The Influence of the Red-Headed Chief

William Clark’s Post-Expedition Interaction with Indian Nations
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We Proceeded On welcomes submissions of articles, proposals, inquiries, and letters. Writer's guidelines are available by request and can be found on our website (www.lewisandclark.org). Submissions may be sent to Robert Clark, WSU Press, P.O. Box 645910, Pullman, WA 99164-5910, or by email to robert.clark@wsu.edu.
President’s Message

As I thought about what I should share with Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation members and We Proceeded On readers, I couldn’t help but get excited about what feels like a renewed energy among our ranks for working on projects that carry out the mission of our organization. I am humbled by the work being done by our volunteers, board, and staff to keep our organization vital and relevant. I am immensely grateful for your work.

Our office in Great Falls is ticking along quite nicely, improving communication with our chapters and finding ways to enhance our membership services. Our committees are hard at work identifying new avenues to reach out to old and new partners, revamping our website, researching ways to make past issues of We Proceeded On more accessible to scholars and members, professionalizing our library and archives, and refreshing our vision and mission statements to capture who we are and what we value as an organization. We are particularly proud of the Trail Stewardship Advisory Committee's work this year. Ten grants to six chapters and four other non-profit organizations totalling over $50,000 were awarded to complete various trail stewardship projects in nine states. Every year improvements are made to the grant process.

The Bicentennial Trail Stewardship Grant Program is a great example of how effective a little bit of funding can be in jump-starting projects that have local passion and commitment behind them. The program has enhanced our organization’s ability to be a leader in realizing one part of our motto—of being “Stewards of the Trail.” As the Trail Stewardship Advisory Committee predicted, opening the program to other nonprofit organizations has increased the competition for the funding and the quality of the projects. Since the need is so great across the entire Lewis and Clark Trail, I would expect this healthy competition to continue. To more fully address the needs expressed in these grant applications, we need a comparable grant program for educational projects. Currently, educational projects compete with trail infrastructure, public access, and preservation projects, which is often like comparing apples to oranges.

In order to strengthen our role expressed in the first half of our motto—“Keepers of the Story”—I am announcing an aggressive fund raising initiative, approved by your Board of Directors, called the “Double the DAR” Education Campaign.

The Raymond Darwin “Dar” Burroughs Education Fund is one of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation's restricted funds. Established in 1991 by Margaret Norris in memory of her father, it honors a longtime friend and board member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and the author of Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1961). A brief biography of “Dar” Burroughs, written by Robert Carriker, can be found in the 1995 reprint of this book. In reading more about Dar, I could not help but notice that the last half of his career with the Michigan Department of Conservation was spent administering the department’s conservation education division, and managing teacher training and edu-
R. Darwin Burroughs (1899–1976)

from We Proceeded On 2(4):7 (December 1976).

Officers, directors, and members of the Foundation were saddened to learn of the death of Foundation Director Raymond Darwin Burroughs on October 31, 1976.

We have enjoyed his presence and friendship at annual meetings in 1972 at Helena, Montana, and at Seaside, Oregon, in 1974, where he was the recipient of the Foundation’s Award of Meritorious Achievement. He also attended the annual meeting in 1975 at Bismarck, North Dakota, and at Great Falls, Montana, in August of this year.

Born in Iowa on August 20, 1899, he spent his early years in Nebraska where he attended Nebraska Wesleyan University and graduated with a bachelor’s degree in 1924. He received his master’s degree from Princeton University in 1925. His major interest and graduate training was in the field of biology. A teaching career as assistant and associate professor of biology followed: At Willamette University, Salem, Oregon; Oklahoma City University; and at Macalester College, St. Paul, Minnesota. Joining the staff of Michigan Department of Conservation in 1937, he held a number of administrative positions until 1949. At that time, he transferred to the Education Division of the department to assume responsibility of the teacher training and school education phases of the department’s program. He retired in 1965.

He is best known to students and enthusiasts of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as the author of the first book to deal exclusively with the natural history of the exploring enterprise. His 329-page volume, The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, was published by the Michigan State University Press in 1961. In 1966 he contributed a monograph titled “The Lewis and Clark Expedition’s Botanical Discoveries,” which appeared in the January issue of Natural History magazine. In recent years he has been working on and had completed the manuscript for a volume titled “Game Trails of Lewis and Clark.” Last year he prepared for WPO an interesting article published in Vol. 2, No. 1, titled “Lewis and Clark in Buffalo Country.”

In recent years he has resided in Fayetteville, New York, with his daughter and family, and each summer has seen him traveling throughout the west visiting friends and relatives, and attending, whenever possible, the foundation’s annual meetings. In a letter to the editor since “Dar’s” passing, his daughter, Mrs. William B. (Margaret) Norris, wrote:

“I felt very certain that Dad would prefer to have friends, who wished to do something, remember him through the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. I feel that it is a more personal memorial than some other things would be. You must be aware of the enjoyment Dad got from belonging to the Foundation, and from the many friendships he made. Dad needed to know some people who shared his special interest, and he spoke of these associations often.”
upon each other's work. He passed to the next generation of Lewis and Clark students what he had learned about the scientific findings of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

In keeping with the donor's wishes, the "Dar" Burroughs Education Fund is managed so that five percent of the fund’s total value is released each year. In 2013, $3,200 was allocated for educational projects. Past distributions have helped the Boy Scout Jamboree and contributed to the development of the “Meriwether” computer game. The goal of “Double the DAR” is to build up the fund so the yearly distribution can support a grant program similar to the current Trail Stewardship Grant Program. In this way we can stimulate more of the exceptional educational projects proposed by our chapters and non-profit partners across the trail. As of September of 2013 the fund had over $58,000. By adding to this fund our project grants for education can rise to match our accomplishments in trail stewardship. We hope you can help us meet our goal to “Double the DAR” by the end of the year. As this journal goes to press, members of our foundation’s board have kicked in $2,000 to launch the campaign.

One of the reasons I enjoy spending time with the wonderful members of this organization is sharing the passion for the expedition story and discovering the many lessons we continue to learn from it. I think Thomas Jefferson would be proud of this organization’s goal to educate our youth about this era in our nation's history. In his letter to Cornelius C. Blatchly, noted author on poverty and philanthropy, on October 21, 1822, Jefferson said “I look to the diffusion of light and education as the resource to be relied on for ameliorating the condition, promoting the virtue, and advancing the happiness of man.”

Increasing our capacity to fund educational projects through the “Dar” Burroughs Education Fund will strengthen our ability to carry out Jefferson’s vision of who we can be as a nation and as a people, and will enable us to live up to our motto of being the true “Keepers of the Story and Stewards of the Trail.”

You will find an envelope in this edition of We Proceeded On for the “Double the DAR” Education Campaign. I urge you to consider an extra donation today. Thank you.

Margaret Gorski is President of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and Chair of the Bicentennial Trail Stewardship Advisory Committee.

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**President’s Message**

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Unfinished Columbia Gorge monument comes down

THE DALLES, Ore. (AP)—On January 16 workers began tearing down the base of an abandoned monument in the Columbia Gorge that began as a jobs project in the Great Depression and was intended to memorialize the Lewis and Clark expedition.

The monument was less than half its intended height when Pearl Harbor was bombed in 1941, and the beginning of World War II meant the end of work on the project along the Columbia River Historic Highway, known as Old Highway 30. Only the base of the planned tower, about twenty-five feet high, was completed using stone quarried near Sorosis Park and basalt from Boyd, south of the Dalles, according to local historian and archaeologist Eric Gleason.

An artist's rendering of the proposed monument shows a stone column rising 60 feet, with a ball at the top.

The monument was a project of the federal Works Progress Administration, locally supported by a Memorial Association. It was expected to cost $20,000.

The Association was created to help “secure by popular subscription a fund for defraying architectural and other preliminary expenses incident to a joint federal and state project to establish a monument and civic center to perpetuate historic deeds of exploration and in appreciation of two great Americans,” according to an undated pamphlet published at the time.

After the project was abandoned, the property was transferred to the newly-created Northern Wasco County Park and Recreation District.

In the 1970s, The Dalles Lions Club built a wooden roof for a picnic shelter at the uncompleted monument. It was torn down in recent years, and park officials said that led to a marked decrease in crime in the area.

The parks department cited safety concerns and in March 2013 voted to tear down the base.
As demolition of the monument base proceeded, the base was found to be made up of sandstone and basalt, with thick walls around a small hollow area. The large blocks of basalt at the base will be saved for reuse.

As the final basalt block was removed from the Lewis and Clark Memorial base at Thompson Park a small copper box was revealed beneath.

“I had heard that there might be something there,” said Executive Director Scott Green, of Northern Wasco County Parks and Recreation District. But as they prepared to remove the last block nothing had been found.

Then local archaeologist Eric Gleason arrived, bearing a newspaper clipping describing a sort of “time capsule” placed as construction of the monument began.

It was found under the last stone to be removed, and had been placed there July 3, 1941.

The sealed copper box is several inches thick and just wide and long enough to contain several thin 8½-by-11-inch binders describing the project and the history of Lewis and Clark in The Dalles area.

Other items sealed into the box included, among other things, three copper ‘wheat leaf’ pennies from the 30s, a signed portrait of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, signatures from descendants of the Lewis and Clark expedition, a small photograph of the new Chamber of Commerce building and copies of three local papers, The Dalles Chronicle, The Dalles Optimist and the Goldendale Sentinel.

Dear Margaret:

First please accept my congratulations upon assuming the presidency of LCTHF. Persons who have not experienced such leadership positions often are unaware of the challenges incumbent upon those responsibilities. Your initial letter in WPO indicates that you have the energy and creativity to fulfill those challenges.

I read your thoughtful letter several times and agree with many of the ideas you expressed. It is, indeed, important that we explore any and all angles having to do with the tremendous accomplishments of the Lewis and Clark expedition. For instance, David Nicandri is correct. We should place the Lewis and Clark expedition in context of what was happening in the United States, North America, and the entire world. Similarly, I found the article on political reaction to L & C by Alicia DeMaio in the February 2013 issue fascinating. Indeed, I was so impressed with her research and prose that I obtained a copy of her entire thesis. Though it was a senior thesis at the University of Pennsylvania, it exceeded in quality—questions addressed, organization, depth of research, and quality of prose—many master’s theses I have read from around the nation.

Your reference to Professor James Ronda’s comment is particularly interesting. For way back in the early 1990s Jim assured me that discussion of the death of Lewis was a waste of time because “everybody KNOWS that he killed himself.” (I respect his scholarship about the Indians and often used his most noted book in my courses on the trans-Mississippi West.) Certainly Ronda is entitled to his opinions about Lewis as are Jenkinson, Nicandri, and Danisi. But their theories on his character are basically unfounded opinions based on their personal beliefs. Please understand that I have tremendous admiration for Clay’s writing, speaking, and acting abilities. I first met him back in the mid-’70s here in Mississippi when he did a couple of performances as Thomas Jefferson, and I invited him to do a session when I was national program chair for the Western History Association meeting in 1989 in Tacoma where I first met and grew to like Nicandri. I have been on several programs with Clay through the years. Let me be clear. I do not know who fired the shots that killed Lewis, nor do I insist he was murdered. After decades of study and thought, I do suggest that he most likely died at the hands of an unknown assailant.

Wow, I did not mean to carry on this long. Forgive me. I think my friend Jay Buckley will tell you I am not a “wild man.” I just have rather strong feelings about historians and their use of evidence. Early in my graduate study I realized just how little we historians often know about what happened, why, and so what. As I said in my published letter, I like my friend’s quote: “The more a person knows, the less he/she knows FOR SURE.”

Best wishes for 2014 and may your presidency of the foundation bring you much satisfaction, happiness, and many rewards.

Sincerely,

John D. W. Guice
Professor of History Emeritus
University of Southern Mississippi
Coauthor of By His Own Hand: The Mysterious Death of Meriwether Lewis.
The Influence of the Red-Headed Chief

William Clark’s Post-Expedition Interaction with Indian Nations

by Jim Hardee

The legacy of William Clark extends beyond exploration and map-making. Clark made a well-documented strong impression on Native Americans. The captain was known far and wide to Indians as the “Red-head,” noted Elliott Coues in a brief biography of Clark; a nickname stemming from the flaming color of his hair. “It is significant of his repute among [Indians],” Coues continued, “that St. Louis was for them simply the Red-head’s town.”

Though Clark never went back to visit tribes of the upper Missouri River or the Rocky Mountains, many tribal leaders traveled long distances to see him. Clark’s impact on relationships with Native people from that initial tour of the West endured with such intensity that some people believed Indians held Clark in “reverential awe.” Explorers and fur traders who followed in the footsteps of the Corps of Discovery over the next several decades found that the Red-Head Chief’s influence amongst Natives remained strong.

As evidence of Clark’s designation, Coues cited an 1821 council held in St. Louis under the leadership of Major Benjamin O’Fallon in which a Sauk chief reportedly said “American Chief! We have opened our ears to your words and those of the Red-head. Brother! We receive you as the son of the Red-head; inasmuch as we love him, we will love you and do not wish to offend you.”

Interestingly, this cognomen for Clark does not appear anywhere in the expedition journals. Exactly when the nickname was bestowed is difficult to ascertain, though it was used prior to the example given by Coues. Sometimes the moniker was given as “Red-Headed” or “Red-Haired” chief or some similar rendition.

Clark’s Reputation Among Missouri River Tribes

It is possible that Clark received this nickname during treaty negotiations with the Osage in 1808 near the site where Fort Osage was soon to be constructed. During the Expedition’s upriver trip, on June 23, 1804, Clark noted the site offered “a high commanding position,
more than seventy feet above high water mark, and overlooking the river which is here of but little width; this spot has many advantages for a fort, and trading house with the Indians."6

It was to this place that Clark traveled with the St. Louis Dragoons in the summer of 1808, along with George Sibley and Captain Eli Clemson, eighty-one men, and six keelboats of supplies to erect a fort.7 Subsequently, Fort Osage represented the farthest western trading factory and military post of that day.

Clark had sent Nathan Boone, youngest son of renowned frontiersman Daniel Boone, to the Osage villages to tell them of the trading post's construction. Soon after, two Osage chiefs, White Hair and Walk-In-Rain, along with seventy-five followers, arrived and Clark entered into treaty negotiations with them.8 At least one historian, Kristie C. Wolferman, also placed another Osage head man, Sans Oreille (Without Ears), at that treaty council. Wolferman asserts that Sans Oreille called Clark his "white brother," adopted him into the tribe, and christened him "Chief Red Hair."9

A few years later, the trade factory at Fort Osage was closed and relocated to Arrow Rock, Missouri. Dissension arose among the Osage people due to this change. In November 1813 Osage Chief Big Soldier asked, "Whose fault is it that these two Villages are divided? The Big Red Head (Genl. Clark) built a Fort at the Fire Prairie—Old White Hair as well as my Chief agreed to settle there—We have kept our promises, they have not remembered theirs."10

Thus, the Osage referred to Clark as Red Head at least by 1813 and Big Soldier's reference to White Hair's treaty with Clark may be evidence that the name existed in 1808 at the time the accord was entered.

Several instances of the moniker also appeared in the report of the Stephen Long Expedition. In the fall of 1819, Long Hair, a leader of the Grand Pawnee, having been insulted by a son of Lewis and Clark's interpreter Pierre Dorion, accosted the trader saying,

Dorion, I know you are a bad man...you have a forked tongue... You have abused me to the Whites, by calling me a rascal, saying I robbed the traders, &c.; but go, I will not harm you; tell the red head that I am a rascal, robber &c., I am content.11

During Long's expedition, a council was held at Engineer Cantonment in October 1819, a few river miles north of modern day Omaha, Nebraska. Knife Chief, a Loup Pawnee, was reported to have said, "This medal which hangs upon my breast, I received from my red-headed father below. I listened to his words, and on my return I told them to my people, and they believed." About the same time, Republican Pawnee headman, Petalesharo, held an audience with Indian Sub-Agent John Dougherty who was trying to recover property that had been stolen from Thomas Say. The chief ridiculed the demand, stating that "he had but an old pair of shoes that the Red Head had given him" and if Dougherty so pleased, he could take the worn footwear back to Clark.12

Several months later, on April 25, 1820, Long Hair made another reference to Clark when he addressed his warriors at a meeting with Indian Agent Benjamin O'Fallon. In a loud, yet impassionate manner, the
Pawnee chief proclaimed: “I am the only individual of this nation that possesses a knowledge of the manners and power of the whites. I have been to the town of Red Head, and saw there all that a red skin could see.”¹³

Then, three years later, April 3, 1821, O’Fallon held the council with the Sauk deputation in St. Louis that was cited by Coues earlier. They discussed the warring then going on between their people and the “Otoes, Missouries and Omawahs.” After much conversation, the Sauk chief individually consulted the men with him, then replied to O’Fallon, “American Chief, I have been attentive, and I have heard your words, and those of the red head (Gov. Clark). Yours enter one ear, and his the other: they shall not escape until my nation hears them.” [Emphasis in original]¹⁴

Being headquartered at Council Bluffs, Indian agent John Dougherty frequently met with several tribes along the Missouri who knew William Clark. Dougherty recorded the following exchange in November 1828, as Sac and Fox Chief Keokuk talked with leaders from the Oto tribe. According to Dougherty, Keokuk said

My brothers I have been down to Saint Louis a few moons since to see our red headed Father, on the subject of the great treaty held at Prairie Du Chien three winters ago … The red head told me that all the land lying along the left bank of the Missouri, from the mouth of the Nodoway to the Mouth of the Big Sioux (or Calumet), and back to the Des Moines river belonged to the Sackes Foxes & Ioways, and further, that if the Otoes or Omahaws continued to hunt upon said land, I should order them off and make them go even were I obliged to kill them in so doing. I am a man, my brothers, who obeys every word my red headed father tell me, therefor I advise you to keep your own side of the Missouri.¹⁵

Not about to be so threatened, the Oto chief replied, according to Dougherty, “that Keokuk might have talked to Clark, but that they did not believe their ‘father the red head’ had advised the killing of an Oto or Omaha who might cross to the wrong side of the river.”¹⁶

The above examples demonstrate the lasting impression of the relationships built by the expedition captains, and particularly William Clark, with various tribes along the Missouri River during their Western adventure some twenty years earlier.¹⁷ That same indelible mark could still be seen in the ensuing years as the

A view of the treaty grounds at Prairie du Chien, 1825, as depicted by James Otto Lewis.
fur trade shifted focus from the Plains into the Rocky Mountains.

Clark’s Influence on the Fur Trade

The nineteenth-century American fur trade responded to Lewis and Clark’s report of the abundant supply of fur-bearing animals in the country they had so recently traversed. Among the pioneers of the western fur trade were Corps of Discovery veterans John Colter and George Drouillard, as well as another dozen or more Expedition members. The federal Trade and Intercourse Acts, initiated in 1795 and subsequently renewed and augmented, required that all traders entering Indian lands obtain a license from a federal Indian agent. As Superintendent of Indian Affairs for western tribes, William Clark was responsible for approving and issuing licenses from his office in St. Louis to traders heading into the American West.

In 1832, artist George Catlin began a multi-year tour of the upper Missouri River. He visited and often painted portraits of many regional tribal leaders who did business with the various fur trade posts where Catlin stayed. While with the Minataree, Catlin reported that he was treated kindly by the aged chieftain Black Moccasin, then “more than a hundred snows” in age. Catlin wrote:

This man has many distinct recollections of Lewis and Clarke, who were the first explorers of his country, and who crossed the Rocky Mountains thirty years ago. It will be seen by reference to their very interesting history of their tour, that they were treated with great kindness by this man; and that they in consequence constituted him chief of the tribe, with the consent of his people; and he has remained their chief ever since. He enquired very earnestly for “Red Hair” and “Long Knife” (as he had ever since termed Lewis and Clarke), from the fact, that one had red hair (an unexampled thing in his country), and the other wore a broad sword which gained for him the appellation of “Long Knife.”

I have told him that “Long Knife” has been many years dead; and that “Red Hair” is yet living in St. Louis, and no doubt, would be glad to hear of him; at which he seemed much pleased, and has signified to me that he will make me bearer of some peculiar dispatches to him.

Lewis and Clark had met with Black Moccasin in October 1804, recording his name as Omp-Se-ha-ra. Having declared him a First Chief of the Hidasta village called Metaharta, the captains had given him a peace medal. “Black mokerson” visited the Expedition leaders in February and again in March of 1805, while the Americans wintered at Fort Mandan. In August 1806 the Corps called on Black Moccasin during their downriver return trip.

In a footnote to his letter, Catlin included

About a year after writing the above, and whilst I was in St. Louis, I had the pleasure of presenting the compliments of this old veteran to General Clarke; and also of showing to him the portrait, which he instantly recognized among hundreds of others; saying, that “they had considered the Black Moccasin quite an old man when they appointed him chief thirty-two years ago.”

A fascinating episode described in fur trade annals of 1834 illustrates the lofty position William Clark still held amongst Native Americans in the mountainous regions the Corps of Discovery passed through three decades before. This account comes from a greenhorn named William Marshall Anderson who had accompanied the supply train led by William Sublette to the
1834 rendezvous on Ham’s Fork of Green River. On June 17, 1834, Anderson wrote in his journal:

Mr. Sublette has just returned from Fitzpatrick’s camp, bringing with him the Little Chief, Insillah, which signifies in English the War Eagle’s plume. He is a short, well made, active man, and is, I understand, a splendid horseman. The amiable little fellow was looking intently at my white hair which Sublette observing, pronounced General Clark’s Flathead name, Red Head Chief, and putting the first fingers of his right hand on his tongue, intimated that we were relatives, (the white head and the red head) or had drawn sustenance from the same breast. He immediately pressed me to his side, and rapidly related his boyhood recollections of the Clark and Lewis expedition.24

Sublette’s sign language indicated a familial relation between Anderson and Clark that went beyond the color of hair. The first wife of Richard Clough Anderson, father of William Marshall Anderson, was Elizabeth Clark, sister of William Clark. Elizabeth died in 1795 and two years later, Richard remarried, this time to Sarah Marshall, first cousin of Chief Justice John Marshall. Sarah was also a relative of the Clarks on her mother’s side. Her grandmother, Ann Clark McLeod, was William Clark’s aunt. William Marshall Anderson was born from this latter union between Richard and Sarah, who had family ties to the Clarks.25

On the trip west from their jumping off point at Lexington, Missouri, Anderson had linked his Clark relative to some Native importance as he pondered the concept of Indian “great medicine.”

This term I do not understand or appreciate. Is it not a French misnomer? The Indians do not, as far as I can learn, attribute medical qualities, physical or spiritual, to any wonder or extraordinary thing. Yet all rare and unusual occurrences, each and every variation from nature, they are made to call “a medicine.” A white deer, or buffalo, Gen. Clark’s red hair, was translated for them, a “big medicine.”26

Thus, when Insillah started telling stories about Lewis and Clark, Anderson could not have been overly surprised. Born about 1784, Insillah would have been in his early twenties when the Corps of Discovery encountered the Flathead, or Salish, people. This Flathead man appeared in primary accounts of the fur trade era variously as Insula, Insala, Incilla, and Ensyla. Signifying the “war eagle’s plume” or the “war cap with the war eagle’s feathers in it,” the name was also rendered as simply “Red Feather.” This “Little Chief,” as Anderson identified the Flathead leader, should not be confused with the Shoshone headman called Ma-wo-ma, which is similarly translated.27

The day after Anderson was introduced to Insillah, he also met a Nez Perce man called “Kentuck,” later described by missionary William H. Gray as “a good natured, sensible, and yet apparently crazy Indian.”28 American trappers had tried their best to teach the native to sing the song “Hunters of Kentucky,” a popular tavern ballad memorializing Andrew Jackson’s victory at the Battle of New Orleans at the end of the War of 1812. To his own people, he was known as Bull’s Head, but he was Kentuck among the mountaineers who incessantly goaded him into warbling in fractured English.29

On that memorable day, Anderson described an exciting event:
Whilst dining in our tent to-day, I heard the simultaneous cry from English, French and Indian mouths, of
*a bull, un caic, tsodlum* and oh, Spirit of Nimrod, what a spectacle! A huge buffalo bull, booming through the camp, like a steamboat, followed by an Indian yelling and shaking his robe. Loud shouts of “hurrah Kentuck,” “Oka-hay trodlum,” “go ahead bull,” and whiz, whiz, went a dozen arrows, bang, bang, as many guns, and poor John Baptist leaped from the bank and floated, broad side up, down the rapid current of the Green River. This wonderful exhibition of skill, perseverance and daring, was performed by the Bull's Head in fulfillment of a promise, made the night before, to Capt. Sublette, that he would drive an old bull through the camp to please Hi-hi-seeks-tooah, his Little White Brother.

But the gallantry did not end there. The next afternoon, July 19, a large grizzly bear was frightened from the hill by a couple of Indian boys and the bruin ran through the middle of camp, scattering men, women and children as it fled. According to Anderson, after about twenty minutes,

The discharge of a gun and the triumphant yell of Insilah announced its fate. This evening the skin of the terrible animal was presented to me by the brave Flathead chief, with the ears and claws still on. I do not know that I ever felt so much pride and surprise as I did upon that occasion. It was both a trophy of his daring and proof of his high regard for the old "Red-head chief."31

The memory of William Clark was strong in these two young Native American men—enough to make a hero out of William Marshall Anderson at the mere thought of him being Clark's shirt-tail relative.

Trapper Jim Beckwourth also referenced Clark by this nickname in his memoirs. Stories told by Beckwourth, a well-known mulatto mountaineer, are often examples of how facts can become muddled over time. His recollections were recorded by Thomas D. Bonner in 1854-55, who then polished the trapper's tales and published them the following year. That was ample time for either man to have heard legends of the Red-Head Chief. Stephen Long's expedition journals, for example, had been published by 1823. More than thirty years later when Beckwourth dictated his memoirs to Bonner, there was a high public demand for literature about the West.32 One or the other of these men could have, accidentally or on purpose, distorted details, for example, confusing Pawnee chief Long Hair with a Crow leader of the same name.

In these chronicles, William Clark's cognomen was used in a discussion of the Charbonneau family. Beckwourth knew Jean Baptiste, who had traveled with the expedition as a baby, describing him as “my old friend Chapineau” in 1849. During California's gold
We Proceeded On May 2014

rush era, the two men were in business together, operating an inn near the town of Placerville. Beckwourth described young Charbonneau as having been adopted by “the Red-headed Chief (Clarke).”

Clark is also alluded to in a dramatic account of the death of Crow chief A-ra-poo-ash who had been mortally wounded by a Blackfoot arrow. Calling for Beckwourth, the dying chief told the adopted trapper, “…take this shield and this medal; they both belong to you. The medal was brought from our great white father many winters ago by the red-headed chief. When you die, it belongs to him who succeeds you.”

Beckwourth mentioned the Red-Headed Chief again in his account of an event that had occurred in the summer of 1825. William H. Ashley, having successfully completed the first Rocky Mountain Rendezvous only a few weeks earlier, was transporting the accumulated furs back to St. Louis. Ashley and his crew arrived at the mouth of the Yellowstone River on August 19, in time to meet the Atkinson-O’Fallon Expedition from whom they would receive an escort home.

General Henry Atkinson, assigned to the expedition almost a year prior, had outfitted a number of keelboats with paddle-wheels. The Otter, Beaver, Mink and Rac-coon had been converted to wheel-boats, powered by men walking on a treadmill. Atkinson and Agent Benjamin O’Fallon, whose flotilla had left Council Bluffs the previous May, had been negotiating treaties with numerous tribes along their Missouri River route.

The incident Beckwourth related had transpired about two weeks before the trappers showed up. Toussaint Charbonneau, of Lewis and Clark fame and father of Jean Baptiste, had returned from a visit to the Crow or Absaroka, informing Atkinson that a tribal delegation should “be in within two or three days.” After waiting impatiently for almost two weeks, three hundred lodges and six hundred warriors of the Absaroka people finally arrived on the morning of August 4.

Beckwourth, one of Ashley’s men, reported in this second-hand narrative that these Crow had captured prisoners in a prior battle with the Blackfoot. Atkinson ordered the release of these hostages but was refused. A terse argument ensued and the Crow threatened to
had an interview with Major O’Fallen, who ordered him to give up the captives or prepare to fight. The chief boastingly replied, through Rose, the interpreter, that the major’s party was not a match for the Crows; that he would whip his whole army. On this, the major, who was a passionate man, drew his pistol and snapped it at the chief’s breast. It missed fire, and he then struck the Indian a violent blow on the head with the weapon, inflicting a severe gash. The chief made no resistance, but remained sullen. When this occurrence reached the ears of the Indian warriors, they became perfectly infuriated, and prepared for an instant attack. General Atkinson pacified them through Rose, who was one of the best interpreters ever known in the whole Indian country. During the hubbub, the Indians spiked the general’s guns with wooden spikes, and stuffed them with grass.

This principal chief of the Crow contingent was Long Hair, a well-known tribal leader who appears frequently in primary documents of the Rocky Mountain fur trade era. Beckwourth recorded the following exchange between Atkinson and the Crow commander in which the General invoked Clark’s name:

“White Chief, the Crows have never yet shed the blood of the white people; they have always treated them like brothers. You have now shed the first blood; my people are angry, and we must fight.”

The general replied, “Chief, I was told by my friend, the great Red-haired Chief, that the Crows were a good people; that they were our friends. We did not come to fight the Crows; we came as their friends.”

“The Red-haired Chief!” exclaimed Long Hair, in astonishment; “are you his people?”

“The Red-haired Chief is a great chief, and when he hears that you have shed the blood of a Crow, he will be angry, and punish you for it. Go home,” he added, “and tell the Red-haired Chief that you have shed the blood of a Crow, and, though our people were angry, we did not kill his people. Tell him that you saw Long Hair, the Crow chief, to whom he gave the red plume many winters ago.”

After this dialogue, Beckwourth related that Long Hair and the interpreter Edward Rose counseled with the Crow who agreed to release their captives. In exchange, Atkinson presented the tribe with gifts, including a number of guns and ammunition. Beckwourth concluded his description of this episode:

The reader who has perused “Lewis and Clarke’s Travels” will please to understand that the “Red-haired Chief” spoken of above was none other than Mr. Clarke, whom the Crows almost worshiped while he was among them, and who yet hold his name in the highest veneration. He was considered by them to be a great “medicine man,” and they supposed him lord over the whole white race.38

The encounter with the Crow was reported in the official journals kept by Atkinson and expedition member Major Stephen Watts Kearny, as well as in the writings of Lieutenant Reuben Holmes, an eye witness who later wrote extensively about Edward Rose. Washington Irving also related the tale from the viewpoint of “an Indian trader,” likely Beckwourth. There are a variety of differences in these accounts; some are minor nuances, some more material; however, the gist of the stories is accurate with the exception of the dialogue—only Beckwourth’s version recorded any conversation between the participants.39

CLARK AND THE CROW

As most Lewis and Clark devotees will rapidly point out, the expedition did not see the Crow people at any time during their Journey of Discovery. The corps members had heard tales of the Absaroka, or Crow, and anticipated meeting them; Clark had even prepared a speech expressly for them. At one point, Clark surmised that smoke rising in the distance could be “raised by the Crow Indians in that direction as a Signal for us.” But ultimately, the only chance encounter may have come on July 19, 1806, when Charbonneau spotted a lone, mounted Indian on the opposite side of the Yellowstone River from which William Clark’s party had camped.40

On the morning of July 21, Clark had awakened to find half of the party’s horses missing. A few nights later, the remainder of the herd disappeared.41 Could it have been Crow raiders that pilfered Clark’s mounts? Apparently, he believed so—on the Clark-Maximilian map (sheet 30) is the notation, “The Crow Indians stole 25 horses from Sergent Pryor and party on the night of the 25th July 1806.”42 In his undelivered speech to the Crow, Clark went so far as to imply that his remaining horses told him who took the missing animals, “my horses...complained to me of your people haveing taken...their cummerads.”43

However, tribal oral traditions say “Maybe, maybe not.”44 Crow leader William Big Day told of a bygone Crow war party who saw an Indian woman with a baby
We Proceeded On May 2014 and a group of white men in a boat with a sail floating down the Yellowstone. The raiders had captured the best horses from this group’s herd and later learned that Blackfeet had taken the rest only to realize all they got were mules. Other Absaroka elders reported “We didn’t steal them…we just took them…some Crow people today won’t brag about taking the expeditions’ horses. It was too easy.” Finally, contemporary Crow historian Howard Boggess suggested “the Crow did not count the capturing of horses from Clark and Pryor as a coup because the white men slept too much.”

The Crow chief, Long Hair, did indeed sign a treaty with Atkinson and O’Fallon in 1825—he was the first of sixteen Crow chiefs to have made their mark on that agreement. Long Hair was also mentioned by several other fur trappers of the period, including Zenas Leonard, Osborne Russell, and Isaac Rose. What made this chief of the Mountain Crows memorable was the length of his hair. Allegedly, he never cut it and wore it in a bundle at his back. The Crow man’s locks were estimated by various reports as anywhere from nearly ten feet in length to over eleven feet. One account measured the tresses at thirty-six feet in length. Long Hair was also known as Red Feather at the Temple, hence Beckwourth’s reference to the man having been given a “red plume many winters ago.”

Despite Beckwourth’s retelling, it was clearly not William Clark who gave Long Hair any feathers in the past. Another such candidate was Finnan McDonald who had joined the North West Company (NWC) about 1804 and soon found himself in the Pacific Northwest working with David Thompson. When NWC merged with Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), the Scot became an HBC brigade leader, trading with numerous tribes. His 1823 contingent trapped to the southeast, through Pierre’s Hole (modern Teton Valley, Idaho), to the Bear River, penetrating to the Green River. McDonald was six feet, four inches tall, broad shouldered, had large bushy whiskers and red hair which often went years without the benefit of scissors. He was known to several tribes as “the big red-headed chief.” However, there is no documentation that McDonald ever encountered the Crow.

Jim Beckwourth’s tales, though fraught with inaccuracy, highlight the impact of William Clark, the Red-Headed Chief, among Indians of the Rocky Mountains. It also illuminates that trappers like Beckwourth, or their editors, recognized the importance to their readership of highlighting the role Clark played in the mountain men’s ability to trap beaver in the Trans-Mississippi West.

Incredibly, as big as the Rocky Mountains seem to be, it is remarkable that the Crow Chief Rain, the very man Benjamin O’Fallon had accosted during the treaty negotiations described by Beckwourth, also appeared in William Marshall Anderson’s journal, as does Long Hair. At the end of August 1834, Anderson wrote:

> Old Burns, alias Long Hair, is, and has long been a principal chief—Like Sampson, his strength lies in his hair…When Mr. Campbell measured it (tis a great favor to touch it) two years ago, —twas eleven feet & four inches—This spring my friend Mr. Vasques took its dimensions and found it to be 11 ft. 8 ins … After winding twice around his body, it is secured over his stomach, in a ball, as large as a man’s head — The Rain, is another very old and distinguished chief. He is the same individual who suffered the degradation of being knocked down in full council, by Majr. O’Fallon.

Coincidentally, O’Fallon, a nephew of William Clark, was instrumental in keeping alive numerous attributions to his uncle’s nickname. Throughout fur trade primary sources there are references, like those described here, that reflect the influence of William Clark, the Red-Headed Chief, among Native Americans. When the first election of governor occurred in the new state of Missouri in 1820, candidate Clark was not voted into office. Reasons for his defeat included a willingness to negotiate with Indians, an emphasis on trade over settlement, and advocating the government-monopolized factory system that controlled the fur trade.

A present of axes, knives, ivory combs, vermilion, wampoon shells, rings, fire steels and flint, papers Cor’d Glasses, cassetete, awls, B.C. beads, blue beads, cock feathers, balls & powder, and tobacco. [emphasis added]

Not all references to a red-headed leader applied to William Clark. Another such candidate was Finnan McDonald who had joined the North West Company (NWC) about 1804 and soon found himself in the Pacific Northwest working with David Thompson. When NWC merged with Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), the Scot became an HBC brigade leader, trading with numerous tribes. His 1823 contingent trapped to the southeast, through Pierre’s Hole (modern Teton Valley, Idaho), to the Bear River, penetrating to the Green River. McDonald was six feet, four inches tall, broad shouldered, had large bushy whiskers and red hair which often went years without the benefit of scissors. He was known to several tribes as “the big red-headed chief.” However, there is no documentation that McDonald ever encountered the Crow.
Still, as a principal citizen of St. Louis, Clark’s hospitality to whites and Indians alike was legendary throughout the West. The big Indian Council Room adjoining his house was often filled with visiting Native American dignitaries. Clark’s status among the many Indian nations with whom he met was so integral that some tribes viewed treaty negotiation as invalid unless it was personally conducted by Clark.\(^{52}\)

For three decades after the Expedition, Clark was instrumental in developing American Indian policy. There would yet be many conflicts and battles in a long struggle over control of the West but the Red-Head Chief “was a link in that chain of history which reached beyond his knowing.”\(^{53}\) As John Bakeless noted

William Clark in his later years looked every inch the governor—tall, erect, dignified, ever with the air of the old soldier about him… At first the hair for which the Indians named him—“very red in those days”—flowed long about his head. Then, as it grew grayer and scatter it was bound up in the conventional eelskin queue. When the Indians could no longer call him Red Head, he became the “Sand-haired Father.”\(^{54}\)

William Clark’s tenure as Superintendent of Indian Affairs was the longest in American history.\(^{55}\) His experiences during the Lewis and Clark Expedition had exposed him to the vast diversity amongst native cultures, for which he gained tremendous appreciation. The Red-Headed Chief mutually represented the views of the federal government and those of tribal delegations with insight few others possessed. Clark will be remembered for his master map of the West drawn from his exploration of the interior of this continent. But it was Clark’s ability to establish lasting relationships that made him heroic to men who, though he had met them thirty years earlier, not only remembered the Red-Headed Chief but were still transfixed by all that William Clark represented.

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END NOTES:

3. Ibid.
4. This was determined by searching the online version of the Lewis and Clark Journals using a variation of wording and spelling. While the nickname appears in some of the extraneous material on the site, it did not show up in any journal entry. The journals are on line at: http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/ (accessed 10-12-13).
7. Buckley, William Clark, Indian Diplomat, 73-77.
13. Ibid., 15:147.
16. Ibid.
17. It should be noted that two other “Red Heads” can be found during this period of history along the Missouri River. First was Robert Dickson, a British fur trader, who became a primary antagonist for Clark during the War of 1812 and whom Landon Jones labeled Clark’s doppelganger. Jones, *William Clark*, 203. The other was a Sault chief, Mess-con-de-bay, a hereditary chief second only to Black Hawk. Kerry A. Trask, *Black Hawk: The Battle for the Heart of America* (New York, NY: Henry Holt and Company, 2007), 70-71.
22. Ibid., 3:303, 311, 8:298.
25. Ibid., 46, 52n7.
26. Ibid., 91.
27. Ibid., 329-33. Alfred Jacob Miller painted the Shoshone chief in 1837.
30. Ibid., 135.
31. Ibid., 139.
34. Arapooish, also known as Rotten Belly, was a famous Crow chief who was killed in the summer of 1834. The notoriety of his shield is well documented, Robert H. Lowie, *The Crow Indians* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 86, 234; Frederick E. Hoxie, *The Crow* (New York, NY: Chelsea House Publishers, 1989), 62-64.
41. Ibid., 8:209, 285.
42. Ibid., 1: Atlas map 117.
43. Ibid., 8:213.
44. This quote comes from Barney Old Coyote and is found in C. Adrian Heidenreich, *Smoke Signals in Crow (Apsáalooke) Country: Beyond the Capture of Horses from the Lewis & Clark Expedition* (Billings, MT: by the Author, 2006), 46.
45. Ibid., 46-47.
47. Recordings of the length of Long Hair’s tresses can be found in Morgan and Harris, *William Marshall Anderson*, 335.
As the Corps of Discovery prepared to set out from winter quarters at Fort Mandan in spring 1805, Captain Meriwether Lewis wrote a long letter to President Thomas Jefferson with the details of their departure and an inventory of the collections of cultural and natural history, maps, and journals the Corps of Discovery was sending downriver in the keelboat. In his letter, Lewis noted the two captains encouraged the corps’ literate members to keep journals, and that seven of them did so, adding the two captains had provided these seven journal keepers with “every assistance in our power.”

What did that “assistance” look like?

From Joseph Thompson in Philadelphia, Lewis purchased six boxes made specifically for stationery products for $2.00 each. At the same time, he requisitioned six brass inkstands, six papers of ink powder, and 100 quills from the “public stores.” Included in the undated inventory of supplies called the “Bailing Invoice of Sundries, being necessary Stores” were eight tin boxes with two memorandum books in each box, four papers of ink powder, nine quires of foolscap paper and eighteen half-quires of post paper.

Two hundred years later, we still cannot identify with certainty the seven men who took advantage of the two captains’ “assistance” to record “their observations...with great pains and accuracy” during the journey. We have the journals of the two captains (Meriwether Lewis and William Clark), three of the four sergeants (Charles Floyd, Patrick Gass, and John Ordway), and one private (Joseph Whitehouse). Of these six, all the original journals are preserved except that of Sergeant Patrick Gass.

Records indicate Private Robert Frazer kept a journal and drew a map. Lewis had given Frazer permission to publish his journal, and late in 1806, Frazer printed a “prospectus” announcing the planned publication of his journal and map. The map, titled “A Map of the discoveries of Capt. Lewis & Clark from the Rocky mountain and the River Lewis to the Cap of Disappointment Or the Columbia River at the North Pacific Ocean By observation Of Robert Frazer” may be found in the Library of Congress. Frazer’s journal has not been found, and there is no evidence he ever published it.

It is possible Sergeant Nathaniel Hale Pryor kept a journal. On May 26, 1804, the two captains issued a set of detachment orders, detailing the sergeants’ duties, noting “The sergts. in addition to those duties are directed each to keep a separate journal from day today of all passing occurences, and such other observations on the country &c. as shall appear to them worthy of notice...” Military regulations of the time...
required sergeants to be literate, and there are vague references to Pryor's literacy and his "papers" in Clark's journal in the summer of 1806.\footnote{8}

One of the most fascinating stories of the Corps' journals is that created by Sergeant Patrick Gass. His was the first journal to be published in both the United States and in Europe. Yet, little is known about his original journal, his editor David M'Keehan, or the numerous foreign-language reprints that followed the initial publication in 1807.

Not long after the Corps' return, David M'Keehan purchased Gass's journal from him. We do not know how the two men, Gass, the explorer and journal-keeper, and M'Keehan, the teacher-turned-bookseller, editor and publisher, came to be acquainted. Nor do we know how much K'Keehan paid Gass for his journal. We believe he gave Gass the copyright and 100 complimentary copies of the finished work, but the copyright was ignored by subsequent editors, and none of Gass's descendants have seen any of the complimentary copies of the original Gass/M'Keehan edition.\footnote{9}

M'Keehan's father, Samuel M'Keehan, was a Presbyterian Ulster Scot (Scotch Irish) who moved his family between Presbyterian communities in Delaware and Pennsylvania in the mid-1700s. M'Keehan family tradition holds that young David M'Keehan graduated from Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1787, and that he was admitted to the bar in Mifflin County two years later.\footnote{10} In the early 1800s, David M'Keehan was living and teaching in Wellsburg, (West) Virginia. By 1807, he had a book and stationery store near the Allegheny County Courthouse on Market Street in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.\footnote{11}

On March 23, 1807, M'Keehan published his "prospectus" in the weekly Pittsburgh Gazette, the city's first newspaper.\footnote{12} According to M'Keehan's prospectus, A Journal of the Voyages & Travels of a Corps of Discovery, under the command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke would be "an authentic relation of the most interesting transactions during the expedition." Of approximately 300 pages, of a duodecimo-size, and "handsomely bound in boards," the book would include a "description of the country, and an account of its inhabitants By Patrick Gass, one of the persons employed in the expedition." M'Keehan planned to offer the book for just $1.00; those who paid in advance were entitled to a 12.5 percent discount. By July 7, 1807, A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, under the command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the Army of the United States, from the Mouth of the River Missouri through the Interior Parts of North America to the Pacific Ocean, During the Years 1804, 1805 & 1806, Containing an Authentic relation of the Most Interesting Transactions During the Expedition.--A Description of the Country.--and an Account of its Inhabitants, soil, climate, Curiosities and Vegetable and Animal Productions by Patrick Gass One of the Persons Employed in the Expedition with Geographical and Explanatory Notes by the Publisher was available for purchase at the prospectus-stated price of $1.00.\footnote{13}

As M'Keehan completed his editing work in the spring of 1807, he became involved in an acrimonious exchange of letters with Meriwether Lewis in the Pittsburgh Gazette and the National Intelligencer [Washington D.C.] over his plan to publish Gass's journal. M'Keehan's lengthy rebuttal to Lewis, fully filling the second page of the April 14, 1807, Gazette reveals M'Keehan to be a man of education, skilled with words, with a talent for repartee and a solid knowledge of the literary and political world.\footnote{14}

Until recently, few scholars of the Corps' journals have valued the Gass/M'Keehan narrated journal, due in part to what they saw as the "bowdlerizing" of Gass's original entries by his editor, David M'Keehan, whom they believed to be far more literate than Gass.\footnote{15} Donald Jackson called it "a miserable piece of work, for upon Patrick Gass's sketchy notes the editor had placed the burden of an elegant prose style." Paul Russell Cutright, in his A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals, accused M'Keehan of taking "exceptional liberties with the wording of Gass's journal."\footnote{16}

Despite Gass's assertion to his biographer, John G. Jacobs, that he had a mere nineteen days of formal education, Gass's later journals reveal a man who could maintain a balanced account book, who was well-read, and who could write thoughtfully and succinctly. His spelling is no better, or worse, than his former captains and fellow sergeants. An avid reader, Gass owned a number of books; he also subscribed to the local newspaper, the Wellsburg Weekly Herald.\footnote{17} His account book is meticulous. Gass noted his annual income, a military disability pension of $48.00, and his expenditures. He
regularly purchased tobacco (one and a half pounds for 25¢ on July 29, 1827) and coffee (four pounds for $1.00 on September 4); on November 2, he purchased an almanac for 12.5¢. In fact, Gass purchased nine almanacs between 1827 and 1837, missing only 1830 and 1833.18 Gass also purchased paper products, an indication he continued his record-keeping.19

Zadok Cramer, a well-known Pittsburgh printer and author, printed the first two editions of the M’Keehan/Gass journal for M’Keehan. Like M’Keehan, Cramer owned a bookshop on Market Street in Pittsburgh called The Sign of the Franklin Head. Here, he first sold books and provided a book-binding service. An enterprising man, Cramer soon began publishing informative books for migrants headed west. He authored several almanacs and The Navigator, a well-respected, and oft-updated and reprinted, guide to the rivers of the Ohio Valley. By 1807 Cramer was a successful author and printer who understood the demand in Pittsburgh for books about all-things “west.”20 It was only natural he print A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery… in 1807 and again in 1808 for M’Keehan.21


Antoine Jean Noel Lallemant translated the Gass/M’Keehan edition from English to French as Le
Journal authentique. Lallemant was a secretary in the French Naval Ministry and an experienced translator of exploratory narratives. His translated works included the African explorations of Mungo Park in 1798 and of John Ledyard and Simon Lucas in 1804, and of James C. Murphy’s Travels in Portugal. Lallemant neatly listed the contents of the translated edition, adding several items which did not appear in the English-language version from Pittsburgh. Lallemant included M’Keehan’s preface (Préface de l’éditeur américain) and a table of contents (Table des Chapitres); he expanded the footnotes and added a map (une Carte gravée par J. B. Tardieu) and two letters written by William Clark (deux Lettres). 23

The first letter, Lettre du capitaine Clarke à S. E. le gouverneur Harrison, was one Clark wrote to his colleague and friend, the governor of Indiana Territory, William Henry Harrison, as the corps prepared for its departure from Fort Mandan on April 2, 1805. The second, Lettre du capitaine Clarke à son frère le general Clarke, was presumably to his brother Jonathan Clark. Clark wrote this particular letter from St. Louis on September 23, 1806, announcing the safe return of the Corps of Discovery. As was common in the early nineteenth century, both letters had been published previously, the Harrison letter in the Baltimore Telegraphe and Daily Advertiser, and the brother’s letter in the two Frankfort (Kentucky) newspapers, Palladium and Western World. That letter was soon picked up by numerous other newspapers, including the Pittsburgh Gazette and the National Intelligencer. 24 All-in-all, it appears Lallemant’s translation came directly from a copy of the Gass/M’Keehan work of 1807.

Jean Baptiste Pierre Tardieu, a well-known French cartographer and engraver was selected to create the 7¾” x 9½” folded map (une Carte gravée) Lallemant inserted in the French edition. Tardieu was known for his detailed, hand-colored maps for many atlases and exploratory narratives, including maps of Australia, Oceana, and the Spanish-held territories of Mexico and the present-day southwest United States. 25

Scholars believe Tardieu copied a map found in an unauthorized and falsified account of the Corps of Discovery that appeared first in Philadelphia in 1809 and then in London. In 1809, Hubbard Lester published an apocryphal version of the captains’ journals. The 300-page book was an amalgamation of fact and fiction, based in part on the exploratory journals, reports and letters of Jonathan Carver, Alexander Mackenzie, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, and Sergeant Patrick Gass. The work included a folded map, entitled “Map of the Country Inhabited by the Western Tribes of Indians.” 26

This particular Apocrypha was reprinted in London that same year by one of the most reputable British publishing houses, Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme. Longman hired British engraver and lithographer Samuel John Neele to make the map for their work. Like Tardieu, Neele was well-known and respected for his detailed, hand-colored maps for atlases and exploratory narratives. Neele based his map on a copy of a map made by Samuel Lewis of the United States. In 1804 Samuel Lewis, working with another well-known cartographer Aaron Arrowsmith, produced A New and Elegant General Atlas. The Lewis/Arrowsmith Atlas would accompany Jedediah Morse’s American Universal Geography. It was Samuel Lewis’s map of Louisiana Tardieu used for his map in the Lallemant edition. 27

Arthur-Bertrand, a publishing and book-sales company (Librairie) in Paris, published the French edition. Like Zadok Cramer in Pittsburgh, the French company was well-known for the printing, promoting, and sales of books of science, travel, and exploration. The company was also the official publisher for the Naval Ministry, for whom Lallemant worked. 28

At the same time, a Philadelphia newspaper owner, publisher, and bookstore owner, Mathew Carey, acquired the Gass/M’Keehan journal. In three consecutive years, 1810, 1811, and 1812, Carey reprinted that edition, with the addition of six charming woodcuts. 29

As Carey prepared to issue his first edition of the Gass/M’Keehan journal, another Philadelphia editor, Nicholas Biddle, was diligently working on the two captains’ own narrative journal. In a letter to William Clark on July 7, 1810, Biddle brought Clark up-to-date on his work, including information about the “large connected map of the whole route & the adjacent country” and his own progress using the captains’ manuscript journals, as well as those of two of the Corps’ sergeants, John Ordway and Patrick Gass, to edit Lewis and Clark’s long-awaited narrated journals. Gass’s journal, he told Clark, had been “deposited
in our library.” Unfortunately, it is not known which Philadelphia library Biddle referred to in his letter, that of the American Philosophical Society, of which Biddle was a member, or the Library Company of Philadelphia. Despite several thorough searches of American Philosophical Society’s library, Gass’s original journal has not yet been located.30

The Library Company of Philadelphia is an institution as prestigious as the American Philosophical Society. The Library was founded in 1731 by Benjamin Franklin as a subscription library, and over time it would grow to be one of the nation’s largest public libraries.31

The French edition, *Voyage des capitaines Lewis et Clarke*, was the first foreign-language publication of an authentic Corps’ journal, and it contained the first map known to mention the Corps of Discovery, and to include portions of their route.32 It is this journal Dr. Garth Reese of the University of Idaho will show to Foundation members attending the 46th Annual Meeting in Richland, Washington, summer 2014.  

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**ENDNOTES**

4. Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 1:62. On June 20, 1803, President Thomas Jefferson wrote a long letter of instructions to Meriwether Lewis, telling Lewis his “observations are to be taken with great pains & accuracy, to be entered distinctly & intelligibly for others as well as yourself.” Jefferson also recommended “Several copies of these as well as of your other notes should be made at leisure times, & put into the care of the most trust-worthy of your attendants, to guard, by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed.”
8. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:212, 285-86. Frederick William Baron von Steuben, *Baron von Steuben’s Revolutionary War Drill Manual* (New York: Dover Publications, 1985; reprint of 1794 edition), 126. According to von Steuben, “the choice of non-commissioned officers is also an object of the greatest importance…honesty, sobriety, and a remarkable attention to every point of duty, with a neatness in their dress, are indispensable requisites…nor can a serjeant or corporal be said to be qualified who does not write and read in a tolerable manner.”


21. The imprint on the title page for the Gass/M’Keehan Journal clearly states:

PITTSBURGH, PRINTED BY ZADOC CRAMER, FOR DAVID M’KEEHAN, PUBLISHER AND PROPRIETER . . . . . . 1807


25. See for example, the beautiful copy of Tardieu’s 1810 map of Mexico, *Mexique*, offered by Geographicus Fine Antique Maps [www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/Mexique-tardieu-1810].


31. “The Library Company of Philadelphia,” accessed February 12, 2014, www.librarycompany.org. Today, the Library Company of Philadelphia, located at 1314 Locust Street, is an independent research library, open to the public. The Library’s collection of American history and culture, from the 1600s to the 1800s, is exceptional, with rare books, manuscripts, photographs, and works of art. In addition to its collections, the Library offers fellowships, exhibitions, and public programs.

As a scout and a hunter for Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, John Colter’s adventures were well documented. But before and after the expedition Colter seemed to have a knack for slipping into, and just as quickly out of, the limelight. Gradually some of the facets of his life are emerging from the dust of two centuries.

An exhaustive and ongoing search for the parentage of John Colter has resulted in endless bottlenecks and dead ends. There may be a very good reason for that: Colter researchers quite possibly have been barking up the wrong genealogical tree.

Recent yDNA testing and data results, conducted from 2009 to 2013, reveal a very strong connection on John Colter’s paternal side to the Cannon family of Virginia. Earliest known ancestors are Simcock and Jeremiah Cannon, both born in or near Henrico County, Virginia, circa 1725-1730. Subjects involved in the testing were: 1) Timothy F. Coulter, descended from John Colter’s grandson, Joseph Colter (1840–1891); 2) Dennis Coulter, descended from John Colter’s grandson, Nathan Colter (1842–1926). Testing the yDNA (male line only) was performed by Family Tree DNA. Subjects were tested on the Haplogroup Paternal tree, 67 STR markers. So what does this mean? To begin with, DNA testing is always more meaningful when combined with genealogical paperwork. Both subjects are tested at the yDNA 67 marker levels and both are grouped in the haplogroup E1b1b1. The test for both subjects resulted in high percentages at the 7th and 8th generational level, suggesting a high probability that either John Colter (referred to as “JC” in the following paragraph) or his father was fathered by a Cannon, but raised as a Colter. If this is the case, Colter’s direct descendants are still DNA–blood descended from him, since the said tributary occurred upstream from him. Ongoing testing continues, with the goal of determining when the Colter-Cannon DNA connection began.

For a number of reasons JC could have been a grandson of, or associated with, the John and Isabella Coalter family of Stuarts Draft, Augusta County, Virginia. His parents are frequently said to be Joseph (son of John and Isabella) and Ellen Shields Coalter. Most
Colter researchers, including Shirley Winkelhoch, the late Ruth Colter Frick, and the author, agree that this is not true, since their son John lived until 1842, whereas JC was born about 1774 and died on May 7, 1812. However, two of John and Isabella’s sons, a James or a John and their wives, may have raised JC. There is reason to believe that the first son, John, and his wife may have migrated to Fayette County, Kentucky, and could have raised JC. James, the other son of John and Isabella, migrated to Madison County, Kentucky, in 1795. Since it is believed that JC had already been living in Kentucky when he signed up with Lewis and Clark on October 15, 1803, it is plausible to surmise that he moved with one of these couples to Kentucky. Madison County is where JC’s future daughter-in-law, Margaret Davis, was born in 1808, a daughter of John and Rachael West Davis. Margaret would later marry JC’s son Hiram in Franklin County, Missouri, in 1826.

It is interesting to note the large contingent of Madison County, Kentucky, families that moved to Franklin County, Missouri, and literally next door to where Colter settled after he returned from his days of exploring and trapping on the upper Missouri watershed and Rocky Mountains. Based on information from tax records, land grants, deeds, and New Haven, Missouri, historian, educator, and community leader David M. Menke, some of these families were the John Davis family, the Maupins, the Philip Miller family, the Heatherlys, the Greenstreets, and the Richardsons.1 Living just down the river was Daniel Boone and his family, and as Dr. Lowell M. Schake points out, the Hancock family, including Forrest Hancock who joined Colter in 1806 for a return trip to the west, who may have known each other years before while living in close proximity in Madison County, Kentucky, and possibly at Fort Boonesboro, the Grand Central Station of its day. In a related historical coincidence, it was recently discovered that William Hancock (brother to Forrest Hancock, who along with Joseph Dixon, were the first to return with Colter to the West) is actually buried in the same small Presbyterian Cemetery in Franklin County, Washington, Missouri, where the author’s father, Forrest Coulter, is also buried along with his parents, and several other immediate Coulter family members.

The maiden name of John Colter’s wife in Missouri has long been a source of much speculation. His wife’s first name has been written as Lucy, found on an estate paper, and as Sally, on a voucher form. Sally, of course, is often a nickname for Sarah. The author has found substantial evidence to believe that the name of John Colter’s wife in Missouri was Sarah Lucy Davis. In the Franklin County section of a recent book by Marsha Hoffman Rising is found the following, dated March 7, 1833: “All heirs at law of John Davis, late of Franklin County, deceased intestate, sold to John Miller all their undivided eleventh parts to described land in Franklin County.” It goes on to list all the heirs and their spouses. Significant, is the listing of, “Hiram Colter by his intermarriage to Margaret Davis.” Margaret Davis’s mother, Rachael West Davis, did not have any sisters, only brothers. So in order for this to have been an intermarriage, John Colter would have had to marry Margaret Davis’s aunt or first cousin (or in other words, John Davis’s sister or niece). More likely, Colter married a sister of John Davis, which would have made Hiram and Margaret first cousins, and would be considered an intermarriage as recorded in John Davis’s deed. Therefore, John Colter’s wife’s maiden name would have been Davis. It is also very possible that Colter fathered Hiram through a first wife in Kentucky. A Mary Ann Brown has been identified as a first wife of Colter in 1797, an assertion currently in the process of verification. The late Ruth Colter Frick noted that Hiram and Margaret’s older children told the census record keeper that both of their parents were born in Kentucky.6 It is not likely that Hiram was married at age fifteen, so the probability that Kentucky was his place of birth is rather high. Margaret Davis Colter was born in Madison County, Kentucky, in 1808. John Colter and Sarah Lucy Davis Colter also had a daughter, named Evelina, born between late 1809 and 1812.

Most historical accounts record John Colter’s place of death as Dundee, Missouri, just a few miles east of where he lived. Colter mustered with Nathan Boone’s Rangers for a three month stint, March 1812 to June 1812. But his service was cut short. Shirley Winkelhoch, a Colter direct descendant and a long–time researcher, uncovered documentation that proved he was discharged from Nathan Boone’s rangers on May 6, 1812,
We proceeded on May 27 and died the very next day—May 7th, 1812. This was significant, because previously all historical accounts recorded his death as occurring in November 1813. After personally researching the construction of Missouri forts and blockhouses used for protection against Indian raids and the defenses against the British, the author discovered that Nathan Boone's group of rangers were in the business of constructing and overseeing Fort Mason in April/June near present day, Saverton, Missouri, in Ralls County—about 125 miles north of Colter's home, near the Salt and Mississippi Rivers north of St. Louis and south of present day Hannibal, Missouri. It is a very long way from John Colter's home; a very long way from Dundee, indeed. In the Lyman Draper interviews with Nathan Boone, Boone states, “Shortly after I raised a company, we marched up the Mississippi accompanied by General Benjamin Howard and established Fort Mason, located about 15 miles above the mouth of the Salt River on the west bank of the Mississippi.” Fort Mason was completed sometime in mid- to late-May 1812. So we knew that John Colter died on May 7, and now we know where and what he had been doing—patrolling and protecting the frontier in that district and constructing Fort Mason, one of the many skills at which he undoubtedly became quite accomplished in his life, Ron Leake of the Ralls County Historical Society and a historian specializing in the construction of Forts and the War of 1812, related emphatically to the author that John Colter was at Fort Mason in April/May of 1812.

John Colter probably succumbed from a very acute bile/liver duct blockage, or yellow fever/malaria, causing the reported jaundice color of his skin at the time of his death. Jaundice is just one of the visible symptoms of such a blockage, of yellow fever, or malaria. Knowing now where John Colter was when he died creates a cloud of doubt regarding where was he buried. Factoring in the distance from his home, and the condition of his jaundiced body, in the author's opinion, slightly tips the scale for a burial on site near Fort Mason, or somewhere en route down the Mississippi. If true, this might account for the never adequately explained eighteen-month gap between the time Colter died, and the time his personal estate was opened. There may have been Territory of Missouri by-laws governing a waiting period before opening up an estate, if a physical body was not produced. That being said, if ever there was a man who would have done his very best to return home the body of his trusted and respected friend, that man would have been Nathan Boone. And as a final tribute to his comrade-in-arms, Nathan named one of his sons John Colter Boone. Thus, this story ends for now, and the research continues, with new discoveries yet to be uncovered.

Tim Coulter's interest in John Colter, his fourth great grandfather, began with many conversations he had with his aunt, Ruth Coulter Frick, and his father, Forrest Coulter. Soon after both his aunt and father passed away in 1999, Tim was inspired to pick up the baton and begin his own research into the genealogy.
of John Colter. Tim and his wife of thirty years, Julia, live in Evansville, Indiana. They have two sons, Samuel and Alexander. Tim is a retired occupational therapist.

NOTES:
1. Cannon family genealogy contribution by Cecilie Gaziano, a Cannon descendant.
4. Lowell M. Schake, PhD, La Charrette (Lincoln, Nebraska: iUniverse, 2005), 132.

DON’T MISS THESE HIGHLIGHTS:
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While serving as chairman of the Genealogy Committee for the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Larry E. Morris collected enough biographical data on members of the Corps and related expeditions to produce at least two major books. The first should be familiar to all readers of this journal: The Fate of the Corps (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), which was named a Top Academic Title by Choice, and was chosen as a History Book Club selection. During the bicentennial, Morris’s discussion of “what became of the Corps” was incorporated into museum displays, academic studies, and popular journal articles.

This second book is just as impressive as the first. In The Perilous West, Morris connects the Lewis and Clark Expedition with lesser-known events and players from 1806 through 1814. Among his chosen seven, three are familiar faces from the Astorian enterprise of John Jacob Astor: Ramsay Crooks and the married couple, Pierre Dorion, Jr. and his wife, Marie. Four are lesser-known: Robert McClellan (1770-1815), John Hoback (? – 1814), Jacob Reznor (1768-1814), and Edward Robinson (ca. 1745-1814).

Crooks (1787-1859) is introduced coming upriver in September, 1806, meeting the Corps on their descent back to St. Louis. His life story, best told by David Lavender in The Fist in the Wilderness (1964,) and by James Ronda in Astoria & Empire (1990), connects many of the West’s traders and entrepreneurs. Those relationships begin with Robert Dickson, for whom Crooks clerked in 1805 after immigrating from Scotland to Canada in 1803 and then to the United States; to Robert McClellan, with whom he formed a partnership in 1807; to Astor himself, who signed on Crooks as a founding member of the Pacific Fur Company in 1810, laying the foundation for a lifetime relationship with Astor’s continent-wide businesses based in New York with “departments” in the Great Lakes, St. Louis, and briefly on the west coast. Morris’s purpose is not to provide a complete biography of Crooks, or the others, but to give context for their role in “opening” the West during this critical interregnum, post-Lewis and Clark, up through the War of 1812. A man plagued by health issues, Crooks made the best of bad situations, barely making it back to St. Louis with the returning Astorians under Robert Stuart in 1813, thereafter leading a much quieter, if successful financial life for his remaining days with stories to tell of near-starvation, deprivation, and danger as an Astorian for those two long years.

In the process of telling Crooks’s role in this well-written narrative, Morris skillfully introduces his other key players. Marie Dorion (ca. 1791-1850) is presented as a parallel to better-known Sacagawea for her stamina, wisdom, and ability to find her way and save her children under extreme duress. Born among the Iowas, Dorion ventured west with the first of three husbands, Pierre Dorion, Jr., who abused her while fathering three children with her before his death in 1814 at the hands of Indians. Marie accompanied the west-bound Astorians in 1811 with two children in tow, giving birth to a third by year’s end, only to lose the baby ten days later. After a year on the coast, Madame Dorion (as she was known) accompanied her husband with sons Jean Baptiste and Paul, as part of a trapping expedition led by John Reed. Two threesomes of trappers joined Reed as he sought beaver along the Snake and Boise rivers in present-day Idaho. Canadian voyageurs André La Chapelle, François Landry, and Jean Baptiste Turcotte had survived a harrowing year in the Idaho wilderness; so had Hoback, Reznor and Robinson, who had been recently robbed of every possession by Indians.

Here the plot thickens as Morris weaves in individual life-histories of the three Kentuckians in this group who had been with Manuel Lisa’s original 1807 Missouri River expedition and subsequently the Pierre Menard-Andrew Henry Three Forks party of 1810. Their travails in Blackfeet country and their chance meeting with Wilson Price Hunt in May 1811, near the Nebraska-South Dakota border, as well as finding Reed more than two years later in Idaho, seem near-impossible given the geography of the inter-mountain West. Unfortunately for Hoback, Reznor, and Robinson, as well as all other adult males in the Reed party, combined numbers proved too small against enemy Dog-rib Shoshones, who presumably killed them all in January 1814. Through wit, patience, and stealth, Madame Dorion saved herself and her two sons, wintering by
themselves in Oregon’s Blue Mountains before rescue by the Walla Walla along the Columbia in late March, and reunion with Montreal-bound Astorians a month later.

Robert McClellan is the final player. A native Pennsylvanian, McClellan joined the military in 1790 and was present with Meriwether Lewis and William Clark at the Treaty of Greenville in Ohio in 1795. Leaving the Army at the rank of lieutenant in 1801, McClellan relocated to St. Louis and entered the fur trade by 1802, making him, in the words of biographer Harvey L. Carter, “the earliest of the long line of American fur traders to engage in the Missouri River traffic.” (Carter in LeRoy Hafen, ed., Mountain Men and the Fur Trade, 8:221-28, at 223).

Borrowing money from Manuel Lisa in 1805, McClellan was unsuccessful in opening trade among the Omaha, defaulting on his debt to Lisa, leading to a “long-lasting enmity between the two traders” (Carter, 223).

This did not stop McClellan, who was one of the first traders met by Lewis and Clark in September 1806 as they came down the Missouri. The threesome shared a bottle of wine at their reunion. A year later, McClellan partnered with Ramsay Crooks, backed by St. Louis’s other scion of finance, Auguste Chouteau. The bad blood between Lisa and McClellan, as well as competitive rivalry between the Chouteaus and Lisa, surfaced as each company attempted to move higher upriver, thwarted by the Arikara and the Teton Sioux. In late 1810, McClellan gave up his Missouri River trade and joined the Overland Astorians under Hunt as a partner. His former partner, Crooks, was among them. Although never named a “leader,” McClellan effectively led ten others to the coast, following what remains a difficult trek along Hell’s Canyon of the Snake River.

Resigning his shares in the Pacific Fur Company, McClellan joined John Reed in March 1812, but met resistance at The Dalles along the Columbia River and saved Reed’s life, taking him back to Astoria after being tomahawked. In June, McClellan and Crooks were among the seven returning Astorians under Stuart, who met up with Hoback, Reznor, Robinson and a fourth named Joseph Miller near present-day Grandview, Idaho. Only Miller elected to go with Stuart; the others remained behind, joining (as has been noted) John Reed’s trapping party over a year later along the Snake, and perishing in January, 1814. Meanwhile, McClellan had issues with Stuart and departed on his own near the Idaho-Wyoming border, only to reunite with the returning Astorians prior to their crossing the Continental Divide at South Pass on October 21, 1812.

Back in St. Louis by late April, 1813, McClellan faced bankruptcy and imprisonment, but managed to land back on his feet before illness overtook him. Symbolically, he was buried on William Clark’s farm in 1815, where a tombstone found in 1875 read “erected by a friend who knew him to be brave, honest, and sincere; an intrepid warrior, whose services deserve perpetual remembrance. A.D. 1816” (Carter, 228).

The Perilous West is both a tribute to these seven (and many others), as well as a useful reference work bridging the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the heyday of the Rocky Mountain fur trade. As in Fate of the Corps, Morris has done his homework and his genealogical research goes far in providing new information on many obscure or poorly-documented individuals. By book’s end, the claim that these explorers/entrepreneurs/trappers opened the paths that became the Oregon Trail is firmly established with Robert Stuart’s party crossing the Divide at South Pass, the wagon road of the future. As a bonus to Lewis and Clark enthusiasts, Morris includes select veterans of the Corps who surfaced in the trans-Missouri West up through 1815.

If there is a flaw, it is lack of maps beyond one reproduced showing the route of the Astorians that is too small to be studied adequately. This aside, the book is its predecessor’s equal in both scope and detail. For those seeking additional new information on the Astorians, Jim Hardee has edited Proceedings of the 2012 Fur Trade Symposium held at Pinedale, Wyoming, which focused on the 200th anniversary of the Astorians. It is available through Museum of the Mountain Man.

W. R. Swagerty
University of the Pacific


“we have been visited by no indians today, and occurrence which has not taken place before since we left the Narrows of the Columbia.” Meriwether Lewis, May 17, 1806, at Camp Chopunnish, Idaho. Indeed, it was commonplace for members of the Corps of Discovery to interact almost daily with Native Americans during their extended journey of 1803-1806. On days when the expedition members encountered none it became jour-
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Robert Carriker
Gonzaga University

The Indianization of Lewis and Clark reshuffles many of the mental 3x5 note cards that are traditionally held sacred in the brains of avid readers of the Lewis and Clark adventure. Sometimes Swagerty challenges traditional concepts. I was surprised, for example, to find that the laundress at Camp Dubois, “Mrs. Cane”—if that is her true name—“deserves to be counted as one of the Corps.” (p. I, 104.) Really? Some persons may also question the depth of the bibliography. In thirty-seven pages of sources that Swagerty consulted for this tome there are only eight of them published since 2010. Yes, the author is entitled to present a selective bibliography, but maybe a hint to the selectivity can be found in the footnote that cites James Alexander Thom’s novel Sign-Talker, published in the year 2000, as having been recently published. In the end, Swagerty has made his choices on sources and on topics and we, as readers, will trust him because he has done his due diligence, so-to-speak, in a field he knows well.

Robert Carriker
Gonzaga University
Lewis and Clark National Historical Park

Visiting the End of the Trail at the Mouth of the Columbia

Just south of the Columbia River near Astoria, Oregon, travelers will find the replicated Fort Clatsop, winter encampment of the Corps of Discovery from December 7, 1805 to March 23, 1806. This much-visited spot at the western terminus of the Lewis and Clark Trail is but a part of the Lewis and Clark National Historical Park.

The highlight of any visit is the full-scale (50’ x 50’) replica of Fort Clatsop reconstructed in 2006 on or nearly on the site of the original fort. The visitor center includes a theater with two movies and the best Lewis and Clark themed bookstore operated by the Lewis & Clark National Park Association.

Other units of the park include The Saltworks (in Seaside, Oregon), Fort to Sea Trail, Netul Landing, Dismal Nitch (on the north shore of the Columbia River in Washington), and Middle Village/Station Camp (on the north shore of the Columbia River in Washington).

The visitor center exhibitions focus on the Corps of Discovery and the American Indian cultures near the mouth of the Columbia River. Several wayside exhibits are also found along trails and at specific sites.

The park sponsors a number of programs throughout the year. Examples in 2014 include lectures by Kelli Walker (Condors of the Columbia), Jane Fitzpatrick (Filling Her Shoes: Amazing Women of the Northwest and Beyond), and Mike Carrick (Tools of Survival: Firearms and Edged Weapons of the Corps of Discovery), Junior Ranger days, birding walks, teachers’ workshops, youth camps, canoe programs, and living history programs both at the fort and the salt works.

For those seeking more information about Fort Clatsop, the park recommends *Fort Clatsop: Rebuilding an Icon* (2007). It is available for $14.95 in the Fort Clatsop Bookstore, 503-861-4452 or www.fortclatsopbookstore.com.

Researchers are welcome by appointment.

Located about three miles east of Highway 101 south of Astoria, Oregon. Contact information: 92343 Fort Clatsop Road, Astoria, Oregon 97103, 503-861-2471 www.nps.gov/lewi. The website includes a number of valuable links for teachers, students, and general interests.
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