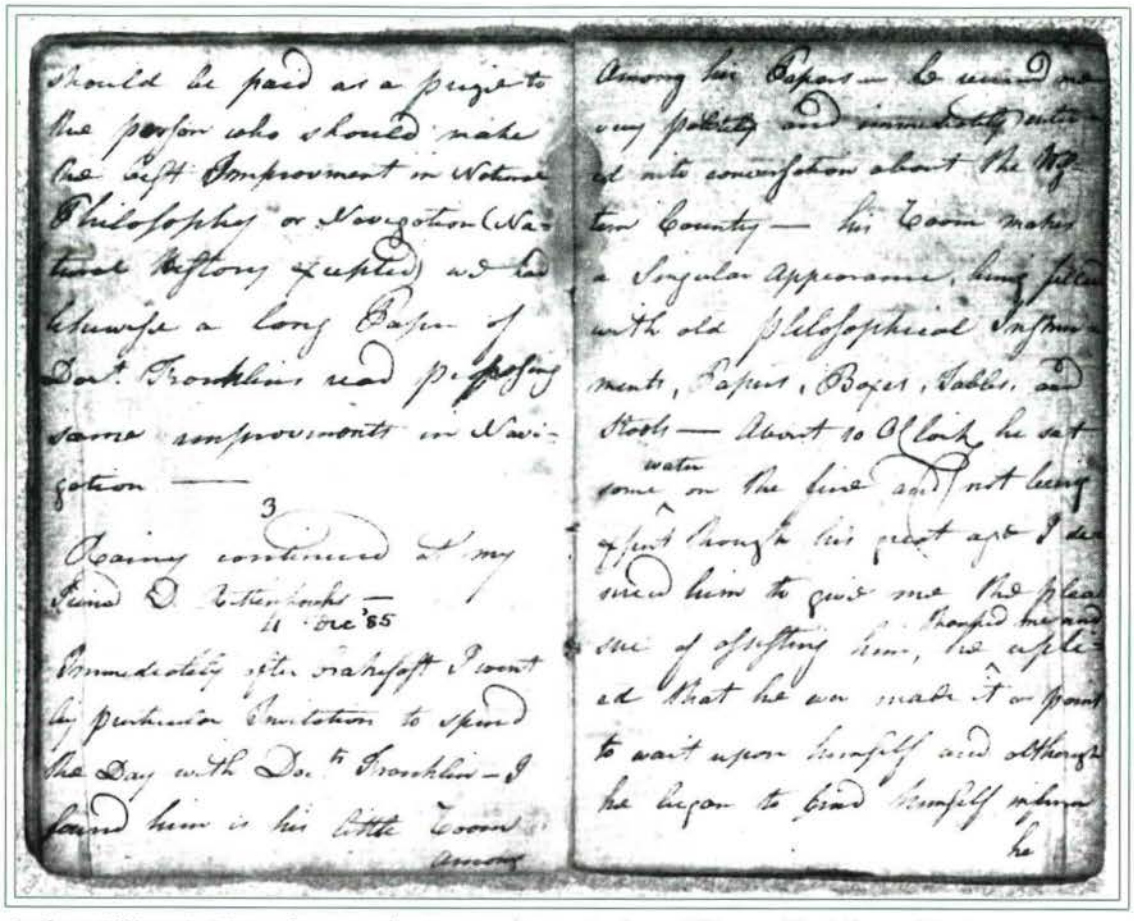
He was trusted by George Washington to survey the boundary between the US and Florida and at the same time spy on one of his own generals. Thomas Jefferson knew that Ellicott had run the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Ellicott had surveyed the nearly uninhabited wilderness of western Pennsylvania, had dealt with native Americans, and knew what it meant to take observations in difficult circumstances. Here was a worthy advisor for Meriwether Lewis.

Like Lewis, Ellicott was an oldest son. He was born on January 24, 1754, to Joseph and Judith (Bleaker) Ellicott, of Dutch and Quaker lineage.[2] In 1770 his father and uncles bought a "large tract of wild land on the Patapsco River" and in 1774 founded the town of Ellicott Mills, now Ellicott City, Maryland.[3] Ellicott had a minimal education, but as a youth he showed mechanical talents, and eventually studied in Philadelphia with Robert Patterson. The level of his mechanical abilities must have been apparent early in life for by the time he was fifteen his father allowed him to assist in the construction of a musical clock, one that played several melodies for the enjoyment of the Ellicott family. In his teens, Ellicott had taken to hand making transits.

*Andrew Ellicott (from a miniature painted in New Orleans in 1799), from Catherine Mathews,* Andrew Ellicott, His Life and Letters, *Grafton Press, 1908, with permission from the American Philosophical Society.*

Then he fell in love, and at the age of 21, in 1775, Ellicott married Sarah Brown of Newtown, Pennsylvania. and the couple moved to Ellicott Upper Mills in Maryland.[4] They would have ten children together, nine surviving to adulthood... His many letters to her throughout their lives unabashedly reveal his love and concern for her, as well as his willingness and need to entrust her with his true thoughts and feelings, especially when politics made it imprudent to reveal them to others. His letters show his capacity for wit and sarcasm, and reveal a cultured man, a philosophical man, one who could read

*Sarah Ellicott, from Catherine Mathews,* Andrew Ellicott, His Life and Letters, *Grafton Press, 1908, with permission from the American Philosophical Society.*



*Andrew Ellicott's Diary, from Catherine Mathews,* Andrew Ellicott, His Life and Letters, *Grafton Press, 1908, with permission from the American Philosophical Society.*

and speak French effortlessly[5]. When Ellicott was 44 he said that art, literature and science were the very foundation of civilization and without them a man was fated to a life of ignorance and barbarism.[6]

He was also a man of contradiction. Though raised in the Society of Friends, Ellicott enlisted in the Maryland militia shortly after his marriage, serving during the Revolutionary War. He attained the rank of major,[7] a title many used to address or speak of him throughout his life. He seems to have always been content with his decision to serve in the military even though such service is not in keeping with Quaker philosophy. Perhaps more disturbing to Ellicott was that sometimes on surveys he would be forced to hire slaves because there was no other labor available, a difficult decision for he believed that slavery was a moral wrong and personally condemned it.

After the war, he returned to Fountainvale, the family home in Ellicott Upper Mills, and published a series of almanacs, 'The United States Almanack.' (The earliest known copy is dated 1782.)[8] In 1784, he was appointed as the Virginia member of the group of surveyors to continue the Mason Dixon line from the point where it was dropped in 1767.[9] This area was still largely uninhabited wilderness. As a youth, studying science and practical mechanics in Philadelphia, Ellicott had been impressed by Mason and Dixon, the two English mathematicians who had been sent to draw the long contested boundary between Pennsylvania and Maryland.[10]

After the death of his second son, in 1785, Ellicott moved his family to Baltimore. He taught mathematics at the Academy of Baltimore. In 1786, he served a term in the Maryland legislature and in the same year, was appointed a member of the Pennsylvania commissions to run the west and north boundaries of Pennsylvania. The commission to run the west boundary included David Rittenhouse and Andrew Porter as fellow Pennsylvania commissioners. The commission for the north boundary included a visit to Philadelphia to meet New York commissioners General James Clinton and Simeon DeWitt. Ellicott observed the general to be "a thoughtfull old Gentleman" and DeWitt to be quite talented and observant for his years.[11] His visits to Philadelphia included calls on Rittenhouse and Benjamin Franklin and through them he met other mem-

bers of the Philosophical Society. In 1788, he was appointed to survey the islands in the Ohio and the Allegheny Rivers within Pennsylvania boundaries.

In 1789, the Ellicotts moved to Philadelphia. Ellicott enlisted the aid of Franklin to receive a position with the new federal government and George Washington appointed him to survey the land lying between Pennsylvania and Lake Erie.[12] The survey would determine whether the site of the present city of Erie, Pennsylvania was then located in western New York or in the territory of the United States. To determine the line, Ellicott used a transit and equal altitude instrument that he himself had made and the resulting state boundary line was very accurate. The instrument was then often used in important cases.[13] While there he made the first topographical study of the Niagara River and Falls, and in a letter to Benjamin Rush, described the falls. His were the acknowledged measurements in books describing the falls for the next 80 years.[14]

These first commissions provided him with the society of Franklin, Rittenhouse and other members of the Philosophical Society. But it would be the survey at Lake Erie that would establish his reputation, a reputation for accuracy that would lead him to Washington, DC to survey the land ceded by Virginia and Maryland for the new capitol. In February, he began the survey of the 10 square mile area designated as the new location for the federal seat of government.[15] Ellicott had not agreed with the choice of location for the city, preferring Philadelphia, especially as he tramped through the last area to be surveyed for the new capitol. Not wanting to let President Washington know his true feelings, he instead wrote to his wife and told her that the land around Philadelphia could no more be comPennsylvaniared to the land for the new capitol than a "crane to a stall-fed ox."[16]

Serving under Superintendent L'Enfant as principal surveyor, he surveyed the land, and eventually laid out the streets and building sites. After Jefferson dismissed L'Enfant, Ellicott redrew the plan for the engraver incorporating Jefferson's revisions and this plan became known as the Ellicott Plan.[17]

In 1792 he was appointed Surveyor General of the United States[18] and in 1794, Governor Mifflin of Pennsylvania appointed him one of the commissioners to lay out the town of Presqu'Isle (Erie). He spent the next 2 years plotting out a road through the wildest part of Pennsylvania, from Reading to Presqu'Isle. The next year, 1795, Ellicott was made superintendent of the building of Fort Erie, and was employed in laying out the towns of Erie, Franklin and Warren. He dealt with the native Americans in the area and made recommendations to Governor Mifflin as to the possibilities of the area for settlement.[19]

George Washington commissioned him to survey the border between the U.S. and Florida in 1796. He traveled via the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers with a military escort. Although Spain managed to delay the commission one year, Ellicott proved to be competent diplomat. In 1798, while on the U.S./Florida survey, Ellicott sent a coded letter to the State Department describing information he had secretly received regarding the receipt by four Americans of annual stipends from Spain. One of the four Americans was General James Wilkinson.[20] Ellicott's actions would later affect his own career. In 1799, he made the observation of the Florida coast by boat and "located the line with Spanish Commissioners." In May of 1799, he saw the transit of Mercury and on November 12, at Key Largo, he was awestruck as he witnessed hours of shooting stars, from 2 a.m. until daylight. He said the stars lit up the sky and flew in every direction. He hired a sloop back to Philadelphia and ended up having to assist the instrument-shy captain with his own.[21]

In 1800 he submitted his report of the U.S./Florida survey to the Adams administration,[22] but he was never compensated, and later the administration refused him access to the charts he had made when Ellicott was publishing his journals. Thomas Jefferson would later release the charts to Ellicott.[23] In 1803 he published his journals of the U.S./Florida survey with maps and observations. (The Journal of Andrew Ellicott, Late Commissioner on Behalf of the United States...1796...1800).[24] In the publication, he states a case in favor of the Louisiana Purchase as a method of keeping the western states as part of the US. It is the maps of the Mississippi that were included in this publication that Secretary of the Treasury Gallatin advised Nicholas King to use in making his new map of North America commissioned for the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Two other events occurred in Ellicott's life in 1803. Governor McKean of Pennsylvania appointed him Secretary of the Pennsylvania Land Office[25] requiring the Ellicott family to move to Lancaster, Pennsylvania. And Thomas Jefferson consulted Ellicott for advice in planning the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Ellicott responded to Jefferson with preliminary recommendations of equipment to be used on the expedition.

Andrew Ellicott was 49 when he accepted Jefferson's request to instruct Lewis in the taking of field and celestial observations. He

made equipment recommendations to Jefferson while he was planning the expedition. He trained Lewis, regulated the expedition's chronometer and oversaw the construction of a sextant and portable horizon. In an effort to facilitate the expedition's ability to take accurate readings in difficult terrain, he developed a new type of artificial horizon for the sextant.

On March 6th 1803 Ellicott wrote to Jefferson, happily agreeing to see and train Meriwether Lewis in the art of celestial and field observations. He recommended an Arnold chronometer for the expedition and explained that for Lewis practice was most important in developing the skill of deftly taking observations. He noted that the calculations would be made after the return of the expedition and that this was not an unusual practice. He went on to discuss artificial horizons and methodologies for determining accurate latitude and longitude.[26] Ellicott corresponded with Jefferson on April 18th that although an order for a sextant and portable horizon had come to him from someone else, he sensed it was in fact for Captain Lewis and had arranged for the instrument to be made locally with his supervision. In this letter Ellicott referred to publishing his journal from the Florida survey and went on to describe plans to publish "a small treatise on practical astronomy as connected with geography for the use of such persons as may be exploring our extensive western regions..."[27]

On April 20, 1803, Meriwether Lewis wrote Jefferson that he had arrived in Lancaster, had called upon Ellicott, and had begun taking observations with Ellicott's guidance. Lewis described Ellicott as "extremely friendly and attentive...and is disposed to render me every aid in his power..."[28] Ellicott taught Lewis how to use a sextant and octant and take observations. By the month of May, 1803, both Ellicott and Robert Patterson had become convinced that the theodolite would be too fragile for the expedition and would actually be more inaccurate in obtaining longitude that the sextant. To Lewis they additionally recommended two sextants, two artificial horizons, one good Arnold's chronometer, one surveyor's compass, with a ball and socket and two pole chain and one set plotting instruments.

Ellicott continued to serve as the secretary of the Pennsylvania Land Office until 1808 when he was removed by incoming Governor Snyder whose political party was a supporter of General Wilkinson. His removal from office is perhaps not surprising since, in the late 1790's, Ellicott had submitted evidence to the State Department of Wilkinson's intrigues with Spain in the southern territory. Ellicott was angry enough about his removal from office to anonymously publish criticisms of Governor Snyder and his supporters in the newspaper.[29]

In the winter of 1810 to 1811, Ellicott spent much time in Washington on 'Wilkinson's business' and Ellicott wrote to his brother "...Mr. and Mrs. Madison treated me with the greatest respect, and attention, and consulted me confidentially on some very important points. I am convinced Mr. Madison, would oblige me with pleasure, and is only deterred from the fear of offending the present ruling power in this state, whose animosity appears to know no bounds." That spring, Snyder's administration continued to harass him when, by formal resolution, they denied him the use of the commonwealth's telescope which when entrusted to him as secretary of the Pennsylvania Land Office he had sent to London to be repaired. He writes in a letter "On its being returned it was set up and made use of both for making astronomical observations and to gratify the curiosity of such members of the legislature as had a desire to view the stars and planets But when Mr. Snyder became governor the scene was changed, science and literature became obnoxious to men whose uncultivated minds could not comprehend their use to society. So thought and so acted the goths and vandals when they first invaded Italy...The telescope of the commonwealth is now useless and being in the hands of ignorant incompetent persons who neither know its use nor how to manage it when set up, will if science should ever again be revived in Pennsylvania, have once more to be sent to Europe to be repaired. Fortunately having an accromatic telescope of my own my observations have not been entirely suspended." When friends in Philadelphia planned to build an observatory as an extension to the University and Philosophical Society on State House land, with Ellicott as director, the lower State House proposed a resolution to sell the property. The plan was abandoned.[30]

In 1811 he was commissioned to run the line of Georgia's northern boundary. He left in July and returned in May of 1812.[31] During the survey he and his team slept on the ground, even in winter. On Christmas Day they cleared timber. When they climbed the Chatoga mountain their clothes and skin were torn by briars until, as Ellicott says "the blood trickled off the ends of all my fingers." When the survey was finished Ellicott, at the age of 57, walked almost 200 miles on foot to meet with the Governor of Georgia. Throughout his career, Ellicott experienced difficulties in collecting his salary and ex-

penses for surveys. For all his renown, he often had to endure financial embarrassment. The Georgia survey was no different. When Ellicott's survey determined that the state's northern boundary had been set 18 miles too far to the north, the governor and the State of Georgia only managed to render enough money to cover personal expenses, never compensating Ellicott with the contracted amount of three thousand dollars.[32]

Not long after, in 1813, Ellicott moved to New York State, having accepted a position at the relatively new West Point Academy as professor of mathematics.[33] He had confessed to his brother in a letter a few years earlier that he felt more attached to his home in Lancaster than any other. He loved his garden, and was proud of the grape vines and fruit trees, especially the peaches, that he had worked so hard to encourage. In 1817, he traveled to Montreal, Canada to make astronomical observations to fulfill requirements of the Treaty of Ghent.[34]

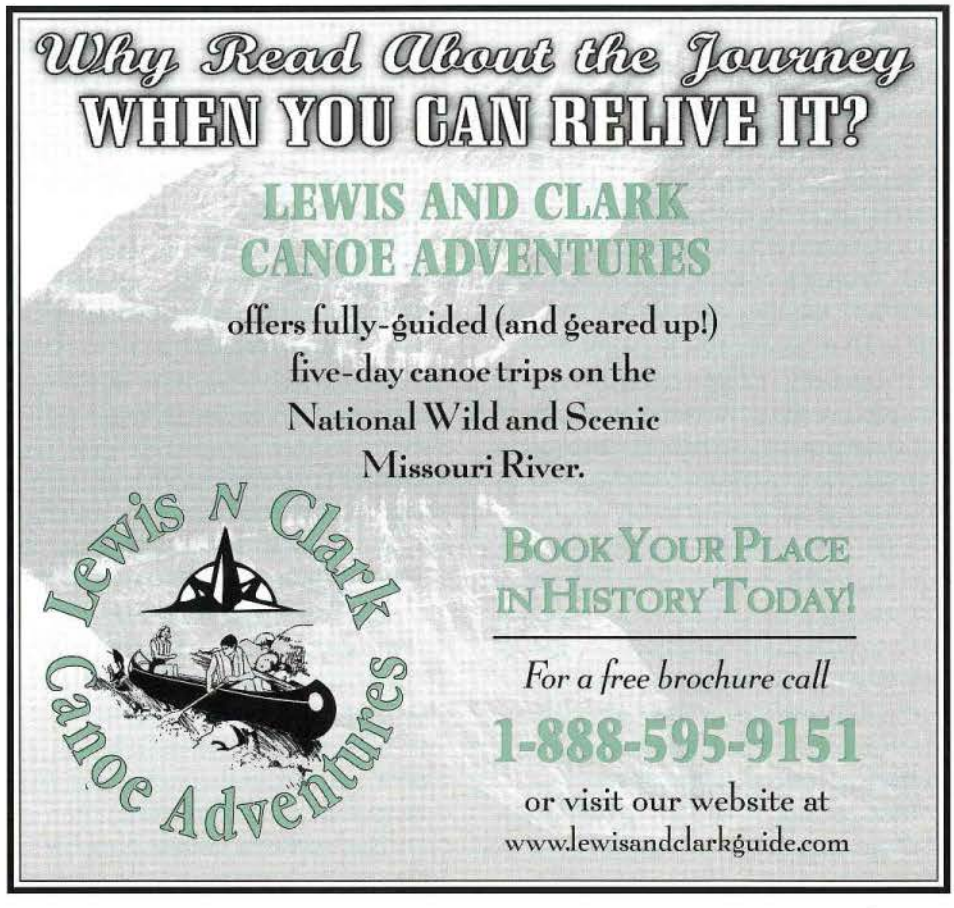
The end of his life came suddenly. He had shown no sign of ill health or slowing down. But at the age of 66, Ellicott was stricken with apoplexy on August 25th, 1820, after a visit to New York to see his daughter and son-in-law, the Griffiths. He died at home in West Point three days later, August 28, 1820. He was survived by his wife and nine children.[35]

A friend said of him that he "was always looking up at the stars."[36] Astronomy was the love of Ellicott's life excluding his very obvious affection for Sarah. The quality of his survey work raised the level of American surveying and cartography. More important was the accuracy of his work and the integrity of his character to the formation and stability of a young, growing nation.

**—FOOTNOTES—**

[1]Mathews, Catherine Van Cortlandt. *Andrew Ellicott His Life and Letters*. New York: The Grafton Press, 1908, pp. 245-246.
[2]"Andrew Ellicott," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. VI, 1937 ed., p. 89.
[3]"Andrew Ellicott," *Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, Vol. II, 1887 ed., p 327.
[4]*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 89.
[5]Mathews, p. 216.
[6]*The American Family History*, courtesy of The Historic Preservation Trust of Lancaster County, p. 163.
[7]*The American Family History*, p. 163.
[8]*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 89.
[9]*Ibid.*
[10]*Ibid.*
[11]Mathews, p. 57.
[12]*Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, p. 327.
[13]*The American Family History*, p. 157.
[14]Mathews, pp. 78-79.
[15]*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 89.
[16]Mathews, p. 89.
[17]*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 89.
[18]*Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, p. 327.
[19]Mathews, p. 116.
[20]*Ibid.*
[21]*The American Family History*, p. 160-161.
[22]*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 90.
[23]*The American Family History*, p. 161.
[24]*Dictionary of American Biography*, p. 90.
[25]*Appleton's Cyclopedia of American Biography*, pp. 327-328.
[26]Jackson, Donald, editor. *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related documents*, 1783-1854. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1962, pp. 23-24.
[27]Jackson, pp. 36-37.
[28]*Ibid*, pp. 39-40.
[29]Mathews, pp. 214-215.
[30]*Ibid*, pp. 217-219.
[31]*Ibid*, pp. 219, 255-226.
[32]*Ibid*, pp. 225-226.
[33]*The American Family History*, p. 162.
[34]"Andrew Ellicott," *Biographical Dictionary of American Science, The Seventeenth Through the Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Clark Elliott, Greenwood Press, 1979, p. 84.
[35]*The American Family History*, p. 163.
[36]*Ibid*, p. 156.

**About the author...**
Foundation member Nancy Davis is an interior designer for large commercial projects.



# News U-P-D-A-T-E

by Martin Erickson

**"Almost Heroes," a slapstick comedy about two explorers who try to beat Lewis and Clark to the West Coast, opened in theaters May 29th. It stars the late comedian Chris Farley and "Friends'" Matthew Perry. Any volunteers for reviews?**

## University of Montana honors author Ambrose with degree

Stephen Ambrose was in good company indeed when he was recently awarded an honorary Doctor of Letters degree from the University of Montana. Pulitzer Prize-winning Montana journalist Mel Ruder, former owner of the Hungry Horse (Mont.) News, also received the same honorary degree. Ruder won the 1965 Pulitzer for his coverage of the devastating 1964 floods. He also co-founded the Montana Newspaper Hall of Fame. Ambrose, who has written more than 20 books, became a best-seller with "Undaunted Courage" and continued with "Citizen Soldiers".

*—Great Falls (MT) Tribune*

## Reconciliation comes first, Indians say

Bad relations between Indian people and the United States government, years after the Lewis and Clark Expedition, can't be ignored as the nation prepares to acknowledge the bicentennial of the American Odyssey.

There is a need for ceremonies of reconciliation and native people need to be consulted on planning for the bicentennial, three Indian speakers told participants at the National Bicentennial Council meeting in Bismarck, North Dakota in May. (See article page 15 ).

"Some of our people say, 'Why get involved? What good did it (the Lewis and Clark Expedition) do?" Nez Perce and member of the national bicentennial council, Allen Pinkham, said.

Between 1805, when the explorers first met the Nez Perce, and 1855, there were relatively good relations between the U.S. government and the tribe but the Nez Perce War of 1877 put and end to that, he said. In that war, a 32-member band under Chief Red Heart was put in prison in Fort Vancouver, Washington, because they would not sign a treaty.

To heal themselves, the Nez Perce have been holding healing ceremonies along the Nez Perce Trail and at Fort Vancouver. Non-Indians are included in the ceremonies.

As a reason why the Nez Perce should be involved in the bicentennial, Pinkham said, "This is our homeland, as well as our neighbors' homeland.

For the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara people, it is important that their contributions to the expedition are acknowledged, Calvin Grinnel, a member of the Three Affiliated Tribes and of the North Dakota Bicentennial Council, said.

A member of the Assiniboine and Sioux Reservation in Montana and a member of the Montana Governor's Bicentennial Commission for Lewis and Clark, Jeanne Eder, urged people to include Indian voices in their planning. Eder, who portrays Sacagawea and other historical Indian women characters, talked about the importance of oral histories. "If the young people would ask," she said, "the old people would remember."

*—Bismarck (ND) Tribune*

## Interpretive Center Opens

After years of dreaming, planning, lobbying, fund raising. designing and building, the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center opened at 9 a.m. on May 5th.

The community has been working for more than a dozen years to develop the center. The idea was suggested by the late Bob Bivens in a goal-setting session during the city's centennial in 1984.

Center Director Jane Weber had no idea what kind of crowds to expect, but booked two groups of students for early morning and early afternoon tours most weekdays in May.

The center has 5,500 square feet of exhibits that track the Lewis and Clark's 1804-1806 trek from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean and back, a journey which captured the nation's imagination and was responsible for opening the American West.

Indians were crucial to the success of the expedition, and the center has major exhibits on the Mandans, the Shoshone and the Nez Perce.

The center, near Giant Springs Heritage State Park, is built low to the ground in block forms that resemble chunks of sandstone. Its exterior is done in muted striations of sage, green and light tan, colors that seem to blend from a distance with the surrounding prairie grasses. It is built into a cliff above the Missouri River, providing a spectacular view.

*—Great Falls (MT) Tribune*

## Professor has big role in explorer's fete

Robert Weir Jr. grew up in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, the hometown of Patrick Gass, the oldest person to go on the Lewis and Clark expedition. The University of Scranton professor has had a lifelong interest in the two explorers and now he is chairman of the of the bicentennial committee of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and sits on the foundation board.

Dr Weir, the chairman of the university's graduate education program, said a traveling museum of Lewis and Clark artifacts and photographic studies of the explorer's route will be displayed at the university before they go on a nationwide tour next year. Many of the items are part of his collection from the Lewis and Clark centennial.

As part of the bicentennial, Dr. Weir said the foundation is seeking a congressional resolution granting William Clark his captain's commission. Lewis had promised Clark that President Jefferson would grant him a captain's commission, salary, pension and land for his service on the expedition. It never happened. Dr. Weir explained that the law needed to be written such a way that Clark's heirs can't use the commission to make a claim against the Treasury for back pay, pension or land.

The foundation also is seeking to clear Lewis' name of allegations of misspending. Letters show Jefferson gave Lewis and Clark a virtual blank check to cover their expenses, Dr. Weir said.

The foundation is also asking national recognition for Sacagawea and York, Captain Clark's slave who remained enslaved after the expedition was completed.

Dr. Weir lauded the role of the native tribes in the expedition, He said that without Native American guides, their supplies and, in some cases, their decision to spare the white explorer's lives, the entire expedition would have perished.

*—The Scranton (PA) Times*

## Corporation to pay for "eye" replica

Bureau of Land Management Area Manager Chuck Otto says an out-of-state corporation has agreed to pay the $44,000 construction cost for a replica of the Eye of the Needle. The scenic sandstone arch in the White Cliffs area of the Missouri River, which was noted by Lewis and Clark, was destroyed by vandals last year. The corporation may also earmark as much as $1 million to finance education and anti-vandalism efforts to prevent similar vandalism of national treasures.

The BLM decided in September 1997 to build a replica because of the cost of restoring the remote original and other factors. A quarry for the needed sandstone has been located. The several-ton replica will be life-size—11 feet tall and 15 feet wide. It will be located on a 25-foot foundation on the bank of the Missouri River across from the swimming pool in Fort Benton—56 miles away from the site of the original.

It is also not out of the question that the original eye could be restored even if the replica is built, according to the BLM and a private committee working on the cause.

Five experts will be brought in to examine the creation when it is finished, probably by the end of the summer. If it is not near perfect or looks fake, Otto said, the BLM will restore the original eye.

The Committee to Restore the Eye of the Needle, a Fort Benton- based group, still wants to restore the original whether or not the replica is good enough. It will help the BLM select the experts to examine the replica, and it is accepting donations for restoring the original.

*—Great Falls (MT) Tribune*

**Thomas Jefferson was so fond of salads he raised 19 varieties of lettuce at Monticello.**

## Interpretive center's designer faced tall order

"It was like a Chinese puzzle to start in the lobby, in Philadelphia, where Meriwether Lewis got his scientific training, and to get all the way to the West Coast and back in the right spots in the building," said Chris Wilson, a senior designer with Deaton Museum Services of Minneapolis. "We considered more than 100 floor plans."

Wilson and his co-workers essentially fleshed out the ideas of local Lewis and Clark buffs and a preliminary designer to come up with the final interior design for the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center at Great Falls.

The striking center piece, a diorama of five expedition members hauling a dugout canoe up a steep ravine, has been a part of the plans for sometime. With a more than a little imagination and a lot of intense work, Wilson was able to put the diorama in

the proper chronological order in the most striking position imaginable with maximum exposure against a two-story glass view of the Missouri River.

Wilson said he struggled with ways to show visitors casually passing through how grueling the trip was.

"We couldn't bake people in the sun, or have them haul boats up a freezing river," the designer said. "Then in the middle of the night, I came up with the idea of letting people tug on a rope to turn a gauge to give an indication how many miles they might have made paddling, poling and driving heavy canoes upstream for months."

Wilson is off on other projects now, but he called the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center "a labor of love".

"I really like the Lewis and Clark story," he said. "I like Montana and I really enjoyed working with the Lewis and Clark people here. And, the project site right above the Missouri River provided a $1 million view."

Many of the exhibits and artifacts are touchable. Museums tend to have more things behind glass, while interpretive centers are full of tactile and interactive exhibits.

From his perspective, Wilson said he will consider the interpretive center a success if a typical visitor comes away with four or five broad ideas about the Corps of Discovery, such as:

- Despite difficult terrain and strenuous work conditions, almost everybody made it back.
- Lewis and Clark saw and recorded an amazing variety of people, animals and plants.
- They faced some difficult decisions and anxious times, such as which was the tributary and which was the main Missouri where the spring-swollen Marias River entered.
- They met many Indian tribes with a variety of life-styles. Most helped the explorers.

Wilson added, "When the interpretive center first opens it may be kind of crowded. My advice is for people to scan the exhibit descriptions the first time and read those that particularly interest them. They can back and learn more when things calm down."

*—Great Falls (MT) Tribune*

**The Great Falls (MT) Tribune has started a series of daily maps of Montana showing where Lewis and Clark were on the particular date and including a quote from one of the journals of expedition members. The source for the information is supplied by the Travelers Rest Chapter (Missoula, MT) of the foundation.**

## Center honoring Sacajawea, Lewis, Clark proposed

A $3 million Sacajawea and Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Fort Hall (Idaho) would attract the scores of people driving between Salt Lake City and Yellowstone National Park, its supporter says.

Lynn Leasure, who is helping develop the Oregon Trail Interpretive Center in Montpelier (Idaho), said the center would benefit all of eastern Idaho. He said he has researched the Shoshone tribe and Sacajawea, the most notable American Indian woman in history. He noted that about 3,000 bus tours travel from Salt Lake City to Montpelier and then on to Wyoming and Yellowstone Park each year. If the Sacajawea exhibit were in Fort Hall, those tours would go down Interstate 15 to the spot, he said.

The center would include a theater in which visitors could watch a movie about Sacajawea being kidnapped by another tribe, taken to the Missouri River and sold into slavery.

Leasure said Sacajawea carried an infant with her as she guided Lewis and Clark to the Idaho Panhandle and met her long-lost brother, a Shoshone chief who helped the explorers for their journey to the coast.

The center would also have a replica of a Shoshone village.

*—Lewiston (ID) Morning Tribune*

## Lewis and Clark is essay topic

The Dennis and Phyllis Washington Foundation, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center, and the Portage Route Chapter are sponsoring an essay contest for Montana students in grades 7-9 and 10-12.

Essay entries for 1998 must address why the Lewis and Clark Expedition was successful.

"Now is the time to bring to the attention of all Montanans the upcoming National Bicentennial observance of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the historic activities that occurred in what is now Montana," Racicot said.

The top three essays in each group will receive scholarships of $1,250, $1,000 or $750, respectively, and a plaque.

The winning applicant this year in each group will receive his or her award at a reception in Great Falls on July 3 as part of the grand opening of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center.

*--Great Falls (MT) Tribune*

# —Book Reviews—

**Following the Lewis and Clark Trail, A Vacation Guide for Campers**, by Doten Warner, Perserverance Publishing, 15116 15th Street, Lutz, Florida, 33549, 1998, 110 pages, b&w photos, maps, softcover, *$11.95*

A review by Martin Erickson

Doten and Lena Warner first crossed the Lewis and Clark Trail in 1982. They were on their up the Pacific Coast to Alaska when they saw a sign pointing to Fort Clatsop, the spot where Lewis and Clark stayed during the winter of 1805-06. The stop, piqued their interest and since then they have spent many days and traveled many miles on the Lewis and Clark Trail. Although they have visited other historic sites and traveled other historic trails "we like the Lewis and Clark Trail best because it is certainly not depressing like some of the others, but uplifting. We can read from the Corps of Discovery journals as we go along, and realize what it all looked like in its primeval condition, and rediscover it for ourselves."

In his introduction to his sprightly campers guide, Warner says, "It is interesting to contrast the record of this expedition with the records of other expeditions; the Oregon, Santa Fe, Gila, Old Spanish, California and El Camino Real trails. Death on those trails was expected, and realized in sad quantities. No other leaders, except perhaps Fathers Kino, Garces and Serra, leaders of the southern trails, had such loving and caring control over their men as Lewis and Clark had. The Santa Fe Trail, mainly used for freight, had travelers bent on making money, while the Oregon Trail had travelers whose main purpose was getting to the other end in one season. They formed a group mainly for security reasons. This lack of mutual support may be why the trail was littered with graves. On the Lewis and Clark expedition, no one was ever left behind, for their sick were carried and doctored as they went. During hunger times the hunger was mutually shared.

"The Lewis and Clark story is not one which has one dramatic climax at the end; rather it has many climaxes. In 28 months they reached different goals and each one had its climax."

Doten and Lena have traveled the trail leisurely since he retired in 1982, stopping for Lewis and Clark festivals and visiting with Lewis and Clark people (and others) along the way. They note, for example, that in St Charles, Missouri, there is a reenactment each May that commemorates the transfer of the Louisiana Purchase from Spain and France to the United States. They comment that there is a good campground in St. Charles and also a Lewis and Clark Museum, run By Mimi Jackson, who can answer any question about the Lewis and Clark story. They also note she gave courses on Lewis and Clark to 11,000 school children last year.

Climb a high mound in Atchison, Kansas, as Lewis did and Doten and Lena did, and you can see Amelia Earhart's home.

Commenting later on about Clark's doctoring skills, Warner says, "Today they could have got him for practicing medicine without a license."

Near what is now Chamberlain, South Dakota, Meriwether Lewis reported seeing a grove of plum trees. Doten and Lena camped in a grove of plum trees there.

At Fort Lincoln State Park, near Mandan, North Dakota, when you buy your ticket for the "hilarious" play on life in the fort in the 1870's, you are given a bag of peanuts to throw at the villains when they misbehave.

In eastern Montana Doten notes there are no highways along the Missouri River from Fort Peck to Fort Benton a distance of some hundreds of river miles. He asks, where else in the country is it so remote for so far?

The Warner's adventure driving up Lemhi Pass from the Idaho side made Doten wonder if he was having fun. The drive back down wasn't any better.

On one of their trips along the trail they decided to only go as far west as Lewiston, Idaho. While camped there, Doten noticed on a map that they were halfway between their home in Florida and Hawaii so they caught a plane and had a great time in Hawaii. He says the nice part of that arrangement was they left their van in the Lewiston airport parking lot for a week free while in Hawaii.

He climbed up 800 feet to the top of Beacon Rock along the Columbia River in Washington and

scrambled through the brush and trees at Cape Disappointment on the Washington coast to take pictures of the jetties at the mouth of the Columbia. His comment at the Cape was that Lewis and Clark might have named it Cape Satisfaction if it had not already been named.

Doten Warner gives you his view of the Lewis and Clark Trail using insight and humor He is not afraid to get out and do things rather than just seeing the trail from the van although he says Lena is braver than he is.

While reading about their adventures, I could picture myself in the same spots along the trail and I wondered how I would interpret them, what I would take the time to see that was off the beaten path. I decided I would have fit in comfortably with Doten and Lena on their trips along the trail.

***The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition: The Journals of John Ordway, May 14, 1804—September 23, 1806, and Charles Floyd, May 14-August 18, 1804: Volume 9; The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition: The Journal of Patrick Gass, May 14, 1804-September 23, 1806: Volume 10; and The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition: The Journals of Joseph Whitehouse, May 14, 1804-April 2, 1806: Volume 11.*** Edited by Gary E. Moulton. (Lincoln: 1995, xix + 419 pp., 1996, xviii + 300 pp., and 1997, xvii + 459 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, notes, bibliography, index. $55.00, $45.00, and $55.00.)

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A review by George H. Tweney

It is now several years since we last reviewed Volume 8 of Gary Moulton's scholarly editing of the *Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* in the pages of *WHQ*. At that time the expedition had been safely returned to St. Louis, and presumably the saga would have been completed.

However, in his wisdom, Thomas Jefferson had not only directed both captains to keep detailed journals of their own, but to delegate several men of the corps to copy the captains' journals as the journey progressed. Both Lewis and Clark found this to be rather unsatisfactory soon after the journey got underway, and they delegated the sergeants in the crew to start keeping journals of their own. Even without any additional journal keepers, the captains' journals alone would have been wonderful compilations of the details of the trip, but these supplementary journals of the enlisted men add further details to the record. Lewis suggested that any of the men in addition to the sergeants who could write should keep a journal if they wished. At least one of the privates, Joseph Whitehouse, kept a fairly complete record. Two other privates (Pryor and Frazer) are suspected to have kept journals, but their writings have never been located. In 1805, Lewis wrote that seven men were keeping journals, but one way or another a considerable portion of the record appears to have been lost, perhaps forever.

The first of the sergeants, John Ordway, kept a journal during almost the entire expedition from 14 May 1804 to its conclusion on 23 September 1806. It is the most extensive of the enlisted mens' records. Lewis had made Ordway the first of the sergeants when the party wintered at Camp Dubois during the winter of 1803-1804, and on several occasions, left him in charge of the party while both the captains were away on necessary business in St. Louis. He was, in effect, the senior of all the sergeants. He was the only member of the party never to miss a day in his journal. On several occasions, even Captain Clark found it necessary to refer to Ordway's journal, and for several entries, his is the only known account. Ordway's journal was first published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin in their *Collections, Volume XX1I* in 1916, along with a portion of Captain Lewis's 1803 journal, but it has never been published with the other records of the journey.

Unfortunately, Sergeant Charles Floyd was only able to keep his journal from 14 May to 18 August 1804, when he died from the "bilious colic" on the upper Missouri near present-day Sioux City, Iowa. Had he lived, the existing portion of his journal indicates that his would have been a most valuable contribution to the story of the expedition. Floyd was the only member of the corps to have died during the entire journey.

With the demise of Charles Floyd, Captains Lewis and Clark held an election among the men to choose his successor, and Patrick Gass received the most votes. (Was this the first democratic election in the wilderness west of the Mississippi?) On 26 August 1804, Clark notes in his journal that Gass had received his promotion to sergeant.

Gass was one of the oldest men to join the Corps, having been born in 1771. He was a carpenter by trade, and had already spent several years in the army, so he had considerable experience that would be useful to the corps. He was a tough, resilient frontiersman of Irish extraction, and could not only take,

but could give, orders. He was responsible for the building of Camp Dubois, and Forts Mandan and Clatsop, and also carved many of the canoes required by the corps during the course of the journey.

When he returned from the journey, Gass turned his journal over to a Pittsburgh book-seller, publisher, and erstwhile school teacher named David M'Keehan,to prepare it for publication. It came out in 1807 and was the first reliable account of the expedition, albeit refined by M'Keehan's editing into more elegant prose. By 1814, it had appeared in six editions in various parts of the world, and it has been printed several times in recent years. There has been little danger of the Gass account ever being lost, but alas, his original manuscript journal has never been found. Some time ago, the rare book dealer Ernest Wessen of Mansfield, Ohio, spent almost ten years in a concerted search for the original Gass Journal, but it has never been found.

Gass married a young woman of twenty when he was 60 years old and fathered six children. He lived to the venerable age of 99 and in 1870 was the last of the expedition members to pass away.

The third of this triumvirate of journals of the expedition covers that of Joseph Whitehouse from 14 May 1804 to 2 April 1806. His journal is the only surviving account written by an army private on the expedition, and he is one of the least known of the expedition crew. Following the expedition he had a checkered army career and seems to have disappeared after 1817. Whitehouse's original journal ends at 6 November 1805. By one of those fortuitous strokes of fortune a paraphrased copy of the Whitehouse journal was discovered in a Philadelphia book shop in February 1966. By an unknown hand (that had obviously had access to the original) it extended the Whitehouse journal to 2 April 1806. This constitutes the end of Whitehouse's known journal writing. Where is the final section of his journal leading to the return of the expedition to St. Louis on 26 September 1806?

These three volumes are a massive contribution to the final literature of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Moulton has embellished them all with copious footnotes, bibliographies, and editorial comments. There are still two volumes forthcoming to complete the series, but we now have in hand all the journal materials relating to the expedition. Moulton has done a yeoman's chore: This is the first time all the journal materials have been brought together in one place.

**About the reviewer...**

Foundation member George Tweney is a professor emeritus at Highline College in Seattle, Washington.

*David Cree Medicine uses an air compressor to dust the sculpture prominent western sculptor Bob Scriver donated to the new Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls. Cree Medicine is Scriver's foundry foreman. The sculpture is Scriver's housewarming gift to the center. It combines figures from two of Scriver's most prominent outdoor statues into one. From the statue at Overlook Park in Great Falls came Lewis and Clark, Clark's slave York, and Lewis' dog Seaman. Sacagawea and her baby came from a statue in Fort Benton.*

Photo by Stuart White, courtesy Great Falls Tribune

## KUDOS

*Cont. from p. 12*

views with environmental historian Dan Flores, grizzly bear specialist Charles Jonkel, and former Salish-Kootenai Tribal Council Chairman Ron Therriault.

In the fall of 2001 the University of Oklahoma Press will publish *Discovering Lewis and Clark* on CD-ROM or DVD.

To date, the project has received funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Montana Committee for the Humanities, the Oregon Council for the Humanities, and the Montana Cultural Trust. Current plans call for the raising of an additional $300,000 to continue the work done so far.

To receive regular updates to the site via email, contact Joe Mussulman at jmuss@lewis-clark.org.

The web site is dedicated to the memory of Arlen J. Large and V. Strode Hinds.

NORTH DAKOTA *Cont. from p. 14*

# North Dakota Heritage Center Located in Bismarck

The largest museum in the state, the North Dakota Heritage Center is also home of the State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Located on the capitol grounds in Bismarck, the heritage center has an outstanding collection of Plains Indians artifacts and interpretive exhibits that feature North Dakota's varied American Indian, military and agricultural history.

A stunning, once-in-a-lifetime exhibit, celebrating the traditional craft of quillwork decoration, will be featured at the museum during the annual meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. *Sacred Beauty: Quillwork of Plains Women* highlights this decorative technique used by the Plains Indians from prehistoric times to the present day. This is will be a unique opportunity to view this remarkable aspect of life among the Indians that Lewis and Clark encountered during their stay at Fort Mandan.

The Glass Box Museum Store features original hand-crafted items and a premier selection of regional books.

For more information, call (701) 328-2666 or visit the State Historical Society of North Dakota's web site, www.state.nd.us/hist.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE *Cont. from p.3*

Yet another milestone was reached when your board of directors held its first mid-year meeting. Traditionally, the board met only at the time of the annual meeting. At the 1997 annual meeting at Stevenson, Washington, the board agreed to meet twice a year. Thus, the board met April 25, 1998 at Bismarck, North Dakota, immediately before the annual meeting of the Bicentennial Council. Our meeting was well attended and fruitful. (For a report on the Bicentennial Council's meeting, see editor Marty Erickson's article elsewhere in this issue.) Bismarck, incidentally, did a fine job of hosting our board and the council. I am sure we can really look forward to an outstanding reception for our 1999 meeting there.

Of truly major import to the foundation are the $10,000 gifts made to the foundation by Dr. Ambrose. He most generously promised the foundation $10,000 a year as long as the sales of "Undaunted Courage" generate adequate revenue. Our warmest thanks to him for such care and concern for the foundation and its mission.

As this will be my last "Message from the President," I want to thank you for your interest in the story of Lewis and Clark and your support of the foundation and its mission. I must also give my thanks to you for your support, aid and assistance during my term as your president. I have never worked with a finer group of people. It has been not only a privilege, but a pleasure to have served you.

I hope to see you in Great Falls.

EDITOR'S DESK
*Cont. from p.3*

New or potential Lewis and Clark chapters are being formed or being looked at in New Hampshire, Chester, Montana; Helena, Montana; Kentucky (includes five state area), North Carolina, Southern California, Missouri and Phoenix, Arizona. Ron Laycock is the person who is helping these new chapters get started.

And, not to be outdone, your old editor is using money from a very generous Steve Ambrose to do some traveling along the trail. I took a drive over to Bismarck, North Dakota, recently to attend a foundation board meeting and national bicentennial council meeting. Although the council has been in business for a couple of years, I have not had the funds to travel to meetings. Thinking of new approaches to old ideas, I decided to look not so much at what the council is doing, but how they are doing it and who is doing it. I will write that article tomorrow, so we'll see how it comes out. I also traveled to McAllister, Montana, to have a chat with artist Steve Zabel. I already wrote that one and it came out pretty good. You will find it on page 10.

Ah! The lure of the open road! Sounds sort of like Lewis and Clark, doesn't it ? More on that in this column in the November *WPO*.

Marty Erickson

## BIG NUMBERS FOR "LEWIS AND CLARK"

KSPS-7 in Spokane had excellent ratings for Ken Burns' "Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery." It scored an 11 rating and an 18 share, which are huge numbers for a PBS show. In fact, it beat three out of the four major network shows it was up against at the time.

*Capt. Wm. Clark / 27th of October Satturday 1804*

*we Set our arly  Came too at this Village on the L.S.  this village is Situated on an eminance of about 50 feet above the Water in a handson Plain  it Containes houses in a kind of Picket work.  the houses are round and Verry large Containing Several families, as also their horses which is tied on one Side of the enterance, a Discription of those houses will be given hereafter.*