

We Proceeded On

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Companion Journeys Thompson, Jefferson and the Corps of Discovery traveled similar paths



DAVID THOMPSON, "MAP OF NORTH AMERICA FROM 84° WEST TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN," PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, KEW, ENGLAND, FO 925-4622

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This detail of David Thompson's map, "Map of North America from 84° West to the Pacific Ocean," includes Lake Coeur d'Alene (Skeetshoo Lake), Flathead Lake (Saleesh Lake), the confluence of the Clark Fork and Bitterroot rivers (near Lewis and Clark's Travelers' Rest), and the confluence of the Clearwater and Snake rivers. ("Here Capt[ai]^m Lewis and Clarke made Canoes and went to the Sea.")

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President's Message

Broad vision for the trail calls for corps of volunteers

It is impossible for me to believe this will be my last column in *We Proceeded On* as your president. This year has been filled with challenges, hard work, energy and excitement. *In this last column I want to focus on an exciting new vision for the trail*—a vision I hope you will support and engage in actively.

I mentioned in my November 2007 column that the Foundation is committed to forming strong partnerships with federal agencies across the trail. In February, I talked about our productive meeting with the National Park Service, the agency federally mandated to administer the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, and our intention to form a strong partnership with them in the near future.

In mid-February, with LCTHF board approval, I was delighted to sign a Memorandum of Understanding with the National Park Service. This MOU is based on more than just the working relationship we already have, and both parties view it as a true *foundational partnership*. This is the beginning of an exciting new era for the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. It involves a larger vision, a shared one, where the trail is at the center. We are committed to being inclusive and working with all stakeholders

to collectively provide assistance to preserve and protect the trail and its stories for future generations.

The trail is important to us all. That is why we spent so much time during the bicentennial planning

events to honor the rich history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the tribes who resided in these lands. It is why we built interpretive centers and installed interpretive and directional signage. It is why we readied the physical trail for the host of tourists who came to commemorate the bicentennial.

During the "Third Century," it is imperative that we inventory the interpretive sites created along the trail, develop a plan to maintain them and archive the material that represents the bicentennial. Some of these projects already have begun, but to complete these tasks and monitor and maintain the trail, we will need a corps of volunteers both young and old.

It is the Foundation's vision to energize our membership, engage new members and provide assistance through our chapters to maintain the wonderful assets across the trail. The National Park Service's vision is to provide assistance and formalized training to facilitate our programs. They will provide assistance to existing Foundation programs and those yet to be created. Together, we share

a complimentary vision for the future of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. Working in collaboration with other federal agencies, our chapters and members, and state and local partners, we will structure a volunteer-based program to maintain and monitor all aspects of the trail for years to come.

This is an exciting time for our Foundation. Since our inception, we have made a difference on the Lewis and Clark Trail. Now we have the opportunity to become part of a larger vision, one where a corps of volunteers are trained and mobilized



Seaberg

We are committed to being inclusive and working with all stakeholders to collectively provide assistance to preserve and protect the trail and its stories for future generations. The trail is important to us all.

across the trail, working on projects to preserve the trail and educate and engage youth and families. Whether you choose to be out on the trail connecting children with nature, volunteering on a day-long river cleanup, organizing and training volunteers in your community, teaching students about the expedition, participating in an historic landscape assessment or helping archive the bicentennial, you will be part of that larger vision. *As I said in my first letter in WPO, the bicentennial was just the beginning. If we all work together in the "Third Century," our passion for the trail and its stories will inspire new generations to preserve not only the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, but also the other precious lands within our country. There can be no more worthy goal.*

"The Deep End is Where the Fun Happens."

—Karen Seaberg
President, LCTHF

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Letters

One more argument for suicide, another for murder

I am hesitant to write another letter about the death of Meriwether Lewis. No matter how strong the evidence or how well documented the facts, there will always be those who argue for the murder hypothesis. This is especially true for those with little knowledge or understanding of mental illness. Mark Chalkley (WPO, *Letters*, May 2008), in refuting one of VerLynn Kneifl's arguments for murder (WPO, *Letters*, February 2008), is absolutely correct that anyone who has personal experience or a family member with clinical depression knows it can be entirely consistent with a person of great courage, intelligence, creativity and humor. Intelligence, creativity and periods of high energy often are associated with individuals diagnosed with manic depression.

VerLynn Kneifl presents 12 arguments promoting the murder hypothesis. All of these arguments can be dismissed when viewed with modern knowledge of mental illness. When a psychotic break occurs, the brain quits working, leading an individual to become delusional and irrational. The fact that, for example, Lewis followed a common practice of writing a will before his planned travel on the Natchez Trace (and before his psychotic break) is entirely immaterial to his death. Another argument presented by Kneifl is that Lewis's wounds were not consistent with suicide. How can anybody conclude that death by gunshots is inconsistent with suicide? What about Major Gilbert C. Russell's descriptions of Lewis cutting himself from head to toe with a razor? (Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, Vol. 2, pp. 573-574.) Is that consistent with murder?

In reference to the 1848 exhumation of Lewis's remains, Kneifl quoted the monument committee's statement that said it "seemed probable he died at the hands of an assassin." What he did not say is that all they found were a few small bones and some buttons. I ask, on what basis did the 1848 monument committee conclude he died at the hands of an assassin?

Information in the primary documents associated with Lewis's death

is consistent with Lewis dying by his own hand, brought on by mental illness. It includes the confused nature of a letter he wrote to President James Madison on September 16, 1809; documents relating suicide attempts by Lewis on the boat to Fort Pickering and his state of mental derangement upon arrival at the fort; James Neelly's written account of the events leading up to their arrival at Grinder's stand and Lewis's brief time there; Lewis's known alcohol/laudanum use and bouts with hypochondria; and the acceptance of suicide by all his contemporaries.

The 1848 monument committee can be excused for its position due to the stigma and lack of knowledge related to mental disorders at that time. The proper way to honor Lewis's memory is not to cling to outmoded notions of mental illness and ignore the facts, but rather to recognize he was a courageous, brilliant and creative leader who succumbed to illness on the Natchez Trace.

GLEN KIRKPATRICK
Molalla, Ore.

I had the pleasure of reading John D.W. Guice's book, *By His Own Hand?*, last summer and am curious about a passage in chapter three, on page 129, authored by Jay Buckley: "It must be remembered that Jefferson had a long talk with William Clark about Lewis's death after Clark arrived in the East. It may be that Jefferson told Clark not to pursue the issue any further and counseled him to focus on the task of getting the journals published." Obviously, this meeting substantially galvanized the popular "suicide story," giving it prominence and the finality of an official report.

Pertaining to Buckley's suggestion in the quote above, are there more details about their meeting? Clark's subsequent activities appear to support Buckley's statement, but why did Clark accept Jefferson's directive? It is clear that Clark had much on his plate at the time of Lewis's death: a new family, George Rogers Clark's debts, his own finances, pressing issues in the Indian Office, personal business ventures, etc. While he was with Jefferson, certainly he had to contend with the fact that

Jefferson had been his commander-in-chief, but nevertheless, Clark was a man who had dealt with distractions on numerous occasions. He was a man with tremendous personal resources, reserve and energy. In the winter of 1809 he was only 39 years old and routinely accustomed to shouldering difficult tasks. Yet, after learning about the mysterious death of his close friend, he took no action whatsoever.

As brigadier general of the Louisiana Territory Militia and superintendent of Indian Affairs, he could have summoned a military or personal command to vigorously investigate Lewis's death. It seems to me that at that moment, Lewis's sudden death would have assumed a supreme priority for Clark. Couldn't Washington wait until this was dealt with? Was this not an emergency? This was Meriwether Lewis!

I have not found anywhere that Clark, any government official or close friend pursued inquiries about Lewis's death. Alexander Wilson is the only person who thought it important enough to visit the scene of Lewis's death, but that was nearly two years afterward.

It is not my intent here to question the judgment of William Clark. I admire and immensely respect him and his lifelong service to our country. However, I am incredulous about the lack of action immediately following Lewis's death by people who were close to him, despite the problems during the period of time leading up to his death and the publication of news of his alleged suicide.

Clark biographers William Foley and Landon Jones do not mention this inaction in their books. David Chandler's *The Jefferson Conspiracies* deals with Jefferson's reasons for silencing an investigation (pp. 324-327), but Chandler fails to delve into why William Clark was silent about Lewis's death after that meeting. I also have looked for answers in materials by Nicholas Biddle, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Elliot Coues, Gary Moulton, Donald Jackson, John Logan Allen, Bernard DeVoto, James Ronda, Larry Morris, Richard Dillon, Vardis Fisher, Stephen Ambrose and others, but found nothing about Clark pursuing the matter of Lewis's death. It is difficult to accept or understand why such an intrepid man

as William Clark would have abandoned his close friend and thrown the Lewis family reputation to ill winds without so much as a ripple of protest, in spite of Jefferson's persuasions. Anyone who could explain that would serve the country well and offer some measure of justice to, as Vardis Fisher wrote, "The Neglected American."

I realize the time it would have taken to put an investigation into motion in the Tennessee wilderness, but why wasn't a military detail commanded by Army officers not aligned with General James Wilkinson (Lewis's political enemy) sent by someone to retrieve Lewis's body, and arrest and sequester the so-called witnesses at the scene of Lewis's death? Certainly we spent enough money and time returning Indian chiefs including Big White of the Mandans from Washington to their tribal lands under very difficult circumstances. Wasn't Meriwether Lewis worth at least as much? That Lewis was denied a State, Masonic or military funeral with all the honors of war, in favor of a quiet burial

by James Neelly in a shallow grave over which Neelly scattered a few timbers is outrageous!

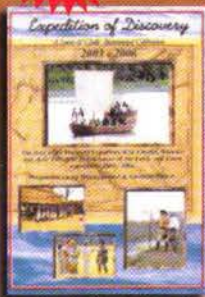
What about President James Madison's responsibility to Lewis in this situation? As an important federal official, the Governor of Upper Louisiana should have been treated with more honor than was given Lewis at the time. It is a national disgrace that our federal government shamefully neglected this distinguished person after his death. We owed and still owe this man much more than that. It took the great state of Tennessee 39 years after Lewis's death to finally see to a proper burial in 1848.

I am not a member of, nor do I have any association with the Lewis family. It is my belief that a great American was never given the benefit of the slightest doubt concerning the truth of the manner of his death, and it didn't seem to be of enough importance to those who could have helped Meriwether Lewis and his family at such a horrible time.

JOHN P. YOUNG
Mt. Pleasant, S.C.

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COMPANION JOURNEYS

David Thompson, Thomas Jefferson and the Corps of Discovery traveled similar paths throughout their careers

BY JACK NISBET

David Thompson was a British fur agent and surveyor who led an attempt to cross the Rocky Mountains in the spring of 1807. After ascending the headwaters of the North Saskatchewan River to the crest of the Continental Divide, he wrote in his field notebook, "By 10 a.m. we were at the Head of the Defile or Ravine, where the Springs send their Rills to the Pacific Ocean; this Sight overjoyed me."¹

For any reader who has delved into the journals of the Corps of Discovery, Thompson's word choice and straightforward delivery seem strangely familiar. In fact, any turn through Thompson's writings reveals passages that sound like Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's words in their journals. Common descriptive words and turns of phrase appear in the midst of weather reports, observations of tribal culture and frequent bouts of hunger. Thompson's survey tables evoke the careful work of William Clark, and some of his flickers of poetic language could have been penned by Meriwether Lewis. Take, for example, Thompson's quick look at the breeding plumage and size of a double-crested cormorant that he shot for supper near the Columbia River's source lakes in spring 1811: "... this had fine green Eyes—the Bill black—the Eye Lids mottled Blue like very small Beads to a Button Hole & the neck and Head a fine glossy light Black with a bunch of Side Feathers on each Side the Back of the Head—fat."²

Parallels among these three explorers stretch beyond the wording in their journals to the way their careers intertwined over time. Though Thompson never met the captains, details of their journeys seem to be linked by Thomas Jefferson's far-reaching hand. Tracing these connections opens a window into the period of contact that rippled across western North America both before and after the passage of the American explorers and the British furman.

David Thompson was born to Welsh parents in the village of Westminster, on the edge of London, in April 1770—exactly the same year that William Clark was born in Virginia, and four years before Meriwether Lewis. Thompson's father died when he was one and little is known of his mother, however the boy received a solid mathematical education at the Gray Coat Hospital, a charity school on the grounds of Westminster Cathedral. In May 1784, 14-year-old David Thompson sailed across the Atlantic to begin a seven-year clerk's apprenticeship with the Hudson's Bay Company, initiating a long career of trade and exploration that eventually would carry him to the mouth of the Columbia River.

During that same month, Thomas Jefferson was traveling the opposite way across the same ocean, assigned to join U.S. envoys Benjamin Franklin and John Adams in Paris. While Jefferson negotiated his way through different strata of Enlightenment society and succeeded



David Thompson and Thomas Jefferson both used the four-foot Dollond achromatic telescope. It is one of many things the men had in common as their careers and interests moved along parallel tracks. Jefferson acquired this telescope from Peter Dollond of London in 1786.

Franklin as ambassador to France in 1785, young David Thompson learned the basic skills of the Canadian fur trade, including accounting, wilderness survival, practical natural history and how to pay attention to local tribal knowledge for survival. While Jefferson improved his French, Thompson picked up Cree, which as a trade language extended clear across the prairies to the Rocky Mountains.

Separated by age, an ocean and the most different social positions imaginable, the two men nonetheless shared a keen interest in astronomy, which at that time included the discipline of practical surveying. Upon Thompson's graduation, the Gray Coat school had presented him with a fine Hadley's quadrant and a copy of the *Nautical Almanac*. The Hudson's Bay Company hoped that the boy would become not only a clerk in the fur business, but also a surveyor who could chart routes through their business empire. Thompson showed enthusiasm for the goal, and at the end of his apprenticeship requested that the company supply him with scientific instruments rather than the standard new suit of clothes. In time, he collected a good Dollond sextant, a four-foot Dollond achromatic telescope with three different lenses, two accurate chronometers and a full kit of drawing instruments that would enable him to make precise maps.

Thomas Jefferson followed a similar path. When he traveled to London on diplomatic business in the spring

of 1786, one of his first side trips was to the shop of instrument maker Peter Dollond. There he purchased a telescope and other scientific instruments. Peter Dollond's father, John, had patented the first achromatic lens for telescopes, which eliminated the blur of color refraction and allowed astronomers to make crisp instrument readings on the edges of heavenly objects. Surveyors such as David Thompson used observations from telescopes in conjunction with astronomical tables to accurately set their timepieces—a crucial first step to the determination of a correct longitude. Among the instruments Thomas Jefferson used at Monticello were a four-foot Dollond telescope with three achromatic lenses and a collapsible pot-metal tripod, which fit snugly in an oblong wooden case. Throughout his writings, David Thompson described using exactly the same instrument to make his observations in the Saskatchewan, Athabasca, Peace and Columbia river drainages.

CROSSING A CONTINENT

David Thompson's career in the fur trade soon took him west from Hudson Bay. In 1787, Hudson's Bay Company officials assigned him to a small party that traveled to Lake Winnipeg and up the Saskatchewan River to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains, where they wintered with a large camp of Piegan (Pikani or Pikuni) Blackfeet. The teenaged Thompson spent his months in the tent

of an elder named Saukamappee, who spoke Cree and had survived the 1780-1781 smallpox pandemic. From Saukamappee, Thompson absorbed Blackfeet culture and heard stories that stretched back to the days before horses and guns. The boy also saw into the future, forming relationships with young tribal leaders who would interact with both British and American interests during the first decade of the nineteenth century.

Two winters later, posted on the North Fork of the Saskatchewan River, Thompson suffered a leg fracture that laid him up for most of the next year. He spent an eight-month convalescence rediscovering his math skills and learning cartography from professional surveyor Philip Turnor. Thompson's first surviving map, drawn while on the canoe trip back to Hudson Bay during the last year of his apprenticeship, showed promise that the company encouraged.

In 1792, while Thompson searched for a northerly route from Hudson Bay to the rich fur grounds around Lake Athabasca, Thomas Jefferson attempted to mount a western exploring expedition led by the French botanist André Michaux. That spring, the American captain Robert Gray discovered and described the mouth of the Columbia River (naming it after his ship), and George Vancouver's Lieutenant William Broughton surveyed the first 100 miles of the river, to a point just past modern-day Portland. In December, a party of Kootenai Indians left the source lakes of the Columbia River and crossed the Rocky Mountains on an ancient trail to meet Piegan Blackfeet associates for a session of gaming and trading. The Blackfeet brought along a Hudson's Bay Company clerk named Peter Fidler, who had trained in surveying with David Thompson under Philip Turnor. This meeting marked the first recorded contact of furmen with a Columbia Plateau tribe, and the beginning of a Kootenai connection that would color the way David Thompson experienced the upper Columbia, Kootenai, and combined Clark Fork, Flathead and Pend Oreille drainages.³

In 1793, Alexander Mackenzie made his historic

crossing of the continent, moving from the Peace River drainage across an easy portage to the Parsnip and Fraser rivers. Mackenzie thought he was on the Columbia, the Great River of the West; although he broke off the main stem to follow a tribal trail to the Pacific at Bella Coola, he assumed that he had found the key to a practical trade route.

At that time, Mackenzie was working for the North

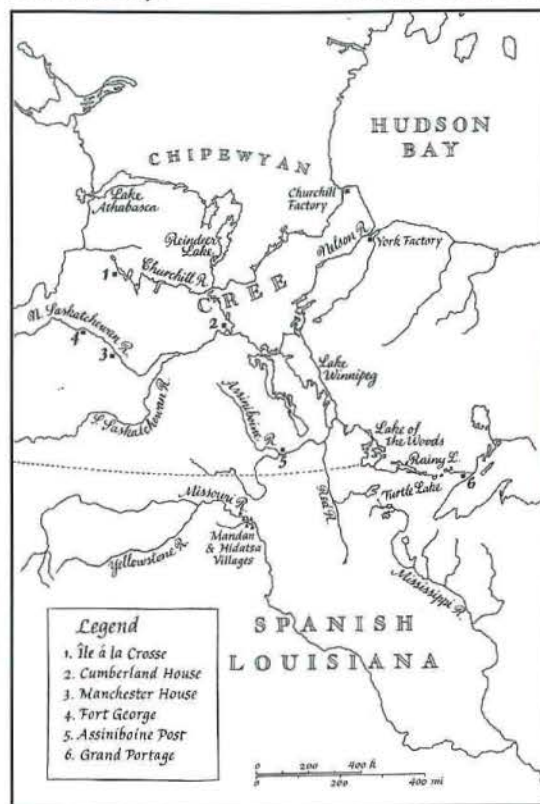
West Company, the aggressive and bitter rival of the Hudson's Bay. When he described his journey and visualized the prospects for transcontinental trade, the news buzzed through the fur trade world and beyond. Thomas Jefferson ordered a copy of Mackenzie's book as soon as it was published, and also made sure he obtained London cartographer Aaron Arrowsmith's latest North American map, which included coordinates from fur trade surveyors like young David Thompson.

FROM THE MISSOURI TO THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS

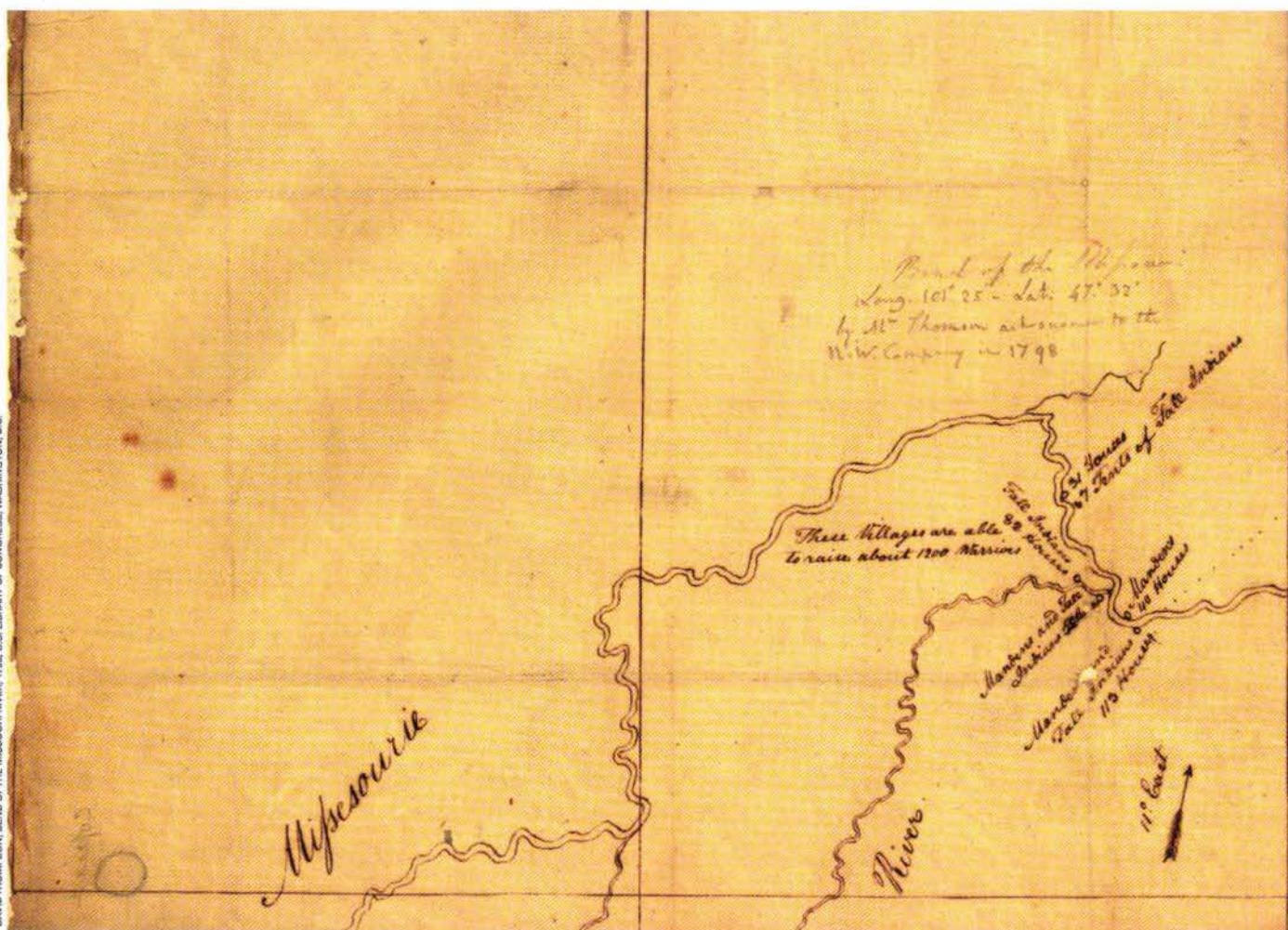
In the spring of 1797, David Thompson defected from the Hudson's Bay Company to the rival North West Company. At

the North West's Grand Portage supply depot on Lake Superior for summer meetings, the company's new surveyor met managing partners from Montreal and "wintering partners" who worked in the field. They presented Thompson with a grand challenge of navigation and business, which involved visiting various company posts beyond Lake Winnipeg to determine their exact coordinates, and then moving south on the Red River to visit the cluster of Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara villages on the Missouri River, in what is now North Dakota. Part of Thompson's instruction, which sounded almost like a nod to mammoth and fossil enthusiast Thomas Jefferson, was to bring back any large bones that he might run across.

Thompson began the assignment by assembling a crew of French-Canadian voyageurs—French would be his everyday work language for the next 15 years. With their help, Thompson fashioned sledges to haul trade



Thompson's First Surveys



In 1797-1798, David Thompson surveyed and mapped the North West Company's trade route from Lake Superior to Lake Winnipeg. He returned to Lake Superior by way of the Assiniboine River, the Mandan villages, the Red River and the headwaters of the Mississippi. During this trip, Thompson discovered Turtle Lake, which is one of the sources of the Mississippi River, and he accurately determined the latitude and longitude of the Great Bend of the Missouri River near the Mandan villages. Thompson's map was an important resource for the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Following Albert Gallatin's instructions, Nicholas King incorporated Thompson's representations of the upper portion of the Missouri into the map he produced for the expedition. Lewis and Clark carried a tracing of this map on their journey. A notation on the back of the map states, "A sketch of the North Bend of the Missouri. This belongs to Capn. Lewis."

goods and bartered for sled dogs with Lake Winnipeg tribes. Traveling at a steady pace no matter what the conditions, he charted the coordinates of several posts in the Assiniboine River country, and at Christmas, went to the Mandan villages. During his six-week stay at the tribal trading center, Thompson recorded considerable information about the cultures and local landscape.⁴ Then he worked his way east through the headwaters of the Mississippi drainage, eventually postulating that a lake in northern Minnesota was the true source of that river. Although his nomination proved to be a few miles off, Thompson did establish that the Mississippi rose south of the 49th parallel, which had far-reaching effects on the North West Company's trade network.⁵

Thompson rendezvoused with company partners for the 1798 summer meetings at Grand Portage, and except

for the fact that he had failed to bring back any mammoth bones, his first expedition was considered a great success. Alexander Mackenzie reckoned that Thompson had accomplished two years of work in ten months.

After the summer meeting, Thompson created a map that he called "Bend of the Missouri River." Drawing on his own sextant work, the chart supplied the first accurate longitude for the Mandan villages at the confluence of the Knife River. The mapmaker marked each settlement in the cluster by tribe and dwelling type, and included a census of adult males. He delineated stream flow with delicate feather arrows, followed major tributaries upstream far enough to give shape to the drainage and included topographical features such as the Turtle Hills. Many of the map's details relied on carefully gathered tribal information.

Thompson's "Bend of the Missouri" found its way from the British envoy in eastern Canada to Jefferson's Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin, who delivered it into the hands of the president. Jefferson himself penciled a note on the map reiterating the coordinates figured by "Mr. Thomson Astronomer to the N.W. Company in 1798." On the back of the chart another note reads, "A sketch of the North Bend of the Missouri. This belongs to Capn. Lewis."

In the fall of 1800, David Thompson and his new mixed-blood Cree wife, Charlotte Small, were posted to Rocky Mountain House, the North West Company establishment farthest up the Saskatchewan River. In early October, he traveled up the Red Deer River to meet another Kootenai band that had crossed the Continental Divide. After trading with this group, Thompson sent two of his voyageurs back west with the tribal party in anticipation of the establishment of a trade house in the new Columbia District.

Company partner Duncan McGillivray arrived at Rocky Mountain House soon after the Kootenais and two voyageurs departed, and proceeded to set in motion an ambitious North West plan to make Alexander Mackenzie's proposed transcontinental fur business a reality. McGillivray and Thompson rode south to visit the same Blackfeet camps where Thompson had wintered as a teenager. They asked Piegan elders for permission to bring Iroquois free trappers onto the east slope of the Rockies, and then continued up the Bow River for a closer look at the mountains they would have to traverse to reach the Columbia. Both of these furmen studied natural history and reveled in the wealth of mammals they saw in the upper Bow drainage. When McGillivray shot a large Rocky Mountain bighorn sheep, Thompson carefully recorded a series of the ram's horn and body measurements in his journal.⁶

In the spring of 1801, the Nor'Westers made a serious attempt to cross the Rocky Mountains and establish their

first post in the Columbia country. With McGillivray incapacitated by rheumatism, agent James Hughes took charge of the small party; David Thompson served as the surveyor and second in command. Foundering under the unfamiliar difficulties of mountain travel, the group never made it to the Continental Divide, and in his report to the company partners, Thompson explained both the trials of spring runoff and the necessity of an expert guide. He

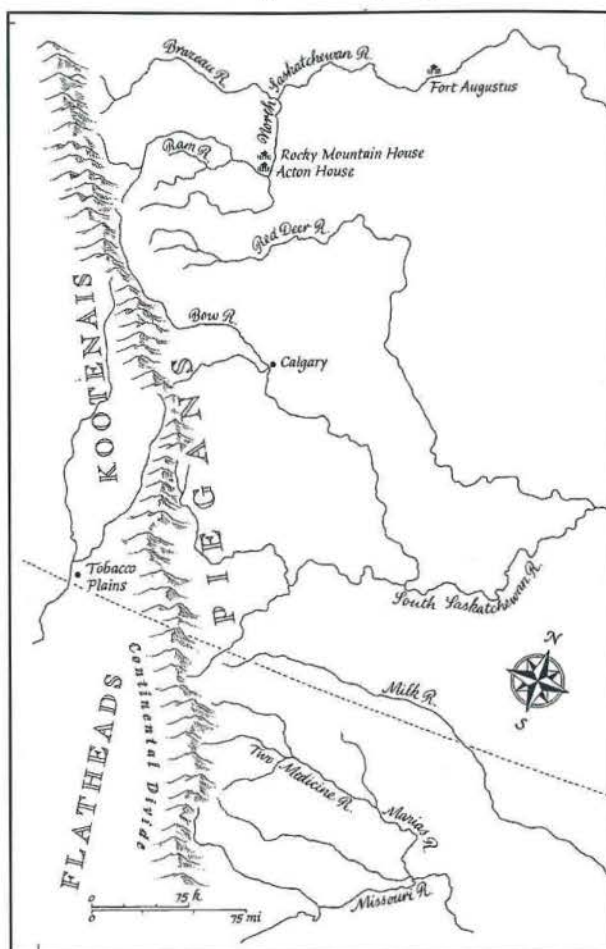
made it clear he would learn from the experience and was eager to try again.⁷

McGillivray, meanwhile, returned to the East, and in time delivered a preserved Rocky Mountain sheep specimen to Mitchill's Museum in New York. Dr. Samuel Mitchill, the museum's owner, was a U.S. congressman and acquaintance of Thomas Jefferson. A keen follower of western exploration, Mitchill recently had taken over editorship of the Philadelphia-based scientific journal *Medical Repository* from Jefferson's close friend and Corps of Discovery medical advisor, Dr. Benjamin Rush.

In an 1803 issue of *Medical Repository*, Mitchill published Duncan McGillivray's "Account of the Wild North-American Sheep." McGillivray's letter described how

during an expedition up the Bow River with Thompson, he had broken off with an Indian guide to have a shot at a small herd of animals that the Cree called "ugly reindeer." While Thompson was busy taking a meridian altitude, the two hunters brought down four mountain rams in all. Thanks to Thompson's observations, McGillivray was able to include an exact latitude and longitude for the spot where he had taken the sheep that ended up in Dr. Mitchill's museum.⁸

Thomas Jefferson certainly subscribed to *Medical Repository*. If he didn't see the article immediately, an 1803 letter from a friend called the president's attention to McGillivray's mention of the Missouri and Saskatchewan rivers in the *Medical Repository* account. No matter



Rivers of the East Slope



PAUL KANE (1810-1871) BELOW THE CASCADES, 1847. WATERCOLOR ON PAPER, 9 1/2" X 8 1/4" INCHES. STARK MUSEUM OF ART, ORANGE, TEXAS. 31.78.91

Irish-Canadian painter Paul Kane made two voyages through the Canadian northwest, in 1845 and from 1846 to 1848. He had the support of the Hudson's Bay Company on his second trip. On both journeys, Kane sketched Native Americans and documented their lives. He produced more than 100 paintings from his sketches. He often embellished his paintings, departing from the accuracy of his field sketches in favor of more dramatic scenes.

when Jefferson read the story, he would have gleaned details from it about the natural history of a new western mammal, British movements on the east slope of the Rockies and the surveying skills of David Thompson.

JEFFERSON'S CORPS OF DISCOVERY 1804-1806

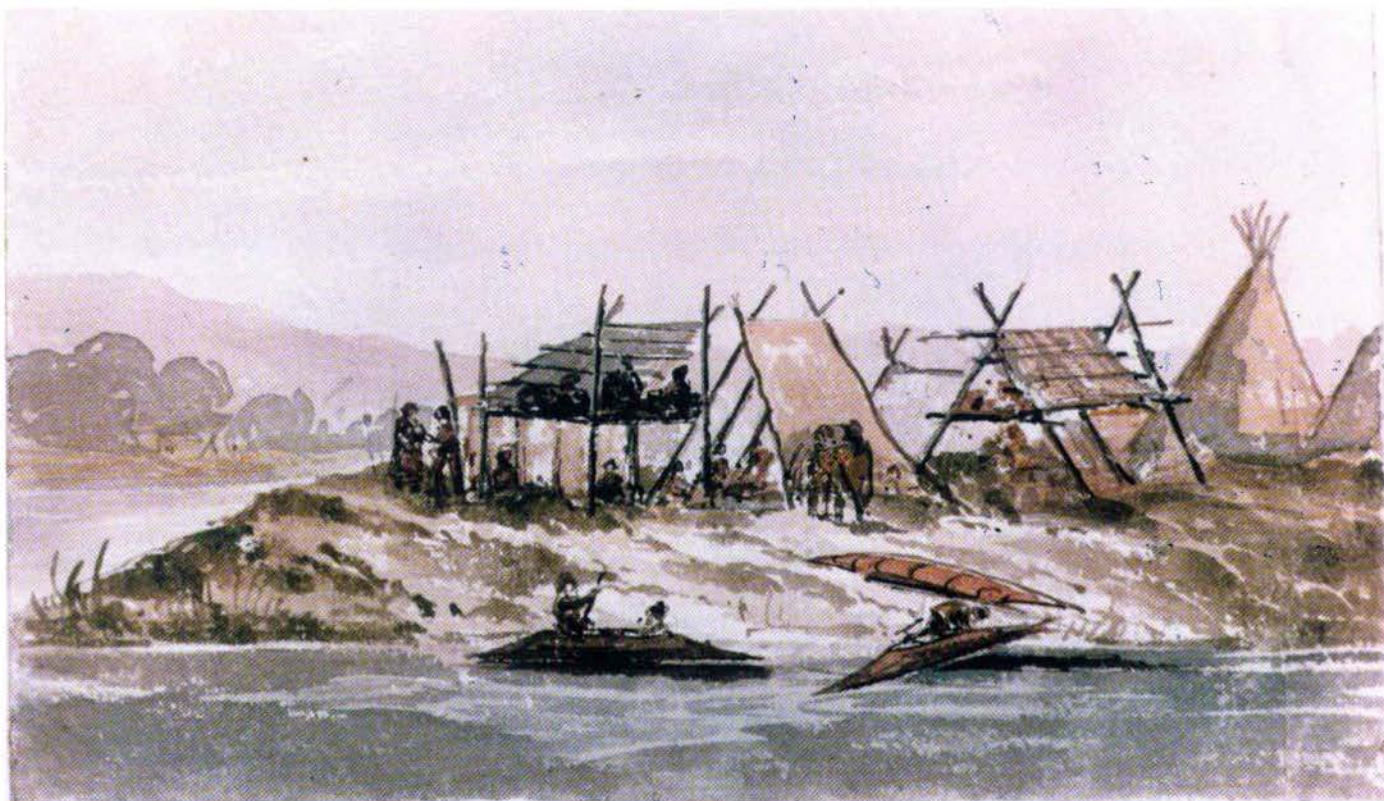
After Thompson's 1801 attempt to cross the Continental Divide, fur trade rivalries and the Napoleonic wars sidetracked North West Company efforts to establish trade in the Columbia District, as the company called its new business territory within the river's vast drainage. These same elements helped Thomas Jefferson acquire the Louisiana Territory and push ahead with his own dynamic plans to follow the Great River of the West to the Pacific.

When Lewis and Clark worked their way up the Missouri in the fall of 1804, they had in their possession a copy of David Thompson's "Bend of the Missouri" map. After the captains established their first winter camp at the Mandan villages in late fall of 1804, they had an opportunity to check the accuracy of Thompson's coordinates, censuses and topographical information recorded seven years before.

Soon after the turn of the new year, North West Company trader François-Antoine LaRocque arrived

at the villages for his company's annual trading session. During his stay, Captain William Clark told LaRocque that he disagreed with the longitude Thompson had calculated for the place, explaining he believed that the British surveyor had placed the villages too far to the west. Over the course of the winter, the captains realized that their own celestial readings were off the mark. Clark gradually accepted the greater accuracy of Thompson's work, and his finished maps of the region fall much closer to the furman's Mandan coordinates.⁹

When Lewis and Clark reached the Rockies in the fall of 1805, they experienced the same kinds of problems with mountain travel—including wider and more separate uplifts of peaks, wetter and milder weather on the west slope, a shortage of dependable grazing for horses and meat for the men—that had impeded David Thompson in the fall of 1800 and the spring of 1801. The captains eventually did make their way from the Bitterroot Valley across Lolo Pass to the Lochsa, Clearwater and Snake drainages, reaching the long-sought Columbia River at what is now Pasco, Washington. Clark made the initial formal survey of about 200 river miles along the Columbia before meshing with Lieutenant William Broughton's chart at Point Vancouver. From there, the



HENRY JAMES WARRE, INDIAN FISHING STATION ON THE KULLESPELM LAKE AND RIVER, 1845, LIBRARY AND ARCHIVES OF CANADA, OTTOWA, 1985-76-30

Sir Henry James Warre created this illustration of an Indian fishing station on August 15, 1845, near present-day Pend Oreille Lake and River. He created it with watercolor, pen and brown ink over pencil on paper. Warre served in the British army in Canada from October 1839 to August 1846. During his stay he kept a diary to record his impressions and accompany his sketches. He traveled frequently while in Canada and took advantage of several fishing trips to decorate his notebook with scenery.

corps continued to the tidewaters and established their winter camp for 1805-1806 at Fort Clatsop.

Meriwether Lewis's return across the mountains in 1806 was marked by a skirmish with Blackfeet on the Two Medicine River, very near the 49th parallel. Furmen at Rocky Mountain House soon heard the Piegan version of the confrontation, as well as information about the men and movements of the American party as they returned downstream on the Missouri.¹⁰ Tribal people heard that two of the Corps of Discovery turned around at the Yellowstone with the intention of trapping furs, and that numerous parties already had traveled up the Missouri for the same purpose.¹¹

This western movement of trappers is clear in William Clark's journal for the lower Missouri section of the Corps of Discovery's journey, and at least two of the men mentioned by Clark would later be named in David Thompson's Columbia journals.¹² Other unnamed free trappers, known to both Meriwether Lewis and David Thompson as "Illinois River men" after their point of origin, certainly drifted into the Columbia District in the wake of the American expedition as well.

Canadian free trappers had been crossing the Continental Divide north of the 49th parallel at least

since Thompson dispatched his two voyageurs west with a Kootenai band in 1800 and introduced Iroquois trappers onto the east front shortly thereafter. In the late summer of 1806, the Nor'Westers dispatched scouts up the North Fork of the Saskatchewan River to widen one existing Kootenai trail so a trading expedition could embark the following spring. Thompson arrived back at Rocky Mountain House in October 1806 to serve as head fur agent and surveyor for the push across the divide.

THE COLUMBIA DISTRICT 1807-1810

In June 1807, Thompson did lead a small expedition of 19 across the Continental Divide via the Howse and Blaeberry rivers. The party included his wife and their three small children, as well as the tribal family of at least one other voyageur. Striking the Columbia near modern Golden, British Columbia, they moved south, upstream, to the source lakes of the great river. There, Thompson established his first west slope trade house among Kootenai acquaintances who had been asking for such a post for at least 15 years.

In August, a tribal party that included Flathead Indians from the south arrived at Kootanae House. They brought news of American activity, and probably were the

deliverers of a 10-point proclamation and letter signed by two men who claimed to be officers in the U.S. Army.¹³ Although no Army records match those officers' names, both documents warned British furmen off of what they said was American land. A second letter that reached Kootanae House later that fall repeated the threat, but since no land west of the Continental Divide had yet been assigned by treaty, Thompson knew his North West Company explorations fell within British sovereign rights. He would, however, factor the activities of these shadowy Americans into his plans for the Columbia District: "This establishment of the Americans will give a new Turn to our so long delayed settling of this country ... but in my opinion the most valuable part of the Country still remains to us."¹⁴

While there has been plenty of speculation as to the identity of these letter writers, the only written documents from the Columbia District for this period were penned by Thompson, copies of his letters or speculation by British fur agents operating on the Saskatchewan. These primary writings contain only a few scattered mentions of Americans operating in the area. Beginning in November 1809, at the Saleesh House post Thompson established on the Flathead River, the surveyor traded with a free trapper who may well have been the same François Rivet who Lewis and Clark hired during their winter at the Mandan village.¹⁵ Rivet, along with other free trappers by the names of Bellaire, Bostonae, Desjarlaix and Kinville who Thompson employed, were characterized as Illinois River men who were constantly running afoul of the Blackfeet.¹⁶

In February 1810, Thompson helped François Rivet and others distribute the furs and personal effects of an American trapper he called "Mr. Courter" who had been killed in a skirmish with Blackfeet in the Hellgate area.¹⁷ This name might well match with a "Mr. Coartong" who appeared in William Clark's lower Missouri journal.¹⁸ Manuel Lisa certainly was operating in eastern Montana

by 1807, and some of the other traders Lewis and Clark met on their way down the Missouri may have made it over the Continental Divide to compete with Thompson.¹⁹ Until some undiscovered documentation appears, the story of their interaction in western Montana and northern Idaho will remain murky.

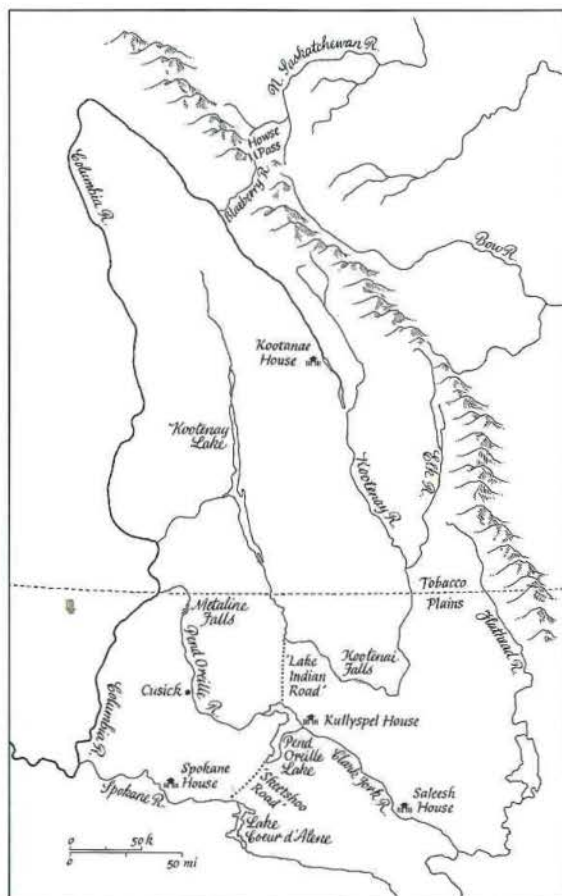
The Illinois River men were only part of the waves

of French-Canadian, Scottish, Cree, Assiniboine, Iroquois, Hawaiian and mixed-blood furmen that David Thompson introduced into the Columbia District. Although Thompson later wrote that Blackfeet raiders killed the last of the Illinois River men, many of his other employees settled down with wives from tribes of the Columbia Plateau culture. As these couples raised families, they changed the social fabric of the region. Thousands of their descendants remain in the greater Northwest, long after Thompson and other remnants of the fur trade have disappeared.

A more direct connection between Thompson and the Corps of Discovery arrived at Kootanae House in December 1807. This was a copy of a lengthy letter written by Meriwether

Lewis that described his party's journey across Lolo Pass, canoe trip down the lower Columbia, winter at Fort Clatsop, return trip across the Continental Divide and Lewis's 1806 movements up the Marias River. The North West Company's possession of this letter was not necessarily a matter of thievery or espionage; at this time many dispatches en route were seen as public documents to be published in local newspapers along the way. This particular one might have been addressed to John Hay, a friend of Lewis's who was both a Cahokia postmaster and a keen follower of western affairs. The original has never come to light, and no one has explained how the only known transcript of this important letter made its way to David Thompson at Kootanae House.²⁰

As Thompson established his circle of trade on the Columbia's eastern tributaries over the next four years,



Trade Route of the Columbia Brigade

MAP BY JACK MCMASTER FROM SOURCES OF THE RIVER BY JACK INSLEY SASQUATCH BOOKS, 2007

wintering in the field and traveling back to Lake Superior for resupply most summers, he continued to make diligent observations all over the Columbia District. He pioneered a second route across the Canadian Rockies at Athabasca Pass in January 1811, then ran a hastily built cedar plank canoe down the Columbia River from Kettle Falls to the Pacific during two historic weeks of July 1811.

The moment Thompson intersected the Corps of Discovery's route at the confluence of the Snake and the Columbia, he set up his instruments very close to the spot where Lewis and Clark took their coordinates and made a sextant shot on the position; he did the same when he crossed Lieutenant Broughton's survey for the lower river. Besides connecting the geography of the lower and upper Columbia, Thompson's journal entries also add perspective on the annual cycle of river heights, spring runoff, tribal ethnography and fish runs. For example, where William Clark canoed among spawned-out salmon carcasses near the mouth of the Yakima River in October, Thompson described a vibrant July run that Yakima people were harvesting with a carefully crafted seine eight feet wide and an astonishing 300 feet long.²¹

At the mouth of the Columbia, Thompson visited John Jacob Astor's Pacific Fur Company crew at Astoria for a few days. He crossed the river to what is now the Washington side to meet Chief Concomly and view Cape Disappointment and the Pacific Ocean. Then he placed his odd canoe back in the water and returned to the confluence of the Snake. From there he followed a tribal overland route back to his Spokane House and built another plank canoe to ascend the Columbia from Kettle Falls. When he reached the confluence of the Canoe River at the very peak of the Columbia's northern hairpin turn, he had completed the first formal survey

of the Great River of the West from source to mouth. In all, Thompson's surveys added about 900 river miles to the initial chart work of Broughton and the Corps of Discovery, and the fur agent stretched that further by making initial surveys of the Kootenai, Flathead, Clark Fork, Pend Oreille and Spokane drainages.

Thompson spent his last winter in the West at his Saleesh House post in western Montana performing his usual activities: trading and arranging furs; buying food from tribal hunters; building everything from mousetraps to waterproof chests; managing the families at the post; dealing with a wide variety of visitors; exploring the surrounding countryside as time permitted; keeping track of local natural history and weather; working out his course books for future map-making; painting watercolors of surrounding mountains; and listening to tribal elders.

In February 1812, guided by a Kootenai man he called Le Gauche, the surveyor ascended a hill in the Grant or Rattlesnake Creek drainage above the modern town of Missoula and looked south into the Bitterroot Valley. With the help of Le Gauche and the letter written by Meriwether Lewis that Thompson had copied into his journal at Kootanae House in 1807, the surveyor was able to visualize the Corps of Discovery's journey seven years before that led them from Travelers' Rest over Lolo Pass to the land of the salmon.

MAPPING THE TRAVELS

After David Thompson returned to Montreal in the summer of 1812 at age 42, he pursued an active life for three more decades, though he never traveled west of Lake of the Woods again. The Columbia District remained on his mind, however, and he revisited it constantly as he



worked his meticulous survey books into five great maps of western North America.

The first two of these large charts were undertaken for the North West Company, and Thompson completed them in 1814—the same year William Clark published his own large map of the American West that hangs today in Yale University's Beinecke Library. Both men created fascinating documents, seminal to their times. Clark's was highly accurate along the line of exploration traveled by the Corps of Discovery. To the north of the Columbia and Snake confluence, his great map depicts the upper Columbia as a rough arc that encompassed major tributaries and lakes mentioned to him by tribal informants.

David Thompson also made use of tribal information on his maps, but within the North West Company circle of trade, his many return trips and use of multiple informants allowed him to achieve a finer level of detail. Outside of that circle, Thompson was able to incorporate the work of his mentors Philip Turnor and Alexander Mackenzie, as well as his peers John Stuart, Simon Fraser, Peter Fidler and William Clark to flesh out the Athabasca, Saskatchewan, Peace, Fraser, Missouri and Columbia River drainages into the first accurate chart of this whole vast region.

The North West Company partners hung one of Thompson's first two maps in the dining hall of their Lake Superior headquarters, where westward-leaning furmen and adventurers like Ross Cox could relive their travels or dream of journeys to come.

At the upper end of the hall is a very large map of the Indian country, drawn with great accuracy by Mr. David Thompson, astronomer to the Company, and comprising all their trading posts, from Hudson's

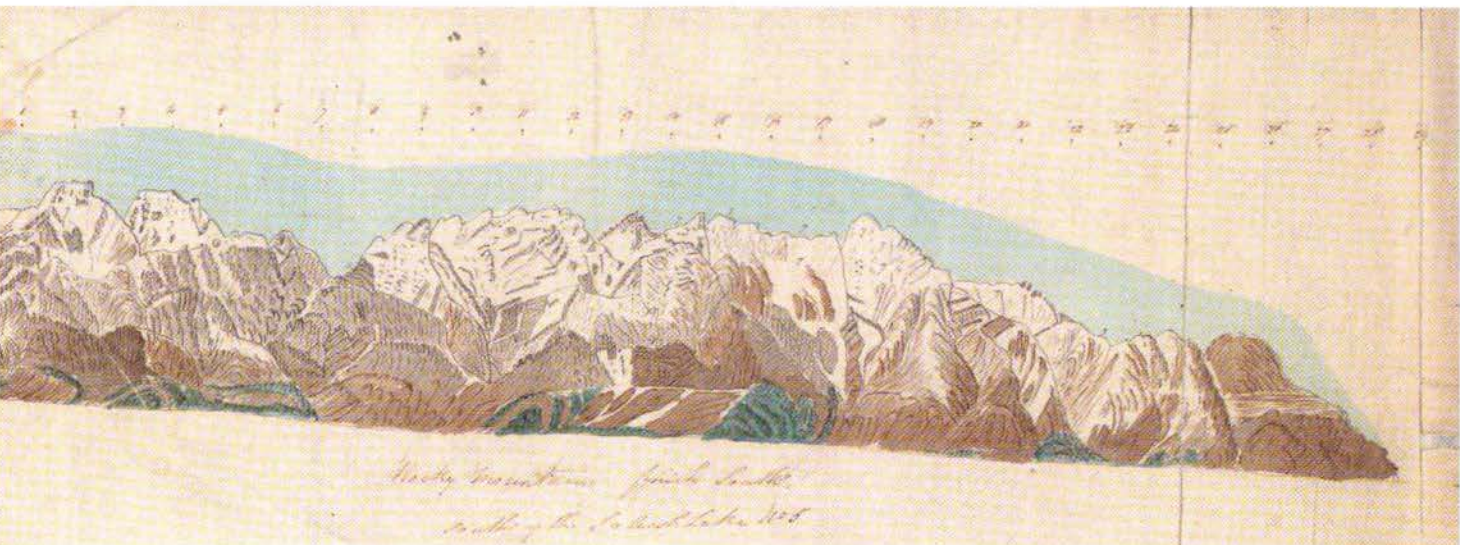
Bay to the Pacific Ocean, and from Lake Superior to Athabasca and Great Slave Lake.²²

Even after he delivered these charts, Thompson did not stop thinking about the West. Around 1816, while working as chief surveyor for the International Boundary Commission on lines through the Great Lakes region, he sent an atlas prospective to a London publisher visualizing four 4' x 10' sheets that would lay geological, topographical, natural history and tribal information over the territory covered by his original large maps. Although the proposal was turned down, Thompson doggedly pursued different versions of his idea over the next quarter century. Convinced that accurate cartographic work should be an essential element in the boundary delineation between Great Britain and the United States west of the Continental Divide, he dispatched versions of his new maps to London in 1823 and again in 1843. Boundary negotiators apparently ignored them, and Thompson's vision of a border that ran from the 49th to the 47th parallel along the Continental Divide, cut west to its juncture with the Columbia River near present-day Vantage, Washington, then followed the middle of the river's course to the Pacific, was never realized.

The most complete of Thompson's charts, called "Map of North America from 84° West to the Pacific Ocean," was far ahead of its time in the way it layered information onto accurate river courses and watersheds. Prominent among its features are traditional tribal names for creeks and rivulets that feed the major rivers; descriptions

During the spring of 1812, Thompson made a couple of surveying journeys. He traveled to the site of present-day Missoula, Montana, to see the route traveled by the Lewis and Clark Expedition and later to the south end of Flathead Lake. Of this drawing of the Rocky Mountains he wrote, "... I believe the only drawings that have been made of these Mountains."

DAVID THOMPSON, SALEESH MOUNTAINS, 1812; THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, F 2413-4



of landscape and ethnographic features carefully inked into place; dotted lines for tribal routes that connected different drainages; and a bold yellow line that traced the route of his fellow explorers, Lewis and Clark, on their own journey to the Great River of the West.²³

Jack Nisbet writes about human and natural history from his home in Spokane, Washington. His books include Visible Bones, Sources of the River and The Mapmaker's Eye. He is scheduled to be a presenter at the 2008 LCTHF Annual Meeting in Great Falls, Montana.

NOTES

¹ David Thompson, "Narrative of the Establishment on the Sources of the Columbia, Addressed to Mr. Duncan McGillivray, Director of the N.W. Company, and the Gentlemen of the upper Fort des Prairies," June 22, 1807, Royal Commonwealth Society Library, Cambridge, England.

² David Thompson, *Travel Manuscripts*, May 9, 1811, David Thompson Papers, MS 21, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.

³ Peter Fidler, *Journal*, Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg, Manitoba. Entry for December 30, 1792.

⁴ David Thompson, *Notebooks*, David Thompson Collection, Archives of Ontario, Toronto, Notebook 7, January 1798.

⁵ David G. Malaher, "David Thompson's Surveys of the Missouri/Mississippi Territory in 1797-98." Paper presented to the Ninth North American Fur Trade Conference & Ruperts Land Colloquium, St. Louis, Missouri, May 25, 2006.

⁶ David Thompson, *Notebooks*, Notebook 13, November 13, 1800. "... this animal is remarkably agile, and jumps both well and sure; his make is strong, at the same time light, his Hoofs pointed, & somewhat soft ... 3 of them were killed by the Indian & a large old Buck by Mr. McGillivray, which we skinned round—we found their Meat to be exceedingly sweet & tender and moderately fat."

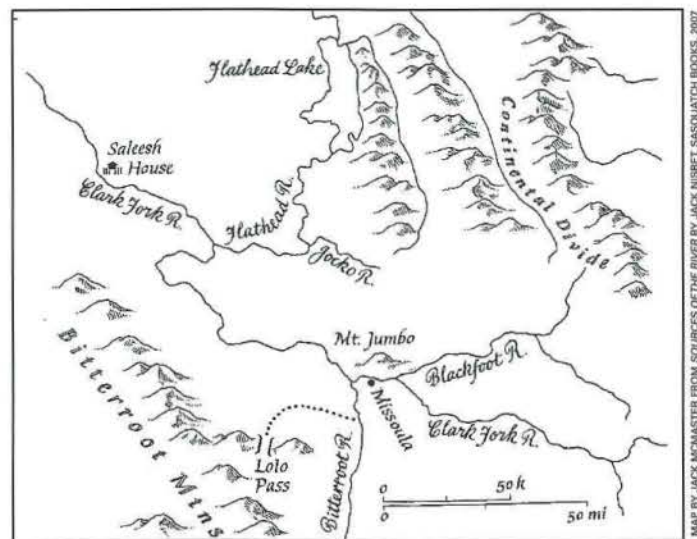
⁷ David Thompson, "Account of an Attempt to Cross the Rocky Mountains by Mr. James Hughes, Nine Men & Myself, on the Part of the N.W. Company, 1800," Vancouver Public Library, Vancouver, British Columbia.

⁸ Duncan McGillivray, "Account of the Wild North-American Sheep," *Medical Repository*, Vol. 6, Issue 3 (1803), p. 21.

⁹ François-Antoine LaRocque, "The Missouri Journal, 1804-1805," in L.R. Masson, ed., *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* (New York: Antiquarian Press, 1889, reprint 1960), 2 vols. Entry for January 30, 1805.

¹⁰ James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp. 238-243.

¹¹ On August 8, 1806, Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor and his detachment caught up with William Clark's contingent just below the mouth of the Yellowstone River. At that point, Pryor discovered he had left his saddlebags at the previous night's campsite. Clark sent Pryor and Private William Bratton back to recover them, which they succeeded in doing. Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 285. Perhaps a tribal scout or another source shadowing the expedition saw them leave for their recovery mission and



Winter Journeys around Saleesh House

believed they intended to trap furs, but did not wait to see them retrace their route downriver.

¹² William Clark's "Mr. Coartong" is probably David Thompson's "Courter" or "Courtin." Clark's "Reevea" is probably Thompson's "Rive" and "Michel Rivet." See Jack Nisbet, *The Mapmaker's Eye* (Pullman: University of Washington Press, 2005), p. 81.

¹³ The American who claimed to be a U.S. Army officer gave the name of Pinch or Perch. This person has never been identified, but New Yorker John McClellan (or McClellan) "is as likely a candidate as any." Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), Vol. 8, p. 364, n. 2.

¹⁴ Thompson, "Narrative," August 13, 1807.

¹⁵ Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 311 and p. 316, n. 1. Clark's entry for August 21, 1806.

¹⁶ Moulton, *Ibid.*, p. 364, n. 2; Alvin M. Josephy, Jr., *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965), pp. 358-360; and Harry M. Majors, "John McClellan in the Mountain Rockies, 1807," *Northwest Discovery*, Vol. 2, Issue 9 (November-December 1981), pp. 554-630.

¹⁷ Thompson, *Notebooks*, Notebook 22.

¹⁸ Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 288 and p. 289, n. 2. Clark's entry for August 11, 1806.

¹⁹ Majors, "John McClellan," pp. 554-630.

²⁰ Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, 2 volumes (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), Vol. 1, p. 343. Jackson also suggests that the recipient could have been William Henry Harrison, governor of the Indiana Territory and later, the ninth president of the United States.

²¹ William Moreau, *David Thompson's Writings of his Travels: The Genetics of an Emerging Exploration Text*, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1997, pp. iii and 264.

²² Ross Cox, *The Columbia River*, Edgar I. Stewart and Jane K. Stewart, eds. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), p. 332.

²³ See Thompson's map on the cover of this issue.

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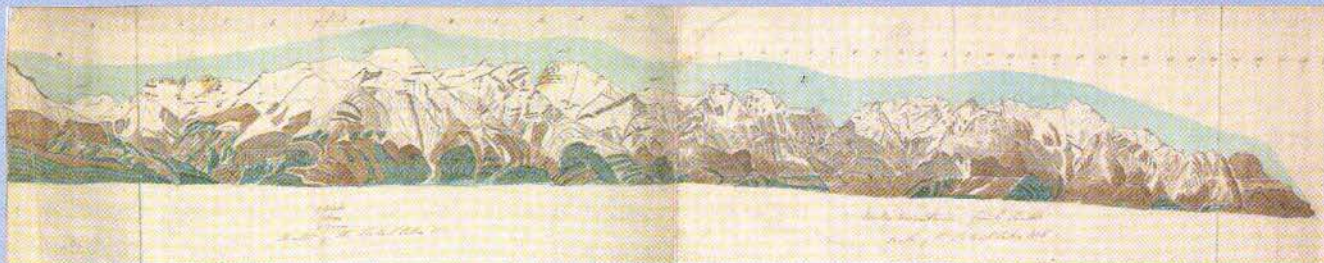
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DAVID THOMPSON, SALEESH MOUNTAINS, 1812, THOMAS FISHER RARE BOOK LIBRARY, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO, F.2413-4

MONTANA ZOOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES THROUGH THE EYES OF LEWIS AND CLARK

Their discoveries were many, but their credit minimal

BY KENNETH C. WALCHECK

When Lewis and Clark entered present-day Montana on April 27, 1805, the Missouri River was a pristine, snag-toothed, twisting ribbon of water running freely and wild as it passed through game-rich verdant bottomlands—truly an American Serengeti. Upper Missouri River country fixed their attention with its pure wildness.

Lewis and Clark provided the first reliable natural history documentation of the upper Missouri River drainage, including information on geographical regions, abundance, habits and distribution of animals. Their journals bulge with biological information, fruits of close and continued attention to daily events. The explorers spent approximately five months in Montana in 1805 and 1806 and can be credited with documenting 20 vertebrates (four mammals, six birds, five reptiles and five fish) new to science.

Lewis and Clark may have documented several other species, but their notes lack sufficient data to determine what species were observed or whether they actually observed them at all.

Many of the species Lewis and Clark recorded were then unknown to science, meaning they had not been formally described, classified and named in scientific journals. Unfortunately, even when Lewis, the

expedition's resident naturalist, attempted to provide taxonomic information necessary for the scientific record, he sometimes omitted important diagnostic details and his use of common names could confuse as much as clarify. Often his journal entries include poor spelling and end in hasty sentences, but within them are scores of passages of mind-dilating information.

Many of their animal descriptions sound quaint and

some simply appear odd to today's readers.¹ Terms such as "ternspit dog" and "Brister blue shot" are unfamiliar, but in using them to describe, respectively, a badger and a species of ground squirrel, Lewis was confident that most readers of his day would know what he was talking about. The same goes for "Louservia," "moonox," "braroe" and "dommanicker"—

his terms, respectively, for a

bobcat, marmot, badger and a breed of domestic fowl. The often inconsistent and garbled spelling of such terms makes deciphering them an even greater challenge, but as noted by scholar Albert Furtwangler, the names given by Lewis and Clark were part of their unique "language of discovery."

Many researchers have focused attention on the contributions Lewis and Clark made to the documentation of plants and animals unknown to the scientific community. Each has contributed additional dimensions



swift fox (*Vulpes velox*)

MONTANA FISH, WILDLIFE & PARKS

to the explorers' discoveries. Contributions from natural history authorities such as Elliot Coues, Raymond D. Burroughs and Paul Russell Cutright have added greater depth to the zoological discoveries of the explorers.²

It seems futile to attempt a definitive list of species "discovered" by Lewis and Clark, though many have tried. The following discussion aims to update binomial taxonomic name changes to their zoological discoveries in Montana, correct erroneous identifications credited to them and list their discoveries in Montana that have not been included in previous efforts by researchers. Conjectural discoveries not sufficiently described by Lewis and Clark to make discovery possible are not mentioned.

MAMMALS DISCOVERED IN MONTANA

SWIFT FOX, *Vulpes velox*. Described by Thomas Say (1823). Observation dates: July 6 and 8, 1805, and July 26, 1806.

The expedition's June 13, to July 14, 1805, stay at the Great Falls of the Missouri proved to be full of outstanding zoological discoveries. In due time, zoologists would recognize several new mammals in Lewis and Clark's writings, among them the swift fox, which Lewis wrote about on July 8, 1805, and identified as a kit fox. "... it's colour was of a lighter brown, it's years proportionately larger, and the tale not so large ... and not as large as the common domestic cat. their talons appear longer than any species of fox I ever saw ..."³

The sighting of the cat-sized canine most likely was a serendipitous discovery since swift foxes are nocturnal animals. The observations probably occurred on warm, sunny days when the foxes were sunning themselves close to their dens.

Early taxonomists concluded that there were two species of small western foxes, the swift fox (*Vulpes velox*) and the kit fox (*Vulpes macrotis*). Today, some biologists believe that both should be treated as one species. However, there are physical and ecological differences between the two. The kit is a desert fox, while the swift prefers the northern high plains.

The term "kit fox" already was in common use by British fur traders when Lewis used it. Fur trader Alexander Henry listed 117 kit foxes among the furs

shipped from 1801 to 1806.⁴ Lewis noted in his April 14, 1805, journal entry that the Assiniboin Indians traded "large and small wolves" and "small fox skins" (swift fox) to British fur companies for small kegs of rum.⁵

THIRTEEN-LINED GROUND SQUIRREL, *Spermophilus tridecemlineatus*. Described by J.A. Allen (1874). Observation date: July 8, 1805.

The same day that Lewis described the swift fox in his diary he wrote, "the men also brought me a living ground squirrel ... it's principal colour is a redish brown but is marked longitudinally with a much greater number of black or dark bron stripes; the spaces between which is marked by ranges of pure white circular spots, about the size of a brister blue shot."⁶ The rodent's brownish back actually bears 13 alternately dotted and solid stripes, which serve to camouflage the animal.

It was odd, according to Burroughs, that this wide-ranging ground squirrel was not mentioned by any of the expedition's journalists until they reached the limits of its range in today's western Montana.⁷ Perhaps they were not viewed earlier because they rarely exhibit the same type of colonialism as the Richardson's ground squirrel (*Spermophilus richardsonii*) and the Columbian ground squirrel (*Spermophilus columbianus*), making observation more difficult.



bushy-tailed woodrat (*Neotoma cinerea*)

BUSHY-TAILED WOODRAT, *Neotoma cinerea*. Described by naturalist George Ord (1815). Observation date: July 2, 1805.

A third mammal recorded and described by Lewis during the expedition's month-long portage around the Great Falls of the Missouri was the bushy-tailed woodrat. Later investigators had no difficulty classifying this animal based on Lewis's description of the rodent. His journal entry provides information on the woodrat's habitat, nesting sites and food sources:

it was somewhat larger than the common European rat, of lighter colour; the body and outer part of the legs and head of a light lead colour, the belly and inner side of the legs white as were also the feet and ears. the toes were longer and the ears much larger than the common rat; the ears uncovered with hair. the eyes were black and prominent the whiskers very long and full. the tail was rather longer than the body and covered with fine fur or poil of the

same length and colour of the back. the fur was very silky close and short. I have frequently seen the nests of these rats in cliffs of rocks and hollow trees but never before saw one of them. they feed very much on the fruit and seed of the prickly pear; or at least I have seen large quantities of the hulls of that fruit lying about their holes and in their nests.⁸

Naturalist George Ord officially named and classified the bushy-tailed woodrat 10 years later. Ord undoubtedly was familiar with Lewis and Clark's journals edited by Nicholas Biddle and Paul Allen in 1814. He also relied on Lewis and Clark's descriptions for other zoological discoveries: pronghorn, eastern woodrat, western gray squirrel, Columbian ground squirrel and grizzly bear.

SHIRAS MOOSE, *Alces alces shirasi*. Described by Edward Nelson (1914). Possible sightings: May 10, 1805, and July 7, 1806.

Although Lewis and Clark did not personally observe moose in Montana, journal entries include mention of them on two occasions. On May 10, 1805, Sergeant John Ordway wrote that hunters had observed "Several moose deer which was much larger than the common deer and the first we have Seen."⁹ Ordway's journal entry could refer to either mule deer or moose since both species are larger than the common, or white-tailed, deer. Although the short-grass prairie of this region seems to be atypical habitat for moose, an 1832 report mentioned a moose being killed near the confluence of the Milk and Missouri rivers.¹⁰

Today, moose occasionally wander through this area of northeastern Montana, drifting down from the Cypress Hills in Canada's prairie province of Saskatchewan.

On July 7, 1806, near Landers Fork in western Montana's Lewis and Clark County, Lewis wrote, "Reubin Fields wounded a moose deer ..."¹¹ The expedition's observation of the moose would be credited in 1974 as that of a new subspecies, *Alces alces shirasi*. During the last continental Wisconsin ice age, the Shiras moose was isolated from other Rocky Mountain moose, paving the way for a new subspecies. Compared with other North American moose, it is medium-sized and pale in color. Currently, the Shiras moose is found in the mountains of southwest Alberta, southeast British Columbia, Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah and Colorado. The term "Shirasi" stems from the name of George Shiras who explored

Yellowstone National Park from 1908 to 1910 and found abundant moose in the area.

BIRDS DISCOVERED IN MONTANA¹²

Listings of Lewis and Clark's bird discoveries vary considerably, and many of the species often listed are questionable. Virginia C. Holmgren's article, "Birds Observed by the Lewis and Clark Expedition" in the May 1984 issue of *We Proceeded On* provides the most comprehensive listing of the expedition's avian observations. It contains 134 species including 34 new discoveries. Paul Russell Cutright, in contrast, lists 51 discoveries. Inadequate descriptions, improper or missing taxonomic classifications, and Lewis and Clark's use of folk and other confusing names cause problems in providing proper identification of their observations. Even experienced ornithologists are likely to be confused by a good share of Lewis and Clark's descriptions.



Shiras moose (*Alces alces shirasi*)

LESSER CANADA GOOSE, *Branta Canadensis parvipes* or CACKLING GOOSE, *Branta hutchinsii hutchinsii*. Observation date: May 5, 1805.

Just west of the Poplar River in Roosevelt County, Lewis recorded one of the smaller types of migratory Canada geese that pass through Montana:

saw ... a small species of geese which differ considerably from the common canadian goose; their neck head and beak are considerably thicker, shorter and larger than the other in proportion to it's size, they are also more than a third smaller, and their note more like that of the brant or a young goose which has not perfectly acquired his notes, in all other respects they are the same in colour habits and the numbers of feathers in the tale ...¹³

Waterfowl authorities recognize 11 North American races of Canada and cackling geese, ranging from the tiny, dark colored, three- to four-pound cackler to the pale-colored giant Canada goose, which can weigh up to 18 pounds.¹⁴ Consideration of species was not a part of deliberations during the Lewis and Clark era because taxonomic subdivisions had not been developed. Lewis's discovery is recognized as either the lesser Canada goose or Hutchins's cackling goose. Based on Montana's historical and current flyway routes, the specific location, time of year and consultation with Montana flyway waterfowl biologists, Lewis most likely observed the lesser Canada goose,

which has a proportionately shorter neck than the other races and often is referred to as the short-necked goose.¹⁵

LEWIS'S WOODPECKER, *Melanerpes lewisi*. Described by Alexander Wilson (1811). Observation date: July 20, 1805.

A day after passing through the Missouri River's Gates of the Mountains, Lewis made a discovery that in later years would add luster to his name. "I saw a black woodpecker today about the size of the lark woodpecker [northern flicker] as black as a crow. I indevoured to get a shoot at it but could not. it is a distinct species of woodpecker; it has a long tail and flys a good deel like the jay bird."¹⁶ Lewis also observed the "black woodpecker" on August 2, 1805, while traveling through the Jefferson Valley. Lewis more accurately described the species (with specimen in hand) on May 27, 1806, while the expedition was at Camp Chopunnish by the Clearwater River in Idaho.

Lewis's prepared study skin from the collected specimen eventually found a home in the Charles Wilson Peale Museum in Philadelphia.

SAGE GROUSE, *Centrocercus urophasianus*. Described by Charles Lucien Bonaparte (1827). Observation date: June 5, 1805.

When time, circumstance and interest permitted, Lewis did an exemplary job not only of providing a detailed description of a species, but also of commenting on significant points of interest that might be missed by others. For example, Lewis's journal entries on his "cock of the plains" or sage grouse discovery in the sage brush plains of the Marias River, which he further described on March 2, 1806, from Fort Clatsop, include an excellent physical description of the grouse (enhanced by Clark's sketch of the bird) and information on food habits, taste palatability, gizzard anatomy and flight patterns. The only points he missed were the

grouse's chuckles in flight and the flocking habits of family groups.

LONG-BILLED CURLEW, *Numenius americanus*. Described by Johann Matthäus Bechstein (1812). Observation date: June 22, 1805.

On June 22, 1805, near the Great Falls of the Missouri,

Lewis wrote, "Saw a great number of buffaloe in the plains, also immence quantities of little birds and the large brown curloo; ..." ¹⁷ Since they observed long-billed curlews on seven occasions in Montana, it is surprising that Lewis, who had a good ear for bird songs, did not mention the long-drawn, clear *curl-e-e-e-u-u-u* call that lasts about three seconds. It also is strange that he did not mention the bird's long, down-curved bill or the male curlew's spectacular territorial displays and its loud ringing calls when flying over its nesting territory.

DUSKY GROUSE, *Dendragapus obscurus*. Described by Thomas Say (1823). Observation date: August 1, 1805.

Lewis observed the grouse he referred to as the "large black pheasant" or the "dark brown pheasant" while ascending the Jefferson River.

this bird is fully a third larger than the common phesant of the Atlantic states. it's form is much the same. it is booted nearly to the toes and the male has not the tufts of long black feathers on the sides of the neck which are so conspicuous in those of the Atlantic ... the feathers of the tail are reather longer than most of

our phesant or pattridge as they are Called in the Eastern States; are the same in number or eighteen and all nearly of the same length ... the flesh of this bird is white and agreeably flavored."¹⁸ Although this discovery was new to science, Thomas Say later took credit for it.

PINYON JAY, *Gymnorhinus cyanocephalus*. Described by



sage grouse (*Centrocercus urophasianus*)



long-billed curlew (*Numenius americanus*)



dusky grouse (*Dendragapus obscurus*)

MONTANA FISH, WILDLIFE & PARKS

MONTANA FISH, WILDLIFE & PARKS

MONTANA FISH, WILDLIFE & PARKS

Maximilian Alexander Philipp Prince of Weid-Neuwied (1841). Observation date: August 1, 1805.

Lewis's record of a jay-type bird in the vicinity of the modern Lewis and Clark Caverns says, "I also saw near the top of the mountain among some scattering pine a blue bird about the size of the common robbin ... their note is loud and frequently repeated both flying and when at rest and is char-âh', char'-âh, char-âh', as nearly as letters can express it."¹⁹ The char-âh calling sequence may have been the bird's chattering notes. Ornithologist Roger Tory Peterson identified the call as a "high nasal cawing *kaa-eh*, *karn-eh*, with a descending inflection and with a mewling effect."²⁰

Maximilian Prince of Weid observed the pinyon jay in 1833 as he explored the Missouri River up to Fort McKenzie. He described the jay in his book *Travels in the Interior of North America* and was credited with its discovery.

WESTERN MEADOWLARK, *Sturnella neglecta*. Described by John James Audubon (1844). Observation date: June 22, 1805.

Lewis wrote in his journal that the note of the western meadowlark differed considerably from that of the eastern species (*Sturnella magna*). The western species sings a longer and more tuneful song than his eastern cousin. It is a freer and wilder song characterized by seven to 10 penetrating flutelike notes, gurgling and double-noted, unlike the clear whistles of the eastern meadowlark.

REPTILES DISCOVERED IN MONTANA

Lewis and Clark's recorded observations of reptiles in Montana, with the exception of the prairie rattlesnake (*Crotalus viridis*) received little attention in their journals.²¹ It appears that their encounters with other reptiles were few and far between, and some probably were regarded as familiar species. Biologist Keith R. Benson noted of the journals, "Most references to reptiles

and amphibians are of an incidental nature and, therefore appear to be subsidiary information to the main body of knowledge compiled by the expedition."²²



painting turtle (*Chrysemys picta*)



western hog-nosed snake (*Heterodon nasicus*)



western spiny softshell turtle (*Trionyx spiniferous hartwegi*)

WESTERN SPINY SOFTSHELL TURTLE, *Trionyx spiniferous hartwegi*. Described by Charles Alexandre Lesueur (1827). Observation dates: May 26, and June 25, 1805, and July 29, 1806.

The first reptilian discovery in Montana occurred May 26, 1805, near Bullwhacker Creek in Blaine County. The western spiny softshell turtle is an animated pancake-shaped turtle with a soft, pliable shell, which has dark markings in the upper portion. Since Lewis mentioned the word "soft" regarding the shell in his entry, he undoubtedly was familiar with the eastern species of smooth softshell turtle (*Trionyx muticus*).

PAINTED TURTLE, *Chrysemys picta*. Taxonomic classifier unknown. Observation date: June 25, 1805.

Lewis observed "... a number of water tarripens," in the vicinity of the upper Missouri River portage camp.²³ A terrapin refers to any of various edible North American turtles living in fresh or brackish water. Lewis possibly was referring to the diamondback terrapins, occupants of the eastern coastal marshes. He may have been referring to the western box turtle (*Terrapene ornata*), which is common in Missouri and adjacent states. The western box turtle,

however, is not native to Montana. Lewis most assuredly observed the western painted turtle, which is common throughout the state, including in the Great Falls area.

WESTERN HOG-NOSED SNAKE, *Heterodon nasicus*. Described by Spencer Fullerton Baird and Charles Girard (1852). Observation date: July 23, 1805.

"I saw a black snake today about two feet long the Belly of which was as black as any other part or as jet itself. it had 128 scuta on the belly 63 on the tail," Lewis wrote.²⁴

Although Lewis's description of the snake is brief, the key descriptive words, black and belly, indicate this was a western hog-nosed snake, and a new discovery. This is the only North American snake that displays a large amount of black pigment on the undersides and tail. It does seem unusual that Lewis, who had a sharp eye for detail, did not mention the snake's conspicuous upturned snout and its characteristic behavioral trait when threatened, of spreading its head and neck and striking with open mouth, but seldom biting. In the event this scare tactic fails, it may "play possum" by turning its belly up, thrashing violently, then lying still with mouth open and tongue lolling.

WANDERING GARTER SNAKE, *Thamnopsis elegans vagrans*. Described by Spencer Fullerton Baird and Charles Girard (1853). Observation date: July 24, 1805.

Lewis mentioned seeing "a great number of snakes" swimming in the water between Three Forks and Toston in Broadwater County. Based on his remarks, "much like the garter snake" and "striped with black and brownish yellow on the back and sides,"²⁵ the striped snake Lewis described appears to be a wandering garter snake, a subspecies of the western terrestrial garter snake (*Thamnopsis elegans*). The red-sided garter snake (*Thamnopsis sirtalis parietalis*) and the plains garter snake (*Thamnopsis radix*) also live in Montana, but the plains garter snake's range is confined primarily to eastern Montana. Based on Montana State University garter snake collections, the wandering garter snake appears to be what Lewis observed.

SHORT-HORNED LIZARD, *Phrynosoma douglassii*. Described by Thomas Bell (1833). Observation date: Between June 13, 1805, and July 3, 1805.

During the expedition's stay at Camp Chopunnish in Idaho, Lewis wrote on May 29, 1806, a detailed description of what he called the "horned lizard," which

is now known as the short-horned lizard. In his journal entry he wrote, "they are numerous about the falls of the Missouri ..." ²⁶

AMPHIBIANS

Montana has 18 species of amphibians: two spadefoot frogs, four toads, three tree frogs and chorus frogs, four true frogs and five salamanders. Lewis and Clark did not mention a single amphibian observation in Montana. Certainly there were many opportunities for amphibian observation, including hearing early morning and evening vocalizations.

FISH DISCOVERED IN MONTANA

Raymond Burroughs and Paul Russell Cutright appear to have had insufficient background on western fish species and at times, relied heavily on Elliott Coues's taxonomic classifications.

CUTTHROAT TROUT, *Oncorhynchus clarki lewisi*. Described by Charles Girard (1836). Observation date: June 13, 1805.

During the expedition's delay at the Great Falls of the Missouri, Private Silas Goodrich caught several robust trout between

16 and 23 inches long, with a slash of red under their gill plates. The fish clearly were cutthroat trout, later designated *Salmo clarki* after William Clark. Taxonomists have since renamed the cutthroat *Oncorhynchus clarki*. The subspecies caught by Goodrich was the westslope cutthroat (*Oncorhynchus clarki lewisi*).

FLATHEAD CHUB, *Platygobia gracilis* and GOLDEYE, *Hidon alosoides*. Described by Constantine Samuel Rafinesque (1819). Observation date: June 11, 1805.

Lewis recorded two new fish species caught near the mouth of the Marias River on June 11, 1805.

Goodrich who is remarkably fond of fishing caught several dozen fish of two different species— one about



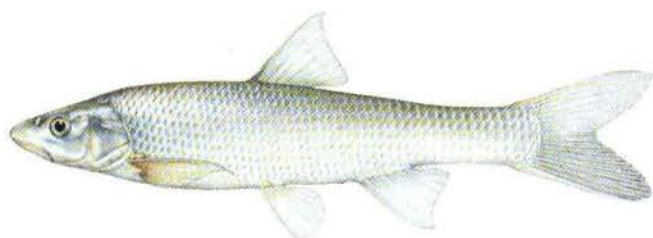
short-horned lizard (*Phrynosoma douglassii*)

MONTANA FISH, WILDLIFE & PARKS

9 inches long of white colour round and in form and fins resembles the white chub common to the Potomac; this fish has a smaller head than the Chubb and the mouth is beset both above and below with a rim of fine sharp teeth; the eye moderately large, the pupil dark and the iris which is narrow is of a yellowish brown colour, they bite at meat or grasshoppers. this is a soft fish, not very good, tho' the flesh is of a fine white colour.²⁷

He described the second fish as having "precisely the form" and being "about the size of the well known fish called the *Hickory Shad* or *old wife*, with the exception of the teeth, a rim of which garnish the outer edge of both the upper and lower jaw; the tongue and pallet are also beset with long sharp teeth bending inwards, the eye of this fish is very large, and the iris of a silvery colour and wide."²⁸

Elliott Coues identified the chub-like fish as a sauger (*Stizostedion canadense*) in 1893 based on its geographic location, and some subsequent writers have considered his determination conclusive. Further interpretation

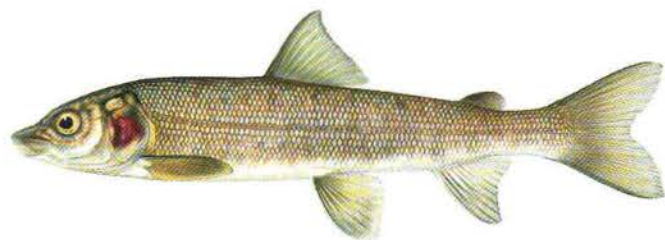


flathead chub (*Platygobia gracilis*)

suggests that this fish was a flathead chub (*Platygobia gracilis*), which commonly is found in this stretch of the Missouri River. The sauger's body color ranges from olive-gray to brown on the back, not white, and it has three or four large dark blotches extending along its flanks. The front dorsal fin of the adult sauger has stout, sharp spines and a polka-dot pattern of black spots. The sauger has two dorsal fins, while a chub has one. The sauger also has large, smoky, silvery eyes. Lewis was a careful observer and surely would have noted such features. His comment that the fish's flesh was "soft" and "not very good" is at odds with what is known about the sauger, whose flesh is firm and of superior flavor. It is questionable whether sauger ever have been in the Missouri above the Great Falls, according to Montana fisheries biologists.²⁹

The second fish described by Lewis was the goldeye, a species resembling the hickory shad and other eastern coastal members of the herring family.

MOUNTAIN WHITEFISH, *Prosopium williamsoni*. Described by Sir John Richardson. Observation dates: August 3, and 19, 1805.



mountain whitefish (*Prosopium williamsoni*)

"The fish of this part of the river are trout and a species of scale fish of a while [white] colour and a remarkable small long mouth which one of our men inform us are the same with the species called in the Eastern states *bottlenose*,"³⁰ Lewis wrote on August 3, 1805. He gave a more complete description of the "bottlenose" on August 19th at the Beaverhead River when expedition members, using a willow brush drag,³¹ captured a large number of fish, which included cutthroat trout and "a kind of mullet about 16 Inhes long ..."³²

Coues, keying on the words "bottlenose" and "mullet" mistakenly identified the fish on August 3rd and 19th as northern sucker (*Catostomus catostomus*), today's longnose sucker. Coues probably was unaware that the whitefish's short head is abruptly curved, with an overhanging and somewhat pointed snout. A more careful examination of the species described by Lewis indicates that it was a mountain whitefish, having small scales, a long nose overhanging its jaw, no teeth, small mouth, bluish back and white belly.

ARCTIC GRAYLING, *Thymallus arcticus*. Described by Edward Drinker Cope (1874). Observation date: August 22, 1805.

The Arctic grayling frequently has been misidentified as a steelhead trout (*Oncorhynchus mykiss*), a type of rainbow trout that spawns in freshwater rivers, but spends most of its life in the ocean. Lewis described the arctic grayling at Camp Fortunate on the headwaters of the upper Beaverhead River. Burroughs concluded that



Arctic grayling (*Thymallus arcticus*)

the fish Lewis described might have been a steelhead trout. The problem is that steelhead are native to the Pacific watershed, and the fish seined on August 22, 1805, were caught on the Atlantic side of the Continental Divide. Burroughs mistakenly thought that Lewis was on the Lemhi River, the Pacific side of the divide, which certainly contributed to his confusion.

Using a brush drag, some of the men seined 528 fish that day. The catch consisted primarily of cutthroats along with “ten or a douzen of whte speceis of trout.” These fish were “of a silvery colour except on the back and head, where they are of a bluish cast.”³³

The fish described was the immature fluvial form of the Arctic grayling described by fisheries biologist C.M. Kaya.³⁴ The grayling’s most conspicuous feature—a large sail-like dorsal fin—is lacking in subadults, which would explain its absence on the fish collected by the expedition. Although the grayling was described in 1776 from specimens collected in Siberia, Lewis’s documentation appears to be the first in North America.

MOUNTAIN SUCKER, *Catostomus platyrhynchus*. Described by Edward Drinker Cope (1894). Observation date: July 16, 1806.

When Clark’s eastbound party descended the Yellowstone river in 1806, he recorded that “one of the men brought me a fish of a species I am unacquainted.”³⁵ The fish, caught downstream from modern Livingston, was eight inches long with a mouth like that of a sturgeon (i.e., relatively small and underslung, for feeding on the bottom), and possessed a red streak running the length of each flank from gills to tail. Clark clearly described the mountain sucker. The particular specimen must have been a male in spawning colors.³⁶

LITTLE CREDIT FOR THEIR DISCOVERIES

The Lewis and Clark Expedition did not receive credit for many of its zoological discoveries across the trail, including those in Montana. Lewis and Clark did not publish their journals until many years after the conclusion of the expedition. By 1809 when Lewis died, an editor still had not been selected and Lewis had not prepared a single sentence for the publisher.

After Lewis’s death, Clark persuaded Nicholas Biddle to publish the journals. In 1814, an abbreviated edition of the journals, *The History of the Expedition Under the Commands of Captains Lewis and Clark* was published without the inclusion of a great deal of natural history notations. In 1815, the journals were deposited at the

American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, where they remained until 1892 when Elliott Coues resurrected them.

During the 75-year period that the journals sat in the society’s files, many of the species discovered by Lewis and Clark were “discovered” by others unaware that the



mountain sucker (*Catostomus platyrhynchus*)

explorers already had documented them. It is apparent that if Lewis actively had pursued his goal of writing the accounts of the expedition, then he, instead of others, would today be recognized as the discoverer of many specimens mentioned in the journals.

Coues’s four-volume edition of the journals, published in 1893, included extensive natural history footnotes and was well received by the scientific community. Reuben Gold Thwaites prepared an eight-volume edition of the journals in 1904 and finally, after 100 years, the complete journals were published.

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NOTES

¹ Lewis rarely used the Latin system of binomial nomenclature, used by taxonomists, in his journal entries. Thomas Jefferson’s use of binomials, in contrast, flowed from his pen. It is difficult to understand why Lewis, who was tutored in Latin as a youth and frequently discussed natural history with Jefferson, did not have a stronger command of Linnaean nomenclature.

² Elliot Coues, ed., *The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark*, 3 volumes (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965; reprint of 1893 edition); Raymond Darwin Burroughs, *The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (West Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1955); Paul Russell Cutright, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969).

³ Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), Vol. 4, pp. 366-367. All quotations or references to journal entries in the ensuing text are from Moulton by date.

⁴ Burroughs, p. 90. Burroughs mentioned that the records offer substantial proof that the swift fox was well known to British fur traders prior to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

⁵ Moulton, Vol. 4, pp. 34-35.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 367. According to Moulton, "Apparently Bristol Blue shot, the size still referred to as BB." Ibid., p. 368, n. 4.

⁷ Burroughs, p. 101.

⁸ Moulton, Vol. 4, p. 352.

⁹ Ibid., Vol. 9, p. 146. The sighting occurred a few miles above present-day Fort Peck in Valley County.

¹⁰ D. Stevens, "Shiras Moose," *Game Management in Montana* (1971), pp. 89-95.

¹¹ Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 95.

¹² For a complete listing of questionable bird discoveries credited to Lewis and Clark refer to Kenneth C. Walcheck, *The Lewis and Clark Expedition, Montana's First Bird Inventory Through the Eyes of Lewis and Clark* (Great Falls: Lewis and Clark Interpretive Association, 1999), pp. 4-5.

¹³ Moulton, Vol. 4, p. 111.

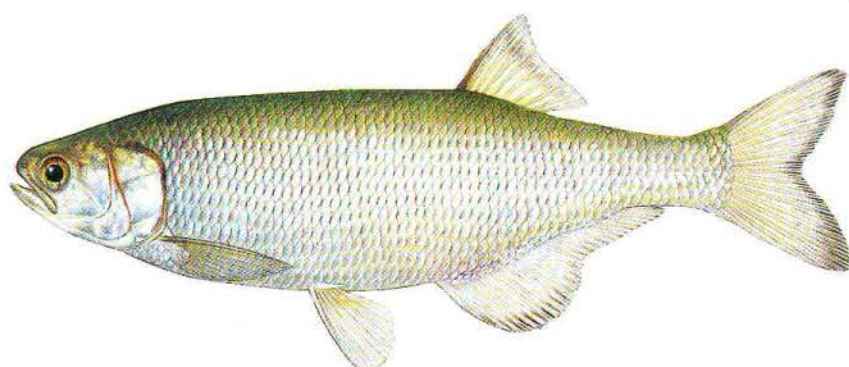
¹⁴ The 45th supplement to the American Ornithologist Union (2004) split the former Canada goose classification into two species. The Canada goose (*Branta canadensis*) has a large body and includes seven subspecies. The cackling goose (*Branta hutchinsii*) has a small body and includes four subspecies.

¹⁵ Migration patterns, food sources, weather patterns and other factors may have been entirely different 200 years ago, which makes it difficult to determine which goose Lewis saw.

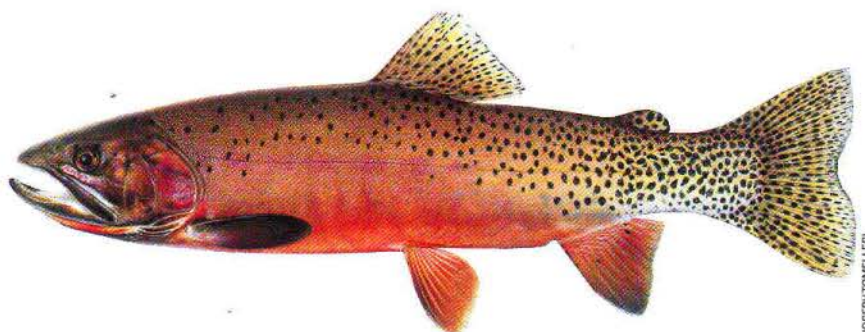
¹⁶ Moulton, Vol. 4, p. 407. The blue jay was the only jay Lewis was familiar with.

¹⁷ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 325.

¹⁸ Ibid., Vol. 5, pp. 26-27. The American Ornithologist Union split the former blue grouse designation into two species, dusky grouse (*Dendragapus obscurus*) and sooty grouse (*Dendragapus fuliginosus*), in the 47th supplement to the American Ornithologist Union (2006). Only the dusky grouse is found in Montana. The black-necked pheasant was introduced to the Atlantic coastal states in about 1790. Some of the plantation owners had pheasants and Lewis and Clark undoubtedly were familiar with them.



goldeye (*Hiodon alosoides*)



cutthroat trout (*Oncorhynchus clarki lewisi*)

¹⁹ Moulton, Vol. 5, p. 27.

²⁰ Roger Tory Peterson, *A Field Guide to Western Birds* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1990), p. 256.

²¹ Lewis and Clark recorded 17 entries on prairie rattlesnake observations while in Montana.

²² Keith R. Benson, "Herpetology on the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804-1806," *We Proceeded On* (November 1999), pp. 24-29. This article first appeared in *Herpetological Review* in September 1978.

²³ Moulton, Vol. 4, p. 331.

²⁴ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 421.

²⁵ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 423.

²⁶ Ibid., Vol. 7, p. 303.

²⁷ Ibid., Vol. 4, p. 278.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Raymond Burroughs confused the issue by mixing up Coues's identifications. Thus the reader mistakenly thinks the chub-like fish is a goldeye (called a mooneye by Burroughs) and that the shad-like fish is a sauger. This author is inclined to believe that Lewis erred in his description of the chub-like fish as having teeth. It is possible that, relying on memory (journal entries were not always written on the day of the events recorded), he confused the chub with the other catch of the day, goldeye, which does possess a rim of teeth on the upper and lower jaws.

³⁰ Moulton, Vol. 5, p. 37.

³¹ A type of crude fishing net.

³² Moulton, Vol. 5, p. 119. A mullet is a sucker.

³³ Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 144.

³⁴ C.M. Kaya, "Discovery of the Arctic Grayling by the Lewis and Clark Expedition," *Fisheries* (September 1996), p. 39. Fluvial (river) grayling are now extinct in the lower 48 states except for a remnant population in the Big Hole River (Lewis and Clark's Wisdom River), which joins with the Beaverhead to form the Jefferson River.

³⁵ Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 190.

³⁶ The mountain sucker wasn't fully described until 1892, based on specimens taken from the Red Rock and Beaverhead rivers. C.J.D. Brown, *Fishes of Montana* (Bozeman: Endowment and Research Foundation, Montana State University, 1971), p. 127.

A BICENTENNIAL WISH LIST

*A look at which dreams for the
Lewis and Clark Bicentennial came true*

BY JAMES R. FAZIO



The Lewis and Clark Bicentennial ended nearly two years ago, on September 23, 2006, with the commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition's return to St. Louis. The bicentennial itself lasted 32 months, but the planning, preparation and implementation took more than a decade.

One of the more significant planning meetings occurred March 5, 1995, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to chart the bicentennial's course. Attendees participated in a facilitated process to develop a list of objectives, action items and a mission statement that could serve the interests of all bicentennial partners and to which all in attendance could agree. The meeting took place under the auspices of the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, then led by Harry Hubbard of Seattle, Washington. Two dozen representatives from the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, tribes, state committees and government agencies attended the meeting.

Looking back, some of the actions from that meeting and the aspirations of its participants were destined to find life in the years ahead. The participants generated a list of seven "broad goals" and five "administrative goals" accompanied by 38 specific "planned actions." In

addition, there was a list of "specific projects." The latter reflected, in part, several years of idea compilation by the Foundation's Bicentennial Committee. A statement preceded the final and ambitious list of projects advising that the Council was envisioned to be primarily "a planning and coordinating body" with the intent of undertaking "a limited number of specific projects." The original list of these projects is shown on the next page with this author's comments about the outcome of each.

As the Council evolved, the original objectives and action items changed to conform to new administrative structures, available leadership talent and reality. One item that stood the test of time was the mission statement created at the March 1995 meeting.

Like any statement created by committee, the input was rich but fragmented. In the late-night hours following the meeting, this author crafted the wording to a more refined statement. The version was presented to members of the group who remained for breakfast and then circulated to the full Council three days later. They approved the 92-word statement with minor changes, and it was used widely in publications and presentations throughout the bicentennial years.

BICENTENNIAL PROJECTS

An educational program that focuses on promoting cultural diversity, teaching Native American history and fostering environmental stewardship.

Countless programs were developed with these themes, as well as a national public service campaign by the Ad Council and Missouri Historical Society.

Appropriate monument(s) located along the trail route.

Various monuments were created, but not in a coordinated manner and none sponsored by the Council.

An endowment fund to support future educational projects.

See "wish list" that follows, regarding language preservation.

A cross-country movement of the flags to coincide with the expedition's dates of travel from Monticello to the Pacific.

This idea for a national, grass roots event (at one point to be implemented under sponsorship of KOA) was supplanted by the National Park Service and its Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future traveling exhibit and speaker venue.

A major ceremony featuring participation by the President of the United States.

A White House ceremony took place and the president was invited to the initial signature event at Monticello in January 2003, but he did not attend.

An international symposium on the Vision of Thomas Jefferson and the Lewis and Clark Journey.

Not completed.

Production of an appropriate commemorative postage stamp.

Three versions of a first-class stamp (37 cents) were released on May 14, 2004, at sites in the 11 (Congressionally designated) trail states.

An essay and/or art contest that includes a significant prize.

Not completed.

A traveling exhibit, including expedition artifacts.

An outstanding traveling exhibit, "Lewis and Clark: The National Bicentennial Exhibition," was created by the Missouri Historical Society and viewed by hundreds of thousands of people in five major cities.

A photo contest resulting in a high-quality coffee table book.

There was no contest, but commercial publishers released numerous high-quality coffee table books.

Creation of Thomas Jefferson/Lewis and Clark curricula and support materials for grades K-12.

Various curricula were developed, but none specifically by the Council.

A coast-to-coast train ride for grandparents and grandchildren.

Several commercial train tours were available, but none specifically proposed by the Council.

ORIGINAL VERSION OF THE BICENTENNIAL MISSION STATEMENT

The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803-1806 was a major event that shaped the boundaries and the very future of the United States. It is the mission of the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council* to commemorate that journey, re-kindle its spirit of discovery, and celebrate** the contributions and goodwill of the native peoples.

In cooperation with state, federal, and tribal governments—and all interested individuals and organizations—the Council will promote educational programs, cultural sensitivity and harmony, and the stewardship of natural and historical resources along the route of the expedition.

*Name later changed to National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial.

**Changed to "acclaim."



JAMES R. FAZIO

Nez Perce tribal elder Allen Pinkham looks over the site at Fort Leavenworth where his ancestors suffered through the winter of 1877-1878. The visit was part of the meeting March 5, and 6, 1995, to plan for the bicentennial commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Another significant outcome of the meeting resulted from an unmistakably clear pronouncement by Nez Perce tribal elder Allen Pinkham. He tactfully explained the reluctance of native people to acknowledge the upcoming bicentennial as a "celebration." However, he assured us that we were likely to gain the cooperation of the various Indian nations if the event was instead referred to as a "commemoration." This principle was readily accepted by the group and eventually was used by most of the organizations involved in the bicentennial.

At the conclusion of the meeting, President Hubbard asked each participant to make a wish for what might be accomplished during the bicentennial. Specifically, his document was headed: "It is the wish of these individuals that after the year 2007 and the conclusion of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, these results will accrue or conditions prevail." One of the participants recently found a copy of the completed list. It is reproduced here, showing the visions of all who signed their statements, followed by this author's opinion of the outcome of each:

RUTH BACKER

Long-time member of Foundation's Bicentennial Committee from New Jersey.

That the knowledge of the accomplishments of the Lewis and Clark Expedition will have united us in a common goal of goodwill.

The outpouring of books, magazine articles, videos and other materials certainly spread knowledge of the expedition and with few exceptions there was goodwill throughout the bicentennial.

DAVID BORLAUG

Foundation member and president (1998-1999); active in North Dakota Lewis and Clark activities.

That we will have overseen the definitive example of a successful celebration [commemoration], and that all cultures, Indian and non-Indian, will have felt it was worth celebrating [commemorating].

Although David did not define "success," most observers would agree that the bicentennial succeeded in bringing

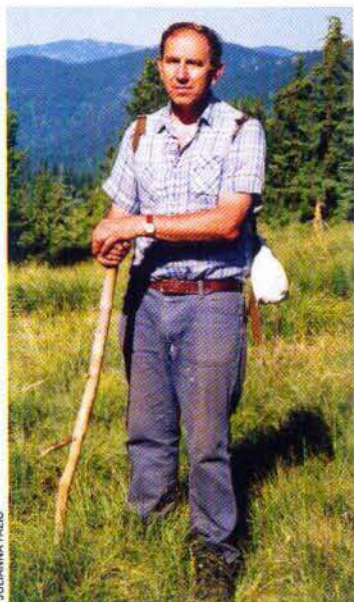
together diverse populations and that most would reflect on it as having been worthwhile.

JEANNE EDER

Indian historian and author; active in Montana Lewis and Clark activities.

That the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial will have created a lasting structure for the Indian people—acknowledging their contributions to the expedition and the evolution of America.

Jeanne did not define what a “lasting structure” might mean, but the Council of Tribal Advisors (COTA) was created as a unit within the national Council. COTA united tribes from along the trail for the first time. The group’s accomplishments included recognition of native people’s contributions to the success of the expedition. COTA dissolved June 30, 2007, but several of its participants continue to communicate. Discussions are underway to form a similar advisory group for the National Park Service.



Author James Fazio on the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in Idaho.

JAMES FAZIO

Foundation member and president (1992-1993); active in Idaho Lewis and Clark activities.

That the Bicentennial will be completed without unpleasant confrontations, but instead with all participants of all races having a feeling of satisfaction.

Although there is no easy way of knowing if all were satisfied, the bicentennial was interrupted by only a few “unpleasant confrontations.” This clearly set it apart from

the previous commemorations of the arrival of Columbus and Mackenzie’s crossing of Canada, and reflected the Council’s policies of inclusiveness.

JERRY GARRETT

Long-time Foundation member; active in Missouri Lewis and Clark activities.

On December 31, 2009, by order of its Articles of

Incorporation known as the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council, (the Council) will cease to exist. At that time, in compliance with Sections 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code and as stated in Article V of the above, all remaining assets of the Council are to be distributed to the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. It is my wish that the surplus to be distributed will be upwards to one million dollars so that the Foundation shall have funds to establish a permanent headquarters.

The Council dissolved, but on March 26, 2007. At that event in St. Louis, with Council President Robert Archibald presiding, approximately \$3 million were distributed thanks largely to revenues from the sale of coin sets sold by the U.S. Mint and the prudent management of other funds, primarily from donations. \$1.6 million of the funds went to the Endangered Language Fund of New Haven, Connecticut, for the preservation of indigenous languages and \$1.7 million to the Foundation for trail stewardship.

STUART KNAPP

Foundation member and president (1993-1994); active in Montana Lewis and Clark activities; founding director of the Council.

That the various Indian groups would have had a positive participation in the commemoration and the Bicentennial Council will emerge as the organization recognized as having led the way.

A survey being conducted by the Foundation may provide insight to the reflections of the nearly 50 Indian groups that participated. After a close call with bankruptcy in 2002, the Council bounced back under the able leadership of Dr. Robert Archibald, president of the Missouri Historical Society, and clearly was the recognized leader of the successful bicentennial.

RON LAYCOCK

Foundation member and president (2003-2004); from Minnesota and active in forming Foundation chapters.

That there will be a renewed interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition, especially in schools, and that all historic sites and trail segments will be identified, marked and protected.

There was a tremendous outpouring of interest in the expedition, and it was led by the sale of more than one million copies of Stephen Ambrose’s *Undaunted Courage*. That book was followed by countless others. Thousands

of school children were involved in every trail state, especially in the 95 locations visited by the National Park Service's Corps of Discovery II: 200 Years to the Future exhibit. More than 800,000 people visited the exhibit and thousands more attended 15 national "signature events." Hundreds of grants provided new interpretive signs and facilities, and public recognition of the trail's importance has in most cases helped protect it for the future.

CHET ORLOFF

Executive Director of the Oregon Historical Society.

That the Bicentennial Council had sponsored a first-class exhibition that visited museums nationwide, and every American will be on a first-name basis with Thomas Jefferson.

The Missouri Historical Society created an unprecedented traveling exhibit that brought together an amazing number of artifacts from the expedition. The exhibit did an outstanding job of interpreting pertinent aspects of the period—including Thomas Jefferson. Although not all Americans would recognize this giant in our history, now more are aware of his essential role in the expedition.

ALLEN V. PINKHAM

Nez Perce tribal elder, speaker and author from Idaho.

That my people will be recognized for the contributions they made in the development of this country with their help to Lewis and Clark at first contact on the Weippe Prairie and the continued Nez Perce help on the return trip.

Books, productions by Idaho Public Television, an interpretive center in Weippe, Idaho, and interpretive materials spotlighted the helpful role of the Nez Perce as never before. Special events on the Weippe Prairie and at Kamiah, and Lewiston, Idaho, focused largely on the role of the Nez Perce. Allen was a popular speaker and ably presented the Nez Perce perspective and oral history.

JAMES VAN ARSDALE

Active in Montana Lewis and Clark activities; former mayor of Billings, Montana.

That everyone in the U.S.A. will know about the Lewis and Clark Expedition and its importance in the development of the western U.S.A.

Three years of national publicity including a campaign by the Ad Council provided widespread information about the expedition and its importance. Not all Americans

were exposed to the messages nor would have been interested enough to pay attention, but millions do know more about the expedition than before the bicentennial.

JAY D. VOGT

First executive director of the Foundation (1994-1996); active in South Dakota Lewis and Clark activities.

That the enthusiasm for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial involves thousands of people from around the world and that they continue their activity through the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

The first part certainly came true. The second part remains to be seen. Foundation membership at the time the wish list was written stood at approximately 1,400. Membership peaked in July 2003 at 3,400 members. Today it stands at 3,200. Foundation Web site "hits" went from 40,000 a year in 1996 to more than 500,000 a month today.

RICHARD WILLIAMS

Long-time National Park Service ranger, chief manager of resources for the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and liaison to the Foundation.

That the Lewis and Clark Expedition is recognized by all Americans as an important event in history worthy of preservation and education in the future.

While not all Americans were touched by the events, certainly millions were, and most undoubtedly would agree that this part of our heritage is worth learning about and being preserved.

Everyone old enough to read this will have his or her own special memories of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial and perspectives on its success. The above information and opinions are those of but one individual and are presented here in an attempt to show how some of the early aspirations for the bicentennial became reality. While memories are fresh, I hope others will record their recollections as guidance and inspiration when it comes time for the next generation to commemorate an anniversary of the great expedition.

James R. Fazio is a professor in the College of Natural Resources at the University of Idaho in Moscow. He has written several books including Across the Snowy Ranges—The Lewis and Clark Expedition in Idaho and Western Montana.

Jane Randol Jackson wins Spirit of America award; 2009 meeting in October

LCTHF board member Jane Randol Jackson recently was honored with the *Southeast Missourian's* Spirit of America Award. The newspaper introduced the award in 2003 to recognize "American heroes living among us."

Randol Jackson, co-founder of the Red House Interpretive Center and former director of the Cape Girardeau County Archive Center, is the first woman to win the award.

Randol Jackson's commitment to the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition at the Red House and to the organization of the county archives were among the reasons she was selected.

"Jane Randol Jackson stood out this year for her long dedication to making a dream come true in Cape Girardeau, the establishment of the Red House and the commemoration of Lewis and Clark's impact on our area and the entire country," said Jon K. Rust, publisher of the *Southeast Missourian*. "Through her efforts both with the Red House and the Cape Girardeau County Archive Center, she helped bring history alive for area families."

Randol Jackson graduated from Southeast Missouri State University in 1968 with degrees in education and French. She has 34 years of teaching experience, including 26 in Missouri and four in Vienna, Austria.

Randol Jackson said her interest in history did not begin until 1987 when she worked on a family genealogy project as a gift for her parents' 50th wedding anniversary. Her family moved to Missouri in 1797 after living in six other states.

As she worked on the project, Randol Jackson became interested in the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Meriwether Lewis was welcomed into Louis Lorimier's home, the Red House, in Cape Girardeau on November 23, 1803. Since Randol Jackson's family came to



Jane Randol Jackson was awarded the *Southeast Missourian's* Spirit of America award.

Cape Girardeau in 1797, she thought her ancestors could have been present when Lewis and Clark were in town.

Randol Jackson met with two area historians in 1999 to discuss how best to recognize the expedition's stop in Cape Girardeau. The group formed the Cape Girardeau Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission, which staged a re-enactment and rebuilt the Red House.

The original Red House had been destroyed. Randol Jackson helped raise \$130,000 for the building, worked with volunteer laborers and donated \$10,000 herself to the reconstruction of the building. The Red House Interpretive Center opened November 23, 2003.

Randol Jackson also has been instrumental in the organization of the Cape Girardeau County Archive Center. From 2000 to 2007, she served as director of the archives.

The Red House organization will receive a \$1,000 award for nominating Randol Jackson.

Randol Jackson was elected to serve a one-year term on the Foundation's board of directors in 2007.

—*Southeast Missourian*

2009 annual meeting moves to October

The Foundation's 41st annual meeting October 3-7, 2009, will be a commemoration of the life of Meriwether Lewis and the unbreakable bond between Lewis and William Clark. The Meriwether Lewis Chapter is hosting the meeting and welcomes Foundation members to Lewis County, Tennessee.

Attendees will enjoy an in-depth look at the connection between Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark and the "Old Southwest," as well as the mystery surrounding Lewis's death.

The meeting will begin in Memphis aboard the Memphis Queen River boat, with an opportunity to meet Governor Lewis as he descends the Mississippi River. Attendees will welcome Lewis to Fort Pickering and later, enjoy a period dance at the Whispering Woods Hotel and Conference Center on the Chickasaw Trail in Olive Branch, Mississippi.

The meeting will move to Tupelo, Mississippi, by bus, following the route of Lewis to the Natchez Trace. Attendees will have the opportunity to stand in Lewis's footprints on the "Old Trace" on the anniversary of the date he left the Chickasaw Agency. There will be lectures throughout the event by nationally renowned speakers and singing around the evening campfires with Pierre Cruzatte.

Finally, travel the scenic Natchez Trace Parkway to Grinder's Stand and experience Meriwether Lewis's last days and moments with re-enactors, military color guard and Lewis family members.

Participants will return to Memphis for their vehicles or airline flights.

Three post-convention trips are planned: the lower Natchez Trace; historic Oxford, Mississippi; and historic Nashville, Tennessee.

—*Meriwether Lewis Chapter*

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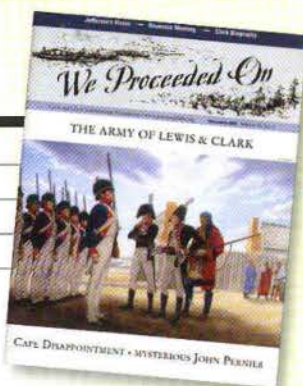
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Lewis & Clark in Montana

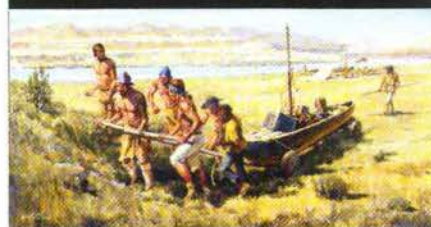
A series of 12 paintings by Frank Hagel



Lewis & Seaman - First View of The Rockies
May 26, 1805



The Red Pirogue
May 31, 1805



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June 21, 1805



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Technology and two decades of research help identify L&C Trail in Idaho

Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains: Mapping the Corps of Discovery in Idaho

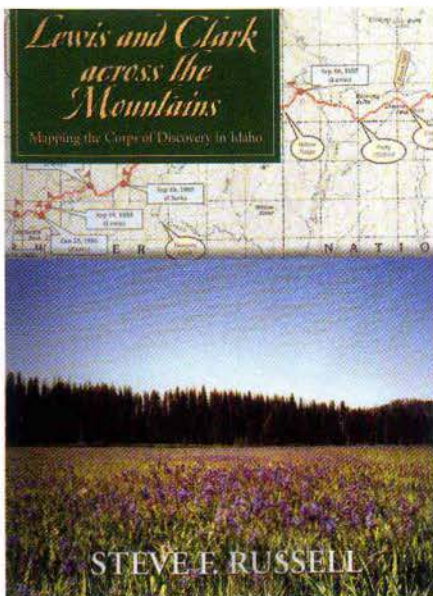
Steve F. Russell

Idaho State Historical Society
60 pages / \$20.00 paper

Steve Russell has given us another publication, his seventh in the past nine years, reflective of his abundant knowledge of Lewis and Clark's routes through present-day Idaho and Montana. His current effort gives evidence of both his scientific and technological expertise (he is a faculty member in the Electrical and Computer Engineering Department of Iowa State University) and his almost innate sense of the area. He was born in Lewiston, Idaho, and raised along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in Montana and Idaho.

Russell's initial interest was in the Virginia City-Lewiston Wagon Road, much of which overlies the historic Lolo Trail. He began field research in 1986, spending significant portions of the next 17 summers compiling a mass of information, which certainly qualifies him as an authority on the Lolo Trail, especially the use of it by Lewis and Clark.

Russell conducted his early research with a compass, pace counter and altimeter, which provided accuracy within 100 to 200 feet, no better than methods available in the 1800s. The advent of GPS technology and the evolution of hand-held units and more accessible signals have increased Russell's accuracy to within one to three meters. He has recorded roughly 70,000 waypoints on the 104 miles between Lolo Pass and Weippe Prairie. You can bet your favorite Lewis and Clark collectible that he comes as close as anyone ever will to documenting the Lolo Trail route.



... as close as anyone will ever come to documenting the Lolo Trail route.

Russell's publication is organized in nine sections. The first five sections plot the Lewis and Clark Expedition's course in 1805 from the Lemhi Valley to Lewiston. The last four mark the journey from west to east in 1806, including new research on John Ordway's Salmon River jaunt from May 27th to June 2nd. (Information Russell uncovered about this side trip led to an archaeological dig in 2007, which may have located one probable site of a longhouse that Ordway described.) It also includes Clark's journey from Travelers' Rest to Camp Fortunate July 3rd to July 8th. Each section is cross-referenced with the appropriate pages of Gary Moulton's and Reuben Gold Thwaites's editions of Lewis and Clark's journals, as well as with the 38 maps included at the end of the volume. Modern place names are presented in the order of the course of travel and a useful daily summary is given for each of the nine segments.

The book includes three appendices: a list of the members of the expedition and Native American tribes and individuals they met in the area along with a cursory description of each; a useful "Gazetteer" listing place names used in the journals followed by the modern name when different; and an extensive list of plants found along the route covered by the book.

The maps and information in the book will be a great boon to any Lewis and Clark trail follower. The routes are overlaid on U.S. Geological Survey topographic maps, which are laminated. The entire volume is in an easy-to-access spiral binder. Russell's narrative corrects errors on some of the U.S.G.S. maps and places campsites with precision when he was able to pinpoint the locations. Inclusion of GPS reference data for campsites and other notable locations would have been an added bonus, but the information provided is remarkably detailed.

The book is nearly error free and the exceptions are minor quibbles. A footnote reads, "during the arduous trek, she [Sacajawea] gave birth to a son." As is well known, the child was born when all were still in winter camp at Fort Mandan. Map 27 mistakenly identifies an 1805 date as October 10, 1806.

Russell would have benefited from reference to *Clearwater Country* (1999) by Lin Laughey and Borg Hendrickson, another knowledgeable book about Lewis and Clark and the Lolo Trail.

It is certain that some will dispute Russell's findings in the ongoing debate over the route of the Corps of Discovery. The burden of proof will be on others, given his extensive research, fieldwork and use of technology. Russell has produced a significant addition to the corpus of Lewis and Clark scholarship.

—James P. Hendrix, Jr.

200 Years, 200 Books: A Lewis and Clark Expedition Bibliography

Thanks to citizens of the Evergreen State for providing a new tool for finding titles on our heroes. *200 Years, 200 Books: a Lewis and Clark Expedition Bibliography* is one of the most extensive bibliographies to emerge from the bicentennial commemoration.

This list of 200 books compiled jointly by the Washington Lewis and Clark Trail Committee, the Washington State Chapter of the LCTHF and the Washington State Library acknowledges a decidedly Northwestern focus, but that in no way diminishes its value to audiences interested in Lewis and Clark.

The annotated bibliography describes the significance and target audience of each title along with call number information for the Washington State Library. It began in January 2005 as *The Corps 33*. It represented the 33 essential core books about the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Books from *The Corps 33* are identified in the final bibliography with an asterisk in front of them. The second bibliography produced in February 2007 increased the number of titles to 100, then it reached 150, and now the final list includes the 200 most significant books about the expedition, according to these groups. Books about Thomas Jefferson and Native Americans are included to provide context for fully understanding the significance of the expedition.

For those who assumed their Lewis and Clark book collection was complete, this list may contain some titles that have slipped by under the radar screen. The list is confined strictly to books, and could be expanded to include audio/visual and theatrical productions on the Corps of Discovery, many of which would

be useful in the classroom. Finally, a listing of Internet resources would be a helpful addition as we introduce Lewis and Clark to the next generation of scholars.

The list is divided into three sections: a main or general section, one for children and young adults and a final section dedicated to the journal editions.

The bibliography can be found at http://www.secstate.wa.gov/_assets/library/150Books200YearsMar2008Finalpdf.pdf. (The final 50 books have yet to be posted online.)

—Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs

The following is a sampling from the 200 Years, 200 Books bibliography

Abbott, Carl. *The Great Extravaganza: Portland and the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. 3rd edition. Oregon Historical Society, 2004. 71 p.

"Story of the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition held in Portland Oregon in 1905. Includes numerous photographs."

Across the Continent: Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and the Making of America. Edited by Douglas Seefeldt, Jeffrey L. Hantman, Peter S. Onuf. University of Virginia Press, 2005. 222 p.

"Collection of multi-disciplinary essays by a new generation of Lewis and Clark scholars. Authors explore connections between the world of these explorers and our own world."

*Allen, John Logan. *Passage through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest*. University of Illinois Press, 1975. 412 p.

"A thoughtful summation of geographic knowledge at the time of the Expedition."

Reprinted by Dover Publications in 1991 with the title *Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest*.

*Anderson, Irving W. *A Charbonneau Family Portrait: Biographical Sketches of Sacagawea, Jean Baptiste and Touse*

saint Charbonneau. Revised edition. Fort Clatsop Historical Association, 2002. 20 p.

"Excellent, brief biographical sketches of all three Charbonneaus."

Originally published in *American West Magazine*, March/April 1980. First copyrighted by the Fort Clatsop Historical Association in 1988.

*Appleman, Roy Edgar. *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places Associated with their Transcontinental Exploration (1804-06)*. Foreword by Dayton Duncan. 4th edition. Jefferson National Parks Association, 2003. 429 p.

"Strong overview, accessible for beginners. Dated; for more recent information on traveling the trail consult Julie Fanselow's book which is included on this list."

Cover title: *Lewis & Clark's Transcontinental Exploration 1804-1806*. Originally published by the U. S. National Park Service in 1975 as volume 13 of their National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings.

Furtwangler, Albert. *Acts of Discovery: Visions of America in the Lewis and Clark Journals*. University of Illinois Press, 1993. 276 p.

"Offers a fresh perspective on the literary and philosophic content of the journals."

Gilman, Carolyn. *Lewis and Clark across the Divide*. Introduction by James P. Ronda. Smithsonian Books, 2003. 424 p.

"Companion work to the Missouri Historical Society-sponsored traveling exhibit, Lewis and Clark: The National Bicentennial Exhibition. Overview, with 400 illustrations of original artifacts, documents, maps, and art."

*Gunderson, Mary. *The Food Journal of Lewis & Clark: Recipes for an Expedition*. History Cooks, 2003. 166 p.

"Realistic, historically accurate, and useable in a kitchen or for a fund-raising dinner."

Preserved in Poetry

Discovery of a poem written for the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition serves as a reminder that there are many ways to interpret history

BY WENDY RANEY



At the centennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, poetry was ubiquitous; it appeared in newspapers, was read at public gatherings and ceremonies, was accepted as historical record and teachers frequently used it in classrooms as an educational tool. Today, poetry is far less visible. Regardless of poetry's role in public communication, for two centuries poets have celebrated, lionized and sometimes misrepresented Lewis, Clark, Sacagawea and other members of the expedition.

Earlier this year, long-time Foundation member Albert Furtwangler came across a poem that suffragette Abigail Scott Duniway wrote in 1905 to celebrate the opening of the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland, Oregon. "Centennial Ode" has as its central theme, Thomas Jefferson's prophetic vision in extending liberty to the West and to the world through Lewis and Clark, according to an article written by Furtwangler in the fall 2007 issue of *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*.

In his article, Furtwangler explores the motivation behind Duniway's "Centennial Ode" and her sense of history. Duniway was a leader in the national suffrage movement, but was publicly embarrassed by a lack of success in her home state of Oregon. At the centennial, she was 70 years old, weakened by severe illness and being forced to the sidelines of the suffrage campaign. Additionally, her brother and public adversary, Harvey Scott, was a lead organizer of the centennial exposition. He had turned against her in her public campaign for equal suffrage.

Furtwangler analyzes the poem's nine stanzas and explores underlying nuances and symbolism. He also offers a brief history of Duniway's role in the suffrage movement and her relationships with prominent figures such as Susan B. Anthony and Eva Emery Dye.

In February 1996, Furtwangler shared with WPO readers some background on poetry written about the expedition. At that time, he could nearly collect all the published poems and many that were unpublished. Following the bicentennial of the expedition, that task would be ex-

ceedingly difficult. The national spotlight on the bicentennial resulted in hundreds of published works including song lyrics, plays, poems, essays, articles and books.

Why all the attention? There are as many answers to that question as there are authors attracted to the subject matter. In 1996, Furtwangler wrote, "If the journals are this as they stand, it might seem best to let them speak for themselves, to distrust any poet who would try to rewrite history or beautify what is already grand and fine." He noted that many historians believe that to versify history is to distort the record.

However, Furtwangler cited three reasons to accept poetry as a means to understand the expedition:

- 1) Insight: Poetry can bring out a particular passage or incident and make it shine in a new light, just as sensitive framing can bring out details of a picture, or a new production can bring out surprising depths in a classic play.
- 2) Tribute: A poem can point serious attention to worthy characters or deeds, like a commemorative statue in a public place.
- 3) Teaching: Good verses, even simple ones, can help lodge an important idea in the memory, and, by delighting with its play of language, invite a reader or hearer to look further, and seek more.

Furtwangler's article, "Reclaiming Jefferson's Ideals: Abigail Scott Duniway's Ode to Lewis and Clark," is in Volume 98, Number 4 of *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, published by The University of Washington.



What is an Archive?

An archive is another place to go—other than a library—to find information. Instead of gathering information from books, people use an archive to gather firsthand facts, data, and evidence from letters, reports, notes, memos, photographs, audio and video recordings, and other primary sources.

There are many types of archives: *national, state, city, community, business, church*; and there are many types of records: *government, business, organization, personal*.

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation's **William P. Sherman Library and Archives** contains information about the history of the original 1964 Lewis and Clark Commission, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, the Foundation and its chapters, and it is the official archive of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial.

The Sherman Library and Archives makes these important records available to researchers for generations to come.

Your History is Our History

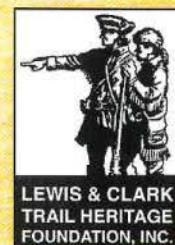
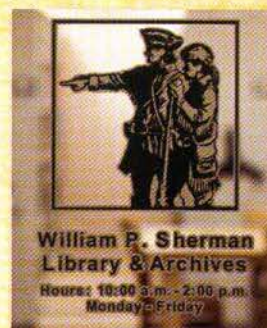
Whether you realize it or not, your old letters, diaries, photos and videos of you, your chapter and friends, and your travels on the Trail provide vital and unique information about the history of the Trail, the Foundation and the Bicentennial.

Through life-long dedication, Foundation members created the Trail, strove to tell all the stories of the Expedition and Trail, created the Bicentennial and are the essential reason that the Trail is preserved and protected today. Just as these things are important to you, they are important to the Lewis and Clark community and to our country.

These documents and resources contribute to the heritage of the Trail and Foundation by showing its growth and change over time ~ and they show why we think the Trail and its stories continue to be important into the Third Century!

When you donate your personal, chapter or family papers to the Sherman Library and Archives, your history becomes part of the Foundation's—and America's—collective memory.

To learn how you can donate to our archive and preserve your history for future generations, call the library office or contact us by email.



Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.

William P. Sherman Library and Archives

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Keepers of the Story ~ Stewards of the Trail

Take the Lewis & Clark Challenge!

Track your miles,
eat healthy meals,
win prizes!

Captains Lewis and Clark had the ultimate in "active lifestyles" when they led the Corps of Discovery across America.

Now, in an effort to encourage healthy lifestyles for its members, the Foundation invites you to improve your health and to explore some of the best places in America.

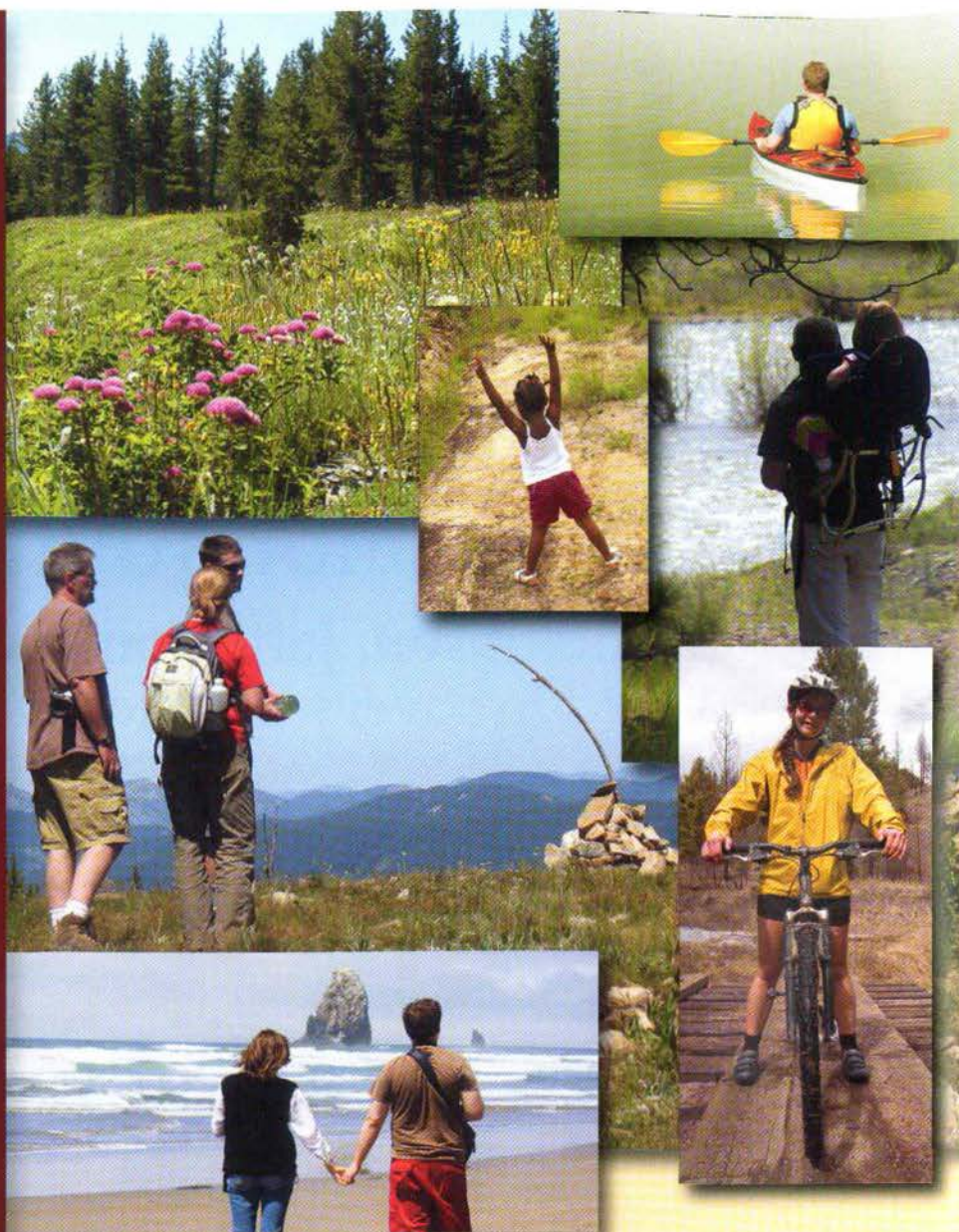
Join the year-long Lewis & Clark Challenge. You can bike, walk, jog, kayak, canoe, or ride a horse! Your activities count whether you're on the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, in the gym or walking city streets.

Get extra "miles" for picking up trash, introducing someone new to the Trail, or for trekking a part of the Trail that's new to you.

Not only that, you'll rack up "miles" for avoiding fatty fast food and for eating your fruits and veggies!

There'll be fun prizes—handmade walking sticks, paddles, t-shirts—in many categories for top mileages.

Keepers of the story, stewards of the trail



Competition begins September 1, 2008!

Teams of four or individuals are encouraged to participate. To find out more about the Lewis & Clark Challenge, contact Wendy Raney for full details.

Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.

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