LEWIS & CLARK MEET THE PLAINS BISON

PLUS: CAPE GIRARDEAU • “SERGEANT” WARFGINGTON
The Corps of Discovery's Forgotten "Sergeant"
Lewis and Clark entrusted Richard Warfington with responsibilities far beyond his corporal's rank
By Trent Strickland

Cape Girardeau and the Corps of Discovery
Newly discovered documents detail the post-expedition lives of four veterans of the Lewis and Clark Expedition
By Jane Randol Jackson

Great Gangues of Buffalow
Lewis and Clark's encounters with the plains bison
By Kenneth C. Walcheck

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From the Library: L&C on the World Wide Web

Soundings
Sacagawea and Susan B. Anthony
By Bill Smith

On the cover
Titled Red Shirt, artist Michael Haynes’s painting shows Sergeant John Ordway surprised by a buffalo bull on a rainy September 11, 1804, while the Corps of Discovery was making its way up the Missouri River in today’s South Dakota. Ordway had come upon a herd of 16 bulls and was trying to remain unobserved when one of them, as he recalled in his journal, “discovered me ... he looked at me, & walked up near to me. I was obliged to Shoot, at his head. as I shot him in the head among the long hair he turned & run off.” For more on the explorers’ encounters with the plains bison, see Kenneth C. Walcheck’s “Great Gangues of Buffalow,” beginning on page 22. More Haynes art can be found on his Web site, www.mhaynesart.com.
Lisette Charbonneau's fate; Cape Disappointment

A recent search I made of parish death records at St. Louis's Old Cathedral has turned up two items related to the family of Touissant Charbonneau.

One item concerns the fate of Lisette Charbonneau, his daughter by Sacagawea and the sister of Jean-Baptiste ("Pomp"). We have known for some time that Lisette was born in 1811, that she was still an infant when Sacagawea died, and that she was later adopted by William Clark. The item, recorded in French under the index line "Lisette, Sauvagess," translates, "The year of J.C. [Jesus Christ] 1832 and the 16th of June I gave ecclesiastical burial to Lisette, female savage of the nation of snakes, aged twenty one years, administered the sacraments decided yesterday."

The name Lisette, her designation as a "snake" (Shoshone), and the inferred birth year of 1811 all point to the near certainty that this woman was the daughter of Charbonneau and Sacagawea.

The other item is more ambiguous. Found under the index line "Burial of a Sauvageess of the Snake Nation," it translates, "The 30th of August 1813 by us assigned to holy burial in the cemetery of the parish of St. Louis the body of a young female savage of the nation of serpents [snakes] belonging to Mr. Charbeaunou aged one year." This item appears to show that Lisette had either a twin or (more likely) a half-sister, since Charbonneau was also married to a Shoshone named Otter Woman.

Sacagawea died at Fort Manuel, on the upper Missouri, in December 1812. The fort's clerk, John Lutig, brought Lisette back to St. Louis in May 1813. It is possible that he brought this other infant girl, too, although there is no record to confirm this.

ROBERT J. MOORE, JR.
Historian, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial
St. Louis, Mo.

Cape Disappointment

I enjoyed David L. Nicandri's article "The Illusion of Cape Disappointment" in the November WPO. The author makes a convincing case that Clark saw the Pacific Ocean from near Pillar Rock on November 7, 1805, in the sense that he had an unobstructed view out to sea. It seems Clark took Point Ellipse for Cape Disappointment, but this does not change the fact that Clark saw and understood the clear view toward the ocean to the west, south of Point Ellipse.

Clark in a boat could not have seen surf breaking on Point Adams or even on Point Ellipse. Point Ellipse is close to 14 miles from Pillar Rock. Estimating his height of eye above the water at six feet, one can calculate that for Clark the distance to the horizon (how far one can see an object on the sea surface) was only 3.2 miles. An object at Point Ellipse, some 10.8 miles farther, would have to be 67 feet above the water for Clark to have seen the top of it. At Point Adams its height above water would have to be 130 feet. Clearly, Clark standing in a boat near Pillar Rock could not have seen surf breaking on either point, even if his view were otherwise unobstructed.

These figures vary a little depending on atmospheric conditions, but not enough for Clark to have seen beyond the curve of the earth. My source is the U.S. Navy Hydrographic Office, American Practical Navigator (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1962), Table 8, p. 1254.

I doubt, however, Clark limited himself to looking from a boat. The Corps of Discovery camped near Pillar Rock, and the land behind its campsite rises 275 feet above sea level. Such a vantage he would have given him an unobstructed view of the sea surface as far as Point Adams. Given the explorers' excitement about nearing their destination, he surely would have climbed this height of land to see the Pacific.

STUART WIER
Boulder, Colo.

It is always a pleasure to receive the latest issue of WPO, and the pleasure is double when it includes an article like David Nicandri's examining the age-old question of what William Clark actually saw when he exclaimed "Ocean in view!" The Corps of Discovery was encamped at the time on the north shore of the Columbia near Pillar Rock, not far from
As Nicandri points out, those skeptical of Clark's statement that he saw the
ocean from Pillar Rock believe that Point Adams, jutting from the south shore of
the river's mouth, would have blocked his line of sight. But the land west of Point
Adams now extends much farther than it did in Clark's day due to the buildup
around a jetty built in 1895, and in 1805 it would not have impeded Clark's view.

But one must still take into account the effect of the earth's curvature—a sig-
nificant factor, not merely the minor adjustment suggested by Nicandri in end-
ote note 18 of his article. The distance from Pillar Rock to Point Adams is about
19 statute miles; from Pillar Rock to Point Ellice (where Nicandri believes the waves
Clark actually saw were breaking) it is about 14 miles. Due to the earth's curva-
ture, both Point Adams and Point Ellice would have been below the horizon for a
person at river level. The curvature effect is a nonlinear function with respect to
distance. At 1 mile it is about 8 inches, at 2 miles 2.7 feet, at 4 miles 10.7 feet, at 8
miles 42.7 feet, at 14 miles 130.7 feet. These figures are for zero feet of eleva-
tion; in other words, they apply to an observer whose eyes are at water level. At
higher elevations the distance one can see increases. The effective elevation of Clark
seated in a canoe at Pillar Rock might have been five feet, but that would not have
helped him much. Clark stated he "distinguished" heard waves crashing on the
shore (perhaps at Point Ellice, 14 miles away), but as the table below shows, it is not
enough above the site. The journals make no mention of such a climb, but one can
can easily imagine him climbing above the campsite for a better view
to the west. The terrain here is steep but
not impassable, and anyone with field experience could have scaled to a height of
200 feet or more above the river. Clark could have scrambled up, with a tele-
scope, to make a visual observation of the rollers crashing onto Point Ellice or even
Point Adams. Taking into consideration the curvature of the earth, at a distance of
14 miles the crest of a 20-foot wave could be observed from a height of 48 feet
above the river level; a 10-foot wave would require reaching a minimum elevation
of 68 feet. So Clark may well have seen ocean breakers from the camp at Pillar
Rock, provided he climbed high enough above the site. The journals make
no mention of such a climb, but one can argue it is implicit in the statement "Ocean
in view!"

The table below shows the elevations required for observing obstacles (e.g.,
wave heights) at various distances. The formula used for the calculations is

\[ h = \frac{5280(D/\text{SQRT}(2R)) - \text{SQRT}(w/5280)^2}{2} \]

where \( h \) = the height above sea level, in feet, required to observe the waves, \( D \) =
distance from the observer to the waves in statute miles (e.g., 14 miles), \( R \) = ra-
dius of the earth in statute miles (approximately 3,959 miles), and \( w \) = height of
the waves in feet. \text{SQRT} stands for "square root of."

A discussion of this formula may be found at the Web site http://www-
spof.gsfc.nasa.gov/stargaze/Shorizon.

After the 2003 Lewis and Clark bicen-
tennial commemoration in western Ken-
tucky, southern Illinois, and southeast
Missouri, Lewis and Clark enthusiasts in
our area decided to form the George
Drouillard Chapter of the LCTHF.
Drouillard joined the Corps of Discovery
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Girardeau, Missouri. He hunted, trapped, and raised horses in the area. We think it

John Pernier worked for Jefferson

In his fascinating article on Meriwether
Lewis's servant, John Pernier (WPO, No-
ember 2004), Mark Chalkley writes that
the "first mention of Pernier in the written
record is an entry in Lewis's account book
in November 1808."

There is, however, some evidence that
Pernier worked for Thomas Jefferson in
the White House during the period 1804-
1807. Jefferson included the name "John
Pernier" among the list of servants to
whom he paid wages on October 4, 1804,
and May 1, 1805 (Jefferson's Memorandum
Books, volume 2). As Chalkley indicates,
Pernier visited Jefferson at Monticello after Lewis's death and on
November 26, 1809, received $10 from
Jefferson to cover his expenses for deliv-
ering a letter to James Madison.

New George Drouillard Chapter

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Editor's note: John Guice, an authority
on Lewis's death, has pointed out a mi-
nor error in our Pernier piece. James
Neelly, the Chickasaw agent, was not
present when Lewis died but arrived at
Grinder's Stand shortly afterward.
Neelly's servant was present, along with
Pernier.
A stunning new tribute to Native Americans

I was not really sure what to expect. I had seen the snippets on TV news and read about the project in magazines. However, it was the encouragement of the Osage Tribal Museum’s curator, Kathryn Redcorn, that spiked my interest and hastened my visit to the recently opened National Museum of the American Indian, in Washington, D.C. Several days prior to my journey, trying to cure a bout of insomnia with C-SPAN, I heard remarks by Richard West, the museum’s director, that further piqued my curiosity. Could this new museum actually be something different from the generic and so often predictable mold of so many interpretive facilities?

The museum’s exterior design is different from anything I had seen before and in stunning contrast to other surrounding structures. On a Washington Mall dominated by classical architecture and gray marble, the N.M.A.I.’s graceful curvilinear form compels us to take notice. The hues and shadows of the façade’s ochre-colored native stone change with the passage of sun and clouds. At the entrance, a miniature wetland reminds us of our connection to the earth, while the entrance plaza’s celestial symbolism connects us to the heavens. The building does a masterful job of synthesizing the forms and textures of the past while anchoring us in the present and challenging us to envision the future. Although constructed by man, it appears to be formed by wind and water.

This is a museum of the native peoples of North America. It tells their story from their perspective. The names of the exhibit galleries—Our Universe, Our Peoples, Our Lives—amplify the prevailing theme of ownership. Pride, significance, and inclusion permeate the exhibits. Artifacts from the Smithsonian’s extensive collections are a point of reference to this overarching theme. The cultural materials on display are seen in the context of who these people were, and are. Contemporary quotes scattered throughout the exhibit areas show a modern engagement with the heritage of the American Indian.

Reconsidering stereotypes

The National Museum of the American Indian compels us to reconsider our traditional stereotypical view of Native Americans. It reminds us that staying true to our foundation’s mission as “Keepers of the Story” goes beyond an emphasis on history, as important as that is, because the story is at least as much about the future as it is about the past. The museum reminds us, too, that our country’s strength lies not only in its diversity but in its commonality.

—Gordon Julich
President, LCTHF
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Where did the Lewis & Clark Expedition really begin?

Two hundred years ago, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were wintering with the Mandans in what we call North Dakota. A few miles north of the future site of Bismarck, they built a triangular stockade and named it after one of the local peoples who were their hosts and helpers. During this winter, bitter cold but pleasant enough for the men who had traveled thousands of hard miles from "civilization," they prepared to resume their journey.

From a certain perspective Fort Mandan is where their journey really began, because what was beyond that next curve in the Missouri River were lands that few Euro-Americans had penetrated and even fewer had charted or described. Nine and more months after they had pushed off from the winter camp at Wood River in the Illinois country, the explorers were contemplating the so-called terra incognita that they were bidden, and eager, to examine and make known.

The point where the expedition began is an interesting question to contemplate—and occasionally an issue of considerable discussion and debate. Several locations would like to declare themselves as the starting point. We in St. Louis have a certain claim, for here in this 19th-century outpost Lewis and Clark made their final preparations during the winter of 1803-04. Here it was that the transfer of Upper Louisiana from Spain to France to the United States was officially executed, making the territory to be explored legally owned by the U.S., at least according to some criteria.

Lewis and Clark's recruits, however, spent that winter across the Mississippi River, at a camp on the river that the French called DuBois and the Euro-Americans translated as "Wood." The camp was presumed to be sufficiently distant from the temptations and vanities of the village metropolis, but Clark regularly noted in his journal the drunken behavior of members of his crew. Discipline was one of the necessary lessons to be practiced at winter camp, a part of the essential "shake-down" that preceded such a momentous and difficult journey. Without the Camp River DuBois experience, the crew would have been ill prepared for the hardships ahead. The departure from Wood River, in May of 1804, signaled the end of preparation and the first stage of the actual journey.

Yet we can go back farther, in time and in geography, to a particular place on the Ohio River. In October of 1803, Meriwether Lewis arrived at the Falls of the Ohio.

Here, in Clarksville on the Indiana Territory side of the river, William Clark resided, having resigned his army commission to look after his family's lands. Well aware that the undertaking was "frightened with many difficulties," he joined Lewis at the Falls of the Ohio as co-commander of the expedition. From this point on, it was the Lewis and Clark Expedition, a partnership that was extraordinary in its united efforts and in its absence of any hint of discord.

Some would take us back even farther, to Pittsburgh, where Lewis waited anxiously for the keelboat he had ordered, added a portable forge among other items to his supplies, and received the hoped-for response from his invitation to William Clark to share the captaincy of the corps. "I assure you," Clark had written, "that no man lives with whom I would prefer to undertake such a trip." We can look to Harper's Ferry, Virginia, where Lewis picked up the first of the supplies from the federal arsenal; or to Philadelphia and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where Lewis pursued an intense education program in order to comply with the President's mandate to observe and record the "unknown" country and its inhabitants; or to Washington, D.C., where Lewis as Thomas Jefferson's private secretary first heard the plan that the president called the Voyage of Discovery.

There is one more step to take in this reverse time journey, and that is to the mountain-top home of Jefferson, the site from which he roamed in his astounding intellect and bold imagination. Here at Monticello, Jefferson dreamed his vision of America, a country that would stretch thousands of miles beyond Virginia's Blue Ridge Mountains, mountains beyond which he could not see and would never travel but no barriers to the dream he would make real. This, I would assert, is the place where Lewis and Clark's journey began. And I can picture a smile on the face of Meriwether Lewis as he nods in agreement with my conjecture.

In the end, does it matter where the expedition began? Does it even matter, two hundred years later, the various reasons and rationales Jefferson and Lewis and Clark and the men of the corps had for the journey? What we now need is the appropriate perspective on the journey and its aftermath. The questions that must now concern us are the ones that are not so much of the past but are rather crucial to our future: How have the land, the people, the animals and plants of this territory changed in two hundred years? How for the better, and how for the worse? How can we build on those legacies of the Lewis and Clark Expedition that are worthy of preservation, and how can we change the damage that was done, or at the very least prevent future harm? These are the things we ourselves are discovering as we follow the voyage, legacies that we can proudly pass on to the generations who will follow us. This is the journey we must make.

—Robert R. Archibald
President, Bicentennial Council
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THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY'S FORGOTTEN "SERGEANT"

Lewis and Clark entrusted Richard Warfington with responsibilities far beyond his corporal's rank

BY TRENT STRICKLAND

The bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition has focused renewed attention on the Corps of Discovery and its permanent party of 33 individuals who journeyed to the Pacific Ocean and back. Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Sacagawea, Clark's slave York, the hunter and translator George Drouillard, and even Lewis's dog, Seaman, have been the subjects of countless articles and books. New studies have also cast light on the permanent party's three sergeants, Patrick Gass, John Ordway, and Nathaniel Pryor.

But the group that went up the Missouri River to the Mandan villages in 1804 included a number of men who traveled no farther. Most of these were French-speaking engagés, veterans of the fur trade hired for their boat-handling skills, and some were enlisted men who had signed on only for the first phase of the journey and returned to St. Louis the following spring. Among the latter was Richard Warfington, the man I think of as the Corps of Discovery's "forgotten sergeant." Although Warfington was nominally a corporal, and the only member of the expedition to hold that rank, the captains entrusted him with responsibilities commensurate with those of a sergeant (or even a lieutenant or captain), and it is clear they regarded him as a sergeant in all but rank. In a letter to his brother Jonathan written at Fort Mandan in April 1805, Clark refers to "one of this party Richard Worvington who acts as a Sergeant."1

Warfington's army records tell us he was a native of Louisburg, North Carolina, that he was 22 years old when he enlisted in 1799, and that he stood five feet ten inches tall and had brown hair, black eyes, and a fair complexion. By 1803, he was serving as a corporal in the 2nd U.S. Infantry at South West Point, a post in eastern Tennessee near present-day Knoxville. That fall, he and three other members of his regiment were detached for duty with the Corps of Discovery. Lewis and Clark sent George Drouillard to South West Point to escort them and four other recruits to Camp River Dubois, the corps' winter encampment near St. Louis, where they arrived shortly before Christmas.2

The captains must have been impressed by the corporal's leadership skills, for in April 1804, as they were making final preparations to get underway, they placed him in command of the white pirogue and its five-man crew. This was the smaller of two pirogues that, along with the expedition's keelboat, would ascend the Missouri as far as the Mandan villages, at Knife River, in present-day North Dakota. The white pirogue was probably 35 feet...
Gary Lucy's painting of the Corps of Discovery leaving Camp River Dubois shows both the white pirogue and the keelboat. Corporal Richard Warfington commanded the former on the voyage to the Mandan villages and the latter when it returned to St. Louis the following spring.

long, with a beam of five feet. It could carry eight tons, and in addition to oars it had a mast and sail. Warfington and his crew were inexperienced boatmen, and the voyage upriver would be their shakedown cruise. The white pirogue generally followed behind the larger red pirogue, which was manned by *engagés.* The captains organized the party into messes, one of which comprised the white pirogue's crew. They placed Warfington in charge of the mess and exempted him from guard duty to attend full time to the care and upkeep of the white pirogue.

The Corps of Discovery left River Dubois on May 14, 1804. The captains initially planned for the white pirogue to accompany the expedition only part way to the Mandan villages; at some point en route they expected to send it back to St. Louis laden with natural-history specimens, journals, and dispatches. Sometime after mid-August, however, they changed their minds and decided to keep the white pirogue and to send these materials the following spring aboard the keelboat, with Warfington in command.

The captains left unstated the reasons for abandoning their original plan. Possibly they were concerned in part that the journey was proceeding more slowly than they might have wished. Warfington's enlistment was due to expire on August 4; on that date they had gotten as far as today's Omaha, Nebraska, less than halfway to the Mandan villages, which they wouldn't reach until late October. It seems odd that Lewis didn't deal with this matter before leaving Camp River Dubois. In a letter written after the expedition to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, he explained that discharging Warfington on the date his enlistment terminated would have deprived him of "military standing," thereby undercutting his authority over soldiers on the return trip. At any rate, the corporal readily agreed to extend his enlistment until the keelboat's return to St. Louis in the spring of 1805. So Warfington wound up spending an unanticipated, brutally cold winter on the northern plains.

The keelboat's return

On April 7, 1805, as the Pacific-bound permanent party headed upriver, Warfington and 10 or 11 others (six or possibly seven soldiers, a civilian trader, two *engagés,* and an Arikara man returning to his village) pointed the keelboat downriver toward St. Louis. Among the soldiers were two expelled from the permanent party, Moses Reed for desertion and John Newman for mutiny. The largest of the Corps of Discovery's vessels, the keelboat was 55 feet long, more than eight feet wide, and had a capacity of
12 tons. Its cargo was priceless beyond measure: the captains’ journals, a first draft of Clark’s map of the West, Indian artifacts, and a trove of mineral, plant, and animal specimens, including four live mappies, a prairie grouse, and a prairie dog. In the view of Lewis’s biographer Stephen E. Ambrose, the sum of new knowledge contained in this haul “was enough to justify the expedition, even if it made not a single further contribution.” Most of this lading was ultimately destined for Washington, D.C., where it was eagerly anticipated by Thomas Jefferson.

The keelboat added to its human cargo when it stopped at one of the downstream Arikara villages to pick up Eagle Feather (Piahiito), a chief who had agreed to Lewis’s invitation to visit Washington for an audience with President Jefferson. Farther downstream, Warfington picked up another passenger, Petit Voleur (Little Thief), an Oto headman who had also accepted Lewis’ invitation to meet Jefferson.

Warfington and the men under his command faced significant risks as they journeyed south. Even though the keelboat was going downstream, it was no easy matter to guide the large, cumbersome craft on the wild Missouri, dodging the river’s many sawyers, snags, and other natural obstacles. But the greatest obstacle, at least potentially, was human: the keelboat would have to run the gauntlet of the Teton (Lakota) Sioux. Living along the Bad River near today’s Pierre, South Dakota, the Tetons were a powerful tribe that routinely extracted payments from traders passing up and down the river. Following a nasty encounter between these “pirates of the Missouri” and the Corps of Discovery the previous September, Clark had declared them “the vilest miscreants of the savage race.” In a letter to Jefferson written from Fort Mandan, Lewis predicted that the Sioux would likely fire upon Warfington and his crew, but they “have pledged to us that they will not yield while there is a man of them living.”

Warfington’s party appears to have passed through the Teton Sioux’s territory without incident, for there is no record of confrontation or even contact (the tribe may have been off hunting buffalo). As the keelboat moved farther downstream it picked up other tribal envoys intent on visiting Washington—a total of “45 deputies from 6 of the principal nations in that quarter,” Jefferson reported to a member of Congress. Even in the absence of a hostile meeting with the Sioux, Warfington still must have had his hands full navigating the treacherous river, keeping discipline in a party that included two men drummed out of the corps, and acting as diplomat to a boatload of Native-American ambassadors. It would have been an immense responsibility for a commissioned officer, much less a mere corporal. But the captains had picked the right man. Clark later declared that
Warfington "acquired himself very will," and Lewis noted that "the duties assigned him ... were performed with a punctuality which uniformly characterized his conduct while under my command."17

After a demanding journey of six weeks and 1,600 miles, the keelboat arrived safely in St. Louis on May 22.18 There is evidence that Warfington may have traveled on to Louisville, Kentucky, to deliver expedition items sent by Clark to his brother Jonathan. He then returned to his army unit.19

In his post-expedition letter to Henry Dearborn, Lewis included a roster of the men who had accompanied him to the Pacific along with a request that each be granted land warrants of 320 acres in addition to his back pay. Two others who were not part of the permanent party, Lewis advised, were also worthy of extra compensation. One was the Private John Newman, whose attitude and work ethic following his court martial had partially redeemed him in the captians' eyes. The other was Richard Warfington. In testimony of the corporal's service, Lewis wrote,

Taking into view the cheerfulness with which he continued in the service after every obligation had ceased to exist, from the exposures, the fatigue, labour and dangers incident to that service, and above all the fidelity with which he discharged this duty, it would seem that when rewards are about to be distributed ... that his claim to something more than his pay of seven dollars per month as corporal cannot be considered unreasonable.20

This was high praise indeed from Lewis. Records show that Warfington received his 320 acres in addition to the $99.96½ he accumulated during his period of service with the Corps of Discovery, which lasted from May 14, 1804, to June 1, 1805.21

Little more is known of the corporal from North Carolina. Exactly if or when he left the army, where he may have settled, and when he died are all lost to history. Whatever course Richard Warfington's subsequent life took, it is fitting that we recognize the corporal who acted as a sergeant for his important role in Lewis and Clark's voyage of discovery.

Foundation member Trent Strickland lives in Hamlet, North Carolina.

NOTES

"Company Books and What They Tell Us about the Corps of Discovery," wpo, August 2001, pp. 19-23 (Warfington's vital statistics are listed on p. 22). Drouillard escorted a total of eight men from Tennessee to Camp River Dubois. Besides Warfington they included John Potts, Hugh Hall, and Thomas Proctor Howard, who were from the 2nd Infantry and became members of the permanent party. The identities of the other four men are uncertain.

4 Ibid., pp. 189 and 212.
5 Ibid., pp. 215n, 229n, 472, and 475n.
8 Ibid., pp. 233 and 237; Moulton, Vol. 2, p. 511n; Woodger and Toropov, pp. 124-125. The trader was Joseph Gravelines, who would go on to Washington with Eagle Feather, acting as his interpreter. The party also included two engagés in a canoe. Lewis stated that "ten ablebodied men made up the crew," but as Moulton points out, the exact number aboard the keelboat is subject to interpretation. The soldiers might have included a private named John Robertson. Besides Reed and Newman, the detachment's other privates were John Boley, John Dame, Ebenezer Tuttles, and Isaac White.
16 Ibid., p. 249.
17 Ibid., pp. 364-365.
18 Holmberg, p. 88.
19 Ibid., p. 89; Jackson, Vol. 1, p. 372.

A side view of the keelboat drawn by Clark in his field notes, ca. January 21, 1804. Clark's rendering of a top view appears on page 10.
Cape Girardeau, Missouri, a town on the Mississippi River some thirty miles above its confluence with the Ohio, and its immediate environs were home to four members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition following their return from the Pacific.

I learned this information in 2003, when, as chairman of the Cape Girardeau Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission and director of the Cape Girardeau County Archive Center, I searched the archive for any names linked to the Corps of Discovery. To my surprise I found George Drouillard mentioned in the estate papers of Louis Lorimier, Cape Girardeau’s founder, as well as papers relating to the real-estate transactions of John Ordway and Alexander Willard. The most interesting documents I found are court records concerning the trial of Reuben Field on a charge of stealing his neighbor’s hogs.

Cape Girardeau’s part in the Lewis and Clark story begins six months before the expedition left for the Pacific. Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and the men they had recruited in the Ohio Valley arrived there in the expedition’s keelboat and several smaller vessels on November 23, 1803, en route to their winter encampment at River Dubois, in Illinois Territory opposite St. Louis.

Like the rest of what was then called Upper Louisiana, the Cape Girardeau District (“district” being a political entity analogous to a county) was still governed by Spain when the expedition stopped overnight. A week later, France would assume political authority over the region, which by the end of the year would pass to the United States under terms of the Louisiana Purchase. Spain had gained control of Louisiana from France in 1763; Cape Girardeau was probably settled soon afterward (the name, which may derive from a Frenchman who built a trading post there in the early 1700s, first appears on maps in 1765). The first settlement—later called Old Cape Girardeau—was located at the foot of a high, rocky bluff (today’s Cape Rock Park); by the early 19th century, most inhabitants were living on lower ground several miles downstream. In 1789, Spain began en-
couraging Americans to settle in Louisiana with promises of land, exemption from taxes, and guarantees of religious freedom. The result was an influx of families from east of the Mississippi. By the time Lewis and Clark stopped at Cape Girardeau, Americans were the majority of its population, which numbered a little more than a thousand. They shared the district with French Creoles and Shawnee and Delaware Indians who had moved there from the Ohio Valley.3

THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY AT CAPE GIRARDEAU

The Corps of Discovery's visit lasted a day and a night, and what we know of it comes from Lewis's 12-page journal entry. He had a lot to say, much of it negative, about the "desolate and abandoned" Americans who had immigrated there from Kentucky and Tennessee. Lewis found most of these "uncivilized backwoodsmen" at a horse race, where pandemonium had broken out over a judge's call. As men "of desperate fortunes" who had "little to loose" in terms of character or property, they "bett very high ... in proportion to their wealth; it is not uncommon for them to risk the half or even the whole of their personal property on a single wager."

Lewis was much more positive about Louis Lorimier, the town's commandant and leading citizen, and his wife and children. Lorimier wore his thick hair tied in a queue that reached below his knees (other accounts tell us he used the queue as a riding whip).4 He appeared about sixty years old and was married to an attractive mixed-blood Shawnee woman; the couple had "a large family of very handsome Children," including a teenage daughter who caught Lewis's eye—she was easily "the most descent looking feemale" he had seen since leaving Louisville. The captain stayed for a "comfortable and desent" supper, then returned to the boats after bidding the family "an affectionate adieu."

William Clark didn't meet Lorimier. He wasn't well at the time and had stayed with the keelboat, which was moored at Old Cape Girardeau, but he must have known of Lorimier from his troubles, more than twenty years before, with General George Rogers Clark, the captain's famous older brother. As a trader in the Ohio country during the Revolution, Lorimier sided with the British and led Indian raids into Kentucky. In reprisal, militia commanded by George Rogers Clark burned and looted Lorimier's post. Lorimier told Lewis his loss of $20,000 in furs and other goods "broke him as a merch't." The resourceful trader was soon back on his feet, however, and he appears to have harbored no lasting ill will toward Americans. By 1787, he had re-established himself as a trader in the Ste. Geneviève District of Upper Louisiana, and by 1791 he was operating a trading post at Old Cape Girardeau. Two years later, Spanish colonial officials appointed him district commandant, a position he held until the handover of Louisiana to the United States.5 In 1795, the Spanish governor granted him 8,000 arpents—equivalent to 6,800 acres—on the Mississippi River at today's City of Cape Girardeau, where he and his family built their home, known as the Red House.6

THE CAPE GIRARDEAU FOUR

George Drouillard, the Corps of Discovery's indispensable hunter and sign-language interpreter, was almost cer-
tainly Lorimier's nephew, and in 1803 he probably called Cape Girardeau home. Drouillard was born near Detroit in 1773, the son of a Shawnee woman and a French-Canadian who served as an interpreter for George Rogers Clark. When Lorimier moved to Cape Girardeau, he brought with him a number of Shawnee and Delaware families, and Drouillard's may have been among them.

Drouillard appears to have returned to Cape Girardeau after the expedition and to have lived there off and on for the remaining four years of his life, although most of that time was spent in the fur trade on the upper Missouri. He evidently raised horses on his family's property, for Lorimier's estate papers, filed in 1812, list "A Sorrel Stud horse (of Geo. Drouillard's breed) with a white star and a white stripe on the left nostril. Valued at $25."

Drouillard was one of the Corps of Discovery's most respected members, and it is possible that he influenced the decisions of Willard, Ordway, and Field to settle at Cape Girardeau after the expedition's return.

Alexander Hamilton Willard, a New Hampshire native, enlisted in the army in 1800 and joined the Corps of Discovery on January 1, 1804. He served as a blacksmith, gunsmith, and hunter on the trip west. On February 14, 1807, some five months after the expedition's return, he married 16-year-old Eleanor McDonald (he was probably 28). It isn't certain when he moved to Cape Girardeau, but he was definitely there by August 12, 1809, when his name appears on a list of voters for district trustees. Three months later, on November 13, the district clerk contested the election, claiming that Willard, among others, was ineligible to vote, probably because he had not been a resident for the required year. At some point he purchased a one-acre lot with a log house from Lorimier and his wife in downtown Cape Girardeau. The county deed book records that he sold the property on January 5, 1810.

John Ordway, another New Hampshire native, was one of the corps' three sergeants (four counting Charles Floyd, who died early in the expedition). Immediately following the expedition, he helped Lewis escort the Mandan chief Sheheke to Washington, D.C., then briefly visited New Hampshire before returning to Missouri. He married twice—first, in 1807, to a New Hampshire woman named Gracey, last name unknown. She was ill in late 1807 and dead by 1809, when Ordway married a widow named Elizabeth Skerrett Johnson. Elizabeth had two children from her first marriage, Isidore and David, and at least two by Ordway, Hannah and John.

Gracey accompanied Ordway to Missouri, where he initially settled in the southern part of the Cape Girardeau district on 320 acres received for his service to the expedition. His property was about 25 miles downriver from Cape Girardeau and roughly the same distance upstream from New Madrid, which in late 1811 and early 1812 would be the epicenter of five devastating earthquakes.

Ordway soon acquired additional land, a "plantation" (including all its cattle and hogs) in an area known as Tywappity Bottom; he paid $940 for the property, which...
encompassed 350 arpents, equivalent to just under three hundred acres.\textsuperscript{18} Subsequent purchases in late 1807 totaling $865 added another 350 arpents to his holdings. The following year he sold 300 arpents for $470.\textsuperscript{19} (Ordway purchased the land for an average $2.58 per arpent and sold a portion of it at $1.57 per arpent.)

The Cape Girardeau and New Madrid districts were contiguous, and Ordway had properties in both.\textsuperscript{20} At the height of his prosperity he owned two plantations totaling more than a thousand acres. He was raising horses and cattle and growing apples and peaches. In a letter to his kin in New Hampshire he boasted, “there is no better land in the world.” His description convinced two of his three brothers and one of his three sisters to join him in Missouri.\textsuperscript{21}

The names of John Ordway and his second wife, Elizabeth, appear a number of times in court records, which tell us, for example, that John served briefly as township constable and that one of his slaves, a woman named Delila, sued him for her freedom. (The suit was dismissed) The records also indicate that Elizabeth kept a “Public house” (a tavern) in town.\textsuperscript{22}

Reuben Field, one of the nine young men from Kentucky, served as a scout during the expedition and was an excellent woodsman. Lewis picked Reuben and his brother, Joseph, to accompany him on the exploration of the upper Marias River during the homeward phase of the journey. Lewis regarded the Field brothers as among the expedition’s “most active and enterprising young men.”\textsuperscript{23}

Reuben Field was in the Cape Girardeau district by December 5, 1808. On that date, according to court records, he lent $1,000 to two prominent local citizens, Andrew Ramsey, Sr. and Jr. When they failed to repay the debt, Field brought suit against the Ramseys to recover his money. Legal proceedings began in July 1811 and lasted four years—the last papers are dated July 29, 1815. Field appears to have been paid in full, with interest.\textsuperscript{24}

Other documents show that Field recorded his mark for cattle, hogs, and sheep, and his brand for horses with the district court on March 21, 1809.\textsuperscript{25} Ten months later, a neighbor, Benijah Laugherty, accused him of stealing and killing three of his hogs. According to an indictment filed by the grand jury, on the day of the alleged crime, January 25, 1810, the animals were running in the woods.

The trial was held in March, and the jury found Field not guilty.\textsuperscript{26} But the defendant evidently wasn’t satisfied, for the following November he brought suit against Laugherty for slander, charging him with uttering “scandalous words” that maligned his character. One letter to the court vividly illustrates Field’s indignation:

Reuben Fields complains of Benijah Laugherty . . . Reuben saith that he is and always has been from his nativity of good fame and reputation and a good and faithful citizen of the United States wholly free
from the horrid diabolical crime of Larceny. ... he the said Reuben Fields has not only been greatly wounded in his feelings, good name, fame and reputation but he has been endangered in law and has been compelled to lay out considerable sums of money in defending himself and his reputation against the aforesaid slanders and defamation.

Field demanded $1,000 in damages. Twenty-nine witnesses testified, and the jury found for the plaintiff. On July 21, 1812, the sheriff seized 1,040 acres of Laugherty's property to satisfy the suit.

SUBSEQUENT LIFE HISTORIES

Of the four Lewis and Clark men who lived at Cape Girardeau, Drouillard was the first to die. After joining the St. Louis merchant Manuel Lisa in the fur trade, he ascended the Missouri to the Three Forks, where he was killed by Blackfeet Indians in 1810.

Ordway was apparently ruined by the New Madrid earthquakes, which rendered the region virtually uninhabitable. He disappears from the public record and was probably dead by 1817, the year he would have turned 42.

Willard served in the War of 1812, lived in Wisconsin from 1824 to 1852, then moved to California, where he died in 1865, at age 87.

Reuben Field married in Indiana and returned to Jefferson County, Kentucky, where he probably died in 1822.

I did not find any documentary evidence showing that either Meriwether Lewis or William Clark ever revisited Cape Girardeau. Lewis passed by in September 1809 on the fateful journey that ended with his death on the Natchez Trace in Tennessee. Clark, who lived in St. Louis for 32 years after the expedition, must have passed Cape Girardeau, too, and perhaps landed there, during his frequent personal and business travels. Lewis recommended two of Louis Lorimier's sons—Auguste and Louis, Jr.—for the newly established U.S. Military Academy (West Point), and records indicate that both he and Clark appointed Cape Girardeau residents to political positions such as clerk, sheriff, and justice of the peace.

The town of Cape Girardeau seems to have declined after the New Madrid earthquake. When Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied passed it in 1833, he described it as a "poor place" and "a village which lies scattered about." Today's Cape Girardeau is a thriving community that celebrates its historic association with the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the early history of Missouri. Recently, more than two hundred volunteers built...
Foundation member Jane Randol Jackson lives in Cape Girardeau, Missouri. She is chairman of the Cape Girardeau Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission and director of the Cape Girardeau County Archive Center. Her ancestor Enos Randol settled in the Cape Girardeau District in 1797 and was there when Lewis and Clark visited.

NOTES

1 At this point in the journey, neither the exact number of boats in the explorers' flotilla nor their specific type can be definitively determined. Information gleaned from Lewis's journal suggests there were three smaller boats in addition to the keelboat. Lewis left Pittsburgh on August 31, 1803, with a keelboat and a "Perogue"; the latter is first mentioned in his journal on September 4. On that date he was at Georgetown, Pennsylvania, where he supplemented the flotilla by purchasing a "canoe compleat with two paddles," bringing the total number of vessels to three. At Wheeling, Virginia, on September 8, he purchased a fourth boat, another "pirogue." A pirogue was larger than a canoe and was generally poled or rowed, while a canoe was paddled. Lewis apparently used the terms canoe and pirogue (variably spelled) interchangeably, so it is difficult to distinguish between them in his journal. The expedition may have acquired an additional pirogue at Fort Kaskaskia on November 28, five days after departing Cape Girardeau. For more on the expedition's boats, see Robert A. Saindon, "The White Pirogue of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," and Arlen J. Large, "The Rocky Boat Ride of Lewis and Clark," in Robert A. Saindon, ed., Explorations into the World of Lewis & Clark, 3 volumes (Great Falls, Mont.: Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 2003), Vol. 2, pp. 627-633 and 638-647, respectively; and Verne Huser, "On the Rivers with Lewis and Clark," Wyoming, May 2003, pp. 17-26.


One of the sources cited by Houck suggests the name may have derived from a trader named Jean Girardot who in the early 1700s had been an officer stationed with a French garrison at Kaskaskia, on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, some sixty miles upstream from Cape Girardeau.


4 Old Cape Girardeau (Cape Girardeau, Mo.: Naeter Brothers Publishing, 1946), p. 31. The source is an anthology of articles from the Cape Girardeau Southeast Missourian, a local newspaper.


7 Houck, Vol. 2, pp. 176-177. An arpent was a French unit of measurement, equal to about .85 acre.

8 Lewis in his journal entry for November 23, 1803, refers to "a Mr. Drewyer a nephew of the Commandant's." (Moulton, Vol. 2, p. 105.) In note 8, page 109, Moulton raises the possibility that the reference may be to a relative of George's, perhaps a certain Peter Drouillard who had settled in Missouri in the late 18th century. Although Moulton doesn't say so, this "Peter Drouillard" could well have been Pierre Drouillard, George's father. Moulton states categorically that "George considered himself a resident of the Cape Girardeau district."


August 13, he sold 100 arpents to Arthur Pittman for $300. By May 15, 1810, John Ordway had sold 300 arpents of his holdings in Tywappity Bottom (see note 20, below) for $600 to Mary Ordway, the widow of his brother William, who died in late 1809 (Morris, pp. 103-104). After William Ordway died, his wife, Mary Ordway, married Edward Matthews. Matthews died in 1812 (Box 4G, Bundle 812, Edward Matthews Probate, Cape Girardeau County), and Mary and her son-in-law Thomas Fletcher were appointed administrators of the estate. Edward Matthews owed $90 to Alexander Wilson, who sued the estate (Box 12, File 21, Wilson v Matthews, Territory of Louisiana, Court of Common Pleas, District of Cape Girardeau). The Court of Common Pleas ordered the 300 arpents to be sold to pay the note. On November 16, 1813, Mary's stepson Edward W. Matthews purchased the property at the sale for $31; then, to keep it in the family, he assigned title to Mary's children, who were William Ordway's heirs: Grace Kew, Rosannah Ordway Fletcher, Abigail S. Ordway, Mary Ordway, and Zelinda Ordway. The note to Alexander Wilson was paid and the family retained the property.

20 Morris, p. 236, note 18. The districts of Cape Girardeau and New Madrid became counties after Missouri became a state. They are no longer contiguous but are separated by Scott and Mississippi counties. Ordway's New Madrid properties bordered, and were within, the town of New Madrid. As noted, some of his properties were in Tywappity Bottom, located in Cape Girardeau District opposite the mouth of the Ohio and within the limits of present-day Scott and Mississippi counties. Houck, Vol. 3, p. 151.

21 Morris, p. 102.

22 New Madrid County, Circuit Court Record Book, December 1805–November 1821, pp. 262, 264, 296, and 332. Other lawsuits to which John or Elizabeth were party are mentioned on pages 320, 424, 432, and 443. On July 23, 1811, the Court of Common Pleas accepted Ordway's resignation as township constable. It isn't known how long he held the post.


24 Reuben Field v Andrew Ramsey, Sr. et al., Box 11, File 36, Territorial Records of Cape Girardeau County, Cape Girardeau County Archive Center.

25 Box 37, File 12, Marks and Brands, Territorial Records of Cape
Girardeau County, Cape Girardeau County Archive Center.

26 U.S. v Reuben Field, Box 24, File 25, Territorial Records of Cape Girardeau County. The indictment states, "The Grand Jurors of the United States for the body of the District of Cape Girardeau upon their oaths present that Reuben Fields late of the District aforesaid on the twenty fifth day of January in the year Eighteen hundred and ten with force and arms at the Dis­

27 Case #525, Scandalous Words Reuben Fields v Benjiah Laugherty, Box 11, File 15, Territorial Records of Cape Girardeau County, Cape Girardeau County Archive Center. Clarke, p. 42.

28 Ibid., p. 49.


30 Clarke, p. 56.

31 Ibid., p. 49.


33 The original Red House, built in the French colonial style, was destroyed by a tornado in 1850. The reconstruction was based on an 1870 drawing. Its three rooms are furnished with period pieces and include interpretive displays. It opened to the public on November 21, 2003, as part of a three-day Lewis and Clark bicentennial celebration. For more on the Red House Inter­pretive Center and other historic sites in Cape Girardeau, contact the Cape Girardeau Convention and Visitors Bureau, 100 Broadway, Cape Girardeau, MO 63701 (800-777-0068, www.capegirardeaucvb.org).

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Journal excerpts: Cape Girardeau

The following passages are from Meriwether Lewis's journal account of his stop at Cape Girardeau. The first describes a horse race ("raise," "rase") staged by boisterous American backwoodsmen. The second concerns the captain's far more agreeable visit with Louis Lorimier's family.

this scne reminded me very much of their small raises in Kentucky among the uncivilized backwoodsmen, nor did the subsequent disorder which took place in consequence of the decision of the judges of the raise at all lessen the resemblance; one fellow contrary to the decision of the judges swore he had won & was carrying off not only his own horse but that also of his competitor; but the other being the stoutest of the two dismounted him and took both horses in turn; it is not extraordinary that these people should be disorderly they are almost entirely emigrant from the fronteers of Kentucky & Tennessee, and are the most dissolute and abandoned even among these people; they are men of desperate fortunes, but little to loose either character or property—they bet very high on these raises in proportion to their wealth; it is not uncommon for them to risk the half or even the whole of their personal property on a single wager; their property consists principally in Horses and black Cattle. ... these people have some [specie] among them, but their circulating medium is principally Horses, Cattle, Cotton & lead.

this man [Lorimier] agreeably to the custom of many of the Canadian Traders has taken to himself a wife from among the aborigines of the country his wife is a Shawnee woman, from her complexion is half blooded only, she is a very desent woman and if we may judge from her present appearance has been very handsome when young, she dresses after the Shawnee manner with a stroud leggings and mockinsons, differing however from them in her linen which seemed to be drawn beneath her girdle of her stroud, as also a short jacket with long sleeves over her linin with long sleeves more in the stile of the French Canadian women; by this woman Lorimier has a large family of very handsome Children three of which have attained the age of puberty; the daughter is remarkably handsome & dresses in a plain yet fashionable stile so as is now Common in the Atlantic States among the respectable people of the middle class. she is an agreeable affable girl, & much the most descant looking feemale I have seen since I left the settlement in Kentucky a little below Louisville.— The Comdt: pressed me to stay to supper which I did, the lady of the family presided, and with much circumspection performed the honours of the table: supper being over which was really a comfortable and desent one I bid the family an affectionate adieu.— the Comdt. had a Couple of horses paraded, and one of his sons conducted me to Old Cape jeradeu, the distance by the rout we went was 3 miles here I found my boat and people landed for the night. found Capt.Clark very unwell.

—Meriwether Lewis
November 23, 1803
GREAT GANGUES of BUFFALOW

Lewis and Clark's encounters with the plains bison

BY KENNETH C. WALCHECK

Before sunrise on the morning of September 17, 1804, Meriwether Lewis set out for a walk on the prairie. The Pacific-bound Corps of Discovery had left on its journey up the Missouri more than four months before and was now deep in present-day South Dakota. Lewis had been confined to the expedition's keelboat for the last few days and was eager now to "view the interior of the country." The captain and the two other men who accompanied him marveled at the broken landscape, "intersected with deep ravens and steep irregular hills," from which they observed "a fine leavel plain extending as far as the eye can reach." In one area a colony of prairie dogs had nibbled the grass so short it resembled a "beautifull bowlinggreen in fine order." This vista, so "rich pleasing and beatiful," was further enhanced by "immence herds of Buffaloe deer Elk and Antelopes which we saw in every direction . . . I do not think I exagerate when I estimate the number of Buffaloe ... to amount to 3000."!

Buffalo were by now a familiar sight to the explorers and would be routinely noted in their journals for most of the next 10 months, until late July 1805, when they left the grasslands that nourished the great herds and entered the Rocky Mountains.

The American buffalo, more correctly known as the plains bison, makes its first appearance in the journals on June 6, 1804, when the Corps of Discovery was still in the
omeward-bound party on the Yellowstone River in August 1806, their downstream passage blocked by a “gangue of Buffalow” fording the river.

relatively wooded country of what is today central Missouri. Clark noted in passing that they observed “Some buffalow Sign to day”—presumably tracks or droppings, but not the animals themselves.2

It would be another three weeks before they sighted a buffalo, near present-day Kansas City on June 28, and two months after that before they shot a buffalo. The kill—the first of at least 265 during their two years and four months on the trail—occurred on August 23 near today’s Vermillion, South Dakota, and Private Joseph Field was the hunter. Although the journals provide no details of this hunt, they tell us that Meriwether Lewis led a party of 12 men to retrieve the butchered meat, which was salted and packed into two barrels.3

The bison encountered on the Kansas and Dakota prairies were almost certainly the first ever seen by the captains and most of their men.4 Before the arrival of Europeans in North America, bison had ranged into the Ohio Valley and as far east as today’s New York State, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Georgia; Daniel Boone hunted them in the mountains of North Carolina. Eastern bison were probably never abundant, however, and while a few managed to survive in remote areas until the early 1830s, they were effectively extinct by the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.4

Today’s plains bison, Bison bison, has been present in North America for 12,000 years, since the end of the last ice age. It probably evolved from Bison latifrons, a species
descended from *Bison priscus*, a native of the Siberian steppe which crossed the Bering Land Bridge at least 300,000 years ago. Two other ice-age species, *Bison antiquus* and *Bison occidentalis*, also flourished for a time before dying out. These earlier species coexisted with other large herbivores such as mastodons and woolly mammoths and a host of big predators, including saber-toothed tigers and American lions. Changes in climate and habitat led to the extinction of these large mammals, and the effectiveness of Paleoindian hunters probably hastened their demise as well. The modern bison appears to have adapted better to the drier, hotter environment of the Great Plains and to have coped better with its chief predators, wolves and humans. Although the plains bison is a big animal—mature cows average 700 pounds and bulls 2,000 pounds—its ice-age predecessors were bigger, and several species had huge horns spanning six or more feet, with points facing forward (rather than up, as in *B. bison*’s case), suggesting that their normal defense was to stay put and fight. Early bison may also have been more solitary. By contrast, their smaller modern descendants survived by running from danger and massing in large herds.6

Lewis and Clark could scarcely fathom the size of bison herds, particularly on the more remote reaches of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. On June 30, 1805, above the Great Falls of the Missouri, Clark gazed upon a single herd he estimated at 10,000 strong. On July 24 of the following year, while he was descending the Yellowstone, the abundance of wildlife (elk, antelope, and wolves as well as bison) left him speechless—any estimate of numbers, he wrote, would be “incredible. I shall therefore be silent on the Subject further.” A week later, on August 1, his party “was obliged to lay to for an hour” while a “gangue of Buffalow ... as thick as they could Swim” forded the river, blocking downstream passage. After making camp that evening, two other “gangues ... Crossed a little below us, as numorous as the first.”7

While Clark explored the Yellowstone on the homeward journey, Lewis was several hundred miles to the north, reconnoitering the upper Marias River, in country equally thick with bison. When he and his party filed the scene of their violent encounter with Blackfeet Indians on Two Medicine Creek, they “continued to pass immense herds of buffaloe” from late in the afternoon through all of the following night.8

The size of herds staggered the imagination of countless prairie travelers through most of the 19th century, until the coming of the railroads and an army of hide hunters in the 1870s drove bison to near-extinction—fewer than a thousand individuals survived by 1885, when conservationists began their ultimately successful efforts to restore at least a remnant population. No one can know for sure how many bison roamed the Great Plains before the arrival of Europeans. An oft-cited figure is 60 million, although more recent calculations put the estimate closer to 30 million.9

All of the expedition’s journalists invariably referred to “buffalo,” never bison, the scientifically correct term.
Buffalo (wild oxen) are not native to North America. The name buffalo probably came from voyageurs who spoke of the wild cattle they found on the Canadian plains as boeuf, the French word for ox. The derivations “buffalo” and “buffelo” were adopted by English-speaking settlers. The name was common by 1754, when it appeared in naturalist Mark Catesby’s pioneering work, A Natural History of Carolina.10

**WINTER AT FORT MANDAN**

The Corps of Discovery reached the Mandan and Hidatsa villages at Knife River, in present-day North Dakota, in late October of 1804 and set about building winter quarters. Fort Mandan was completed on November 25, just in time to shelter the explorers from the first arctic front sweeping across the northern plains. The next two months were brutally cold as a mantle of frigid air settled over the region—the captains recorded 37 days when their thermometer plunged below zero, including one day when it sank to minus 43.11

The weather was “So Cold that we do not think it prudent to turn out to hunt,” wrote Clark on December 12, when the morning temperature registered minus 38. But hunt they did, driven by the imperative of feeding a party of more than forty men. A week before, the Mandan chief Sheheke (“Big White”) had called at the fort to report “that a large Drove of Buffalow was near and his people was waiting for us to join them in a Chase.” Lewis and 15 of the men took up the invitation. While the Indians (“with great dexterity”) hunted from horseback using bows and arrows, the captain and his party pursued the animals on foot with rifles, killing 14. They butchered five of the carcasses (leaving the remaining nine for the Mandans) and hauled the meat back to the fort “by the assistance of a horse in addition to what the men Packed on their backs.”12

The next morning, Clark and another 15-man party joined the fray, killing eight buffalo. The thermometer that morning read minus 12, but a stiff northwest wind made it feel much colder. Clark’s slave, York, suffered frostbite on his feet and penis. Several other men returned “a little frost bit,” and Clark himself admitted feeling “a little fatigued having run after the Buffalow all day in Snow many Places 10 inches Deep.”13

As winter progressed and game around the fort became scarcer, hunters were forced to venture farther afield. On February 3, Clark descended the frozen Missouri with 16 men, along with three horses and two sleighs for hauling meat. Traveling downstream for nearly sixty miles, over the course of a 10-day hunt they killed 40 deer, 19 elk, and three bison bulls. Some of the animals were deemed “meager” by Clark and consequently unfit for human consumption. Trudging through knee-deep snow, they returned to the fort on February 13. They would kill no more bison until April.

The explorers and Mandans engaged in many joint hunts that winter. Historian James Ronda has observed that these forays, “often in bitter cold and through deep snow,” increased “the sense of sharing a common life on the plains.”14 The captains admired the skills of their Indian hosts, particularly when they hunted on horseback. Clark later told Nicholas Biddle how the Mandans drove buffalo onto a “fit place for movements of horse.” After singling out and closing with an individual animal (almost always a cow, whose meat was preferred), the hunter filled its flank with arrows and moved on to another and another, until his quiver was empty. Women followed the hunters and took care of skinning and butchering.15

The captains were equally impressed by Indians’ agility at retrieving the carcasses of drowned buffalo swept down the Missouri during spring breakup, when young men made a kind of sport of riding the surging ice floes. “I observed extraordinary dexterity of the Indians in jumping from one Cake of ice to another, for the purpose of Catching the Buffalo as they float” downstream, wrote Clark. Many of the ice cakes, he added, “are not two feet Square.”16

It was during the spring thaw that the Mandans and neighboring Hidatsas also set fire to the range surrounding their villages. The purpose of this annual burn was to encourage the growth of new grass, which benefited their horse herds and induced “the Buffalo to come near.”17 As these and other journal entries make abundantly clear, buffalo were critical to the material life of plains Indians. They depended on buffalo meat for food and on buffalo hides for shelter and clothing, among other necessities. So too did the Corps of Discovery, which spent 16 of its 28 months on the trail in buffalo country and over time assimilated much of the Indians’ buffalo culture.

In addition to meeting the material needs of plains tribes, buffalo were also central to native spiritual life. Clark observed how some Mandans adopted buffalo skulls as objects of “medicine,” or personal power. When the explorers placed the severed head of a buffalo they had killed on the bow of one of the expedition’s boats, a Mandan who happened by stopped to engage the head in a ceremonial smoke, passing his pipe between his lips and the buffalo’s in a dialogue that went on for at least fifteen minutes.18

Clark’s best-known account of the bison’s spiritual
importance is his description of the buffalo-calling ritual. This “curious Custom,” as he put it, had the dual purpose of bringing the herds closer to the village and transferring old men’s hunting prowess to young men, the medium of exchange being sexual intercourse with the young men’s wives. Sex as a “conduit for power,” notes Ronda, was “an integral part of northern plains hospitality.”19 The old men, young men, and young men’s wives gathered in an earth lodge, with the old men seated on robes around a central fire. Each young man then selected an old man and offered him food and tobacco. After smoking together, the young man offered his wife (naked under her robe) to the old man. As Clark explains, the wife “takes the Old man (who very often can Scarcely walk) and leads him to a Convenient place for the business, after which they return to the lodge.”20

Fort Mandan to the Rockies

The Corps of Discovery left Fort Mandan on April 7, 1805, and again headed up the Missouri, bound for the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. In a letter to his mother written a week before, Lewis talked about the country’s abundance of game, which “seems to increase as we progress; our prospect for starving is therefore consequently small.”22 In fact, game proved scarce for the first week out—a direct result, the captains correctly surmised, of local hunting by the Hidatsas.23 When a hunter killed a deer on the 11th, it was their first fresh meat since departing Knife River. Over the next several days they bagged some beavers and a couple of antelopes. On the 14th, Clark killed a buffalo bull, but it was so “meagre” that only the

Karl Bodmer’s landscape with buffalo depicts a scene on the Missouri near its junction with Porcupine Creek, below the mouth of the Milk River.
marrow bones and a little meat were salvaged. Three days later, Lewis shot what he thought was the fattest buffalo in a herd but was disappointed to find it "so poor" as to be "unfit for use," and he took only the tongue.24

While walking the banks the next day, Lewis noticed patches of sun-bleached buffalo hair hanging from rose bushes. The hair had "every appearance of the wool of the sheep, tho' much finer and more silkey and soft," leading him to conclude that it would make "an excellent cloth." (An effort to make commercial buffalo wool was attempted in Manitoba in the 1820s, but the manufacturing costs were more than ten times those of sheep's wool woven in England.)25

Buffalo and game in general became more numerous as the explorers approached the Missouri's junction with the Yellowstone, a point reached on April 25. Proceeding on, they soon entered a veritable hunter's utopia, with bison, elk, and pronghorns "feeding in every direction," wrote Lewis; "we kill whatever we wish, the buffaloes furnish us with fine veal and fat beef."26 One buffalo in good shape, they found, supplied as much meat as four deer, or one elk and a deer, and could feed the corps' 32 adult members for a single day.27 The tongue, marrow, and hump meat from a young cow were especially prized, and as every Lewis and Clark buff knows, the buffalo sausage called **boudin blanc** was everyone's favorite. Esteemed by Lewis as "one of the greatest delicacies of the forest," **boudin blanc** was the specialty of the interpreter Toussaint Charbonneau. He made it by kneading flour, salt, and pepper, kidney suet, and the choicest cuts of meat into a kind of pudding that was stuffed into a length of intestine, which he then boiled in water and fried in bear's oil. The result, Lewis declared, was guaranteed to "esswage the pangs of a keen appetite."28

Throughout their journey through the high plains, the explorers were surprised by the lack of fear displayed by buffalo and many of the other grazing animals in their presence. They were "so gentle," Lewis noted on April 25, "that we pass near them while feeding, without appearing to excite any alarm ... they frequently approach us more nearly to discover what we are, and in some instances pursue us a considerable distance."29 The buffalo, he observed in a later entry, "are extremely gentle," and "the bull buffaloe particularly will scarcely give way to you. I passed several in the open plain within fifty paces, they viewed me for a moment as something novel and then very unconcernedly continued to feed."30 Echoing his co-commander, Clark on May 11 recorded, "we observe in every direction Buffalow, Elk, Antelopes & Mule deer innumerable and So jinntle that we Could approch near them with great ease."

Some conservation biologists believe that the high plains bounded by the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers constituted a buffer zone between warring tribes living on its margins and that the resulting absence of hunting pressure was the reason for this absence of fear or even wariness.31 As Clark himself observed in his journal entry of August 29, 1806, "the greatest number of wild animals" seem to be found "in the country between the nations which are at war with each other." Others are skeptical of this thesis, maintaining there is little historical evidence to support the existence of buffer zones along the upper Missouri.32 According to this view, any tribe dependent on bison for its very existence had no choice but to follow the herds and did so, even when it meant intruding on an enemy's territory. This contention is supported by Lewis's journal entry of August 19, 1805, about the mountain-dwelling Shoshones' annual late-summer buffalo hunt on the plains, where they were likely to encounter hostile Blackfeet or Atsinas. Two other Pacific slope tribes, the Salish and Nez Perce, also ventured onto the plains to hunt bison. (The Nez Perces traveled the "Road to the Buffalo," a route that took them up the Blackfoot River and across the Continental Divide at today's Lewis and Clark Pass, west of Great Falls, Montana.)33

The Great Plains was a vast place, supporting tens of millions of bison and other large game animals, the majority of which passed their lives with little or no contact with the relatively small number of humans who also lived off its bounty. This surely was the main reason for the lack of hunting pressure, and consequent lack of fear, noted by Lewis and Clark.

As the explorers pushed on they found recent evidence of large Indian parties—the remains of two encampments, totaling several hundred lodges, on opposite sides of the Missouri near its junction with the Judith.34 They also noted the presence of "buffalo roads," trails up to ten feet wide cut over many years by bison moving between grazing areas and the river.35 Such trails often crossed the river at natural fords; as Lewis observed, these were ideal ambush spots for grizzlies.36

One bison encounter they would rather have missed occurred in the early hours of May 29, when a lone bull swam across the river and rampaged through camp, his hoofs smashing York's rifle and narrowly missing the heads of several men asleep in their bed rolls. The barking of Lewis's dog, Seaman, diverted the bull's course, hastening its exit and preventing additional mayhem.
Lewis pronounced himself "well content, happy, indeed, that we had sustained no further injury."  

Later the same day, after breaking camp, the expedition came upon a pile of putrefying bison carcasses massed at the foot of a cliff opposite today's Arrow Creek, which Lewis named Slaughter River. It appeared obvious that Indians had recently used this place as a pishkun, or buffalo jump. The explorers had probably learned about this method of killing buffalo by driving them over a cliff during their stay with the Mandans and Hidatsas. The pile "created a most horrid stench," noted Lewis; "in this manner the Indians of the Missouri destroy vast herds of buffalo at a stroke." Because the site is atypical of other pishkuns, however, those who have examined the ground disagree whether the buffalo were driven to their deaths or drowned farther upstream and washed ashore.

Whether or not drowning was the cause in this particular case, the raging currents of spring runoff could be deadly. This was especially so at the Great Falls of the Missouri, a ten-mile long stretch of cascades and rapids reached by the expedition on June 13. Here, wrote Lewis, he found a vast number of buffaloes feeding in every direction around us in the plains, others coming down in large herds to water at the river; the fragments of many carcasses of these poor animals daily pass down the river, thus mangled I presume in descending those immense cataracts above us. As the buffalo generally go in large herds to water and the passages to the river above the falls are narrow and steep the hinder part of the herd press those in front out of their depth and the water instantly takes them over the cataracts where they are instantly crushed to death without the possibility of escaping, in this manner I have seen ten or a dozen disappear in a few minutes. Their mangled carcases lie along the shores below the falls in considerable quantities and afford fine amusement for the bear wolves and birds of prey.

**Journal excerpts: we "saw the prairie covered with buffalo"**

Captain Lewis and eleven more of us went out immediately, and saw the prairie covered with buffalo and the Indians on horseback killing them. They killed 30 or 40 and we killed eleven of them. They shoot them with bows and arrows, and have their horses so trained that they will advance very near and suddenly wheel and fly off in case the wounded buffalo attempt an attack.

—Patrick Gass, December 7, 1804

The river rose 13 inches the last 24 hours[.] I observed extraordinary dexterity of the Indians in jumping from one Cake of ice to another, for the purpose of Catching the buffaloe as they float down[.] maney of the Cakes of Ice which they pass over are not two feet Square.

—Clark, March 30, 1805

In the Evening we were joined by Captain Lewis and his party.—They had killed several buffaloes, Antelopes, and Deer; which they brought with them and a Buffalo Calf alive, which had followed them 7 or 8 Miles, it being common for the Buffalo Calves, when separated from their dams, to follow the hunters.

—Joseph Whitehouse, April 26, 1805

Last night we were all alarmed by a large buffalo Bull, which swam over from the opposite shore and coming along side of the white perogue, climbed over it to land, he then alarmed ran up the bank in full speed directly towards the fires, and was within 18 inches of the heads of some of the men who lay sleeping before the sentinel could alarm him or make him change his course, still more alarmed, he now took his direction immediately towards our lodge, passing between 4 fires and within a few inches of the heads of one range of the men as they yet lay sleeping, when he came near the tent, my dog saved us by causing him to change his course a second time.

—Lewis, May 29, 1805
One day during a reconnoiter of the upper falls, Lewis had a series of “curious adventures” by turns terrifying and bemusing. First a grizzly bear chased him into the river. Then he squared off against a “tyger cat” (probably a wolverine) that appeared to vanish into thin air when he shot at it. Near the end of the day, three buffalo broke off from a herd “and ran full speed towards me.” The trio approached within a hundred yards, stopped abruptly, and then Lewis shot one, fantasizing that he had made a league to destroy “all the beasts of the neighbourhood had made a league to destroy me.” Prickly-pear thorns pierced his moccasins and his reverie. It was time to get back to camp.

Buffalo figured in another memorable incident at the Great Falls—Lewis’s abortive attempt to launch the “Experiment,” his collapsible iron-frame boat. The skin of the 36-foot-long vessel comprised 28 elk hides and four buffalo hides, and the seams were caulked with a mixture of beeswax, charcoal, and tallow rendered from buffalo fat. Lewis wanted to use pitch as a sealant, but no pine was available for making it. He was hopeful his improvised caulking would do the job since a similar concoction had been used to plug leaks in the expedition’s dugout canoes, but it failed to adhere to the skins, and the Experiment filled to the gunwales with water and was abandoned. (On the return journey, buffalo hides were used successfully in the construction of bullboats, which did not have seams.)

During the iron-frame boat’s two-week assembly at the Upper Portage Camp, Lewis served as cook, a job he evidently enjoyed. One day, he “boiled a large quantity of excellent dried buffalo meat and made each man a large suet dumpling by way of a treat.”

The Mandans had said the buffalo country would end beyond the Great Falls, and their prediction proved right. The corps’ civilian hunter, George Drouillard, shot a buffalo on the morning of July 16, just two days after the explorers left the falls, as they were approaching the Gates of the Mountains. It made a hearty breakfast. In addition to whatever meat he consumed, the culinarily adventurous Lewis noted that “here for the first time I ate of the small guts of the buffalo cooked over a blazing fire in the Indian stile without any preparation of washing or other cleansing and found them very good.”

Two weeks later, in the Jefferson Valley, they observed only buffalo sign—bones and excrement “of an old date,” wrote Lewis in his entry for August 2, lamenting that “we have long since lost all hope of meeting with that animal in these mountains.” The meat yielded by Drouillard’s kill a fortnight before was the last fresh buffalo they would taste for 12 months, until their return, in July of 1806, to the high plains and the land of endless herds.

Foundation member Kenneth Walcheck, a retired wildlife biologist, lives in Bozeman, Montana. He wrote about wolves in the May 2004 WPO.

NOTES
1 Gary E. Moulton, ed., The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), Vol. 3, pp. 80-81. All entries in the ensuing text are from Moulton, by date, unless otherwise indicated.
2 Ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 282-283. The sighting occurred west of present-day Columbia, Missouri.
4 This statement is certainly true of the expedition members born and raised in the United States. It probably doesn’t apply to the voyageurs recruited to man the boats, many of whom had presumably been on the upper Missouri or Canadian prairies.
5 Robert M. McClung, Lost Wild America: The Story of Extinct and Vanishing Wildlife (Hampden, Conn.: Linnet Books, 1993), pp. 25-27. The eastern bison may have differed taxonomically from its plains cousin, with a smaller hump, front and hind legs of approximately the same length, and horns that flared more.
7 Moulton, Vol. 8, pp. 237 and 268.
9 In the early 20th century, the naturalist Ernest Thompson Seton made the first systematic effort to calculate how many bison populated North America at their peak and arrived at an estimate of 75 million—40 million on the shortgrass prairies of the Great Plains, 30 million on the tallgrass prairies of the Midwest, and 5 million in forested regions. (Dary, p. 29.) The modern estimate of 30 million is based in part on computer models that attempt to take into account the Great Plains’ carrying capacity and other environmental variables.
10 Dary, p. 11.
13 Ibid., p. 255.
Bison kills on the L&C Expedition

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date Range</th>
<th>Location Description</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>August 23-October 26, 1804</td>
<td>South Dakota to Mandan villages</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 27, 1804-April 6, 1805</td>
<td>Fort Mandan and vicinity</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 7-26, 1805</td>
<td>Fort Mandan to mouth of Yellowstone</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 27-June 13, 1805</td>
<td>Yellowstone to Great Falls of Missouri</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 14-July 14, 1805</td>
<td>Great Falls and vicinity</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 15-25, 1805</td>
<td>Great Falls to Three Forks of Missouri</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 30-September 2, 1806</td>
<td>Travelers' Rest to South Dakota</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This figure almost certainly understates the actual total. Some journal entries mention buffalo being killed but provide no specific number. Source: Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, volumes 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, and 11.
Available for lease to museums or organizations, are several finely crafted pine or walnut medical chests containing over 50 herbs and chemicals mentioned in planning lists and in the journals. Also included are 15 to 20 fine replica, vintage and period correct instruments. Each comes with the most definitive documentation available to aid in interpretation and display. These are probably the most complete in the country, and each has a value of $3-5000.

ALSO available is another collection of 15 or more 6-board pine trunks filled with 400 to 500 natural science specimens and expedition artifacts and gear, most with documentation cross referenced to the journal. Composed of replica, vintage and some period-correct antiques; many of these collections have been displayed across the country at schools, museums, re-enactments and on the Discovery Expedition. These mostly "hands on" materials are available with up to 2 interpreters, but to display all at an event, local interpreters would be needed. Educator workshops are available with extensive documentation supplied, and advice on how to produce and use educational/historical trunks. These trunks and materials cost over $15,000 as of Sept 04, and valuable items and upgrades are added weekly.

TOPIC / TRUNK LIST:
1. Medical Chest, Drugs and Instruments: @75 articles described above.
2. Animals of the Expedition: @70+ mostly mammal specimens.
3. Botanical specimens: @12 specimens collected or noted by the expedition from MT, ID and WA.
4. Geologic Specimens: @20 specimens from Great Falls MT to Astoria WA.
5. Food and Cooking Gear: @60+ items
6. Private Shannon/Soldier's Personal Gear/Clothing: @65+ items
7. Private Shields/ Gunsmith and Blacksmith Tools: @40+ items.
8. Sergeant Gass/Woodworking Tools: @55+ items
9. Captains Clark and Lewis Gear: @45+ items, which include rare antique scientific instruments.
10. Indian Trade Goods: @45+ items.
11. Indian Artifact, Replicas and Foods: @60+ items.

Booking information: contact "Lewis & Clark Presentations"
John W. Fisher • jufisher@starband.net
25216 Arrow Highline Rd. • Juliaetta, Idaho 83535 • 208-843-7159

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OPEN TO ALL MEMBERS

Meetings will include:
• At least one nationally recognized scholar
• A guided tour of a trail site or related exhibit
• Chapters will share programs and projects
• Information regarding Foundation projects, programs and Third Century initiatives
• Lunch will be available for a small charge

Information available at
www.lewisandclark.org
on the calendar under the meeting date

Register in advance with Wendy Raney at wraney@lewisandclark.org
so lunch can be provided. A small fee will be charged for lunch.
Reviews

Hopping great trains of thought on a ramble through Lewis and Clark country

A good film might provoke all sorts of fascinating thoughts, but if you stop along the way to indulge them you'll soon find yourself out of sync with the movie, unable to follow the rest of the story. With a good book this source of inhibition doesn't exist. One can pause to follow any train of thought for as long as desired, then return to the point of launch, seemingly uninterrupted, whenever.

"Travel books" are no exception, and the best travel books can satisfy—and provoke—one's wanderlust simultaneously. You can pause to imagine yourself doing the same exploring, yet at the same time recognize that it will never be possible. By the end, you can want more than ever to take the trip, yet feel as if you already have. What would it be like to read a good travel book composed of musings, of trains of thought provoked by a detailed reading of yet another "travel book," one of the greatest of them all, the story of the Corps of Discovery? Would Lewis and Clark buffs enjoy a collection of essays whose signal function is to provide varied trains of thought whose routes inspire side-trips of their own?

This is what Dayton Duncan delivers in his collection of essays Scenefs of Visionary Enchantment: a travel book of ideas, the chance for a reader to hop along inside the mind of a thoughtful man who is doing what comes naturally—thinking—after having spent a wealth of time studying and pondering the Lewis and Clark Expedition and all its stories and ramifications. And Duncan gives us a great ride.

I devoured this book, perhaps because I'm a relative newcomer to the mental-health problem that Duncan diagnoses in himself under the name of "Lewis-and-Clark-itis. Odds are that most anyone reading who "suffers" from this contagious disorder, though perhaps not as severely as Duncan. He confesses that his own case is now incurable; it's gotten so bad (deep into "stage four") that he can start a day by remembering what the Corps of Discovery was doing 200 years earlier—but not that it's his own birthday.

Much of the book consists of essays that began as speeches Duncan gave back when he suffered merely from "stage three" of the disease—the "talkative" phase that the friends and relatives of this magazine's readers may have diagnosed in many of us. Here we are when Duncan delivers a keynote speech to a Lewis and Clark bicentennial organizing group, in which he explicates the many reasons he finds the expedition's story so endlessly fascinating—including the "novelistic depth and diversity" of its characters, "as if this great American nonfiction epic had been written instead by a Dickens or a Tolstoy." There we are at the 1999 dedication of newly reconstructed chimneys at Fort Mandan, where Duncan contemplates all the things the hearths there likely witnessed and heard 195 years earlier—but that the journal-keepers never mentioned. In another essay, Duncan's musings about the wealth of unreported and unknown aspects of the corps' experience lead him to hatch a marvelous, intriguing theory about Alexander Willard, and whether he really and truly fell asleep while on watch that night in present-day Nebraska. Could it be true? Could Sergeant Ordway, who turned Willard in for the transgression, have known for a fact that Willard fell asleep—simply by having heard the sound of him snoring? Who else on the expedition might have been a snorer? Good question! And off we go, on another spur track.

Our ride on Duncan's trains of thoughts stops at key locations all along the trail, including (repeatedly) the famed White Cliffs—Lewis's "scenes of visionary enchantment"—where the author recalls his first, serendipitous encounter with Stephen Ambrose; where he remembers introducing his friend Ken Burns to Montana; where he recalls accompanying Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt on a float trip that led to President Clinton's proclaiming the Missouri River Breaks National Monument... and where Duncan laments the ruin of the Eye of the Needle, a landmark never mentioned by Lewis and Clark which captured the imaginations of generations of river-floaters who followed in their wake.

Always thought-provoking and entertaining, Duncan writes eloquently about the expedition's meaning and its power to continually inspire. His reflections on Lewis's bipolar personality, on the emotional rollercoaster Lewis experienced during the week leading up to his 31st birthday are one of the more forceful examples. At this chapter's conclusion, we share the writer's own mood and viewpoint fully. We "ache" and "yearn" to be able to reach across time to console the ever-unsettled Lewis, to reassure him that his life was, indeed, both accomplished and lasting in value.
But never is Duncan more eloquent than when he considers all the ways native Americans made the expedition's success possible, all the ways the expedition's members showed respect for the tribes they encountered—and all the tragic ways most of our ancestors have failed to uphold the promise the expedition's model offered. Is it too late for us to use the bicentennial as an occasion to both rediscover and reclaim some measure of those potentialities—even if only on a spiritual and intellectual level, now that the more practical opportunities have forever passed us by? Duncan certainly makes us want to, and he offers useful ideas for starting.

This is a book people "suffering" in any stage of Lewis-and-Clark-itis will enjoy. If you've only just caught the bug, Duncan will show you ways you haven't yet discovered to use and learn from the expedition's story. If you're already past the "talkative phase" and deep into "stage four," you likely won't find much new information here—but you can be certain Duncan's trains of thought will drop you off at new starting points of your own that you hadn't found yet. And for any reader who's never before been introduced to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, I say, watch out. Duncan is a carrier, an agent of a spreading infection, and he proves it—delightfully—on every page.

—Tom Daubert

A scholarly overview of the L&C Expedition

The Lewis and Clark Expedition
Harry William Fritz
Greenwood Press
184 pages / $45 cloth

The success of a book often depends on whether it fills a market niche and connects with an intended audience. The Lewis and Clark Expedition, by Harry William Fritz, the chair of the Department of History at the University of Montana, in Missoula, scores well on both counts.

The publisher, Greenwood Press, aims to bring key events in American history into the classroom through a carefully crafted series, entitled Greenwood Guides to Historic Events, 1500-1900. The "volumes are designed to serve as resources for student research and to provide clearly written interpretations of topics." The series helps high school and lower division college students gain a better appreciation of American history. Professor Fritz's book, a volume in this series, achieves this purpose and, in addition, is suitable for a much wider audience of general readers seeking an introduction to Lewis and Clark.

Indeed the value of this book lies in part with its systematic presentation and interpretation of events. Following guidelines from the publisher, Fritz outlines a basic chronology of the expedition, followed by four topical chapters covering the journey to and winter layover at Fort Mandan, travel across the plains and over the Rockies, the trip down the Columbia River and encampment at Fort Clatsop, and the return journey. Other sections examine scientific and ethnological discoveries, provide biographical sketches of

An artist with the Corps of Discovery

Charles Fritz is among the few contemporary artists of the Lewis and Clark Expedition whose work approaches those of "Old Masters" like C.M. Russell and John Clymer. A total of 88 of his paintings—narrative scenes, landscapes, and compositional studies chronicling the explorers from Camp River Dubois to Fort Clatsop and back—are now available in a handsome new large-format volume, Charles Fritz: An Artist with the Corps of Discovery (University of Montana Press and Farcountry Press, 104 pages, $29.95 cloth). Fritz's images are infused with light, and details of dress are faithfully rendered. Each painting is accompanied by the artist's commentary and the journal passage on which it is based. An introduction by Harry Fritz (no relation), a professor of history at the University of Montana, provides a brisk recapitulation of the journey.

Fritz's Mapping the Missouri: Winter Afternoon at Fort Mandan.

(Another of Fritz's paintings appears on page 24 of this issue of WPO.)
key players, and assess the impact and significance of the expedition. Inclusion of selected primary documents of the Lewis and Clark Expedition is an added bonus.

Although well documented with selections from the journals and other sources, Fritz's history reads like a story and will surely hold the interest of most readers. At times the author strays from objectivity. Recounting the taking of game during the return down the Missouri River in 1806, for example, he brands Lewis "the West's first slob hunter."

Illustrations
I thought the publisher could have done a better job with illustrations. While they are "on target" as to subject matter and convey important aspects of the expedition, the images lack quality. And, except for the Sacagawea coin and a drawing of Clatsop head-flattening (taken from the journals), there are no pictures of Native Americans. Perhaps a few from the works of Karl Bodmer would have provided context to the story.

I also found at least one puzzling statement. On page 57, the reader is left to wonder how the distance on the Missouri River between its junctions with the Marias and the Yellowstone rivers could possibly be 750 miles when the distance across the entire state of Montana is about 520 miles.

As a professor of American history, Fritz is fully aware of, and has likely read all, the important literature related to Lewis and Clark. His detailed annotated bibliography allows readers to identify other key titles chronicling both popular and scholarly aspects of Lewis and Clark, particularly the journals. A complete glossary and index help tie the book and the story together.

The Lewis and Clark bicentennial has produced a slew of new titles on the subject. Most add little to the story. Professor Fritz's book, however, while not breaking new ground, is a valuable resource needs of students. He also tells a good story.

—John H. Sandy

The reviewer is a librarian with the University of Alabama system.

### The Lemhi Shoshone's struggle for a homeland

**Sacajawea's People:**

*The Lemhi Shoshones and the Salmon River Country*

John W.W. Mann

University of Nebraska Press

258 pages / $24.95 cloth

Every student of Lewis and Clark knows of the critical role of the Shoshone Indians to the expedition's success—how the band led by Cameahwait, Sacagawea's brother, provided the horses and geographical knowledge needed to cross the Rocky Mountains. Few, however, are aware of the subsequent fate of this band, which came to be known as the Lemhi Shoshones, or of their descendants' century-long effort to reclaim a piece of their tribal homeland in the country surrounding today's Salmon, Idaho.

Historian John W.W. Mann tells their post-expedition story in his book *Sacajawea's People: The Lemhi Shoshones and the Salmon River Country.* In brief, the Lemhi Shoshones continued to live in their ancestral lands for a hundred years after their encounter with the Corps of Discovery. Thanks largely to the wise leadership of Tendoy, a descendant of Cameahwait who presided over his people's fortunes from 1863 until his death, in 1907, they managed to live in relative peace with whites. In 1875, after their territory was homesteaded, they were granted a reservation straddling the Lemhi River, but just five years later the government pressured them to resettle with other Shoshones on a reservation at Fort Hall, Idaho. The Lemhi Shoshones—who by now had incorporated the
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Reviews (cont.)
Bannocks, a neighboring band of Paiute-speaking Indians—resisted the move for 26 years. A majority finally relocated in 1906, although a handful remained behind as squatters. The Lemhi Shoshones at Fort Hall maintained a cultural identity separate from other reservation Shoshones while keeping their ties with the remnant group that had stayed behind in Salmon, where they returned seasonally to fish and gather roots.

The federal government, however, no longer recognized the Lemhi Shoshones as a distinct tribe but lumped them with the other Shoshone bands at Fort Hall and on the Wind River Reservation, in Wyoming. Led by two of Tendoy's descendants, Rose Ann Abrahamson and Rod Aviswhite, the Lemhi Shoshones in recent years have fought for the restoration of federal recognition and a new reservation in their ancestral land. The effort remains ongoing.

Much of Mann's narrative is devoted to the Lemhi Shoshones' 20th-century legal maneuverings with the Indian Claims Commission and other federal agencies and panels. This is a complicated story that sometimes bogs down in excessive detail, at least for a general reader. I also struggled with some of the author's scholarly synthesis. Early on he discusses the pre-contact history of the Shoshones and the anthropological debates that continue to swirl around the origins and groupings of this large Uto-Aztecian language group. The text is clear on the evolution of the Lemhi Shoshones from three separate bands in the upper Salmon watershed but opaque on how the tribe as a whole became the three branches we think of today as the Western (Nevada), Northern (Idaho), and Eastern (Wyoming) Shoshones.

Those quibbles aside, I commend this book for what it is—in the author's words, "an attempt to write the Lemhi Shoshones back into the history of the twentieth century by focusing in particular on their enduring ties to their particular homeland in the Salmon River country."
—J.M.

The bitterroot as natural and cultural history

The bitterroot—known to botanists by its Latin binomial Lewisia rediviva—was one of some two hundred plants collected on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, of which seventy were new to science. It was one of three species ultimately named for Meriwether Lewis, one more than for Clark. The plant's edible root was a staple in the diets of the Salish Indians and other tribes living west of the Continental Divide in today's Montana and Idaho, and it thrived in the Montana valley that now bears its name. (The Salish were collecting it in the Bitterroot Valley when the Corps of Discovery made contact with them in September 1805.)

All this and much more is conveyed in The Story of the Bitterroot, a documentary produced by Looking Glass Films, of Hamilton, Montana, and available on DVD. Directed by Steve Slocomb, it provides a wealth of fascinating detail about the bitterroot's natural and cultural history. Adapted to cold, well-drained habitats that are snow-covered in winter and dry in summer, the bitterroot produces 60-70 seeds that can lie dormant for years while waiting for favorable conditions.
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2005 Awards

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is seeking nominations for its 2005 awards:
• Chapter Award: To a chapter or one of its members for some exemplary contribution to the foundation’s mission.
• Meritorious Achievement Award: To a person, organization, or agency for scholarly research or other significant contributions that bring to the nation a greater appreciation and awareness of the L&C Expedition.
• Distinguished Service Award: To a foundation member who has made an outstanding contribution toward furthering the purpose and objectives of the LCTHF.
• Appreciation Award Certificate: To a person or organization for gracious support of the foundation and its endeavors to preserve and perpetuate the lasting historical worth of the L&C Expedition.

Send nominations to Carol Bronson, executive director of the LCTHF, for forwarding to the Awards Committee. (chronson@lewisandclark.org)

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Reviews (cont.)

to sprout. The botanist Frederick Pursh
named the bitterroot *rediviva*—a plant
that literally comes back to life—after
propagating it from one of the dried,
pressed specimens collected by Lewis.

*LeWisia rediviva* was revered by the
Salish as a staff of life, and its roseate
flowers, which are typically pink but
can range from deep purple to white,
were admired by Anglo-American set-
tlers and their descendants. *The Story
of the Bitterroot* speaks to the import-
tance of this hardy annual to both na-
tives and whites and the ways it has
shaped community values and defined
human relationships with the land.

From Joanne Bigcrane, a tribal ethno-
obotanist, we hear the story of the
bitterroot's origins, how it sprang from
the earth where the tears of a starving
ancestor had fallen. Other tribal mem-
ers recall how the Salish returned to
the Bitterroot Valley to collect roots for
generations after the government re-
settled them on a reservation 75 miles
to the north. Productive digging
grounds included a field east of where a
Kmart now stands in Hamilton and the
mountain slope with the iconic "M"
behind the University of Montana, in
Missoula. Then as now, a ceremony ac-
 companied the first root taken: the dig-
ger talked to the plant, welcoming it
back with the wish that it be bountiful.

A viewer also learns of Anglos like
Mary Long Alderson and her campaign
in the 1890s to make the bitterroot
Montana's state flower, and of Henry
Grant, a self-taught horticulturist who
learned to germinate bitterroot seeds
by placing them in his freezer to pop
their shells. "Mr. Bitterroot" re-sowed
the plant throughout its namesake valley.
Grant died in 1998, in his late eighties,
and was buried in his bib overalls
in a coffin lined with bitterroots. As a
friend observed, "They're probably
blooming right now."

*(The Story of the Bitterroot, which
runs 68 minutes, is available for $25.95,
postage and handling included, from
Looking Glass Films, POB 1034,
Hamilton, MT 59842; www.bitter-
root.tv; e-mail video@bitterroot.tv.)*

-In My Opinion-

In brief: Native
Homelands; "Most
Perfect Harmony"

Native Homelands along the Lewis &
Clark Trail. $19.95. Order from Uni-
versity of Montana Bookstore, James
Todd Building, Missoula, MT 59812;

This 35-minute
documentary pro-
duced by the Uni-
versity of Mon-
tana's Lifelong
Learning Project
profiles tribes en-
countered by the
Corps of Dis cov-
ery, from the Man-
dan and Hidatsa in North Dakota to
the Nez Perce and Chinook in the Pa-
cific Northwest. Each segment begins
with a panorama of a tribe's ancestral
land and a voiceover of a representa-
tive speaking in his native tongue—a
nice touch that underscores the theme
that the country through which the ex-
plores passed, as one tribal member
observes, "was not a wilderness at all
but a beloved homeland." Although the
briefness of this video limits the amount
of information it can convey, it is a use-
ful introduction to tribal cultures and
oral histories of the expedition.

"Most Perfect Harmony": Lewis and
Clark: A Musical Journey. $15. Order
from Big Canoe Records, 513 High
Street, Boonville, MO 65233; www.
bigeanerecords.com.
This latest CD by The Discovery String Band is an engaging mix of traditional tunes and new songs, all inspired by the L&C Expedition. The former include pieces the explorers would have known such as "Bonaparte's Retreat" and "Chester," a ditty from the Revolutionary War which, as the informative liner notes reveal, almost became the National Anthem. A variety of instruments—dulcimer, fiddle, jaw harp, triangle, flute, bones—and soaring harmonies render these works in lively foot-tapping fashion. New pieces capture the majesty of the Missouri, York's post-expedition bitterness about Clark's refusal to grant him his freedom, and the dark meditations of Meriwether Lewis. Cathy Barton's "Journey Song for Pomp" evokes the spirit of Sacagawea and her infant as they proceed upriver toward a rendezvous with her people:

Kind mother-spirit, guide Pompey and me
Like River to find a way home to the sea.
Many days we will walk, we'll ride and we'll float,
On my back Pomp shall ride in a soft cradle-boat.

---

L&C Roundup

L&C in other journals


The Fall 2004 issue of Ohio Valley History includes "Fairly launched on my voyage of discovery": Meriwether Lewis's Expedition Letters to James Findlay," edited and introduced by James J. Holmberg. The recently discovered letters were written in March 1803 and September 1804. Copies can be purchased for $10 by contacting Ruby Rogers, Cincinnati Museum Center, 1301 Western Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45203; rrogers@cincymuseum.org.

Philadelphia's Academy of Natural Sciences recently published a 25-page monograph with color illustrations entitled Jefferson's Botanists: Lewis and Clark Discover the Plants of the West, by Richard McCourt and Earle Spamer. The publication is available for $12.95. Contact Richard McCourt, Department of Botany, ANS, 1900 Benjamin Franklin Parkway, Philadelphia, PA 19103; mccourt@acnatsci.org.

The January-February 2005 Wildlife Conservation includes an article about Lewis and Clark and conservation in the Pacific West. It can be found on the Web at www.wildlifeconservation.org.
Stewardship initiatives focus on diversity, advocacy, unity, partnerships

Webster's Dictionary defines stewardship as, "the individual's responsibility to manage his life and property with proper regard to the rights of others."

As stewards of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, I think we can all agree that we must indeed manage it, as this definition suggests, "with proper regard to the rights of others." We must preserve and protect the trail, celebrate our heritage and ensure that we tell all the stories of the expedition in ways that have meaning for everyone. The foundation is working to augment its stewardship programs to do just that, in some of the following ways.

Growth through diversity
I will serve as staff liaison to the foundation's new Diversity Advisory Panel, which will review foundation programs, projects, and written materials to ensure that the foundation accurately tells all the stories of the expedition (Native American oral histories as well as written historical narratives). The panel will advise the foundation on topics ranging from protection of Native American sacred sites to the treatment of York in the foundation's curriculum guide. The panel also will create a publication to help guide the foundation and our chapters into the future.

Advocates for the trail
There is no end to the number of worthwhile projects, programs, and stewardship efforts related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. There are, however, limited amounts of funding and resources available to support them. The foundation's board has developed a process for reviewing and prioritizing the endeavors it will support on an annual basis.

Requests for foundation support will be reviewed by staff and presented to the board at its annual meeting (to be held this year August 6-10, in Portland, Oregon). The board will evaluate the requests and prioritize them based on factors including: how well the proposal supports the foundation's mission, foundation resources and staff time involved, and the foundation's other advocacy priorities.

Resources, time, and credibility prevent the foundation from supporting every effort, no matter how worthwhile. The foundation must be selective, using its mission as the basis for determining how and when it will support any proposal.

For information on submitting a request for foundation support, visit the trail stewardship section of the foundation's Web site, www.lewisandclark.org.

Creating a united front
The foundation will hold a series of regional meetings in April and May to encourage chapters and members to communicate and work with others in their region. We all share the same mission and should be working as a collective whole to achieve our goals. The meetings will include a presentation by foundation staff on national projects and programs, presentations by chapters, a keynote address, and a tour of a trail or related site. All foundation members are invited to attend. There will be a small charge for lunch, and advance registration is required. Contact wrraney@lewisandclark.org.

Date and place of meetings: April 9, Jefferson City, Missouri; April 16, Lolo, Montana; April 23, Washington, D.C.; and May 7, Omaha, Nebraska. For information on a particular meeting, visit the calendar on the foundation's Web site.

Building partnerships
I was recently elected to the Partnership for the National Trails System's executive committee. The partnership was established in 1995 to support interaction and cooperation among the various private groups and government agencies involved with the national scenic and historic trails. At a meeting last October, the partnership conducted a strategic-planning session. The organization is looking toward the future and identifying how it can grow in size and strength. At this year's annual meeting, to be held in June in Las Vegas, the partnership will focus on tourism, education, connecting our trails with community trails and green ways, and capacity building for member organizations. For more information on the meeting and the partnership, visit its Web site at www.nationaltrailspartnership.org.

Stewards of the trail
The foundation is working closely with federal land-management agencies along the L&C Trail to develop stewardship initiatives that will extend from one end of the trail to the other. Projects of this magnitude take significant time and resources. The foundation's most valuable resources are its volunteers. I will be looking to our members to participate in stewardship activities and hope that we can develop a broad range of opportunities to provide something of interest for everyone.

With a little help from everyone, the foundation's stewardship efforts can serve the trail with proper respect and regard for those who visit the trail and those who live there.

Wendy Raney
Director, Field Operations

Foundation grants
The LCTHP last year awarded a total of $5,000 in grants to eight scholarship and education projects around the country. For information about 2005 grants, contact Carol Bronson, 888-701-3434; execdir@lewisandclark.org.
Gentlemen,

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The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. is offering a limited-edition commemorative yogo sapphire pendant, "The Great Cascades." The 14k white gold pendant features five diamond-cut natural blue Yogo Sapphires representing the five Great Falls of the Missouri, plus two Yogos representing Lewis and Clark with a total gem weight of 1/4 carat. If the Great Cascades pendant is numbered, representing a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and comes with a brief history of the member it represents.

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From the Library

Lewis & Clark on the World Wide Web

Information management in the library world is increasingly complex. The William P. Sherman Library and Archives has the daunting task of managing the growing mountain of materials—books, journal articles, pamphlets, films, Web sites, and other media—devoted to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, and the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

One of our key jobs is to make this body of information available to our members and the general public. We do a credible job of this, and one of our best tools is the World Wide Web, which allows a person to access documents, educational materials, bibliographies, and many other resources.

Located in Great Falls, Montana, the Sherman Library provides a number of excellent Web-based tools for sharing information. If you go to the library section of the Foundation's Web site, www.lewisandclark.org, you will find that We Proceeded On is indexed. The collections in the library are also indexed, as are many of the more than seven thousand images in the Don Nell Visual Resources Catalog.

The Foundation's Web pages also include links to other significant sites related to Lewis and Clark. In e-mail or telephone discussions with researchers I frequently point out that doing a keyword search for materials in our library may well point them to materials in other libraries closer to home.

Founded in 1989, the World Wide Web is an Internet-based computer network that allows users on one computer to access information stored on another—a sort of universal database. In the words of its creator, Tim Berners-Lee, "The dream behind the Web is of a common information space in which we communicate by sharing information." It includes a vast body of information about the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

What will happen to all that Web-based information after the L&C Bicentennial ends in 2006? The LCTHF is the official entity for archiving the Web pages of the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council and the organizers of the many Signature Events along the L&C Trail. Given that role, it isn't surprising that other organizations have approached us with requests to archive their bicentennial Web sites. We have been archiving bicentennial-related publications, documents, and various ephemera for some time now, and it seems only logical that we should be archiving Web sites too.

The job is technologically challenging, but it is already being done by universities and by the Library of Congress, which on September 12, 2001, began archiving Web materials generated by the 9/11 attacks. Think about the insights into American life and culture that effort will give researchers a century from now. The Library of Congress's MINERVA (Mapping the Internet Electronic Resources Virtual Archive), found at http://www.loc.gov/minerva/, is the location for the 9/11 archive and several other Web archives. Archiving Web sites related to Lewis and Clark will also provide a significant service to future historians and scholars.

—Jill Jackson
Librarian and Archivist, LCTHF

Fritz exhibit on tour

An exhibit of L&C paintings by artist Charles Fritz opens February 11 at the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, where it will run through April. The exhibit will then proceed to the C.M. Russell Museum, in Great Falls, Montana (May-August); the Booth Museum of Western Art, in Atlanta (January-April 2006); the Yellowstone Art Museum, in Billings, Montana (June-August 2006); and the MacNider Art Museum, in Macon City, Iowa (September 2006-January 2007)."
Sacagawea and Susan B. Anthony

The Bird Woman and the campaigner for women's suffrage crossed paths a century ago

BY BILL SMITH

Recently, I had two U.S. one-dollar coins in my pocket, and when I went to use them I noticed that one was the silver-tinted Susan B. Anthony dollar and the other was the gold-colored Sacagawea dollar. I paused to think about the two women whose likenesses (one real, the other imagined) appear on these coins. I knew a lot about the Indian girl who was a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the contributions she made to it, but I remembered little about Mrs. Anthony other than she had something to do with the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which declares that the “right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex.” This prompted me to read a biography of her. I found several connections between her and Sacagawea.

Susan B. Anthony began her battle for women's votes before the Civil War, but she died in 1906, 13 years before Congress approved the 19th Amendment. After its ratification by 37 states, women were allowed to vote for the first time in the election of November 2, 1920. But as every Lewis and Clark buff knows, Sacagawea was ahead of her 20th-century sisters by almost exactly 115 years. On November 24, 1805, after the expedition reached the mouth of the Columbia River, Lewis and Clark polled each adult member of the Corps of Discovery about where to set up winter camp. They included Sacagawea in that historic vote. Even today, no 16-year-old girl can vote in a federal or state election.

I doubted that Susan B. Anthony knew anything about Sacagawea’s vote. I assumed, in fact, that she probably knew little or nothing about her at all. Then I learned that in June 1905 Mrs. Anthony attended a suffrage meeting in Portland, Oregon, during the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition. On Women’s Day she spoke at the unveiling of a statue of Sacagawea. She said, “This is the first statue erected to a woman because of deeds of daring . . . . This recognition of the assistance rendered by a woman, in the discovery of this great section of the country, is but the beginning of what is due.”

Suffrage had been defeated by two thousand votes in Oregon in 1900. Hopeful that Oregonians would approve the vote for women in a referendum scheduled for 1906, she went on to say, “Next year, the men of this proud state, made possible by a woman [Sacagawea], will decide whether women shall at last have the rights in it which have been denied them so many years . . . . Let men remember the part women have played in its settlement and progress and vote to give them these rights which belong to every citizen.”

Captain William Clark expressed similar sentiments when, at the end of the expedition, he wrote Sacagawea’s husband, the interpreter Toussaint Charbonneau, “Your woman who accompanied you that long dangerous and fatigueing rout to the Pacific Ocean and back deserved a greater reward for her attention and services on that rout than we had in our power to give her.” I like to think that had Clark been around to vote in Oregon in 1900 or 1906, he would have cast his ballot in behalf of women’s suffrage. From his letter to Charbonneau it is clear he would like to have given Sacagawea something for her services. Despite her contributions—as an interpreter, food gatherer, and symbol of the expedition’s peaceful intentions—the times did not permit it. It was Charbonneau who collected payment of $500.33 and 320 acres of land, although his contributions were significantly less important.

Neither the Susan B. Anthony nor Sacagawea dollar coin has been much of a success. The former is no longer...