

We Proceeded On

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation / www.lewisandclark.org

May 2009

Volume 35, No. 2

“Ocian in view! O! the joy”



CHARLES FRITZ. OCEAN IN VIEW! O! THE JOY, OIL ON CANVAS, 28" x 24" © 2008

Plus: An Artist with the Corps of Discovery •
The View of Lewis and Clark from Britain

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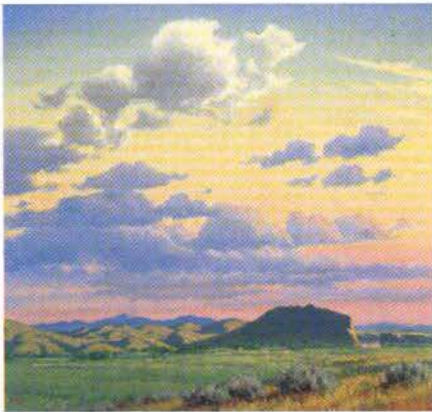
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On the cover
Captain William Clark wrote in his journal entry for November 7, 1805, “Great joy in camp we are in *View* of the *Ocian*, this great Pacific Ocean which we been So long anxious to See. and the roeing or noise made by the waves brakeing on the rockey Shores (as I Suppose) may be heard distictly” On the afternoon of November 7, 1805, after 18 months of endless trials, the rain and fog lifted to reveal the Columbia River estuary near the Pacific Ocean. In May of 1792 an American ship captain named Robert Gray had anchored in the mouth of the Columbia River and charted this location. For the first time since the Mandan villages, the Corps of Discovery was no longer in uncharted country. Despite their isolation, the men felt the exhilaration of knowing that they had crossed the unknown frontier, and with each dip of their paddle into the brackish water they were moving back onto the world’s map. Nine days later, Clark recorded his calculation that the Pacific Ocean lay 4,142 river (and mountain) miles from the mouth of the Missouri River.



Robert Southey, p. 9



Beaver’s Head, p. 19



Pillar Rock, p. 26



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Editor

Wendy M. Raney
P.O. Box 3434
Great Falls, MT 59403
406-454-1234
wpo@lewisandclark.org

Volunteer Proofreaders

Dr. H. Carl Camp
Jerry Garrett

Printed by PRISM Color Corporation,
Moorestown, New Jersey

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President's Message

Corps' resourcefulness inspires Foundation

Resourcefulness! To me, one of the most fascinating themes of the Corps of Discovery's journey was the resourcefulness they demonstrated when confronted with the most heart wrenching of circumstances. During what many consider to be their darkest hour—the harrowing journey over the Bitterroot Mountains in fall 1805—the corps' leaders knew they had to press on through life-threatening winter conditions that threatened to bring their mission to a halt.

This particular segment of the journey makes for fascinating reading. It is truly a riveting lesson of persistence, fortitude, faith, character and most importantly, inspiring resourcefulness. The chilling horseback trip through a blinding, freezing snowstorm with little to no food, and with a disappearing path along a steep mountain range represents a story within a story that needs to be told and retold. It demonstrates the finest of the human spirit.

We are not currently making our way over the Bitterroot Mountains in a literal sense, but we are facing difficult times nationally that are impacting all of our households and certainly our Foundation. The national economy, the housing market and the job market are placing financial constraints on all of us, including our Foundation. Our investments reflect the downturn in the market, which has reduced our financial flexibility somewhat.

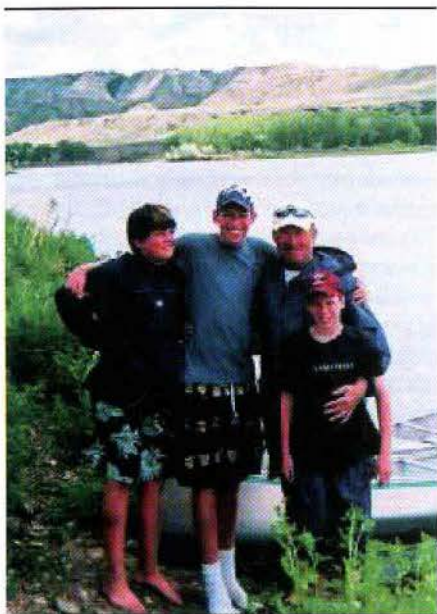
The situation is indeed daunting, and is causing us to become as resourceful as possible in our personal lives as well as in pursuing the mission of our Foundation. Your Foundation board of directors and staff have been hard at work looking for ways to reduce our expenses while working to fulfill the core elements of our mission. We have tried to become more creative in how we approach our work and support our membership. A few examples:

1) Foundation Staff Positions: We are conducting a thorough assessment of staff positions, roles and responsibilities to ensure we can accomplish our mission, yet still operate within our financial means. Staff members who occupy our core positions will be asked to take on additional responsibilities. We will eliminate activities that do not contribute direct value to what I consider to be our "Big Four" core responsibilities: member and chapter services, education, trail stewardship and finances.

We are doing what all non-profit organizations are now doing—becoming leaner and doing more with less by being as resourceful as we possibly can.

2) Regional Meetings: I view this as THE most important activity that brings together our membership (chapter and Foundation members) for a common cause. I was reminded that these meetings were created to conserve resources and bring members together more frequently. Although we have decided to curtail staff travel for the time being, the Foundation will continue to actively support these meetings and board members who live nearby will attend them. The regional meetings scheduled for this year will go on as scheduled, fully and actively supported by the Foundation.

3) Annual Meeting: We are extremely excited about our annual meeting in October. We have streamlined the agenda to address costs. However, our speaker list remains exceptional. The venues, tours and post-meeting trips will offer an exciting and inspiring look at the final days in the life of Meriwether Lewis. I can't wait to be there and I hope and trust that we will have a spirited group attending as we have in years past. It is the one event of the year that brings members together from all across the country for fun, friendship and inspiration.



Jim Brooke floated the upper Missouri River through the White Cliffs region with his sons and has been passionate about the trail and the Foundation ever since.

4) Publications: Members continue to rate our scholarly journal, *We Proceeded On*, as the Foundation's most valuable membership benefit. We plan to ensure it stays that way. Publishing WPO requires substantial resources, but, to me, it is well worth the effort. We continue to search for creative ways to attract more advertising to offset the journal's expenses, and I am sincerely convinced we will succeed. We are examining other formats for delivering our quarterly newsletter, *The Orderly Report*, such as posting it on our Web site. This initiative, still under consideration, obviously would cut expenses and allow us to reallocate resources to other activities.

We are considering additional ideas and will keep you posted as we meet our challenges. With the hard-working and resourceful staff, membership and board the Foundation is fortunate to have, I know we will succeed, just as the Corps of Discovery did in 1805. Please continue to be in touch with me regarding any creative ideas you have.

—**Jim Brooke**
President, LCTHF
jamesbrooke@aol.com

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Fax: 406-771-9237 www.lewisandclark.org

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Letters

Forgotten mussels; medicine misinterpreted; murder theory

Kenneth C. Walcheck neglected to mention Lewis and Clark's comments on an entire zoological class of organisms, *Bivalvia*, which includes freshwater mussels, in his article, "Montana Zoological Discoveries through the Eyes of Lewis and Clark" (WFO, August 2008). Freshwater mussels are the epitome of the "Rodney Dangerfield syndrome" among zoologists because they often "get no respect."

Paul Russell Cutright's earlier summary of Lewis and Clark as naturalists also failed to mention their documentation of freshwater mussels. Although these animals are invertebrates and therefore lack a backbone, they do have a sturdy, external shell that serves to protect the animal, is a ready means for identification to the species level and can be preserved long after the animal has died. They are fascinating animals in their own right and have been used by people for thousands of years as food, tools and attractive ornaments.

The Missouri River has long been described as hostile to freshwater mussel occupation because of its unpredictable, shifting main channel, relatively rapid flow and high level of suspended silt. However, more recent research has shown that is not exactly the case. A limited number of species of mussels live in the Missouri River, most often in side channels, sloughs and oxbow lakes. Lewis and Clark traveled up the Missouri's main channel for the most part, occasionally stopping for observations and diplomacy.

Clark's first mention of mussels was as by-catch during a fishing expedition on August 15, 1804, in present-day Nebraska. They were waiting for a parley with members of the Omaha tribe and were camped three miles from the Omaha's Big Village. He mentions numbers and varieties of fish that were caught in a "drag" and continues with "in this Creek which is only the pass or Streight from Beaver Pond to another, is Crouded with large Mustles Verry fat ..." (Moulton, Vol. 2, p. 483)

Mussels contain imperceptible amounts of body fat, so Clark probably was referring to the cross-section of the shell, what zoologists

today would describe as "inflated." A possible identification for this species, considering the beaver pond habitat and inflated cross-section, is giant floater, *Pyganodon grandis* (described by Thomas Say in 1829).

The expedition reached the Musselshell River on May 20, 1805, and remained for a half day while members made observations. Lewis's identification of the Muscleshell River and Clark's of the Shell River, the modern Musselshell, are direct translations of the name they learned from the Hidatsas, *Mah-tush-az-zhab*. Lewis, Clark, Ordway, Gass and Whitehouse provide several variations on the spelling of Musselshell and Lewis went so far as to transform it into a different kind of shellfish altogether when he called it "Cockkle." (Moulton, Vol. 4, p. 363) No journal keeper mentioned any sightings of mussels while they were at the mouth of the Musselshell or exploring upstream.

From May 27, 1805, to June 25, 1805, journal keepers wrote about mussels along the Missouri River in present-day Montana. While there are at least 65 species of freshwater mussels in Missouri, 45 in Kansas, 31 in Nebraska, 28 in South Dakota and 13 in North Dakota, there are only five species in Montana, or six, if a very recent addition is included. Through a process of elimination it can be determined that the mussels seen by expedition members were fatmucket, *Lampsilis siliquoidea* (described by Barnes in 1823), or giant floater. Of the two, fatmucket is the more likely possibility because of its preference for medium-sized rivers with a gravelly, sandy or muddy bottom as opposed to giant floaters, whose preferred habitat is ponds, lakes, or medium to small creeks with little or no current and muddy bottoms.

As with Walcheck's evaluation of primacy of Lewis and Clark's descriptions of vertebrate animals, the documentation of these mussels preceded the "official" descriptions and designations of these species by 18 years in the fatmucket's case, and 23 years for the giant floater.

KERRY LIPPINCOTT
Casper, Wyo.

supporter fires back; November WPO to arrive early

Medical interpretations include errors

After almost 10 years of research on the Lewis and Clark Expedition and 1800s-era medicine, I believe that much of what has been written is not totally accurate or correctly interpreted. *Only One Man Died*, by Dr. E.G. Chuinard, and *Or Perish in the Attempt*, by Dr. David Peck, are the best texts available on the subject.

I believed there to be so much misinformation in Dr. Thomas Lowry's *Venereal Disease and the Lewis and Clark Expedition* when I read it three years ago, that I began an extensive analysis of the expedition journals and research of period medical texts. Nearly a year ago I submitted an article on this subject to WPO, and it recently was returned with editorial comments. The rightful critique was that my article was too long, unfocused, needed further explanation, and that it contained incorrectly written citations and perhaps too much documentation. I plan to work on revisions and re-submit the article.

In my opinion, Lowry and his co-author, P. Willey, in their book, *Mystery of the Bones*, incorrectly interpreted the source of the mercury found in the soil at Travelers' Rest in present-day Montana. Members of the expedition used Dr. Benjamin Rush's pills, which contained calomel (mercurous chloride), to treat various ailments, and Lowry and Willey contend that was the source of the mercury. I have come to the conclusion that the probable source of mercury was an ointment used by members of the expedition that contains elemental mercury, not mercurous chloride, which is a salt of mercury and chemically much different.

Rush's pills, an extreme purgative, were used for transient illnesses. They likely would not have been taken for syphilitic treatments, which would have required their use for at least three to five weeks to be effective, because dehydration would have killed the patient after three or four days.

I believe that the conclusion by Willey and Lowry that Clark's November 12, 1804, entry, "3 men sick with___," is probable, but not conclusive evidence of the presence of venereal disease.

In their article, "The Mystery of the Bones," (WPO, February 2007) Lowry and Willey gave four reasons why there was no evidence of syphilis in Arikara bones, but ignored the possibility that there may have been a low incidence of syphilis or that the Arikaras died of epidemic diseases and warfare before evidence generated in their bones.

JOHN W. FISHER
Julietta, Idaho

Debate over death continues

Author Thomas Danisi accuses me of not meeting standards of "accuracy and accountability" in good historical writing (WPO, *Soundings*, January 2009). He writes specifically that my letter to the editor (WPO, November 2008) regarding "A Motive for Lewis's Murder" fails to support the conspiracy theory I propose. In my new book co-authored by James E. Starrs, *The Death of Meriwether Lewis: A Historic Crime Scene Investigation*, I provide 20 documents relating to Meriwether Lewis's death and a narrative with extensive notes entitled "The Case for Murder." Readers are invited to read Danisi and John Jackson's new biography, *Meriwether Lewis*, and my book. In many regards we are in agreement. On other matters, we sharply disagree.

I was astonished to see how Danisi and Jackson describe the relationship between Meriwether Lewis and Indian Agent James Neelly, who was escorting Lewis to Nashville from Fort Pickering in his last days. "He [Neelly] was not a Mason, but in that final passage he was as good a brother to Meriwether Lewis as most, but not all of the lodge members back in St. Louis." The authors definitely do not meet "standards of accuracy and accountability" in this account.

Captain Gilbert C. Russell, the commander of Fort Pickering, wrote to President Thomas Jefferson on January 31, 1810, stating that if he had been allowed to send his own man to accompany Governor Lewis, instead of James Neelly, Lewis still would have been alive. Russell believed that Neelly supplied Lewis with liquor and was responsible for his death. In my analysis

of the documents and events surrounding Lewis's death, I don't believe this to be true. I do believe, however, that Neelly was part of the conspiracy to assassinate Lewis. There is no doubt that Neelly took Lewis's possessions after his death and, apparently, his money. Lewis's stepbrother, John Marks, went to Neelly's home in 1811 and recovered Lewis's horse and rifle, but was unable to recover his gold watch and two pistols.

Danisi and Jackson write that Lewis went directly east to the Natchez Trace from Fort Pickering. I disagree, and believe that Neelly took Lewis about 100 miles south to the Chickasaw Indian Agency near today's Tupelo, Mississippi. This is true because Neelly composed an advertisement dated October 3, 1809, which he signed along with eight others at the Chickasaw Indian Agency. This ad was published in the October 20 issue of the Nashville *Democratic Clarion*, the same issue that contained the news of Lewis's death.

KIRA GALE
Omaha, Neb.

November issue to arrive in October

The November issue of *We Proceeded On* will include articles on Meriwether Lewis by authors who will be making presentations at the Foundation's 41st annual meeting October 4-7 in Tupelo, Mississippi, and Hohenwald, Tennessee. The November issue will be released in early October this one time only to coincide with the annual meeting and the commemoration of the 200th anniversary of Lewis's death. The deadline for submitting letters to the editor for that issue will be September 1, 2009. (Letters for the August issue must be received by June 15.)

WENDY RANEY
Editor

WPO welcomes letters. We may edit them for length, accuracy, clarity and civility. Send them to us c/o Editor, WPO, P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403 (e-mail wpo@lewisandclark.org).

LEWIS AND CLARK'S AMERICAN TRAVELS: THE VIEW FROM BRITAIN

*Reports on Lewis and Clark's journey did not impress
Britons accustomed to illustrated text and scientific discoveries*

BY WILLIAM E. FOLEY

When Captains Lewis and Clark put ashore in St. Louis at the conclusion of their 28-month journey, an impromptu crowd lining the riverbank shouted its approval. Two days later—September 25, 1806—St. Louisans feted the expedition's leaders with a sumptuous dinner and ball at William Christy's Tavern, during which the happy revelers drank, dare we say, a "staggering" 18 toasts. In their final salute the celebrants hailed: "Captains Lewis and Clark—Their perilous services endear them to every American heart."¹

The public acclaim continued as Lewis and Clark made their way eastward and reached a crescendo during a gala dinner hosted by officials in Washington, D. C., early in 1807. However, the cheering soon subsided and the expedition quickly faded from public notice. Thirteen years later when William Clark was seeking to become Missouri's first elected governor, his voyage of discovery seemed of surprisingly little import to the new state's rank-and-file voters, many of whom considered him an out-of-touch aristocrat and Indian lover whose time had passed.²

In an effort to rally them behind his Uncle William's lagging candidacy, St. Louis businessman John O'Fallon penned a campaign biography extolling Clark's contributions to the Pacific expedition and his subsequent service as an Indian diplomat and territorial governor. As if to underscore the point, O'Fallon reminded Missourians that Lewis and Clark's triumphal

return in 1806 had "diffused the most lively satisfaction throughout the United States," and added "Europe joined in the applause."³ Though it may not have been written for that purpose, O'Fallon's final rhetorical flourish touting the expedition's transatlantic acclaim poses some interesting questions. To what extent did Lewis and Clark's American travels capture attention abroad? Did Europeans actually take notice of their discoveries, and if so, what was their reaction?

The American West was, as James Ronda aptly put it, "both battleground and prize" in a grand contest for empire. Spain, France, Great Britain and Russia all had a stake in the outcome, and that was incentive enough to interest observers on the other side of the Atlantic in reports about Lewis and Clark's trek across North America's western expanses. However, educated Europeans were fascinated with exotic people and places for reasons other than imperial ambition and geopolitics. Scientific exploration was all the rage. Individuals schooled in the traditions of the Enlightenment were drawn to the systematic investigation of a wide array of interesting subjects.⁴ British commentaries about Lewis and Clark's American travels offer telling glimpses of European scientific and literary thought and also yield amusing tidbits suggestive of how educated Britons felt about their former American colonists.

No nation better appreciated the value of scientific exploration than Great Britain. Under the guiding

hand of Sir Joseph Banks, president of the Royal Society, the celebrated explorers Captains James Cook and George Vancouver had elevated voyages of discovery into Enlightenment science of a high order. Reports of America's pioneering scientific enterprise soon caught the eye of King George III's best-informed subjects. Their applause, to use O'Fallon's phrase, was hardly deafening, but from the moment they first learned about the American venture a select group of Britons eagerly pored over every available account of the Lewis and Clark expedition and its discoveries. Officials in the British Foreign Office carefully monitored official communiqués, newspaper clippings and published reports and filed them away for future reference.⁵

News of the American expedition's travels quickly reached a waiting British audience. In November of 1806, Anthony Merry, Britain's representative to the United States, notified the Foreign Office that Captains Lewis and Clark had completed their journey to the Pacific. He stated that the two officers were expected to arrive in the national capital momentarily "with the journals of their interesting Travels, which will, I understand, be communicated to the Public as soon as possible."⁶

Stories of the expedition's return soon began to circulate among the British reading public. In its December 3 edition, the London *Times* had a report from Washington, D. C., announcing that Captain Lewis and the members of his party had arrived safely in St. Louis, after wintering on the Pacific Coast at Fort Clatsop. Poor Captain Clark received nary a mention.⁷ The very next day the *Times* printed a letter challenging the accuracy of the claim that the American exploring

party had reached the Pacific. As proof, the writer submitted an extract from a communication dated July 26, 1806, written by "a Gentleman of unquestionable veracity who happened to be in that part of the world at the same time as Captain Lewis," stating that "The Americans under the command

of Capt. Lewis passed the winter of 1805-06, in the vicinity of Fort Des Prairies [sic], at the source of the Missouri [sic] and were to proceed across the Rocky Mountains this summer: but I understand all the Indians of the Meadows are gone to war towards that quarter which our people think will greatly endanger the success of the expedition, perhaps cut off the party." The correspondent asked the *Times*' editors to publish this information "in order that an opportunity may be afforded of establishing the truth of a fact so interesting to geography, and indeed to the public at large."⁸

The exchange in the *Times* demonstrates that literate Britons already knew about the expedition and also suggests that official communiqués and published reports were not their sole sources of information. The *Times* informant's correspondent was probably an individual with ties to one of Britain's North American trading companies who shared a notion popular in British circles that the Americans were poorly equipped to undertake such a daunting mission.

Notwithstanding their skepticism, Britons interested in exploration science eagerly awaited publication of the American venture's official proceedings, but expectations that those reports soon would be available ended in disappointment. Meriwether Lewis, who had been assigned

BRIEF NOTICES

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

IN THE PUBLIC LIFE

OF

GOVERNOR CLARK.

At a time when the greatest efforts are made to deprive an honest man of the confidence of his fellow-citizens, it is deemed advisable, by a plain statement of facts, the truth of which can be testified by numerous citizens, to shew that WILLIAM CLARK is worthy of filling the place of *first Governor* of the STATE of MISSOURI, and that it is consistent with the public interest and the honor of the STATE to confer that office upon him.

Governor Clark was born in Virginia, but came to Kentucky, a boy, about the year 1785, and settled in the neighborhood of Louisville, where he was raised up under the care of his brother, the celebrated General George Rodgers Clark.

He was too young to have borne a part in the expeditions which his brother made against Kaskaskia, Cahokia and Vincennes, to conquer those posts from the British whose garrisons withheld the allegiance of the French inhabitants from the American government; but the frontiers of Kentucky soon furnished him with an opportunity of shewing his disposition for arms, and from the time that he was able to carry a rifle he was out in every expedition which was carried on against the northern Indians until peace was made.—He served under General Hardin, General Scott, and General Wilkinson, and was engaged in all the actions which they fought with the Indians. He went out on each occasion as a simple volunteer, without rank or command, and discharged the duties of a private soldier with a cheerfulness and courage which gained him the good will of all his comrades.—There are many Kentuckians now in this country who will remember these times, and will do justice to the merits of those who exposed their lives for their country.

The Indian war not being terminated by these expeditions, it was found necessary to send a regular force and a formidable army against them. GENERAL WASHINGTON was then President of the United States, and he appointed General Wayne to command the army, and gave to William Clark the rank of Lieutenant in the first regiment of Infantry.—In that rank he made under General Wayne the glorious campaign of 1794, which on the 20th day of August, on the bank of the Miami of the Lakes, annihilated the power of the Indians, and gave peace to the bleeding frontiers of Kentucky and Ohio.

The unassuming merit of Lieutenant Clark gained him the friendship and confidence of General Wayne, and he was often employed by him in services of the greatest difficulty and importance.

It is well known to those who have fought against the northern Indians that their most dangerous mode of warfare was in waylaying the roads, and cutting off the convoys of provisions which were going to the head quarters, whereby the operations of the main army were often delayed and sometimes entirely defeated.

General Wayne knew this, and well comprehended the necessity of confiding these supplies to the care of officers of the greatest prudence and courage. As such Lieutenant Clark had the honor to be selected by him, and on one occasion Fortune gave him an opportunity of proving that the confidence of his general was not misplaced.—A convoy of provisions, of which he had the command, was attacked near Fort Wayne, by a very superior body of Indians, who killed one third of his men in the first fire. The skill and courage of Lieutenant Clark saved the remainder, and the whole of the supplies. For, stripping the packs from his horses, he piled them up into a little breast-work, from behind which his men fired upon the Indians, repulsed them, then gathered up the horses, replaced the packs, and carried the whole in safety to the head quarters of the army.

The peace coming on soon after, Lieutenant Clark resigned his command in

In his 1820 campaign biography, "Brief Notices of the Principal Events in the Public Life of Governor Clark," John O'Fallon claimed that Europe shared in America's excitement over the triumphal return of the Corps of Discovery.

MISSOURI STATE ARCHIVES, ST. CHARLES, CHANCERY COURT, DIRECTOR V. ROBERTS AND NASH, COLLECTION 10, 1821, CM4278



PATRICK GASS, A JOURNAL OF THE VOYAGES AND TRAVELS OF A CORPS OF DISCOVERY (CHICAGO: A.C. MOULING & CO. 1904).

This illustration of Patrick Gass appears in the frontispiece of the 1904 reprint of his original journal. The second edition includes the five original illustrations that appeared in Gass's 1807 journal, the rare portrait of Gass and a map of the expedition's route.

*Yours as
Patrick Gass*

the task of preparing the journals for publication, failed to deliver as promised, and the project came to a standstill following his death on the Natchez Trace in 1809.

After Lewis's tragic death, William Clark prevailed on Nicholas Biddle to compile a narrative of the expedition based upon the official journals. Even though Biddle labored conscientiously to complete the project, his authorized version did not come off the presses until 1814, fully eight years after the journey had ended. Prior to Lewis's untimely passing, two eager publishers, mindful of the hunger for information about the Corps of Discovery's travels, had beaten him to the punch with publications of their own.

Pittsburgh book dealer David McKeehan was the first. Over Lewis's strenuous objections, he had purchased expedition member Patrick Gass's journal and rushed it into print in 1807. A British edition of Gass's work was published the very next year.⁹ A writer for a popular British literary journal was quick to acquire a copy because in his words, "very few projects within our recollection have excited in us a more interesting kind of curiosity ... and we were delighted at the information, that a band of adventurers had been sent to traverse the unknown region, in order to bring descriptions which would convert our vague fantastic visions into pictures of realities."¹⁰ Alas, such high hopes soon were dashed. Readers in the British academic and scientific communities purchased the little book expecting a work of romantic literature or Enlightenment science, but Sergeant Gass's writings failed to satisfy on either score.

After reading the book, the disappointed critic

concluded that the task of telling the American expedition's story in a proper fashion was beyond the reach of the rustic backwoodsman who had penned this account. He called Gass "the completest extinguisher of fancy that ever beheld or related wonderful things." According to his reckoning the American traveler had failed to capture "the grand appearances of the country, its wild aspect of unsubdued nature, the solemnity of its vast solitudes, the silence of its plains, the magnificence of its streams, the thunder of its cataracts, its endless changes of scenery, and the characters and manners of its few diminishing tribes of fierce and forlorn inhabitants."¹¹

The comments of Scottish schoolmaster, geographer and University of Edinburgh professor James Pillans were equally disparaging. He branded Gass's tome a shabby little book written by "a mere underling, and without one chart to guide the eye or assist the memory." Claiming to be among a rare few, who ever bothered to read the book from cover to cover, Pillans expressed amazement at Gass's talent for avoiding anything that could interest or amuse. Conditioned by the narratives of Cook and Vancouver to expect a full accounting of the expedition's scientific discoveries replete with handsome maps and illustrations, the unhappy Scot characterized the work under review as a disorganized jumble of minutia relieved only occasionally with some valuable fact. Gass, he charged, had barely mentioned the ancient ruins and prehistoric sites along their route of travel and he had little more to say on the subject of American zoology. According to Pillans, he focused instead on such mundane matters as the number of gills of whiskey that Lewis had issued crewmembers and the frequency of Clark's dispensation of Dr. Benjamin Rush's legendary purging pills that Stephen Ambrose famously dubbed "thunderclappers." In the end the Scottish scholar refused to hold the subordinate Gass responsible for what he deemed to have been the shortcomings of the expedition's planners and leaders.¹²

The immediate successor to Gass's work was an even greater disappointment. A second American publisher cobbled together a dismal and spurious work that interspersed items from the previously published letters that Lewis and Clark had written at Fort Mandan in 1805 with plagiarized passages from the North American travels of explorer Jonathan Carver who had never ventured farther west than the Mississippi.¹³

Attempts to pass the book off as an authoritative account of Lewis and Clark's journey failed to fool British readers who quickly recognized the familiar

excerpts lifted from Carver's writings first published in England in 1778. Despite the shortcomings of these initial offerings, British scholars were not yet prepared to write off the American Corps of Discovery. Notwithstanding the "provoking dryness of our good friend Mr. Patrick Gass," or the dexterous trickery of a largely apocryphal work, the *Eclectic Review's* critic continued to hope that "Capt. Lewis means to give a full account of the journey, in his own name and words."¹⁴ The writer had no way of knowing that Lewis had died in the Tennessee wilderness a few weeks earlier.

When the long-promised "official version" compiled by Biddle finally debuted in 1814, Robert Southey, England's poet laureate from 1813 to 1843, took pen in hand and drafted an extended review essay surveying the literature of the Lewis and Clark expedition.¹⁵ While little known today, Southey wrote poetry, authored histories, contributed to British literary journals, and counted famous authors like Samuel Taylor Coleridge and William Wordsworth as close friends. No doubt he would be astonished and more than a little chagrined to learn that the most memorable of his literary efforts turned out to be a short piece seldom attributed to him, "The Story of the Three Bears."

Southey's biting commentary on Lewis and Clark's travels published in the *Quarterly Review* captured the tone and flavor of popular British writings on the subject. Reviewers especially delighted in poking fun at the place names Lewis and Clark assigned to their discoveries. Pillans, a scholar trained in the classics, labeled it "puerile pedantry" to name rivers Independence and Philosophy. He also ridiculed calling streams at the headwaters of the Missouri, Jefferson, Wisdom and Philanthropy, contending that "we would rather know the American rivers by the most barbarous of native sounds [i.e. their Indian names] than submit to such canting affectation as this."¹⁶ Unable to resist the temptation to take a swipe at America's lack of cultural sophistication, Southey joined the chorus. Lewis and Clark, he noted, called a willow-covered island in the Missouri Bad-humoured Isle simply because they had anchored there following a

Sioux attempt to commandeer one of their merchandise-laden boats.¹⁷

Southey opined that: "Of all people who ever imposed names upon a newly discovered country the Americans have certainly been the most unlucky in their choices." As

examples he cited Bigmuddy River, Littlemuddy River, Littleshallow River, Good Woman River, Little Good Woman Creek, Grindstone Creek, Cupboard Creek, Biscuit Creek, Blowing Fly Creek and as he sarcastically concluded, "many others in the same delightful taste."¹⁸ He teased about how sweetly those names would sound in verse when the bucolic American nation finally attained civilized inhabitants, cities, scholars and poets worthy of notice. In that vein the amused poet offered up a few satirical lines in imitation of what they might say:

Ye plains where sweet Bigmuddy rolls along,
And Teapot, one day to be famed in song,
Whose swans on Biscuit and on Grindstone glide
And willows wave upon Good Woman's side!

How shall your happy streams in after time
Tune the soft lay and fill the sonorous rhyme!
Blest bards, who in your amorous verse will call
On murmuring Pork and gentle Cannon-Ball;
Split-Rock, and Stick-Lodge, and Two-Thousand-Mile,
White-lime and Cupboard, and Bad-humour'd Isle!
Flow, Little Shallow, flow! And be thy stream
Their great example, as it will their theme!
Isis with Rum and Onion must not vie,
Cam shall resign the palm to Blowing-Fly,
And Thames and Tagus yield to great Big Little Dry.¹⁹

In a more serious vein, British commentators provided sharply contrasting assessments of Lewis and Clark's scientific findings. Purists like Southey and Pillans, steeped in the traditions of Enlightenment science, searched in vain for evidence of comparison, classification and analysis. They considered the American reports a pale imitation of true science because the data was mostly descriptive and not particularly well organized. Southey



England's poet laureate Robert Southey was a prolific writer and critic. He is credited with introducing the term "autobiography," and with writing the nursery rhyme "What are Little Boys Made of?"

ROBERT SOUTHEY BY EDWARD NASH. © NATIONAL PORTRAIT GALLERY, LONDON



KARL BOOMER. BISON-DANCE OF THE MANDAN INDIANS. ENGRAVING WITH AQUATINT, HAND-COLORED. COURTESY OF JOSLYN ART MUSEUM, OMAHA, NEBRASKA

On January 5, 1805, Clark wrote: "(we Sent a man to this Medisan [Dance] last night, they gave him 4 Girls) all this to cause the buffalo to Come near So that They may kill them." In his 1814 edition of the journals, Nicholas Biddle rendered Clark's account of the ceremony into Latin, and Elliot Coues did the same in 1893.

lambasted the American venture as amateurish and blamed its inadequacies on "an illiberal and parsimonious government."²⁰ Access to the field notes, unedited journals and specimen collections might have muted the severity of such criticism, but it is unlikely that those additional materials would have silenced altogether the complaints of the American expedition's harshest academic critics. They lamented the U.S. government's failure to recruit properly trained scientists to accompany the expedition. Southey boasted, "Had the expedition been executed under the auspices of the British government, it would have been fitted out with characteristic liberality; draftsmen and naturalists would have been attached to it, and the official publication might have vied in beauty and excellence with that of Cook's Voyages."²¹

A lone British dissenter cautioned that the American venture was "an enterprise very far beyond the ability of

any band of philosophers, poets, and artists, that could have been selected from all mankind." He suggested that only after well-stocked trading stations had been established along the route of travel, and the Indian tribes had been coerced into submission, would it be possible for exploring parties to enjoy the luxury of taking along, "an accomplished draughtsman, whose hands shall never be summoned to any rougher service than that of handling the pencil."²² Those able to draw proper pictures of Indians, plants, animals and western landscapes that would satisfy European curiosity were likely tenderfeet poorly suited to the rigors of wilderness travel. Their delicate hands were suited for pens but not oars.

Even the American expedition's severest British detractors acknowledged the value of the descriptive data in Biddle's narrative. Without exception, the British periodicals devoted the largest share of their coverage

to stories recounting the encounters between Lewis and Clark and Indians. Europeans were locked in a debate to decide whether native peoples were wild beasts or noble savages, and scholars routinely searched travel journals for the kind of evidence that might allow them to resolve the issue.

Jean Jacques Rousseau celebrated the noble savage and extolled the virtues of life in the state of nature, while Thomas Hobbes proclaimed that in the state of nature life was nasty, brutish and short. To the dismay of many, passages from Lewis and Clark's journals could be used to justify either view of savagism. On more than one occasion British reviewers puzzled over how to interpret their writings. The dramatic story of Sacagawea's unexpected encounter with her long-lost Shoshone brother Cameahwait astonished many. Their tearful reunion prompted one commentator to conclude "these are incidents more romantic and sentimental than one would expect to meet with in a camp of savages; and one sees with pleasure, that in no situation is man abandoned by some of the best feelings of his nature."²³ Shades of Rousseau!

Most British writers, however, were drawn to more scandalous scenes such as the Mandan Buffalo and Medicine dances in which young tribesmen offered their naked wives to tribal elders for sexual purposes in the belief that these ceremonies would draw the buffalo near and that hunting prowess could be transferred from one man to another through sexual relations with the same woman. Nineteenth century sensibilities kept most journalists from spelling out these practices with any specificity. Instead they left their audiences to imagine the nature of these "abominably gross" festivities that were "the most vile and indecorous amusement which we have any where seen described."²⁴ They expressed gratitude that Biddle had avoided offending decency by rendering his account of these vulgar practices in Latin instead of the common vernacular. Gratitude notwithstanding, the commentators could not resist the temptation to remark about the poor quality of his Latin translations.²⁵

Southey was suitably appalled by reports of women dancing naked in open daylight, and prostituting themselves publicly in the intervals of the dance, but he was equally offended that Clark and his companions who had witnessed these abominations "were not men who felt any pain at beholding the degradation of human nature." After chiding them for seeming to enjoy the vulgar proceedings far too much, Southey acknowledged that in their complicity the Americans had performed a



CHESTER HARDING, © 1820, WILLIAM CLARK AS GOVERNOR OF THE TERRITORY OF MISSOURI, COURTESY OF THE ST. LOUIS MERCANTILE LIBRARY

By 1820, Clark, shown above, was completing his third term as Missouri's territorial governor.

useful service: "Thanks, however, to these travelers, and to such as these, we shall no longer be pestered with rhapsodies in praise of savage life; it is now known, what never ought to have been doubted, that in that state the greater part of our virtues are never developed, and all the vices of brute man are called into full action."²⁶

Southey's Hobbesian view of Indian character clearly predominated in the British commentaries. By the end of the eighteenth century, scholars associated with the Scottish Enlightenment had successfully called into question Rousseau's attempts to glorify primitivism, the simple life and the virtues of native people. British readers of the Lewis and Clark journals generally echoed Southey's negative view. One reviewer likened the Indians to "human wild animals." Some tribes, he acknowledged might appear quite friendly and hospitable, but others he warned, "betrayed indications of what they would have been willing to do, had they dared."²⁷ Another



William Clark's 1814 map of the expedition route is heralded today as a landmark achievement in cartography, but when it appeared in Nicholas Biddle's edition

labeled the Indians "a contemptible enemy in the eye of civilized warriors." After conceding that some Indians were "honest and hospitable" and others were "selfish and addicted to theft," he admonished his readers that travelers in the American wilds would be well advised to be steadily on their guard since he was confident that the majority of savages fell into the dangerous category.²⁸

American geography received slightly less notice than native people in the published British discourses on Lewis and Clark's travels. The vastness of the American West and the unique geographic features of its landscape

captivated most reviewers and prompted them to ponder both the land's harshness and its romantic character. Nothing better captured those qualities for the Brits than the Great Falls of the Missouri River. After reading Lewis's description of that scene, one enthralled writer imagined that this grand natural wonder in the solitude of a boundless wilderness might be "the one place on earth where the most formidable of all the elements should exhibit the greatest number of beautiful and tremendous forms and agencies in the shortest time and space."²⁹ Patrick Gass might have missed the sublime character of



WILLIAM CLARK, "MAP OF LEWIS AND CLARK'S TRACK, ACROSS THE WESTERN PORTION OF NORTH AMERICA," COPIED BY SAMUEL LEWIS, 1814

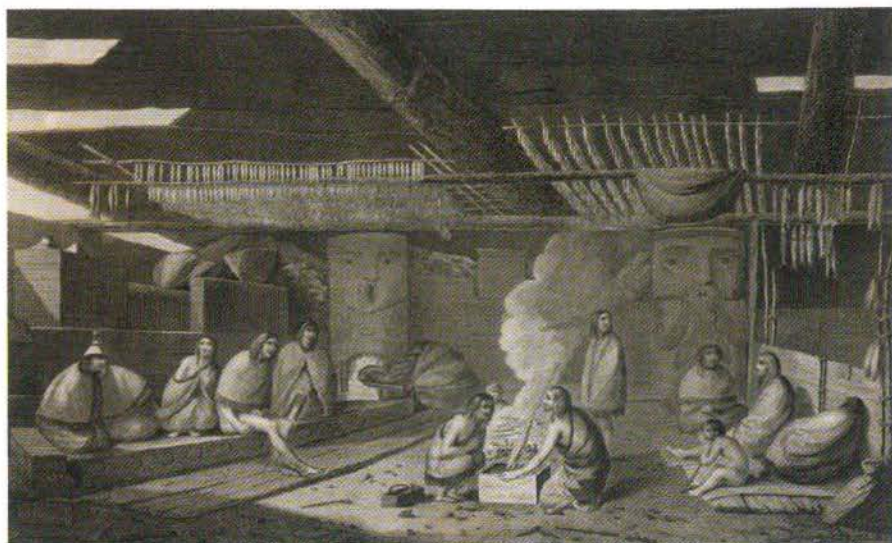
on of the journals, British reviewers accorded it scant notice. One did criticize the publisher for failing to use color to mark the Corps of Discovery's route.

this American scene, but it had not eluded Meriwether Lewis or the British readers of his eloquent descriptive passage.

Not unexpectedly, British scholars gravitated to findings that contradicted prevailing notions about North American geography. Two things in particular caught their eye: First, there was no connecting water passage linking the Missouri River to the Columbia (a great disappointment to Jefferson) and secondly, the Rocky Mountains were grander and more extensive than anyone had dared imagine. With this new information,

even Southey agreed that, "Little is now wanting to complete the geography of North America and our knowledge of its native tribes."³⁰

Remarkably, most reviewers barely mentioned Samuel Lewis's remarkable engraving of William Clark's master map of the West first published in Biddle's 1814 history. Today geographers universally acclaim it to be a landmark achievement in American cartography, but Southey failed to acknowledge it altogether; another reviewer chided the publishers for failing to use colors to mark the expedition's routes, and a third simply reported "the



JAMES COOK, VOYAGE TO THE PACIFIC OCEAN, 1785

Captain James Cook (1728-1779) made three voyages to the Pacific. Cook's first two expeditions were launched in an attempt to find the great southern continent (Antarctica). Cook was unsuccessful in his search for this continent, but his discovery of many new lands and his gathering of scientific information on the Pacific Ocean were considered a success. The prints and maps from his expeditions provide contemporary and accurate images from this episode of exploration. These images are dated 1785 by John Webber and titled "The Inside of a Nootka House" and "Canoes of Oonalashka." After viewing images from Cook's voyages, Britons were unimpressed with the lack of illustrations in Lewis and Clark's journals.

present volume contains a map of the country passed by the travelers, with a few engravings on a small scale."³¹

British commentators were more drawn to the recitation of tales of derring-do they gleaned from the journals. They wrote extensively about the perils of rugged mountains and swift-flowing streams, summer thunderstorms and winter blizzards, temperatures as low as 45 degrees below zero Fahrenheit, the bothersome mosquitoes, and all sorts of strange and unpredictable wild animals—the very things that still captivate modern-day Lewis and Clark devotees. It was the encounters with bears that held their most rapt attention. One reviewer described engagements with brown and white bears as "very high entertainment."³² Southey, the author of the popular story about three bears, regaled his readers by recounting Captain Clark's observations on the fearsome grizzlies whose awesome powers made them the dread of all and required a shot through the brain to bring them down.³³

Most of the British commentaries paid scant heed to the possible commercial and geopolitical repercussions of the Lewis and Clark journey. The observant Southey was little bothered by the prospect that the ambitious Americans might one day supplant the great British trading companies in the far Northwest. His assessment speaks volumes about the British nation's confidence in its ability to retain control over the region:

If a nation required nothing more to make it great than the spirit of enterprise in the people, and ambition in its government, splendid indeed would be the prospects of the United States! Long as the arms of ambition are, we have seldom heard of a longer reach than from the city of Washington to the mouth of the Great River of the West. But it does not appear probable that

this portion of that vast continent will fall to the share of the Americans.³⁴

After all, Sir Alexander Mackenzie had traveled across Canada to the Pacific 10 years before Lewis and Clark made their trek, and Southey had concluded that his route was both easier and shorter. Southey also insisted that the Canadian traders equaled their American rivals in their spirit of adventure and surpassed them when it came to capital. Southey considered the Russians and Spaniards more formidable threats to British interests in that region.³⁵ In the end, the failure of the British to take seriously the American nation's threat proved to be a costly miscalculation.

From the moment the first reports about the American Corps of Discovery reached Great Britain, public officials, academics, journalists and well-educated readers began imagining the expedition's possibilities and pondering its import. Two hundred years later, a fascination with what they still refer to as the Wild West continues to enthrall many Britons and their European neighbors across the channel. American tourism boards regularly seek to entice European travelers to discover for themselves some of the natural wonders that Lewis and Clark first reported. So during your travels along the trail don't be surprised if you bump into someone from the other side of the Atlantic continuing a quest that began two centuries ago.

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Dr. William E. Foley is an LCTHF member and retired history professor (University of Central Missouri). He currently serves as general editor of the Missouri Biography Series for the University of Missouri Press. He resides in Warrensburg, Missouri, and is working on a biography of General James Wilkinson.

NOTES

¹ James P. Ronda, "St. Louis Welcomes and Toasts the Lewis and Clark Expedition: A Newly Discovered 1806 Newspaper Account," *We Proceeded On*, Vol. 13, Issue 1 (February 1987), pp. 19-20.

² William E. Foley, "After the Applause: William Clark's Failed 1820 Gubernatorial Campaign," *Gateway Heritage*, Vol. 24 (Fall 2003-Winter 2004), pp. 104-111. Special Commemorative Issue, "Lewis & Clark New Perspectives."

³ "Brief Notices of the Principal Events in the Public Life of Governor Clark," 1820, original copy in St. Charles Circuit Court case file "Rector v. Roberts and Nash," 1821, Missouri State Archives Judicial Records, Chancery Court, Collection 10, microfilm reel c54279.

⁴ James P. Ronda, "Exploring the American West in the Age of Jefferson," in *North American Exploration*, Vol. 3, *A Continent Comprehended*, ed. John Logan Allen (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1977), p. 9.

⁵ Public Record Office, National Archives, London, England, FO5, Vol. 38, pp. 105-107 and 305-08; Vol. 45, pp. 252 and 257; and Vol. 49, pp. 215-221.

⁶ Anthony Merry to Charles James Fox, November 2, 1806, Public Record Office, FO5, Vol. 49, pp. 215-221.

⁷ *Times* (London), December 3, 1806.

⁸ *Ibid.*, December 4, 1806.

⁹ Patrick Gass, *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke of the army of the United States; from the mouth of the river Missouri, through the interior parts of North America, to the Pacific Ocean; during the years 1804, 1805, 1806* (London, 1808).

¹⁰ *Eclectic Review*, Vol. 5 (February 1809), p. 105. This journal was published in London.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 105 and 111.

¹² *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 1 (May 1809), pp. 294-297. This journal also was published in London.

¹³ *The Travels of Capts. Lewis & Clarke, from St. Louis, by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific Ocean, compiled from various authentic sources, and original documents* (Philadelphia, 1809). A British edition was published the same year with a slightly altered title.

¹⁴ *Eclectic Review*, Vol. 5 (November 1809), p. 1053.

¹⁵ "Lewis and Clark's American Travels," *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 12 (January 1815), pp. 317-368. The essay is unsigned, but



Captain Clark and his men shooting Bears.

This illustration appears in the 1904 reprint of Sergeant Patrick Gass's original journal. Britons were enthralled by tales of danger and the primitive nature of the West. They were particularly fascinated by encounters with bears, which one reviewer called "very high entertainment."

Southey's original manuscript draft can be found in Vol. 4 of the Robert Southey Papers, document no. 47886, Manuscripts Collections, The British Library, London.

¹⁶ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 1 (May 1809), pp. 295-297.

¹⁷ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 12 (January 1815), p. 335.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 335-336.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Eclectic Review*, New Series, Vol. 5 (February 1816), pp. 106 and 109. Jefferson had said much the same in a letter to his friend the Comte de Volney, Jefferson to Volney, February 11, 1806, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

²³ *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 24 (February 1815), pp. 430-431.

²⁴ *Ibid.*; *Eclectic Review*, New Series, Vol. 5 (February 1816), p. 119.

²⁵ *Eclectic Review*, New Series, Vol. 5 (February 1816), p. 119; and *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 12 (January 1815), p. 328.

²⁶ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 12 (January 1815), p. 328.

²⁷ *Eclectic Review*, New Series, Vol. 5 (February 1816), p. 110.

²⁸ *Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, Vol. 78 (September 1815), p. 12.

²⁹ *Eclectic Review*, New Series, Vol. 5 (February 1816), p. 125.

³⁰ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 12 (January 1815), p. 368.

³¹ *Eclectic Review*, New Series, Vol. 5 (February 1816), p. 132; *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 24 (February 1815), p. 438; and *Monthly Review or Literary Journal*, Vol. 78 (September 1815), p. 13.

³² *Eclectic Review*, New Series, Vol. 5 (February 1816), pp. 109-110.

³³ *Quarterly Review*, Vol. 12 (January 1815), p. 333.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 361-362.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

IN THE FIELD WITH LEWIS AND CLARK

*Charles Fritz: An artist
with the Corps of Discovery*

BY JIM MERRITT

On the day in June 1805 when Meriwether Lewis first gazed in wonder at the Great Falls of the Missouri, he lamented his inability to capture the spectacle in all its shimmering, thundering majesty. Only a gifted artist or poet, he concluded, could do it justice, but of course the expedition had neither.

No matter. Lewis's prose served well enough for the occasion, and any number of artists have since followed in the captain's wake. With its countless dramatic moments played out in an edenic landscape of rivers, prairies, and mountains, the Lewis and Clark saga has inspired narrative artists from C.M. Russell to John Clymer to a host of contemporary painters spawned by the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial (2003-2006).

Among the current generation of Lewis and Clark artists, one of the most talented and productive is Charles Fritz, of Billings, Montana. Fritz completed his first Lewis and Clark painting in 1998 and his last one in 2008. The grand total for his 10 years' effort: 100 oils chronicling events described in the explorers' journals, from a shooting match

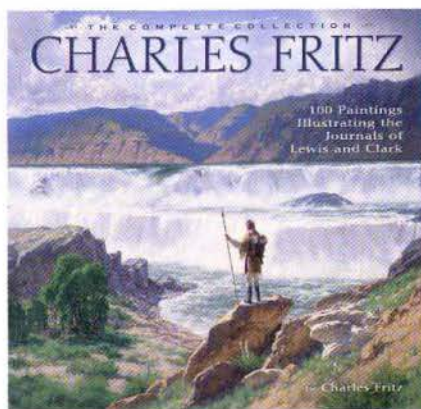
in the snow at Camp Wood River in January 1804 to their triumphal return to St. Louis in September 1806.

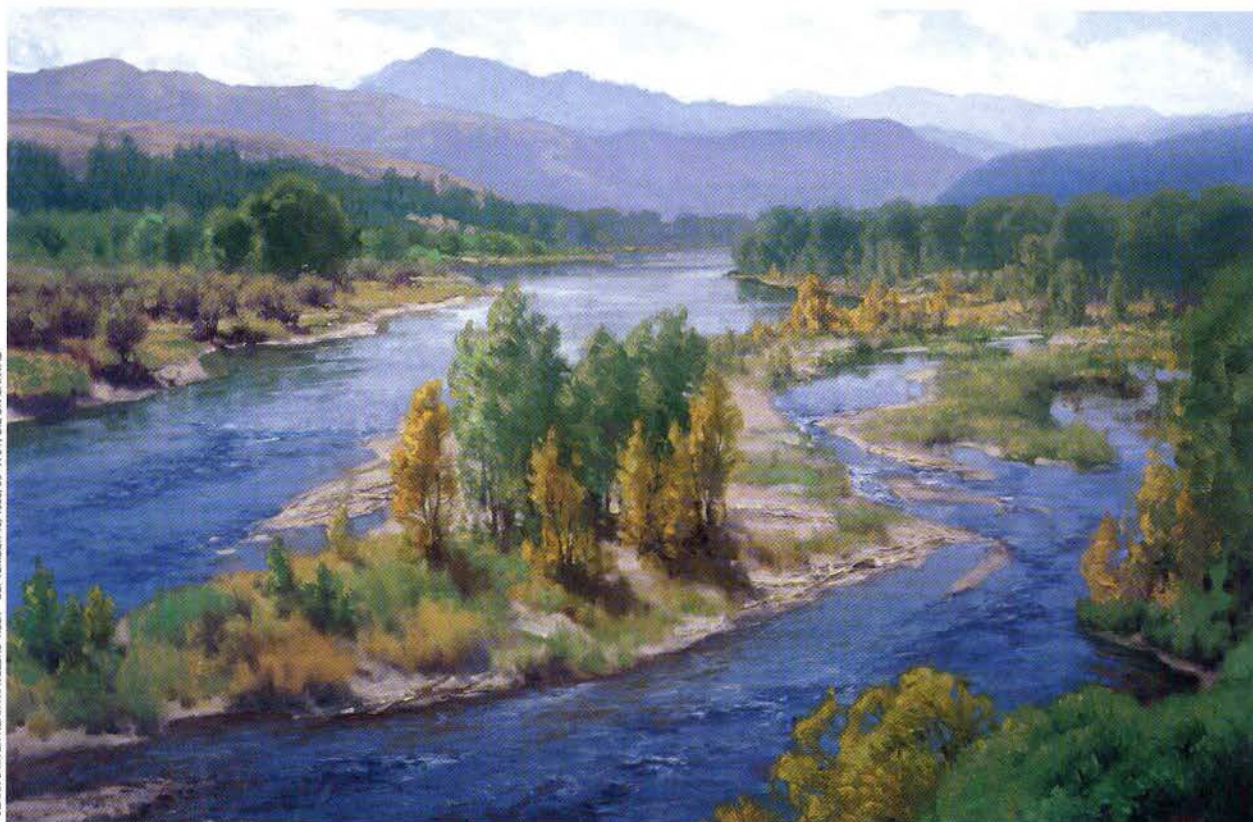
His works are showcased in *Charles Fritz: 100 Paintings Illustrating the Journals of Lewis and Clark*, published this month by Farcountry Press, and can be seen in an exhibit opening at the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, on June 6 and running through August 30. The

exhibit is underwritten by Tim Peterson, a Boston-based investor and art collector who owns the paintings and hopes to show them at other venues after Cody. Ultimately he wants to find a museum that will keep them on permanent display.

Fritz's interests in history, the outdoors and art go back to a boyhood in Mason City, Iowa, where he was born in 1955. As a kid he read about voyageurs and the region's Indians and homesteaders, made Indian costumes ("not historically accurate") in elementary school and the Boy Scouts, canoed and fished and hunted with a bow and arrows, and learned the rudiments of drawing and painting from his dad,

an art teacher.





After the grueling days of crossing Lemhi Pass and finding no route to travel on the Snake River, the Corps of Discovery traveled north up the valley of today's Bitterroot River. Enduring harsh weather conditions, the corps needed a day to rest. A halt was called on September 10, 1805, and the day was used to prepare for the anticipated hardships of crossing "those unknown formidable snow clad Mountains." Hunters were sent out and all others were employed with preparing equipment and clothing for the march ahead. On September 9, Lewis wrote of the predominance of cottonwood trees near the river.

Although he sold his first painting, of a Dall sheep, in seventh grade, it would be many years before he thought about trying to make a living as an artist. At Iowa State University he majored in history and education with the idea of a career in teaching, but a post-college bicycle tour of Europe with a friend rekindled his interest in art.

"We visited museums and cathedrals, and I came home pretty fired up about art and enthusiastic about painting again," he recalls.

"I was also broke," Fritz adds, so he took a job teaching third grade in Boone, Iowa, and started painting in his spare time. Two years later, his modest success selling a few paintings to friends made it easier to quit his day job to devote full time to art. Shortly afterward, he married his wife, Joan, an orchestral music teacher, and they moved to Billings in 1981 when she was offered a position in the school system there.

Inspired by the French Impressionists, Fritz's passion was (and remains) painting *en plein air*—setting up his easel outdoors and working to capture the fleeting play of light on land. Although mostly self-taught, he studied privately for a while with Hall Diteman, a Billings landscapist whose luminous canvasses he admired.

In 1986 he met Bob Scriver, a renowned Montana sculp-

tor who became a friend and mentor and whose Flat Iron Ranch, on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, became Fritz's base for field work in and around Glacier National Park.

Through Scriver he eventually connected with Wayne York, a collector of western art who had grown up in eastern Montana near the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. York was seeking an artist to paint a scene based on Meriwether Lewis's description of sighting the Yellowstone from a bluff on the Missouri in 1805. Scriver recommended Fritz, who jumped at the opportunity. In 1998, while working on field studies for the commission, he got to pondering how Thomas Jefferson had neglected to send an artist on the expedition. Gazing across the same landscape that had captivated Lewis nearly two centuries before, he determined to make up for the oversight.

Thus began Charles Fritz's decade-long quest to capture in oil on canvas the look of the West as seen through the eyes of Jefferson's explorers.

In 2003 the University of Montana assembled 72 of his paintings into a traveling bicentennial exhibit, and they were incorporated into a book, *Charles Fritz: An Artist with the Corps of Discovery*, co-published in 2004 by Farcountry and the University of Montana Press.

Fritz planned to sell the paintings to individual buyers once the exhibit finished touring, but by now he was having second thoughts: historically and aesthetically, he realized, the collection was greater than the sum of its parts, and it would be better to keep it together if at all possible.

Enter Tim Peterson. An avid collector of western historical art, he approached Fritz about acquiring some of his paintings and in 2005 agreed to buy them all, provided the artist was willing to expand the collection to 100 canvasses. Peterson grew up in Minnesota with the same love of the outdoors as Fritz. He has long been a student of the expedition and was concerned, he says, about “holes” in the collection—important events that Fritz had yet to paint. Together they combed the Lewis and Clark journals to fill in the gaps. Then Fritz hit the trail for another three years.

(Before his arrangement with Peterson, Fritz already had sold some paintings to other collectors. He and Peterson mutually agreed that a few of the previously purchased canvasses were sufficiently important to merit new versions. These included Lewis sighting the Yellowstone, Lewis at the Great Falls and a buffalo chase at Fort Mandan.

Each new painting incorporates details not found in the original. In the first version of the buffalo chase, for example, all the mounted hunters are Indians, while in the second they are joined by a member of the expedition. Fritz also redid some paintings in a larger format. Including field studies used for reference, he estimates his total number of Lewis and Clark paintings may run to 120.)

Field work is key to Fritz’s approach. He starts with a passage from the journals, then visits the site described—always in the same season as the journal entry. He might stay a day or three days. He sets up his easel, prepares his palette and goes to work, rendering a scene with quick brushstrokes on a masonite board. The resulting field study is one of many he may do over the course of his stay. The boards go into a slotted box for drying and storage. Weeks or months later he will prop them up in his studio as memory aids for executing the larger, finished canvas.

He cites the example of his painting of Beaverhead Rock, first viewed by the explorers on August 8, 1805, as they ap-

proached the Continental Divide. “I camped there for three days and did four studies at different angles and light conditions. The light changes every ten minutes. After three days you start to understand and appreciate a place. Field studies are my raw materials. When I look at them again in the studio it all comes back—the details and the emotions, how I felt for the place. With a digital snapshot that doesn’t happen.” Painting on-site, he has written, gives him a “heightened understanding” of his subject and “brings a higher level of insight and energy to the work—and viewers respond.”

Field trips can last from three days to three weeks. He’s always alone—“they are pretty intense,” he says, and the work demands his undivided attention. Fritz eschews motels in favor of camping on the spot, even in the middle of winter

in North Dakota, as he did for his Fort Mandan series, when temperatures plunged below zero. He lives and sleeps in a four-door, crew-cab pickup, the universal “Montana Cadillac.”

The elements—wind especially—can be a challenge. Fritz secures his board or stretched canvas (sometimes he executes larger works in the field) to the easel with eyed screws and anchors the easel with ropes tied to stakes driven into the ground. Hard expe-

rience has taught him to take such precautions, even on the calmest day. “There are times when it’ll be totally quiet,” he says, “then a gust hits” and the painting winds up face down in the dust. “It can be real disappointing.”

Although early in his career Fritz painted watercolors, since coming to Montana he’s worked exclusively in oils. He likes the texture of oil paint and his ability to adjust its tackiness to the conditions by mixing in more or less turpentine. Watercolors are ill suited to the West’s harsh, dry climate, he says. “Oil is much more forgiving when it comes to humidity and temperature changes. I’ve painted in temperatures ranging from minus 5 to 105 degrees. It’s a wonderful medium for what I like to do.”

Fritz has been producing historical art for years—before his Lewis and Clark period he explored Montana agricultural history through paintings of wheat harvests in the era of draft horses and steam threshers. Yet he continues to



Charles Fritz doing his field study for his painting *Hide Tipis of the Yankton Sioux*. In the introduction to his new book Fritz writes, “An artist with the corps would have had more inspiration than he or she had time; and I could empathize, as to this day I remain in awe of the incredible landscapes traversed by the expedition.”



Lewis wrote on August 8, 1805, "the Indian woman recognized the point of a high plain to our right which she informed us was not very distant from the summer retreat of her nation on a river beyond the mountains which runs to the west. this hill she says her nation calls the beaver's head from a conceived remembrance [sic] of it's [sic] figure to the head of that animal." The Corps of Discovery was in a sorry state as they fought their way up the narrow and crooked Jefferson River, today called the Beaverhead River. Many of the men were ailing from the rigors of each day's progress. When Sacagawea recognized this rock formation and pronounced that her Shoshone people were close, it gave a needed boost to morale. Viewed from other directions, the rock formation just looks like any pile of rocks. However, in the first hours after sunrise, when viewed from the south and west, the complex mass of rock indeed appears as the head of a swimming beaver.

think of himself primarily as a landscapist, and justifiably: at least a third of his Lewis and Clark paintings are landscapes, with no human figures.

When people are part of a scene, they are added in the studio. Fritz generally starts by painting the physical setting, then integrates the figures. He uses models. In his rendering of William Clark sighting the Pacific Ocean on November 7, 1805, the captain's stand-in was Isaac Fritz, the artist's elder son. For a painting of York, Clark's slave, he found Paul Taylor, an African American who works as a trainer in a Billings health club. (Unbeknownst to Fritz, Taylor was already portraying York in re-enactments at Pompey's Pil-

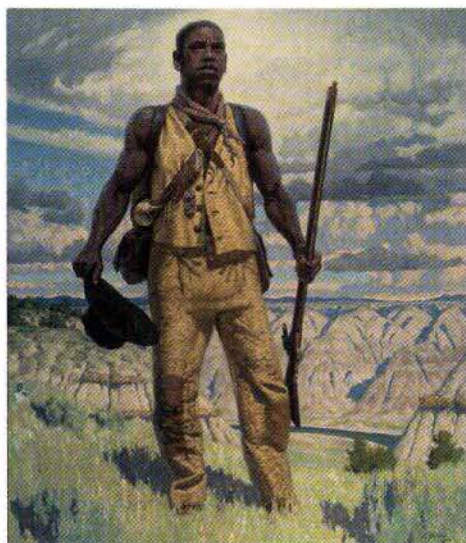
lar.) In a pinch, Fritz will act as his own model—throwing on a capote or deerskin and shooting himself using the shutter delay on his digital camera.

Mindful of Jefferson's promise that the expedition would "delineate with correctness the great arteries of this great country" (*correctness* being the operative word), Fritz is scrupulous about historical accuracy. You won't find introduced plant species sprouting in his landscapes, and his explorers dress and groom themselves according to the latest scholarship—no visored beaver hats or beards. His goal is to make his paintings "state-of-the-art accurate," and he credits his historian Robert J. Moore and artist Michael Haynes, the

author and illustrator of *Tailor Made, Trail Worn* (Farcountry Press, 2003), for their pioneering work on the Corps of Discovery's clothing and accoutrements. Fritz is also grateful that he paints in the era of the Internet. "If I have a question I can go online and get the answer from an expert in minutes or hours."

Fritz's studio is part of the house he and Joan built in 1985 on two acres south of Billings, in view of the Yellowstone. "If I'd been looking out my studio window on July 24, 1806," he says, "I would have seen Sergeant Pryor driving the horses east and Captain Clark's canoes go by on the river." The space is festooned with Indian artifacts, antique rifles and mementoes from his many hunting trips, including trophy heads of moose and elk and a fully mounted grizzly bear he shot in Alaska. He's usually in the studio by six in the morning and works until five or six in the evening.

"Historical paintings are very time-consuming," says Fritz. "You don't just work when you're 'inspired'—you have to be at the easel many hours. I generally allow two



CLIMPSING FREEDOM: YORK'S JOURNEY WITH THE CORPS OF DISCOVERY, 38" X 37" OIL ON CANVAS

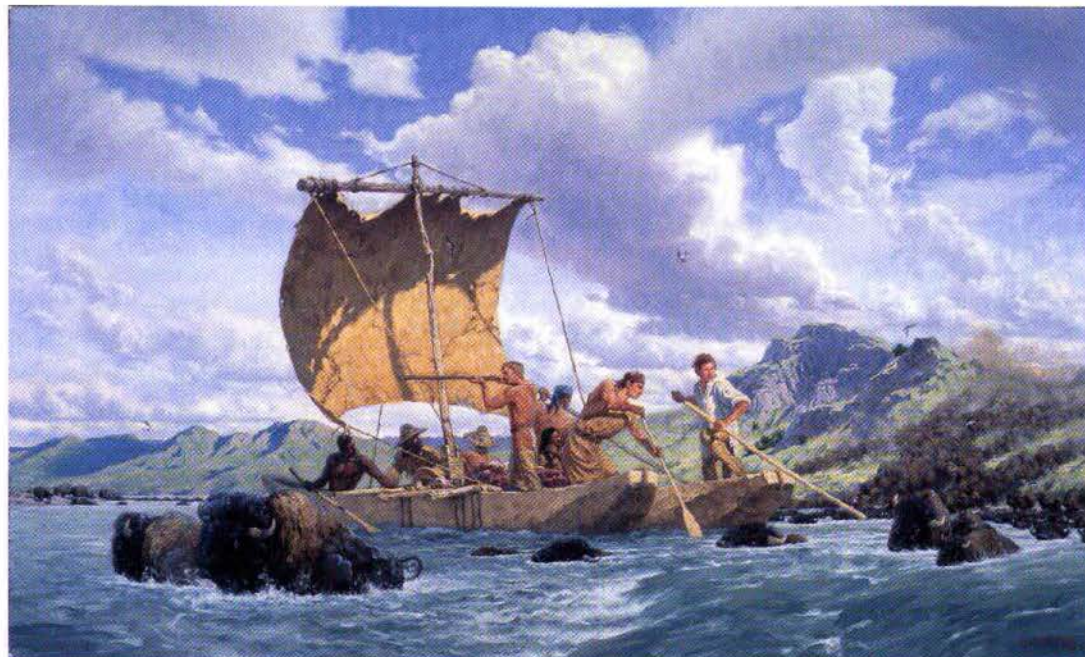
In the far reaches of the Louisiana Territory, Clark's slave, York, experienced an uncommon level of personal freedom and social value that never would have been possible in the South. Like the young nation it represented, the Corps of Discovery attained greater success because of its unintentional diversity.

months for a large figurative painting. Sometimes, if a figure isn't right, if the placement is wrong or maybe it's a little too big or too small, there's nothing to do but re-do it."

Fritz is thankful to Peterson for expanding his Corps of Discovery collection and keeping it whole for future generations. His patron echoes the sentiment. For artistic, historical and educational reasons, says Peterson, "I thoroughly believe that fifty or a hundred years from now, people will be very glad this collection was kept together."

As part of their agreement, Fritz is now finished with Lewis and Clark as a subject. He will miss the explorers but after ten years is ready to move on—to landscapes peopled by voyageurs and trappers, Pony Express riders and emigrants on the Oregon Trail. He's calculated that all his Lewis and Clark paintings, if lined up starting at one end of a football field, would stretch to the other end and another fifty yards beyond that.

Even at 100 paintings, Fritz didn't come close to covering all he might have. There's no image depicting the assembly of the iron-frame boat, for example, or the "vote" at Chinook Point about where to spend the winter on the Pacific, or any of the occasions when Lewis shot his air rifle to impress the Indians. The list goes on. Fritz muses, "There's so much in the journals, that even if you did 500 paintings you'd still have more to do."



CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK'S EXPLORATION OF THE RIVER ROCKY MOUNTAIN IN THE SUMMER OF 1806, 35" X 67" OIL ON CANVAS

On August 2, 1806, Clark wrote, "we were very near being detained by the Buffalow today which were Crossing the river we got through the line between 2 gangues." Floating through what is now eastern Montana the corps passed immense herds of bison and pronghorn in the rolling prairie, bighorn sheep in the cliffs, elk on every point, and wolves and grizzly bears roaming the riverbanks. To understand the Yellowstone's remoteness in 1806, consider that it would be fifty years more before the United States sent another survey party up the river.

Jim Merritt is the former editor of We Proceeded On. All images and captions are from Charles Fritz: 100 Paintings Illustrating the Journals of Lewis and Clark.

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Background landscape of Karl Bodmer's Tableau #10 "Fort Pierre Chateau On the Missouri River"
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OCEAN IN VIEW?

*A scientific analysis of the view
from Pillar Rock on November 7, 1805*

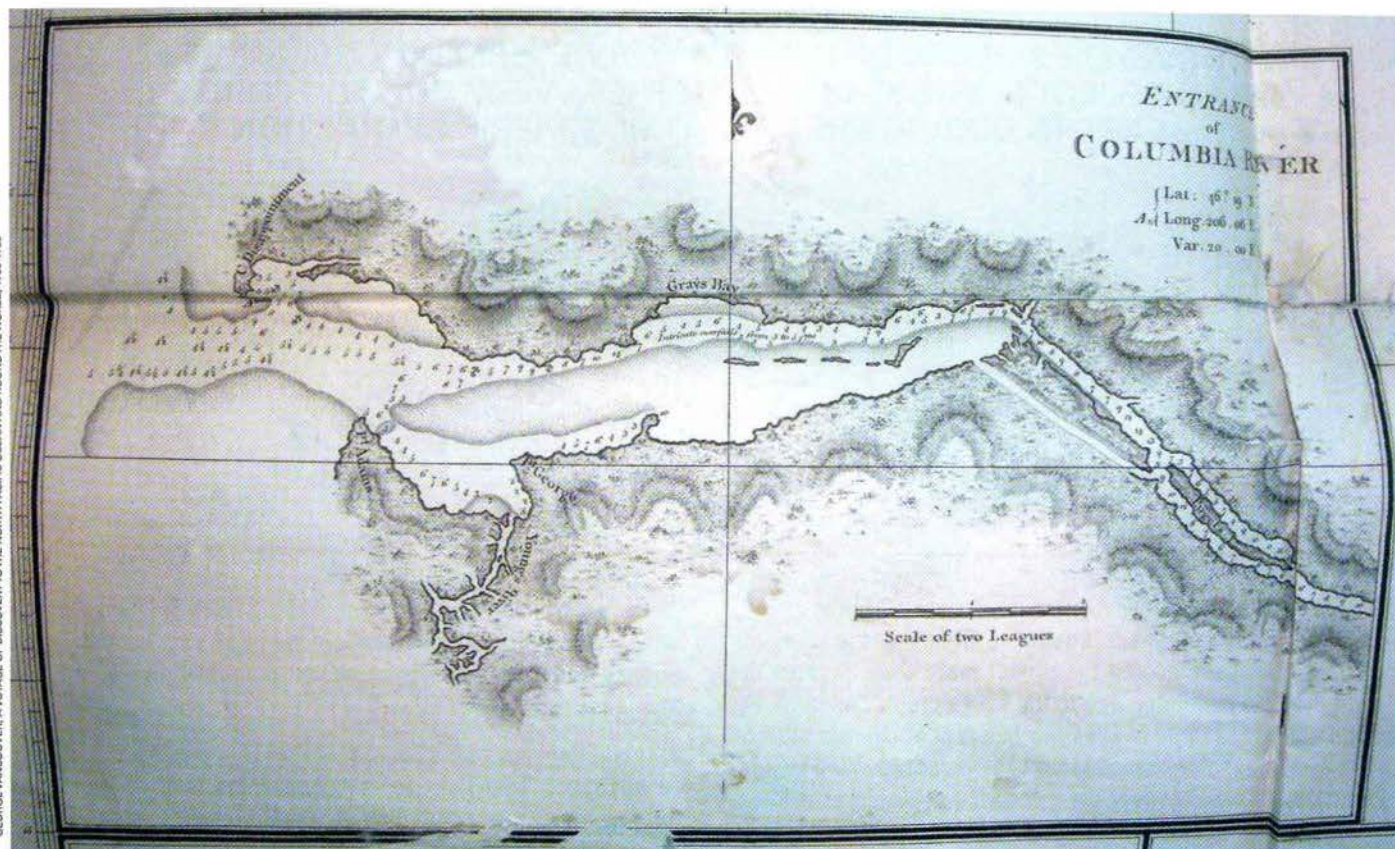
BY MIKE REES

Although more than 200 years have passed since the Lewis and Clark Expedition reached the Pacific Ocean, scholars and history enthusiasts continue to vigorously debate certain aspects of the journey. At the end of his course and distance log for November 7, 1805, Captain William Clark wrote, "*Ocian in view! O! the joy!*" which has been characterized as "the most famous declaration in the record of (Lewis and Clark's) joint command."¹ The Corps of Discovery had been traveling west for 18 months, and finally, it was nearing its destination—the Pacific Ocean. Winter was upon them and their journey from Fort Mandan, where they'd spent the previous winter, had been arduous and challenging. They had spent a month near the Great Falls of the Missouri, then ascended the Bitterroot Mountains and negotiated the Columbia's rapids to reach this point.

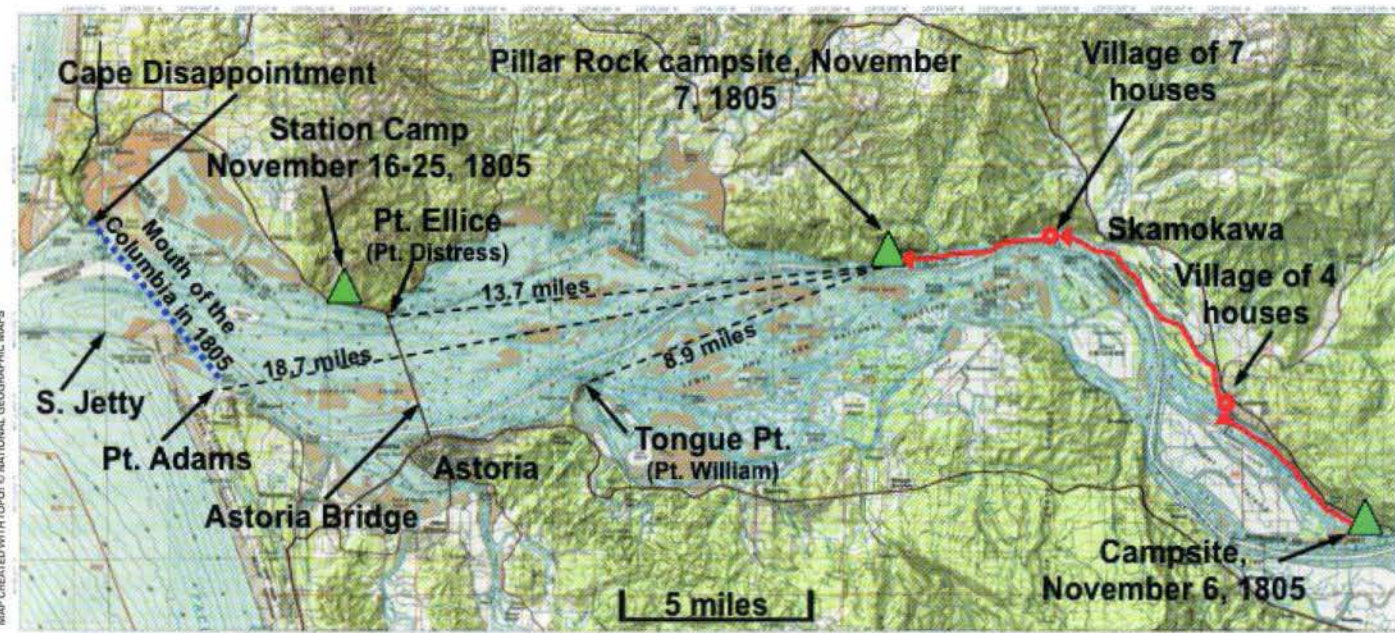
Without question, on November 7, 1805, the expedition was very close to the end of its westward journey when it arrived at the Pillar Rock monolith, part of which still rises above the river today in Wahkiakum County, Washington. They had been paddling in tidal water for five days and had

heard from the Native Americans that the river mouth was near.² Corps members undoubtedly were full of anticipation though, unbeknownst to them, they were still more than 18 miles from the ocean. For several days, the land on each side of the winding river had limited their view of the river in front of them. Suddenly, the vista from the vicinity of Pillar Rock was more expansive. In clear weather, Clark could have had an unobstructed view of the river ahead as it widened between two steep, distant promontories. He wrote, "we are in view of the opening of the Ocian, which Creates great joy."³ The modern controversy lies in the subtle difference between Clark's field notes, and the exclamation in his course and distance log that the ocean was "in view," which was embossed on a coin during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial.⁴ Journal editors Reuben Gold Thwaites, Bernard DeVoto and Gary Moulton have said Clark could not have seen the Pacific from Pillar Rock.⁵ Mapmaker Martin Plamondon II and author Rex Ziak have said "*Ocian in view!*" can be interpreted literally; Clark could have seen the ocean waves.⁶

On the morning of November 7th, the expedition

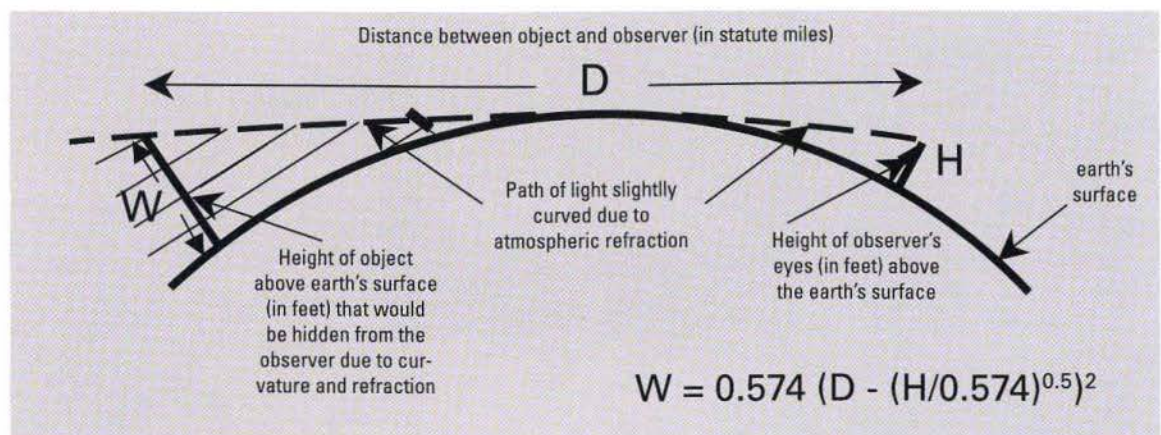


Cape Disappointment and Point Adams are marked on Captain George Vancouver's 1798 map of the entrance of the Columbia River. The promontory on the south shore, opposite Grays Bay, is now known as Tongue Point. Pillar Rock would be near the north shore approximately opposite the third island east of Grays Bay. The scale shown of "two leagues" is approximately six miles.



This modern map of the entrance of the Columbia River (with jetties), shows distances of significant landmarks from Pillar Rock, and the approximate course (shown in red) of the Lewis and Clark Expedition on November 7, 1805. Names in parenthesis are those used by William Clark in his journal.

SURVEYOR'S DERIVED FORMULA FOR DETERMINING HOW MUCH OF AN OBJECT'S HEIGHT IS HIDDEN FROM VIEW DUE TO EFFECTS OF EARTH'S CURVATURE AND ATMOSPHERIC REFRACTION



Note, this is a non-linear equation. Doubling the distance between the observer and the object more than doubles the height that will be hidden due to the curvature of the earth. For example, if an observer's eyes are five feet above the surface of the earth, then the lower 29 feet of an object 10 miles away is hidden from view. However, for a distance of 20 miles the lower 167 feet of an object is hidden. In a large tidal river, three main physical effects determine if and how much of a distant object can be seen.

1) Curvature of the Earth.

Given that the earth is a sphere, there is a limit to how far one can see a complete object on the earth's surface. This limit is known as the apparent horizon, which, out at sea or on a large river, is where we perceive the sky and the water to meet in a horizontal line. It is also where the line from the observer's eye meets the surface of earth (in this case water), tangentially. Using the surveyor's derived equation above, if Clark's eyes were five feet above the river level, then his apparent horizon is calculated at 2.95 miles. The higher the observer is situated above the river, the farther the apparent horizon is. Conversely, the lower the observer, the nearer the apparent horizon. Any object nearer than the apparent horizon is completely in view. The ability to see an object beyond the apparent horizon depends on how far beyond the apparent horizon the object is, how high it is elevated above the river and how high the observer is above the river.

2) Atmospheric Refraction

Another phenomenon that affects how far beyond the apparent horizon one can see is atmospheric refraction. In a homogeneous medium (e.g. space) light travels in a straight line, but that is not so on earth. Because the density of the atmosphere varies with height (the higher one goes, the less dense the atmosphere is), light rays are bent (refracted) very slightly toward the earth when an observation is made of a distant object. The net effect of this refraction is to make an object appear higher than it really is (by approximately 15 percent). Variations in atmospheric

temperature, pressure (including altitude) and humidity can change the degree of refraction, but generally only by a small amount.

3) Tidal Effects

At any given time the tide may cause the river to be higher (or lower) at one point than at another point several miles away. For short distances (a few miles) between the object and the observer, the difference in water level is very small and no correction is required. For distances of 10 to 20 miles, a correction may be necessary since the difference in water levels between the object and the observer may differ by a few feet. Though the actual tide effect for November 7, 1805, cannot be known, a prediction algorithm used by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration estimates that the water level difference on the Columbia River between present-day Tongue Point, Oregon, and Skamokawa, Washington, (a distance of 14.9 miles) for November 7, 1805, varied from +2.7 feet to -2.5 feet from 10 a.m. to 6 p.m.¹ Therefore, the values in Table 1 for Point Adams and Point Ellice may need to be adjusted slightly (by up to ± 3 feet) depending on the time of day of the observation.

NOTES

¹ National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA); Predicted Water Level Data, 6-minute data. Web site http://co-ops.nos.noaa.gov/date_res.html. (Accessed November 2005, but as of February 2009 has been removed from the NOAA Web site). Using the NOAA query program, for November 7, 1805, and for the stations of Tongue Point, Oregon, and Skamokawa, Washington, a table of predicted water levels (in feet) can be shown for each station every six minutes. Subtracting the corresponding values (at each six-minute interval), water level difference between Tongue Point and Skamokawa (a distance of 14.9 miles) can be derived. This calculation shows that there were no differences in the water levels at 6:54 a.m. and 1:54 p.m. Maximum differences were at 10:06 a.m. (Tongue Point level 2.7 feet above level at Skamokawa) and 6:18 p.m. (Tongue Point level 2.5 feet below level at Skamokawa).

Table 1. The height of an object above the earth's surface that would be hidden due to curvature and refraction when seen from the river at Pillar Rock, for three landmarks and three heights of an observer.

	Landmarks and Distance from Pillar Rock		
	Tongue Point 8.9 miles	Point Ellice 13.7 miles	Point Adams 18.7 miles
Height of an observer above the river at Pillar Rock (in feet)	Height of an object above the earth's surface that would be hidden due to curvature and refraction (in feet)		
0	45	107 [†]	201 [†]
5	20	66 [†]	142 [†]
10	13	52 [†]	121 [†]

[†]An estimated adjustment of up to $\pm$ three feet due to the effect of tide on the Columbia River may be necessary depending on the time of the observation on November 7, 1805. See "Notes" on page 24.

broke camp on the north shore of the river (near the area known today as Little Cape Horn in Wahkiakum County, Washington) and paddled downriver hugging the northeast shore. They were on a part of the river that had been surveyed by members of Captain George Vancouver's British expedition of 1792⁷ and were aware of his published map.⁸

The weather was typical for late fall in the Pacific Northwest—foggy, wet and, as Clark often wrote, "disagreeable." It was so foggy that at times they could not see the far side of the river and indeed one of the party's five canoes became separated and did not rejoin the main party until that evening.⁹ Early in the day the main party stopped at a group of four native "houses" (near present-day Cathlamet, Washington) to eat and trade.¹⁰ They paddled through the final big turn of the river though they could not see well as it remained foggy and rainy. They stopped at another Indian village of seven "houses" (about a mile west of present-day Skamokawa, Washington) where they purchased some food and beaver skins.¹¹ Soon after they left the village the weather briefly cleared, which may have allowed them an unobstructed view toward the Pacific

Ocean.¹² They landed a mile or two downriver and set up camp on the north shore opposite Pillar Rock.¹³

Four written records include comments on Clark's observations from Pillar Rock that day:

1) *Clark's field notes*: "we are in view of the opening of the Ocian, which Creates great joy."¹⁴

2) *Clark's journal entry*: "Great joy in camp we are in View of the Ocian."¹⁵

3) *Clark's course and distance log*: "Ocian in view! O! the joy."¹⁶

4) *Clark's meteorological register*: "A thick fog this morning which Continued untill

11 A. M. Cleared off and was fair for about 2 hours, and then began to rain; Several havy Showers during the evening."¹⁷

In clear weather, it is possible Clark saw the "opening of the Ocian," but it is not physically possible to see any part of the Pacific Ocean from a canoe near Pillar Rock or from a campsite on the adjacent shore.

APPLYING SCIENTIFIC PRINCIPLES TO THE VIEW FROM THE CANOE

Surveyors often need to obtain long-distance observations and have developed a formula to account for the portion of an object obscured by the combined effect of earth curvature and atmospheric refraction.¹⁸ On flat terrain or a large body of water, an equation is derived (see sidebar on page 24) from this formula for the relationship between the height of an observer, the height of a hidden object and the distance between them.

From the equation, we can develop a table (Table 1) showing how high an object must rise above the river to be seen by an observer at Pillar Rock. The data are shown for distances to three prominent landmarks west of Pillar Rock

and for three heights of an observer's eyes above the river. Figure 1 demonstrates the results of this analysis. Waves at Point Adams (where the Columbia met the Pacific in 1805) would have been beyond the horizon and hidden from Clark's view at Pillar Rock.

To further illustrate the effects of the earth's

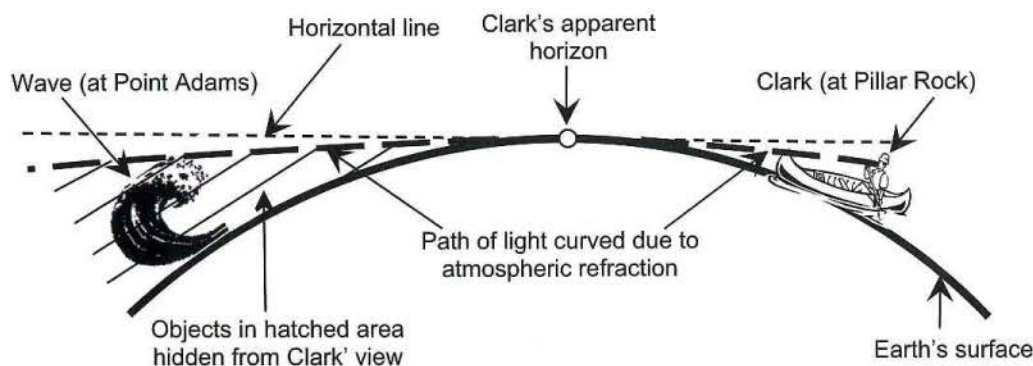
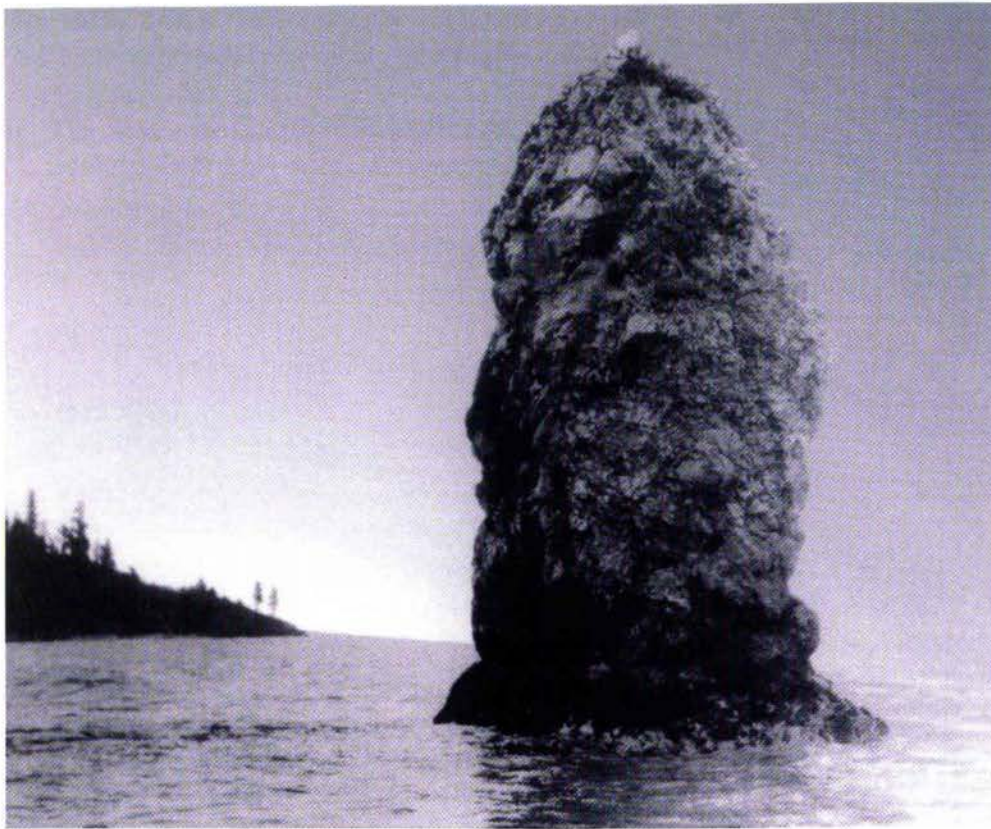


Figure 1. Illustration (not to scale) showing how the earth's curvature and atmospheric refraction would have made it impossible for Clark to see waves at Point Adams from Pillar Rock.



The view upriver from Pillar Rock in the late 1800s.

COURTESY OF THE FRIENDS OF SKAMOKAWA FOUNDATION

curvature and associated atmospheric refraction, the author recently has made observations of the Astoria Bridge on the Columbia from the community of Skamokawa, a distance of 19.5 miles (slightly farther than the 18.7 miles between Pillar Rock and Point Adams). Though the view is partially blocked by the Tongue Point headland, enough of the bridge is visible to demonstrate the effect. Figure 2 (page 28) shows a diagrammatic view of the portion of the bridge that sits above the Columbia without the effects of curvature or refraction. Figure 3 (page 28) is a photograph of the bridge from the river shore at Skamokawa, showing that none of the bridge's lower structure, which rises approximately 150 feet above the water line, is visible when the camera is five feet above the river's surface. This difference between the drawing and the photograph illustrates the combined effects of curvature and refraction. (A similar photograph from the vicinity of Pillar Rock today would not be possible because several islands have formed, which interfere with line-of-sight observations near water level.)

WHAT CLARK COULD HAVE SEEN

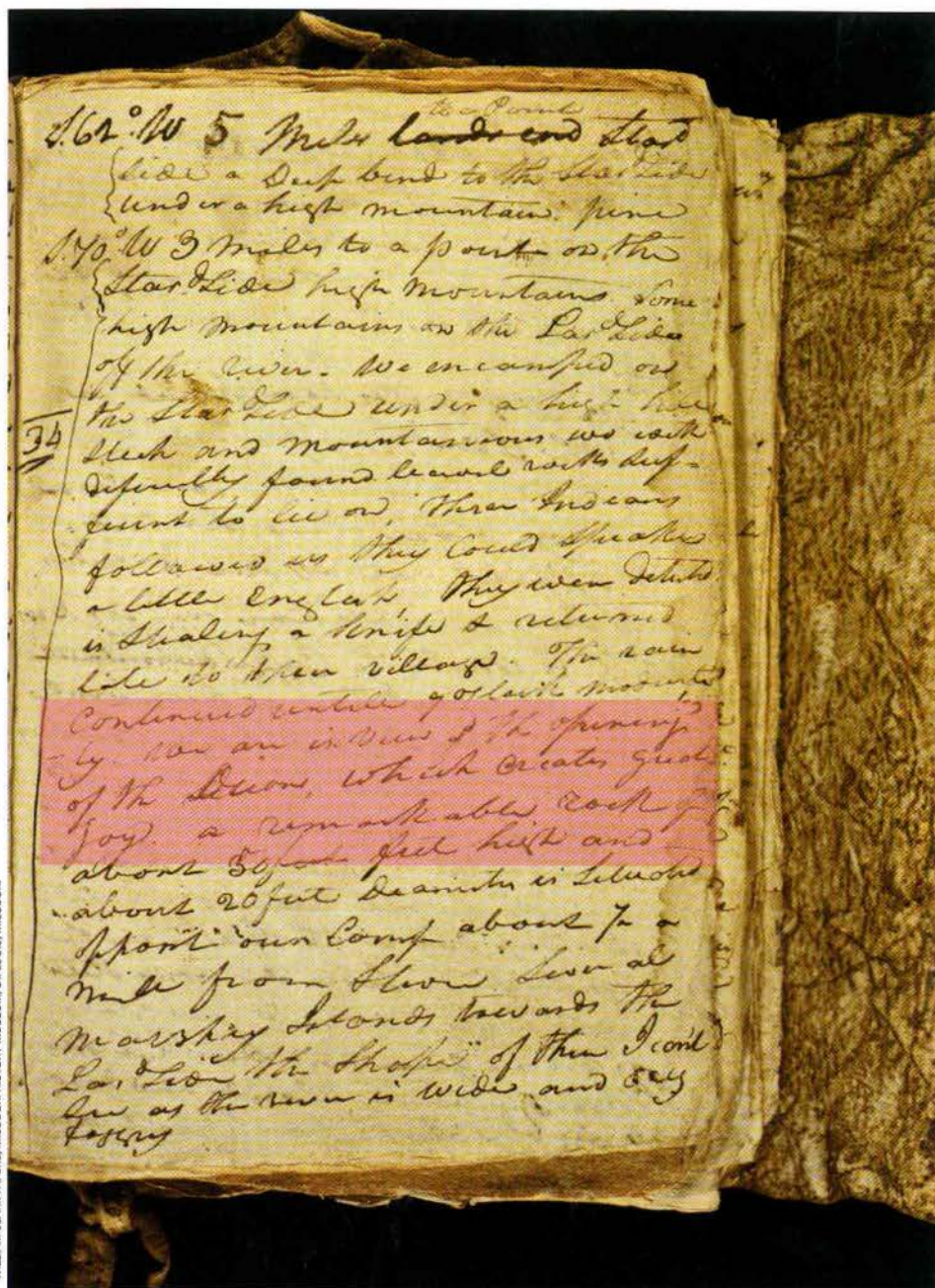
Using the above analysis, first let us examine the specific effect of the earth's curvature and refraction for a person on the water at Pillar Rock. The site is 18.7 miles from Point Adams, which, in 1805, was the southern point of

land where the river flowed into the Pacific.¹⁹ The point is just 25 feet above the river and "a low, narrow, sandy spit of land" as Captain Vancouver described it in 1792.²⁰ Cape Disappointment (the northern land point), though 287 feet above the river, cannot be seen from Pillar Rock as it is blocked by the closer Point Ellice, which rises more than 600 feet high. If Clark were standing in a canoe, his eyes would have been about five feet above the river (assuming a six-foot man has eyes at approximately five and a half feet, and that the canoe bottom was six inches below water level). As Table 1 shows, he could not have seen an object as far away as Point Adams or the Pacific Ocean or its waves, unless they were greater than

142 feet high. Therefore, we can conclude Clark was not able to see the ocean from his canoe at Pillar Rock.

Some writers have mistakenly argued that before the present Columbia River South Jetty (a 30-foot-high rock pier stretching more than four miles from Point Adams into the Pacific) was built at the end of the nineteenth century, people had an unobstructed line-of-sight view of the Pacific Ocean's waves from Pillar Rock. However, as shown above, that would have been impossible because it would require waves greater than 142 feet high. Therefore, this particular argument can be laid to rest. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) records over a 22-year period ending in 2001 show that significant wave heights of more than 43 feet have not been observed at buoys located up to 20 miles west of the mouth of the Columbia.²¹

The curvature effect alone would not have blocked Clark's view from Pillar Rock of the upper parts of Tongue Point (at 8.9 miles away) and Point Ellice (at 13.7 miles away), rising from 277 feet and more than 600 feet above the river, respectively. However, he could not have seen any waves in the river at the bases of Tongue Point and Point Ellice unless they were greater than 20 feet and 66 feet high, respectively, which is highly improbable in light of the recent NOAA records.²² In 1805, Point Ellice was five miles upriver and



William Clark's elkskin-bound journal, opened to a page for November 7, 1805, showing his words "we are in view of the opening of the Ocean, which Creates great joy" (highlight added). Clark recorded his field notes in this journal on the expedition's journey down the Columbia River.

Tongue Point was 10 miles upriver from the Pacific Ocean. If, while at Pillar Rock, Clark thought he was observing the mouth of the Columbia between Tongue Point and Point Ellice, he was mistaken.²³ He would have realized this by the time he reached Station Camp on November 15th, when he had a clear view of the Pacific Ocean between Cape Disappointment and Point Adams at the true mouth of the river.

Reading Clark's journal entry for November 7th: "... the roreing or noise made by the waves brakeing on the rocky Shores (as I Suppose) may be heard distinctly," it appears he

was uncertain about his observation. Hearing river waves on the shore at Tongue Point or beyond might have been possible given favorable wind conditions. A scientific noise analysis would yield a better understanding of what could have been heard from Pillar Rock.

Clark described the Pillar Rock campsite in his journal: "... Encamped under a high hill on the Stard. Side opposit to a rock Situated half a mile from the Shore, about 50 feet high and 20 feet Diamiter, we with difiuculty found a place Clear of the tide and Sufficently large to lie on and the only place we could get was on round Stones on which we lay our mats rain Continud. Moderately all day ..." ²⁴

The general nature of the beach in the early photograph on page 30 appears much as Clark described it; not an easy place for a party of more than 30 to set up camp. It is difficult to imagine Clark climbing more than a few feet above the water level on the beach to look westward over the water since the terrain is very steep and overgrown above the shore. However, even with a 10-foot elevation, an object at Point Adams would have to have been more than 121 feet tall to be seen. Again, we can conclude that viewing even the highest waves of the Pacific Ocean from the campsite would have been impossible.

Lastly, let us consider the possibility of Clark climbing above the campsite

to make an observation toward Point Adams. It is unlikely that this occurred for several reasons:

- 1) Clark makes no mention of such an important observation, or any such attempt in his field notes or the journal entry for that day.
- 2) No other journal writer mentions any such observation.
- 3) As mentioned above, the report in the party's meteorological register for November 7th indicates the weather and visibility were poor. Therefore there was no reason for them to expect a good view

of Point Adams or the ocean from an elevated point.

4) The terrain above the campsite and all along this particular shore was, and still is, very rugged. If Clark could have reached the minimum height of 201 feet above the river necessary to observe Point Adams clearly, it is likely the view would have been obstructed by the thick timber and undergrowth.²⁵

What could he have seen standing in his canoe? His view was quite limited by the earth's curvature. Using the surveyors' formula above, we can determine that the top of a 10-foot wave would have been visible to an observer only if he was no farther than 7.1 miles away from it. Similarly, the top of a 20-foot wave would have been visible only if he was no farther than 8.9 miles away from it. At Pillar Rock, Clark was 18.7 miles from the ocean.

CLEARING UP THE CONFUSION

We cannot dispute Clark's statement in his field notes for November 7, 1805, that the corps was in view of the opening of the ocean. Indeed the angular view between the visible upper land features of Tongue Point and Point Ellice would have been an open panorama toward the Columbia's mouth. The analysis above demonstrates that a view of any part of the Pacific Ocean from the vicinity of Pillar Rock was not possible.

During the descent of the Columbia, Clark made daily field notes, in an "elkskin" bound journal, (later identified as buffalo hide).²⁶ These field notes later were interpreted and compiled into the formal expedition journals. Journal entries however, were not necessarily written each day.²⁷ The Pillar Rock campsite, under rain and fog, would not have been an ideal place to write his journal entry for the day. The more famous statement "*Ocean in view!* O! the joy" was recorded in the course and distance notes for the day. All the course and distance entries recorded for the period from October 18th to November 15th are consecutive, suggesting Clark may have compiled them on or after the 15th when they reached Station Camp, having successfully

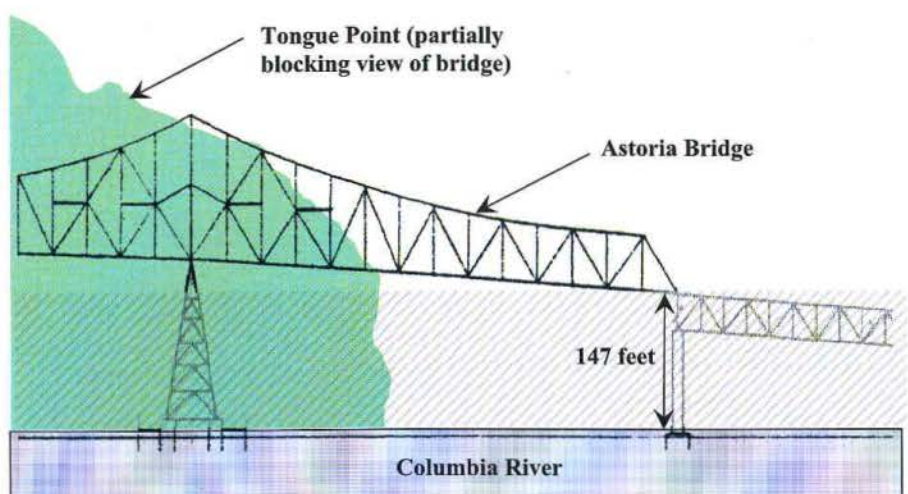


Figure 2. A diagrammatic view of part of the Astoria Bridge from Skamokawa at a distance of 19.5 miles, which would be seen if the earth was flat. The cross-hatched area is the view that is blocked by the curvature of the earth.



Figure 3. A photograph of the view of part of the Astoria Bridge from Skamokawa at a distance of 19.5 miles, demonstrating that only the upper superstructure of the bridge is visible due to the earth's curvature; that is, the view of what seems to be at the river's surface is approximately 150 feet above the river surface at the bridge. The photograph was taken with a Nikon 1300 mm lens, from approximately five feet above river level.

rounded Point Ellice.²⁸ Here, they had their first unimpeded view of the waves of the Pacific. They were finally "in full view of the *Ocean* ...," just seven miles from Cape Disappointment and four miles from Point Adams.²⁹

When the weather cleared mid-morning of November 7th and it was possible for Clark to see no land existed between the distant river banks ahead, he may have understood they were about to reach their destination. In all likelihood he meant that he could determine where the Pacific Ocean was without actually seeing it, and that there was an immediate prospect of arriving there.

Clark's field note identifying the opening to the ocean is clear and its literal meaning is supported by scientific

examination. In the future, historians, authors and students would do well to choose these words of Clark to describe his view from Pillar Rock, "we are in view of the opening of the Ocian, which Creates great joy."

Mike Rees has been a Foundation member for more than 20 years and his family has a home in Skamokawa, Washington. He has 50 years of technical experience in the aerospace and wind-energy fields. This article was developed from a presentation he gave at the 37th LCTHF Annual Meeting in Portland, Oregon, August 2005. The author wishes to thank the curators of the Special Collections Library at Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Oregon, for guidance and access to their extensive collection of Lewis and Clark literature and records. Many thanks also to Jane Rees, Ph.D., for a critical review of this article, and Stevan Morgain for contributing an important photograph.

NOTES

¹ Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), Vol. 6, p. 58; David L. Nicandri, "The Illusion of Cape Disappointment," *We Proceeded On*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (November 2004), p. 16.

² Moulton, Vol. 6, p. 9. Clark wrote of their first observation of tidal activity on November 2, 1805. The expedition was still 140 miles from the Pacific Ocean; and *Ibid.*, Vol. 11, p. 384. Private Joseph Whitehouse wrote on November 3, 1805, "Towards evening we met with several Indians, who were in a Canoe, & who were going up the River. The Indians made signs to us, that in 2 Sleeps, (meaning two days,) that we should come to a place, where we should see two Vessells, white people & ca."

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 31.

⁴ The U.S. Mint issued the nickel August 5, 2005. The nickel features President Thomas Jefferson on one side, and a scene of the Pacific Coast on the other, with the words "Ocean in view! O! The joy!" The design for this side of the nickel is based on a photograph by Andrew E. Cier of Astoria, Oregon.

⁵ Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*, 8 volumes (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1904-1905), Vol. III, Part. II, p. 210, n. 2, "The ocean could not possibly be seen from this point, although during a storm the breakers might be heard. The explorers probably mistook the great bay of the river, which just below this point widens to fifteen miles, for the expanse of the ocean. — ED." Bernard DeVoto, ed., *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1953), p. 279, n. 6, "In the notebook which he kept on his knee to record courses and bearings, Clark had written 'Ocian in view! O! the joy!' He was mistaken. Tonight's camp is near Pillar Rock and the ocean cannot be seen from there." Moulton, Vol. 6, p. 35, n. 10, "They were actually looking at the Columbia estuary, not the ocean."

⁶ Rex Ziak, *In Full View: A True and Accurate Account of Lewis*

and Clark's Arrival at the Pacific Ocean, and Their Search for a Winter Camp Along the Lower Columbia River (Astoria, Ore.: Moffit House Press, 2002), Appendix One, p. 189: "However, anyone examining an accurate chart drawn before the construction of the South Jetty, with a line of sight superimposed over it, would see that Lewis and Clark did, in fact, have a direct view of the ocean." Martin Plamondon II, *Lewis and Clark Trail Maps: A Cartographic Reconstruction*, 3 volumes (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2000-2004), Vol. 3, p. 62: "Perhaps with his telescope he could see the distant ocean's high surf on the sand bars or possible storm swells up to a score or more feet high."

⁷ George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World, 1790-1795*, 3 volumes and atlas (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1798). Captain Vancouver did not conduct the survey of the Columbia River. In October 1792 he sent Lieutenant William Broughton to survey the river for about 100 miles upstream from the mouth approximately to present-day Vancouver, Washington. Broughton's account is in Volume II, Chapter III. The atlas includes the chart from Broughton's survey.

⁸ 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. 53. Letter from Meriwether Lewis in Philadelphia to President Jefferson on May 29th, 1803.

⁹ Moulton., Vol. 6, p. 33.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 31.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 33.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 99-101; Elliott Coues, ed., *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark*, 3 volumes (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1893), Vol. 3, Appendix 4, p. 1290.

¹³ Moulton, Vol. 6, p. 33.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 31.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 33. Moulton included a note by the original editor of the journals, Nicholas Biddle, that says, "in the morning when fog cleared off just below last village just on leaving the village of Warkiacum."

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, p. 58.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. 6, pp. 100-101.

¹⁸ Paul R. Wolf and Russell C. Brinker, *Elementary Surveying*, eighth edition (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), pp. 110-112. The following is an example of the referenced method for calculating the minimum height of an object at Point Adams for it to be seen by an observer in a canoe at Pillar Rock. Considering only the earth's curvature, the height H (in feet) of the horizontal line above the earth's surface, at distance D (in miles) from the *apparent horizon*, is expressed by the formula $H=0.667D^2$. Correcting this for the effect of atmospheric refraction, the formula becomes $H=0.574D^2$. Thus, if the observer's eyes are five feet above the surface then the observer's *apparent horizon* is $D=(5/0.574)^{0.5}$ or 2.95 miles. If an object beyond the observer's apparent horizon is a total of 18.7 miles away, then the minimum height, W (in feet,) of the object, for its top to be seen by the observer, is given by $W=0.574(18.7-2.95)^2$ or 142.4 feet.



FRANK CANARIS, PILLAR ROCK PACKING CO., COLUMBIA RIVER, WASHINGTON, CA. 1897. TOLLMAN AND CANARIS COLLECTION, UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON LIBRARIES, SPECIAL COLLECTIONS DIVISION, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, UW1398

Looking west in 1897 from the Columbia River shore adjacent to Pillar Rock, on the far left, with the faint, but unmistakable, profile of the upper part of Tongue Point on the left-center horizon. The general nature of the beach is shown much as Clark described it—not an easy place for a party of more than 30 to set up camp. The building belonged to the Pillar Rock Packing Company, one of many fish canneries on the lower Columbia at that time.

¹⁹ Ziak, p. 187. The Columbia River's south jetty was built in 1895, which redefined where the river entered the Pacific Ocean.

²⁰ Vancouver, Vol. II, pp. 53–54.

²¹ The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration's National Data Buoy Center (NDBC), collects data from Pacific Ocean buoys located near the mouth of the Columbia River. Buoy 46029 is approximately 26 miles west of Point Adams and Buoy 46010 (operational from 1979 through 1991) was approximately 11 miles west of Point Adams. Data from these buoys can be found at http://www.ndbc.noaa.gov/Maps/columbia_river_hist.shtml (accessed February 2009). Significant wave height is the average height (meters) of the highest one-third of the waves during a 20-minute sampling period.

²² Personal communication with U.S. Coast Guard Station at Cape Disappointment, Ilwaco, Washington, December 2005. A Coast Guard rescue boat driver reported that in the past four years she has not observed wave heights greater than 12 to 14 feet east of a line from Cape Disappointment to Point Adams.

²³ Nicandri, p. 19. "Clark's entry for course and distance records on November 8 makes clear that he regarded Cape Disappointment as the farthest landform to the west. But—and this is the crucial issue—the "Cape Disappointment" he observed was actually Point Ellice. In his entry Clark initially wrote "Cape disappointment," but from his perspective at Pillar Rock he could not have seen the real Cape Disappointment

because Point Ellice obscures it. Sometime later, presumably after further exploration, he realized his error, crossed out "disappointment," and renamed it Point Distress. But at the time, Clark thought he was looking at Cape Disappointment, and he knew from Vancouver's map that the ocean lay immediately beyond it."

²⁴ Moulton, Vol. 6, p. 33.

²⁵ Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 42. On November 12th, Clark wrote, "... Send out men to hunt they found the woods So thick with Pine & [decay?] timber and under groth that they could not get through. ..."

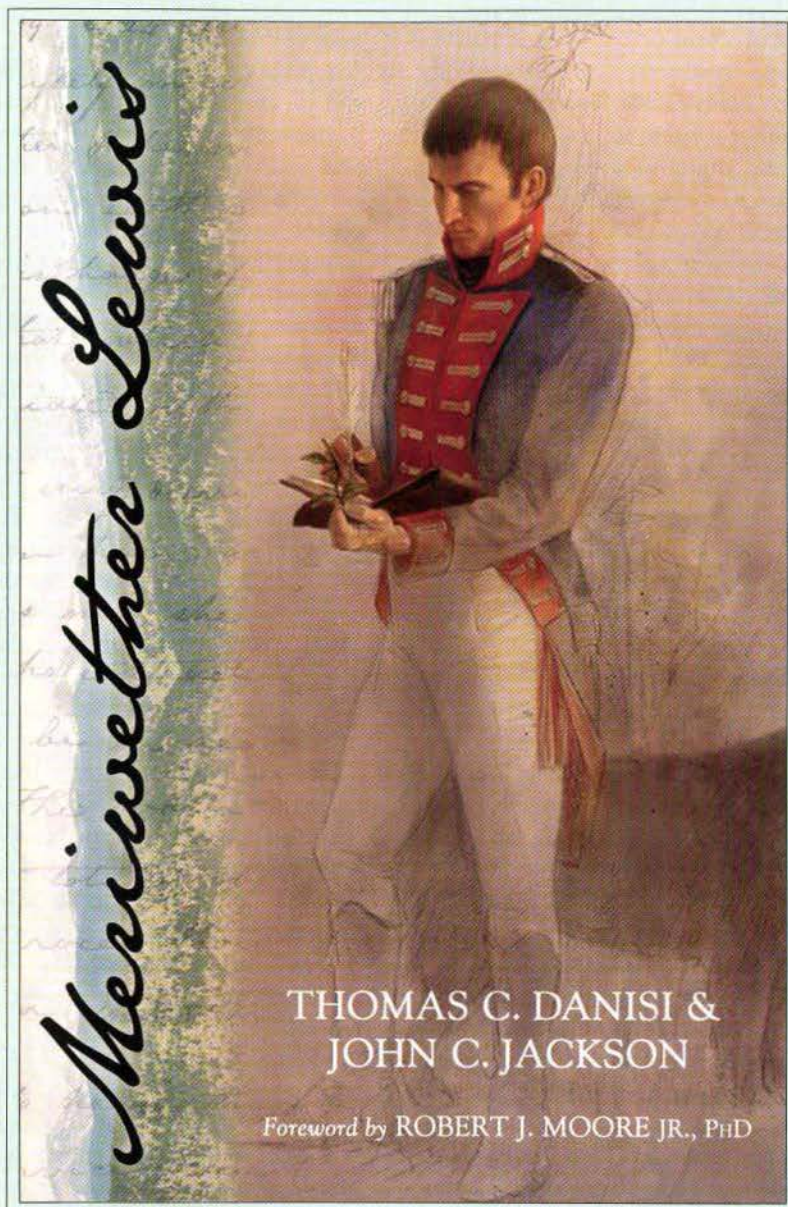
²⁶ *Clark's elkskin journal, 1805*, William Clark Papers, Missouri Historical Society St. Louis, Missouri. The Missouri Historical Society's 1923 accession records call it "bound in Buffalo hyde."

²⁷ Nicandri, p. 17. Nicandri wrote, "When Clark wrote his reflection for the day in his regular journal, he expanded the entry found in his original elkskin field notes."

²⁸ Moulton, Vol. 6, p. 49. On November 15, 1805, Clark described their efforts to leave their camp at "dismal nitich [sic]" and round Point Ellice, which he called "blustering point," to reach a "butifull Sand beech," where they established Station Camp, near a deserted Chinook village.

²⁹ Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 50. Clark wrote, "in full view of the Ocian from Point Adams to Cape Disappointment [sic] ..."

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by Thomas C. Danisi &
John C. Jackson

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October 11, 2009 marks the bicentennial of Meriwether Lewis's death. As the leader of the Lewis and Clark expedition, an epic exploration of uncharted territory west of the Mississippi, Lewis has been the subject of several biographies, yet much of the published information is unreliable. A number of myths surrounding his life and death persist.

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"Independent historians Danisi and Jackson offer a meticulously researched ... account of Meriwether Lewis's life, focused primarily on the tragically short years after the famous Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804-1806. The authors propose the novel but credible theory that Lewis's mysterious 1809 death, generally considered a suicide, was a result of ... his recurring, debilitating bouts of malaria. In the process, the authors also effectively debunk conspiracy theorists' suggestions that Lewis was murdered. After the expedition, Lewis served as governor of the Louisiana territory, was embroiled in the convoluted and harsh politics of the territory and worked sedulously on Indian affairs....well researched and insightful."

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Adams moves to cultural resources; Wang retires from WA state parks

Stephen E. Adams, formerly Superintendent of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is the new associate regional director for cultural resources in the National Park Service's Midwest Regional Office in Omaha, Nebraska. His new assignment began March 1.

His strong background in managing cultural resources and cultural parks will serve him well in this new position, said David N. Given, acting regional director of the 13-state Midwest region. Adams is a 37-year veteran of federal service. His early National Park Service



Adams

career included assignments focused on interpretation, cultural and natural resources management, visitor protection, archeology and historic preservation at Padre Island National Seashore, Texas; San Antonio Missions National Historical Park, Texas; the Navajo Lands Group in Farmington, New Mexico; and the Western Archeological Center in Tucson, Ariz. He became chief of the branch of cultural resources management in the NPS Southwest region, then headquartered in Santa Fe, New Mexico. He transferred to Pea Ridge National Military Park, Arkansas, as the superintendent in 1992. He then served as superintendent at Brown v. Board of Education National Historic Site in Topeka, Kansas, for nearly five years, developing and opening the site before moving to Omaha to take over the leadership role at Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in July 2004.

"This is a strategic opportunity to continue and build on the collaboration between the regional office and parks developed by Gary Candelaria (his predecessor) for the preservation

and protection of the diverse cultural heritage resources of the region," Adams said of his new assignment. "I look forward to the privilege of working directly with colleagues in the parks and the regional office in this important mission."

Adams studied anthropology at the University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, and graduated with a bachelor's degree in 1970. Following military service in Vietnam, he received his master's degree in anthropology from the University of Arizona in Tucson in 1974.

As associate regional director, cultural resources, for the Midwest region, Adams will be the principal advisor on cultural resources matters to 54 park areas. This includes historic architecture and landscape, museum collections and records management, and ethnography, as well as administration of the National Register Program and National Historic Landmarks designations in the region.

Wang retires from WA state parks

Steve Wang has dedicated his professional life to helping park visitors understand and appreciate the natural and cultural history of the Washington state parks system. As interpretive program manager for the agency, he has shared his passion for the state of Washington through an impressive menu of activities and accomplishments. This spring he retires after 30 years of service to the parks system.

While his influence can be seen in many subject areas throughout Washington State Parks, one of his major achievements was to bring to the nation a greater awareness of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. His first Lewis and Clark project was in 1980 at Chief Timothy State Park. For much of the final decade of his career, he

was committed to unveiling a more complete picture of the expedition for the bicentennial commemoration. In partnership with other organizations and individuals, he helped lead the completion of two major interpretive center renovations, a marvelous interpretive video and many highway interpretive markers and trailside exhibits. He helped state parks staff along the Snake and Columbia rivers understand the expedition so that they, in turn, could help hundreds of thousands of visitors appreciate this great American story.

In 2004, Wang received the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation's Meritorious Achievement Award.

For his years of exemplary service, Wang recently received the President's Award, which is a lifetime achievement award from the National Association of State Parks Directors.

He originally was nominated by his colleagues at state parks for an annual history award from the parks directors association, but the association's Awards Committee was so impressed with his work, they decided to elevate the award to recognize Wang's achievements over the course of his career.

Wang was raised in Midland, Michigan and obtained a bachelor's degree in environmental science and a master's degree in botany from Michigan State University. He worked as an environmental educator before moving to Washington in 1980.

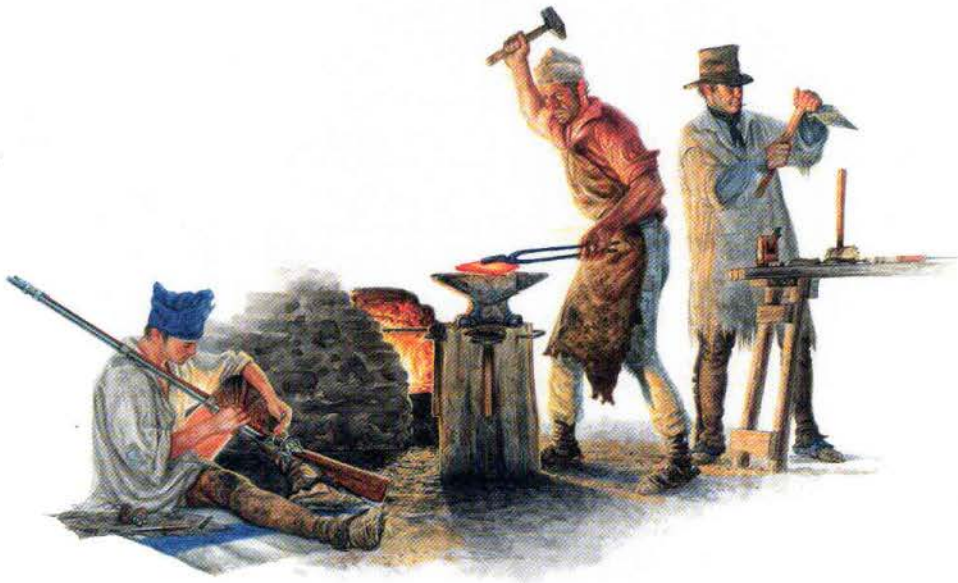
Kenwood Library has Lucy Marks exhibit

The Kenwood Library at Monticello will be featuring an exhibit titled "Lucy Meriwether Lewis Marks: Virginia Planter and Doctress 1752-1837," tentatively scheduled to run from May 3, 2009, to November 3, 2009. For more information on the exhibit, visit the Web site: www.monticello.org/library/exhibits/lucymarks.

To the Western Ocean

Haynes L&C exhibit at Whitney Gallery this summer

BY JIM MERRITT



MICHAEL HAYNES, THE BLACKSMITHS

Some of the most important contributions to good relationships with the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians during the winter of 1804-1805 were those performed by the blacksmiths, Privates Alexander Willard, center, and William Bratton, right. These skilled craftsmen forged various items of iron at the fort and traded them to the local Indians for much-needed food, primarily bushels of corn. Equally important to the expedition was the skill of Private John Shields, left, a gifted gunsmith. The men marveled at his ability to keep the muskets and rifles in good working order with few tools and supplies after years of hard use. Shields, one of the Kentucky recruits and the oldest member of the permanent party is shown here working on the lock of a 1795 U.S. Army musket.

An exhibit of 14 paintings by Lewis and Clark artist Michael Haynes will be on display this summer at the Whitney Gallery of Western Art in Cody, Wyoming.

Titled "To the Western Ocean," the exhibit includes four portraits of individuals—Lewis, Clark, York and Sacagawea—and 10 group portraits of 30 other members of the Corps of Discovery. The group paintings are organized around various roles played by expedition members. The groupings include hunters, soldiers, blacksmiths, interpreters, cooks and musicians. The painting labeled "Scouts," for example, depicts George Drouillard, John Potts, Richard Windsor and Hugh McNeal heading out on the Montana plains on a midsummer day in 1805. "Blacksmiths" is a tableau featuring John Shields, Alexander Willard and William Bratton working at a forge the previous winter at Fort Mandan.

The paintings, with explanatory text, can be viewed on the Web site www.mhaynesart.com/WesternOcean.html. Haynes says the paintings will be displayed in chronological sequence to show changes in the expedition's dress during the outbound journey to the Pacific.

The artist will talk about his work in a lecture at the Whitney Gallery on a date to be determined. Details will be posted when available at www.bbhc.org, the Web site of the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, the gallery's parent organization.

The exhibit is unrelated to an exhibit of Lewis and Clark paintings by Charles Fritz that also will be on display at the Whitney (see article, pages 16-20). The Haynes exhibit is expected to open June 6 and run through August 30.

Haynes, a widely exhibited western artist whose work is well known to readers of WPO, will be profiled in the August issue.

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Lewis & Clark Journals,
University of Nebraska Press.

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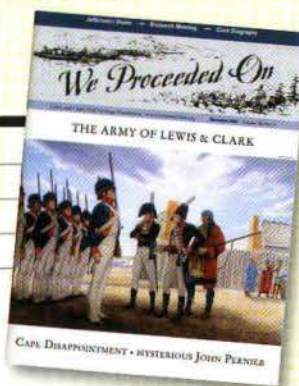
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Edwin Wang; Carol Grende; Jack Weil

Edwin L. Wang, age 89, of Missoula, Montana, formerly of Edina, Minnesota, and Sun City West, Arizona, died January 28, 2009, at home of natural causes.

He loved history and had special interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition and Egyptian history. He was a member of the Foundation and served as president of the organization in 1985-1986.

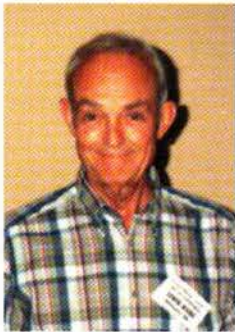
He graduated from high school in Beatrice, Nebraska, and attended classes at Oakland Junior College, the University of California and the University of Minnesota.

Ed was devoted to his wife of 66 years, Astrid Wikander, and family.

Prior to beginning his work for the Lutheran Church in Minnesota, Ed worked as a manager for the Standard Insurance Company in Oakland. He received an Honorary Doctorate of Humane Letters from Midland Lutheran College in 1970. He served on the board of directors for the Mutual of America Insurance Company from 1979 to 1992.

Ed was president of the Board of Pensions for 31 years, first for the Augustana Lutheran Church, and then the Lutheran Church in America. He considered it his mission in life to provide pension and health insurance support for Lutheran pastors and church employees. He was an active member of Normandale Lutheran Church in Edina for 50 years and a part-time member of Lord of Life Lutheran Church in Sun City West for 20 years.

Ed is survived by his wife, three children and many grandchildren and great-grandchildren.



Edwin Wang

Carol Grende, L&C artist

Carol Grende Carmona, 53, of Big Arm, Montana, known artistically as C. A. Grende, passed away March 9, 2009, from pneumonia brought on as a complication of the leukemia she fought for 20 months.

Since childhood she loved the story of Lewis and Clark. In fact, she lived most of her life along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, attended Sacajawea Junior High School in Lewiston, Idaho, and graduated from Lewiston High School in 1974.

Carol was the renowned sculptor of several historical monuments of the Lewis and Clark Expedition that stand in many places across the country. Her larger-than-life-size sculpture of Lewis and Clark shaking hands to start their westward journey stands at the Falls of the Ohio State Park in Clarksville, Indiana, overlooking the Ohio River. Another monument, "Sacajawea's Arduous Journey," is to be installed at Lewis-Clark State College in Lewiston, Idaho, during the summer of 2009. Carol said Sacajawea exemplified great strength and perseverance. Castings also will be placed in Dayton, Washington, and Great Falls, Montana.

While her monuments were the culmination of her life's work, Carol produced more than 100 sculptural designs and also was known for her paintings, scratchboards and other artistic work.

Carol is survived by her husband, David, a sister, a brother, a granddaughter and two great-granddaughters.

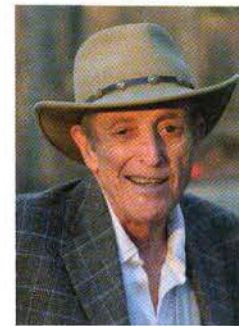


Carol Grende and "Sacajawea's Arduous Journey"

Jack Weil

John William "Jack" Weil, age 71, died peacefully in his home February 19, 2009, in Charlotte, North Carolina.

Jack learned early to appreciate everything presented to him, fully



Jack Weil

engaging his surroundings wherever he might be, experiencing life with a passion easily noticeable to each person he met.

He graduated from Myers Park High School in 1954, was a member of the U.S. Air Force and earned his bachelor's degree from the University of North Carolina in 1959. He later earned an executive master's of business administration degree from Stanford University in Palo Alto, California.

In 1959, Jack began a business career in the then little-known field of computers. He started with International Business Machines and five years later moved to work on the first computers at north Carolina National Bank. In 1966, he co-founded Systems Associates Incorporated, a hospital computer system company, and later became its president. He was with the company for 21 years, eventually taking it public, and shortly thereafter he sold it.

Sparked by the work and example of Thomas Jefferson, he worked tirelessly to promote the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

He is survived by Anna, his wife of 48 years, and by three children and eight grandchildren.

Remembering Bernard DeVoto

By JOHN PUCKETT

Along the Crooked Fork of the Lochsa River stands a magnificent grove of ancient cedars where author and editor Bernard DeVoto spent time studying Lewis and Clark and interpreting their journals in the early 1950s.¹ In 1962, his friends in the U.S. Forest Service dedicated this grove in DeVoto's memory. Modern travelers along Highway 12 in eastern Idaho can enjoy the scenic beauty of the site and reflect upon the hardship endured by members of the Corps of Discovery as they passed through the area on a ridge above the grove.

Lewis and Clark enthusiasts remember DeVoto for his 1953 *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*. Others may know him better for his writings on the settlement of the American West, particularly his trilogy that included *Year of Decision 1846*, *Across the Wide Missouri* (1948 Pulitzer Prize winner) and *The Course of Empire*.

Following Bernard DeVoto's death on November 13, 1955, his good friend and fellow writer and historian, Wallace Stegner, wrote, "... he was one of the most visible and controversial literary figures in America, and had been for thirty years. Though he had begun as a novelist, it was in other roles that most of his public knew him: as historian, essayist, editor, hack writer, pamphleteer, custodian of the Bill of Rights and the public conscience and the public lands. ... Many respected and revered him and depended on him for their thinking and courage in public issues. Some hated him with a passion."²

He was a frequent contributor to a variety of magazines, for a short time served as editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* and for 20 years wrote the "Easy Chair," brief essays of social and literary interest for *Harper's Magazine*.

DeVoto spent a summer traveling the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in 1946 and camped in the cedar grove off and on while interpreting Lewis and Clark's journals. Bud Moore, a former ranger in the Powell Ranger District of the Clearwater National Forest, recalls that DeVoto

visited the cedar grove periodically to camp and write, and occasionally to fish. He said DeVoto was there three times prior to publishing his edition of the journals. DeVoto told Moore it was a poor man's journal and he figured it would only sell about 1,000 copies. (It currently is in its eighteenth printing.)

In the preface to his book, DeVoto wrote, "I have undertaken to produce a text which could be read without distraction and as if it were the original account, one to which a reader without a specialist's interest need not bring a specialist's preparation."³

In 1961, DeVoto's friends in the Forest Service sought a way to remember him for his historical writings and his conservation efforts. His "Easy Chair" column was the pulpit from which he played an instrumental role in keeping the Forest Service within the Department of Agriculture

during the Roosevelt Administration when efforts were made to move it to the Department of Interior.

Organizers, including Chester Olsen, retired regional forester from Region 4 and friend of DeVoto's, chose the cedar grove because it was one of DeVoto's favorite places.



John "Jack" Puckett, right, shares the story of the Bernard DeVoto Memorial Grove with participants of a Foundation pre-annual meeting tour.

John Puckett is a graduate of Penn State University in forestry. He worked for the U.S. Forest Service for 32 years in Idaho and Montana and was the ranger on the Powell Ranger District when the grove was dedicated to DeVoto.

NOTES

¹ The grove of western redcedar, *Thuja plicata*, is on Highway 12 in Idaho, about eight miles west of Lolo Pass. Participants in the Foundation's 40th annual meeting in Great Falls, Montana, had the opportunity to visit the grove on a pre-conference tour.

² Wallace Stegner, *A Literary History of the American West* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1998), part 2, p. 899.

³ Bernard DeVoto, ed., *The Journals of Lewis and Clark* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1953), p. vii.