President’s Message

Sincere thanks and commendations seem inadequate in reviewing the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, held in Great Falls, Montana, August 15-18, 1976.

The Montana Lewis and Clark Trail Committee did a masterful job of hosting the meeting, and provided the type of program to inspire all in attendance to pursue the objectives of the Lewis and Clark Foundation.

More than that, Montana manifested their ability to be a leader in this Bicentennial Year with their accomplishments, of which we have no doubt that their Fort Benton Lewis and Clark Memorial will rank among the finest bicentennial projects of the nation.

Our immediate past president, Wilbur Werner; our first vice-president Gall Stensland; the Port Benton Civic Improvement Association; the Montana Trail Committee, and the citizens of (continued page 3)

Secretary Reports

Eighth Annual Meeting as “Great Experience”

Irving W. Anderson

The official state travel information brochure proclaims Montana as the “Last of the Big Time Splendors”. Indeed, the 107 participants of the Foundation’s Eighth Annual Meeting unanimously attest to the accuracy of this claim. Montana’s fame for friendliness was proven beyond doubt by our most gracious hosts, who made the August 15-18, 1976 meeting one of the most memorable ever.

Headquarters for the meeting were in the facilities of Heritage Inn, Great Falls. The annual event commenced Sunday afternoon, August 15th, with an important Director’s business meeting which set the format for the working sessions to be held throughout the four day schedule. Sunday evening was set aside for a get-acquainted time, and this proved to be an enjoyable introduction to “Big Sky” hospitality.

Monday morning was devoted to Foundation business, followed with a luncheon that included a most inspirational “President’s Message” by Wilbur P. Werner. A briefing on the status of the Missouri Wild and Scenic Rivers, legislation, together with an audio/visual slide presentation: “White Cliffs Area of the Upper Missouri”, by Montana BLM Director, Edwin Zaidlich, concluded the luncheon program. Monday afternoon charter buses took members and guests to view the five Missouri River waterfalls, the Expedition’s portage route, the “White Bear Islands”, and Sacagawea Spring, opposite the mouth of “Portage Creek”. A picnic supper was enjoyed at the Montana Power Co.’s Ryan Island Park, at the base of the Great Falls, where Mr. Wesley R. Woodgerd, Montana State Game Director, welcomed the group in behalf of Governor Thomas L. Judge. Highlights of the bus tour were the on-site papers given by Dr. “Frenchy” Chuinard and Bob Lange. Dr. Chuinard’s analytical treatment of Sacagawea’s illness at Portage Creek, and his reading of Captain Lewis’s administrations to her of sulphur water from Sacagawea Spring, became much more meaningful to the one hundred listeners standing on the very site. And Bob Lange’s reflective comparisons of present day scenes of the Great Falls of the Missouri at Ryan Park, equated against those described by Lewis from approximately the same site 171 years earlier, gave great effect to his paper. This was also the occasion of the dedication of a new Lewis and Clark Expedition interpretive marker erected in the park by the Montana Power Co.

The climax for most participants in the four day event, however, occurred on Tuesday, August 17th. At 6:30 A.M., buses rolled away from the motel taking a group of 60 to the site of historic Coal Banks Landing, for embarkation for an all day, 47 mile cruise of the Missouri River Breaks. The superbly beautiful “White Cliffs” formations bordering this last remaining free-flowing stretch of the Missouri appear today essentially as Lewis and Clark so delightfully described them in 1805. In all, 150 miles of the river in this area have been nominated to Congress for designation as a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System. Introduced by Senator Lee Metcalf, Montana, this Federal (continued page 3)
Our New President
Clarence H. Decker

Elected president of the Foundation for the term August 1976 – August 1977, Clarence H. Decker will serve as the Foundation’s eighth president.

President Decker is a native of Chester, Illinois, and a graduate of Concordia Teachers College, River Forest, Illinois. He owns and operates the Lewis & Clark Motor Lodge; Lewis & Clark Restaurant; Lewis & Clark Cinemas; and the Lewis & Clark Realty Co., in East Alton, Illinois. Prior to this he taught school in Chester, Illinois, and this was followed by service in the auditing department, International Shoe Co., St. Louis; Administrative Assistant at the International Shoe Company Tanneries, Wood River, Illinois; Vice President, E. H. Goulding’s Sons Co., Alton, Illinois; and Controller, The Commercial Co., also of Alton.

This busy man is deeply immersed in community responsibilities, and is a recipient of the Outstanding Citizen Award of the Wood River, (Illinois) Township Chamber of Commerce.

Clarence’s important past contributions have been: Member, Board of Directors, Alton-Wood River Community Chest; President, Wood River Planning Council; President, Wood River Lions Club; District Governor, Lions of Illinois; member, Lions Blind Activities Committee; Chairman, Lions of Illinois CARE Program; and an International Director, Lions International. He is a Trustee of the National Committee for Higher Education, and serves on the National Advisory Board, Valparaiso University. Decker has been a member of the Board of Directors of the First National Bank, Wood River, Illinois, and served as Chairman of the Board, Wood River Township Hospital.

Presently, in addition to serving as president and treasurer of our Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., he is serving as Treasurer, Executive Committee, Illinois T. B. and R. D. Association; member, Wood River Lions Club; member, East Alton Rotary Club; President, Wood River Chamber of Commerce; Executive Committee, Piasa Council, Boy Scouts of America; and is a member of the St. Paul’s Lutheran Church of Wood River, Illinois.

President Decker is married and has one son, Robert C. Decker, of Wood River.

The Foundation is proud to have this active and outstanding citizen as our new president.
Message (cont. from page 1)
Fort Benton, deserve our collective praise and admiration.
It would be impossible to serve effectively as your president without the outstanding board of directors, and the officers, past and present. Their dedication and scholarly background assure a viable atmosphere for continued growth and effective implementation of projects commensurate with the purpose and objectives of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

We solicit that continued dedication from all of the Trail State Committees and other membership entities in the year ahead, to make 1976-77 a banner year for the Foundation.

Clarence H. Decker, President

Secretary's Report (cont. from page 1)

Legislation would preserve the area in its present state. Our Foundation vigorously supports Senator Metcalf's effort.
The cruise boats were under the combined command of the Upper Missouri Wilderness Waterways, Inc., and the Missouri River Cruises, Inc., whose fame for excellent service, good food, comfort, and knowledge of the river and its history, fully lived up to expectations. The trip terminated at the landing on the north bank opposite the Judith River. Here, the group was met by the buses for the return trip.

During the river cruise, a third busload of Foundation participants traveled to the confluence of the Marias and Missouri Rivers, and Fort Benton and environs. This beautiful, civic-minded community is situated on the banks of the Missouri, and is noted nationally for its unusual sense of history. It is the site of the recently dedicated Montana Lewis and Clark Memorial, a magnificent heroic size statue, the work of Montana's outstanding sculptor (and Foundation member), Bob Scriber. Tuesday evening both groups rendezvoused for buffalo steak dinner at Fort Benton's city park.

Wednesday morning saw the wrap-up of committee reports, election of Directors and Officers, and other general business. The Wednesday luncheon included Bob Saindon's fascinating, scholarly paper: "The White Pirogue of the Lewis and Clark Expedition", and delightful vocal renditions by Diana Pacini, Miss Montana of 1975. Tours of the Charles M. Russell Museum and Gallery were provided on Wednesday afternoon, and the evening was given to the Annual Banquet, installation of 1976-77 Officers and Directors, and the presentation of the Foundation's Award of Meritorious Achievement. The banquet address was a paper by John Logan Allen, who reluctantly, could not attend due to illness. His paper was presented by member Hal Starnes. (See page , this issue WPO.)

A significant event of Wednesday evening saw a most deserved honor awarded to our beloved octogenarian Director, E.E. "Boo" MacGilvra, a founder of our organization. By unanimous vote of the Board, in recognition for his untiring services, and "colorful expressions, which are exceeded only by the inspired spelling of Captain Clark", "Boo" was designated Honorary Past President of the Foundation.

The Foundation's Award of Meritorious Achievement is conferred annually to persons or instrumentalities for: 1. Acts of distinction in the broad fields of research, writing, creative arts, or other deeds which promote better understanding of the history and heritage of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. 2. Significant contributions toward the development and work of the Foundation, and the furtherance of its purposes and objectives. For their major contributions under one or both of these criteria, the Foundation for 1976 conferred its highest award to the following:

Professor John Logan Allen
E. G. Chuinard, M.D.
Robert E. Lange
Wilbur P. Werner
Fort Benton Community Improvement Association
Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission

Congratulations to all!

1. Presented at Fort Benton, MT, June 13, 1976, by President Werner.
2. To be presented at Cape Disappointment, Washington, at the dedication of the new Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center on October 10, 1976, by President Decker.

Good News!!
As WE PROCEEDED ON goes to press, we have learned that Montana Senator Lee Metcalf's Missouri Wild and Scenic River bill, S. 1506, has passed both houses of Congress and is before the President for signature.
For reference to this legislation, see Secretary Anderson's report, pages 1 and 3; and Director Ware's forthcoming report alluded to on page 7, this issue of WPO. Our Foundation has vigorously supported passage of this legislation.

Hazel Bain New Membership Secretary
The Officers (Executive Committee) of the Foundation have appointed Mrs. Hazel Bain of Longview, Washington to serve the organization as Membership Secretary.
As the Foundation's membership has increased, additional workloads have fallen on the Secretary and Treasurer, and since all Officers and Directors volunteer their time and service, this new appointment will facilitate handling and processing applications of new memberships throughout the year, and most especially the renewal of memberships for the coming year (renewal of membership will be due in January 1977). Mailing lists for WPO, other publications, etc., will be prepared and made available by the Membership Secretary.

Hazel Bain, a member of the Foundation, also serves as Secretary for the Washington (State) Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, and is an active member of that committee.

The Foundation's Executive Committee and Directors are most appreciative of Hazel's gracious acceptance of this appointment and responsibility.
The Photographs of 
Sgt. Patrick Gass

E. G. Chuinard, M.D.

Dr. "Frenchy" Chuinard, a long time Lewis and Clark enthusiast, resides in Portland, Oregon. He was the Foundation's second President, is a Director of the Foundation, and Chairman of the (Governor's) Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee. He is a frequent contributor to WPO as well as to historical magazines and historical society quarterly publications. His full length volume titled: Only One Man Died: The Medical Aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, is presently at a publishers and is eagerly anticipated by Lewis and Clark students and enthusiasts.

A few years ago I was asked to write a review of Charles G. Clarke's volume The Men Of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In this review I referred to the photograph on page 57 of Alexander Hamilton Willard7 under which author Clarke had noted: "From the only known photograph of any member of the Expedition". I accepted this statement as factual, even though on page 58 there is a reproduction of a photograph of Patrick Gass with the legend under it: "A woodcut from an ambrotype taken by E. F. Moore of Wellsburg, Virginia, as it appeared in The Life and Times of Patrick Gass." Perhaps I can be forgiven for not considering an ambrotype to be a photograph inasmuch as the Encyclopaedia Britannica does not mention the name.

The error of author Clarke and myself was brought to my attention by Dr. Donald Jackson, whose knowledge of that trade was there passing of Patrick Gass and J. G. Jacob, inasmuch as Jacob dates his author's "Preface" at Wellsburg in January 1859, it may be that the ambrotype of Gass was made expressly for the publication of this book. Gass lived in Wellsburg almost consistently from 1827 until his death. Attention to the Gass photographs became fascinating - Donald Jackson's provocation sent me on a real sleuthing expedition! I have copies of all editions of Gass' journal relating to the expedition, and have a pamphlet, Patrick Gass, Lewis and Clark's Last Man, by Earle R. Forrest. In the frontispiece of the latter is a photograph of Patrick Gass with the legend under it which reads as follows: "From an enlargement from the only known original taken when Gass was 90 years of age. It was faded and many of the lines could not be seen, but they were restored by John C. Hallam of Washington, Pennsylvania, and both Mrs. Brierley and Mrs. Smith pronounced this an excellent likeness of their father during the last years of his life".

The most recent publication which has been made of the Gass journal is the reprint edition by Ross and Haines, Inc. Minneapolis, MN, in 1958, with an "Introduction" by the same Earle R. Forrest, dated April 1957. Following page 112 in this volume is a reproduction of the picture of Patrick Gass that appeared in the Forrest pamphlet of 1950; inasmuch as Forrest wrote the "Introduction" to the Wisconsin Historical Society, vol. 2.


7. Author Forrest writes: "It was my good fortune in the summer of 1922 to meet a daughter of Patrick Gass...This woman was Mrs. Rachel Gass Brierley, aged 75 years at that time...who lived at the village of Independence, Washington County, Pennsylvania. I was surprised to learn from Mrs. Brierley that an older sister was still living, Mrs. Annie J. Smith of Alhambra, California, aged 79 years, and a third daughter, Mrs. Sally Gass Bowman, who had died only two years before at Wellsburg, Virginia. Mrs. Brierley told me many interesting incidents of her father's adventuring life; and I lessened from Mrs. Smith, with whom I corresponded for some time, and from Joseph Bowman, stepson of Mrs. Sally Gass Bowman, who at that time (1922) was caretaker of the Brooke County Cemetery at Wellsburg, where Gass and his wife are buried."

8. Forrest, op. cit.
the Ross and Haines volume, it is probable that he supplied this illustration, which has the following legend under it: “Patrick Gass, copied from a small photograph”.

These photographs in the Forrest pamphlet and the Ross and Haines edition are identical, but they are different from the ambrotype in The Life and Times of Patrick Gass volume. There is an identifiable similarity of the physiognomy in all of the pictures, but the Forrest and Ross and Haines reproductions show Gass with his hands crossed a few inches under his chin, whereas the E.F. Moore ambrotype shows Gass’ hands resting on his lap. It is noted that the legends under the Forrest and Ross and Haines reproductions indicate that a previous photograph of Gass had been made.

The reproduction of the ambrotype in Charles G. Clarke’s volume, which is identical to the Moore ambrotype in Jacob’s volume is captioned: “Patrick in his old age, long after he had lost the sight of his left eye”. These ambrotype reproductions indicate that Gass’ left eye is closed. But this Moore ambrotype had to have been made in 1859 or earlier, in order to have been included in Jacob’s volume; whereas Forrest’s picture which was made “when Gass was 90 years of age” shows both eyes open. This would indicate that it was not a photograph originally, but a painting, which consideration gains substance by the following:

Through the good help of Miss Nancy Caldwell of the Brooke County Historical Society of Wellsburg, West Virginia, I established contact with Mr. Richard B. Muter, the great-great grandson of Patrick Gass. Mr. Muter promptly provided me with a photograph of a portrait of Patrick Gass which is in his possession and has the same appearance as the picture published by Forrest with the hands crossed under the chin, and additionally it shows that these hands are resting on a cane. It would seem, then, that Forrest may have obtained a photograph of this portrait — or was the portrait painted from the photograph? Mr. Muter writes: “This painting carries a short biography on Patrick Gass on the back...is probably the subject of the Ross and Haines’ photograph. I was unable to find any information on E. F. Moore...and it is conceivable that Moore may have taken a live photograph of Gass possibly years after the portrait was painted. It is difficult to tell you the date the portrait was painted as the artist’s name has been removed some time in the past...”.

It would seem that the information in the legend under Gass’ photograph in the article published by Forrest in 1950 would lend authenticity to the time that the Gass photograph was made. The explanation of Gass’ left eye not being closed, as it was in the previously-made ambrotype published in 1859, may be that the restoration, which Gass’ daughters pronounced an “excellent likeness of their father”, restored the left eye to a normal appearance. There is another observable change in the eyes: In the Forrest picture Gass’ eyes are looking to his left, whereas in the portrait which includes more of the cane the eyes are looking directly forward.

Further correspondence and other minor leads have failed to bring more light regarding the Gass photographs/portrait.

But to add a little sequela to this Gass story: For some time I have been in correspondence with a Mr. Robert Gass of Citrusdal, Republic of South Africa, a member of the widespread Gass clan, who has traced the name back to Scotland, and is writing a book on the subject. He was good enough to send me a photograph of himself holding a book with Patrick Gass’ picture in it. As he says, “the Gass face is a persistent mark!”.

9. Moore’s ambrotype is also reproduced as the Frontispiece in the reprint of Gass’ Journal edited by J. K. Hosmer. This edition is titled: Gass’s Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, 1904. Hosmer is the only editor of the Gass journal to provide an “Index”, and about the Frontispiece he says: “Engraved on wood from an ambrotype by E. F. Moore, Wellsburgh”.

10. Born in 1943, in Ohio County, West Virginia, the only child of Wilma Bowman and Irvin A. Muter. Richard B. Muter’s relationship to Patrick Gass is on his mother’s side of the family. He was raised in Wellsburg, West Virginia, and after earning a B.S. degree in chemistry at Bethany College, he returned to Wellsburg where he taught both chemistry and physics at Wellsburg High School. Receiving a M.S. degree in chemistry at West Virginia Univ. in 1966, he is now Chairman of the college’s Mineral Processing Engineering Department.
Foundation Recognizes Fort Benton Community Improvement Association With Achievement Award

Foundation President Wilbur P. Werner, speaking at the dedication ceremonies of the Lewis and Clark Memorial at Fort Benton, Montana, on June 13th, presented to the Lewis and Clark Memorial Commission and the Fort Benton Community Improvement Association the Foundation's Award of Meritorious Achievement.

Werner told the nearly 10,000 people assembled for the ceremonies that the Foundation annually presented a limited number of awards to individuals or organizations who have by acts of distinction and achievement in the broad fields of writing, creative art, or other deed, promoted a better understanding of the history and heritage of the famous Expedition; or for significant contribution to the organization, development, and furtherance of the Foundation and its objectives. Alluding to this award, President Werner said:

"Never before has the Foundation observed the work of a group that is more worthy of recognition than the dedicated men and women comprising the Lewis and Clark Memorial Association and the Fort Benton Community Improvement Association. They had the wisdom and foresight to use the genius of Bob Scriver, this nation's first and foremost sculptor, the proof of whose greatness and skill stands in this historic city...."  

"While this magnificent bronze stands here at Fort Benton, not alone does it commemorate the men and deeds of the Expedition in this particular area, but their exploits in all parts of Montana."

In presenting the award to Jack Lepley, Chairman of the Commission, Werner observed that the award committee's selection was unanimous for the Fort Benton Lewis and Clark Memorial project.

Valley County Montana Organizes Foundation Chapter (Entity)

Valley County, Montana, in the northeastern part of the state, now boasts a Valley County Lewis and Clark Trail Society, with headquarters in Glasgow at the county historical society. This is the latest entity to become an affiliate of our national Foundation and the organization's officers are: Bob Saindon, President; Irma McInerney, Vice President; and Patricia Saindon, Secretary-Treasurer. Leonor Cotton, Linda Madson, and Gladys Silk are the society's Directors.

The county (11,471 population) is bordered by the Missouri River on the south (the waters impounded by the Fort Peck Dam), and on the north by the Montana-Canadian border. The Milk River (named and described by the expedition's journalists) transits the central region of the county — flowing in a southeasterly direction to its confluence with the Missouri near Nashua, in the southeast corner of Montana's Valley County.

Patricia Saindon, Secretary-Treasurer, of this new and active society has submitted the following report to WPO:

"The Valley County Lewis & Clark Trail Society held an organizational meeting on May 27, 1976. Officers and Directors were elected following a talk by Bob Saindon, President, titled 'The Lewis and Clark Expedition in Valley County'. On hand for everyone's enjoyment was a display of peace medals given by Captains Lewis and Clark to various Indian chiefs, together with maps drawn by members of the exploring party while in northeastern Montana."

President, Past Presidents, and Members of Foundation Attend Ft. Benton Bicentennial Event

Members of the Foundation are pictured at the dedication of the Lewis and Clark Memorial, the Montana Bicentennial event, at Fort Benton on June 13, 1976. Pictured in the left hand photograph taken at the base of the sculpture are (left to right) E. G. "Frenchy" Chuinard, M.D., Portland, OR (Past President and a Director of the Foundation); Robert E. "Bob" Lange, Portland, OR (Past President of the Foundation and Editor of the Foundation's publication We Proceed on); Bob Scriver, Browning, MT (the Memorial's sculptor); and Wilbur P. Werner, Cut Bank, MT (President of the Foundation, 1975-1976). In the right hand photograph, Gail Stensland, Culbertson, MT (a member of the Montana Lewis and Clark Memorial Commission, and now, 1st Vice President of the Foundation) is photographed with sculptor Scriver. (For illustrations of the Scriver statue/Memorial, see WPO, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 1.)
tana; numerous pamphlets and books; and printed copies of all known journals of the expedition. A one-sixth size bronze replica of the Fort Benton Lewis and Clark Memorial statue was also on display.

"A Squall of Wind", the official publication of the local society was published on July 15, 1976, with feature articles from two members of the society. The Valley County Commissioners had previously approved a budget request, from the new organization, for postage and for four subsequent issues of the publication.

"At the first official meeting, members and guests enjoyed the motion picture In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark Across Montana. The group enjoyed a field trip to the mouth of the Milk River, the Spillway Observation Point and Milk River Butte, which was ascend by Captain Clark on May 8, 1805. At this location members found specimens of the 'White Apple' and 'Wild Onion' described in the expedition's journals.

The local society presently has thirty members and is encouraging other interested individuals to join. One of several plans for future meetings is to gather wild food, native to this area, and to prepare a meal from such food sources as described in the journals.

New NPS Museum Opens Under Arch in St. Louis

Director Wm. Clark Adreon (St. Louis, MO) has provided WPO with newspaper clips, and the official dedication program for August 10, 1976, which opened the Museum of Westward Expansion, at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial (The Gateway Arch) in St. Louis. National Park Service officials, quoted in a St. Louis Post Dispatch newspaper article, estimated that about 1800 persons an hour entered the museum to view the exhibits which present 20 major themes related to the westward expansion of the nation in 42,000 square feet of museum area.

To quote the St. Louis Post Dispatch: "The displays in the big hall under the Gateway Arch are presented in an unusual way — no glass panes, no plastic barriers to keep onlookers from getting too close. And no modern word is written or spoken. The story of the epic push to the west is told in the words of the people who made history, with quotations from old journals and historic docu-

ments. Background music consists of period songs and chants."

"Two hundred artifacts — muskets, axes, knives, saddles, wagons, Bibles, playing cards and a host of other objects used by the pioneers — are arranged to speak for themselves. There are no labels. What is displayed is understood by association with historic photographs and pungent quotations."

Other descriptions of the new museum have appeared in previous issues of WPO. Readers are referred to Vol. 1, No. 1, p.3; Vol. 1, No. 2, p.8; and Vol. 2, No. 1, p.15. Clark Adreon's letter makes specific reference to the outstanding 20' X 600' Lewis and Clark photographic mural which comprises the rear wall of the museum.

Foundation members may look forward to next August's Ninth Annual Meeting, which will feature an extensive tour of the facility.

Senate Acts Favorably Toward Salt Cairn

Senator Mark O. Hatfield (Oregon) has kept the Foundation and We Proceeded On informed by personal telephone calls which have detailed the progress of his Senate Bill, S. 828. This legislation will make the Expedition's Salt Cairn, at Seaside, Oregon, a part of the nearby Fort Clatsop National Memorial. (See also WPO, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 11-12.) Despite negative testimony presented by the National Park Service to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, this committee approved this bill late in August.

On September 14, 1976 the Senate passed S. 828 unanimously. Neither the Senate Committee, nor the full Senate amended the original language of the bill. Senator Hatfield's intense interest in this legislation was evidenced by his reporting favorable action to us on the same day.

Congressman Les AuCoin (Oregon) has introduced companion legislation in the House of Representatives, but there have been no hearings conducted by the House Interior Committee. Both the Senator and Congressman have stated that passage of this legislation in the House is improbable in the short time remaining in this session of Congress.

Senator Hatfield advises that he plans to re-introduce this legislation in the next session of Congress, and that he anticipates its prompt passage again in the Senate. It is his opinion that the unanimous vote in the Senate will influence prompt and serious consideration in the House. The Senator also remarked that the proposal of President Ford for more monies for the National Park Service should contribute to a favorable climate in the House for the Lewis and Clark Salt Cairn legislation.

Missouri Cruise Report Due For Future Issue

Following the 8th Annual Meeting, eleven Foundation members enjoyed a three-night-four day, 160 mile Missouri River Wilderness Waterway Cruise from Fort Benton downstream to Kipp State Park, Montana. The park is located at the head of the Fort Peck Reservoir.

Director Marcus Ware, Idaho, (one of the party) has promised the editor that he will prepare for publication in a forthcoming issue of WPO, his impressions and an account of this scenic and historically related, once in a lifetime experience. We shall also publish some representative photographs of the grandeur of this area, which Captain Lewis wrote were "seems of visionary enchantment."

Director Sheila Robinson, North Dakota; her sister Jean Cambridge, Ohio; and member Clifford Imland, Washington State, made a similar cruise prior to the Annual Meeting.

Christmas presents? How about an annual membership in the Foundation which includes a subscription to the four quarterly issues of We Proceeded On. Membership applications should be directed to the Membership Secretary.
We include on this and the pages that follow the text of the address prepared by Dr. John Logan Allen for presentation at Great Falls, Montana, on the occasion of the Eighth Annual Banquet of the Foundation, August 18, 1976.

Due to an illness which prevented Dr. Allen from attending our Annual Meeting, member Hal Stearns, Helena, and Montana State Director for the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, read the paper to an attentive audience of nearly one hundred members and guests.1

Our Director, Donald Jackson, Charlottesville, Virginia, prepared for us the remarks concerning Dr. Allen that follow:

"John Logan Allen first came to the attention of Lewis and Clark students when he began to publish articles, a few years ago, in scholarly journals. We read him in the Western Historical Quarterly, the Geographic Review, and in Montana's own repository of historical lore, Montana, the Magazine of Western History. It did not take us long to learn that he was working on a major publication about Lewis and Clark, and that it would be issued by a publishing house that has done so much for scholars in this field, the University of Illinois Press.

"About a year has passed since the publication of Professor Allen's book, Passage Through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest.2 Those who first saw it recognized it at once as a major contribution. The reviews now appearing across the country support this conclusion.

"The book is a work that combines history and geography in the finest way, for it goes beyond a mere recounting of what the early explorers, including Lewis and Clark, saw in the American West. It deals with what the author calls "geographical images", those visions that precede actual discovery, and are shaped in men's minds not only by what they know about an unexplored land, but also by what they want to believe.

"Professor Allen is a westerner by birth, claiming Wyoming as his home state. He received bachelor's and master's degrees at the University of Wyoming, and was awarded the Ph.D. by Clark University, in Worcester, Massachusetts, in 1968. He joined the faculty of the University of Connecticut in 1977."

THE SUMMER OF DECISION: LEWIS AND CLARK IN MONTANA, 1805

By John Logan Allen

The success or failure of any journey of exploration can be measured in two contexts: first, the ability or lack thereof to negotiate terrae incognitae, the unknown lands, with a minimum of hardship and danger, inconsequential loss of property, and little or no cost in terms of human life; and second, the ineffectiveness or effectiveness of an expedition in clearing away the mists or pre-exploratory conjectural geography and replacing faulty geographic data with more solid and accurate information which may be added to the general fund of geographical knowledge. On both of these counts, the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-06 was remarkably successful—immense distances were traversed with relative ease (in comparison with other exploratory ventures of the time) and sound geographical data that would form the basis for a lot of what Americans knew about the Northwest well into the nineteenth century was added to general knowledge. To say that Lewis and Clark were just about as successful as explorers could have been leads naturally into the question of "Why?" For the answer to that question we must turn to a basic component of the process of exploration—the component of decision-making.

Before, during, and after an expedition, explorers are required to make decisions: decisions made prior to a journey and based on the available geographical lore which aid explorers in establishing the goals and objectives of their venture; decisions made during an exploration as explorers recognize the need to modify their field operations when pre-exploratory data is found to be in conflict with observation and deduction in the field; and decisions made following the return of an expedition that will determine the amount and kind of new geographical information to be added to knowledge. Each of these three types of decision-making is important for the success or failure of an expedition. For example, the scientific approach to exploration that Lewis and Clark adopted grew out of the process of decision-making prior to their departure and became crucial for their success. Had it not been for the objective and scientific rationality of Thomas Jefferson and the willingness of the captains to follow his instructions, the Expedition might not have been the remarkable event it was. And this objective and scientific rationality was the product of the captains' geographical journey—shaping new American images of the Northwest. Of the three types of decision-making referred to, however, it is the second type—the decisions made during the course of exploration— that is normally the most important. This was certainly the case with Lewis and Clark and, more than anything else, it was their almost uncanny ability to make the right decisions in the field that determined the tremendous success of their travels.

When Lewis and Clark left civilization for the unknown they carried with them a set of geographical conceptions based upon the twin notions that the interior of the Northwest was a potential agricultural paradise and that through this "Garden" lay a "Passage"—"the most direct and practicable water communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce." As they traversed the continent, these notions of garden and passage were modified by the conditions of geographic reality that Lewis and Clark encountered and the captains were to make decisions on the basis of the apparent contradictions between the pre-exploratory geography of conjecture and the real geography that was being experienced during exploration. Many of these decisions made between St. Louis and the Pacific were absolutely vital to the success of the Expedition. But none were more critical than those that were made in what is now Montana during the summer of 1805. Therefore, it is toward that area and that time that we must now direct our attention.

Even before Meriwether Lewis had left Washington to join with William Clark and move into the winter camp of 1803-04 on the eastern shores of the Mississippi, the concept of the Northwest as a garden of wealth and beauty was firmly fixed as an integral part of the captains' geographical lore. During the first summer of exploration, between St. Louis and the Mandan villages, the captains had made no
negative decisions regarding the garden concept. Indeed, all that they had seen during their first year in the field reinforced the pre-exploratory concept. "So magnificent a Scenery" wrote Clark and the valley of the Missouri River and the surrounding plains proved to be a luxuriance of the mind and of the landscape for the captains. Nor did a long cold winter at Fort Mandan modify the concept and as they prepared to enter upon the most crucial stage of their journey in the spring on 1805, the Great Plains were still, for Lewis and Clark, "one of the fairest portions of the globe."

But it was the summer in Montana, particularly when viewed in retrospect, that really crystallized the idea of the Plains as a garden in the minds of the captains and, hence, in the minds of many Americans throughout the nineteenth century. Gazing upon the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, Lewis extolled the virtues of "these delightful tracts of country" and such comments became typical of journal entries between the mouth of the Yellowstone and the Rockies. And while the notions of the Garden had relatively little to do with the critical field decisions that ultimately determined the Expedition's success, the decision of the captains to maintain their garden concept of the Northwest (or at least of the Great Plains) while in Montana became important after the completion of the epic journey. From the mouth of the Yellowstone, as the Expedition continued through the valley of the Missouri, the journal entries read consistently "delightful rich and fertile country." Even the increasing aridity did little to diminish the captains' enthusiasm for the abundance of the Plains environment. The herds of game were still beyond counting and the hunters of the Expedition found it only "amusement" to secure as much meat as they desired. Entry into the Missouri Breaks further strengthened the concept of exotic and beautiful landscapes and the Expedition continued through "scenes of visionary enchantment." Clark, it is true, did refer to the country about the mouth of the Musselshell River as "the Deserts of America" but those "deserts" consisted of only a one-hundred-and-twenty-mile stretch along the Missouri and were far cry from the "Great American Desert" notion that later observers would apply to the entire area of the Great Plains.

Soon, however, the wide, abundant, and beautiful plains were no more. After the Expedition had passed the Marias, portaged the Great Falls, and entered the mountains, the captains' commentaries on the Garden began to change. Timber in the mountains was only thinly scattered and there was "no game whatever." Conditions did not improve as the Expedition struggled through the mountains in search of the elusive passage between the Missouri and Columbia streams and, looking backward, the abundance of the Plains environment seemed even greater. This retrospective increase in the favorable estimation of the High Plains of Montana was augmented even more in the months ahead—during the crossing of the arid Columbian Plateau and during the soggy, miserable winter on Pacific shores. And when the captains came to their final evaluation of the suitability of the Northwest for settlement, they hearkened back to the summer of abundance in Montana and described that area as a "vast fertile and habitable region." Such descriptions were to form a basic part of American geographical lore of the northern Great Plains even down to the closing years of the nineteenth century—a classic example of how the decisions explorers make about the quality the lands they traverse can influence later thought and action.

Much more important to the success of the Expedition, however, were the decisions made relative to the second component of the captains' overall image of the Northwest—the concept of the passage. The single objective of the Expedition, Jefferson had written, was the discovery of the water communication between the upper Missouri and the upper Columbia river systems. It was in their search for this passage that Lewis and Clark encountered the greatest difficulties during their entire journey and it was, the process of decision-making that allowed those difficulties to be resolved and allowed the Expedition to terminate successfully. And of all the decisions made about the passage, those made in Montana in the summer of 1805 were the most crucial for the fulfillment of the captains' exploratory objective. Although there were others, three specific decision-making points were described by the captains' hope of succeeding: the junction of the Missouri and Marias rivers, the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass, and the valley of the Bitterroot River.

Before proceeding to analyze the decision-making procedure at these key points and the impact of decisions made there on the Expedition's success, it is necessary to back up a bit and to take a look at the character of the geographical knowledge bearing on the passage that was in the captains' possession at the beginning of the summer of 1805. In the spring of 1804, when the Expedition began, the image of the passage was a simplistic one, based on the hazy conjectural geography obtained from published accounts in the east and from the reports of the St. Louis fur trade. In this image, the Missouri had its source in a single range of mountains about 2200 miles west of the Mississippi and directly opposite the Missouri's headwaters were the source regions of navigable streams of the Columbian system. A short portage ought, in the early 1804 image, to connect the navigable waters of Atlantic and Pacific drainages and thus provide the water communication that was the central objective of Lewis and Clark. During the first spring and summer of exploration and during the winter spent at the Mandan villages, this simplistic image had been modified and become more complex, although no less optimistically structured in terms of the feasibility of finding a short portage between eastward and westward flowing rivers. By the time the captains departed from Fort Mandan, they had a fairly detailed picture of the farther West—of the course of the Missouri and its tributaries, of the Great Falls and Three Forks areas, of the multiple-ridge structure of the Rockies, and of the drainage patterns between the mountains and the Pacific. But detail does not necessarily imply accuracy and the core of misconception was still present in the captains' geographical understanding in the Spring of 1805—the Missouri was still seen as having its source within a half day of the navigable waters of the Pacific slope. It was this misconception that would be corrected during the decision-making process of the summer of 1805.

As the Expedition traveled west from the Mandan villages and into Montana, the information provided the explorers by the Indians during the winter of 1804-05 proved to be remarkably accurate: the various rivers were encountered about where they should have been, the face of the country matched native descriptions and accounts, and the mountains began to come into view in the proper places. And as the Milk River, called "the river that scolds at all others" by the Indians, was passed and the various "unconnected ranges" of the Rockies began to appear on the western horizon, the captains began to anticipate the discovery of the Great Falls of the Missouri beyond which, the native had told them, lay the proper passageway to Pacific waters. Before reaching the Great Falls, however, the first real test of Lewis and Clark as decision-makers had to be faced when the explorers encountered, on June 2, a major river entering the
Missouri from the north and almost equalling that stream in size. This was the Marias and its presence was puzzling.

According to the captains' available geographical knowledge, the Missouri had only one major northern tributary—the Milk or “Scolding” River passed more than three weeks before reaching the Marias. Was the Marias the true Missouri (the river described as having connections with the Columbia) and the southern stream an unknown tributary? Or was the Missouri itself the southern branch and the northern tributary a river the Indians had not mentioned? Finding the answers to these questions would determine the fate of the Expedition and Lewis and Clark began a complex series of operations that would allow a rational (and hopefully correct) decision to be made.

The decision-making process began with a field reconnaissance of the width, depth, and speed of flow of the two rivers in order to determine which was the major stream. The captains dispatched two crews, one to go up each branch to carry out the necessary observations, while they themselves carried out a field investigation to try to match up the lay of the land as visible from the highest point between the two rivers with the information carried from St. Louis and given by them to the natives at Fort Mandan. These investigations were basically inconclusive but on the strength of their geographical knowledge, Lewis and Clark came to the tentative decision that the southern branch was the Missouri proper. This conclusion was bolstered by the physical appearance of the two streams—the northern branch resembled the Missouri below the junction and was, therefore, a plains river, while the southern branch possessed the characteristics of a mountain stream and was, since the true Missouri was known to head in the mountains, almost certainly the proper route to Pacific waters. This reasoning failed to impress the other members of the party who remained firm in the belief that the northern branch was the right river to follow precisely because it did resemble the Missouri they had been traveling for so long. A longer field reconnaissance by Clark up the Missouri and by Lewis up the Marias served to further justify the captains' decision but failed to persuade the bulk of the party. The captains argued their case on the strength of their analysis of the geographic data derived from all possible sources. Their argument was a brilliant piece of deduction from a fuzzy set of facts but still did not convince the men.

This impasse presented a difficult problem. Although the Expedition was a military one and the men indicated a willingness to follow the captains wherever they would lead, Lewis and Clark recognized the seeds of a possible breakdown in command. Accordingly, it was decided that Lewis, with a small party, should proceed up the southern branch until he found the Great Falls, the discovery of which would be proof positive that the initial decision, reinforced by logic and evaluation of all the available geographical information, was the correct one. A few days after leaving the camp at the Missouri-Marias junction, Lewis did find the Falls; the decision-making process had worked as it should and, in the captains' eyes, the accuracy of their geographical data must have appeared to be precise. From the Falls, Lewis enthusiastically described the landmarks—the Falls themselves, an eagle's nest at their upper end, the entry of the "Medicine" or Sun River from the west, and the view of the mountains beyond—as matching the descriptions given him and Clark at the Mandan villages the previous winter. If their information had proven correct thus far, particularly in the application of that information to the decision-making process, there was no reason to suspect that what the Indians had told them of the passage between the Missouri and the Columbia should not be correct as well.

(If it would be interesting to speculate here— if time allowed— as to what would have happened had the captains' decision at the Missouri-Marias junction been different. Although the route followed across the mountains was not the best possible one and involved a lot of back-tracking, the route via the Marias could have gotten the Expedition into a lot more trouble than they actually encountered. Suppose it to say that, whatever the reasoning behind it, the decision made by Lewis and Clark to follow the southern fork and not the northern branch added to their chances for success.)

As the Expedition moved upstream from the Missouri-Marias junction, the captains continued to be secure in their faith in their store of geographical knowledge relative to the search for the passage. There were a few minor erosions in the quality of the data with which they had left Fort Mandan—the portage around the Falls took a lot longer than the natives had told them it would and, above the Falls, the river began to take them in a slightly different direction from that they wished to go—but when, in July, the Expedition reached the Three Forks of the Missouri, confidence in the accuracy of their Indian informants began to return. For there, just as the natives had told them, were three rivers of almost equal size coming together to form the Missouri. There was little question about which of these three rivers led to the Columbia for the Indians at Fort Mandan had specifically instructed them that the most western and northern branch (the Jefferson) above Three Forks, that river being "navigable to the foot of a high chain of mountains, being the ridge which divides the waters of the Atlantic from those of the Pacific ocean." And directly across the dividing ridge were the waters of "no other river but the Columbia." Thus when the captains and their men began the final ascent of the Atlantic slope, up the Jefferson and its westernmost source, they proceeded with confidence in their data. Beyond that ultimate source of the Missouri should lay the final dividing ridge. And beyond that, the natives had told them, a mighty river flowed through open plains all the way to the Pacific. Such was not to prove the case, however, and a new decision had to be made—a decision based on something other than the lore carried westward from Fort Mandan.

Imagine, if you will, the exultation that Lewis must have felt as he and a small party of men climbed a gentle slope toward "the most distant mountain of the waters of the Mighty Missouri in surch of which we have spent so many toilsome days and restless nights." Imagine the air of expectation as they refreshed themselves at the Missouri's "ultimate" spring and proceeded "to the top of the dividing ridge." And imagine the shock and the surprise—for from the top of that ridge were to be seen neither the great river that had been promised nor the open plains extending to the shores of the South Sea. Rather, to the west were only "immense ranges of high mountains...their tops partially covered with snow" while far below the waters of a very small river shone through the trees. The older geographical lore was no longer operative. Henceforth, decisions would have to be made on the basis of the captains' own geographical awareness and intuitiveness and what new information they could pick up in the field. A distinction between the geography of hope and the geography of reality was made at the top of the Divide, at Lemhi Pass.

In the Lemhi Pass region, the captains were made painfully aware that the ancient concept of the short portage between the Missouri and the Columbia had to be rejected in favor of new data sources upon which to base their decisions. Characteristically, the captains did not panic—
but set immediately about the task of acquiring information to replace that which had been proven to be inaccurate. Having finally contacted the elusive Shoshoni Indians near Lemhi, they began the process of data collection and analysis which would point the way across the mountains. From the Shoshonis they learned several things about the potential routes to the Pacific: the most direct route via the Lemhi and Salmon rivers was virtually impassable by land or water; a route to the north would be a country inhabited by “white people”; and, to the north, lay another route which involved several additional mountain crossings. Which of these routes would be the easiest and quickest? This question required a decision that was every bit as critical as that made earlier at the junction of the Missouri and Marias. Mastering all the geographical skills they possessed, the captains set about making that decision.

The original plans were to follow the stream of the Pacific drainage which, the Indians had told them during the previous winter, lay opposite the Missouri's source. This route, the Shoshonis advised the captains, was impassable by canoe or by foot or horse. No longer willing to trust native lore implicitly, Clark and a small party tried this route down the Lemhi and then the Salmon (in much the same way as field reconnaissance had been used during the Missouri-Marias dilemma) and found the Indian information to be correct. Rejecting the direct route as unfeasible, given the difficulty of passage and the lateness of the season, the captains were forced to come to some decision regarding the southern and northern routes the Shoshonis had described. The southern route lay up the Lemhi, across a mountain range to a large westward-flowing river (the Snake?), across that to another river (possibly the Owyhee) which led to the “Stinking lake.” Utilizing their general pre-exploratory conceptions of western drainage systems, the captains concluded (erroneously but, as it turned out, wisely) that the natives were describing a route to the waters that flowed to the Gulf of California and rejected it as being “more to the South” than they wished to travel. This left the northern route—across the mountains north of the Lemhi-Salmon junction to a northward flowing river west of which, and across another mountain range, lay the navigable waters of the Columbia. The captains were learning of the Bitterroot River and the Lolo Trail. But since their geographical conceptions were still distorted and fuzzy, it is likely that the northern flowing stream was confused in the captains' minds with a stream of the Missouri system while the mountains lying west of that river were seen as a northern extension of the Continental Divide they had just crossed. There was still, in their image of the passage, room for only one mountain crossing between the navigable waters of the Missouri and those of the Columbia. The decision was then (and it ultimately proved to be the right one) to cross the ranges north of the Lemhi-Salmon junction to “the great river which lay in the plains beyond the mountains.”

By early September, the crossing into the Bitterroot Valley had been made and here the decisions that were to finally bring some order to western geography and solve the riddle of the short passage were made. As the captains and their men dropped down into the valley of the Bitterroot, two things became apparent: there were mountains both east and west of the river; and the Bitterroot itself was most certainly a Pacific-slope river and not a Missouri basin stream. But Pacific water or not, the Bitterroot contained no salmon and was therefore probably not navigable—a suspicion confirmed by the Flathead Indians who told of a great fall before the Bitterroot entered the Columbia. This left one alternative—crossing the mountains west of the Bitterroot by the trail that the Nez Perce Indians used to reach the buffalo grounds of the Missouri basin. And here the final riddle of the short passage was solved—for the captains learned that the Nez Perce road to the buffalo involved not just one but two mountain crossings: from the valley of the Clearwater across the Lolo Trail to the Bitterroot Valley and then across another pass east of the Bitterroot to the Missouri. This was not quite the half-day portage that the explorers had been led to expect by the natives at Fort Mandan. But it was a shorter and more direct route than the one they had followed up the Jefferson, across the Divide, and then across another range to the Bitterroot where still another mountain traverse lay between them and the Pacific.

This new knowledge required new decisions—should the crossing from the Bitterroot to the Missouri be investigated or should the party continue with their original plans to reach navigable waters of the Columbia and follow them to the Pacific? Some talk was made of splitting the party into two groups—one to check the Bitterroot-Missouri passage and a second to make the attempt on the Bitterroot-Columbia (Clearwater) crossing. Finally, the elements aided the decision-making process. The season was beginning to lengthen into fall and snows were appearing on the mountains. The mountains west of the Bitterroot must be crossed, navigable waters must be found, and the Pacific must be reached before the onset of winter. But a second decision was made at the same time. The captains now knew that they must spend a second winter in the field—this time probably on or near the Pacific shores near the Columbia's mouth. After that wintering, they concluded, at least some members of the party would make the return journey via the Lolo Trail and the second mountain passage between the Bitterroot and the Missouri. That decision, and the working out of the details of western geography which accompanied it, was responsible for the final solution to the central objective of the Expedition—the discovery of “the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce.” For later generations it was this decision that was the most crucial. The decisions at the Missouri-Marias junction and in the vicinity of Lemhi Pass were critical for the Expedition’s successful negotiation of unknown territory. But reaching the decision they did in the Bitterroot Valley, Lewis and Clark cleared up, once and for all, the erroneous notion of a short portage between the Missouri and the Columbia. In doing so, they brought reality to the emerging American image of the Northwest. This was their major contribution and beyond anything else made them successful as explorers.

MARKER DEDICATED
AUGUST 13TH

Traveling Foundation members enroute to the Great Falls Annual Meeting joined Idaho member David Ainsworth and a group of nearly 100 at the location of a new Lewis & Clark marker near Lemhi Pass. The marker commemorates Meriwether Lewis's (with Drouillard, McNeal, and Shields) first unfurling of the Expedition’s fifteen star, fifteen stripe flag west of the Continental Divide on August 13, 1805, exactly 171 years prior to this year's dedication ceremony. (See story in WPO, V. 2, No. 1, p. 12.) Photographed after the ceremonies (left to right) Irving Anderson, Ruth Lange, Bob Lange, David Ainsworth, and Marcus and Helen Ware.
Mr. Tweney resides in Seattle, WA., and is a well known book dealer specializing in rare and scholarly books, with a special emphasis on Western Americans. He is a Director of the Foundation, and the Chairman of the Washington State Lewis and Clark Trail Committee.


This is a book that Lewis and Clark scholars, collectors, and “aficionados” in general have awaited for a long time. In the last 150-odd years, the journals of the Expedition have been published in several versions—“scrupulously authentic, dubiously revised, and complacently counterfeit” as the jacket synopsis so aptly phrases it. This book is the first comprehensive account of the various versions of the journals, and of the persons responsible for them. It tells of the dedicated scholarship, inspired judgement, and exciting discoveries of new materials, as well as the misguided enthusiasm and journalistic skullduggery that marred the publishing history of the journals, field notes, and letters of members of the Expedition…Dr. Cutright breaks new ground in his use of previously unpublished letters written by both Coeus and Thwaites, the editors of the two major editions of the journals.

A valuable appendix introduces a recently discovered manuscript version of the journals kept by one of the members of the exploring party. The book also includes an appraisal of other books and articles written about the Expedition, and a ‘resume’ of the illustrative materials, sketches, and various maps that have enriched the different accounts.

As Dr. Cutright mentions in his preface, portions of this story have previously been told, but generally piecemeal. They needed to be brought together and tied into one coherent literary package, and this the author has ably done. In addition to breaking new ground with the Coeus’ and Thwaites’ letters, Dr. Cutright reports for the first time on the facts surrounding the discovery in 1966 in a Philadelphia bookstore (how any Western American book dealer would hanker for a discovery like this!) of a new and heretofore unknown manuscript of Private Joseph Whitehouse, and describes and evaluates its contents.

For the first time, too, he appraises and evaluates the flood of books (retellings, fiction, juveniles, biographies) and the mountainous mass of periodical literature about Lewis and Clark and the Expedition. He attempts to separate the wheat from the chaff, to underline errors and misrepresentations that, through perusal repetition, have tended to become accepted as facts, and to salute those authors who, in his opinion, have exhibited objectivity, factual reporting, and sound scholarship. This chapter in particular, in combination with the lengthy bibliography of some 250 titles will be of particular value to the collector and bibliophile.

A large portion of the text is devoted to biographical data on the lives of scholarly contributors to the Lewis and Clark canon. Thus, six chapters out of the twelve are devoted to the lives and accomplishments of Biddle, Coeus, Thwaites, Quife, Osgood, and Jackson, and much interesting material is brought to light for the edification of the reader for the first time.

On pages 89-91 and 96, in the chapter of Elliot Coeus, Dr. Cutright relates an incident that struck right at home for this reviewer. It was while working on his edition of the Biddle Narrative, that Dr. Coeus suggested to his publisher, Francis P. Harper, that he should have an exact manuscript copy made of all the materials in the archives of the American Philosophical Society—"word for word, letter for letter, and point for point". Admonishing Harper “to keep very dark about this,” he later informs Harper that the job has been completed and that “this copy is the only one in existence.”

A number of years ago, while poking around in the dusty recesses of a New York antiquarian bookstore, this reviewer came upon a dirty carton of loose papers and sheets simply labeled “Lewis and Clark”. It turned out to be this same Coeus’ copy of the original Journals, and of course we forthwith added it to our personal collections! After weeks of sorting and arranging, it proved to be complete, and we soon thereafter had each “codex” safely enclosed in a folding slip case. Sixteen slip cases, each labeled “Lewis and Clark Journals—Elliot Coeus’ Manuscript” now rest on our library shelves, where they
constitute one of the large cornerstones of our personal Lewis and Clark collection. Not until the appearance of Dr. Cutright’s book, and his accompanying quotations from some of Elliot Coues’ letters, did we know the inside story of these manuscript materials.

For those of us who know Dr. Cutright personally, his charm, erudition, and total scholarship shine through on every page of this book. This reviewer recalls with pleasure an almost complete day spent with Paul Cutright some years ago, during which time we talked about numerous subjects of mutual interest, and mention was made of this book, which at that time was just a gleam in Dr. Cutright’s eyes. A friendship was forged that day, which has strengthened with each succeeding exchange of letters and other communications.

If any fault can be found with this book at all, it lies entirely with the publisher. After submission of the manuscript, publication date was delayed for several years, so much so, that a number of important Lewis and Clark events and publications occurred that could not be mentioned in the book. For this reason, some might feel that Dr. Cutright’s book has lost some of its timeliness. One could also complain about the inexpensive square-backed binding and paper-over-boards treatment of the binding on a book that sells for $17.50, but again, these must have been decisions of the publisher. And why did they ever choose, for the dust wrapper of the book, Frederic Remington’s painting that shows the two captains splendidly attired in out-moded Revolutionary War uniforms on a sandy beach of the Columbia River and, drawn out of the water behind them, three boats which are not dugouts at all, but birchbark canoes? Any one of countless authentic and historically-accurate illustrations would have made a better dust wrapper!

BUT – This is a book you had better have in your collection! It is a cornerstone item for any Lewis and Clark library!

**Presentation of Awards at 8th Annual Meeting**

Three recipients of the Foundation’s “Award of Meritorious Achievement” were present to receive their awards at the Great Falls meeting. Regrettably, Dr. John Logan Allen, University of Connecticut, was unable to attend due to illness. On June 13, 1976, President Werner presented the Award to the Montana Lewis and Clark Memorial Committee and the Fort Benton Community Improvement Association at Fort Benton (see story on page 6 this issue). On October 10, 1976, President Decker will present the award to the Washington State Parks and Recreation Commission at the dedication of the new Cape Disappointment Interpretive Center at Washington State’s Fort Canby State Park, Pacific County, Washington (this event will be reported in the forthcoming issue of WPO). Pictured above (left) Robert E. Lange, Portland, OR, receives the award from Secretary Anderson. (Center) Vice President Stensland presents the award to Foundation President Wilbur Werner, Cut Bank, MT, (Right) E. G. “Frenchy” Chauvin, M.D., Portland, OR, accepts the honor from E. E. “Boo” MacGilvra. Anderson, Stensland, and MacGilvra comprised the 1975-1976 Awards Committee.

Photographs reproduced in this issue which depict Foundation activities have been contributed by: Irv. Anderson, James Nelson, Gail Stensland, and the editor. Sources for the illustrations appearing in the Gass portrait monograph are indicated in the text.

**Correction:**

In the previous issue of WPO (Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 15), in the article describing the Seattle Art Museum’s special Bicentennial exhibit and lecture series titled: “Lewis and Clark’s America: A Voyage of Discovery”, the lecture titled “William Clark”, presented on July 28th, by Wm. Clark Adreon, great-great grandson of William Clark was omitted from the lecture listings. We regret this omission, but must advise that this lecture was not listed in the press release supplied to WPO by the museum’s public relations office.

**Muhly Produces Limited Edition**

Member Frank Muhly, Philadelphia, PA, has published this 56 page useful and informative monograph. The publication includes maps showing historical signboards (marker) locations, illustrations, and the texts of 144 Lewis and Clark historical signboards arranged chronologically from Illinois to Washington and Oregon.

This useful book (or additional details concerning same) may be obtained directly from Frank Muhly, 3206 Diston St., Philadelphia, PA, 19149. This limited edition is priced at $6.50 a copy plus .50c postage and handling.
CAMERAS RECORD FIELD TRIP ACTIVITIES AT EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

Modern day view from the overlook below Rainbow Falls, one of the series of tremendous cascades on the Missouri River north and east of the city of Great Falls, MT.

The Giant Spring. Captain Clark first described his discovery of this phenomenal spring on June 18, 1805 (See Thwaites, V.2, p.170). Captain Lewis, June 29, 1805, describes this "fountain" in detail (See Thwaites, V.2, pp.194-195).

Sacagawea's Sulphur Spring. See Thwaites, V.2, Clark's map facing page 176. [Lewis] June 16, 1805. The Indian woman extremely ill...one of the canoes [to cross the Missouri] to procure the waters of the Sulphur spring, the virtues of which I now resolve to try on the Indian woman. (See Thwaites, V.2, pp.162-163).

Dr. "Frenchy" Chuinard, Portland, OR, is presented a special award from the Montana L & C Trail Committee by President Wilbur Werner, following his interpretative talk at Sacagawea's Spring. The wall plaque features, along with a text from Lewis' journal and photographs of the spring, an apothecary bottle containing water from the sulphur spring. Nels Thoreson, Montana, Chairman for the 8th Annual Meeting, is on the right.

Mouth of "Portage" (present Belt) Creek. [Lewis] June 17, 1805...I employed them in taking five of the small canoes up the creek which we now call portage creek. (See Thwaites, V.2, p.166; Clark's map facing p.176; V.6, p.8).

Members and guests on the one day Missouri River cruise trip. Details are included in Secretary Anderson's article beginning on page one of this issue of WPO. All participants exclaimed about this exciting day, and were able to relive and rediscover the Expedition's adventures along this scenic and virtually unchanged section of the river. Interpretive guides for this event were Ms. Edrie Vinson, Historian, and Charlie Rigg's, Recreation Planner, both Bureau of Land Management, Lewistown, MT.

Members and guests leave charter buses and proceed along portage route to the overlook for view of the White Bear Islands (the termination of the 17 3/4 mile portage route). Tour guides Thoreson and Mitchell traced and described the portage route and islands. (See Thwaites, V.2, Chapter XI, pp.178-229).

On Wednesday, August 18th (Plan II) tour of Fort Benton and vicinity, members and guests visit and photograph Montana's Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Memorial - the 12' Scriver sculpture on the Missouri River levee at Fort Benton. (See also, WPO, V.2, No.1, pp.13.)
8th Annual Meeting Business Sessions
Banquet

Candid photo of Board of Directors prior to their meeting on Sunday, August 15th. (Front Row, left to right) Stensland, Chinnard, President Werner, Secretary Anderson, Robinson; (back row) Ware, Hind, Decker, WPO Editor Lange, MacGilvra, Teweny.

At the Monday, August 16th luncheon, President Werner presented the "President’s Message." Particular mention was made of the Foundation’s growth during his 1972-1976 term of office.

Iowa’s activities are recapitulated by Iowa’s Director V. Strode Hind. He particularly discussed the very successful symposium, “New Visions of Lewis and Clark,” attended by approximately ninety individuals in September 1975 (see WPO, V. 1, No. 4, p. 1).

Vice President Gail Stensland, with Mary Werner, review President Wilbur Werner’s contributions to the preservation of Montana Lewis and Clark historic sites; his leadership and devotion to the Montana Historical Society (he has served as the society’s President); and to our Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. The occasion was the presentation of meritorious achievement award at the 8th Annual Banquet.

Up-dating Lewis & Clark
In Recent Periodicals
FRONTIERS, the publication of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, PA (Spring 1976, Vol. 40, No. 3) includes an article concerning a fossilized jaw of a fish found by Captain Lewis in the Dakotas, and a mastodon tooth unearthed by William Clark, after the expedition, at Big Bone Lick, KY.

Paul R. Cutright in a letter to the editor alludes to the above and writes: “If you haven’t seen this article already, I think it will interest you, as it did me — for the reason that there are, at the Academy, fossils that were collected by Lewis and Clark. Although at earlier dates I spent a lot of time at the Academy, mainly with Lewis’s Herbarium, I never got even a hint of these fossils.”

Members and interested readers may order this issue of FRONTIERS by making inquiry to: the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 18th and Parkway, Philadelphia, PA. Enclose your check or Money Order in the amount of $1.05 to cover publication cost and postage.

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In recognition of the Foundation’s Annual Meeting in Great Falls, the Summer Issue (Vol. XXVI, No. 3) of MONTANA, THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY features three fine articles which relate to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

On pages 2-7, Foundation member Bob Saindon of Glasgow, Montana, writes about “The River That Scolds At All Others: An Obstinate Blunder in Nomenclature”.

Considerable confusion has existed over the years concerning the identity of the “River that Scolds At All Others”. Was it the Marias River or the Milk River — both tributaries of the Missouri in east and central Montana, that the Indians described to Lewis and Clark? Clarifying the matter, Saindon writes:

“For those of us who live in Montana, it is time this historic confu-

1. Foundation member Cutright received the Foundation’s Award of Meritorious Achievement at the 1974 Annual Meeting, and is a well-known Lewis and Clark scholar and writer. Readers familiar with his Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists (Univ. of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1969), will be pleased to hear that his new volume: A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals, Univ. of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1976, is now available at bookellers. (See Book Review in this issue of WPO, page 12.)
nominature be corrected. We grant that a few recent historians have recognized that the error stemmed, not from the original journals, but from an unfortunate conclusion drawn by the editor of the first official account of the journey, published in 1814. Yet official highway signs are just now in the process of being corrected, along with travel brochures and trail markers. Correcting the error is not, however, simply a matter of state or regional pride. It is a matter of recognizing, once more, the remarkably accurate judgments of the leaders of America’s epic journey of discovery.

Following this statement Bob Saindon’s article presents in brief coherent detail the story of this... Obstinate Blunder in Nomenclature

Ernest S. Osgood2 provides an interesting text, pages 8-17, titled: “Our Dog Scannan, Partner in Discovery.” About Dr. Osgood, Montana... magazine’s editor, Paladin has this to say: “An article from Ernest S. Osgood is always a pleasure for the staff of this publication. A meticulous researcher, he brings to every subject a fresh and innovative perspective, a flawless literary style and a contagious delight in historical pursuits.”

He begins his article with the suggestion that he would like to see a Who’s Who for dogs, a publication which might be found on the library shelf “cheek by jowl with the Who’s Who of Homo sapiens.” He proposes that this work bear the title “Who’s Who of Canis familiaris”. He follows this with this statement:

“In such a list of distinguished canines, I would expect to find one who belonged to Meriwether Lewis and who was a member in good standing of that historic party of exploration which nearly two centuries ago made the long traverse to the Pacific Ocean.”

Students and enthusiasts of the exploring enterprise will find Dr. Osgood’s treatise about the famous Newfoundland who was part of our country’s westward expansion most enjoyable reading, and those of us who have made every investigation possible to determine if Scannan returned with the party to St. Louis, in 1806, will be elated with this author’s supposition that he did!

The third article, pages 18-29, by Foundation Director and Past President E.G. “Frenchy” Chuinard, M.D., turns again to the Expedition’s Indian woman, Sacagawea. “Frenchy’s” contribution is titled: “The Actual Role of the Bird Woman”, and carries the sub-title: “Purposeful Member of the Corps or Casual ‘Tag Along’?” His usual scholarship develops an honest, sensible approach and documentation relative to Sacagawea’s being with the Expedition from the Mandans (North Dakota) to the Pacific (Washington and Oregon) and return. He writes:

Her... presence with the corps... is well documented by the diarists of the party, including the two leaders. Her intended status with the group probably will never be known, unless some undiscovered statement by one of the captains comes to light. Yet we can apply to questions about Sacagawea some reasonable interpretations and come to some logical conclusions...

“In order to take a fresh objective look... it is desirable — even imperative — to brush aside the emotional gloss which has been accumulating for more than 170 years and finally cease impaling this admirable woman on the twin horns of eulogy and disparagement.”

Readers may follow his dissertation as he develops each of his sub-headings which relate to: “The Eulogizers”; “The Disparagers”; “The Moderates”; “Some of the Clues”; “Recruiting at Mandan”; “Role as a Guide”; and “As Contact Agent’. The author provides considerable evidence that when the Captains made the decision to take the Charbonneau family with them on the westward journey, their judgment was that Sacagawea would be of much greater value to them than the services of her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau. Dr. Chuinard’s present endeavor is an elaboration on, and an adaptation from, a paper presented at Helena, Montana, in 1972, on the occasion of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Foundation.

This fine issue of MONTANA..., which includes the three Lewis and Clark articles reviewed above, may be obtained by directing your request to: MONTANA, THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY, 225 North Roberts Street, Helena, MT 59601. Enclose your check or money order in the amount of $3.00.

Kenneth C. Walcheck, of Miles City, Montana, is to be most highly commended for his most diligent research efforts in documenting his article: “Montana Wildlife — 170 Years Ago”. Published in MONTANA OUT­DOORS, the July-August 1976 issue of the Montana Department of Fish and Game magazine, his fine article manifests to all readers — especially Lewis and Clark enthusiasts — his fine detailed study of the subject.

The author, an historical and archaeological buff, and the Montana Fish and Game department’s Information Officer in Miles City, has accomplished what is believed to be a first endeavor to document the mammals, waterfowl, grouse, birds, fish, and reptiles which Lewis and Clark and their men sighted in Montana and wrote about in their journals.

His series of three maps accompanying his article provide a comprehensive picture of the scope of the expedition’s observations. Don Breiby, cartography chief for The Department of Natural Resources and Conservation, and his staff have obviously spent long hours in preparation of the illustrations and maps to insure that readers will more easily understand the scope and detail of Walcheck’s text.

This issue of MONTANA OUT­DOORS, Vol. 7, No. 4, July-August 1978, may be ordered from The Dept. of Fish and Game, 1420 E. Sixth, Helena, Montana, 59601. Enclose .60 to cover cost of publication and mailing.

Christmas presents? How about an annual membership in the Foundation which includes a subscription to the four quarterly issues of We Proceeded On. Membership applications should be directed to the Membership Secretary.

2. Foundation member Osgood, now retired from a long and brilliant teaching career, resides in Wooster, Ohio, but spends his summers near the Continental Divide on Montana’s Alice Creek, only a few miles from Lewis and Clark Pass, where Lewis and his party, on the return journey, crossed the Rockies on their traverse of the mountains from present Missoula to today’s Sun River and Great Falls. Lewis and Clark students know him best as the editor of The Field Notes of William Clark, Yale Univ. Press, New Haven, 1964. In 1972, at the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Foundation, in Helena, Montana, Dr. Osgood was the speaker for the Annual Banquet, and a recipient of the Foundation’s Award of Meritorious Achievement.

3. Documentation of the dog, Scannan, does not appear in the journals of the expedition after July 15, 1806, shortly after Lewis’s party of nine expedition members and five Indians with fourteen horses and seventeen dogs arrived at White Bear Islands upstream from the Great Falls of the Missouri. This was just prior to Lewis’s side-exploration of the Marias River with Drouillard and the two Field brothers.

4. B.S. in Wildlife Conservation and Biolog, Wisconsin State University; M.S. in Applied Science (Ecology), Montana State University. He has published several papers in the area of Ornithology, and served as Assistant Professor of Biology at Northern Montana College in Havre. He has been employed by the National Park Service as a Ranger-Naturalist in Mt. McKinley, Yellowstone, and Crater Lake National Parks.