New literature on the weapons of Lewis and Clark

LCNHT Interactive Map Updates

We proceeded on

Hostile Relations Between Blackfeet and American Fur Trappers

The Early History of We proceeded On

Reflections on William Clark
Contents

President’s Message: What Would Lewis and Clark Do? 2

Letters: Suicide Theory Challenged 4

L&C Roundup: Remembering Ruth Lange, Frank X Walker named Kentucky Poet Laureate, Clymer Masterpiece on Exhibit, Artists on the Trail 6

Short Tempers and Long Knives: 8
Hostilities Between the Blackfeet Confederacy and American Fur Trappers from 1806 to 1840
The geographic location of the Blackfeet Confederacy, the confederacy’s alliance with the British, the inclusion of the Atsinas in the confederacy, and materialistic competition that developed as a result of the fur trade all led to hostile relations.
By Jay H. Buckley

We Proceeded On 19
A look back at the creation and early years of our historical journal.
By Barb Kubik

William Clark: Reflections on His Interactions with Family, Native Nations, and Landscapes 25
Clark’s legacy in the West is intrinsically tied to his relationships and encounters with family and friends, American Indian nations, and landscapes of the East.
By Jay H. Buckley

Book Reviews: Weapons of Lewis & Clark Expedition 35

Soundings: Updates to the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interactive Map 36

On the Cover
WHEN SIOUX AND BLACKFEET MEET, BY C.M. RUSSELL, COURTESY OF THE SID RICHARDSON MUSEUM, FORT WORTH, TEXAS
A moment of furious fighting involving three individuals from two of the most feared tribes on the plains tells the history of war at close quarters.

William Clark, p. 25

Jim Peterson and Bev Hinds, p. 21

A Blackfoot Indian on Horseback, p. 8
We Proceeded On

May 2013 • Volume 39, Number 2

What Would Lewis and Clark Do?

Sometimes I embark on a personal mental exercise by asking the question: “What would Lewis and Clark do right now?” That is, if President Barack Obama were to give explorers a mission in 2013, what would that endeavor be? Just as the Corps of Discovery “proceeded on” through challenges and trials 210 years ago, the corps of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation proceeds on today.

Lewis and Clark would be surprised to know the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has carried on their “darling project” to be keepers of the story and stewards of the trail. Like the captains, our organization has had ties to the nation’s capital, especially during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. We continue to be a national leader, in concert with federal, state, and tribal organizations, to protect, promote and extend the reach of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

Recently, Lindy Hatcher and I represented the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation at a “Hike the Hill” event sponsored by the Partnership for the National Trails System and the American Hiking Society. We visited the offices of a dozen members of Congress in February to talk about land and water legislation and other bills related to the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

Lewis and Clark were interested in exploring the unknown, just as modern explorers are interested in exploring the ocean floor and outer space. Astronauts on the U.S. Apollo moon missions embarked about the same year that the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail was created by Congress. The Space Shuttle missions followed and were quite successful, although Challenger and Columbia ended in disaster. Now, robot rovers are conducting Mars explorations called Spirit and Opportunity. They roam the red planet and send back photos of what appears to be water. More recently, private individuals are considering plans to send tourists into space.

Scientists also are probing inner space. Exploration into microscopic matter and subatomic particles, nanotechnology, and other quantum physics is leading them where no one has gone before.

Like Lewis and Clark, humankind remains engaged in war and peace, seeking ways to overcome disagreements, breaking down racial, national, and economic barriers, and living in peace with one another. As
Two great ways to explore the Trail!

Two great ways to explore the Trail!

RIVER DANCE LODGE
IDAHO’S OUTDOOR ADVENTURE RESORT

The ideal location for exploring the Historic Lolo and Nez Percé Trail. Located along US Hwy. 12 on the Clearwater River 2 1/2 hours west of Missoula, Montana. The resort offers 8 hand-crafted log cabins with private hot tubs and spectacular views. Enjoy fine dining and a superb wine list at the Syringa Cafe. Bring your family or friends to explore the Trail or go on one of our whitewater rafting or gentle float trips. There’s also hiking, fishing, biking and more!

www.RiverDanceLodge.com

MISSOURI RIVER EXPEDITIONS

Grab a paddle and board one of ROW’s 34’ Canoes to travel the waters that Lewis & Clark paddled nearly 200 years ago, hiking and exploring along the way.

ROW provides all equipment, professional guides, gourmet dining and a luxury camping experience.

www.ROWadventures.com

For a free brochure about River Dance Lodge, Missouri River trips, ROW’s whitewater rafting trips, as well as international adventures including history-oriented yacht cruises in Croatia, Turkey or Greece, barge in France and more, call 800-451-6034.

PO Box 579-WP, Coeur d’Alene, ID 83816 • E-mail: info@ROWadventures.com

May 2013  We Proceeded On  3
Lewis Suicide Theory Challenged

I read with dismay and disappointment another article in wpo (November 2012) about the cause of Meriwether Lewis’s death. This time we are presented with the meaning of phraseologies Thomas Jefferson used in correspondence following Lewis’s death. An interesting premise in the article is that Jefferson never visited or ordered a federal investigation of the site of Lewis’s death and he accepted, without question, an account of the incident written by a total stranger, James Neelly.

All points made in the article by John and Thomas Danisi support the theory that Lewis killed himself, accidentally, to end the torments of acute malaria and, in Jefferson’s words, “distressing hypochondriac affections,” which are therein revealed as digestive disorders. We also are led to an examination of the term “intermittent paroxysms” as well as various observations and explanations of Lewis’s bouts of depression.

The article obviously is written by good researchers and would present a compelling story if it were not for the fact that we already have information that precludes the acceptance of the Danisi theory, no matter how well organized it is.

First of all, the validity of the letters written by Major James Neelly and Captain Gilbert Russell is in question. Did those men actually compose the letters? Surely the Danisis have seen the published findings of modern handwriting professionals who testify that they were forgeries.

Secondly, the story of the final leg of Lewis’s journey from Fort Pickering to Grinder’s Stand in September and October of 1809 must be discounted as fabrication. Major Neelly’s whereabouts prior to and after the death of Lewis must be examined by serious researchers in the light of recent discoveries noted in The Death of Meriwether Lewis, A Historic Crime Scene Investigation, by James Starrs and Kira Gale. Among other discrepancies in the story of that trip, we now have evidence that James Neelly was in court in Franklin, Tennessee, on October 11, 1809, and did not arrive at Grinder’s Stand as he claimed in his letter to Jefferson. Franklin is more than a day’s ride from Grinder’s Stand.

Lewis was traveling in a violent and volatile environment, especially when one considers the potential damage Lewis could have caused General James Wilkinson and his associates if he had been allowed to arrive in Washington. The various competing conspiracies demand a close examination of Lewis’s remains at Grinder’s Stand. This will allow science an opportunity to quantify a definitive pathway to the truth rather than a continued stream of scholarly-presented speculations. It would be cause for real excitement to see fine researchers such as the Danisis direct their considerable talents in the direction of something that is waiting for serious and long-deserved revelation.

JOHN P. (JACK) YOUNG
Mt. Pleasant, SC

Author Responds to Challenge

Mr. Young, in his letter above, addresses compelling ideas on Meriwether Lewis’s death by calling attention to the Neelly and Russell letters and who really composed them. I am happy to report that those concerns are fully explained in my book, Uncovering the Truth About
Mr. Young also raises a formidable challenge that dedicated researchers should direct their talents in the directions of long-deserved revelation. Would Meriwether Lewis’s court martial trial fall into that category? I think not; however, for the past one hundred years, it has been assumed that Lewis was intoxicated and challenged a superior officer to a duel. Then we find out in 2012 the opposite and that this superior officer wanted to teach Lewis a lesson. How do we know this? Direct and incontrovertible evidence is documented in my new book.

This is what is seriously lacking today in Meriwether Lewis scholarship, authentic documented evidence. I challenge Mr. Young or anyone else who has a theory about James Neelly, James Wilkinson, or the “various competing conspiracies,” to find the evidence to support their assumptions. Until they do, we should view those arguments, no matter how convincing, as fiction.

Thomas C. Danisi
St. Louis, MO
Passages: Ruth Lange

Ruth Kincaid Lange, age 88, passed away December 14, 2012, at Park Manor Nursing Home in The Woodlands, Texas. Ruth was born February 24, 1924, at home in the rural community of Indian Point in Menard County, Illinois. In 1947, Ruth graduated from Washington University in St. Louis and its School of Nursing. She worked as a nurse in New Orleans, several cities in California and at the Naval Hospital in San Diego, California. At the end of her active duty in the Navy, Ruth married Robert Lange, whom she had met in St. Louis. They made their home in Portland, Oregon, for 50 years.

Bob and Ruth helped found the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and published We Proceeded On. They made their home in Portland, Oregon, for 50 years. For instance, an epigraph to the poem titled “Souvenir” from primary source documents are used to educate the reader. For instance, an epigraph to the poem titled “Souvenir” expresses in the point of view is expressed in the poems, but quotes from primary source documents are used to educate the reader. For instance, an epigraph to the poem titled “Souvenir” wants to serve as a role model for kids, like himself, who come from humble backgrounds. According to an article in the Lexington Herald-Leader, he wants to encourage kids to develop their creativity and to read books.

Very few people, other than Bob, knew all the things Ruth did for LCTHF. She helped edit articles and proofread WPO, and served as Bob’s sounding board and right hand in all projects they worked on for the Oregon Historical Society and the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. Dayton Duncan recognizes her on pages 378 and 379 in his book, Out West.

Bob and Ruth jointly received the Foundation’s Meritorious Achievement Award in 1983 and 1989. Ruth later donated Bob’s extensive collection of Lewis and Clark books to the Fort Clatsop Library.

Ruth was a special lady, one much admired, and now sorely missed by those who knew her. She was preceded in death by her husband. She is survived by several nieces and nephews.

Frank X Walker named Kentucky Poet Laureate

Danville, Kentucky, native Frank X Walker recently was named Kentucky Poet Laureate for 2013-14. At 51, he is the youngest to be appointed to this esteemed position. He is the first African-American to be tapped for this honor.

Walker is the founder of the Affrilachian poets, who celebrate African heritage and roots, giving voice to traditional values associated with family, land, food, artistic community, music, and transformation.

Much of Walker’s poetry brings history alive. Two of his collections, Buffalo Dance: the Journey of York and When Winter Come: the Ascension of York, examine York’s role on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. York’s point of view is expressed in the poems, but quotes from primary source documents are used to educate the reader. For instance, an epigraph to the poem titled “Souvenir” wants to serve as a role model for kids, like himself, who come from humble backgrounds. According to an article in the Lexington Herald-Leader, he wants to encourage kids to develop their creativity and to read books.

“Everybody is creative,” Walker said. “They just need the tools to harness and control their creativity. I grew up in the projects, so I want to tell them, ‘Your circumstance is not an excuse.’ If you commit to something, if you work hard and have disciplines, you can accomplish anything.”

Walker’s poems were featured in the February 2007 issue of WPO and he was a speaker at the 2006 LCTHF annual meeting in St. Louis.

A New Clymer Masterpiece on Exhibit

The Clymer Museum and Gallery in Ellensburg, Washington, is now exhibiting Visitors at Fort Clatsop by John Clymer. This large work was painted in 1978 and shows Clymer’s attention to detail, his historical accuracy, as well as technical merit. It features an engaging scene of the inhabitants of the fort welcoming a small band of Indians that came to trade goods such as roots, berries, fish, and woven items. The Corps of Discovery built the fort in 1805 in the...
Northwest Territories at present-day Astoria, Oregon. The location of the winter camp offered a good supply of water and wild game.

The painting is on loan through collaboration of its owners the Portage Route Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Heritage Foundation, and the Clymer Museum and Gallery, and was made possible by the Clymer Museum’s presence in Great Falls, Montana, during the community’s Western Art Week in March. It will be on exhibit for three months, pending a possible change in ownership.

Artists on the Lewis and Clark Trail in Idaho and Washington

For Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation members who plan to attend the Idaho-Washington-Oregon chapters’ regional meeting in Orofino, Weippe, and Lewiston, Idaho, over Memorial Day weekend 2013, there awaits a remarkable world of interest beyond the rivers, prairies, and mountains of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. It is the world of local artists and artisans that is ripe for exploration.

Unlike the Corps of Discovery’s unmapped experience in the area, the artists’ and artisans’ locations are very accessible thanks to the brochure Artisan Trails: North Central Idaho & Southeastern Washington, which is produced by the University of Idaho Extension, the City of Moscow, the Clearwater Resource Conservation & Development Council, and Two Degrees Northwest. Artisan Trails is a guide to the cultural and historic sites, experiences, and businesses of the greater Palouse region—the area between the 45th and 47th degrees latitude in north-central Idaho and southeastern Washington. The brochure notes, “Listings in this guide were selected for authenticity and quality.”

The greater Palouse region is divided in the brochure into three areas: Farms and Forest Towns in the north; Palouse Hills in the central region; and Rivers and Prairies to the south.

Artisan Trails also lists lodging, farms, gardens, markets, antique shops, historic sites, museums, tours, performing arts, recreational and scenic sites, restaurants, wineries and breweries, and online businesses. The map section delineates scenic byways and bike trails in each of the three areas. The brochure is a remarkable resource for modern-day explorers in the thoroughness of its coverage and the schematic clarity of its maps. It may be downloaded as a .pdf file at 2dnw.org.

–Philippa Newfield

Visitors at Fort Clatsop is now on display at the Clymer Museum and Gallery in Ellensburg, Washington, pending a possible change in ownership.
Short Tempers and Long Knives: Hostilities Between the Blackfeet Confederacy and American Fur Trappers from 1806 to 1840

By Jay H. Buckley

Next to grizzly bears and Mother Nature, the most feared enemy of American fur trappers traveling along the upper Missouri River were the Niitsitapi or Blackfeet, the “Original People” or “Prairie People.” The Blackfeet Confederacy comprised the dominant military power on the northwestern plains. Blackfeet sought to maintain their hegemony by preventing American traders and trappers from trading with and strengthening the Shoshones, Crows, Flatheads (Salish), and Nez Perces. They accomplished this by harassing and attacking American trappers and stealing their horses and furs. Blackfeet enmity toward the Americans and their determination to keep them out of their neighborhood instilled apprehension and fear in the heart of virtually every traveler venturing along the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers before 1840.

After wintering at Fort Clatsop during the winter of 1805-6, the Corps of Discovery began its return to St. Louis. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark divided their expedition at Travelers’ Rest. Clark’s group ventured toward the Three Forks of the Missouri and to Bozeman Pass, intending to float down the Yellowstone River to its confluence with the Missouri. Lewis took nine men eastward across present-day Lewis and Clark Pass. Five of
them traveled to the Great Falls to dig up caches stashed the year before and float down the Missouri. Lewis took three men, George Drouillard, and Joseph and Reubin Field, and headed overland, searching for the Marias River to determine if its headwaters originated north of the forty-ninth parallel.

The first documented encounter between Americans and Blackfeet occurred on July 26, 1806, when four members of the Corps of Discovery—Lewis, Drouillard, and the Field brothers—met and encamped with eight Piegan or Atsina teenage boys along the south side of the Two Medicine River. Lewis, through George Drouillard, explained to the Blackfeet boys that America wanted to make peace and establish trade with the Indians of the Plains and Rockies. The Blackfeet, who kept other tribes from coming north to trade with North West Company traders and at Hudson's Bay Company posts along the Saskatchewan River, realized their trading advantage would diminish if the “Big Knives” (Euro-Americans) provided their enemies with weapons and supplies. Blackfeet had no need to ally themselves with Americans because they already received armaments and supplies at British posts along the Saskatchewan River.

After spending a pleasant Saturday evening together, Lewis posted a guard to watch their horses and weapons. On Sunday morning Lewis awoke when he heard Drouillard shout, “damn you let go my gun.” The young Indians had seized an opportunity to steal their guns and horses since raiding represented the fastest way to acquire wealth and status within the tribe and their party outnumbered the Americans two to one. Reubin Field seized his gun, wrestled it away, and mortally stabbed Calf-Standing-on-a-Side-Hill with his knife. Shortly thereafter, Lewis pursued those taking the horses and shot He-Who-Looks-at-the-Calf in the belly. The young man returned Lewis’s fire, his bullet narrowly missing Lewis who wrote that he felt the wind of the bullet pass near his head. After recapturing four horses, the Americans rode for 18 hours straight, fearing Blackfeet reprisal. Fortuitously, on Monday morning July 28, Lewis’s entourage met the party who had dug up the caches at the Great Falls and together they descended the Missouri River to rejoin Clark’s party near the confluence of the Yellowstone and the Missouri.

Historians have asserted that the enmity between the Niitsitapi (Blackfeet) and the Nistosuniquen—an Algonquian word for “Big Knives,” referring to long Green River knives (or perhaps even swords) mountain men carried—could be traced to this initial violent encounter in 1806. For example, in 1807 British trader David Thompson noted, “the murder of two Peeagan Indians by Captain Lewis of the U.S. drew the Peeags to the Missouri.” Even if Lewis’s group had not killed the Blackfeet teenagers, several additional factors help explain the hostile relations between Blackfeet and Americans during the first four decades of the nineteenth century: namely, the geographic location of the Blackfeet Confederacy; the confederation’s alliance with the British; the inclusion of the Atsinas within the confederation; and, materialistic competition resulting from the fur trade.

The First Nations comprising the Blackfeet Confederacy included the plains Algonquian-speaking Siksikas/Siksikáwa (Blackfoot Proper), Kainahs/Káínaa (Bloods), and Piegan (Aapátohsipikáni or Northern Piegan in Canada; Aamsskáápipikani or Southern Piegan/Blackfeet in Montana). Two other nations also belonged to the alliance: north of the forty ninth parallel, the Tsuu T’ina (Sarcee); south of the border, the Atsinas (Gros Ventres of the River), relatives of the Arapahos. Hereafter, the term Blackfeet applies to Indians in any one of these nations when no distinction otherwise is made, although most incidents in Montana and the Intermountain West usually involved either the Southern Piegans or the Atsinas, two nations whom American trappers took the liberty to lump together under the all-encompassing term “Blackfeet.”

The Blackfeet Confederacy straddled the demarcation line between the rapidly expanding American and British territories. With the majority of their tribal lands in Canada, North West Company and Hudson’s Bay Company
traders established the first contact with the Blackfeet, and developed an extensive trade with them at British posts on the Saskatchewan River. Blackfeet monopolized the fur trade of the northwestern plains by preventing other native nations from trading at British posts. This allowed Americans an opportunity to establish alliances with a majority of nations south of the forty-ninth parallel, such as the Crows, Shoshones, Nez Perces, and Flatheads. These tribes welcomed opportunities to trade and acquire weaponry and commodities to repel the Blackfeet. Blackfeet saw potential danger as their traditional enemies to the west and south grew stronger and became more formidable opponents when backed by American weapons. The British seized upon this situation and stirred up the growing animosity between Blackfeet and Americans. Dependency on British guns and whiskey ensured Blackfeet assistance in helping the British attempt to expel the Americans from the Pacific Northwest. The Blackfeet acquired guns from North West Company traders, the Hudson’s Bay Company, and Cree and Assiniboine neighbors. The well-armed Blackfeet gained immediate advantage over their southern rivals and began their domination of the Northern Plains. Horses stolen from Flatheads, Nez Perces, and Shoshones mobilized their firepower. The Blackfeet tenaciously and ferociously drove all the weaker nations to the south and west over the Rocky Mountains.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition’s exploration of the Louisiana Purchase brought Americans into contact with dozens of Indian nations, including those of the Blackfeet Confederacy along the upper Missouri. The Corps of Discovery was among the first American ventures to travel beyond the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri in 1805. After crossing the Rockies and wintering at Fort Clatsop near the Oregon Coast, Lewis and Clark embarked on their return journey, splitting their forces to cover more territory and fulfill particular missions. While Clark’s group went to the Three Forks of the Missouri and to the Yellowstone, Lewis’s group traveled toward the Great Falls of the Missouri. He took three men to venture overland to the northeast to the Marias River. When his celestial observations indicated he was still south of the forty-ninth parallel, he named the place Camp Disappointment. Shortly thereafter they met the eight Blackfeet teenagers.

Several versions of Blackfeet oral history describe the encounter differently. One account relates that the boys crept into Lewis’s camp to steal from an enemy, a coming-of-age ritual demonstrating courage. In another version, “Lewis and his party ran into a group of young boys from the Skunk Band who were herding horses back to camp from a previous foray.” The boys camped with and wagered with Lewis. “There is a story of a race. In the morning, they went to part company and the Indians took what they had won. That was it. That’s when they were killed.” An important Blackfeet account comes from George Bird Grinnell’s 1895 interview with Wolf Calf, a 102-year-old Blackfeet who said that he was personally at the fight scene when he was thirteen. He said their raid leader “directed the young men to try to steal some of their things. They did so early the next morning, and the white men killed the first Indian [Side Hill Calf] with their big knives.” Wolf Calf acknowledged that the boys were frightened but that they “were bitterly hostile to the whites after the incident and ashamed because they had not killed all the white men.” Most importantly, when Lewis left the peace medal around the dead Indian’s neck, it would have seemed like he was
“counting coup” and it would have appeared “as a form of scalping.” As a result, Blackfeet closed their borders to Americans, “attacking and killing any intruder they could find within their borders.”

Upon the expedition’s return to St. Louis in September 1806, its members related tales about the upper Missouri country teeming with beaver. Preparations to capitalize on this knowledge, especially in St. Louis, reached a fevered pitch. Several Spanish and French traders sought to be the first to take advantage of this untapped source of wealth. Perhaps the most important trader to take action was Manuel Lisa. Lisa quickly organized a large party of men to ascend the river, which included about a third of the veterans of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Within the next several years Blackfeet killed at least two former Corps of Discovery members.

Unlike the British, who built trading posts outside of Blackfeet territory and encouraged the Indians to do the trapping, Americans constructed forts within Blackfeet territory starting in 1807 and began trapping beaver on their own. Americans built posts along the Yellowstone, the Missouri’s Three Forks, and Henry’s Fork of the Snake River. These encroachments infuriated the Blackfeet. They felt their resources were being robbed, which led to hostile confrontations as they repeatedly drove Americans from their land. These circumstances set the stage for the bloody encounters during the first half of the nineteenth century.

Lisa’s Missouri Fur Company group ascended the Yellowstone to its confluence with the Bighorn and in the fall of 1807 erected Fort Raymond, the first American post near Blackfeet territory. In November, Lisa sent John Colter to find and bring in the Crows, Blackfeet, and other tribes to trade. While traveling with a group of several hundred Flatheads along the Gallatin River, fifteen hundred Blackfeet attacked Colter and his Flathead allies. With the help of some Crow reinforcements who joined in the fray, they repelled the Blackfeet attack.

This encounter further inflamed Blackfeet hostility toward Americans. The next year, John Colter and John Potts paddled up the Jefferson River, the most western of the Missouri River’s three forks, stopping occasionally to trap the plentiful beaver. As they paddled their canoe upstream, several hundred Blackfeet surrounded them and ordered them to shore. Colter went to the shore where they stripped him naked; Potts decided he would rather stay in his canoe. Struck by a well-aimed arrow as he shot the Indian who fired upon him, Pott’s body was immediately riddled with dozens of bullets. “They dragged the body up onto the bank, and with their hatchets and knives cut and hacked it all to pieces, and limb from limb.” They threw Pott’s body parts at Colter’s face. Colter narrowly escaped death by running a race for his life. In the following months, Colter returned to the Jefferson River to retrieve his traps that he had dropped in the river before the Blackfeet had attacked Potts and him. While camping one night on the Gallatin River, Colter heard the clicking of gun hammers and quickly dove into the thicket, narrowly escaping death for a third time. Colter made the long journey back to Fort Raymond, decided his luck with Blackfeet had run out, and promised his Maker to leave the country and “be d—d if I ever come into it again.” Colter floated down the Missouri and never returned.

These three run-ins with Colter angered the Blackfeet to the point that they determined to drive all Americans out of the area. Simultaneously, Manuel Lisa continued seeking Blackfeet contact. He sent men, under the command of Andrew Henry, Reuben Lewis, and Pierre Menard, to the Three Forks to establish a trading post. Blackfeet warriors killed two dozen of Menard’s American trappers in the spring of 1810 near the Three Forks of the Missouri. The remaining trappers cowered in their makeshift fort, afraid to leave for fear of a Blackfeet reprisal. Former expedition member George Drouillard ventured out alone twice and brought back nearly twenty beaver pelts. As a French Canadian Shawnee, Drouillard boasted he was too much Indian himself to be captured or killed. On the third day, he convinced two Delawares to leave the fort with him—all three failed to return. A search party found the Delawares’ bodies “pierced with lances, arrows, and bullets and lying near each other.” Nearby they discovered what remained of Drouillard and his horse. Drouillard had put up a fight, “being a brave man and well armed with rifle, pistol, knife, and tomahawk.” The pools of blood documented where Blackfeet had been wounded. The famous scout and hunter’s body was
“mangled in a horrible manner; his head cut off, his entrails torn out, and his body hacked to pieces.”

The Blackfeet hated the Americans’ invasion, especially the construction of American forts within their lands. Nestled between the Jefferson and Madison rivers, the trapper-traders experienced great success for the first few weeks. They realized that if they could stay the whole season they would be financially secure for years. The Atsinas had other plans. Trappers could not venture out a single mile without Atsinas attacking them. “So constant were the Indian attacks that little trapping could be done.” These attacks demoralized the trappers, causing Menard to lead a group of them back to St. Louis. Henry, convinced of the futility of staying there, took the remaining men and crossed the Continental Divide to build a fort on Henry’s Fork of the Snake. After a terrible winter of suffering and hardship, Henry’s party returned to St. Louis. Several hundred Blackfeet warriors gave them a violent sendoff near the Three Forks, killing one trapper but suffering two dozen casualties themselves. Henry and his men believed the British incited Blackfeet hostility toward them. Meriwether Lewis received a letter from his brother Reuben, who was part of the group, wherein Reuben confided, “I am confident that the Blackfeet are urged on by the British traders in their country.”

American wariness and fear of Blackfeet increased in 1811 when the overland Astorians—John Jacob Astor’s American Fur Company who were traveling to the mouth of the Columbia under the leadership of Wilson Price Hunt—altered their course and traveled overland through present-day Wyoming rather than risk venturing where the Piegan and Atsina lived. The following year Robert Stuart, on his return trip from Astoria to St. Louis, carefully traveled “out of the walks of the Blackfoot Indians, who are very numerous and inimical to whites.”

The Prairie People won round one of Blackfeet-American hostilities. Piegan and Atsina warriors successfully drove the Big Knives out of the upper Missouri River and burned down all three American trading posts. The Blackfeet resumed fighting their Indian enemies who recently had defeated them several times with the help of American weapons. Blackfeet successfully expelled all the Americans who had gone to trap in the Three Forks country, stealing their beaver pelts, horses, traps, guns, and ammunition in the process. The War of 1812 further disrupted and halted American trapping and trading on the upper Missouri. The following years marked relative peace among Blackfeet and Americans for one simple reason: they experienced very little contact. The British drove the Astorians from the Pacific Northwest; the North West Company forced John Jacob Astor to sell his trading post, Fort Astoria, to them for a fraction of its value; and, the Blackfeet already had driven Lisa, Henry, and Menard’s trappers from their territory and destroyed their forts.

The War of 1812 had a major impact on most native nations. The competition between Americans and British for control of the fur trade in the upper Mississippi and upper Missouri areas forced Indians to choose sides. Most Indians in the Great Lakes and upper Mississippi region tended to favor the British, while those living along the lower Missouri affiliated themselves with America. Early British successes in the war helped them recruit Indian allies. American frontier towns feared neighboring tribes would switch alliances when they learned of American defeats. By 1814, the British and Americans agreed to return to prewar status by signing the Treaty of Ghent. However, hostility among the natives took years to dissipate. When the British and Americans entered into another treaty in 1818, the two nations resolved their long-standing boundary issue by extending the forty-ninth parallel west to the Rocky Mountains. This artificial boundary line bisected the territory inhabited by the nations comprising the Blackfeet Confederacy. Nevertheless, by 1819, the fur trade on the upper Missouri River looked like a promising venture to entrepreneurs in St. Louis.

The 1818 treaty between America and Great Britain had declared joint-occupation of the Oregon Country. America was caught up in expansionism. In 1819, the U.S. government demonstrated its support for the fur trade by allocating funds for the Yellowstone Expedition. Unfortunately, this expedition met with disaster as the steamboat became marooned on a sand bar in the Missouri River. Upon returning, Major Thomas Biddle addressed the U.S. Senate on October 29, 1819. He initiated discussions on the government’s fur trade involvement. In 1821, the government relinquished its control over the fur trade.

After Manuel Lisa’s death in 1820, new entrepreneurs appeared. Joshua Pilcher’s newly reorganized Missouri Fur Company was one of the first to try its luck on the upper Missouri. The Blackfeet were waiting. Pilcher sent Robert
Jones and Michael Immell to capitalize on the lucrative beaver trade. Obtaining large numbers of pelts each day, activities flowed smoothly until mid-May when 38 “friendly” Blackfeet arrived in camp. Immell successfully avoided and prevented any hostility from occurring. Fifteen days later, however, their luck ran out. Three hundred to four hundred Atsinas descended upon them and cut Immell to pieces. Jones’s body was riddled with arrows; five others died and four more were wounded. The Atsinas stole more than $15,000 worth of property. This mishap severely crippled the Missouri Fur Company. Survivors of the Immell-Jones massacre blamed the attacks on the British. The chief purportedly possessed a letter with the words “God Save the King” inscribed, which seemed to justify the Americans’ accusations.

Even if the British did not incite the Blackfeet to raid their American rivals—as the Americans believed—the British profited significantly since valuable beaver pelts with American stamps dominated the majority of furs that were exported to British posts on the Saskatchewan. Most importantly, Blackfeet continually traded stolen horses at British posts for tobacco and whiskey. British attempts to compete with their American rivals caused them to abandon their moderation policy in supplying liquor to the Blackfeet. Britain realized liquor motivated the Blackfeet to trap beaver. This was both profitable and dangerous as the viciousness and violent character of drunken Blackfeet had no rival.

Meanwhile, Blackfeet simultaneously attacked Ashley and Henry’s trappers near present-day Great Falls, Montana, killing four men and stealing numerous furs, traps, and horses. The company built a fort at the mouth of the Yellowstone but the Atsinas’ constant horse-raiding forced them to abandon it. Blackfeet were so adept at stealing horses and furs and causing havoc in Montana that Ashley and Henry decided to adopt a different system of collecting furs. Instead of using trading posts on the river to collect and transport furs and furnish men and Indians with supplies, they planned summer rendezvous that accomplished the same tasks. The pack trains would carry needed supplies into the Rockies during the summer that could be exchanged for furs from mountain men and friendly Indians, which the returning men sold in the fall.

The rendezvous system temporarily provided a solution to Blackfeet hostilities because the trappers avoided their territory throughout the 1820s. Jedediah Smith had wintered with the Crows on the east side of the Wind River Mountains in 1823. While there he learned about the Green River Basin, located on the other side of the mountains; not only was it rich in beaver, but the friendly Utes and Shoshones had not trapped the area. From 1824 to 1829, Americans and British trapped out present-day Utah, Idaho, and Wyoming. As beaver became scarce, trappers were forced to journey to Three Forks and the land of the Blackfeet in Montana.

By the late 1820s, Blackfeet did not distinguish between beaver trappers according to nationality as they previously had done. The North West Company had merged with the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1821. These British trappers continued their encroachment along American streams as beaver became scarce in Canada. They eagerly moved up the Snake River to trap streams out before the Americans had a chance to harvest any furs. Peter Skene Ogden of the Hudson’s Bay Company reported Blackfeet hostility against British as well as Americans during this time.

Blackfeet hostilities toward the Long Knives increased in the 1820s as materialism permeated and undermined traditional Blackfeet culture. The fur trade created Blackfeet dependency on foreigners as inundation of western goods such as kettles, guns, awls, axes, knives, tobacco, and larger tepees made it necessary to acquire more furs and horses to exchange with British traders for these commodities. Horses also could be used to purchase additional wives, which were necessary to handle the increased burden of preparing provisions and tanning hides. Female labor turned idle...
capital (surplus horses) into productive capital (women). The easiest way to acquire women was to steal them from other tribes or to trade horses for them. Stealing from Americans provided the Blackfeet with furs and horses. To a Blackfeet warrior, horses could be exchanged for anything in life worth having; therefore, one could never capture enough of them. Magnificent warriors, the Blackfeet excelled at horse larceny. The desire to acquire horses and scalps increased an individual’s personal wealth and fulfilled part of his initiation process to become an acceptable warrior within the nation. Many skirmishes during the rendezvous period consisted of Blackfeet attempts to take horses and furs from Americans. The Blackfeet raiders traded horses and furs they stole from Americans for British goods, guns, whiskey, and tobacco. The Atsinas, in particular, mastered horse larceny. They were among the most numerous and feared northern plains people. Contact between Atsinas and trappers occurred frequently—much too frequently for the trappers. Many trappers often developed a bad case of “Blackfeet Fever,” which caused them to mistake herds of antelope and bison for a Blackfeet war party. Meanwhile, actual failure to detect Atsina raiders often resulted in death. Alexander Henry described the Atsinas as a “most audacious and turbulent race, and have repeatedly attempted to destroy and massacre us all.” Ranging up and down both sides of the Rockies, particularly the Three Forks area, Atsinas and mountain men clashed repeatedly.

Atsinas visited their Arapaho kinsmen in present-day Wyoming and Colorado during the summer months, leading to disputes and confrontations with Americans along traditional travel routes. Atsinas hunted bison on the Wyoming plains and ventured as far south as Santa Fe, capturing mustangs between the Platte and Arkansas rivers. Atsinas realized the rendezvous strengthened their rivals, providing armaments and supplies to Shoshones, Utes, Crows, Flatheads, and Nez Percé. Large horse herds accompanied the rendezvous as hundreds of mountain men and thousands of Indians gathered for games and recreation. These horses proved tempting targets for Indians skilled at the deadly but exciting game of grand theft cayuse.

As could be expected, several violent encounters occurred during summer rendezvous. James Beckwourth gave an excellent firsthand account of the 1827 rendezvous at Sweet Lake (present-day Bear Lake) on the Utah–Idaho border. A Blackfeet party surprised and killed five Shoshones. Shoshone Chief Cut Face asked the American trappers to show their friendship and loyalty by assisting the Shoshones in mounting a counter-attack. William Sublette gathered nearly three hundred trappers and charged the enemy. After a six-hour battle the Blackfeet retreated, abandoning many of their dead—an unusual occurrence because of the almost certain mutilation that awaited the deceased. Beckwourth
In 1837, Blackfeet stole blankets contaminated with smallpox from a steamboat at Fort Union and brought them back to their village near Fort McKenzie. As many as 6,000 Blackfeet died as the epidemic spread throughout the area.

recorded the fruits of their victory to be 173 Blackfeet scalps, and numerous weapons. The following year, in 1828, a repeat attack nearly occurred in the same location. Blackfeet abandoned the field when reinforcements from the rendezvous arrived before any bloodshed took place.

In 1830, artist George Catlin observed, “The Blackfoot, are, perhaps, the most powerful tribe on the continent.” Even though American trappers attempted to incorporate a profitable trade system, Catlin recognized the Blackfeet Confederacy’s strength and saw them stubbornly resist fur traders. Catlin noted the country “abounds with beaver and buffalo and others.” Yet he lamented the destruction of the beaver. “The Blackfoot have repeatedly informed the traders of the company that if this persists they will kill the trappers. The company lost 15-20 men. The Blackfoot therefore have been less traded with and less seen by whites and less understood.”

Perhaps the most significant rendezvous battle occurred at the 1832 Battle of Pierre’s Hole. The Atsina attackers consisted of fifty men plus several women and children and, as the Indians advanced, a British flag flapped in the breeze. A small brigade under Milton Sublette and two other parties had left the rendezvous on July 17. This party of 41 men proceeded up the hills to the southeast, headed for Teton Pass. The next morning they looked up toward the pass and saw a group of travelers, whom they assumed to be one of the supply trains that had not arrived at the rendezvous.

The Atsina chieftain rode out to meet the trappers. An Iroquois named Antoine Godin rode his horse out to meet him. Godin, whose father had been brutally murdered by Blackfeet, raised his gun and shot the Atsina chieftain.

The previous week, this same group of Atsinas had attacked Thomas Fitzpatrick and taken his horses. George Nidever relates how the Atsinas made a fortification in the willows and fought tenaciously against the trappers and allies. The Atsinas fled the scene when several hundred reinforcements from the rendezvous arrived. Three mountain men and five Indian allies died. Accounts list Atsina casualties between 27 and 50 dead. Ironically, this same year a group of Piegans had signed a treaty with the American Fur Company to allow Kenneth McKenzie to build a fort there the following year, provided the Indians would trap the beaver and trade at the post. Built in 1831, Fort Piegan became the first fort in Blackfeet lands of which the Piegans approved. The following year, however, Bloods or Atsinas burned it down. In 1833, McKenzie built Fort McKenzie near the confluence of the Marias and Missouri rivers.

This new fort achieved immediate success by offering Blackfeet the chance to trade and barter. A chief had told John Sanford, Indian agent for the upper Missouri tribes, “If...
you will send Traders into our Country we will protect them and treat them well; but Trappers—Never.” Unfortunately, this fort unwittingly spread the deadly smallpox epidemic that journeyed upriver in 1837 aboard the St. Peters steamboat. Smallpox spread as far as Fort Union where infected trade goods were transferred to another vessel heading for Fort McKenzie. The post commander there, Alexander Culbertson, quarantined the infected vessel to prevent the epidemic from spreading; however, the Blackfeet felt the Americans were discriminating against them by withholding trade commodities, particularly a shipment of guns they needed to fight the Crows and Flatheads.

Several Blackfeet snuck on board and removed infected blankets that contaminated their village near the fort. As the tribes dispersed, they spread the epidemic. Perhaps as many as 6,000 Blackfeet, roughly half of their population, died in this outbreak. This debilitating plague marked a numerical decline that ended Blackfeet domination of the northern plains. Consequently, by fall, the Blackfeet concerned themselves with their weakened condition. However, only minor confrontations occurred as the beaver trade drew to a close and bison robes became the new trading commodity at the forts.

Between 1806 and 1840, the northern location of the Blackfeet Confederacy had brought them into contact with British trappers who formed alliances with them. These bonds provided the British with an easy way to expel Americans—by encouraging Blackfeet to attack Americans to take their horses, furs, and guns. The Americans failed to learn from the British how to trade effectively with the Blackfeet. Whereas the British built posts on the outskirts of Blackfeet territory and sent representatives to trade with the nations, Americans chose to invade the territory and send representatives to trade with the Blackfeet. Whereas the British taught the Blackfeet how to trade with the British, the Americans chose to trade with the British to meet their needs, and often intermarried with those tribes, becoming enemies through kinship. Blackfeet disliked trapping themselves and found it immensely easier to steal furs and horses from the Americans and trade them with the British to meet their rising materialistic tendencies. Blackfeet capitalistic ventures often ended in violent confrontations with American and, later, British trappers. To compound the problem, trappers depleted the beaver, bison, and other fur and hide-bearing animals and introduced diseases that killed more Blackfeet than bullets or big knives ever did.

The inclusion of the Atsina in the Blackfeet Confederacy brought frequent encounters with Americans as they both traversed the northern and central Rockies. Atsina depredations forced Americans to desert the upper Missouri and venture overland to reach trapping streams. These supply routes of the rendezvous caravans opened the way for the overland migrations of the 1840s and 1850s along the Great Fur Trade Road. After more than half a century of conflict, diplomats for the United States and for the Blackfeet Nation met at a council held on October 17, 1855, near the mouth of the Judith River. They agreed to a treaty setting aside a reservation for the Blackfeet in what became Montana. The Blackfeet represented the last Great Plains Indian nation to enter into a treaty with the United States, which ushered in a new era between the Blackfeet and the Big Knives.


Notes:

1. The term Blackfeet referred to northwestern plains nations who sometimes wore black moccasins dyed with paint or darkened with ashes. J. Cecil Alter, James Bridger (Columbus, OH: Long’s College Book Co., 1951), 6. “Original People,” “Real People,” and “Prairie People” are some renderings of their national identity. The author thanks reviewer Gary Moulton and proofreaders Carl Camp and Jerry Garrett for their assistance with this article.


5. Horse stealing represented the central focus of Plains Indian culture. Alexander Henry regarded the Blackfeet tribes as the “most independent and happy people of all the tribes East of the Rocky Mountains. War, women, horses and buffalo are their delights, and all these they have at [their] command.” Elliott Coues, ed., New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry and David Thompson, 1799-1814, 3 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1897), 2:737.


7 John Jacob Astor’s men traded firearms to Flathead or Salish Indians in 1810. Heretofore, these tribes had been forced by the Blackfeet to travel all the way to the Missouri and trade with the Hidatsas and Mandans. The balance of power equalized as Blackfeet lost several Indian battles with their enemies to the west and south between 1810 and 1812. Oscar Lewis, *The Effects of White Contact upon the Blackfoot Culture, with Special Reference to the Role of the Fur Trade* (New York: J.J. Augustin, 1942), 20.


9 Before 1806, few Americans had ventured above the Mandan villages on the Missouri River. The lucrative sea otter fur trade off the Pacific Northwest Coast drew the majority of American fur traders involved in the Orient trade. Those not involved in the Pacific Northwest trade participated in the dangerous but profitable Santa Fe trade, exchanging manufactured goods from St. Louis for Santa Fe gold and silver currency. For further information on pre-1804 expeditions up the Missouri River, see Abraham Nasatir, ed., *Before Lewis and Clark*, 2 ed., 2 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990).


13 Alexander Henry recorded on September 14, 1808, at Rocky Mountain House in Canada that “Last year, it is true, we got some beaver from them; but this was the spoils of war, they having fallen upon a party of Americans on the Missourie, stripped them of everything, and brought off a quantity of skins.” Barry M. Gough, ed., *The Journal of Alexander Henry the Younger, 1799-1814* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 2:541.


16 The Crows, with new American muzzle-loaders, defeated a party of Atsinas on the Yellowstone River. This was an unprecedented event that resulted in constant retaliation by the Atsinas in an attempt to drive the Americans out and burn down their posts.


24 Reuben Lewis to Meriwether Lewis, April 21, 1810, Meriwether Lewis Collection, Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis, Missouri.


26 Kate L. Gregg, “The War of 1812 on the Missouri Frontier,” Missouri Historical Review (Part 1, October 1938; Part 2, January 1939; part 3, April 1939), 3, 16, 327. Gregg’s three articles contain an excellent overview of the impact of the War of 1812 on natives and the tension between the British and Americans.


30 Lewis, Effects of White Contact upon the Blackfoot Culture, 21.

31 Frederick R. Gowans, Rocky Mountain Rendezvous: 1825-1840 (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1976) is the major work on the rendezvous system and contains the best compilation of the major battles involving Blackfeet Indians.

32 The Atsinas had never cared for the British, only trading with them when they desired whiskey, for which they traded bison meat, horses, or furs. As early as 1811, they made plots against Hudson’s Bay Company posts. The Piegans and other tribes of the confederacy usually warned the Hudson’s Bay Company men when Atsinas were coming so the men could prepare for their arrival. The Atsinas were “the most notorious thieves, and when we hear of a band coming in to trade, every ... moveable European article must be shut up.” Coues, ed., New Light on the Early History, 378.


34 Blackfeet, as well as other tribes who stole horses, walked to enemy camps and rode the horses they stole to escape. While Blackfeet parties traveled on foot, mountain men and Indians sometimes gained and exploited this Blackfeet weakness and lack of mobility by attacking them. See Lewis, Effects of White Contact upon the Blackfoot Culture, 36-40; also, George Bird Grinnell, Blackfoot Lodge Tales: The Story of a Prairie People (1892; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), 242-55.


36 In 1837, Alfred Jacob Miller estimated Blackfeet killed between 40 and 50 mountain men a year during the fur trade. Marvin C. Ross, ed., The West of Alfred Jacob Miller (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951), 148.

37 David Lavender, Bent’s Fort (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954), 121, 125.


39 George Catlin, Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Conditions of the North American Indians, 2 vols. (1841; New York: Dover, 1973), 1: 51-52. In 1832, Catlin estimated the three tribes (Blackfoot, Bloods, Piegans) numbered 1,650 lodges. Add to that, approximately three hundred Atsina lodges. By taking the accepted estimation theory of eight to ten persons per lodge, the 1832 Blackfeet population totaled nearly 19,500.


41 This same group of Atsinas had attacked Thomas Fitzpatrick the week before and had stolen his horses. After escaping with his life, Fitzpatrick eventually made it to the rendezvous. His horses were among those taken after the Atsinas had fled. LeRoy R. Hafen, Broken Hand: The Life of Thomas Fitzpatrick (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981), 106-20.


44 David J. Wishart, The Fur Trade of the American West, 1807-1840: A Geographical Synthesis (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 61n. Jacob Berger, the treaty mediator, had traded with the Blackfeet for many years.


“WE PROCEEDED ON …”

With those three simple words, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation’s sixth president, Gary Leppart, announced the long-awaited publication of *We Proceeded On*, the organization’s quarterly journal. The board of directors had chosen that name, Leppart said, because it was “one of the most used phrases from the journals of the captains …” and because the words seemed to be a fitting tribute to both the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and its members. One member said, “Who could resist the name … *We Proceeded On*?”

The masthead came from the pen of Edward Burns Quigley, then a well-known western artist living in Portland, Oregon. Quigley worked in many mediums, including oils, pen and ink, graphite, and wood—both sculpture and bas-relief. He was well known for his ability to capture, with these mediums, the cowboys, wild horses, and round-ups of the Yakama people and pioneering ranch families living in east-central Washington and eastern Oregon. William P. Sherman, a “founding father” of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, was a generous patron of the western art world, and it is possible that through Sherman, Quigley agreed to design the masthead for *We Proceeded On*.

The editor for *We Proceeded On* was Robert E. (Bob) Lange and the business manager, Dr. Eldon G. (Frenchy) Chuinard. Both men lived in Portland, Oregon, and were “founding fathers” of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and active in the Oregon Lewis and Clark Trail Committee. Chuinard had served as Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation president in 1971–72, and Lange in 1973–74.

At the August 1974 meeting of the board of directors, George Tweney (Seattle, Washington), chair of the Publications Committee, assured the board that the first four issues would be published “at no expense to [the] Foundation,” through a $2,000 grant from the Lorene Sales Higgins Charitable Trust (Portland, Oregon). At the same time, the board began to explore fund-raising ideas to help offset the costs associated with the publication of *We Proceeded On*.

That first issue set both the tone and the standard for subsequent issues of *We Proceeded On*. There was news about the trail, with the Foundation a strong proponent for trail stewardship and site protection. There was information about the Foundation’s business, the president’s column, and highlights of the sixth annual meeting in Seaside, Oregon.

Starting with that first issue, and for decades thereafter, the Foundation’s editor printed a roster of meeting attendees, and a group photograph. Many subsequent issues also included several candid photographs, taken by Roy Craft, of Foundation members, guests, and speakers enjoying fellowship, programs, and field trips. Craft was the editor and owner of *The Skamania County* (Stevenson,
The Man Behind the Masthead

Edward Burns Quigley was born in North Dakota in 1895. In about 1900, his family moved west, first to Idaho, and then to Spokane, Washington, where he honed his skills as an artist drawing horses, cattle, and circus animals. Spokane was a frequent point of disembarkation for circus trains, and young Quigley often stayed for hours at the rail yards, sketching the animals and their handlers and equipment.

After graduation from North Central High School in Spokane in 1916, Quigley joined the military. According to Quigley’s biographer, Carl Gohs, he eventually was assigned to the Camouflage Division of the 40th Engineers. During World War I, artists such as Quigley were put to work in the U.S. Army’s newest, most creative, and far-thinking division, Company A, 40th Regiment of the Corps of Engineers, or the camouflage division. In all probability, Quigley served his time in World War I as a “camoufleur,” disguising gun placements, troops, trenches, and war material from German aerial photographers.

After the war, Quigley lived in Chicago and worked a variety of art-related jobs, freelanced, and attended the Chicago Art Institute. In 1930, he left Chicago for Portland, Oregon, where his family had moved during the war. In Portland, he set up a commercial studio and had another on the third floor of his parents’ home. At the same time, he purchased 1.5 acres of woodland on Cedar Creek, in the shadow of Mt. Hood. There he built a log cabin, hand-carving the lintels and doors with western themes.

During the next five decades, Quigley became a respected painter and carver of western art, the Yakama people, and the circus. Among his works are more than 500 paintings, carvings, and sketches with these themes. Some remain in private collections and others are housed in the High Desert Museum in Bend, Oregon. He painted murals for lodges, government agencies, patrons, and Irvington Elementary School in Portland. He carved countless horses and circus settings from sugar pine, teak, and maple.

—Barb Kubik

Notes


3 Gohs, 9-10; 163.


Like so many others who brought a necessary skill set to the organization and We Proceeded On, Craft served as a Foundation board member. In addition to his work with the Foundation and his many activities in Skamania County, Craft also was a longtime member and chairman of the Governor’s (Washington State) Lewis and Clark Trail Committee.

In the center of that first issue readers found Donald Jackson’s thoughtful and scholarly article, “Thomas Jefferson and the Pacific Northwest,” which had been the subject of Jackson’s banquet address at the Foundation’s sixth annual meeting. Jackson was the editor of the University of Illinois Press, the editor of Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854, and the author of numerous articles about the expedition. He also was a “sustaining member” of the Foundation and recipient of the Foundation’s earliest award, the Meritorious Achievement Award.

Jackson’s article set the standard for scholarship that continues to this day, both within the organization and on the pages of We Proceeded On. Authors old and new, published and unpublished, have contributed hundreds of pages of thought-provoking, timely, and thoughtful pieces that engage members, scholars, and students of the story. From biographies of individual corps members, to studies of mapping and tribal relations, to discussions of flora and fauna and boats, much has been learned from the pens of these authors.

In the second issue, Spring 1975, Lange shared the story of the publication’s masthead with the membership and introduced two new components to We Proceeded On, book reviews and “Up-Dating Lewis & Clark in Recent Periodicals.”

The first book review was by Tweney, a member of the Foundation’s board, a dealer and collector of rare books of western Americana, and like Thomas...
Jefferson, a bibliophile. Tweney put his pen and wit to paper to explore Marshall Sprague’s book, *So Vast So Beautiful a Land—Louisiana and the Purchase*, noting that Sprague had “given us the definitive book on the Louisiana Purchase, and again in the distinguished style of his numerous previous writings on the western scene.”

Lange’s new column, “Up-Dating Lewis & Clark in Recent Periodicals” offered readers a quick peek into other publications featuring articles about the story and the trail, from Crown-Zellerbach’s *Resources* to the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers’ *Water Spectrum*, *Arizona Highways*, and *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*. Lange thoughtfully provided readers with a synopsis of each article, as well as information on ordering that particular publication and at what cost.

Lange also began contributing his own scholarship to *We Proceeded On*. His first article was a two-page analysis of the cost of the expedition. Lange based his research on three key publications that have frequently appeared as annotations in *We Proceeded On* articles: Jackson’s *Letters*, Reuben Gold Thwaites’ *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* and the Missouri Historical Society’s *Bulletin*.

In the third issue of *We Proceeded On*, Tweney reviewed John Logan Allen’s seminal work, *Passage Through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest*. Tweney called the book “a scholarly contribution indeed to the literature of the expedition, and will rank with Paul Russell Cutright’s *Lewis & Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* and Donald...
Jackson’s Letters … as the triumvirate of published reliable information dealing with the expedition … no Lewis and Clark bookshelf can be considered complete without this newest work …”¹¹ Tweney and others continued to review books for children and adults, movies, and the occasional kitsch, noting those items that should be on every “Lewis and Clark bookshelf” and others that were not worthy of the Foundation’s endorsement.

There was news of the passing of a Foundation member, Owen P. Buxton, a great-grandson of expedition member Sergeant Patrick Gass.¹² At this time in the Foundation’s early history, when few descendants of the Corps of Discovery were known, Foundation members enjoyed Buxton’s warm friendship and welcomed his membership in the organization, his interest in the expedition, and his participation in the annual meetings.

Articles in We Proceeded On were not without controversy. Irving W. “Andy” Anderson’s article, “Sacajawea?—Sakakawea?—Sacagawea?: Spelling—Pronunciation—Meaning”¹³ started a long and often raucous debate about the spelling and meaning of the young Shoshone woman’s name, her contributions to the expedition, and her marriage to Toussaint Charbonneau. In the next issue of We Proceeded On, Lange announced the journal would use the spelling “Sacagawea,” unless the contributing author spelled her name differently.¹⁴ For nearly 40 years, respected scholars have addressed these and other questions in the pages of We Proceeded On.

By the fall of 1975, the Foundation had successfully published four issues of We Proceeded On. The fourth issue contained periodical updates, information about the upcoming eighth annual meeting in Great Falls, Montana, and news from the trail and trail-related organizations. Lange included Larry Gill’s scholarly article, “The Great Portage—Lewis and Clark’s Overland Journey around the Great Falls of the Missouri River.”¹⁵ Lange encouraged the meeting planners to contribute a series of informative articles about topics associated with the upcoming meeting site. Gill’s analysis of the corps’ portage was the first of many such pre-meeting articles designed to pique the membership’s interest in the annual meeting.

The fifth issue of We Proceeded On included Raymond D. “Dar” Burroughs’s article “Lewis and Clark in Buffalo Country.” Like so many other early scholars, Burroughs was a Foundation member and a recipient of the Foundation’s Meritorious Achievement Award (1974). His book, The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, could be found on many members’ bookshelves, and he was a frequent contributor to history and natural history publications before his death in 1976.¹⁶

Other items in that issue included a new column that would appear irregularly, honoring Foundation members and their work with the organization, the trail, or the story—or all three. Called “Foundation Personality,” the first column recognized Seattle resident Cliff Imsland and his work developing audio-visual materials about the trail, as well as his speaking engagements and his work as a member of the Governor’s (Washington State) Lewis and Clark Trail Committee.¹⁷

The Spring 1976 issue contained information about the upcoming annual meeting, organizational and trail news, and more periodical updates.¹⁸ Bob Saindon’s article, “The Abduction of Sacagawea,” added to our understanding of the young Shoshone woman’s frightening journey from her homeland to that of her captors near the confluence of the Knife and Missouri rivers in present-day North Dakota.¹⁹

During this time, the Foundation’s president, Wilbur Werner of Cut Bank, Montana, was working on a proposal to help underwrite the costs associated with publishing We Proceeded On. Publication costs were primarily for “the three Ps”: paper, printing, and postage.

During this time, the Foundation’s president, Wilbur Werner of Cut Bank, Montana, was working on a proposal to help underwrite the costs associated with publishing We Proceeded On. Publication costs were primarily for “the three Ps”: paper, printing, and postage. Lange worked as a volunteer. The black and white images in each issue were either part of the public domain (i.e., William Clark’s maps) or graciously donated by an author or photographer. Members and authors contributed articles, news items, and news releases. Lange frequently encouraged readers to contribute articles of scholarship, assuring writers they would “receive every consideration from our editorial advisory committee.”²⁰

During the board of director’s meeting at the Foundation’s eighth annual meeting in Great Falls, Werner presented a proposal he hoped would provide long-term funding for We Proceeded On. Werner proposed commissioning well-known Montana sculptor Bob Scriver to “strike a miniature bronze of Meriwether Lewis and the
The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation commissioned Montana sculptor Bob Scriver to create “Meriwether Lewis and His Dog.” Proceeds from the sale of the bronzes were used to establish the Foundation’s Bronze Fund, which continues to provide partial funding for the publication of We Proceeded On.

Lange printed two scholarly articles in that issue, John Logan Allen’s banquet address, “The Summer of Decision: Lewis and Clark in Montana, 1805,” and Chuinard’s article, “The Photographs of Sgt. Patrick Gass.” Chuinard’s article was the first of many about Gass and existing images of him, and it served to engage Gass descendants in the story.25

When Lange printed the next issue of We Proceeded On, he changed it from a seasonal publication date to a monthly one, December 1976. The issue contained important news about the publication’s funding. Lange reminded readers of the generosity of the Lorene Sales Higgins Charitable Trust in providing additional grant money for We Proceeded On: $2,000 in 1974, $2,000 in 1975, and $2,500 in 1976. In addition, the J.N. “Ding” Darling Foundation had just given the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation a gift of $500 to help with operational expenses.26

Generous gifts such as these, and the sale of the bronze the following year, allowed the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation to “proceed on” for the next 36 years, publishing its quarterly scholarly journal, We Proceeded On.

Barb Kubik is a former LCTHF executive director and officer. She currently is the historian on the Meriwether Project. This is the first installment in her history of We Proceeded On.

NOTES
1 Gary Leppart, “President Leppart’s Message,” We Proceeded On, 1:1 (Winter 1974-1975), 1. See We Proceeded On, 1:4 (Fall 1975), 1, for examples of usage of the phrase, “we proceeded on.”
4 The Publications Committee included Tweney, Leppart, Lange, and Chuinard. 5 Minutes of the meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Board of Directors on August 11, 1974, 6.
5 www.columbiagorge.org, “Roy D. Craft” (accessed March 12, 2013). This more than 40-page file contains numerous obituaries and tributes to Roy at his death on Christmas Day, 1989, as well as biographical sketches and copies of his work as editor of several newspapers—The Kodiak (Alaska) Bear, The Skamania

expedition’s dog.”21 When he asked for a “show of hands” from board members, committee chairmen, and guests at the board meeting, 15 people indicated a willingness to purchase one of the limited edition bronzes for about $1,500. Werner also suggested the funds generated by the sale of the bronzes be earmarked specifically for We Proceeded On. Newly elected Foundation president Clarence Decker appointed an ad hoc committee, with Werner as chair, to study the proposal, engage Scriver, and create a marketing plan.22

One year later, the board announced the sale of the Foundation’s first bronze miniature, “Meriwether Lewis and His Dog.” Proceeds from the sale of the limited edition, 8-inch-by-10-inch bronze were earmarked for the “Bronze Fund,” an endowed fund to be used to publish We Proceeded On. The bronze first was offered to Foundation members for $950. Werner, still chair of the ad hoc “Bronze Committee,” noted he had received orders for 30 of the 150 pieces in just a few months.23

The Fall 1976 issue of We Proceeded On was filled with Foundation news, including the appointment of Hazel Bain as the organization’s first membership secretary. Bain, of Longview, Washington, later became the Foundation’s first female president. For many years, Bain worked hard to increase the Foundation’s membership knowing that it was a portion of the members’ dues that helped support the publication of We Proceeded On.

The issue included a list of “contributing editors,” names we recognize as early contributors to We Proceeded On: Anderson, Jackson, Burroughs, Saindon, Chuinard, and Tweney. In 1976, the Foundation’s Meritorious Achievement Award was presented to two organizations and four people, including the two most important people to the operations of We Proceeded On, editor Bob Lange and its business manager, Dr. Frenchy Chuinard.

The Foundation continued to advocate for the preservation and protection of trail sites, including the “salt cairn” in Seaside, Oregon. Oregon Senator Mark Hatfield and Oregon Congressman Les AuCoin regularly informed Lange as to the status of their federal legislation to make the salt cairn a part of the Fort Clatsop National Memorial. In turn, Lange notified the membership through the pages of We Proceeded On.24


10 At the time, Reuben Gold Thwaites’ eight-volume *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1904-05) was the definitive, annotated work of the corps’ journals. Other edited, published journals of importance were Ernest S. Osgood’s *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805* (Yale University Press, 1964) and Milo M. Quaife’s *The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway* (The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1916). The Missouri Historical Society published *The Bulletin* from 1944 to 1980. Since 1980, the publication has been called *Gateway Heritage*.


12 Owen P. Buxton (1904-1975) was the grandson of Patrick Gass’ youngest daughter, Rachel Gass Brierly, and the son of Rachel’s daughter, Sally Ann Brierly Buxton.


15 Larry Gill, “The Great Portage—Lewis and Clark’s Overland Journey around the Great Falls of the Missouri River,” *We Proceeded On*, 1:4 (Fall 1975), 6-9. Gill was a former Great Falls resident and a “dedicated student of the ... Expedition and particularly of the trials ... over the navigational barrier of the Great Falls.”


18 For many years, the Foundation’s annual meeting was held in the current president’s home state. The seventh annual meeting was in Bismarck, North Dakota, the home city and state of then-president Gary Lepart. Werner was a resident of Cut Bank, Montana, and the eighth annual meeting was in Great Falls. The ninth annual meeting was in St. Charles, Missouri, across the Missouri River from then-president Clarence Decker’s home in East Alton, Illinois.

19 Bob Saindon, “The Abduction of Sacagawea,” *We Proceeded On*, 2:2 (Summer 1976), 6-8. Saindon would contribute many articles to *We Proceeded On*, and when Bob Lange retired as the Foundation’s editor in the spring of 1987, Saindon took the job. He was a writer and editor, an educator, and a longtime member of the Foundation. Saindon currently lives in Wolf Point, Montana.


21 Robert E. Lange, “Scriver’s Sculpture to be Dedicated June 13th at Ft. Benton,” *We Proceeded On*, 2:1 (Winter 1976), 1, 3. Bob Scriver recently had completed a heroic bronze statue of Clark, Lewis, and Sacagawea for the nation’s bicentennial celebration. The 16-foot-high bronze was installed on the Fort Benton-Missouri River levee in Fort Benton, Montana. Funding for this particular work had come, in part, from the sale of a miniature bronze replica.

22 Minutes of the meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Board of Directors on August 18, 1976, 11-12.


William Clark: Reflections on His Interactions with Family, Native Nations, and Landscapes

By Jay H. Buckley

When William Clark was born on August 1, 1770, the Virginia Colony encompassed a territory that stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River, including all of what would become Kentucky and portions of West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Illinois, and Indiana. When Clark was 17, the ratification of the U.S. Constitution created the United States of America. Five years later, Kentucky entered the union as the fifteenth state. The 1803 Louisiana Purchase effectively doubled the size of America. Clark was instrumental in exploring this new territory, negotiating with its original inhabitants, encouraging American settlement, and establishing his home in St. Louis where he lived the remainder of his life.

As Territorial Governor of Missouri, Clark played a vital role helping to create the State of Missouri, which joined the union on August 10, 1821, as the twenty-fourth state. By Clark’s death in 1838, thirteen new states had joined the original thirteen, doubling the number of states in the Union. Clark’s encounters and interactions with family and friends, Indian Nations, and the lands and rivers of the trans-Appalachian and trans-Mississippi West represent the driving factors that influenced and sustained him. He often looked for examples in the East to solve problems he encountered in the West.

William’s parents, John and Ann Clark, moved to Albemarle County, Virginia, in 1749 to develop a 410-acre tract of land along the Rivanna River near Charlottesville, only a few miles from Thomas Jefferson’s Monticello. Five years later, the Clarks inherited land from John’s uncle, also named John Clark, and moved to a plantation in southwestern Caroline County twenty-five miles from the Rappahannock River’s tidewater. There, in the homeland of the Mattaponi and Rappahannock nations, the Clarks shipped their tobacco from Port Royal, the principal shipping outlet of the region. The Rappahannock traverses the entire northern part of Virginia, emanating from the Blue Ridge Mountains, and crosses the Piedmont before emptying into the Chesapeake Bay just south of the Potomac River. The Clarks also had the good fortune to be located near the Southern or Ridge Road as well as the stage line between Richmond and Washington City. This proximity to major land and water thoroughfares brought notable travelers, officials, military officers, and merchants to William’s childhood home.

With the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 ending the Revolutionary War, Britain yielded its claims to 250,000 square miles of land north of the Ohio River and east of the Mississippi River. States including Virginia eventually agreed to relinquish some western
land claims to the new republic. Thomas Jefferson penned a Land Ordinance in 1784 that provided a rationale whereby new land could be surveyed and sold to the public. The Continental Congress passed the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 that enacted the aforementioned measures, provided for surveying, selling, and settling the land, and formulated a pathway to statehood. Since Congress did not raise revenue through taxation, but rather through a high trade tariff, they sought to raise additional monies by surveying and selling western lands, a stroke of the pen that simultaneously fueled western expansion into the Indian domain and brought the fledgling nation into direct conflict with Indian nations. Adding to the potential for difficulties, war veterans received land grants as a reward for their military service, which were usually located adjacent to Indian land on the frontier's fringe.

Instead of serving as a buffer between America’s expanding settlement and Indian nations defending their homelands, these military grants also brought in land speculators who enticed and encouraged other Americans to immigrate to the Ohio country. The trickle of individuals and families into the trans-Allegheny and trans-Appalachian regions quickly swelled into a flood that carried the Clark family with it. On October 30, 1784, the Clarks, including 14-year-old William, packed their belongings, left their eldest son Jonathan in charge of the Virginia estate and traveled north to the Ohio River. They wintered at Redstone Fort on a mound overlooking the Monongahela River adjacent to the Indian route between the Potomac and Ohio rivers used by the Lenapes (Delawares), Shawnees, Mingos, and other tribes. After waiting for the spring thaw, the Clarks boarded a flatboat and descended the Monongahela to its junction with the Allegheny where together the rivers form the Ohio River at Pittsburgh. After narrowly escaping death from an Indian attack, the Clarks arrived safely at the Falls of the Ohio in the spring. They moved into their new Kentucky home, a two-story log cabin on a 256-acre plantation, “Mulberry Hill,” located a few miles southeast of Louisville. They also built two mills on the south fork of Beargrass Creek. Clark lived at this family homestead from 1785 to 1803.

By 1799, the two-story cabin was expanded to forty feet by twenty feet. It faced northwestward toward Louisville and represented one of the finest Kentucky log cabins of its time. William Clark inherited the Clarks’ Kentucky estate in 1799 following the death of his parents and perhaps due to the legal turmoil that precluded his brother George from inheriting it.

Clark gained valuable experience traveling on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, especially on journeys to Ft. Massac, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, St. Louis, and New Orleans. His Ohio River years contributed to his education because he copied some excellent aphorisms from things he had read, such as: “Man cannot make principles; he can only discover them.” “The Most formidable weapon against errors of every kind is Reason.” “I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow creatures happy.”

After making journal notations on the circumference of the earth, the tilt of its axis, and the distance of the six planets from the sun, Clark lapsed into a discussion of trigonometry and concluded that the content “of its uses are unknown.” He agreed with Thomas Paine’s Age of Reason: “Learning does not consist in the knowledge of Languages, but in the knowledge of things to which language gives names—science and philosophy.” Clark summarized his thoughts with this poignant gem: “Every person of learning is finally his own teacher.”

At the Falls of the Ohio in the summer of 1803, William Clark received a letter from Meriwether Lewis inviting him to help co-command an expedition to explore the Louisiana territory: “Thus my friend … you have a summary view of the plan, the means and the objects of
this expedition. If therefore there is anything under those circumstances, in this enterprise, which would induce you to participate with me in it’s fatigues, it’s dangers and it’s honors, believe me there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself.” Lewis asked Clark to: “find out and engage some good hunters, stout, healthy, unmarried men, accustomed to the woods, and capable of bearing bodily fatigue in a pretty considerable degree: should any young men answering this description be found in your neighborhood I would thank you to give information of them on my arivall at the falls of the Ohio.”

Clark responded to Lewis’s invitation from Clarksville in mid-July with a letter of acceptance. “[I] cheerfully join in an ‘official character’ as mentioned in your letter and partake of all the Dangers Difficulties & fatigues, and I anticipate the honors & rewards of the result of such an enterprise should we be successful in accomplishing it.” While he waited for Lewis’s arrival, Clark searched for healthy, strong, unmarried men who were accustomed to the outdoors and a strenuous life.

On October 14, 1803, Lewis arrived in Louisville, joining Clark and forming the famous Lewis and Clark duo. The keelboat was piloted through the Falls to Clarksville and a camp established at the nearby Clark cabin on the eastern edge of town where William and George Rogers lived. They spent almost two weeks going back and forth between Louisville and Clarksville making final preparations. On October 26, 1803, Lewis and Clark, together with the nucleus of the Corps of Discovery, including York and the “Nine Young Men from Kentucky,” set off down the Ohio River from Clarksville, Indiana, on a journey into the chronicles of history. The Lewis and Clark Expedition traveled the Ohio, Mississippi, Missouri, and Columbia rivers, as well as some of their tributaries. Of the 10,624 miles they traveled, 85 percent of their journey was via rivers, roughly 9,046 miles.

Upon Clark’s safe return in September 1806, Thomas Jefferson soon appointed him the principal Indian agent for western tribes, and brigadier general of the militia the following spring. In 1813, Clark was appointed Missouri’s Territorial Governor and ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. In 1822, Clark accepted a presidential appointment as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. During his time as soldier, explorer, Indian agent, territorial governor, and federal superintendent, Clark met with hundreds of individual American Indians including Little Turtle, Sacagawea, Sheheke-shote, Cameahwait, Coboway, Black Buffalo, Rabbit’s Skin Leggings, Black Hawk, and Keokuk, and negotiated with dozens of Indian tribes. Clark conducted more treaties with Indian nations than any other American. Thirty-seven of the 370 Indian treaties ratified by the U.S. Senate bear his name.

The Mississippi River became Clark’s new home, as well as a major transportation thoroughfare that propelled St. Louis to gain the moniker Gateway to the West. The fur business, of which Clark became a principal player, centered on the river and its tributaries. Emigrants such as Daniel Boone settled along its banks. Clark’s personal diary from 1826 to 1831 reveals how large a role the river played in his life. He chronicled in his diary the daily height and condition of the river, the weather, the names of the steamboats and vessels arriving or departing, and the comings and goings of Indian delegations and family and friends.

Clark resided in or near St. Louis from 1807 until his death in 1838. He shared his time there with two of the most important people in his life. On January 5, 1808, he married Judith or “Julia” Hancock. They had five children together: Meriwether Lewis, William Preston, Mary Margaret, George Rogers Hancock, and John Julius. Two years after Julia’s death in 1820, Clark married her cousin, the widowed Harriet Kennerly Radford, who had three small children. Together they had three children, Jefferson Kearny, Edmond, and Harriett. Over the course of three decades, Clark and his growing family made numerous journeys from St. Louis to Louisville and Fincastle, the county seat of Botetourt County, Virginia, to visit family and friends. These numerous trips to Fincastle,
nested near the headwaters of the James River in the foothills of the Blue Ridge Mountains, in addition to his correspondence with officials in Washington, constantly kept William Clark apprised of national events and assisted in maintaining his close connection to the East Coast.11

William Clark was truly a man astride a continent. His travels took him from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean and from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. Residing near the country’s geographic center in St. Louis, he had advanced American claims westward to the Pacific while retaining his associations and contacts along the Atlantic seaboard.

During the American Revolution, General George Rogers Clark built Fort Nelson in Louisville to provide protection for the settlers against the Indians’ defense of their land. He used the area as a base of operations during the Revolutionary War. In 1778, he constructed a post on Corn Island on the Ohio River where he trained his 175-man regiment for the western theater of the war. After the war was over, the general and the men of his Illinois regiment received a tract of 150,000 acres for their wartime services. General Clark founded two cities along the Ohio River, one on the sunnyside and one on the bluegrass side. He founded Louisville in 1778—named after King Louis XVI of France—which represented one of the oldest American cities west of the Appalachian Mountains. In 1783, he platted Clarksville across the river in Indiana on a thousand acres of the southwestern corner of the large grant. Clarksville was located opposite the lower Falls of the Ohio, and it was here that Clark eventually established his residence near a large bluff called Point of Rocks (present-day Clark’s Point) overlooking the town and the river. He also built a sawmill and gristmill. Clarksville represented one of the first American settlements in the Northwest Territory.12

Louisville and Clarksville were situated at about mile 600 on the thousand-mile-long Ohio River. A buffalo trace led from the Kentucky salt licks to the Kentucky plains where Iroquoian and Shawnee hunting parties accessed bison. The trace crossed the Ohio River at the falls and emerged on the west side of Clarksville in Floyd County. Emigration to southern Indiana after the revolution consisted principally of settlers from Virginia and Kentucky. It was another decade before Congress admitted the “Land of the Indians,” or Indiana, to the Union as the nineteenth state on December 11, 1816.13

William followed George Rogers’ example a half century later when he founded a Kentucky town on the south bank of the Ohio River at the confluence of the Tennessee River. Many years prior, George Rogers had chosen the location for a settlement. Although a few settlers arrived after 1820, William platted 100 acres in 1827 and named the town Paducah. In a letter to his son Lewis, who was attending West Point, Clark wrote, “I expect to go to the mouth of [the] Tennessee the 26th of next month and be absent about two weeks. I have laid out a town there and intend to sell some lots [in] it, the name is Pa-du-cah once the largest Nation of Indians know[n] in this Country, and now almost forgotten.”14 It is important to note that Clark chose the name of an Indian tribe (not the legendary Chickasaw Chief Paduke) as the name for his town, just as the residents of Kentucky, Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana had given native names to their states.

Clark paid for an advertisement in the Missouri Republican to drum up publicity to attract settlers. He wrote: “At the mouth of the Tennessee River, situated on the bluff on the Ohio river, opposite the lower end of Tennessee Island. This place affords a perfect safe steam boat land, and can be visited by steam boats from New Orleans at all seasons of the year, is well situated for houses for the storage of the exports from, and the imports to the states of Tennessee and Alabama, at such times as the Tennessee River cannot be navigated by steam boats, and possesses numerous other advantages which it is deemed unnecessary here to enumerate.”15 Paducah was incorporated in 1830 and two years later became the McCracken County seat. Twelve miles from the mouth of the Cumberland River, 165 miles from Memphis, and 225 miles from Louisville, the city became known for its port on the river, which serviced steamboats, towboats, and barges. The city also served as an industrial center, making red bricks and specializing in water and rail transportation. Later it became a hub for the Illinois Central Railroad, the main north-south railway connecting Chicago and East St. Louis to the north and providing a link to the Burlington Northern Railroad and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railway lines. Louisville currently is the largest town and Paducah is the fifth or sixth largest town in Kentucky.16

One of the most significant results of Paducah’s settlement may be that it is in an area known as the Jackson Purchase—a region in the state of Kentucky bounded by the
Mississippi River to the west, the Ohio River to the north, and Tennessee River to the east. Although it was included as part of Kentucky in 1792, it came under national and state control in 1819. The 2,100 square miles included seven counties in western Kentucky: Ballard, Hickman, Fulton, Graves, McCracken, Marshall, and Calloway. The purchase also included all of West Tennessee, the region between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers, which includes all or part of twenty counties.\(^{17}\)

The purchase was necessitated because the Chickasaws retained their traditional title to the land. Moreover, Thomas Walker’s 1780 survey line of the border between Virginia and North Carolina had been extended to the Mississippi, supposedly along the 36°30’ parallel, but apparently his line was too far north. To remedy the situation, President James Monroe authorized General Andrew Jackson and Kentucky Governor Isaac Shelby to treat with the Chickasaws in 1818. They exchanged $300,000 for 8,500 square miles west of the Tennessee River. Article 1 of the treaty reaffirmed that “Peace and friendship are hereby firmly established and made perpetual, between the United States of America and the Chickesaw nation of Indians.” Article 2 indicated that the Chickasaws ceded all claim or title to the “land lying north of the south boundary of the state of Tennessee … thence, due west, with said degree of north latitude, to where it cuts the Mississippi river at or near the Chickasaw Bluffs; thence, up the said Mississippi river, to the mouth of the Ohio; thence, up the Ohio river, to the mouth of Tennessee river; thence, up the Tennessee river, to the place of beginning.”\(^{18}\)

In return, the Chickasaws received $20,000 a year for fifteen years. Some of their leaders received signing bonuses with assurances of assistance against the Creek
 Nation. A Chickasaw reservation of four square miles was established near the Sandy River, a tributary of the Tennessee. The treaty was signed by the signatories, ratified by the U.S. Senate and proclaimed law on January 7, 1819. On February 11, 1820, the legislature of Kentucky approved the report of the commissioners designating the state boundary.

Meanwhile, next door in Missouri in January 1820, Missouri was petitioning for statehood. Southerners linked Maine’s efforts to enter the Union as a free state with Missouri’s admission as a slave state. As part of the compromise, slavery was supposed to be excluded from the rest of the Louisiana Purchase north of the southern boundary of Missouri or the 36°30’ parallel. Speaker of the House Henry Clay represented Kentucky, which had just established its official western boundary in 1820. Clay’s eloquence carried the day and on February 26, 1821, the U.S. House voted to admit Missouri as a slave state.19

Missouri’s western boundary had always remained somewhat elusive. The state’s western edge had been set, in part, by Clark’s 1808 and 1809 treaties with the Osage Nation.20 Clark extinguished all Osage claims east of a line extending south from Fort Osage to the Arkansas River (most of present-day Missouri and half of Arkansas) and south of a line between Fort Osage and Fort Madison. The Great and Little Osages ceded nearly three hundred square miles or in Clark’s words, “Thirty Million of acres of excellent country” for the paltry sum of $1,500 annually, plus some additional considerations and presents. Later, after years of experience, a more reflective Clark opined that this first treaty he made “was the hardest treaty on Indians he ever made and that if he was to be damned hereafter it would be for making that treaty.”21

Fifteen years after statehood, Missourians wanted to expand the northwestern borders of Missouri to the banks of the Missouri River. Clark may have remembered how Kentucky had extended its boundaries to the Mississippi with the Jackson Purchase, which he replicated somewhat with a similar purchase in Missouri. Clark’s last Indian treaty, just as his first, involved extracting extensive land cessions from Missouri tribes. In September 1836, Clark made his last journey up the Missouri River, this time to Fort Leavenworth, where he treated with the Ioways, Sauks, and Foxes. He argued that extending the Missouri state line to the Missouri River would provide a “natural boundary between whites and Indians.” The Indian delegations agreed to an annual payment of $7,500, a greatly reduced reservation, and other considerations.22

These treaties he conducted at Fort Leavenworth have collectively become known as the Platte Purchase. The Indian cession added 3,149 square miles to the northwestern corner of Missouri and was carved into Andrew, Atchison, Buchanan, Holt, Nodaway, and Platte counties. Clark’s first and last Indian treaties, then, had extinguished Indian title to virtually all the land in Missouri. Missouri followed the examples of Kentucky and Virginia, replicating their choice of closely following the 36°30’ parallel when they formed and extending their southern and western borders, as well as their penchant for seeking to remove most of the Indians from within their borders. Moreover, like the Jackson Purchase, wherein Paducah emerged as an important river port and railroad hub, the Platte Purchase included Kansas City and St. Joseph, two of the main departure points for the westward overland migration of the mid-nineteenth century.
Clark’s immediate and extended family stretched in a line from St. Louis to Louisville to Fincastle. William Clark made numerous visits to Louisville. He visited Jonathan at Trough Spring; Edmund at Mulberry Hill or in town; George Rogers at Point of Rocks and later at his sister Lucy Clark Croghan’s home at Locust Grove after George Rogers’s leg was amputated in 1809. He visited his brother-in-law Richard C. Anderson (Elizabeth’s widower) at Soldier’s Retreat, and sister Frances or “Fanny” (O’Fallon, Thruston, Fitzhugh) at a number of locations, including brother-in-law Dennis Fitzhugh’s store, as well as family members buried at Mulberry Hill. In his journeys to Fincastle, Virginia, to see his friend William Preston or his Hancock in-laws, Clark’s roots ran deep in Kentucky and Virginia.

William admired Jonathan and George Rogers. Jonathan received the most attention from his parents, who tried to ensure that his education and station in life would make him worthy of inheriting the family estate and caring for them in their old age. Jonathan was a dutiful son, and fulfilled his parents’ expectations, serving with honor in the Revolutionary War, even spending the winter with General George Washington at Valley Forge. Jonathan became the caretaker of the Clarks’ Virginia estate when his family moved to Louisville. After both parents died near the turn of the century, Jonathan became the patriarch of the family and was looked to for advice and counsel. William continually turned to Jonathan for advice throughout his life, usually through letters.

The letters covered topics including military service, the expedition, the Burr Conspiracy, reuniting at the falls, money and property matters, fossil excavations at Big Bone Lick, William’s activities in St. Louis, and William’s reaction to the death of his dear friend Meriwether Lewis. Clark also wrote about York and his other slaves. Nearly 12 letters specifically mention York. They reveal that York was married before he joined the expedition and that, after their return, he wanted to rejoin his wife and family in Kentucky. Initially Clark resisted, which caused a great rift between the two. York’s persistence eventually paid off. After serving some time with severe masters, he was sent back to Louisville to serve William’s extended family.

Clark conducted more treaties with Indian nations than any other American. Thirty-seven of the 370 Indian treaties ratified by the U.S. Senate bear his name.
eventually freed York and set him up in his own drayage business hauling freight. York was not the only slave who caused William to question the institution of slavery and consider liquidating his property in exchange for cash. A personal or private profile of William emerges through these letters that is not as apparent in his other writings. William expressed his gratitude saying, “I received your kind letters … with greater pleasure that you can imagine. I do assure you that advice was never given to one who received it with more Satisfaction, and red the letters of another with more real pleasure than I do yours … I have in all Cases Sought your advice and good Councils words Cannot express the pleasure which I feel in receving it unasked.”

Clark was not the first Kentuckian to have conflicted feelings over slavery, and he would not be the last. One of Clark’s Indian agents, John Sanford, represented his sister in the court case over what was to become of her late husband’s slaves. The Dred Scott Decision was one of the principal causes of the Civil War. Kentuckian Henry Clay, the author of the Missouri Compromise in 1820, also played a decisive role in the Compromise of 1850, which simultaneously delayed yet ensured the impending conflict. Abraham Lincoln and Jefferson Davis, the respective presidents of the North and South, both hailed from Kentucky. Residents of Indiana and Kentucky divided over the issue, as did Abraham Lincoln and his Todd in-laws. Nevertheless, the motto on the Kentucky state flag and seal reads, “United We Stand, Divided We Fall.”

George Rogers Clark conceived and commanded the campaign that secured the entire Old Northwest Territory for the new United States

As profound an influence as Jonathan had on William, perhaps his brother George Rogers had an even greater impact. George Rogers Clark conceived and commanded the campaign that secured the entire Old Northwest Territory for the future United States; William co-commanded the transcontinental expedition that helped secure the entire New Northwest Territory of the Oregon Country for the United States. George founded Clarksville, one of the oldest towns in the Northwest Territory; William helped put St. Louis on the map as the principal city of the upper half of the Louisiana Purchase. George led volunteer soldiers to capture Vincennes, only to have to do it again; the same thing happened to William during the War of 1812 when he captured Prairie du Chien, only to lose it again to the British and their Indian allies. Both brothers met and treated with Chickasaws, Shawnees, and other nations. George Rogers Clark called upon Patrick Henry in Williamsburg to elicit support for the new Virginia county named Kentuck. He endured great hardships during the Revolutionary War,
but eventually he and his men were awarded land grants. William Clark received Thomas Jefferson’s blessing to accompany Lewis on the expedition, receiving equal pay, secured land grants, and land for the members of the expedition. Both brothers recruited some of their finest men from the Ohio River region and both dealt with river falls: George Rogers at the Falls of the Ohio, and William at the Great Falls of the Missouri and The Dalles of the Columbia.

Brotherly example and advice were not lost on William. Later, while in General Anthony Wayne’s campaign, Clark employed Indian scouts, kept a journal, drew maps, constructed forts, managed men and supplies, prepared for dangers, dealt with logistics, fended off attack, and developed skills as a leader and diplomat, lessons from his youth and early manhood in Kentucky. All of these skills served him well a decade later while on the expedition and in his lifelong career as an Indian agent and militia general. Following his famous expedition, William Clark remained in the West, yet his western legacy is intrinsically tied to his eastern legacy, especially his relationships and encounters with family and friends, American Indian nations, and the rivers and streams of the trans-Appalachian and trans-Mississippian wests. His expedition with Lewis across the continent took them across many rivers, through many Indian nations, and forged the Corps of Discovery into a family.

Jay H. Buckley, Associate Professor of History at Brigham Young University, served as President of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation in 2011-2012. This essay was adapted from his Presidential Address at the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation’s 44th Annual Meeting in Clarksville, Indiana, in August 2012.

Notes


8. The definitive source of the expedition is Gary E. Moulton,
ed., The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001). For an analysis of Clark’s interactions with rivers, including the Corps of Discovery’s use of a keelboat, two pirogues, and more than a dozen canoes, bull boats, catamarans, and rafts, see Vern Huser, On the River with Lewis and Clark (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2004). Jonathan Clark diary, October 26, 1803, “Capt. Lewis and Capt. Wm. Clark sot [set] o[f] on a Western tour - went in their boat to Mr. Temple’s.” Benjamin Temple was Jonathan’s son-in-law who had a farm along the Ohio River in the area of present-day Lake Dreamland neighborhood in western Louisville. Jonathan Clark Diary, Clark-Hite Collection, and John Clark Papers – Temple Bodley Collection, The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Kentucky. An October 29, 1803, report dated “Louisville” noted that “Capt. Clark and Mr. Lewis left this place on Wednesday last [October 26], on their expedition to the Westward.” Kentucky Gazette, November 8, 1803.


19. Thomas Jefferson and Henry Dearborn, “Commission of William Clark as Brigadier General of the Militia of Louisiana Territory, March 12, 1807,” William Clark Papers. President Thomas Jefferson had appointed Clark as brigadier general of the militia and principal Indian agent for all tribes west of the Mississippi (except the Osages) as part of the Office of Indian Trade on March 12, 1807. The president already had appointed Pierre Chouteau as Indian agent for the Great and Little Osages.


22. Trough Spring was Jonathan Clark’s home near Louisville, just east of Mulberry Hill. The core of the house still stands but has significantly changed since the Clarks lived there. George Rogers selected the location and William supervised its building. Locust Grove was the home of William and Lucy Clark Croghan, about six miles upstream from Louisville. Still extant today as a historic home, it is a beautiful brick Georgian style house. George Rogers spent the last nine years of his life there after his leg was amputated. After Jonathan died in 1811, William shifted his base of operations while visiting Louisville to Locust Grove, and Julia and their children spent months there at a time while he traveled or was in St. Louis. Soldier’s Retreat was the home of Richard C. Anderson, about ten miles east of Louisville. After his wife Elizabeth Clark Anderson died in 1795, the families remained close. Soldier’s Retreat usually was the jumping off place for Clarks heading east via the road to Frankfort, which William did in October 1809. Some of the original outbuildings remain and a replica of the original stone house was built in the 1970s and 1980s. These houses can be viewed at www.lewisandclarkinkentucky.org.

23. Jim Holmberg, curator at the Filson Historical Society, edited nearly 50 letters between William and Jonathan that were discovered in 1988. Holmberg’s book is the culmination of more than a decade of work piecing together the people, places, and events mentioned in this correspondence where William sought the advice and approval of his oldest brother. See Holmberg, Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark.


Weapons of the Lewis & Clark Expedition

Jim Garry
The Arthur H. Clark Company
$32.95 / 208 pp.

Weapons of the Lewis & Clark Expedition is a book that I have wanted to write. In my heart, I know my version of this book would be dry, technical, and interesting only to the specialist. Jim Garry’s book covers the subject fully and is a pleasure to read. It will satisfy the advanced arms collector and educate the non-technical historian.

The men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition carried a relatively small assortment of weapons. All had rifles or muskets for hunting and defense. Lewis had an air rifle and a shotgun in addition to his rifle. There were a few pistols, two swivel-blunderbusses, and one small swivel-cannon. The officers carried swords and spontoons, and all carried tomahawks and knives.

Jim Garry does much more than just describe the weapons. He provides historical background on the expedition and how it was armed; how the Indians that Lewis and Clark met were armed; use of the weapons for hunting, specimen gathering, and defense; care and repair of the firearms (in particular by John Shields); and trade in arms with the Indians.

He reminds us that Lewis wrote on July 12, 1805, “we eat an eminency of meat; it requires 4 deer, [or] an Elk and a deer, or one Buffalo, to supply us plentifully 24 hours.” This demonstrates the importance of guns for the survival of the mission.

The author devotes a chapter to each firearm, the edged weapons (knives, tomahawks, swords, and spontoons), the ammunition, and John Shields, the extraordinary gunsmith/blacksmith. On April 8, 1806, Clark wrote, “John Shields cut out my rifle & brought it to shoot very well. The party owes much to the injunuity of this man, by whose assistance their guns are repaired when they get out of order—which is very often.”

Historians generally agree on the types of weapons carried on the expedition. There are only two guns that engender controversy, the air rifle and the Harpers Ferry “short” rifle.

Lewis mentions his air rifle several times in his journals, but does not give any particulars on it. He demonstrated it during meetings with Indian chiefs and usually wrote that the Indians were astonished at its performance.

For many decades historians were convinced that Lewis’s air rifle was a single-shot air rifle made by Isaiah Lukens in Philadelphia. I was the recipient of a spirited series of denouncements and feisty letters-to-the-editor when I published articles (WPO, November 2002 and May 2011) debunking the Lukens’ air gun and proposing that Lewis carried a repeating, .46 caliber, Austrian Military Model 1780 air rifle capable of firing 20 shots in a minute. Now that would have astonished the Indians, as well as anyone in America in 1804.

Indians knew how guns worked. First you pour a measured charge of blackpowder down the muzzle, then ram a lead ball down the bore, return the ram rod to the sleeves under the barrel, put some blackpowder in the flash pan, be sure your flint is OK, cock the gun, pull the trigger and a loud noise results along with a flash of fire and a large quantity of smoke.

With the repeating air rifle, Lewis could put a target on a tree and fire 20 shots in a minute without smoke or loud noise, and no preparation for each shot. They were astonished! You can read in Chapter 6 the details of acceptance by historians of the certainty of Lewis having this repeating air rifle.

The controversy of the origin of the “short” rifles is ongoing. Garry gives both positions in Chapter 3. Everyone agrees that Lewis picked up 15 rifles at Harpers Ferry, and that they were prepared at the same time his iron boat was being constructed there. Were they of new construction, or were the 15 rifles taken from a 1792 sub-contractor’s shipment in storage at the armory? My position is that the 15 rifles were pre-production examples of the Harpers Ferry Model 1803 rifle.

Jim Garry has written a very readable book on the important subject of the weapons of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. He presents technical aspects of the firearms couched in language the casual reader will understand, and he covers the controversial subjects in an impartial manner. There is misinformation on this subject in several publications and on the Internet. With this book in your library, you will have current information from a trusted and knowledgeable author.

—Michael F. Carrick

Note: This book includes 23 illustrations provided by the reviewer.
The National Park Service is proud to announce and share a new interactive Web map of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. Personalize your exploration by discovering exciting trail themes with this portal into the geography of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. This interactive map allows you to instantly travel to Lewis and Clark campsites, learn about the historic rivers encountered on the expedition, and dynamically display different map layers and backgrounds of your choice. The information is organized thematically in a table of contents and you can choose to view map layers that show recreation and visitor sites, historic information, natural and cultural resources, land cover, public lands, and much more. The interactive map site also contains a variety of clickable links to Web sites that provide a wealth of information about the trail, including the online journals of Lewis and Clark.

Unlike traditional paper maps, which are static and contain a limited number of geographic layers printed at a set scale, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail interactive map site allows you to zoom in and out of areas of interest and choose the geographic extent and scale at which you wish to view the trail. Users can turn layers of information on and off in the table of contents and display different map backgrounds, such as aerial photos, topographic maps, street maps, and terrain. The site allows you to create, export, and print your own custom maps by drawing and adding text. Toolbars are available to allow you to measure distance and area, add your own GPS data, find latitude and longitude coordinates, and open and view locations in Google Maps and Google Earth Street View. The interactive Web map will continue to be enhanced and more data layers and tools will be added. The National Park Service hopes this interactive Web map will be used by people not only to help plan their trips along the trail, but also to educate future generations about the historic journey of the Corps of Discovery and the importance of protecting the trail’s vital resources. To learn more, visit the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail’s website at http://www.nps.gov/lecl or access the interactive web map directly at http://imgis.nps.gov/DSC/Viewer/?Viewer=LECL.