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 America’s heritage, and support education, research, development and preservation of the Lewis and Clark experience.

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

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

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIES*

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* Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.

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A long time dream of the foundation will become reality with the opening of our archives library in the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center at Great Falls, Montana, on February 20.

Those of you who were on hand for the annual meeting got a glimpse of the work in progress. With a crowd of folks filing through the small quarters, you likely didn't get too much of a view of the books, however!

Creating a quality home for our impressive collection of books, research, and other expedition-related materials is one of those key components that make our foundation so special. What better legacy can we leave for future generations than the wealth of Lewis and Clark scholarship, revealed on the printed page. Properly catalogued and displayed, this material will be a gem for students, scholars, or just anyone with a question needing an answer.

The library has been taking shape under the watchful eye of Executive Director Sammye Mead-ows, who has archivist Julianne Ruby and top volun-

From the National Bicentennial Council
by David Nicandri

Greetings and salutations of the new year. It is with increasingly great anticipation and sense of mission that the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council is actively planning and coordinating the national bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Two important milestones will mark our celebration of the new year. In January 1999, the council will inaugurate its world wide web page: www.lewisandclark200.org, and its tri-annual newsletter, Field Notes.

The council’s electronic voice will be through our web page, designed by web master and Lewis and Clark historian Jay Rasmussen. In the parlance of the web, it will be the gateway or sticky portal through which hundreds-of-thousands of individuals will access the rich variety of resources, programs, publications, products and projects planned for this epic event. Among other features, the site will host the national calendar of events and hot links to tribal, federal, state, education, conservation and foundation

From the Editor's Desk

A new year, a slightly different look for your favorite magazine. The News Update now has a better flow. A new section in this issue for more news from local chapters will be found on page 36. I was going to put in a section for news from the bicentennial states so that you could keep up with what is being planned for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. But, as you will read in the bicentennial council president's column, they will be taking care of that on their own.

Jim Ronda’s banquet address at the 1998 annual meeting, “The Core of Discovery,” is featured in this issue along with an article from Jim Holmberg on the newly discovered William Clark letters that will give all of us more insight into the co-leader of the expedition.

One of the exciting things about the expedition is that new discoveries about the Corps of Discovery are being made all the time. From the Clark letters to the archaeological digs of Ken Karsmizki, gaps in our knowledge about the people and the

ON THE COVER—A montage of North Dakota history awaits us at the foundation's 1999 annual meeting—Fort Mandan, the Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center, and re-enactment of the expedition on land and water.
PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
Cont. from p. 3

Diane Baker working for the foundation, sorting and cataloguing the books. Thanks also to the archives committee, chaired by Jane Weber, which has sought advice from wise counsel, near and far, for this ambitious project. Among those who have offered assistance are Doug Erickson, archivist at Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Bob Moore, historian at the Jefferson Expansion Memorial in St. Louis, and foundation board member Jane Henley.

Thanks also to the foundation members who, through the years, have donated books to the foundation. A book is a very special part of anyone's life, and not easy to part with. Often the donations come in the form of estates from family members who are entrusting family treasures to our care. For those many donations, large and small, as well as numerous financial donations, we are all very grateful.

Be sure to check out the library on your next visit to Great Falls!

Look for the insert in this edition of WPO for all the details on next summer's annual meeting in Bismarck. While your president may be somewhat less than impartial on this particular locale, I can give you my personal assurance that this will be a first-class gathering that will be long remembered. Please make your reservations early, judging by early indicators, we're expecting another record attendance.

With the ongoing improvements at the Fort Mandan replica and the new interpretive center you won't want to miss this one. Stay tuned for news of very special exhibits, both in Bismarck and Washburn, during the meeting!

EDITOR'S DESK
Cont. from p.3

places are being filled in bit by bit.

We take our cue from Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in our continuing search for information about the expedition. Almost every day on the expedition was a day of discovery. There was a new plant or animal sighted, a new landscape opening up before them, new information about the natives of the land they were crossing or a new discovery about their own capabilities to deal with an almost totally foreign land.

You can be pretty sure they didn't wake up every morning and shout for the sheer joy of the day before them. In fact, many days they probably didn't want to get up at all. But they did, and they proceeded on whether it was day after sparkling day or day after dreary day.

That may be the key to our excitement about the expedition. We can relate to them and compare our daily struggles with their daily struggles and be glad, on many days, that we don't have to be in their mocassins.

I would have liked to have been on the expedition, but I would not want to have been with Perry or Amundsen or any other explorers trying to reach the North or South Poles or Livingston in Africa. Maybe the answer about why Lewis and Clark continue to excite us is that they stayed within the boundaries of the lower 48 states. It is a land we are familiar with. It is our expedition across our country.

Mystery and familiarity combined with successes and failures. It makes for a good read, a good study and a continuing interest in solving all the puzzles, filling in all the gaps. It is much like genealogy. They are, after all, our family.

BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL
Cont. from p. 3

partners, and literally hundreds of other web sites. I encourage you to visit our site and if you know of, or are planning, an event in your area, list it on the calendar.

Field Notes will be the council's printed voice and will come to you on a tri-annual basis. Wholly underwritten by Battelle and produced by Landrey & Hunt of Portland, Oregon, the newsletter will feature updates on national and state partners, tribal activities, a calendar of events, new products and publications, and news of the council and the foundation. Look for your copy this January.

The council hopes to greet you at our Fourth Annual Planning Workshop, April 21-24, 1999, underwritten by a grant from the Association of the U.S. Army. This year the workshop will be based in Vancouver, Washington, in partnership with Portland, Oregon, and Fort Clatsop in Astoria, Oregon. The year's theme, "Rivers of Exchange," builds on previous workshops and last year's Nez Perce Reconciliation Ceremony on the grounds of Fort Vancouver in Vancouver, Washington. New this year will be programs on tribal participation, educators and education resources, federal agency projects and partners, moving marker opportunities and historical society programs. Watch for your registration materials, or register your interest in attending through our web page.

Join us for the journey!
OOPS!

In Anna Loge's article "We Encamped By Some Beautiful Springs" the following corrections should be made in the end notes: There are only five end notes. 1, 2, 3 are correct. 4 should read "Jack Hirschman mentioned the wagon route during a conversation with my father, Ronald Loge." 5 should read "Highway 278 runs from Dillon, MT, to Wisdom, MT, in the Big Hole Valley." All other end notes should be taken out. Also the end notes and the bibliography were transposed.

In the News Update, the headline reading "Bill forms caucus to promote Lewis and Clark bicentennial" should read "Original Clark letter on Lewis' death found." In paragraph 2, the first sentence should read "Then came the stunning news that the original handwritten letter has been found in which..."

The subtitle on Jim Holmberg's article (Nov. 1998, P. 28) should read: "William Clark reports on an affair of honor."

The editor regrets the errors.

Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Exhibit at Library

The years 2003 through 2006 mark the bicentennial years of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. National and trail state celebrations will occur all across the country. Bob Weir will have a big hand in the bicentennial events as chairman of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation's Bicentennial Committee.

Weir, an assistant professor of education at the University of Scranton, is getting an early start in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania is considered a trail state because of Meriwether Lewis's visits in 1803 to Lancaster and Philadelphia to be trained in celestial observation, medicine and other expeditionary skills.

Weir and Jon Stealy, art and photography professor at the University of Findlay in Findlay, Ohio, are displaying Lewis and Clark exhibits on the University of Scranton campus. Stealy is presenting a photographic essay of Lewis and Clark trail sites in the University of Scranton Gallery. The large black and white photographs were taken over the past 10 years. They will appear as a coffee table book. Weir is displaying a lifetime collection of Lewis and Clark memorabilia dating from the 100th anniversary celebration, the 1904 exposition in Portland, Oregon, to the present day. His collection is being displayed in the Heritage Room of the Weinberg Memorial Library.

Both exhibits can be viewed through April 16, 1999, at the Scranton site. They also are booked for Philadelphia, St. Louis, Omaha, Great Falls and Portland with stops in other areas.

excerpted from the Weinberg Memorial Library newsletter

Awards Presented at Annual Meeting

Awards presented at the 1998 annual meeting of the foundation in Great Falls, Montana, were as follows:

For meritorious achievement: Ken Burns, Dayton Duncan, Stephen Ambrose and Robert Betts.

For distinguished service: John Montague, Barbara Kubik and Robert Bergantino

Young adult awards were presented to: Sacajawea Middle School, Bozeman, Montana, for a video they produced on Sacagawea, and Chesterfield Elementary Day School, St. Albans, Missouri, for their participation in the Daughters of the American Revolution dedication of a marker at Tavern Cave mentioned in the Lewis and Clark Journals. See article on page 24.

WPO CLASSIFIED ADS

Classified rates in WPO are 50 cents per word for foundation members; 75 cents per word for non-members; $10.00 minimum. The address, city, state and zip count as one word. Payment must accompany all ads.

Deadline for ads is six weeks before the publication month of the scheduled quarterly issue, e.g. March 15 for the May issue.

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

Ads will be limited to offering sales of services or material related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

WPO Classified Ads

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Meritorious Achievement Award winner Dayton Duncan.

Photo by Bev Hinds
That, albeit only in part, already has been done.

It often is true that it is not known where or when history is going to take place. The same is true concerning historical documents and artifacts. One never knows where or when they might be found.

Just over 10 years ago, in an attic of a house in Louisville, Kentucky, six descendants of Jonathan Clark—William’s oldest brother—discovered a cache of 47 William Clark letters. Many readers are familiar with the story of the letters from previous articles.1 I repeated part of this story in the November 1998 issue of We Proceeded On, with one of the edited Clark letters as a preview for Lewis and Clark enthusiasts and researchers so that they might have a better idea of the extraordinary content of the letters that William wrote to his big brother and father figure Jonathan. I will not recount the content and importance of those letters here. That, albeit only in part, already has been done.

The editing project is drawing to a close, and despite having read the letters at least several times each, I still am awed by the historical significance of some of them, and by the group’s overall historical importance. William wrote with a candor and openness he rarely, if ever, did with others. These letters truly are a window to his heart, revealing the man himself, and not solely the icon of famous explorer. They also are an important source for William’s life and times; for his contemporaries and the events of that period. Whether it be momentous news reporting about his “western trip” or his distress at the death of his best friend and partner in discovery Meriwether Lewis; or the “diverting” news of his first born getting a bath and whiskey rub or his views on a man in love, William unwittingly provided an immense service to posterity by committing to paper his thoughts, hopes, opinions, accomplishments, and experiences.

As one of my favorite raconteurs Paul Harvey would say, “now for the rest of the story.” These 47 William Clark letters were in a bundle of letters labeled “Old Clark Letters Chiefly Gen. Wm. Clark’s.”2 That particular bundle was only one of many bundles in two trunks of family papers. Only that one bundle came to The Filson Club.

Circumstances prevented an examination of the trunks containing the other family papers until this summer. In the 10 years since I first had seen and examined the Clark letters I many times wished for an opportunity to inspect the contents of the trunks. Not only was I afflicted with a serious case of curiosity about the other papers, who the correspondents were and what they might contain, but I also had the feeling that there may be more William Clark letters in the trunks; letters that may have been separated from the bundle containing the others.

The main reason for this nagging suspicion was the famous 28 October 1809 letter that William wrote to Jonathan from “Mr. Shanons” on the day he first heard a report of Meriwether Lewis’s death. The letter was known to exist only in typescript form. This copy had been in The Filson Club’s Temple Bodleyn Collection since the 1940s. It is one of many typescripts of original letters and documents that Bodley had copied to assist his research and writing on the history of the early West.

What set this letter apart from the rest was it being attributed to the Bodleyn Papers. Did this mean that the original was among the papers in the possession of Temple Bodleyn? Did it mean that he had borrowed it from a kinsman, and then returned it? The possibility of this important letter being “out there” somewhere both intrigued and excited me. How wonderful it would be to find the original of this letter. It is the only known letter in which William states his belief that his good friend took his own life. Then the Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodleyn Papers came to light in 1988.

Bodleyn, the great-grandson of Jonathan Clark, and grandfather of the donors of the collection, was very proud of his Kentucky lineage and had made a conscious effort to preserve his family’s papers. After reviewing the letters certain gaps were evident in their chronology. Although the letters spanned the years 1792-1811 there was a large gap from 1792 to 1801, and for some years there were only one or two letters. Did more exist? Had they been scattered among other descendants of the recipient? Had they been destroyed in the almost...
200 intervening years and lost to history? Or were there more in the two trunks of Bodley papers, including perhaps the original of the 28 October 1809 letter? That letter fit perfectly in the series of letters that William wrote to Jonathan on his trip eastward which were in the collection. Had this one and maybe others been scattered in the trunks from the main bundle of William’s letters? I very much hoped this may prove to be true.

Then this past summer fate smiled on the Filson’s historical collections and the Clark letters project. The donors of the Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodley Collection decided to donate the two trunks of papers to The Filson Club. I now could delve into the large mass of papers, prospecting for more William Clark letters. Unfortunately, other responsibilities prevented me from devoting all my time to doing that.

The pleasure of preprocessing and cataloging them went to Special Collections Assistant Craig Heuser, who also was serving as my research assistant for the letters project. But, I could not help poking about in the trunks on a regular basis while he worked at unfolding the letters in each of the many bundles and placing them in folders. Like a moth to a flame, I was attracted to those trunks, and regularly scanned their contents, examining first one bundle and then another in hopes that more William Clark letters would be found.

On 11 September 1998 my persistence was rewarded. Mr. Heuser’s work had lowered the level of papers in the trunk containing the oldest family papers, and while looking through the trunk yet again I spied a promising group of papers in the back right corner. A brief perusal revealed a heartbeat quickening sign that good things were at hand. The clue was the writing of a hand I had grown to know quite well over recent years. The hand was not William’s, but Jonathan’s. When he received letters and later filed them away in bundles, Jonathan habitually docketed the letters as to their writer and date. Space permitting, he usually docketed the letters on their address leaf. It was this docketing clue I spied on the documents in the trunk’s corner. I
grasped one of the documents. It was a letter William had written to Jonathan on 4 September 1798.

My next selection was even better, coming up with the piece de resistance of the group. My exclama-tions of delight had drawn Craig and others over the trunk. Craig began to pick up a few of the other documents in the stack. As he did so I recognized Jonathan's docketing with the date October 1809. I plucked the letter from Craig's hand. It was the famous 28 October 1809 letter concerning Lewis's death. To say the discovery made my day, or even my week, would be something of an understatement. The thrill that passed through me was almost electric. Here, finally, was the original of this long wondered about and significant letter.

But the discoveries did not end there. One more letter, to Edmund and John H. Clark dated 1 March 1811, was uncovered. Also a 10 December 1810 power of attorney executed by William appointing Jonathan his attorney regarding the sale of his Clarksville property. Written and signed by Clark, it was testified to by Frederick "little animale" Bates. Craig Heuser and I perused the other documents in the stack but found no other William Clark letters.

Ah, but the fat lady had not yet sung! On 16 September I was at home working on the Clark letters when Craig called. He had found two more Clark documents. A letter to Jonathan dated 17 August 1811, and another power of attorney, this one dated 3 September 1805.

The total of this new cache of Clark documents is four letters, three to Jonathan and one to Edmund and John H. Clark, and two powers of attorney. The letters dated 1798 and 1811 were previously unknown. The 1809 letter previously existed only as a typescript. The powers of attorney were public documents recorded in county court records, but to now have the originals obviously is welcome. The three new letters already have been incorporated into the edited letters project. Having the original of the 28 October 1809 letter has enabled a more accurate transcription of the letter to be made (there were a few mistakes in the earlier transcript). The powers of attorney will not be included with the published letters, but anything significant in them no doubt will find its way into a note with the appropriate letter.

What is new in these "new" letters? Nothing necessarily earthshaking. What they primarily accomplish is the addition of more detail about William and his life and times. Just as a painter would add the defining brush strokes to a portrait, these letters do the same for William Clark's life and his world. They further define the man, both personally and professionally, providing a clearer image of him and his times. They are more pieces of the puzzle, further completing the whole picture of his life and his world.

The 4 September 1798 letter is written from Baltimore. William wrote it on the homeward leg of a trip that had begun in Louisville six months earlier and would end there almost four months later after covering approximately 4,000 miles. No one should make the mistake of thinking that William was not well traveled before the expedition of 1803-1806. He had traveled extensively. Lewis knew this and it undoubtedly is one of the reasons he invited Clark to accompany him. In addition, he habitually kept a journal during his trips from home. While not as detailed as that he maintained on the expedition, it provided basic information concerning his route, expenses, experiences, and observations.

The significance of the 28 October 1809 letter from "Mr. Shanons" already has been mentioned. To now have the original of this very important letter verifies the authenticity of the typescript, and leaves no doubt that William believed his good friend took his own life. The suicide versus murder debate still rages today. The emergence of this letter from that trunk of Clark treasures adds further weight to the suicide argument. While it does not prove that Lewis killed himself, it provides strong evidence that his contemporaries, including his best friend William Clark, believed he was capable of it and did it. I believe that if William had sensed the slightest hint of foul play he would have demanded an investigation and defended his friend's honor to those saying he had taken his own life. His simple tortured lament of "I fear! I fear the weight of my mind has over come him" leaves no doubt that he knew the precarious mental state his comrade was in and believed Lewis had lost his battle with his inner demons.

There is plenty to comment on in this letter. The notes for it run to 16 in number. I will not discuss them here save one. I cannot let the opportunity go by to state in print what I have stated verbally to a number of people in recent years. William and his party did not spend the night of 28 October with expedition veteran George Shannon. It makes for a nice story and touching scene, but it did not happen. That reunion would have to wait until two days later in Lexington. Shannon was attending Transylvania University there, some 30 miles away from the vicinity of Graefenburg, where John Shannon operated a tavern. Shannon's was a popular stop for travelers during this time. Both William's memorandum book for his 1809 trip eastward, and 1802
and 1807 entries in Jonathan's diary record stops there. The end of the letter was not included in Donald Jackson's monumental book on the letters of the expedition, and often is overlooked by writers. "pardon this hasty Scrawl which is written in a room crowded with different descriptions of people. Some drunk," William wrote. The picture that comes to mind is that of a crowded rather rowdy tavern and not the home of George Shannon or other private citizen.

The final recently discovered letter to Jonathan is a good one. Dated 17 August 1811 it includes William's regular and sincere expressions of interest in his family. He reports he has heard from or about various family members around the country and regrets they all are so "much Scattered, I wish we were all to gether Some where." In reporting on his immediate family's health he reports that "Julia Complain[s] very much, but her Complaint is not owing to Climate." Although she no doubt had plenty to complain about during a hot and humid St. Louis August, the source of this complaint was her advanced state of pregnancy. She was some eight months pregnant and would give birth to their second child, William Preston Clark, in September (not October as records state).

Almost half the letter is devoted to Indian affairs and the deteriorating situation on the frontiers. William was particularly concerned about the Prophet and his activities at Prophetstown in northern Indiana. Used by his brother Tecumseh in the latter's efforts to form an Indian confederacy capable of resisting the advancing tide of white settlement, fears had been growing for the past year and more about the Shawnee brothers and their activities. That summer and fall violent confrontations had escalated and fear of a serious Indian war was rising. William was very aware of the increasingly tense situation and expressed to Jonathan in confidence that given the harm they were inflicting the "prophets party must be despurled." He was not the only one who believed this. His friend and fellow territorial administrator William Henry Harrison had been confronted directly with the situation for some time as governor of Indiana Territory. He reached the same conclusion as William, and in November of 1811 led an army to Prophetstown and defeated the Indians in the Battle of Tippecanoe. A general Indian war followed, the opening act to the War of 1812 in which the tribes of the Great Lakes region allied themselves with the British.

The 1 March 1811 letter to brother Edmund and nephew John H. Clark concerns William's rather deep involvement in trade. The exact nature of his trading activities is still not known today. He was involved in trade with the government and with the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company (and its successor the Missouri Fur Company), but evidence indicates that he also participated in trade on a personal basis. Did he? John Loos, in his dissertation on William's life to 1813, presented the material he had found that supported William engaging in private trade, but he could not determine its exact nature.

In editing the William Clark letters I have not fared any better than Loos. William states over and over again in the letters his desire to engage in the lucrative mercantile business in St. Louis. A desired
partnership with his Louisville relations apparently was not formed, but he did do business with them and other merchants concerning trading activities he was involved in.

This 1 March letter may provide a clue to solving this little mystery. William had a habit of referring to people and things in the singular possessive. “My brother” when he was referring to “our brother.” “My journals” when they really were “our journals.” “I am” doing something when it should have been “we are” doing something. I have seen this in other letters from the period, and perhaps it was a habit not uncommon in that day, but it always has struck me as a bit unusual and rather misleading.

In his letter to Edmund and John H. Clark, William sends them a list of Indian trade goods that he is “much in want of in my marcantile business.” This sounds like a personal business endeavor. But the list, in William’s handwriting, is headed “List of Indian Goods for MFC.” These goods were for the Missouri Fur Company. William was one of the founders and partners of this company, and also served as an agent for it, authorized to buy merchandise and hire men for it. The articles of association for the company prohibited trading with the Indians contrary to the interests of the company. This would seem to preclude William engaging in personal Indian trade activities, and perhaps he was not. The articles he wants to purchase for “my marcantile business” actually are for the fur company.

William’s habit of using the singular possessive pronoun may actually be at the root of some of this confusion. When he says “I” or “my” he may actually be referring to a group or plural association or activity. This does not completely solve the mystery of his mercantile pursuits, but it does help explain them.

The two powers of attorney are standard legal documents. The good thing is to have the originals and not just have them exist as clerical copies. The particularly exciting thing about them I noticed is contained in the 3 September 1803 document. It was executed after William had accepted Meriwether Lewis’s invitation to join the expedition to the Pacific. The absolute trust and confidence that William has in his brother is obvious. He places his affairs entirely in the care of Jonathan, knowing that he will be absent from Kentucky and Indiana Territory for two or three years, and unable to be contacted or do anything about what Jonathan might do while acting as his legal representative.

The other thing the power of attorney confirms is that William came across the river to Louisville on the day the nucleus of the Corps of Discovery set out on the expedition. Meriwether Lewis had arrived in Louisville on 14 October. The two captains would have spent a fair amount of time in Louisville. Most of the supplies still needed to be acquired, other business needing attending to, and many social calls would have taken place on the Louisville side of the Ohio. William was so accustomed to coming to Louisville that on 26 October, the day they set out from the falls, he came to Louisville to record that power of attorney. One can picture the possible scene. Not only are William and Lewis going through their checklist before pushing off, but William and Jonathan are too. It is discovered (perhaps at Jonathan’s query?) that the power of attorney has not been recorded, and off they go to Louisville to get it done.

These letters and documents do indeed provide more pieces of the puzzle in completing a detailed picture of William Clark. Are there more out there? I think there may be. William certainly wrote more than just these letters to his esteemed and beloved oldest brother. Even including the few others in collections other than The Filson Club’s there are gaps. Those that descended through the Temple Bodley Collection apparently are all accounted for. But there are many descendants of Jonathan Clark who might just have trunks of family papers in their attics or basements. Just as William and the other members of the Corps of Discovery looked to the horizon wondering what lay ahead, we, as modern day followers of those brave explorers, can look to the future and wonder and hope for what might be found that will further enlighten us about them and America’s greatest exploring venture.

END NOTES

2 Holmberg, 4.
3 Holmberg, 6.

CLASSIFIEDS

LEWIS AND CLARK TOUR—July 2-8, 1999. Follow the steps of the explorers from the Great Falls of the Missouri to Travelers Rest. 6 nights - 7 days. Motor coach transportation, accommodations, meals, historians, events, attractions and much more. Discounts and group rates. $1,525 double occupancy. For further information 1-800-792-7483.

A Long Journey Home

Excerpted from articles in the Philadelphia Inquirer and the Minneapolis Star Tribune

It's a brass clasp, about as big as your thumbnail, not worth anything as small objects go. But when Russell Bagley handed it over to American Philosophical Society Librarian Edward C. Carter, Carter looked as if he were receiving a treasure chest.

The clasp was taken off one of the journals kept by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark on their legendary 1804-06 expedition to the West Coast.

"This is a wonderful gift to the society, and we are greatly in your debt," Carter said. "It belongs here," Bagley replied.

It has not been in Philadelphia for 100 years.

Bagley, a retired anesthesiologist, and his wife Marion, flew from their home in Minneapolis to return the clasp to its home.

When he got the clasp about a year ago, he said, "I thought, gee, that's interesting. I'll frame it." Then he happened to attend a lecture by Stephen Ambrose, author of the best-selling book on Lewis, Undaunted Courage, who suggested that he donate it to the American Philosophical Society.

Although the expedition itself never went through Minnesota, Ron Laycock, the cofounder of the Minnesota Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Heritage Trail Foundation, said, this is the second time something connected with the journey has turned up in Minnesota. In the 1950s, field notes—written on 40 to 50 scraps of paper by Clark near St. Louis during the winter of 1803-04—were found in an old trunk in a St. Paul attic. The discovery was made when the trunk was donated to the Minnesota Historical Society. Laycock said. "How they wound up in a St. Paul attic, nobody has ever figured out."

The route of the clasp is not a mystery.

It is attached to a professional calling card used by C. Hart Merriam 100 years ago. On the card Merriam left a handwritten message attesting to the authenticity of the unremarkable object:

"Part of brass clamp removed by Dr. Elliot Coues in 1893 from one of the original journals of Lewis and Clark, carried by them across the continent in 1804-06. Presented to me by Dr. Coues Jan. 18, 1898."

Merriam was a friend of Coues, who had removed the clasps while editing an early edition of the journals. Merriam and Coues were both members of the American Philosophical Society, which dates to 1743 and has extensive historical collections.

Generations later the clasp and the card were passed down in the Merriam family to Catherine Carey Abbot, who is a cousin of Bagley and who lives in Bethesda, Maryland. She passed it on to him and now he has carried it to the society. In return he has asked to see the original journals.

Like many Americans, Bagley is inspired by the story of Lewis and Clark. He has read about their journey and has followed part of their trail himself.

When his cousin offered him the clasp about a year ago, he told her he would treasure it.

"At first I thought that would be great framed, up on the wall," Bagley said. "Then I decided this is really something special that should go back to the journals."

Laycock applauds the decision. "The original journals are one of our nation's treasures," he said. "They were one-of-a-kind documents that were handwritten by these men when they went coast to coast. The fellow that edited the journals evidently found these little clips were getting in the way and pried them off but somehow still felt they were valuable enough to

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JOURNEY
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give them to friends."
Rob Cox, manuscript librarian for the American Philosophical Society, said his group has 30 Lewis and Clark journals: 18 of them are bound and 12 are loose-leaved. They are relatively small, 4 by 6 inches and about a third of an inch thick.

They contain the explorers' observations on anything they saw worth noting—the Indians they encountered, the topography, the sights, the animals, the plants and the weather.

Although they are legible, the journals are shown only rarely and under close security. They will be on public display for the 200th anniversary of the expedition, Cox said.

Bicentennial events are being planned along the full length of the journey, between 2003 and 2006, Laycock said.

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by Martin Erickson
"The air is sweet and clear, the heavens serene like the south part of France, rarely overcast. The people are a collection of diverse nations in Europe, as, French, Dutch, Germans, Swedes, Danes, Finns, Scotch, Irish and English; and of the last equal to all the rest, but as they are of one kind and in one place and under one allegiance, so they live like the people of one country."
William Penn
(A Further Account of the Province, 1685)

There we were, Joe Musselman, Frank Muhly and I, sitting at a table in the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia as Scott DeHaven, assistant manuscripts librarian, brought in two of the small journals Lewis and Clark carried on the expedition. Bound in red leather, they were about the size of a modern day newspaper reporter's notebook.

As Scott set the journals down on the table he opened them with his white-gloved hands and I was looking at the almost delicate handwriting of William Clark's Codex A and Meriwether Lewis's harder to read handwriting in Codex D. It was an awesome moment. How many years had I been waiting to see these journals? Maybe since I was in the seventh grade.

There were Nicholas Biddle's red delineations as he worked on the journals. There was the mystery of an unfinished sentence on the first page of Codex A. Clark had been describing hiring Corps of Discovery members and the text on the next page jumps to a description of the Wood River start of the journey. It was like we had stepped back almost 200 years in time.

We could look but not touch the pages of the journals. Scott would carefully turn the pages for us.

We didn't see the Ordway journals, but they were there.

The American Philosophical Society was begun by Benjamin Franklin in 1743. Meriwether Lewis was elected a member on October 21, 1803. He attended at least one meeting on June 17, 1807.

The library holds much more history than the journals of the expedition. In the science and technology area there are books up to the 20th century on the history of quantum physicists and letters from Einstein as well as many foreign scientific publications not easily available elsewhere.

The library houses over 200,000 volumes, six million manuscripts and thousands of maps and prints. There is pre-Civil War early American history and the writings of Charles Darwin (who was funded by the society), the largest collection of Benjamin Franklin material through the 1780s and Thomas Jefferson's material as it relates to the society. Steven Long's expedition journals and sketches are there as are Ramsey Peale's writings from the 1820s and 30s.

Schmick's Mahican Dictionary and the Index to the Records of the Moravian Mission among the Indi-
Meriwether Lewis sent back and brought back plants for Benjamin Smith Barton to do a book on them. Frederick Pursh recognized the plants for what they were and his two volume *Flora Americae Septentrionalis* included descriptions of some of the plants Lewis brought back from the West. Lewis addressed his information on plants to scientists not lay people. He also looked for plants that might have some commercial use such as the Oregon grape.

Although we were allowed to see some of the plants, we were careful not to touch them. They are both beautiful and brittle. “Every time these specimens are handled, damage occurs to some degree,” said Schuyler, who has been attaching small envelopes to the sheets to hold fragments that flake when the heavy, overlaying cover sheets are opened or closed. Because light might lead to structural deterioration and decolorization, he will not allow the plants to be displayed for long periods. He has started charging $100 to Lewis and Clark enthusiasts who want to see the sheets out of mere curiosity.

Schuyler’s department is suffering from a lack of funding. “The old money died out,” he pointed out. The money collected from Lewis and Clark enthusiasts is just a small fraction of the funding needed to move the plants into a more secure room with a storage facility that controls humidity. They also hope to have conservators remount several specimens. They have applied for funding from the Save America’s Treasures program, a public/private initiative of the White House and the National Trust.

As we walked back across town to check out the National Park Service visitor center, Frank Muhly reminded us that William Bartram was asked to go on the Lewis and Clark Expedition but he declined as he was 64 years old.

**There are 71 sites in Philadelphia related to Meriwether Lewis, and Frank Muhly has tracked them all down. Eight of the sites are people and places where Lewis was mentored. Supplies were purchased in 27 places. There were 24 friends or contacts he visited and there are 12 modern sites that you can physically see.**

The next morning we gathered in Independence Square behind Independence Hall in the Historic District. There were 23 of us ready to spend a Saturday walking with Frank Muhly to look at history.

Not too many feet from where we stood the Declaration of Independence was first read in public. Inside Independence Hall the Constitution of the United States was debated and finally written. Independence Hall was built between 1732 and 1756 and was originally known as the Pennsylvania State House.

When Meriwether Lewis returned from the West, he went to Philadelphia in 1807 to sit for a portrait by Charles Willson Peale which was done in the State House. Peale had his studio and museum in the State House, and it was there that Lewis gave him his peace pipe and ermine-skin...
Walking Philadelphia

Independence Hall on a sunny September Saturday morning. Picture taken from Independence Park.

The 200-foot tower of Christ Church could easily be seen from across the Delaware River in New Jersey.

One way to see the historic district.

Our way of seeing the historic district. The Postal Service Museum to the right is a part of Franklin Court.
Brick is big in Philadelphia as the front of Christ Church illustrates (above). Ben Franklin keeps watch over the city from his alcove above the door of the reconstructed Library Hall (upper right). Old weathered historical markers and new, fresh and colorful historical signs guide us through the historic district (right).
category. He also worked there with Peale to preserve the animal specimens he brought back from the West.

A good portion of the supplies Lewis bought came from Israel Whelan, the Purveyor of Public Supplies, who lived in the basement of Philosophical Hall which is also in Independence Square just to the southeast of Independence Hall.

Library Hall, where the American Philosophical Society Library is housed, is just across the street to the east of Independence Square. We paused outside the hall and Frank Muhly gave us a brief description of its history. Then we walked around the corner to the Second Bank of the United States. The First Bank of the United States is about two blocks to the southeast. The First Bank is a footnote in history as the first bank building in the United States, but the Second Bank is the home of the Charles Willson Peale Portrait Gallery. The bank opened in 1824 (Nicholas Biddle was the president) and was closed by Andrew Jackson in 1841. It holds portraits of the famous and the obscure who contributed to the building of the United States. Lewis and Clark, Thomas Jefferson, George Washington are there in portraits, and some like Washington are also represented in sculpture. Park Ranger Ed Welch gave us an enthusiastic and fact-filled tour of the gallery.

A short walk down Chestnut Street and a sharp turn north brought us to Franklin Court. Meriwether Lewis and Benjamin Franklin never met, but Franklin had an influence on Lewis just as he did on most of the people then and to this day through his great curiosity and inventiveness.

A walk through the court brought us to an area near where the expedition journals were published at the press of Bradford and Inskeep. Druggist David Jackson supplied the expedition with 30 gallons of wine and six iron bound kegs. His shop was on the same block as the printers. Not too far away was the house where on the evening of May 19, 1802, Lewis and Mahlon Dickerson visited with the daughter of John Fries.

Most of the “High Street” houses (now Market Street) were made of brick. They were customarily three stories high and were called Trinity houses. Each of the three floors had only one room for Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

The High Street merchants supplied Lewis with the air gun, butcher knives, corn mills, scissors, shears and miscellaneous items such as handkerchiefs and beads. Brass kettles, a trunk and a black tin saucepan were also purchased on High Street.

Christ Church was also on our agenda, according to Frank Muhly, for two reasons. When it was built between 1727 and 1744, it was a colossal edifice, and it played an important role in national and ecclesiastical history. With a 200 foot tower and steeple it dwarfed the rest of Philadelphia. Washington and Franklin were regular attendees. Washington’s pew was #58.

Behind the church lived an artist involved in one of the many mysteries about the expedition. Artist John Barralet was commissioned by Lewis to paint views of the Great Falls of the Missouri. Although paid for, they have never been found. And, in a hall nearby, Lewis and Mahlon Dickerson were entertained by Rannie the Magician in 1802.

North of High Street, a pair of pocket pistols were purchased by Lewis. South of High Street, he purchased cloth for uniforms and near the City Tavern the lead canisters from George Ludlam to hold the expedition gun powder.

Across the street from the City Tavern Lewis purchased the infamous Dr. Rush’s pills and other medical supplies. The Indian ink to write the journals was also purchased here and a walnut and a pine chest along with other miscellaneous items.

Another church, St. Peter’s, was also on the walk. Finished in 1763, it also has a Lewis connection. Along the south side of the cemetery, Osage orange trees are still prospering. They are thought to be descendants of the seeds sent back from Fort Mandan by the expedition to Bernard McMahon.

McMahon had a nursery right across the street. St. Peter’s graveyard is another point of interest for Lewis and Clark buffs. Both Nicholas Biddle and Charles Willson Peale are buried there. Naval hero Stephen Decatur (War of 1812) is also buried there.

The last stop on the tour is where the Episcopal Diocese of Pennsylvania is now housed. It was the home of Caspar Wistar, another one of Lewis’s mentors. Wistar, who wrote the first book on anatomy in America, taught the subject to Lewis. Wistar succeeded Thomas Jefferson as president of the American Philosophical Society.

Sunday was a day for church at St. Peter’s, a tour of Independence Hall, a further study of Franklin Court and a Mexican festival at Penn’s Landing on the bank of the Delaware River.

The Historic District of Philadelphia is the kind of place where a person could spend a week or two or three soaking up all that is there. I was fortunate to get a taste of it. We all will get more in 2003 when the foundation’s annual meeting is held there to start the bicentennial of a journey that still holds us spellbound after 200 years.
River Odysseys West (ROW) is proud to introduce the first-ever outfitted trips on the Upper Missouri River traveling in stable 34' canoes that replicate those of the early fur-traders. Similar in size to the dugouts used by the Corps of Discovery, each canoe will carry up to 14 paddlers and two talented ROW guides. They provide the perfect platform for spinning yarns and gazing upon the many points of interest along the way while you paddle from a comfortable sitting position. These adventures are designed for people age five and up with an interest in exploring and learning about the rich history of the Upper Missouri. No previous camping or canoeing experience is required.

Several departures are designated as *Journeys of Discovery™* and will feature talented authors, historians and interpreters with specialized knowledge of this area. Our August 1st trip will be led by Robert Carriker, author of *Father Peter John De Smet: Jesuit in the West*. The August 9th departure will feature Otis Halfmoon, chief interpreter for the Nez Perce National Historic Park and will focus on the Indian history and culture of the area. Another departure will feature Jack Nisbet, author of *Sources of the River*, a book about the famous fur-trader David Thompson.

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Editor's Note: Jim Ronda, the Barnard Professor of Western History at the University of Tulsa, was the banquet speaker at the 1998 Foundation Annual Meeting. Following is his complete address.

by James P. Ronda

We call it the Lewis and Clark Expedition. But neither Thomas Jefferson nor his captains used that phrase. For Jefferson it was always “Mr. Lewis’s Tour” or the “tour of Lewis and Clark.” But sometimes the president called this infantry company on the move “The Corps of Discovery.” In recent years that phrase—“The Corps of Discovery”—has become increasingly popular. Like so many of Jefferson’s lines, it has a nice ring to it. It sounds good; it sounds right. “Corps of Discovery” appeals to us the same way we like “when in the course of human events” or “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.”

Such wonderful words—so smooth, so engaging, so deceptively familiar. What do they mean? What did the Corps of Discovery “discover” that was not already known to generations of native people? What were Jefferson’s explorers commanded to discover? And was the president pleased with what was discovered, uncovered, or even recovered? After all, he confidently told Congress in December 1806 that the Corps of Discovery “had all the success which could have been expected.” And just what had Jefferson expected? The simple answer is that more than anything else he expected the discovery of a water passage from Atlantic to Pacific by way of the great rivers Missouri and Columbia. The most important line in Jefferson’s instructions to Lewis was the one telling him to locate and explore “the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce.” Everything else—all the botany, ethnology, diplomacy, and zoology—was just secondary. As the president once harshly reminded Lewis, “the object of your mission is single, the direct water communication from sea to sea.”

But we know, as Lewis and Clark came to know, that Jefferson’s dream of a northwest passage was just that—a dream, an illusion, a geographic hat trick; now you see it, now you don’t. In the years after 1806 Jefferson struggled to distance himself from that failed dream, talking more about discoveries in the realm of science. Having lost a dream, he set about the more routine business of list making—lists of exotic plants, unusual animals, and mysterious tribal names. Now all of this leaves us with a great puzzle. We like the phrase “Corps of Discovery” but we are stuck with the task of sorting out just what Lewis and Clark really discovered. And our assignment is made all the harder when we acknowledge that theirs were not the first human eyes to see, to discover, to describe, and even to appreciate the country between the Missouri and the Western Sea.

But we are fond of the “Corps of Discovery,” and liking it means we should think through the meanings of those words.

Three possibilities, three courses of action occur to me. First: Like Thomas Jefferson we could make lists—lists of plants, animals, cultures, places, and languages new to European and American eyes and ears. But lists are not explanations; they appeal only to cold reason, and we want something that speaks to both head and heart, mind and soul.

Second: We could follow the lead of some recent film makers and popular writers. We could just claim that Lewis and Clark were great discoverers and stay mum about the details. Lewis and Clark are worth your time and attention...
Jefferson and his explorers thought the First Expectation: the West. No matter how much attention they paid to native cultures or plants or animals or geography, the country bounded by the Missouri and the Pacific still seemed an empty place. Nothing brings that home with greater force than looking at maps of the West drafted at the time of the expedition. Samuel Lewis's 1803 map of Louisiana is a classic depiction of the empty West. Like a blank slate, the West seemed to invite Americans to write all sorts of messages—personal and national—on its unmarked face. The expectation of the empty West seemed not so much a frightening prospect as an inviting promise; perhaps a dangerous and self-righteous promise—one that said: this is a place made of clay—mold it and shape it whatever way you choose. There are no limits; make your own Eden, your own paradise. The lure of emptiness: what a seductive promise.

The Second Expectation: The Wilderness West

It wasn't just an empty West that Jefferson invented and Lewis and Clark expected. They also believed they would find a wilderness West. Now there are few words in modern American English more slippery, more elusive, more changeable in meaning and use than the word "wilderness." We use it in negative ways to mean wild, untamed, untouched places, trackless places, territories of risk and danger. Wilderness is the enemy of civilization; wilderness is something to defeat, tame, and domesticate. At the same time, and especially in our century, we have put a positive construction on the word. Now "wilderness" means natural beauty, high adventure, something to embrace and preserve. We look at western landscape paintings by Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran and say "ah! wilderness.

But such romantic oozings had little or no appeal for Jefferson and his Corps of Discovery. When they envisioned the West as wilderness they conjured up a place where nature had slipped the chains of rule and reason and now ran loose and unchecked. Such a wild place could have no real homes, no genuine families, no enduring civilizations until the wilderness was beaten down, beaten back, and made to accept the ruling hand of man the farmer, man the honest cultivator of the good earth.

The Third Expectation: The Bounded West

It was, so Jefferson thought, an empty place, a wild place, and also—strangely enough—a place with remarkably clear lines and boundaries. Whether you looked from Mexico City or Washington or Quebec, the country west of the Missouri seemed to be divided up into neat sections, tidy imperial packages. Depending on the nationality of the cartographer and the aspirations of his audience, those packages were either grand and expansive, or tightly confined to narrow coastal parcels. Imagine maps of the Louisiana Purchase drafted by American, Spanish, Canadian, and Mandan cartographers. For an American audience a purchase map might run along lines from the mouth of the Mississippi to the source of the Missouri—surely the heart of a vast American empire. But a Spanish map would reveal a very different, and much smaller, package. Spanish diplomats, bureaucrats, soldiers, and cartographers all believed that the purchase was no more than present-day Missouri and part of Arkansas. Now that is a very sharply defined, closely confined American West! And the Canadians—who after all had the real jump on the Americans in the Northwest thanks to James Cook, George Vancouver, Peter Pond, and Alexander Mackenzie—how did
1. Bill Sherman (sitting) and Ed & Astrid Wang concentrate on the program. 2. Yo! Yo! Heave ho! Moving the canoe/baggage carriage takes a goodly amount of effort. 3. Early risers (6:30 a.m.) saw a bull boat moving around the Medicine (Sun) River. 4. The intrepid explorers take a look at Sulphur Springs. 5. Ruth Colter Frick waits for buyers of her book on ancestor John Colter at the vendor's fair.
Meeting of Discovery

Bev & Steve Hinds

6. Ludd Trospek and Chuck Redden at Rainbow Falls Overlook. 7. The Great Falls of the Missouri was at its best for our picnic. 8. At the grand opening of the new interpretive center, Rose Ann Abrahamson (Lemhi Shoshone) signed in Indian language as AIC Richard Vasquez, Jr. sang "America the Beautiful." 9. This Corps of Discovery team waits for the buses to show up. 10. When all else fails, hit the hotel swimming pool.
they carve up the West and hand out the slices? Aaron Arrowsmith’s map of 1795 tells the story. In the new British Empire in America after the colonial rebellion of 1776, the West and the Pacific Northwest are the jewels in the crown. From present-day Montana and Idaho to Oregon and Washington by way of British Columbia, the entire West will be—so this London map claims—under royal sway.

For Mandan mapmakers—and Lewis and Clark met at least one of them—the very idea of either Louisiana or a purchase made little sense. Why name a country after a distant and now-dead French king? Selling the country was dangerous nonsense, and besides, no plains people had been party to the transaction. But Mandan cartographers did have a sure sense of their own country and the territorial boundaries of the Mandan world. For now at least, the Louisiana Purchase had no place—no real presence—on Indian maps. That, of course, was soon to change.

Such are the clear visions of empire—visions that take no notice of rivals, competitors, or first-comers. And of course, these are the clarities that seduce and ultimately disillusion. So it was with Thomas Jefferson; he was seduced and finally disillusioned. But that is a story for another time.

The Fourth Expectation: The Simple West

What this first American reconnaissance of the West expected was emptiness, wilderness, clarity, and finally, simplicity. The simple West was at the heart of Jefferson’s own mental and political geography. What he took on faith was the following catechism:

1. That the mountains of the West were like those of the East, all arranged in neat parallel ridges and pierced by many passes;

2. That three great rivers of North America—the Ohio, the Missouri, and the Columbia—provided the channels for a transcontinental water highway;

3. And that the interior of North America was a fertile garden, a farmer’s paradise with rich soil, abundant water, and a temperate climate. Here in the garden of the West, Americans could be forever free, self-reliant, and in love with liberty. This was a simple, but not a simple-minded, geography. It was an expression of Jefferson’s belief that the West could provide constant renewal and fresh life for the American republic. In the clean balance of mountains, rivers, and gardens, Jefferson found reassurance—reassurance that the victories of the American Revolution would not be lost. This simple West was his insurance policy against an uncertain future.

Empty, wild, clear, simple—these words best describe what Jefferson, Lewis, and Clark believed, hoped, trusted they would find beyond the wide Missouri and over the Stony Mountains. We find what we look for; we uncover what we seek after. Despite not finding a usable water passage from Atlantic to Pacific, the Corps of Discovery did find much that they had gone in search of. But on every journey, no matter how well planned, there are revelations—recoveries if you will—that are unlooked for and perhaps even unwelcome.

We can appreciate those surprising discoveries by some sleight-of-hand magic spelling. Instead of talking about the Corps of Discovery and spelling it c-o-r-p-s, we might spell it c-o-r-e, and then ask: what was the core of discovery? What did these pilgrims learn, even if the learning was done reluctantly and in some confusion? What did they discover about their own cherished beliefs, even if such discoveries tarnished and dented those beliefs?

What I’d like to suggest is that the core, the fundamentals proved to be exactly the opposite of what Jefferson and his captains expected. The explorers expected emptiness and found fullness. They found not the Big Empty but the Big Full. The West of Lewis and Clark, the West of native people like Black Cat, Cameahwait, and Coboway was a place unimaginably full. Here were landscapes filled with plants and animals, sounds and languages, shapes and colors. If there is such a thing as an empty West, it is today with fewer plants, fewer animals, and perhaps less in the diversity of peoples and cultures. We have a little-used word in English to describe the kind of fullness that Lewis and Clark encountered. That word is plenitude, from the Latin plenus, meaning complete or full. The West was not a perfect land of plenty, a Native American Garden of Eden. Native peoples from the Great Plains to the Pacific Northwest knew all about scarcity and hunger, violence and death. But they did live in a world fuller, more diverse, more richly variegated than we often imagine. Jefferson and his adventurers went into the West expecting empty space. Instead they found countries where the buffalo were so dense that the travelers had to beat a path through the herds. Now that is an image of fullness, of plenitude, that should endure in our national imagination.

The explorers expected wilderness and found home. Nothing puts in sharper focus the different ways Euro-Americans and Native Americans saw the West than to consider two words—“wilderness” and “home.” Stand at Fort Clatsop’s main gate and ponder those words. In the minds and through the eyes of William
Clark and his companions, home was East, someplace else, perhaps Virginia or Kentucky.

Wilderness was everything else, everywhere else. Clark walked through the gate and into what he imagined a wilderness. How different it was for Coboway and the Clatsops from Point Adams village. All that Clark called wilderness was for them home, backyard, neighborhood. What needed exploring for the Clatsops was that odd, rectangular space the bearded strangers called their fort. Lewis and Clark had come upon but never fully understood a core truth about the West. What outsiders called wilderness was in fact home. Who would occupy that home and enjoy its plenitude soon became the heart of what we might call the War for the West. It was a war that began for the United States with Lewis and Clark and in one way or another continues in our own time.

The explorers expected clarity, the clear, well-defined lines of imperial ambition etched on maps from London, Madrid, Philadelphia, or Washington. What Lewis and Clark found was a West far murkier, far more complex than they had ever suspected. Without using the word, the explorers had come upon ambiguity. Like all travelers, Lewis and Clark learned that places and events have many sides and many explanations. Individuals have many faces. Things are often not what they seem to be. And in the glare of a plains sun or the shroud of a North Coast fog, the lines of imperial ambition blurred. Grounded in the enlightenment tradition that celebrated fact and precision, Lewis and Clark found ambiguity an unwelcome discovery.

The explorers expected simplicity, the simple geography that nourished Jefferson's dream of an empire for liberty. Schooled in the mountains and rivers of the East, Lewis and Clark anticipated finding western terrain that mirrored the familiar lay of the land. But here too they encountered inescapable realities, the fact of land and life in the American West. The geography out past St. Louis did not conform to the simplicities of enlightenment theory. East to west there was no neat balance of rivers, mountains, passes, and gardens. What the West offered instead was a complex tangle of mountain range upon range all interlaced with wild, impassable rivers. And while some of the West had soil as fertile as any in Ohio or Illinois, other places were never meant for the plow. Out across the Missouri Lewis and Clark did not find a mirror reflecting the East; instead they—like Alice—stepped through the looking-glass and into a world filled with box canyons, twisted trails, and mountains all topsy-turvy.

Realities rarely match expectations. Whether the trip is to the grocery store or some distant planet, what we find is never quite what we thought would be on the shelf. A drive to Paris, Texas, is not like an ocean voyage to Paris, France. Planning the journey, experiencing the journey, and measuring the consequences of the journey—whether to one Paris or the other—is sure to be horses of different colors. And so it was with Jefferson and his Corps of Discovery. The expedition was an enterprise remarkably confident about its goals and the ultimate consequences of reaching those goals. Lewis and Clark never thought about the West as "The Great Unknown." They were fully prepared to encounter the empty, the wild, the simple, and the clearly marked. But what they found is the core of discovery. They found fullness, home, a disturbing ambiguity, and a bewilderingly complex geography. And it is exactly here that Jefferson and Cameahwait, Clark and Coboway, Lewis and Black Cat become our contemporaries. It is just here that the years collapse and the centuries fade away. Like them, we live not in an empty space but in a very full place. Diversity is not an abstraction in American life. It is our reality. Lewis and Clark glimpsed the American crazy quilt; we live in it. And what about where we live? Lewis and Clark expected wilderness and found the homes of native people. Now that all of us have homes on the range, little houses on the prairie, what kind of stewards have we been? How have we cared for America now that it has become, in the words of Willa Cather, "the home place." Neither Jefferson nor his captains appreciated the subtle nuances of ambiguity. They wanted a world with clear choices and well-marked boundaries. And so do we. But modern life is not like that, and Lewis and Clark had an uneasy inkling of the future—a future where moral compasses go spinning and exceptions outweigh the rules. None of this is simple, and of course simplicity is what the president and his men wanted. They sought a simple geography, a simple future, and a simple American empire with no rivals. What they found is what we live in and through each day. They found complexity. They did not find a Native American paradise or Jefferson's republic of happy farmers or even Henry David Thoreau's forest of true knowledge. Up the Missouri, across the mountains, and down the Columbia the travelers met daily lessons about life in a complex world. Like those adventurers, we struggle to make our way along crooked paths and over broken ground.

At the core of the Lewis and Clark journey are four enduring revelations, revelations that come clear only if we pause to reflect on them. First, that the natural world was

"CORE" continued on page 24)
DAR Marker Dedicated at Tavern Cave Site

by Lucy Huger

The historic DAR marker at St. Albans, Missouri commemorating the visit May 23, 1804, of Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and members of the Corps of Discovery to the Tavern Cave and Cliffs, was made part of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, October 1, 1997. This event was sponsored by the Cornelia Greene Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution; the Metro-St. Louis Chapter, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation; the National Park Service, NHT; the St. Albans Land Development Company and the Chesterfield Day School/St. Albans.

In 1804, the Tavern Cave was located on the south bank of the Missouri River, near the Tavern Rock. In the "Journals" entry May 23, 1804, Lewis and Clark and all the sergeants note the cave, giving the dimensions and the 300 ft. cliffs above where Lewis fell. It could have been fatal for Lewis right there at the beginning of the expedition. He fell and caught at 20 ft. The walls of the cave bear the markings "ORD" (Ordway) and "1804". The Corps of Discovery stopped here but camped on an island a short distance away.

The great flood of 1903 altered the course of the Missouri River filling in land on the south bank so that the Tavern Cave is several hundred feet from the river. Today it is located under the railroad right-of-way on the land of the St. Albans Land Development Company's property. It is practically inaccessible. It was for this reason that the DAR marker was located in the Village of St. Albans, 1 3/4 miles west of the Cave.

Ronald G. Laycock, chapter liaison for the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, was the keynote speaker at the dedication, October 1, 1997. Richard N. Williams, coordinator of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail for the National Park Service, spoke on the significance of the marker as part of the NHT. Members of the sponsoring organizations took part in the program. The entire student body of the Chesterfield Day School/St. Albans was in costume and participated in the program.

"CORE" Cont. from p. 23

meant to be plenitude, fullness, diversity—not one way but many ways; not one voice and one face but many voices and many faces.

Second, that so much of the history of the West was (and still is) a struggle about home—whose home will it be? And if outsiders come to claim home, do the first-comers, the insiders, the first housekeepers, become strangers, exiles from the promised land? And how long do you have to live here to call it home?

Third, that the lives of individual human beings and great nations can never be told as simple stories with easy plots and comforting conclusions. Lewis and Clark were forced to confront ambiguity, the hard fact that real life is more hazy gray than stark black and white.

Fourth, that everything is more complex than it seems and that real maturity requires accepting complexity—whether that complexity is in geography or human relations.

The novelist Italo Calvino once wrote that "a classic is a book that has never finished saying what it has to say." The Lewis and Clark journey is that sort of book. Reading it, walking along with it, we are rewarded with the promise of enlargement, and the adventure of strangeness. The core of discovery enlarges our vision, expands our horizons, and serves as a steady reminder that on this earth we are all wayfaring strangers heading home.
Parents, Give Your Kids a Cultural Experience at the 1999 Annual Meeting in North Dakota

by Kristie Frieze
Director-North Dakota Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Foundation

When I was younger my mother gave me many so-called “cultural experiences.” Mostly they were in response to such queries as: “Why do I have to do that?” (Ella Fitzgerald concert), “Taste what?” (escargot). When I look back on my childhood now, those are some of my favorite memories. A cultural experience by my mother’s definition was anything that opened my eyes to something different whether I liked it or not.

This year in Bismarck, we are going to take the Kids Camp one step further. We are going to follow Freeman Tilden’s sixth principle of interpretation: “Interpretation addressed to children should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.”

In addition to a day where the kids go off on their own, there will be separate activities built into the program especially for them.

As a mother I love details regarding my children’s activities. So here are the details to date and more will follow:

- Sunday, the kids will travel to the evening reception with their parents. Guides will meet them. They will have their own reception and join their parents to return to the hotel.
- Monday, during the field trips, kids will again travel with their parents to Knife River Indian Villages. As they arrive they will have a different program to attend than their parents. The same will be true for Tuesday’s field trips to the North Dakota Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center and Fort Mandan.
- On Wednesday they will go on their own for the day as their parents enjoy speakers in the hotel. All the activities the kids will be involved in will be educational and focused on Lewis and Clark but most importantly they will be fun.

If you think your kids could use a “cultural experience,” register them for the 1999 annual meeting in Bismarck, North Dakota, August 1-4. If you have any questions or would like more details please don’t hesitate to give me a call at the North Dakota Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center, (701) 462-8535.

10 Reasons Why North Dakota Is Important in the History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

List compiled by Clay S. Jenkinson

1. The Corps of Discovery gained four new members here: Sacagawea chiefly, Toussaint Charbonneau, Jean Baptiste (Pomp), and Baptiste LePage.
2. The true “discovery” phase of the expedition began here. Lewis’s heroic and self-conscious journal entry of April 7, 1805, is the best indication we have of the new phase of the expedition that began in its second travel season.
3. Lewis and Clark wrote impor-
The air of North Dakota’s bottomlands resonates softly with purity, peace and vibrancy. Riding with the Missouri, along some of the longest stretches of free flowing river in the world, a feeling descends on the traveler that this is a remarkable place indeed.

As long as sunlight glints off its rippling currents, the Missouri will have stories to tell. This river is bigger and older than all of us. It has survived good winters and bad winters, summers of flood and summers of drought. It has seen homes built on its banks, and it has seen those homes destroyed. It has been respected, explored and exploited. It has seen generations of residents pass into obscurity.

Today, the banks of the Missouri are home to individuals and institutions, many of which are dedicated to preserving and sharing the history of life surrounding the Missouri River. For the modern voyager in search of the river’s tale, there are several strategies available. The most popular is the geographical trail, beginning with the nearest location and ending with the farthest.

The second strategy, perhaps more suited to reading than to actually traveling, is a chronological trip. Within the historical loop of northcentral North Dakota, one of the oldest historical sites is that of the Knife River Indian Villages. Members of the Mandan, Hidatsa and Arikara tribes inhabited these villages through 1885.

Three distinct Hidatsa sub-tribes originally developed the villages. The Awatixa believed that they were created on the Missouri River, while the Awaxawi and Hidatsa believed their origins to lie along eastern streams. In 1525, the Awaxita settled the first village at the Knife River site. In 1781, the Mandans, who had abandoned their lower villages to escape the small pox epidemic that had been brought by European traders, joined the unified Hidatsa along the Knife River.

In 1845, the Mandan and Hidatsa tribes formed Like-A-Fishhook village, the largest at the Knife River site, and were joined in 1862 by the Arikara. In 1885 the inhabitants of the Knife River Indian Villages were relocated to the Fort Berthold Indian Reservation.

The earth lodges that housed the inhabitants of the villages have long since fallen, but their depression rings can still be seen at Knife River Indian Villages today. The National Park Service has preserved the site, accessible just north of Stanton, North Dakota. The site, complete with reconstructed earth lodge and interpretive center, is a haunting reminder of the transience of civilization and the endurance of humanity.

During the winter of 1804-1805, the Mandans and Hidatsas were visited by a group of explorers from the United States. The Lewis & Clark Expedition chose to winter nearby because of those tribes’ excellent reputations as diplomats and traders. It was at Knife River villages that Lewis and Clark met Sakakawea, a girl of Shoshoni birth who would eventually play an essential role in the success of the expedition and become one of its most famous members.

The winter of 1804-1805 was a difficult one, marked by blisteringly cold temperatures and blustering winds. It has often been observed that the men of the expedition might not have survived had it not been for their trade relationships with the Mandans.

The actual site of the Corps of Discovery’s Fort Mandan appears lost to the modern world, as scho...
ars believe that the site lies somewhere within the modern river channel. Upon their 1806 return to the Mandan-Hidatsa villages, the infamous Toussaint Charbonneau told members of the expedition that Fort Mandan was burned to the ground. Almost 200 years later, the original site of the fort is still unknown. Archaeological searches are, however, in the planning.

The legacy of the Lewis and Clark Expedition lives on in the town of Washburn, North Dakota, settled in the late 1800s in the vicinity of Fort Mandan. As the bicentennial of the expedition swiftly approaches, North Dakotans are working hard to prepare a world-class experience for travelers seeking the story of Lewis and Clark.

The North Dakota Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Foundation is making improvements to the 25 year-old Fort Mandan replica, which rests on a stretch of riverbank much like that of the original fort. Surrounded by and built with native cottonwood trees, Fort Mandan seems to stand guard, but not to threaten the world around it.

The modern visitor might surmise that the original fort had the same presence, and perhaps this was a factor in the amicable relations between the Americans and the Mandans. After a visit to Fort Mandan, the traveler can stop by the North Dakota Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center to take in the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and specifically their time at Fort Mandan.

Along with artifacts and exhibits from the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the interpretive center also presents a collection of original prints of the works of Karl Bodmer, a Swiss artist who traveled the Missouri 30 years after Fort Mandan was destroyed by fire.

Bodmer traveled with German Prince Maximilian as a guest of the American Fur Company, using “aquatints” and sketches to record the people and places he encountered along the way. Some of his most prolific work was done during his stay at Fort Clark, a fur trading post positioned south of the Knife River Indian Villages.

Fort Clark was established in 1830-31, by an employee of the American Fur Company named James Kipp who hoped to enhance trade with the Indians by keeping a fort so close to their villages. Francis A. Chardon, Fort Clark's chief trader, kept a journal, still in publication today, of his time at the trading post.

The fort was later visited by George Catlin who, like Karl Bodmer, found willing subjects in the Native Americans they encountered, and incapability in the landscape they witnessed. Another of Fort Clark's legacies is, sadly, the devastating disease that was brought into native communities by European traders.

In 1837, after the visits of Catlin and Bodmer, a steamboat carrying passengers infected with smallpox docked at Fort Clark, ultimately killing 90 percent of its inhabitants. Those who survived fled the site, moving north to the Knife River Indian Villages.

Today, there are more than 2,200 archaeological features to be viewed at Fort Clark, a moving reminder of the hopeful expectations that drove America west, and the tragic consequences that expansion held for some.

The Missouri River region that was once a hub of activity for villagers, explorers and traders is now home to family farmers, small businesses, a booming coal industry, homes and homesteads. Modern residents of North Dakota still hold the hopeful vision of the future that drove James Kipp to establish his trading post on the Missouri. Once in a while we still see this little piece of earth through the eyes of Lewis and Clark, eyes that beheld something new and wondrous in the natural world every day.

And our connection to the thousands of villagers who made their homes at the Knife River Indian Villages is undeniable. Like those ancient inhabitants, North Dakota's modern residents are tied directly to the land, to the bounty it yields in good years, and the hardship it leaves us in others.

Like the Mandan villagers who lived in separate villages during summer and winter, we too must adapt to the harsh weather that the seasons bring. And we, too, find ourselves listening to the mighty Missouri, listening to the stories it holds about times past and times present.

(More North Dakota Meeting news on page 38)
by Glen Kirkpatrick

As a long time admirer and historian of the Corps of Discovery, I was truly excited as I packed my gear for a backpacking trip with my son and his Boy Scout troop to repeat Captain William Clark's historic trek across Tillamook head for whale meat on Oregon's north coast. I imagined the magnificent scene from Clark's Point of View described by Clark as "the grandest and most pleasing prospects which my eyes ever surveyed." This place had to be special to command the travelers to "stop and admire the view" after all they had seen crossing the continent in 1805. I could only imagine the thoughts and feelings of Clark, Sacagawea (with Pomp), Charbonneau, and the eleven other men as they stood at this remote awe inspiring point on the edge of the continent that they spent so many months and endured so many hardships to cross. It must have been especially wild and strange for Sacagawea who, up until the day before, had never seen the great ocean.

I packed my Coues edition of the Journals of Lewis and Clark so that I could read the magnificent descriptions to the scouts to try to give them an appreciation for the events of 190 years ago.

Imagine my surprise and utter disappointment when we encountered a mediocre spot memorialized by a marker and a large interpretive sign as "Clark's Point of View". As I stood there I knew instantly something was wrong. The area had none of the features so eloquently described by Clark in his January 1806 journal entries. The place was not a high point or even a point. There were no views of the waves crashing on the shoreline, no views to the south, no views of Cape Disappointment. Although I had my Coues edition out and ready for the history lesson, I opted to simply put the journals back into my pack. At that moment of disappointment, I became determined to locate the correct place and experience the magic of "the grandest and most pleasing prospects my eyes ever surveyed."

Initially, the task of definitively finding the true Clark's Point of View seemed hopeless. I read different edited versions of the journals and read the information that the Oregon Department of Parks and Recreation had on the location of the plaque. I poured through all the information I could obtain at the local library and at book stores. Although eloquent, the descriptions seemed to be vague and very difficult to pin down with any certainty to present day features. Eventually I started to carefully analyze the documentation on Clark's Point of View. I read and re-read portions of Gary Moulton's 1990 edition of the Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition until I thought I had them committed to memory. Then, all of a sudden it came to me! I realized from one of Clark's sentences that he stood on the Point of View and could see northward to Cape Disappointment and when he looked in the opposite direction, he could see all the way to Cape Lookout, some forty miles to the south. He was describing a northward view.

Clark's Point of View as seen from the north. Captain Clark ascended this point on January 8, 1806 while enroute over Tillamook head to obtain whale meat and described the view from this point as the "grandest and most pleasing prospects which my eyes ever surveyed."
and a southward view in the same sentence. "On the other side" meant the other side of the Point of View, not the other side of the Columbia! With a 7.5 minute United States Geological Survey (USGS) Quadrangle map in hand and my knowledge of the area from my recent hike, it became obvious that there is only one location on all of Tillamook Head where this view would be possible. I had located the spot! On the south side of Tillamook Head on Bird Point at about 500 feet elevation there is a long narrow ridge forming a point which extended far enough to the west that one could see Cape Disappointment to the north and Ecola Creek to the south. As I studied all the information available, all the pieces started to fall into place. I was amazed at how many features recorded nearly 200 years ago could be retrieved and reinterpreted on my modern USGS map. Clark's powers of observation and skills at cartography were truly amazing. In the end, I was able to find a total of nine lines of evidence, summarized on Table One, suggesting Bird Point as the location of Clark's Point of View.

On a cloudy overcast winter day in January 1996, I drove to Ecola State Park to find Clark's Point of View. At about 9:00 am I pulled into the Indian Beach Parking lot, put on my hiking boots and loaded my day pack. As I set out heading north, I noticed just below my car in the embankment above the beach the remnants of a shell midden and realized I was standing on the very spot on which Clark (January 8, 1806) described a 27' x 35' Kilamox house which was sunk five feet into ground. As I headed a short distance north to the trail head I thought about the Indian canoe burials on the very same hillsides above me as described at this location by Clark on the same day. After about an hour of uphill hiking on the muddy trail, I reached hikers camp on Tillamook Head. From there I proceeded on and climbed to the summit of a small hill to the south, got out my map, and started off on a westerly compass bearing through the woods toward the real Clark's Point of View. After some difficulty climbing over downed timber and through the muddy alder and sitka spruce forest, I started a steep descent toward the Ocean. The fifty foot contours of my map hit home as I realized I had a lot of elevation to lose to reach the narrow ridge pointing to the sea. The forest changed, for the outer slopes of Tillamook Head have not been logged. I found myself descending steep slopes through giant sitka spruce. The air was humid and absolutely still. I was up to my armpits in dense sword fern as I stumbled down the hill and saw the white flag of the tail of a startled deer as it scampered off into the forest. Like Clark, Sacagawea, and Charbonneau, I reached the start of the ridge just as they did 190 years ago. I thought about what it must have been like hiking through the brush and over logs and thick ferns.

"from this point I beheld the grandest and most pleasing prospects which my eyes ever surveyed, in my front a boundless Ocean; to the N. and N.E. the coast as far as my sight, could be extended, the Seas raging with emence wave and brakind with great force from the rocks of Cape Disapointment as far as I could see to the N.W. The Claisops Clatsops and other villagers on each Si.de of the Columbia river and in the Prairies below me, the meandering of 3 handsome Streams heading in Small lakes at the foot the high country. The Columbia River for a Some distance up, with its Bays and Small rivers and on the other Side [of Clark's Point of View] I have a view of the Coast for an emence distance to the S.E. by S. the inumerable rocks of emence Sise [Haystack Rock] out a great distance from the Shore and against which the Seas brak with great force gives this Coast a most romantic appearance."

--William Clark, January 8, 1806

"from this summit Capt. C. informed me that there was a delightful and most extensive view of the Ocean, the coast and adjacent country; this Mout. I have taken the liberty of naming Clark's Mountain and point of view:"

--Meriwether Lewis, January 10, 1806
Plodding on over steep, muddy terrain with moccasins! The ridge leading to the point was not as I had imagined from my map. It was sharp and jagged with a moss covered rock pinnacle at the end. The rocky point on the end of the ridge was Clark's Point of View! I proceeded on and worked my way along the ridge crest emerging from the dark green dense moss and fern covered forest. As I carefully moved toward the end of the ridge, the sound of the waves crashing on the shoreline grew louder and louder, punctuated by the constant cry of sea gulls. The dampness of the forest gave way to a soft wind from the sea. Carefully and slowly I moved forward precariously positioned in the middle of the ridge with a very steep drop off on either side. After maneuvering about 250 feet on the ridge I reached the base of the 50 foot high rocky point. Slowly and carefully I proceeded up and climbed the pinnacle, pulling my way up on salal, tree roots, and other vegetation. As I worked my way up the pinnacle the shroud of the forest gave way to reveal a vast panorama in all directions.

As I reached the summit I crawled a few feet over salal to a lightning-struck rocky bare spot on the seaward side and sat on the edge dangling my feet over the ocean 500 feet below. Everywhere I looked there was the gray ocean and sky contrasted with the white foam of crashing breakers on black rocks. Immediately to the west was a wide open view of the vast Pacific with the waves crashing on the rocks below my feet. To the north I could just peer around the dark forest green of Tillamook Head to see dark mountains behind Cape Disappointment in the far distance and the Clatsop plains to the southeast of the Columbia. I could make out through the clouds the Columbia River spilling out into the Pacific a great distance. To the south was an unforgettable view of Hastack Rock and of the waves crashing on jagged rocky shoreline for as far as I could see. In the great distance to the south I could see Cape Lookout through my binoculars. There was no doubt that I had found Clark's Point of View.

What a wild and foreboding place. I sat there for a while, alone in this wild unchanged place on the edge of the continent. I admired the view and pondered the events of 190 years ago.

### TABLE 1

**Evidence for The Bird Point Location of Clark’s Point of View**

1) Clark stated on January 9, 1806 that he could see Cape Disappointment, Point Adams to the North and on the other side (of Clarks Point of View) a major point at 15 miles (Cape Falcon/Neahkahnie) and a great point at 40 miles (Cape Lookout). From the main point of Tillamook Head a person can see Cape Disappointment and Point Adams, but views to the south are very limited. On the summit of Tillamook Head, there are no views of the ocean due to the rounded topography and the thick forest. The view described by Clark is only possible at the 500' elevation on Bird Point.

2) On Clark's map of Fort Clatsop and vicinity (Ferris, P. 192) the words...
“Clarks Point of View” is clearly just to the south of the main body of Tillamook Head. This fits well with the Bird Point location. Written on the headland are the letters “lo” for lookout?

3) On Clark’s map of Fort Clatsop and vicinity (Ferris, P. 192) Clark writes under “Clarks Point of View” “Ocean about 800 feet length”. The end of the point on Bird Point is very close to 800 feet from the Ocean.

4) On Clark’s map of Fort Clatsop and vicinity (Ferris, P. 192) Clark shows rocks off the shoreline in the ocean just south of Clark’s Point of View and a rock just opposite what would be Tillamook Head. This fits the Bird Point location.

5) Clark’s map of the Route to the Whale Site, January 6-10, 1806, first draft (Moulton, Volume 6, p.170) shows the route across Tillamook Head and the location of the January 8th campsite. On the morning of the 8th of January, the party left their camp at the very headwaters of Indian Creek and proceeded to the top of the mountain (but not the highest point, i.e., the water tanks above hikers camp) next to the highest mountain (Tillamook Head) and then to an open spot facing the ocean on a point. Although the distance is just a little short of Clark’s estimated 1.5 miles, the basic description works well. That is, they got up in the morning and traveled a short distance to the west to a high point and then on to an open point for a viewpoint to survey where they were headed before descending on down Indian Creek. Since the party was traveling south, Clark’s Point of View should be south and west of the January 8th campsite at the headwaters of Indian Creek.

6) After leaving Clark’s Point of View on the 8th of January 1806, the party “struck a branch” of a creek and traveled down a very steep descent to an Indian village located between two creeks. The Indian village location has been well established between Indian and Canyon Creeks. This fits the Bird Point Location very well.

7) On January 9th, after leaving their campsite near Ecola Creek, the party arrived at the Indian village between two creeks. The party then traveled essentially uphill to Clark’s Point of View (Bird Point).

8) Clark described very large old growth trees near Clark’s Point of View (Coutes, p.749). The area is still covered with old growth sitka spruce.

(Point continued on page 39)
"We both have a love of history and North Dakota, as well as books," Jot Ekberg-Turner said as he and his wife, Marietta, presented a check for $25,000 to the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center at Washburn, North Dakota. "We wanted to do our part to make North Dakota a destination and not just a passing through point."

The Turners, from Bismarck, donated the money specifically for the center's library of historic books and rare documents. They asked that the money be used to purchase significant books which will be displayed at the center and made available for research.

"At times there are a large number of rare Lewis and Clark books that go on the market," said North Dakota Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Foundation President David Borlaug. "With this gift it gives the foundation an opportunity to enhance our library."

The Washington State Legislature has approved $50,000 to develop roadside turnoffs, information kiosks, parks and interpretive centers for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial which will run from 2003 through 2006, and Clarkston, Washington may be the first beneficiary of that funding.

One of the most important chapters in the expedition story happened in the Lewiston (Idaho)-Clarkston Valley when the Nez Perce cared for the explorers after their near fatal journey across the Bitterroot Mountains. Tribal members considered killing the expedition members, but an elderly woman intervened and saved them. She had been treated kindly by whites when she had been captured by an enemy tribe and she advised tribal members not to hurt the visitors. Instead the Nez Perce provided food, helped build canoes and agreed to tend the expedition horses until they returned from the West.

David Nicandri, director of the Washington State Historical Society and president of the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, said another strength of Clarkston is its position along U.S. Highway 12, a major transportation route on a state border.

Lewis and Clark engaged in fisticuffs? They did indeed. University of Minnesota basketball players Quincy Lewis and Kevin Clark were suspended for one game for their part in a fight during an exhibition game on November 16. No players were hurt during the fight.

Congressional approval of $4 million combined with $3 million in state and local funding means that a $7 million Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center will soon be built in Madison County, Illinois at the site where Lewis and Clark began their historic expedition in 1803. It will be opened in time for the beginning of the bicentennial of the expedition in 2003.

Members of the expedition spent the winter at Camp DuBois, a small encampment along the Mississippi River at its confluence with the Missouri River, before beginning their journey up the Missouri. George Arnold, president of the Lewis and Clark Society of America, said recent studies refute the theory that the actual campsite disappeared under the river as the channel shifted.

State funding and private contributions paid for a $250,000 memorial erected at the site in 1981. Congress appropriated $115,000 in fiscal 1990 and $80,000 in fiscal 1993 for planning and land acquisition. Illinois committed $1.5 million to land acquisition before 1998, and another $1.7 million in construction funds in the current state budget.

On July 1, Governor Mel Carnahan appointed nine persons to serve on the Missouri Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission. The co-chairs are Don Gallop of St. Louis and Jonathan Kemper of Kansas City.

Others appointed are Dr. Robert Archibald, Frank Jacobs, Dr. Barbara Woods, and Dr. Ann Rogers, all of St. Louis, along with Marci Bennett of St. Joseph, Dr. Gerald Lee of Kansas City, and Cheryl Thorp of Platte City.

The commission also includes representatives from the Missouri State Historical Society, Division of Tourism, Department of Conservation, Department of Natural Resources, and governor's office.
Book Reviews

Editor's Note: The following two book reviews are reprinted from Folio, the newsletter of The Patrice Press.


Reviewed by Bob Doerk

Judging by the travel guides published with a Lewis and Clark theme, I can say they are getting better all the time, loaded with correct information about the expedition and, equally important to the traveler, with information about other attractions as well as practical information about restaurants, motels, campsites, and other necessities.

This guide is a worthy complement to the one done by Julie Fanselow published by Falcon Press in 1994, since revised and updated. There are others, now outdated, which is one of the problems with any travel guide—they are frozen in time. Yet the Lewis and Clark Trail is dynamic, with changes occurring frequently, especially in light of the forthcoming bicentennial of both the Louisiana Purchase and the Corps of Discovery.

Roy E. Appleman prepared a volume for the National Park Service in 1975 simply titled Lewis and Clark, with Part One providing historical background

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Artist Claims American Heritage

The following article is excerpted from one of a series of articles done by Bismarck (North Dakota) Tribune reporter Jeffrey G. Olson. His “On the Trail” series started last year when he followed the trail from Bismarck-Mandan to the Pacific Ocean. This year he went down the river to St. Louis. More “On the Trail” articles will appear in News Update as space permits.

Porter Williams, a landscape contractor and artist in Sioux Falls, South Dakota, thinks constantly of “a slave named York,” the only black man on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Growing up, Williams, who is black, knew little about the Corps of Discovery or that Clark owned a slave. Until last year, he had no interest in the expedition.

Last winter a friend asked him to do a sculpture of York during Black History Week. “I asked him, ‘Who’s York?’ and that was the start of it.”

“It is Williams’ portrayal of York.

Today, Williams sews period clothing and owns a rifle similar to expeditionary firearms. He is an emerging and important artist; a sponge soaking up western history that features Lewis and Clark and York.

“Black people have been busy with other issues than Lewis and Clark,” the 55 year-old contractor and artist says of his initial lack of facts about the explorers. “I was in the last segregated sixth grade class back in Atchison (Kansas),” he says.

But, Williams says, black Americans should have learned the story of York a long time ago. As a historic reenactor, Williams visits school children, speaks in public and spent a week last fall on the Missouri River with other Corps of Discovery history buffs.

The historical boating reenactors are recruiting up to 200 people for a Lewis and Clark Bicentennial trip from St. Louis to Fort Mandan. Based in St. Charles and St. Louis, Missouri, they built replicas of the red and white pirogues the expedition used on the original journey. They expect to have a keelboat replica built by the start of the bicentennial.

York makes Williams think about his own heritage. “It makes me reflect, concentrate on slavery. It’s a topic white people don’t want to talk about and black people don’t want to talk about, but we should.

“Recreating the character of York is a way to honor heritage and celebrate being an American,” Williams says. “I think we forgot our heritage of America or got detached from it.

“It’s a privilege to go with these guys (the expedition recreators on the Missouri River) and carry the flag in Atchison.

“My grandmother’s middle name was America,” Williams says. “She was born in 1900 and I used to be ashamed she had that name.”

But not anymore.
and Part Two a survey of historic sites and buildings. When the reprint was done in 1993, no updates were included because there is a belief that what the trail was like in 1975 is important for those doing research in 1998. I think this is valid.

The Fifer/Soderberg guide is excellent in all respects. Sure, there are errors, but this is inevitable and they do not detract from the overall effort. For future reference, I will name the four I found and then get on to the many positives. On page 5, Gass’ journal was published in 1807, not 1805; on page 58, Shannon was never a “U.S. Senator from Missouri,” although engaged in politics and the judicial system in both Kentucky and Missouri; on page 82, there is no map 11 A as referenced in the text. Finally, on page 96, Lewis is mentioned as having returned to the mouth of the Marias River at “5:00 p.m. on June 6,” two days later than planned, while Clark and his party arrived back in the same area on June 8 to await Lewis’ arrival two days later. The dates are obviously interposed but, again, the main point is that these errors can be easily corrected in future printings and do not take away from a superb effort.

The three pages devoted to practical tips in using the guide are useful since the format is complex, as it needs to be when packing this much information into one volume. I appreciated the way the text allows the casual traveler to use this guide without any background on Lewis and Clark. We get information in digestible quantities throughout the chapters. On page 7 Lewis’ instructions as received from Jefferson are nicely summarized, a much more effective presentation for the traveler than simply a reprint of Jefferson’s detailed instructions.

Each chapter begins with a narrative of the trail followed by sub-headings relating more specifics on actual sites, happenings, and interpretation along the trail.

The maps are worth the price of the book by themselves. Joe Musselman has been working on a CD-ROM project for a number of years, incorporating all known information on Lewis and Clark with outstanding visuals. For example, after reading a description of what the keelboat (used by Lewis and Clark from St. Louis to the Mandan villages) looked like, Musselman presents an illustration of the interior of a full-scale replica, showing how the hull was put together. It is this kind of clear and concise detail that makes Musselman’s maps so useful. Views of the drainages flowing into the various rivers traversed by Lewis and Clark are particularly interesting.

What would my one recommendation be to further improve an already superb guide? I would like to see reference to the many outfitters who can take travelers to locations not otherwise accessible. Advance contact is needed, but if you want to see the White Cliffs area of the Missouri River, the Indian Post Office on the Lolo Trail, or the Two Medicine Fight site or Camp Disappointment on Cut Bank Creek, there are individuals and/or outfitters who will assist with directions, securing private landowner approval and give you a trip of a lifetime. A listing of these contacts would be helpful.

Overall, however, Steve Ambrose’s assessment is correct; This is “the best guidebook to the Lewis and Clark Trail.”

Bob Doerk is an authority on the Lewis and Clark Trail. He lives in Cheyenne, Wyoming.


Reviewed by Irving Anderson

Sacagawea’s Lemhi Shoshoni descendants claim a proud legacy gained from “exactly what Sacajawea did during her twenty-one months with Lewis and Clark.” As expressed in the book’s introduction, A Message from the Lemhi Shoshoni People, Sacagawea “represents all that is good about our people, the Lemhi Shoshoni.” Her tribal descendants “honor Sacajawea for who she was—we proudly want the world to know Sacajawea is Lemhi Shoshoni.”

The author alleges that he “accurately paraphrased [journal] entries made by the two captains and their sergeants.” Disappointingly, Thomasma’s paraphrased passages are supplemented with his own opinions. He qualifies his revisionism with the caveat, “Draw your own conclusions.” Intended for juvenile readers, the inaccurate text is bound to fix such misconceptions in formative minds, creating lasting invalid, stereotypical impressions concerning our young nation’s history.

Cited below are representative examples of the author’s numerous statements that are controverted by this reviewer’s findings in the explorers’ verbatim records, compiled in the Gary Moulton edition of The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition (University of Nebraska Press, 11 volumes to date).

First, the explorers never spelled her name “Sacajawea.” On page 12 the author credits this reviewer with having “researched the name controversy and [he] feels the most correct spelling is Sacagawea.” My findings were not based upon “feelings,” but were arrived at through the discipline of documentary research methodology. In following their practice of “great object to make every letter
sound in recording Indian vocabularies," the journalists, who were in her presence, documented her name seventeen times, always with a "g" in its third syllable. The captains, in their June 10, 1805 journal entries, each transcribed in phonetic form, its syllabic structure (with a comma for a stress mark), viz, "Säh-cäh-gäh, we å," as she pronounced it to them.

Although she was a Shoshoni by birth, her name apparently was given to her by the Hidatsa Indians following her capture in 1800, and with whom she would live most of her adult life. Lewis, on May 20, 1805, recorded that her name meant "Bird Woman," which had been constructed from two Hidatsa Indian words: sacaga meaning bird; and wea, meaning woman. The Sacagawea spelling and Sa-ca-ga-ween pronunciation were standardized by the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1910.

The "Sacajawea" spelling was created by Nicholas Biddle, editor of the 1814 narrative of the journals, published two years after the Shoshoni woman's 1812 death. Biddle, who was unacquainted with Sacagawea's pronunciation of her own name, for some unexplained reason, transposed the explorer's original longhand "g" spelling with a "j", an aberration that has resulted in wide popularity of the erroneous Sacajawea form for nearly two centuries.

Departing from the journals while commenting on the party's buffalo hunting on page 16, Thomasma cites a secondary source: "The men eat only the tongues and leave the rest for scavengers. They say they are living off the fat of the land." His embellishment, which suggests wanton killing, is contradicted by Sergeant John Ordway's December 9, 1804, journal entry which reads in part: "Cpt. Lewis...returned with large loads of meat."

Page 49. The author describes the expedition's passage through a narrow canyon, which he infers is now called "Gates of the Mountains." Actually, the name is credited to Lewis, who on July 19, 1805, wrote, "from the singular appearance of this place, I called it the gates of the mountains."

Page 65. Thomasma, in discussing the crossing of the Bitterroot Mountains, states: "The expedition was reduced to eating horses..." This comment implies that the party presumably are some of their pack horses. The captains had learned from Sacagawea's Shoshoni people that game would be scare in the high western mountains. With this knowledge, upon later encountering the Flathead Indians westbound, they purchased from them, pack mares with colts. On September 6, 1805, Private Joseph Whitehouse wrote that "we have 40 good pack horses...the officers also purchased 5 colts, that in case we should be without provisions, we might have something for to subsist on." Clark recorded that the three colts "fell a prey to our appetites" September 14, 16 and 18.

Page 69. Thomasma praises Sacagawea's December 3, 1805, total utilization of game, by her boiling elk bones to obtain the marrow. He deems "Men of the expedition would have discarded the bones." To the contrary, as early as December 10, 1804, when Lewis overnights away from Fort Mandan during a buffalo hunt, Gass wrote, "After breakfasting on marrow bones, Captain Lewis and four of us set out for the fort." On June 11, 1805, Lewis wrote, "I was taken with such violent pain in the intestines that I was unable to partake of the feast of marrowbones."

Page 75. The author, commenting on Clark's April 25, 1806 statement while at the Great Falls of the Columbia: "Shabono made a bargain with one of the Indian men going, with us, for a horse, for Which he gave his Shirt and two of the leather Sutes of his wife." The author then editorializes on its meaning: "Charbonneau probably was able to use two of Sacagawea's dresses in the deal without her agreeing to give them up."

Horses were essential for the 500 mile overland trek east, to the Nez Porce villages. Sacagawea's two "leather Sutes" obviously were considered by the Indian to be the only items of value to him, equal to that of a horse. Although it is left unsaid, this scenario is somewhat analogous to Sacagawea's giving up willingly to the captains, her belt of blue beads on November 20, 1805, also the only item an Indian would accept in exchange for a "robe made of 2 Sea Otter Skins."

Page 92. Thomasma comments: "In 1812 at Fort Manuel, four months after the birth of her baby girl, Sacagawea dies of putrid fever." The supposition that Sacagawea's infant daughter, Lisette, was born in August 1812 is purely twentieth-century conjecture. No records have been found that establish an accurate date of the girl's birth. In this regard, however, research over the years has been undertaken by medical historians seeking to solve the mystery of Sacagawea's "putrid fever" affliction, that also offers a plausible establishment of Lisette's entry into the world.

June 16, 1805, Lewis, while at the Great Falls of the Missouri, expressed the severity of an illness that Sacagawea was then suffering. Lewis wrote that he believed "her disorder originated principally from an obstruction of the mensis." The late Dr. E.G. Chuinard on page 289 of his book, Only One Man Died: The Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, cites a medical source which influenced him to suspect that Sacagawea, for much of her adult life, suffered from "gonorrheal [induced] chronic pelvic inflammatory disease."

(Book Review continued on page 36)
**Chapter News**

The birth date for the new Oregon Chapter was September 19, 1998, at Fort Clatsop. 55 people from all over Oregon attended. The chapter has 77 members. Officers are: Keith Hay, president; Bob Holcomb, vice president; Jay Rasmussen, secretary; Linda O'Connor, treasurer. Secretary Jay Rasmussen noted that Gary Moulton, editor of the Lewis and Clark Journals, will be spending much of the summer at Fort Clatsop preparing a single volume edition of the journals. He will also be delivering three speeches. Watch for the times and places as soon as they are known.

The first meeting of the new Marias Chapter at Chester, Montana, was held October 7, 1998. Ella Mae Howard was guest speaker. She presented a program on President Jefferson's letters to Meriwether Lewis. The new chapter didn't waste any time getting into field trips. The first scheduled trip was October 17 to the Two Medicine Fight Site.

Officers are: Iva Kolstad, president; Norma Layton, vice president; Maureen Wicks, secretary; Mary Pugsley, treasurer.

The Washington State Chapter reports 111 members as of January 1. On April 25 they will meet in Longview, Washington, for a two-hour champagne brunch cruise on a sternwheeler on the Columbia River. The cost is $27.95 for adults and $17.95 for children. On September 18, they will be having a joint potluck picnic meeting with the Idaho Chapter at Lewis and Clark Trail State Park between Dayton and Waitsburg in eastern Washington. They will tour the area of the 1806 return route of the expedition and participate in the local Bruce Mansion Days in Waitsburg.

Officers are: Don Payne, president; Lee Edtl, vice president; Pamela Anderson, secretary; Dee Roché-Coons, treasurer.

The Minnesota Chapter is growing by leaps and bounds with 69 members. The term for chapter president was changed from one to two years. They have been working with Lewis and Clark Elementary School of Grand Forks, North Dakota, to restock its library with Lewis and Clark related books. The library was lost in the devastating floods on the Red River. The chapter also provided the library with a three year foundation membership and information on obtaining Lewis and Clark portraits.

The next meeting of the chapter will be April 24. A trip to the Oliver H. Kelly Farm, a Minnesota Historic Site, is scheduled.

Some 40 members of Home Front Chapter in Charlottesville, Virginia, met in September to learn about "Westward Expansion and the Monroe Doctrine." The speaker, Jobby Tupper, proved that Monroe was a true friend of the exploration and expansion of the West.

Home Front Chapter has distributed 43 Lewis and Clark workbooks to local schools to be used by teachers of fifth grade students. Tucked into each book is a flyer with information about the foundation. The second phase of the chapter's Educational Outreach Plan will involve establishment of a speaker's bureau.

The Labor Day weekend meant exploration on the

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**BOOK REVIEWS**

*Cont. from p. 35*

Reinforcement of Chuinard's thesis has been found by this researcher in an American Medical Association Medical Encyclopedia, Vol. 2, pp. 385-86. Here, the antiquarian term "putrid fever" may be equated remarkably with that of "puerperal sepsis [child-bed fever]...a bacterial infection which originates; within 10 days after childbirth and may be fatal..." Thus, ironically, Sacajawea's final destiny at Fort Manuel (South Dakota) December 20, 1812, may also date her daughter Lisette's birth.

Grandview Publishing Company is to be highly commended for depositing all profits from sales of *The Truth About Sacajawea* into a Sacajawea Cultural Interpretive Center fund, in support of a facility proposed by the Lemhi Shoshoni to be established at a site within their Lemhi Valley (Idaho) ancestral homeland.

Lolo Trail for members of the Idaho Chapter. The 1998 expedition was to the center and west end of the trail with Harlan and Barb Opdahl's camp as the base camp.

Headwaters Chapter sponsored a series of three lectures during the winter at the Museum of the Rockies in Bozeman, Montana. The lectures and speakers were: "York's World: Slavery and the Lewis and Clark Expedition" by Dr. Phillip Morgan, Professor of History at the College of William and Mary; "Lewis and Clark in the Age of Exploration" by Dr. James Ronda, the H.G. Barnard Professor at the University of Tulsa; "Religion and the U.S. Constitution in the Age of Lewis and Clark" by Dr. Gary B. Nash, Professor of History at UCLA and Dr. Richard R. Beeman, Professor of History at the University of Pennsylvania.

Upcoming lectures include "The Natural Heritage of Lewis and Clark" by Gary Moulton on March 16; "The Journeys of the Lewis and Clark Collection" by Carolyn Gilman, Special Projects Historian at the Missouri Historical Society and curator of the upcoming National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Exhibition on March 30. "The Indianization of Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery" by Dr. William Swagerty, University of Idaho associate history professor, on April 6.

Ohio River Chapter in Louisville, Kentucky, not only toured Lewis and Clark sites in the Falls of the Ohio area, but was the first to see a slide presentation by Jon Stealy on his project of photographing the trail for a planned book. The falls tour, hosted by the Filson Club, included Clark's Point, Locust Grove (George Rogers Clark's last home), and Mulberry Hill, the Clark family home.

Officers of the chapter are: Jon Stealy, president; Jim Holmberg, vice president; Tom Williams, secretary; Skip Jackson, treasurer.

Photographed on the Lolo Trail, young people are a big part of the Idaho Chapter.

The Arizona Chapter traveled to Tuboc, Arizona, to hear a talk by Don Earate of the National Park Service.
Hints for the North Dakota Visitor

by Elizabeth Anderson

Perhaps you're from California. Maybe you're from Oklahoma. Maybe you're from near by as Montana, South Dakota or Minnesota. Maybe you're even from a state whose name doesn't end in the letter "a". Whatever little corner of the world you call home, you will be a welcome visitor to the state of North Dakota.

The truth is, even though tourism has grown into one of the top industries in the state, most North Dakotans don't think of their home state as a tourist attraction. We go about our daily lives, working on a farm or in a city, raising our children and tending our gardens. And if we happen to be stopped by a tourist from Colorado in our neighborhood supermarket, we will happily direct him to our favorite cafe for lunch. We might even join him for a cup of coffee.

A visit to North Dakota is unique in that, while there are plenty of services available for tourists, visitors do not end up feeling like intruders. You will feel like a guest, because that is how you will be treated.

When traveling in North Dakota, you can relax and feel comfortable being yourself. There is no need, for example, to be embarrassed in a restaurant when you ask what a "kneoifa" is, and how it got into your soup. We will be happy to explain that a "kneoifa" is a lump of dough, resembling something called a "dumpling" with which you may be familiar.

Not only are North Dakotans patient with our visitors, many of us are bilingual as well. When you ask a clerk for a "hoagie" and a "soda" in a "sack," she will probably be able to instantly translate your request, understanding that you would like a sub sandwich and a pop in a bag.

You will find North Dakota diverse in its cultural endeavors. In the world of music alone, North Dakota's influence is as diverse as the difference between Lawrence Welk (everyone's favorite polka master) and sixteen-year-old blues guitar prodigy Johnny Lang. Other world-class musicians native to North Dakota include Bobby Vee, Peggy Lee, Mary Osborne and Native American flute players Keith Bear and Kevin Locke. Baseball great Roger Maris grew up in North Dakota, as did former U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

As a visitor to North Dakota, you may have to do a little digging to uncover North Dakota's diverse cultural riches. But whatever you find here, we know that the experience will touch you, and that you will leave North Dakota with a broader understanding of the American West.

Lewis and Clark Blaze a New Trail—Into the Classroom

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is anticipating the release of its new Lewis and Clark Expedition curriculum in February.

The guide, called "An American Legacy: The Lewis and Clark Expedition," is a curriculum and resource guide for junior high and middle school grades. "The guide was designed to either stand alone or be used in a cross-curricular setting," said Barbara Kubik, education committee chair and foundation vice president. "It has applicability in social studies, natural sciences, geography, language arts, creative writing and music education."

"Many of us on the education committee are current or former teachers, and that's who we had in mind when we designed it," Kubik said.

With the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial coming soon, the foundation wanted to contribute a lasting legacy to the body of work on the expedien-
Greetings from the Membership Office! Please Help Us Find You...

At considerable expense to the foundation, not to mention a gap in your subscription, the post office has been sending a lot of WPOs back to us due to insufficient, incorrect, or unknown addresses and "forwarding order expired". Please let us know if you plan to move, have moved, or if we just don’t have your address quite right.

Also, if you have had a rural route number that has changed (or will soon change) to the more standard street address, please let us know that as well. The post office will not deliver to the rural route after one year has passed.

Finally, I would like to let you know I am available to assist you with any membership questions you may have. Please feel free to e-mail me at membership@lewisandclark.org or send me a note at P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403. Thanks for supporting the Lewis and Clark Trail Foundation, and be sure to let me know if you have any friends who might like membership information. I'm looking forward to meeting many of you at the annual meeting.

Best wishes for a truly happy year ahead.

Megan Smith
Membership Coordinator

Ambrose and Weber Win Awards

Stephen Ambrose, author of "Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson and the Opening of the American West," was one of nine recipients of the 1998 National Humanities Medal. Recipients of the medal are selected by the president from nominations submitted by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The recipients were honored at a White House dinner and ceremony November 5.

Jane Schmoyer-Weber, director of the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls, Montana, was named national interpreter of the year at the annual interagency National Association for Interpretation meeting in Anchorage, Alaska, in late October. She was presented the Gifford Pinchot Excellence in Interpretation plaque and a cash bonus. She was honored for her efforts in developing, opening and managing the center.
Capt. Wm. Clark / 3rd of February 1805

Our provisions of meat being nearly exorsted I concluded to descend the river on the ice & hunt. I set out with about 16 men, 3 horses & 2 slays. Descended nearly 60 miles. Killed & loaded the horses back, & made 2 pens which we filed with meat, & returned on the 13th. We killed 40 deer, 3 bulls, 19 elk, maney so meager that they were unfit for use.