

We Proceeded On

FEBRUARY 2021 VOL 47 NO 1

LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION

OCEAN IN VIEW! O! THE JOY! *** JOHN BOLEY *** BIG BLUE EYES *** YOUR OBSERVATIONS ARE TO BE TAKEN WITH GREAT PAINS & ACCURACY *** BLACK BUFFALO *** BLACK CAT *** WE SHALL DELINEATE WITH CORRECTNESS THE GREAT ARTERIES OF THIS GREAT COUNTRY: THOSE WHO COME AFTER US WILL FILL UP THE CANVAS WE BEGIN *** LA BORGNE *** WILLIAM BRATTON *** THE OBJECT OF YOUR MISSION IS TO EXPLORE THE MISSOURI RIVER *** JOHN COLLINS *** CAMEAHWAIT *** I WILL CHEERFULLY JOIN YOU AND PARTAKE OF THE DANGERS DIFFICULTIES, AND FATIGUES *** TOUSSAINT CHARBONNEAU *** WILLIAM CLARK *** COBOWAY *** SET OUT EARLY UNDER A GENTLE BREEZE *** JOHN COLTER *** IT APPEARED REATHER THE RAPPID FLIGHT OF BIRDS THAN THE MOTION OF QUADRUPEDS *** COMCOMALLY *** JOHN COLTER *** I THREW A CARROT OF TOBACCO TO THE 1ST CHIEF *** PIERRE CRUZATTE *** CUT NOSE *** HAVING FOR MANY DAYS PAST CONFINED MYSELF TO THE BOAT I DETERMINED TO DEVOTE THIS DAY TO AMUSE MYSELF ON SHORE *** DELASHEWILT *** JEAN-BAPTISTE DESCHAMPS *** THE PUNISHMENT INFLICTED ON NEWMAN, WHICH CAUSED THE INDIAN CHIEF TO CRY UNTILL THE THING WAS EXPLAINED TO HIM *** JOSEPH FIELD *** REUBEN FIELD *** WE WERE NOW ABOUT TO PENETRATE A COUNTRY AT LEAST TWO THOUSAND MILES IN WIDTH, ON WHICH THE FOOT OF CIVILIZED MAN HAD NEVER TRODDEN *** ROBERT FRAZER *** GEORGE GIBSON *** I FIND THAT THE CURIOSITY OF OUR PARTY IS PRETTY WELL SATISFYED WITH RESPECT TO THIS ANAMAL *** SILAS GOODRICH *** HUGH HALL *** IT IS THEN BAPTISED IN THE MISSOURI WITH TWO DIPS AND A FLIRT, AND BOBBED INTO THE KETTLE *** THOMAS HOWARD *** THOMAS JEFFERSON *** LA JEUNNESSE *** THE INDIAN WOMAN TO WHOM I ASCRIBE EQUAL FORTITUDE AND RESOLUTION *** FRANCOIS LABICHE *** BAPTISTE LEPAGE *** CAPTAIN LEWIS'S DOG WAS BADLY BITTEN BY A WOUNDED BEAVER AND WAS NEAR BLEEDING TO DEATH *** LA LIBERTE *** MERIWETHER LEWIS *** FROM THIS POINT I BEHELD THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS FOR THE FIRST TIME *** ETIENNE MALBOEUR *** HUGH MCNEAL *** IT SEEMED AS IF THOSE SEENS OF VISIONARY INCHANTMENT WOULD NEFER HAVE AND END *** JOHN NEWMAN *** THE PARTISAN *** TO GIVE TO THE ENLIGHTENED WORLD SOME JUST IDEA OF THIS TRULY MAGNIFICENT AND SUBLIMELY GRAND OBJECT, WHICH HAS FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF TIME BEEN CONCEALED FROM THE VIEW OF CIVILIZED MAN *** PETER PINAUT *** JOHN POTTS *** FROM THE SINGULAR APPEARANCE OF THIS PLACE I CALLED IT THE GATES OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS *** PAUL PRIMEAU *** MOSES REED *** THE MUSQUETOES ARE EXTREEMLY TROUBLESOME TO US *** FRANCOIS RIVET *** JOHN ROBERTSON *** SHE LAY LIKE A PERFECT CORK IN THE WATER *** PETER ROI *** SACAGAWEA *** THE INDIAN WOMAN RECOGNIZES THE COUNTRY AND ASSURES US THAT THIS IS THE RIVER ON WHICH HER RELATIONS LIVE *** SEAMAN *** GEORGE SHANN ON *** MY POOR DOG SUFFERS WITH THEM EXCESSIVELY, HE IS CONSTANTLY BINTING AND SCRATCHING HIMSELF AS IF IN A RACK OF PAIN *** SHEHEKE-SHOTE *** JOHN SHIELDS *** I OCCASIONALLY ENCOURAGE THEM BY ASSISTING IN THE LABOUR OF NAVIGATING THE CANOES, AND HAVE LEARNED TO PUSH A TOLERABLE GOOD POLE IN THEIR FRAIZE *** TETOHARSKY *** JOHN THOMPSON *** THUS FAR I HAD ACCOMPLISHED ONE OF THOSE GREAT OBJECTS ON WHICH MY MIND HAS BEEN UNALTERABLY FIXED FOR MANY YEARS *** OLD TOBY *** TCO NEAL *** MCNEAL HAD EXISTINGLY STOOD WITH A FOOT ON EACH SIDE OF THIS LITTLE RIVULET AND THANKED HIS GOD THAT HE HAD LIVED TO BESTRIDE THE MIGHTY & HERETOFOR UNFENDIBLE MISSOURI *** BENEZER TUTTLE *** RICHARD WARFINGTON *** TILL I WAS HEARTILY TIRED OF THE NATIONAL HUG *** WILLIAN WERNER *** ISAAC WHITE *** I HAVE BEEN HERE AS I EVER WAS IN MY LIFE *** JOSEPH WHITEHOUSE *** ALEXANDER WILKINS *** HERE I FIRST TASTED THE WATER OF THE GREAT COLUMBIA RIVER *** THE FORMER SWELLING OF THE RIVER HAD BUT SWELLING, BOILING & WHORLING IN EVERY DIRECTION *** RICHARD WINDSOR *** THESE INDIANS ARE CERTAINLY THE BEST CANOE NAVIGATORS I EVER SAW *** PETER WEISER *** OF COURAGE UNDAUNTED, POSSESSING A FIRMNESS & PERSEVERANCE OF PURPOSE WHICH NOTHING BUT IMPOSSIBILITIES COULD DIVERT *** YORK ***

- Gary Moulton's Tribute to Ray Wood
- André Michaux's Unfinished Journey
- Searching for Fort Kaskaskia
- Reporting Jeffersonian Explorations
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Thank Goodness for Citizen Genêt

For most of us, the Lewis and Clark Expedition is THE American story we most love. There are other fabulous stories people spend their whole life exploring: the Civil War, Custer at the Little Bighorn, the fur trade, the Space Race, the achievements of the Founding generation, the Civil Rights movement from Sojourner Truth to John Lewis. But this is the one we (you and I) have found the most compelling of all the stories of our remarkable history.

When I stop to think how easily it might have been otherwise, how easily this reconnaissance mission might have been no more than the Zebulon Pike story or the John C. Fremont story or even the John Glenn story, I always pause to try to figure out why. We have to ask ourselves why the Lewis and Clark Expedition resonates in a way that other heroic stories in the history of American exploration do not. No bicentennial for Freeman and Custis. Quiz: what river did *they* explore?

Sometimes when I think of how easily the expedition might not have happened at all, I grimace. Jefferson narrowly won the presidency in 1800. I cannot imagine John Adams in his second term sending explorers up the Missouri River. Or James Madison, who was a Jeffersonian in so many respects, and yet a fascination with the American West was not one of them.

No Jefferson, no Lewis and Clark Expedition.

If Jefferson had been successful on his previous attempts to get an exploring party up the Missouri River, Meriwether Lewis might be a forgotten figure now, and William Clark nearly so, too. It's fascinating to try to imagine what place the George Rogers Clark expedition up the Missouri would have achieved in American memory, or the Andrew Michaux expedition, or even the quixotic John Ledyard expedition - though if John Ledyard had really walked around the entire planet, we'd probably be holding some of our annual meetings in Kamchatka or St. Petersburg!

Our story blends a new nation, a West that men like Jefferson regarded as both a massive zoological and anthropological park and, at the same time, a *tabula rasa* on which to write the American dream, and also the most intellectually curious president in American history - a perfect storm of geopolitical and Enlightenment dynamics. Jefferson had a Congress that was disposed, sometimes with a little head-shaking, to fund his pet projects. Imagine if he had faced an obstructionist Federalist Senate.

Think of other things that had to fall into place for this to be the story of stories.

Perhaps most important of all, the story needed William Clark. They were true co-captains, and "estimable friend[s]." The best decision Lewis ever made was when he realized that he probably could not fully succeed alone, and that he knew just the man to bring into the leadership team. Clark could easily have declined. He had good reasons to do so. Even Clark's weaknesses increase the value of the story. A man who can spell "Sioux" twenty different ways and "mosquitoes" twenty-six, who was capable of whining, "I have been wet and as cold in every part as I ever was in my life, indeed I was at one time fearfull my feet would freeze in the thin mockersons which I wore," brings delight to the story at every time he dips his pen.

If there were really a way of measuring the importance of some of the support players and their contribution to the magic of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, I think it would go something like this.

Take away Nathaniel Pryor - you don't lose particularly much. That follows for well over half of the expedition participants. That does not diminish the historical importance of any of them, but except among serious students of the expedition, even such men as John Shields - who was indispensable to the expedition's success - or George Shannon "the forever lost," as James Ronda put it, or even perhaps John Ordway (the most reliable of the journal keepers) are not essential to the standing of the expedition in American memory.

Take away Charbonneau and you lose the comic buffoon figure a narrative like this one needs. Lewis found him feckless, but an excellent maker of buffalo sausage. Clark rather liked him, and especially his wife and child. In his own cowardly and inept way, Charbonneau humanizes the epic. We can smile at his weaknesses, though Captain Lewis could not.

Now take away Sacagawea. The captains did not expect to encounter a Shoshone-Hidatsa woman on the upper Missouri who would come along the rest of the way (infant on her back) without a very well-articulated job description, and yet she is at least the third most important figure in America's love affair with Lewis and Clark. I don't know if you could conclude, "no Sacagawea no Bicentennial," but it is pretty close to that. That she gave Clark a Christmas gift at Fort Clatsop and got a little peevish about seeing the beached whale only deepens our fascination.

Take away York and you lose the mystery of what it must have been like to have been an African American slave, the sole black man, on the great journey. At times he was the lowest of the low in the social hierarchy, and yet Native peoples found him so unprecedented that they reckoned he bore some very special spiritual mojo. It went to his head - and when they got home, Clark battered York's back to remind him of what his bondage still meant.

For that matter, take away the dog, and think of how much this story is diminished. A mission like this needs a mascot, a Lassie or Rin Tin Tin figure, and here, faithful to Lewis and essential to his mental health, was this flouncy white and black Newfoundland, who got more journal mention than a dozen of the men. Children love Seaman; and without children falling in love with our story, there is no future for Lewis and Clark.

If Lewis had died of arsenic poisoning on August 22, 1804; if the Lakota at the mouth of the Bad River had been in a more aggressive mood; if the White Pirogue had gone down on May 14, 1805; if the buffalo that rampaged through the Montana camp on May 29, 1805, had crushed one of the captains' skulls; if Lewis, Drouillard, and the Field brothers had been wiped out at Two Medicine Creek (July 27, 1806); if Pierre Cruzatte's bullet of August 11, 1806, had veered an inch and struck Captain Lewis' spinal cord; if the Nez Perce had decided to kill the fish-eyed newcomers rather than offer them hospitality.... The list is long.

Think of the Native Americans who played an important enough role in the expedition to get immortalized in the journals: Big Blue Eyes, Black Buffalo, the Partisan, Too Né, Sheheke-shote, La Borgne, Black Cat, Cameahwait, Old Toby, Cut Nose, Tetoharsky, Delashelwilt, Coboway, and Comcomally. It was a discovery story for them, too, and we are only beginning to learn what we can from their descendants.

Even before multicuturalism became the new orthodoxy, the Lewis and Clark story was an astonishing portrait of the wild diversity that America would become: members of the Virginia gentry, an enslaved man with only one name, French-speaking voyageurs, working class boys from the western frontier, Yankees and southerners and an Irish-American, French grandees in St. Louis, a disagreeable Cuban entrepreneur (Manuel [some question about Cuban origin] Lisa), and the first or second most famous Native American woman in American history.

Think about it. If the new French Republic had not sent the volatile and irresponsible Citizen Genêt to the United States in 1793, André Michaux might have ascended the Missouri River to its source in 1793, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and made his way to the Pacific. Would Jefferson have sent a second expedition west after he won the presidency?

Clay Jenkinson
Clay Jenkinson

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Photograph by Thom Bridge.

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, lewisandclark.org. Submissions should be sent to Clay S. Jenkinson, 1324 Golden Eagle Lane, Bismarck, North Dakota 58503, or by email to Clayjenkinson2010@gmail.com. 701-202-6751.



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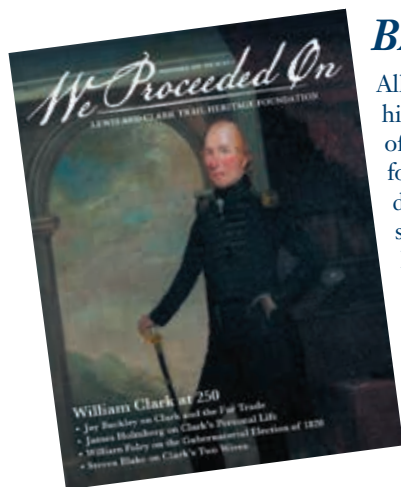
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A Message from the President



LCTHF President Louis Ritten

We members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) have together survived a bear of a year, one of disaster and misfortune, an *annus horribilis*, as the Latin term would denote it. Last year at this time, we were somewhat like the men of the Corps of Discovery as they contemplated encountering the grizzly bear for the first time. We both were hearing talk of a fearsome threat up ahead, but felt we could handle what was coming and were a bit naïve to think we'd make short work of it. However, after the men encountered the ferocious beast, scientific name *Ursus arctos horribilis*, they gained a hard-won respect for the bear's danger, aggressiveness, and tenacity. Horrible, yes, and yet they adapted, persevered, and carried on.

Likewise, we have been forced to reckon with Covid-19 and its danger, aggressiveness, and tenacity. As I write these words, the country is in the midst of its third major wave of infections. We take comfort from the fact that promising vaccines have now begun to reach the American public, but we must nevertheless

remain vigilant and prepare for what may lie ahead. Would that Seaman could be among us to ward off the virus as he did a stray bison in camp!

This issue includes the LCTHF 2019-2020 Annual Report highlighting our activities and successes over this past year. A big thank you to our staff and all our volunteers around the country who have continued to give of their time and hard work in promoting the trail and the story of Lewis and Clark despite the difficulties we encountered. We also thank our donors who have stood with us financially and emotionally. All contributions of any sort go a long way toward enabling LCTHF to function well. Those who gave to the annual appeal at the end 2020 will be reflected in next year's annual report as will any other monetary gifts received through September 2021. Thank you all for your contin-

website at lewisandclark.org. Peruse our wonderful *Discovering Lewis and Clark* website (lewis-clark.org) to delve directly into details of hundreds of aspects of the expedition. While you do this, consider writing an article for *WPO* or a presentation of some kind for your local chapter so we can all benefit from your research, knowledge, and passion.

Participate in Zoom call presentations various chapters are sponsoring. What a forum this provides for both the presenters and the audience to exchange information, ideas, and opinions at a safe remove! At no cost and from the comfort of your own home, this presents an opportunity for all of us to acquire further knowledge simply and easily while interacting with fellow Lewis and Clark enthusiasts. We all gain from your presence at these events.

"... as I have always held it a crime to anticipate evils I will believe it a good comfortable road untill I am compelled to believe differently." – Lewis, May 26, 1805

ued generosity in time, talent, and treasure. All are vitally important.

What are some things we each can do in our own way today to persevere and carry on in emulating the success of the Corps of Discovery as we proceed on into tomorrow?

Take advantage of being cooped up by seeking out resources online and in libraries, when feasible. Catch up on old *WPO* articles you may not have gotten to yet by visiting the LCTHF

If it can be done safely, get out on the trail and go for a hike. Carry some LCTHF brochures, and if you encounter people along the way, try to excite them, along with your friends and relatives, about the story and LCTHF. Don't be shy. Our members are the best representatives of the story and LCTHF that we could ever hope to have!

Form a team of four to participate in the Lewis and Clark Wellness

Challenge managed by the Ohio River Chapter's Janice and Jerry Wilson. I myself have racked up approximately 10,000 miles since I got involved. Hah, I have now tracked more miles on foot than the Corps of Discovery did! Take the challenge, and soon you can show off your trimmer waistline to your friends (and enemies)!

Take photographs while you are out on the trail and submit your best to the LCTHF photo contest that has commenced this year. Winning entries will be showcased in our communications and publications. We can all benefit when you share your effort, talent, and enthusiasm.

Plan your next visit along the trail using the lewisandclark.travel website. LCTHF is partnering with the National Park Service and others in this geotourism program which highlights local businesses and recreation, lodging, dining,

shopping, and touring opportunities all along the trail. While it is still in an embryonic state, the site allows anyone to nominate unique and authentic local enterprises for inclusion. As we come out of the pandemic, bringing additional business to long-suffering shops and restaurants will be a great way we can help our local communities and build goodwill towards LCTHF. Yet again, sharing your local knowledge benefits a wider audience.

Chapters can begin to plan events for when public gatherings are once again safe. LCTHF has grant money available for projects advancing trail stewardship and education. Start fleshing out projects in your area to promote the story and the trail to take advantage of this opportunity. LCTHF also gives awards to those who have gone above and beyond. Nominate people who have made a difference to

you and we all can recognize and celebrate their great work.

Our chapters are starting to work cooperatively within regional groupings, which will enable you to participate more easily in a broader range of events and activities. Please avail yourself of these opportunities, or better yet, put something together yourself so others may benefit from your efforts. If we use this fallow period to its fullest advantage, I have great faith that 2021 can be an *annus mirabilis*, a wonderful year, for our nation, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, our chapters, and for you yourself. Can you bear up under all this opportunity and do your part in bringing about a truly remarkable 2021? ■

*Proceeding on together,
Lou Ritten, President
Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation*

We Proceeded On *The Journal of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation*

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him with a job or not. It seemed to Michaux, unaware as yet of Jefferson's proposal, that the American Philosophical Society (APS) might be of some service in such matters.³

Michaux had trained at Buffon's Jardin du Roi (Royal Botanical Garden) in Paris. Not long after he returned from some natural history work in Persia, in a July 18, 1785, brevet, Louis XVI appointed him Royal Botanist and sent him to America. The position came with an annual salary set at 2000 livres. At least in principle it did. And so on September 28, 1785, André Michaux boarded *Le Courrier de New York* docked quayside in Lorient, and set sail for the fledgling United States. After forty-six days at sea, much of it on unbearably choppy waters, he arrived in New York harbor.

Michaux spent 1785-1792 botanizing (a favorite term of his) around the United States and Canada, collecting samples of anything and everything, discovering scores of new species, shipping more than 60,000 samples back to France, and eventually publishing two books including, *The Flora of North America*. During these years he visited Philadelphia on many occasions, but he does not appear to have interacted directly with Jefferson or the American Philosophical Society before December 1792.⁴

By the time André Michaux rode into Philadelphia on December 8, 1792, King Louis XVI was in prison awaiting trial. Michaux no longer knew whether he was acting as a botanical minister for the new French republic or whether he would ever receive the 17,520 livres in back pay that had accumulated over the years, and if not, how he could cover his mounting debts. The idea he came up with was designed both to mitigate his economic woes and allow him to do the botanizing he so loved.

On December 10 Michaux approached members of the American Philosophical Society, including Jefferson, with an audacious idea in which he proposed "the advantages to the United States of having geographical information about the country west of the Mississippi and asked that they back [his] explorations," informing his potential sponsors that he was

"ready to go to the sources of the Missouri and even explore the rivers that flow into the Pacific Ocean." In short time Jefferson, the Vice President of the Society, as well as Secretary of State, became the point man handling Michaux's proposal.⁵

Michaux next provided the American Philosophical Society with a list of conditions under which he would undertake the journey, including "letters of recommendation necessary for negotiations with . . . Indian chieftains." In his *Observations on Proposed Western Expedition*, presented to the Society on January 20, 1793, Michaux spelled out who would get what, should he head off to the Pacific: "All knowledge, observations, and geographical information will be communicated to the Philosophical Society," but "other discoveries in natural history will be for my own immediate profit, and, afterwards, destined for the public good."

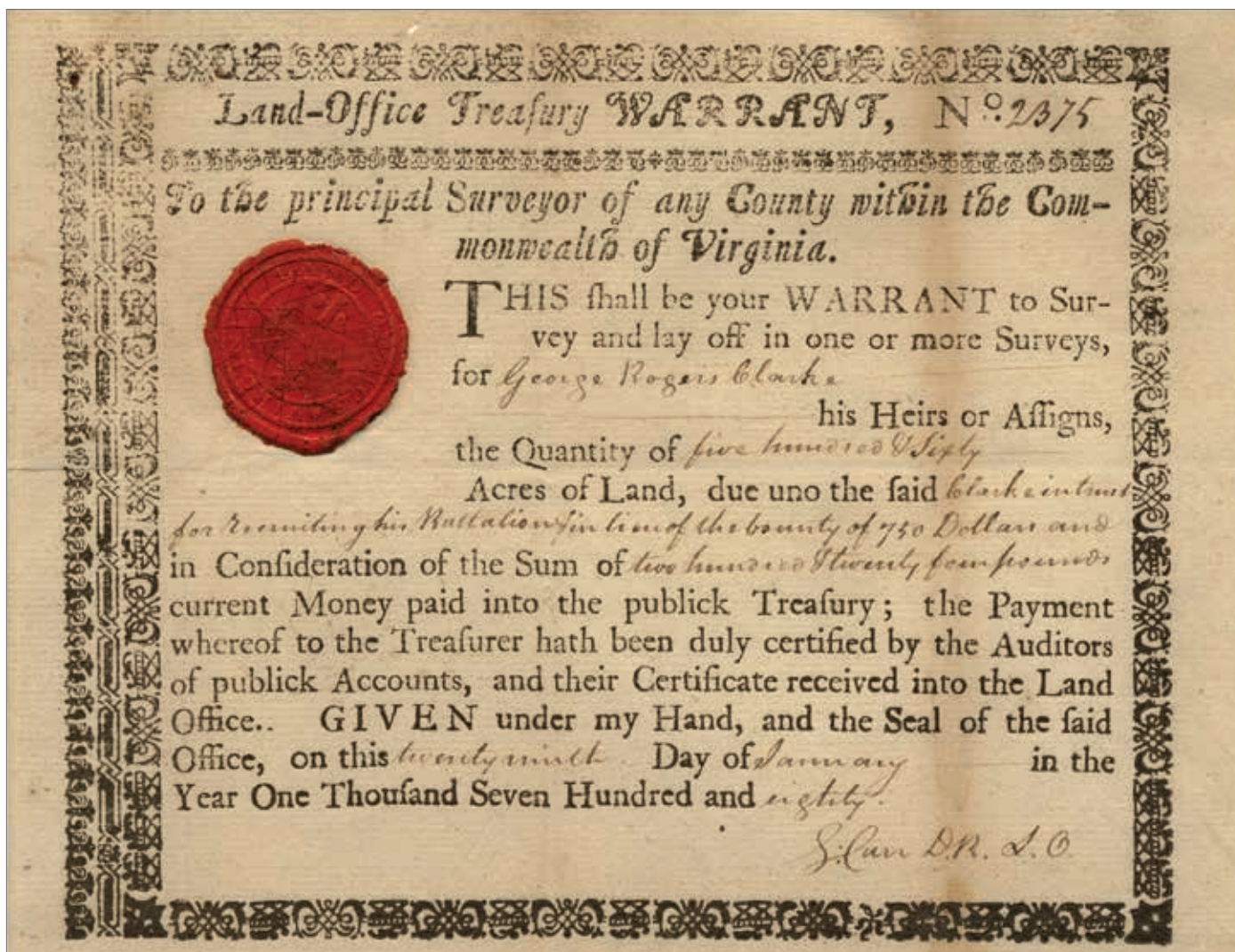
The next day, January 21, 1793, though Michaux would not have known it, Louis XVI went to the guillotine. One day

after that, Jefferson, on behalf of the American Philosophical Society, presented Michaux with the first official subscription for this expedition. The Society, "desirous of obtaining for ourselves relative to the land we live on, and of communicating to the world, information so interesting to curiosity, to science, and to the future prospects of mankind," would sponsor the expedition. The subscription was signed by thirty-eight individuals, many of them members of the American Philosophical Society, the first two signatures being those of President Washington and Vice President John Adams, respectively, with commitments of \$120, and later down on the list, Secretary of the Treasury Hamilton and Secretary of State Jefferson, pledging \$50 each. The total for all signatories came to \$870 – a respectable start to what would be an ongoing funding campaign.⁶

"The chief objects of your journey," as the American Philosophical Society's charge to Michaux instructed him, were "to find the shortest and most convenient route of



The peripatetic John Ledyard.



1780 Virginia Land Warrant granting George Rogers Clark 560 acres.

communication between the U.S. & the Pacific Ocean... [to] take notice of the country you pass through, its general face, soil, rivers, mountains, its productions animal, vegetable, and mineral so far as they may be new to us and may also be useful or very curious . . . the names, numbers, & dwellings of the inhabitants, and such particularities as you can learn of their history, connection with each other, languages, manners, state of society & of the arts & commerce among them." A decade

later, Lewis and Clark's instructions were in many ways a longer, more detailed version of those given to Michaux.⁷ The APS instructions were almost certainly written by Jefferson.

Everything appeared to be in place for Michaux to begin gathering what he would need for an American expedition the likes of which had never before been attempted. But just then fate, in the person of French Minister Edmond-Charles Genêt, stepped in.

Attention Lewis and Clark Trail Stewards!



The LCTHF has three Grant Programs:

- The Lewis and Clark Trail Stewardship Endowment
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When Genêt, the first official representative of the new French Republic to the United States, arrived in Philadelphia in May of 1793, he and his entourage were greeted cautiously by the Washington administration and warmly by the general public. The reception might have been otherwise had "Citizen" Genêt's covert mission been known. For above and beyond a generic (and admirable enough) charge to facilitate an alliance that would "encourage the liberation of mankind," Genêt had been ordered by the leaders of the New Republic to "pave the way for the liberation of Spanish America . . . [and] deliver our brothers in Louisiana from the tyrannical yoke of Spain . . . [which] will be easy to carry out if the Americans wish it." Genêt was empowered "to make whatever expenditures he shall judge appropriate to facilitate the execution of the project, leaving this to his prudence and loyalty." These clandestine instructions put him on a collision course with President Washington, who, only a month earlier, had issued a proclamation of neutrality, ordering America to "pursue a conduct friendly and impartial toward the belligerent powers."⁸

Genêt had the liberation of both Florida and Louisiana in his sights, but it was the Louisiana mission that would lead him to Michaux. He had done his homework, and knew of the long-standing disputes between the people of Kentucky and the Spanish over navigation rights on the Mississippi River, and thought this might incline Kentuckians to join with the French to free Louisiana. Genêt turned to his well-connected countryman Michaux to facilitate just the sort of political machinations that Washington's neutrality proclamation had been put in place to prevent.

Michaux met with Genêt twice during the first two weeks the minister was in Philadelphia, and Genêt instructed him to travel to Kentucky to gauge the sentiments of the people there on the question of joining with the French to end Spain's control of Louisiana. Genêt instructed Michaux to meet with

George Rogers Clark about spearheading both a land and amphibious assault on New Orleans, and if Rogers Clark were so inclined, Michaux was to commission him General in what Genêt was calling the Independent and Revolutionary Legion, and provide Rogers Clark with commissions for those he would invite to join him. Michaux had never forgotten that his

primary duty in the New World was to serve France, and so he accepted this new charge from the Republic, placing the American Philosophical Society expedition to the far West on hold. He spent most of June preparing for the political journey and set out for Kentucky on July 16.

By June 28, Jefferson knew that Michaux was heading to Kentucky, as is evidenced in a letter of introduction the Secretary of State wrote to Isaac Shelby, Governor of Kentucky. At this point, Jefferson was aware that Genêt had sponsored Michaux's trip, but it appears that he did not yet know the true nature of the expedition, describing Michaux only as "[a] conductor of a botanical establishment belonging to the

French nation . . . a man of science and merit . . . [who] goes to Kentucky in pursuit of objects of natural history and botany . . . Mr. Genêt the Minister of France here, having expressed to me his esteem for Mr. Michaux."⁹

Though Jefferson did not pick up on them, there were warning bells that something unusual, something more than a natural history jaunt, was in the works, as when Genêt asked Jefferson to appoint Michaux French Consul to Kentucky, which the Secretary of State refused to do. But after Genêt came to visit him a week later, Jefferson became privy to the sordid details: "Mr. Genêt called on me and read to me very rapidly instructions he had prepared for Michaux who is going to Kentucky," Jefferson wrote of the meeting, "besides encouraging those inhabitants to insurrection . . . [they would] undertake the expedition against N. Orleans, and then Louisiana, to be established into an independent state connected in commerce with France and the US." Adding insult to injury,



The headstrong and erratic Citizen Genêt.

Careful instructions and illustrious subscribers – Notice the signatures of George Washington, John Adams, Robert Morris, Henry Knox, Rufus King, Alexander Hamilton, and Thomas Jefferson, among others. Image courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.

Genêt told Jefferson that "he communicated these things to [him], not as Secy. of State, but as Mr. Jeff." Jefferson then informed Citizen Genêt that "enticing officers and soldiers from Kentucky to go against Spain, was really putting a halter about their necks, for that they would assuredly be hung if they command hostilities against a nation at peace with the US."¹⁰

Yet, despite now knowing what Genêt and Michaux were up to, Jefferson neither stopped the mission nor informed others in the Washington administration about it. We can only speculate on why, but one possibility is that this was all a bit of calculated ambiguity on the Francophile Secretary of State's part. There was, of course, the matter of neutrality, but at the same time, Jefferson was concerned that the Spanish were itching to provoke a war over Louisiana with the United States. What's more, any action against Genêt and the French might strengthen his Hamiltonian Federalist opponents who were wary of Genêt from the start and would use a rebuke as evidence they had reason to be. Jefferson's solution was to warn Genêt of the dangers – people will hang for violating neutrality – but not go so far as to expose the plan to Washington or his cabinet, and force its termination.

In August, as Michaux approached Kentucky, Citizen Genêt was the subject of much discussion in the political circles of Philadelphia. By this time, President Washington had learned of Genêt's plans for Louisiana and Florida. On August 23, after consulting with his advisors, Washington sent a request to the French government to recall Genêt. There was no public announcement of the recall request, nor did it leak to the press, and Genêt was not informed until at least September 15, and perhaps a few days later. Genêt was furious at the recall request, but reasoned that such a request might very well be denied by his government. In any case, he saw no reason to have it interfere with Michaux's mission, and there is no evidence that he informed his botanist-turned-operative of any change to the plans.

Michaux finally arrived in Danville, Kentucky, on September 10 – he did quite a bit of botanizing on the way down, considerably slowing his trek south – and met with George Rogers Clark twice during his first two weeks there. Rogers Clark informed him that "I every day meet with encouragement and am anxious for us to commence on our

operations," and that he would be honored to work with France and to accept a position in the Independent and Revolutionary Legion. He made it clear to Michaux that he could provide the troops, but that he needed boats, supplies, and money to achieve the goal of freeing Louisiana from the Spanish. Michaux assured Rogers Clark that he would provide everything needed, but before that he would need to return to Philadelphia to secure resources.¹¹

Arriving back in Philadelphia on December 12 – again, he took his time, botanizing along the way – Michaux met with Genêt. In a letter to Rogers Clark two weeks later he informed him that Genêt fully supported his plan and was

working to obtain the resources needed, but "the difficulty, or rather impossibility, to [effect] a diversion with the navy forces the Minister to delay the operations until next Spring." That delay was a death knell for the mission, for just a week after Michaux's letter to Rogers Clark, Genêt learned that he was no longer acting as a representative of the French government. Washington's recall request had at last arrived in France in October, and three days later, the Committee of Public Safety heeded Washington's request and ordered that Genêt be recalled. News of that decision reached Philadelphia in January of 1794 and quickly became common knowledge. On January 10, Michaux noted in his journal that he "returned to Minister Genêt the warrants he had entrusted to me for General Clark . . . I told him I wanted to use my time for research in natural history as much as possible." The mission to use French and American forces to free Louisiana from Spanish control was over.¹²



Portrait of George Rogers Clark by James B. Longacre, 1825. Courtesy Wikimedia commons.

Michaux's desire to employ his "time for research in natural history as much as possible" would not translate into reviving any journey to the Pacific. Though there was no formal decision to scrap the project, once the "Genêt Affair," as it has come to be known, had reached its dénouement, all things Citizen Genêt were politically and socially toxic, and the American Philosophical Society understood it would not be proper for Michaux to be first to explore the far West. Michaux too had likely had enough. He had grown weary of others' managing his life, be they the American Philosophical Society or Genêt. He wanted his freedom back so he could botanize to his heart's content, which is precisely what he did until he eventually sailed back to France two and a half years later. ■

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Notes

1. Jefferson to George Rogers Clark, December 4, 1783, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-06-02-0289>; George Rogers Clark to Jefferson, February 8, 1784, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-15-02-0587>
2. Thomas Jefferson, autobiography manuscript, January 6, 1821, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/98-01-02-1756>
3. See Jefferson to Paul Allen, August 18, 1813, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-06-02-0341-0002>
4. Michaux, A. 1801. *Histoire des Cèdres de l'Amérique*. de l'imprimerie de Crapelet, Paris; Michaux, A. 1805. *Flora boreali Americana*. Crapelet, Paris.
5. Michaux journal entry, December 10, 1792, *The Diary of André Michaux*, Book 2, Missouri Botanical Garden Archives, translated by Mary E. Radford.
6. American Philosophical Society Subscription for Michaux's Expedition, January 22, 1793, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-25-02-0088>
7. American Philosophical Society's Instructions to André Michaux, on or about April 30, 1793, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-25-02-0569>
8. Turner, F., *Correspondence of the French Ministers to the United States, 1791-1797* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Press, 1904), 201-11.
9. Jefferson to Isaac Shelby, June 28, 1793, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-26-02-0359>
10. Jefferson's notes of cabinet meeting and conversations with Edmond Charles Genêt, July 5, 1793, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/01-26-02-0387>
11. George Rogers Clark to Michaux, October 15, 1793, in *Annual Report of The American Historical Association for the Year 1896* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Press, 1896), 1013.
12. Michaux to Rogers Clark, December 27, 1793, in *Annual Report of The American Historical Association for the Year 1896*. Government Printing Press, p. 1024. Fearing the guillotine on his return to France, Genêt asked for, and was granted, asylum to remain in the United States.

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Photograph of Trapper Peak, Bitterroot Mountains, Montana, courtesy of Steve Lee.



Exploring the Louisiana Purchase and Its Borderlands

Part Two

The Lewis and Clark, Hunter and Dunbar, Zebulon Pike,
and Freeman and Custis Expeditions in Perspective.

By Jay H. Buckley



Editor's Note: This is Part Two of Jay H. Buckley's survey of explorations of the American West in the Age of Jefferson. The first installment was published in the August 2020 issue of WPO.

Reporting and Publishing the Results

Simply conducting expeditions was not enough to define the boundaries of the Louisiana Purchase. To be useful, the knowledge of Louisiana that Jefferson's and Wilkinson's soldiers and scientists gained from observation and inquiry needed to be interpreted and published. Jefferson's "Message from the President" delivered to Congress on February 19, 1806, made some of their findings available to the public for the first time.¹ His report informed the world that the Lewis and Clark and Hunter-Dunbar expeditions had collected a wealth of scientific information. It contained Lewis and Clark's interim report written during the winter of 1804-1805, information documenting Hunter and Dunbar's 1804-1805 exploration of the Ouachita, and physician John Sibley's reflections on the Red River country, along with several maps of the areas by Nicholas King, based on the explorers' field maps.²

Though the Hunter and Dunbar journey was relatively short, their journals and maps provided detailed scientific observations and data on the region's plant and animal life and its resources. They described an active trade between trappers and Indians along the Red, Black, and Ouachita rivers and chronicled the locations of hot springs, which later attracted hosts of individuals seeking relief from their ailments by soaking in the hot mineral water. Their findings brought them recognition and acclaim after their return. Dunbar resumed oversight of his plantation and continued his scientific observation and writing, providing one of the first topographical and scientific descriptions of the Mississippi Valley. He likewise published a dozen papers on Indian sign language, natural history, and astronomy in the American Philosophical Society's journal before his death in 1810. Hunter moved his family to Louisiana in 1815 and operated a steam distillery. He was known as a Jeffersonian explorer until his death in New Orleans in 1823.³

Zebulon Pike Entering Santa Fe, Collier's Weekly, 1906. Image courtesy of the Frederic Remington Art Museum, Ogdensburg, NY.

**Extract from the ~~Message~~ from
the *President* of the UNITED
STATES, read in Congress,
February 19, 1806.**

"HAVING been disappointed, after considerable preparation, in the purpose of sending an exploring party up that river, in the summer of one thousand eight hundred and four, it was thought best to employ the autumn of that year in procuring a knowledge of an interesting branch of the [Red] river called the Washita. This was undertaken under the direction of Mr. Dunbar, of Natchez, a citizen of distinguished science, who had aided, and continues to aid us, with his disinterested and valuable services in the prosecution of these enterprises. He ascended the river to the remarkable hot springs near it, in latitude 34° 31' 4".16, longitude 92° 50' 45" west from Greenwich, taking its courses and distances, and correcting them by frequent celestial observations. Extracts from his observations, and copies of his map of the river, from its mouth to the hot springs, make part of the present communications. The examination of the Red river itself, is but now commencing.

TH: JEFFERSON.

February 19, 1806.

President Jefferson kept Congress informed of his various exploration initiatives in the American West. This printed extract from the President's February 19, 1806, message explains Dunbar's exploration of the Ouachita River. Image courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Thomas Freeman's exploration led to an accurate mapping of the lower Red River and a better understanding of the southwestern border between the United States and Spain. Freeman's journal and map, in addition to Custis' natural history catalogues, provided good information on the ecology of the Red River. Custis' descriptions of the 267 plants and animals he identified during his four-and-a-half-month expedition allow modern readers to visualize what the Red River was like in 1806. Tragically, to get Custis' work into print, Nicholas King undertook the task of rewriting the journals. Untrained in scientific terminology, King mangled Custis' careful annotations beyond recognition in the 1806 published account.⁴ Although Freeman's projected 1807 expedition up the Arkansas never materialized, Jefferson appointed him to survey and map the Tennessee-Alabama border in the years before his death in Huntsville, Alabama, in 1821. Meanwhile, Peter Custis finished his medical degree at the University of Pennsylvania, married, and practiced

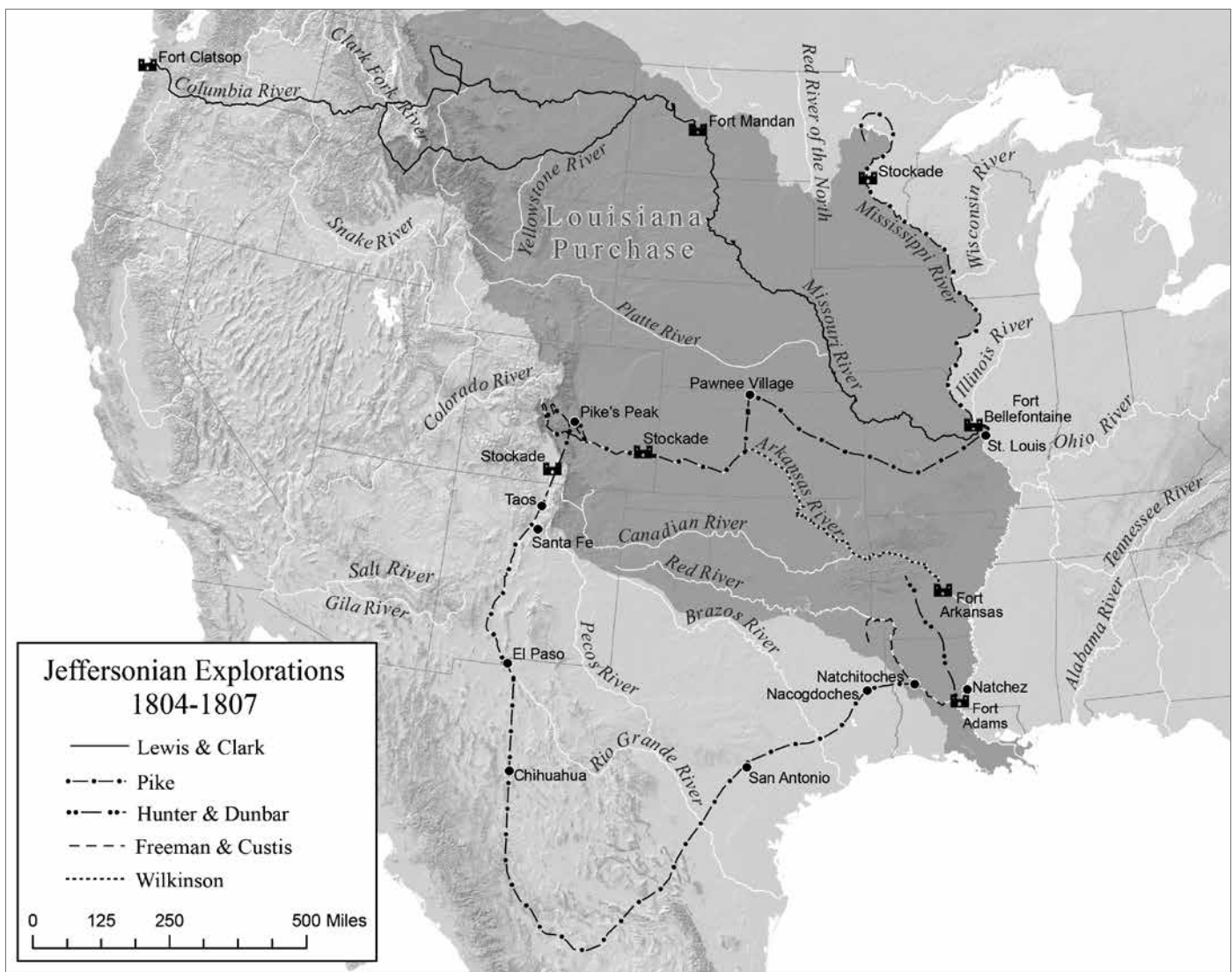
medicine in North Carolina until his death in 1842.

Pike was exonerated of all charges of complicity in the Burr conspiracy and, more important, re-created an informative and detailed report from memory and published his journals and maps in 1810. Like Lewis and Clark, he provided information on flora and fauna and discovered several new species, but in contrast to the illustrious duo, Pike's southern exploration paved the way for a viable route linking the United States and Santa Fe.⁵ While some criticize errors in his maps and journals and his limitations in scientific inquiry, Pike's materials made an important contribution to understanding the Mississippi River, its tributaries, and the geography of the southern plains. Their publication contributed to the development of the Santa Fe trade and American expansion into the Southwest. Pike continued serving under Wilkinson and secured Mississippi Governor William C. C. Claiborne's recommendation that he be appointed Governor of Florida if the United States annexed it. Colonel Pike commanded troops in West Florida stationed at Baton Rouge and was called upon to remove intruders in the neutral territory between the Arroyo Hondo and the Sabine River in 1812. After the United States declared war on Great Britain on June 18, 1812, Brigadier General Pike led a successful attack on York (Toronto), the capital of Upper Canada, in 1813, only to be fatally wounded by flying debris when a powder magazine exploded during that engagement. His life is immortalized in the name Pikes Peak, which he approached but did not summit.⁶

Unlike Pike, Lewis and Clark are well remembered, notwithstanding the lengthy hiatus before the publication of their journals. The Corps of Discovery conducted numerous scientific observations and gathered a wealth of geographic and ethnographic information. They identified and described 178 plants and 122 animals new to science. Clark's beautiful maps corrected and filled in the canvas and are remarkably accurate, especially in areas they traveled. The



Portrait of Zebulon Pike by Charles Willson Peale. Courtesy of Independence National Historic Park, Philadelphia.



Jeffersonian Explorations, 1804-1807. Map drawn by Chris Madeira and Scot Godfredson. Courtesy of Jay H. Buckley.

journals that Lewis, Clark, and half a dozen others kept are rich in content, constituting a national treasure.⁷ Jefferson appointed Lewis as Territorial Governor of Upper Louisiana and Clark as principal Indian Agent for the western tribes. Lewis, assigned the task of publishing the expedition's record, purchased some of the other expedition accounts to forestall competing works. Robert Frazer attempted to publish his on his own, but never did. To Lewis' dismay, Patrick Gass beat Lewis to the punch and published his journal first. Lewis never completed the task before his untimely death in October 1809.⁸ After his passing, Benjamin Smith Barton agreed to write a detailed scientific volume but failed to do so before his death (1815), prompting the scientific community to underestimate the value and importance of Lewis and Clark's scientific findings. Nicholas Biddle, meanwhile, consented to provide a two-volume narrative. Clark, who

promised to provide a map, sought out several publishers. Unfortunately, the Philadelphia publisher C. and A. Conrad, that had published the Pike volumes, went out of business in 1812, and Biddle's two-volume narrative did not appear in print until 1814.⁹ Clark became Missouri Territorial Governor in 1813 and held that office until statehood in 1820, after which time he became Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the western tribes.¹⁰

Because of the vaguely defined boundary lines of the Louisiana Purchase, Jefferson and Wilkinson had made a special effort to learn as much geographical information as possible about the United States' northern border with Britain and southern border with Spain in addition to filling in details for the region between. Their men provided materials on the Missouri, Columbia, Ouachita, Red, Arkansas, and Rio Grande rivers. Freeman's map of the lower Red River, limited

because of his expedition's short duration, provided little new geographical information. Clark gathered additional information from former expedition members turned fur traders George Drouillard and John Colter regarding the

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Expedition, and other similar sources, into his masterful 1810-1812 manuscript map of the West. It is a fairly accurate depiction of the Missouri and Columbia river basins, and its complex rendering of the multiple ranges constituting the Rocky Mountains made it superior to its predecessors and finally helped extinguish the long-held notion of a Northwest Passage through the interior of North America. It remained, during his lifetime, the best cartographic representation of the American West.¹¹

The exploration notes and maps of Dunbar, Pike, Freeman, and Clark (and their subsequent engravings by Nicholas King and Samuel Lewis) were used by cartographers to compile some of the earliest American maps of the continent. Mapmaker John Melish used geographic information from their expedition maps to inform his series of American maps, such as his 1816 *Map of the United States with the Contiguous British and Spanish Possessions* (published in Philadelphia) and his 1820 large-scale map of the United States.¹²

Some of the explorers' records – including some of Pike's confiscated notes, diaries, and maps, Freeman's detailed journal, and Frazer's record of the Lewis and Clark Expedition – were lost or later destroyed. Much of Lewis and Clark's extensive and detailed ethnographic records of Native American life on the northern Great Plains and in the Northwest was destroyed when a trunk of expedition papers that Jefferson was shipping to Monticello was vandalized and the contents thrown into the Chesapeake. Because of the dispersal of the information these explorers brought back, tapping into the vast database these explorers had compiled was difficult.¹³

Until the founding of the Smithsonian Institution in 1846, there was no centralized repository for objects and reports from government-sponsored scientific expeditions. Journals and artifacts remained in private hands or were misplaced or destroyed. Some of the Lewis and Clark materials sent to Benjamin Smith Barton for preparation of a scientific volume of the expedition disappeared after Barton's untimely death prevented him from completing the volume. Documents, objects, plant cuttings, animal artifacts, and material culture gathered by Custis, Hunter, Dunbar, and Pike were also scattered or lost. Fortunately, some remain. Elk antlers collected by Lewis and Clark hang in Monticello's entrance hall. Clark kept some artifacts and gave others to friends. Lewis' plant cuttings were scattered among the American Philosophical Society to the Academy of Natural Sciences to Kew Gardens in England. Pike sent Jefferson two grizzly

A Cast of Characters

Note: This gallery features individuals mentioned in this article as well as Jay H. Buckley's previous article about exploration in the Age of Jefferson from August 2020.

Aaron Burr, Jr. (February 6, 1756-September 14, 1836): New Jersey, soldier, Revolutionary War veteran, third Vice President of the U.S.; raised an army in the West in 1805, either to defect from the United States or to invade Spain.

William Clark (August 1, 1770-September 1, 1838): Virginian, soldier, Indian Agent and Superintendent, Missouri Territorial Governor; explored the Missouri and Columbia rivers 1804-1806.

Peter Custis (1781-May 1, 1842): Virginian, naturalist, surveyor, physician; explored the Red and Arkansas rivers in 1806.

Sir William Dunbar (1749-October 16, 1810): Scottish-born scientist, surveyor of the lower Mississippi Valley, Territorial Legislator; explored the Ouachita tributary of the Red River in 1804-1805.

Thomas Freeman (ca. 1765-November 8, 1821): Irish-born surveyor, civil and topographical engineer, astronomer; mapped Tennessee-Alabama border, explored Red and Arkansas rivers in 1806.

George Hunter (1750s-February 23, 1823): Scottish-born chemist, doctor, druggist who lived in Philadelphia; explored the Ouachita tributary of the Red River in 1804-1805.

Thomas Jefferson (April 13, 1743-July 4, 1826): Virginian, third President of the United States; sent out Lewis and Clark, Hunter and Dunbar, Freeman and Custis, proposed Platte expedition.

Meriwether Lewis (August 18, 1774-October 11, 1809): Virginian, soldier, Jefferson's secretary, Upper Louisiana Territorial Governor; explored the Missouri and Columbia rivers 1804-1806.

John McClallen (January 29, 1772-?): New York, soldier; encouraged by Wilkinson to trade in Santa Fe or on the upper Missouri in 1806.

Zebulon M. Pike (January 5, 1779-April 27, 1813): New Jersey, soldier, explorer; explored the headwaters of the Mississippi, Arkansas, Red, and Rio Grande in 1805-1807 before being arrested by the Spanish for spying.

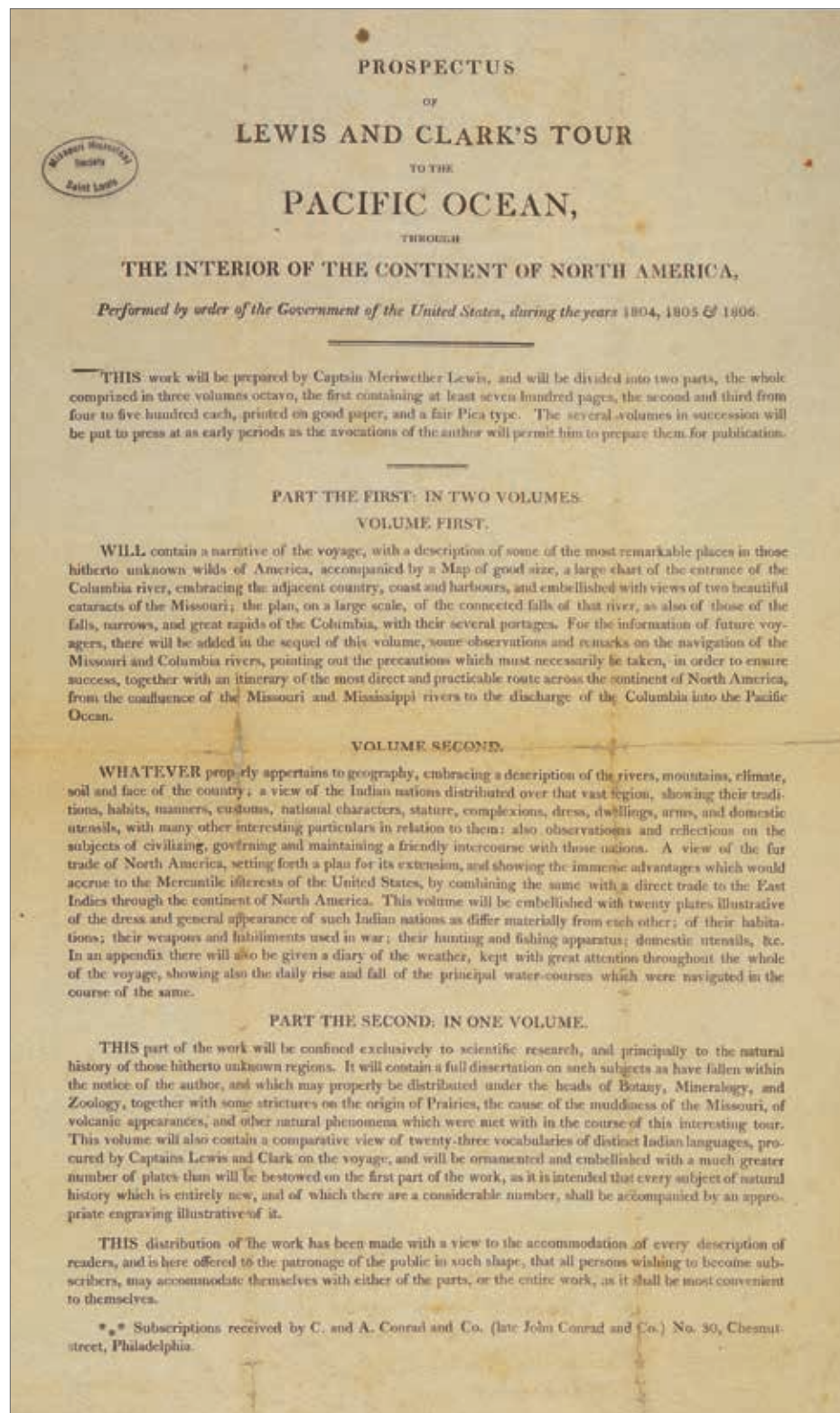
James Wilkinson (March 24, 1757-December 28, 1825): Maryland, Commander of U.S. Army from 1800-1812, Louisiana Territorial Governor; sent out Zebulon Pike, supported Philip Nolan and John McClallen trading ventures.

bear cubs, which, along with other objects, eventually ended up at Charles Willson Peale's museum in Baltimore.¹⁴

Had the Spanish not arrested Pike, he would be memorialized in popular memory for his considerable exploratory

accomplishments and not for getting lost or spying. Had the Spanish not stopped Freeman and Custis, their efforts might be viewed by the country as one of its great expeditions: better funded, prepared, staffed, and equipped than that of Lewis and Clark. Interestingly, Lewis and Clark nearly suffered the same fate that Hunter and Dunbar feared and Pike, Freeman, and Custis endured – Spanish arrest for trespassing. Wilkinson informed the Spanish regarding the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and the Spanish made at least four attempts to apprehend them. Pedro Vial's party arrived at the Missouri in modern-day Nebraska in September 1804, just missing the captains on their outbound journey. Spanish groups sent out in November 1805, May 1806, and the fall of 1806 also failed to capture Lewis and Clark.¹⁵

Despite these shortcomings, Jeffersonian explorers provided the American people with current and accurate information about Louisiana, and their reports and maps unleashed a wave of American traders and explorers who followed in their wake. Although the scientific findings did not immediately receive the notoriety and recognition they deserved, the expeditions certainly expanded America's commercial endeavors and abetted America's expansionist impulse. Although a few hearty fur traders had plied the Missouri River before Lewis and Clark, less than six months after Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis, Manuel de Lisa, the Missouri Fur Company, and other fur-trading ventures greatly expanded the pursuit of beaver on the upper Missouri (above the Platte) and Yellowstone rivers. At least a dozen expedition members joined these ventures and entered the fur trade. At the same time, John Lewis, William Alexander, and other American traders slipped



Meriwether Lewis' ambitious prospectus for an Enlightenment report on what he called "my late tour," 1807.



Titian Ramsey Peale, Missouri bear *Ursus horribilis*, ca. 1822. Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society. Zebulon Pike gave these bears to Jefferson who gifted them to Charles Willson Peale whose son Titian painted them.

past the Spanish patrols on the Red to enter trade with the Taovayas and Comanches, and other traders followed.

The first documented U.S. military and scientific exploration of the Platte River had to wait until the following decade, when Stephen H. Long ventured west. Long successfully completed an excursion up the Mississippi River to the Falls of St. Anthony in 1817 that resulted in the establishment of Fort Snelling on the nine miles of land Pike had purchased from the Dakota Sioux in 1805. In 1819, Long and his entourage, which included several scientists, joined General Henry Atkinson's Yellowstone Expedition bound from St. Louis to the Rockies aboard the *Western Engineer*, perhaps the first steamboat to penetrate the Missouri River into the Louisiana Purchase territory. They spent the winter near present-day Council Bluffs, Iowa, before returning east. By the summer of 1820, however, Long and nineteen men had returned to explore the headwaters of the Platte,

Arkansas, and Red rivers. While on the Platte, he met with Pawnee, Oto, Missouria, and Omaha Indian representatives. Long continued up the South Platte and then ventured onto the Arkansas River before dividing his party – conceivably to return down that river while he searched for the Red River. He miscalculated, however, and came down the Canadian instead. Nevertheless, Long's notes chronicling the central plains filled in the gaps left from the Jeffersonian explorers and provided important contributions on ethnology and geography. His map is legendary because it labeled the Great Plains as the "Great American Desert."¹⁶

Considering all the expeditions together that Jefferson and Wilkinson sent out between 1804 and 1807 helps paint a more complex picture of Jefferson and Wilkinson's meticulous quest to explore Louisiana. The efforts of Hunter and Dunbar, Lewis and Clark, Freeman and Custis, Pike, and others launched America's westward-looking expansion

Jeffersonian Exploration Chronology (1800 to 1826)

- 1800** June 15: General James Wilkinson takes command of the U.S. Army
- 1800** Oct. 1: Secret treaty of San Ildefonso; Spain retrocedes Louisiana to France
- 1801** March 4: Inauguration of Thomas Jefferson as third President of the United States
- 1802** Spain's King Charles transfers Louisiana to France; New Orleans closed to American shipping
- 1803** Jan. 18: Jefferson sends message to Congress asking for funding for what became the Lewis and Clark Expedition
- 1803** April 30: United States purchases Louisiana from France
- 1803** July 4: Jefferson announces the treaty to the American people
- 1803** July: Jefferson suggests removing Indian nations to the west of the Mississippi River; bill passes the Senate but fails in the House of Representatives
- 1803** Aug. 31: Meriwether Lewis starts under way down the Ohio from Pittsburgh
- 1803** Oct. 20: Senate ratifies Louisiana Purchase, 24 to 7
- 1803** Dec. 20: French turn New Orleans and lower Louisiana over to James Wilkinson
- 1804** May 14: Lewis and William Clark embark from St. Louis with around fifty soldiers, civilians, interpreters, and voyageurs
- 1804** July 11: Vice President Aaron Burr fatally wounds Alexander Hamilton in a duel
- 1804** Aug. 1: Nemesio de Salcedo (Chihuahua) and Fernando Chacón (Santa Fe) send Pedro Vial and fifty-two men from Santa Fe on Vial's first expedition to arrest Lewis and Clark; they travel as far as the Pawnee Village on the Platte River about 150 miles west of the Missouri
- 1804** Oct. 16: George Hunter and William Dunbar and seventeen others embark from Natchez to explore the Ouachita, a tributary of the Red River
- 1804** Nov. 5: Pedro Vial's first expedition arrives back at Santa Fe
- 1805** Jan. 27: Hunter and Dunbar return to Natchez
- 1805** April 10: Burr heads west to create a western empire or to invade Spain
- 1805** Aug. 9: Zebulon Pike and twenty soldiers ascend the Mississippi River to find its headwaters
- 1805** Oct. 14: Nemesio de Salcedo (Chihuahua) and Joaquín del Real Alencaster (Santa Fe) send Pedro Vial and 106 men from Santa Fe on Vial's second expedition to arrest Lewis and Clark; they travel as far as present-day Las Animas, Colorado, along the Arkansas River where three Indian attacks force their return home
- 1805** Nov. 6: Pedro Vial's second expedition arrives back at Santa Fe
- 1806** Feb. 1: Pike incorrectly identifies Leech Lake as the Mississippi headwaters instead of Lake Itasca some twenty-five miles farther upstream
- 1806** Feb. 19: Jefferson delivers message to Congress relating the preliminary findings about the Louisiana Purchase lands, including Lewis and Clark's interim report from Fort Mandan, Hunter and Dunbar's journey to the Hot Springs, Indian Agent John Sibley's account, and Nicholas King's maps
- 1806** April 24: Nemesio de Salcedo (Chihuahua) and Joaquín del Real Alencaster (Santa Fe) send Pedro Vial and around 300 men from Santa Fe on Vial's third expedition to arrest Lewis and Clark; the expedition ends after desertions
- 1806** April 30: Pike arrives back in St. Louis from his Mississippi exploration
- 1806** May 2: Thomas Freeman and Peter Custis and thirty-three men explore the Red River
- 1806** May 30: Pedro Vial's third expedition arrives back at Santa Fe by the end of May
- 1806** June 15: Nemesio de Salcedo (Chihuahua) and Joaquín del Real Alencaster (Santa Fe) send Facundo Melgares on the fourth expedition to apprehend Lewis and Clark. Melgares leaves Santa Fe with 605 men (105 Spanish soldiers, 400 Nueva Mexico militiamen, 100 Indigenous allies); he leaves around 240 on the Arkansas River to construct a fort, and travels to the Pawnee villages on the Republican River near present-day Red Cloud, Nebraska
- 1806** July 15: Pike, with twenty-five men, sets out to explore Arkansas and Red rivers
- 1806** July 29: Spanish troops led by Francisco Viana intercept Freeman and Custis and force their return to Orleans Territory
- 1806** Sept. 23: Lewis and Clark return to St. Louis following their journey to the Pacific
- 1806** Sept. 8: Freeman and Custis return to Fort Adams on the Mississippi River
- 1806** Oct. 1: Spanish Lieutenant Facundo Melgares arrives at Santa Fe after the fourth failed attempt to apprehend Lewis and Clark
- 1806** Oct. 11: Burr indicates to Wilkinson it is time to start a war with Spain
- 1806** Oct. 21: Wilkinson informs Jefferson of Burr's conspiracy
- 1807** Feb. 19: Aaron Burr arrested in Alabama
- 1807** Feb. 28: Melgares captures Zebulon Pike and his men and returns to Santa Fe with his prisoners; they are subsequently marched to Chihuahua
- 1807** Spring: Fur-trading companies, trappers, and horse traders enter Louisiana
- 1807** July 1: Pike returns from Mexico and is released at the Louisiana border
- 1807** Aug. 3: Burr's treason trial begins; he is acquitted September 1 by U.S. Chief Justice John Marshall
- 1809** Oct. 11: Lewis dies while traveling the Natchez Trace in Tennessee
- 1810** Sept. 16: Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla begins Mexican Independence
- 1810** Oct. 16: Dunbar dies near Natchez, Mississippi
- 1811** Wilson Price Hunt leads Astorians overland to the Pacific
- 1811** Dec. 25: Wilkinson's court-martial ends when he is found not guilty
- 1812** Robert Stuart guides returning Astorians and discovers South Pass
- 1813** April 27: Pike dies during the War of 1812
- 1814** Dec. 24: Treaty of Ghent ends the War of 1812
- 1817-1820** Stephen H. Long explores the Mississippi, Missouri, Platte, and Arkansas
- 1818** Oct. 20: United States and Britain agree to 49th parallel between the Rockies and the Great Lakes
- 1819** John Quincy Adams-Luis de Onís Treaty between Spain and United States
- 1820** Missouri Compromise
- 1821** Aug. 24: Treaty of Córdoba signed: Mexico gains independence from Spain
- 1821** Nov. 8: Freeman dies in Huntsville, Alabama
- 1823** Monroe Doctrine
- 1823** Feb. 23: Hunter dies in New Orleans
- 1824** Russia and United States agree to the 54°40' boundary
- 1825** Dec. 28: Wilkinson dies in Mexico City while pursuing a Texas land grant
- 1826** July 4: Jefferson dies at Monticello

in the coming years. In 1800, the Potomac was the site of the new national capital, and beyond it was the back country. When Jefferson left office in 1808, the Potomac was a regional river on the Atlantic seaboard, and the nation's geographic center had shifted westward to the Mississippi River.

Wilkinson's desire for fame and fortune came to a suitable conclusion when he died in Mexico City on December 28, 1825, while trying to finagle a Texas land grant from the Mexican government. Jefferson passed away on the Fourth of July in 1826, but before he died, his prediction of a transcontinental American empire initiated by his purchase of Louisiana was beginning to take shape. James Monroe had been one of the signers of the Louisiana Purchase treaty in 1803. Now, as President, Monroe had his Secretary of State John Quincy Adams negotiating transcontinental border treaties with England (1817 to 1818), Spain (1819), and Russia (1824), and he authored the Monroe Doctrine, which cautioned European nations against colonizing or interfering in the Western Hemisphere. Mexican Independence in 1821 opened the way for increased trade between Santa Fe and Missouri along the Santa Fe Trail and instigated the surge of thousands of American settlers into Texas. Meanwhile, American fur-trade enterprises expanded to the Pacific and helped fuel America's market revolution as well as paving the way for increased overland migration and settlement in the coming decades. Some eastern Native Americans had already voluntarily migrated to the Great Plains, a process that expanded and became more coercive in the 1830s. Six new states bordering the Mississippi and Ohio rivers had joined the union, and additional territories were in the process of joining them. The Louisiana Purchase and the exploratory expeditions Jefferson and Wilkinson sponsored provided important scientific data, fostered trading networks, established American geopolitical claims, and helped Jefferson's vision of "an empire for liberty" move toward becoming a reality. ■

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Notes

1. Several people had published earlier accounts of Louisiana and its people.

Examples include: LePage du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina: Containing a Description of the Countries that Lye on Both Sides of the River Mississippi [sic], with an Account of the Settlements, Inhabitants, Soil, Climate, and Products* (London: T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1763); Thomas Hutchins, *An Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana, and West Florida, Comprehending the River Mississippi with its Principal Branches and Settlements, and the Rivers Pearl, Pascagoula ... and ascending the Mississippi River* (Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1784).

2. Originally published as *Messages from the President of the United States, Communicating Discoveries Made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River, and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley and Mr. Dunbar; with A Statistical Account of the Countries Adjacent*, a beautiful facsimile of the 1806 Natchez edition has been reissued as *Jefferson's Western Explorations: Discoveries Made in Exploring the Missouri, Red River, and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley, and William Dunbar; and Compiled by Thomas Jefferson, a facsimile*, Doug Erickson, Jeremy Skinner, and Paul Merchant, eds. (Spokane, WA: Arthur H. Clark, 2004). Also see William Dunbar, "Journal of a Voyage," in *Documents Relating to the Purchase and Exploration of Louisiana* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1904).

3. For the Louisiana Purchase journals of Hunter and Dunbar, see Trey Berry, Pam Beasley, and Jeanne Clements, eds., *The Forgotten Expedition, 1804-1805: The Louisiana Purchase Journals of Dunbar and Hunter* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006).

4. Thomas Freeman, *An Account of the Red River, in Louisiana, Drawn up from the Returns of Messrs. Freeman and Custis to the War Office of the United States, Who Explored the Same, in the Year 1806* (Washington, D.C.: n.p., 1806/07). Thomas Freeman Papers, Peter Force Collection, Library of Congress. For an excellent edited edition with commentary, see Dan L. Flores, ed., *Jefferson and Southwestern Exploration: The Freeman and Custis Accounts of the Red River Expedition of 1806* (1st ed. 1984); reprinted as *Southern Counterpart to Lewis and Clark: The Freeman and Custis Expedition of 1806* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2002); Dan L. Flores, "The Ecology of the Red River in 1806: Peter Custis and Early Southwestern Natural History," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 88 (July 1984): 1-42.

5. Nicholas King rendered a hastily prepared version of Pike's Mississippi route and maps in late 1806 or early 1807. Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, with Letters and Related Documents*. 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 1:131-79. Three years later, the official account was published under the title Zebulon M. Pike, *Exploratory Travels through the Western Territories of North America: Comprising a Voyage from St. Louis, on the Mississippi, to the Source of that River, and a Journey through the Interior of Louisiana, and the North Eastern Provinces of New Spain; Performed in the Years 1805, 1806, 1807, by Order of the Government of the United States* (Philadelphia: C. and A. Conrad and Co., 1810). For useful editions, see Elliot Coues, ed., *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, to Headwaters of the Mississippi River, through Louisiana Territory, and in New Spain, during the Years 1805-6-7*. 3 vols. (New York: Francis P. Harper, 1895); Stephen Harding Hart and Archer Butler Hulbert, eds., *The Southwestern Journals of Zebulon Pike, 1806-1807*. 1932. Reprint, with introduction by Mark L. Gardiner (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006).

6. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, vol. 9, *Territory of Orleans, 1803-1811* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), 909, 927-28, 998-1001; Michèle Butts, "Zebulon Montgomery Pike," in David S. Heidler and Jeanne T. Heidler, eds., *Encyclopedia of the War of 1812* (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2004), 415-16; and Michael L. Olsen "Zebulon Pike and American Popular Culture; or, Has Pike Peaked?" *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2006): 48-59. Reaching the summit of Pikes Peak inspired Katharine Lee Bates to pen the lines of her most famous poem, "America the Beautiful."

7. Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001); Paul R. Cutright, *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (1969; repr., Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

8. James J. Holmberg, John D. W. Guice, and Jay H. Buckley, *By His Own Hand? The Mysterious Death of Meriwether Lewis* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006).

9. Nicholas Biddle and Paul Allen, eds., *History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the Sources of the Missouri, Thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean, Performed*

during the Years 1804-05-06, by Order of the Government of the United States (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814); Paul Russell Cutright, *A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1976); Doug Erickson, Jeremy Skinner, and Paul Merchant, with Stephen Dow Beckham, *The Literature of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: A Bibliography and Essays* (Portland: Lewis and Clark College, 2003).

10. Jay H. Buckley, *William Clark: Indian Diplomat* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

11. Clark's original master map, on a sheet of paper thirty-two inches high and fifty-two inches wide, was recently republished in 2004 by the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, William Robertson Coe Collection of Western Americana, Yale University Library. Before the Louisiana Purchase, one of the most accurate and comprehensive maps of the continent may have been Aaron Arrowsmith's 1802 *Map Exhibiting All the New Discoveries in the Interior Parts of North America*. In 1804, American cartographer Samuel Lewis worked with Arrowsmith to create the first printed map depicting the topography of the Louisiana Purchase, drawn from information from Pierre Antoine Soulard's 1795 map. Nevertheless, their map contained numerous errors and large gaps still requiring accurate information.

For more discussion of Clark's cartography, see: Gary E. Moulton, ed., *Atlas of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983); John Logan Allen, *Passage through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest* (1975), reissued as *Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest* (New York: Dover, 1991). John Logan Allen, "The Maps of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," in *Mapping the West: America's Westward Movement, 1524-1890*, Paul E. Cohen, ed. (New York: Rizzoli, 2002), 74-96; Stephen A. Chomko, "A Re-Evaluation of a William Clark Manuscript Map as a Post-Expeditionary Cartographic Work," *South Dakota Archaeology* 8 and 9 (1985-86): 1-10; W. Raymond Wood and Gary E. Moulton, "Prince Maximilian and New Maps of the Missouri and Yellowstone Rivers by William Clark," *Western Historical Quarterly* 12, no. 4 (1981): 373-86; Gary E. Moulton, "Lewis and Clark on the Missouri," *Nebraska History* 81, no. 3 (Fall 2000): 90-115; Peter J. Kastor, *William Clark's World: Describing America in an Age of Unknowns* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 123-29.

12. John R. Short, *Representing the Republic: Mapping the United States, 1600-1900* (London: Reaktion Books, 2001), 127-37. In 1838, the Army Corps of Topographical Engineers was established to explore and develop the continent. Frémont's expeditions in the 1840s are among the first of this organization to begin fulfilling their charge.

13. Jefferson was sending the linguistic evidence to Monticello from Washington, D.C. When Lewis heard of the loss, he noted the irony that they "had passed the continent of America and after their exposure to so many casualties and wrisks [they] should have met such destiny in their passage through a small portion only of the Chesapeake." Lewis to Jefferson, June 27, 1807, in Donald Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*. 2 vols. (2nd ed., Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978) 2:418.

14. The fate of the Lewis and Clark objects is chronicled in Carolyn Gilman, "The Journey of Our Objects," in *Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2003), 335-90. For plant specimens, see C. V. Morton, "Freeman and Custis' Account of the Red River Expedition of 1806: An Overlooked Publication of Botanical Interest," *Journal of the Arnold Arboretum* 48 (1967): 431-59; Gary E. Moulton, ed., *Herbarium*, vol. 12 of *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999).

15. Warren L. Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire: Spain and the Pacific Northwest, 1543-1819* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Road to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967); John F. McDermott, ed., *The Spanish in the Mississippi Valley, 1762-1804* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); Dan Sturdevant and Jay H. Buckley, "Spanish Attempts to Apprehend Lewis and Clark," *We Proceeded On* 45, no. 1 (February 2019): 18-25.

16. Long kept detailed notes of the expedition, but Edwin James, a botanist and geologist who accompanied him on the expedition, was the one who published *Account of an Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains: Under the Command of Major Stephen H. Long*. A useful version is contained in Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, vols. 14-17 (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1904-1907).

Back By Popular Demand! LCTHF Holds White Cliffs Canoe Trip

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF), Portage Route Chapter, and Montana River Outfitters (MRO) are proud to offer a Missouri River Canoe Trip experience through the White Cliffs along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail! **Join us July 12 to 16, 2021, for a fun and historic "glamping" trip!** The cost is \$1,500 for LCTHF members, and \$1,600 for non-members (one-year membership included). This fee includes nightly tent set up and breakdowns, cot with air mattress, and three delicious meals prepared for you while you paddle, hike, explore, read the historic Journals around a campfire, and enjoy pristine vistas as seen by Lewis and Clark. A \$500 non-refundable deposit is due with RSVP by May 31, 2021, and the remaining amount is due June 15, 2021. Limited availability, call today to reserve your spot!



On Thursday, **July 15**, we will spend a half day at the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls, and then make a trip to the First Peoples Buffalo Jump. On Friday, **July 16**, we will meet Larry Epstein at the Two Medicine Fight Site* for a narrated tour you won't want to miss!

Lunch provided for both day trips. *Weather permitting

For more information on the trip, call the office at 888-701-3434 or contact Chris Maillet at chris@lewisandclark.org. Don't forget to bring your Golden Age Pass! You will receive a tax deductible donation receipt from LCTHF for this trip.

Photo Credit: Norman Anderson

Bound to the Western Waters: Searching for Lewis and Clark at Fort Kaskaskia, Illinois

by Mark J. Wagner

The small American military outpost of Fort Kaskaskia (1803-1807), Illinois (Figure 1-2), played a pivotal role in the early days of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Fort Kaskaskia was one of a series of forts constructed by the U.S. Army in 1803 under orders from Secretary of War Henry Dearborn to protect the frontier. It was there on November 29,

1803, that Lewis and Clark stopped to recruit eleven soldiers including Patrick Gass and Richard Windsor for service on the expedition.¹ Francois Labiche, a civilian, also joined there (Table 1). Lewis and Clark lingered at Fort Kaskaskia for about a week, conducting business or visiting influential citizens such as fur trader and merchant Pierre Menard in the nearby town of Kaskaskia. One

of the few records of their visit to Fort Kaskaskia is a receipt signed by Meriwether Lewis for 175 pounds of gunpowder from the public stores “for the use of my command, bound to the western waters” (see Sidebar 2). Lewis received the gunpowder from Captain Amos Stoddard, who had command of the artillery unit stationed at Fort Kaskaskia.² With the departure of Lewis on December 3, 1803, followed



Figure 1-2. Location of French Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R326) and American Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R612) overlooking the Mississippi River.

Table 1. Lewis and Clark Expedition Men Recruited at Fort Kaskaskia

Name	Company	Service Branch	Other
John Dame.....	Stoddard's*	Artillery	
Alexander Hamilton Willard.....	Stoddard's.....	Artillery	
John Robertson (Robinson)	Stoddard's.....	Artillery	
Ebenezer Tuttle	Stoddard's.....	Artillery	
Isaac White	Stoddard's.....	Artillery	
Patrick Gass	Bissell's**	1 st Infantry	
Richard Windsor	Bissell's	1 st Infantry	
Silas Goodrich	Bissell's	1 st Infantry	
John Ordway.....	Bissell's	1 st Infantry	
Peter M. Weiser.....	Bissell's	1 st Infantry	
John Boley	Bissell's	1 st Infantry	
John Collins.....	Bissell's	1 st Infantry	
Francois Labiche			Civilian

* Captain Amos Stoddard commanded an artillery company (approximately forty men) at Fort Kaskaskia in 1803. He and part of his company represented the United States in St. Louis in March 1804 when Spain transferred Upper Louisiana including St. Louis to France, which in turn transferred it to the United States a day later. Stoddard later died from wounds received at the Battle of Fort Meigs in Ohio during the War of 1812 in May 1813³.

** Captain Russell Bissell was a former Revolutionary War soldier who commanded a company (about eighty men) of the 2nd Infantry Regiment (approximately 800 men) in 1802. When President Thomas Jefferson reduced the size of the Army that same year, many of the 2nd Infantry companies including Bissell's were transferred to the 1st Infantry Regiment. This accounts for the presence of both 1st and 2nd Infantry buttons at Fort Kaskaskia as many of Bissell's men apparently were wearing a combination of buttons from their old and new regiments on their uniforms. Bissell was promoted to Major in the 1st Infantry Regiment in 1807, but died of illness almost immediately afterwards. He is buried in Jefferson Barracks National Cemetery in St. Louis, Missouri.

by Clark on December 7, 1803, the fort slipped away into obscurity.

Patrick Gass' biographer claimed that he became the assistant commissary or civilian supply officer for "the outpost of Kaskaskia" after the return of the expedition in 1806.⁴ Census records indicate that Gass indeed was present in the nearby town of Kaskaskia as late as 1810 so he may have been acting as a local agent for a man from Kentucky who held the primary contract to supply the post. But for all intents and purposes, the fort appears to have been abandoned by the U.S. Army by at least 1807. Parts of it may have been reused as an Illinois militia outpost during the War of 1812, but after that nothing more is heard of it, its location and very existence quickly forgotten.

The remains of the Lewis and Clark-era Fort Kaskaskia (Illinois Archaeological Survey [IAS] site 11R612) as well as that of an earlier French fort (IAS site 11R326) of the same name are today contained within the Fort Kaskaskia State Historic Site in southwestern Illinois (Sidebars 1-3). This park was established in the early 1900s to protect the 1750s French Fort Kaskaskia (11R326), which now consists of a series of grass-covered earthworks enclosed by a moat, its log walls long vanished. Because both the French and American forts had the same name, researchers had long assumed that they were one and the same, with the American Fort Kaskaskia constructed on top of and through the earlier French fort. And indeed, an interpretive sign erected within the center of the French Fort Kaskaskia during the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial that features Michael Haynes' painting of Lewis and Clark's

meeting with Captain Russell Bissell, then commander of the American Fort Kaskaskia, assures visitors that this was the case.

In 2017 the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation awarded a Trail Stewardship grant to Southern Illinois University (SIU) at Carbondale to conduct an archaeological field school at the site of the French Fort Kaskaskia to search for the remains of the American fort visited by Lewis and Clark. These investigations were further supported by a 2018 public outreach grant from the Southeastern Archaeological Conference (SEAC) and volunteers from the Forest Service's Passport in Time (PIT) archaeology program in 2019. Tribal youth from the Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma and the Catahoula band of Cherokee also participated in the 2017 and 2018 investigations. The Shawnee have a historic link to the American Fort Kaskaskia in that George Drouillard (or "Drewyer"), Lewis and Clark's hunter and interpreter whose mother was Shawnee, visited the site with Lewis and Clark, York, and other expedition members in 1803. Drouillard had a long association with the U.S. Army in the lower Ohio Valley, serving in a variety of roles. The 1796 commander of Fort Massac on the Ohio River reported that his soldiers would not desert when Drouillard was nearby⁵ as they knew he would hunt them down and return them to the Army for punishment (Sidebar 4).

SIU Carbondale Archaeological Field Schools 2017 to 2019

Archaeologists are made, not born. The purpose of an archaeological field school (the first of which in the U.S. was held at the prehistoric Mississippian-era

Sidebar 1 French Fort Kaskaskia (11R326)



Sidebar 1 Image. British Army Lieutenant Phillip Pittman's 1766 map of the abandoned French Fort Kaskaskia (11R326). The large rectangular building to the left of the "A" is the barracks while the small structure in the bottom (southwest) bastion is the bakehouse or kitchen.

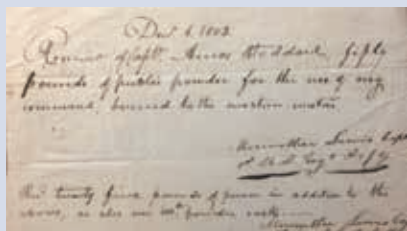
Illinois was a key part of the French empire in the mid-continent during the eighteenth century, helping to protect the Mississippi River which linked French Louisiana and Canada. The French began construction of Fort Kaskaskia in 1759 during the Seven Years War (1756-1763) to protect the nearby town of Kaskaskia but abandoned it before it was completed. British soldiers sent to occupy Illinois in 1765 reported that the unfinished Fort Kaskaskia consisted of a rectangular earthworks faced with horizontal logs. Only two buildings – a barracks and bakehouse – had been completed within the fort interior. The British Lieutenant Phillip Pittman, who completed the first detailed map of the fort in 1766, described it as unfinished with "most of the planks and timbers rotten ... the ditch, parapet, and ramparts entirely overgrown with bushes." The people of Kaskaskia supposedly set fire to the abandoned fort in 1766 to stop the British from occupying it. Their plan, if that is what it was, failed as the British decided instead to construct a fort in the heart of Kaskaskia named Fort Gage. They continued to occupy Fort Gage until 1779 when it and the town of Kaskaskia were captured by Virginia troops under the command of George Rogers Clark during the American Revolution. The French Fort

Kaskaskia was repaired and later used by an American adventurer named John Dodge to control the town of Kaskaskia for several years before he fled to Missouri in the 1780s.

Sidebar 2 American Fort Kaskaskia (11R612)



Sidebar 2A Photo. Reconstructed Early 1800s U.S. Army log building with brick chimney at Fort Massac in southern Illinois. Fort Kaskaskia probably contained buildings identical to this one. Photograph by Mark Wagner.



Sidebar 2B Image. Meriwether Lewis' December 1, 1803, receipt for 175 pounds of gunpowder that he received from Captain Amos Stoddard at Fort Kaskaskia "for the use of my command, bound to the western waters". Courtesy Missouri Historical Society.

The 1803 construction of the American Fort Kaskaskia was tied to the Louisiana Purchase of that same year. Secretary of War Henry Dearborn instructed two U.S. Army officers – Major Amos Stoddard and Captain Russell Bissell – to identify a location for a new fort that would help establish an American military presence in the St. Louis area. The two officers suggested a location northeast of St. Louis within Illinois, but Dearborn told them instead to lease 150 acres southeast of St. Louis on the bluff top overlooking Kaskaskia. Bissell's company of the 2nd (later to become the 1st) Infantry Regiment was already stationed there and living in log huts, which may have factored into Dearborn's decision.

Sidebar 2 continued next page



Figure 3. Ground penetrating radar survey of French Fort Kaskaskia (11R326) in 2017.

Kincaid site in southern Illinois in the early 1930s) is to teach students how to put into practice what they learn in the classroom. This is accomplished by instructing them in how to excavate and record their discoveries systematically. SIU Carbondale archaeological field school investigations by both students and volunteers at Fort Kaskaskia State Historic Site from 2017 to 2019 have included a combination of remote-sensing survey techniques (ground penetrating radar [GPR], Figure 3, and magnetometer) and hand excavation of a series of test units.

The French Fort Kaskaskia (11R326)

The most important discovery came early in the first (2017) field school when we realized that the French colonial Fort Kaskaskia (11R326) was exactly that: an eighteenth-century French fort (Sidebar 1). Structural features encountered within the French fort (11R326) included a wall trench to a *poteaux-en-terre* or post-in-ground kitchen in the southwest bastion. The bakehouse lacked a foundation. Instead, vertical posts were set into four opposing trenches dug into the ground to form the walls of the building.

Remote sensing of the fort with a ground penetrating radar (GPR) unit in 2017 also succeeded in locating the previously unknown stone foundation to the French barracks as well as the presence of colonial-era pit features and artifacts outside the fort walls. Rather than entirely constructed of stone, we suspect that the barracks was a *poteaux-sur-sol* or post-on-sill structure, a wooden structure that sat on a stone foundation (Figure 4). Subsequent hand excavations in 2018



Figure 4. Mapping of the stone foundation of the barracks at the French Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R326).

and 2019 revealed that sections of the stone foundation appear to have been partially dismantled or “robbed” in the colonial period, most likely for building material by the inhabitants of the nearby town of Kaskaskia. Hand excavations also revealed a large deep depression in the western part of the fort containing a basal layer of eighteenth-century artifacts, burned clay, and charcoal capped by a dense deposit of twentieth century refuse which represented the barracks cellar (Figure 5). Artifacts recovered over the



Figure 5. Mapping the fill layers within the cellar of the barracks at the French Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R326).

past three years have included a small number of French faience and English creamware and stoneware ceramics;



Figure 7. (Top) “Kings 8th Regiment of Foot” Revolutionary War British uniform button recovered at French Fort Kaskaskia and (bottom) modern replica of this same button.

French gun flints; bottle glass; clothing and uniform buttons; faunal remains; and architectural items (Figure 6).

The most surprising item recovered from the French fort to date is a British Revolutionary War uniform



Figure 6. Photograph taken in field of French fort artifacts including a key, clothing clasp, gun wormer, gunflint, nails, broken ceramic dishes, and other items.

Kaskaskia also was the center of all political and economic activity in Illinois at that time with an estimated population of 7,000. In September 1803 the Army leased 150 acres from General John Edgar, a prominent Kaskaskia businessman, for three years for the construction of the fort. The fort plans have not been found but it probably consisted of barracks and other buildings enclosed within walls of wooden pickets with blockhouses at the corners similar to other American frontier forts of the period. When Lewis and Clark visited in November 1803 the fort most likely was still under construction. Captain Bissell commanded a company of the 1st (formerly the 2nd) Infantry Regiment while Major Stoddard commanded an artillery unit of about forty men. It is doubtful that all of these men were present at the fort at any one time. A requisition to Captain Amos Stoddard for 175 pounds of gunpowder from Fort Kaskaskia signed by Meriwether Lewis still exists in the Amos Stoddard Manuscript Collection in the Missouri Historical Society in St. Louis. Robert Stoddard, a descendant of Amos Stoddard, has recently argued that Fort Kaskaskia was intentionally constructed to pre-position men and supplies for the Lewis and Clark Expedition. This argument has some merit in that the Army held only a three-year lease on the fort site, which appears to have been abandoned shortly after the return of the expedition in 1806. Over the years the location of this small fort was completely forgotten as it became confused in memory with the earlier French fort of the same name.

Sidebar 3 The King's Own 8th Regiment of Foot Button at the French Fort Kaskaskia (11R326)

Early Illinois historians argued back and forth for decades about whether the British ever reoccupied the old French Fort Kaskaskia in the 1760s. They eventually concluded that the British instead built an entirely new fort called Fort Gage in the heart of Kaskaskia. So the discovery of a button from a Revolutionary War British unit – the King's Own 8th Regiment of Foot – from a fort that British soldiers are believed never

to have occupied raises the question of “how did it get here?” The answer may lie in Colonel George Rogers Clark’s attack on the British fort at Vincennes, Indiana, in 1779. George Rogers Clark had captured both Vincennes and Kaskaskia in the summer of 1778. While at Fort Kaskaskia, he learned that the British governor, Colonel Henry Hamilton, had come down from Detroit with a force of thirty-seven soldiers of the King’s Own 8th Regiment of Foot, militia, and Indians and retaken Vincennes. George Rogers Clark immediately led an overland march in the dead of winter under terrible conditions across southern Illinois to recapture Vincennes in February 1779. He subsequently sent Hamilton and the British soldiers he captured as prisoners east to Virginia, raising the question once again of “how did one of their uniform buttons travel in the opposite direction to Fort Kaskaskia?” The most likely answer is that one of George Rogers Clark’s men in need of warm clothing in the dead of winter stripped a British prisoner of his uniform coat and wore it back home to Kaskaskia.

Sidebar 4 George Drouillard in the Lower Ohio Valley

Scattered documents indicate that Lewis and Clark Expedition member George Drouillard was working for the U.S. Army in the lower Ohio River Valley as early as the mid-1790s. On August 22, 1796, U.S. Army Captain Zebulon Pike, Sr., the commander at Fort Massac on the Ohio River, wrote to General “Mad Anthony” Wayne that “Mine of the 6. of June accompanying this [letter] was detained by [my not] having a woodsman on whom I could depend ... until the arrival of the bearer George Drewyer [Drouillard] who was on a visit to Limestone [or Maysville, Kentucky].... He is truly a useful man: the troops of this Garrison when disposed to desert take the advantage of his absence, otherwise, they are sure of being apprehended as they cannot evade his pursuit in the woods.... He is faithful and much attached to the Americans; in case of difficulty in this Country his services would be really valuable.”

continued next page

button (Figure 7) that once belonged to a soldier of the King’s 8th Regiment of Foot. The recovery of this button was completely unexpected as early twentieth-century Illinois historians were adamant that the British never reoccupied the French fort after taking possession of the Illinois country in the 1760s. One possible explanation for the presence of this button at this fort is that it was part of a captured British military coat that one of Colonel George Rogers Clark’s soldiers wore back to Kaskaskia after capturing more than thirty soldiers of this regiment at Vincennes, Indiana, in 1779 (Sidebar 3).

As soon as we started digging in 2017 we realized that U.S. Army artifacts or building remains were conspicuously absent within the French fort. This meant that despite the interpretive sign within the fort walls there was no evidence that the American Army had ever rebuilt or reoccupied the old French fort in the early 1800s as everyone (including us) had long believed. Yet we knew from letters and other documents that the American Fort Kaskaskia indeed *had* been located on the same hill as the French fort overlooking the now-vanished town of Kaskaskia. So where was it?

The American Fort Kaskaskia (11R612)

The mystery ended during our first field school in 2017 when the park superintendent showed us a U.S. Army 2nd Infantry button (Figure 8), the same regiment to which many of the Lewis and Clark men belonged in the early 1800s. This button had been recovered during the emergency replacement of a broken water main on the hilltop about 100 meters north of the



Figure 8. Early 1800s U.S. Army 2nd Infantry Regiment pewter button found at American Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R612) in 2017.

French fort the preceding winter. Upon visiting this location (Figure 9) – the highest point on the ridge, which also coincidentally was known as “Garrison Hill” – we found hundreds of fragmented early 1800s hand-made bricks, ceramics, bottle glass, and other items



Figure 9. Present-day location of American Fort Kaskaskia (11R612) beneath and to both sides of parking lot.

covering the ground surface. This location had been disturbed in the 1940s by the building of a park road as well as by later waterline construction, but we had little doubt that we had found the location of Lewis and Clark’s Fort Kaskaskia (11R612). This was confirmed by the later recovery of additional uniform buttons associated with the 1st and 2nd Infantry as well as an 1800s brass clasp to a U.S. Infantry soldier’s leather neck stock. U.S. Marines were nicknamed “leathernecks”

at an early date because they wore this type of leather collar to protect their necks from saber blows although U.S. Infantry soldiers also wore them into at least the 1840s (Figure 10).



Figure 10. Early 1800s U.S. Army brass collar clasp to a leather neck stock which would have been worn by soldiers to protect their necks from saber blows from the American Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R612).

The 2017-2019 summer archaeological investigations revealed that this early 1800s American fort appears to have been constructed immediately adjacent to the bluff edge with a midden or garbage area located downslope and north of the fort. The abandoned fort site initially was impacted in the 1890s when the state of Illinois constructed a monument associated with Kaskaskia's town cemetery through its western edge. More serious impacts occurred in the 1940s when a park road was constructed through the fort center and fort-related brick rubble was pushed over the northern part of the site.

Nonetheless, despite these disturbances, subsurface features associated with the fort still exist at the site. The 2019 field school, for example, succeeded in locating an early 1800s shallow trench that may represent the remains of the eastern stockade trench to the fort. Excavation of

several units east of the parking lot encountered large amounts of bricks believed to be from the fort chimneys as well as a hexagonal rifle barrel that may have formed part of a U.S. Army 1792 "contract rifle" (Figures 11-12; Sidebar 5). Other items found



Figure 11. Excavations at the American Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R612) which uncovered chimney bricks and a hexagonal rifle barrel (far right).



Figure 12. Broken six-sided U.S. Army rifle barrel found in an excavation unit at the American Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R612).

in this area included a brass musket or rifle butt plate; iron architectural items; faunal remains; creamware, pearlware, and redware ceramics; dark green bottle and aqua window glass; and food remains in the form of animal bones discarded by the soldiers. Excavation of two units on the other (west) side of the parking lot also encountered fort-related remains in the form of a large dark stain believed to

Sidebar 5 The 1792 U.S. Army Contract Rifle

In 1791 the U.S. Army suffered a devastating defeat at the hands of Native Americans at a battle known as St. Clair's Defeat in Ohio. The following year (1792) the U.S. government issued emergency contracts to six separate gun makers to resupply the Army with new rifles. One of the stipulations was that the new rifles have hexagonal or six-sided barrels, similar to the broken gun barrel found at Fort Kaskaskia in 2019. Although it is not yet certain, the Kaskaskia gun barrel could possibly represent part of a 1792 contract rifle, which coincidentally was also one of the types of firearms carried by the men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

represent an earthen pit cellar (Figure 13) once located beneath one of the fort buildings that had both 1st and 2nd Infantry Regiment buttons scattered across its surface (Figure 14). Among these buttons was a plain silver-plated button that once belonged to an Infantry officer as the use of silver buttons was restricted to officers. In sum, the information recovered by our field school students, Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma tribal members,



Figure 13. Dark stain in center of excavation unit at the American Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R612) believed to represent a cellar to a now-vanished building.

and Forest Service archaeologists and volunteers to date leaves no doubt that site 11R612 represents the remains of the American Fort Kaskaskia visited by Lewis and Clark in 1803 and at which some expedition members including



Figure 14. Early 1800s U.S. Army 1st and 2nd Infantry Regiment pewter buttons (top row and bottom row left) and plain silver-plated infantry officer's button (bottom row right) recovered from top of possible cellar at American Fort Kaskaskia (Site 11R612).

Sergeant Patrick Gass served both before and after the expedition.

2021 SIU Carbondale Archaeological Field School

The planned field school investigations at both fort sites in May and June 2020 did not occur because of the coronavirus pandemic. We hope to resume the field school explorations at both sites in 2021. Investigations scheduled for the French Fort Kaskaskia (11R326) include additional magnetometer and GPR studies and the excavation of test units in select

areas to clarify its construction history and use. The goal at the American Fort Kaskaskia (11R612), which is much more poorly documented, will be to locate additional stockade trenches to determine the shape of the fort as well as its placement on the landscape; further investigate the large subsurface feature found in 2019 to determine if it indeed is a substructure cellar; and conduct additional magnetometer and GPR surveys of areas both within and surrounding the fort. We have created a "crowdfunding" site through the SIU Foundation at salukifunder.siu.edu \ fieldschool for members of the public who want to support the field school students' housing and other costs and in turn receive SIU Center for Archaeological Investigations ball caps, replica artifacts, and site visits. All money donated through our crowdfunding site goes solely for student support.

Although we hope to resume the field school excavations at Fort Kaskaskia in summer 2021 we recognize that the coronavirus may still be with us and SIU Carbondale could restrict student travel. As we do not want to

cancel the field school entirely, we will expand the laboratory analysis and curation components of the 2021 field school to teach the students how to analyze and curate (prepare for storage) the artifacts recovered to date from the two forts at our curation center using masks and social distancing. This will represent a unique learning opportunity for students to work with both French colonial and later early 1800s U.S. Army artifacts, some of which may have been used by American soldiers who later accompanied Lewis and Clark on their expedition "bound to the western waters." ■

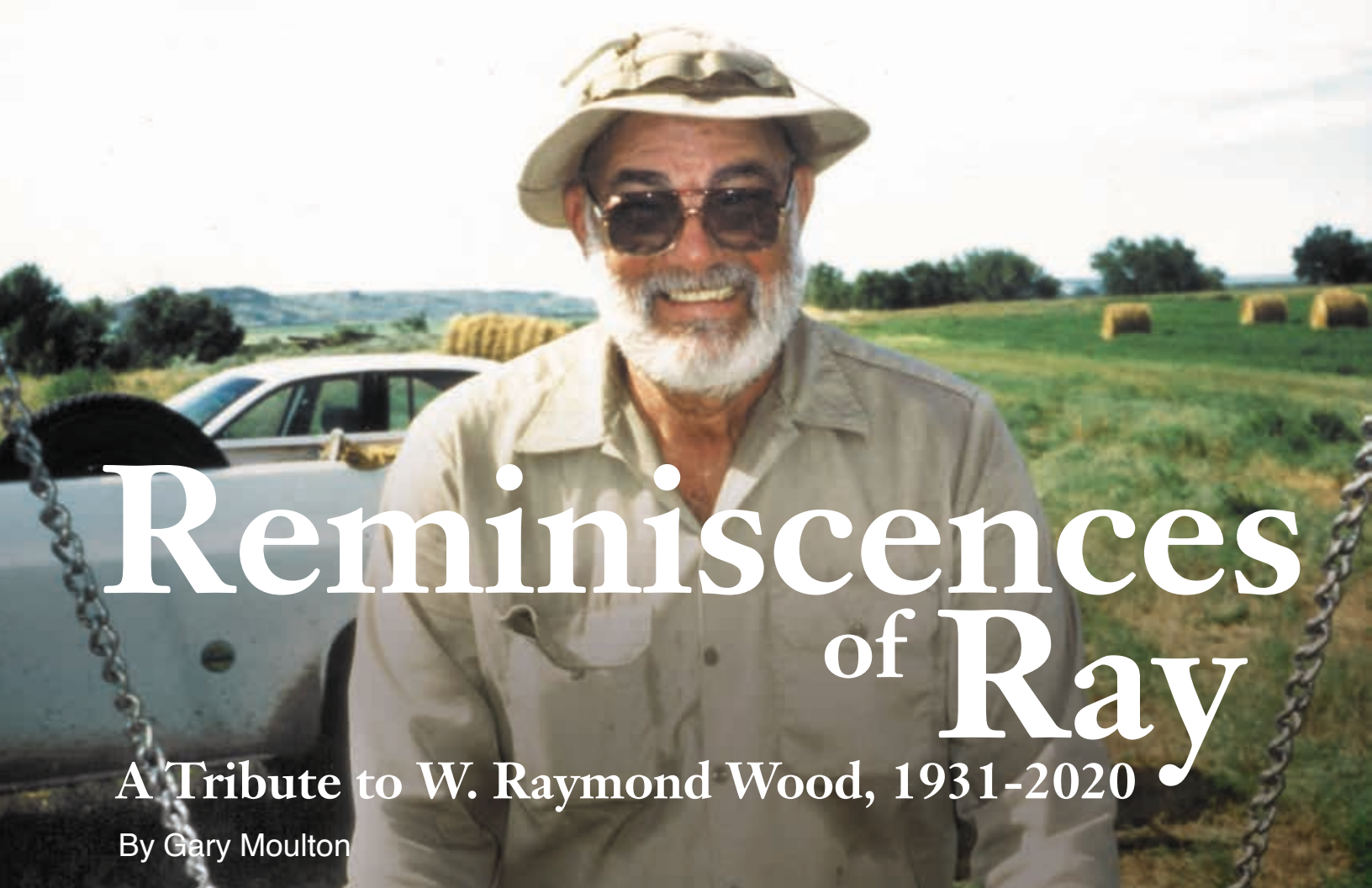
Dr. Mark J. Wagner is the Director of the Center for Archaeological Investigations and Professor in the Department of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University Carbondale where his research interests include the Native American rock art of Illinois as well as historical archaeology. He has been researching the Lewis and Clark Expedition since 2003 when he directed an archaeological project that relocated the site of Cantonment Wilkinson, a very large 1801-1802 U.S. Army base in southern Illinois at which several of the Lewis and Clark Expedition men, including Patrick Gass, served prior to the expedition.



Figure 15. SIU Carbondale field school students, Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma adult and children tribal members, and Shawnee National Forest archaeologists and volunteers at the Fort Kaskaskia Historic Site overlook with the site of the now-vanished town of Kaskaskia and the Mississippi River in the background.

Notes

1. Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 122-123.
2. Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1753-1854*, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1963), 1:142.
3. Robert A. Stoddard, ed., *The Autobiography Manuscript of Major Amos Stoddard* (San Diego: Robert Stoddard Publishing, 2016), 48-51.
4. J. G. Jacob, ed., *The Life and Times of Patrick Gass* (Wellsburg, Va.: Jacob & Smith, Publishers and Printers, 1859), 141.
5. John C. Jackson, "The Man Hunter," *We Proceeded On* 35:1 (February 2009): 12-18.



Reminiscences of Ray

A Tribute to W. Raymond Wood, 1931-2020

By Gary Moulton

Ray Wood at the Hagen archaeological site near Glendive, Montana, 2001. From the W. Raymond Wood Collection, State Historical Society of North Dakota.

A young graduate student and aspiring archaeologist was attending an early professional conference. Here he was seeing people whose names he knew only from book jackets and whose ideas had challenged him from the pages of professional journals. Now he was face-to-face with these giants of archaeological fame. With a bit of timidity he approached William Duncan Strong, one of the legends in the discipline, and struck up a conversation, only to be amazed that the man responded so readily. Seeing him later at dinner at a half-empty table the young man was emboldened to ask if he could take an empty seat. “Beat it kid, I’m having dinner with my friends,” came the brusque reply. Slinking off and a little crestfallen, Ray Wood may right then have learned a lesson about professional behavior that became a signal feature of his life’s work: to accept young graduates in a collegial manner and guide them in their own academic careers. Ann Johnson, one of Ray’s past graduate students, put it best, “Ray Wood was the teacher and mentor that we all are supposed to be.”

Sonny Trimble, another of Ray’s graduate students, gives the best example of Ray’s way of treating students.

Throughout my early career and usually during conferences Ray introduced me to important and influential people. What I always found amusing and only understood several years later was that he would say that the two of us were working on a paper for a major journal or preparing a chapter of a book. In those early years this was never true, but the fact that he introduced me as a colleague to all those important people and treated me as an equal ensured that many of them accepted me differently. No one does that kind of stuff, and for a young person in the field, it is a godsend. I am sure he did that for all his students. That was Ray.

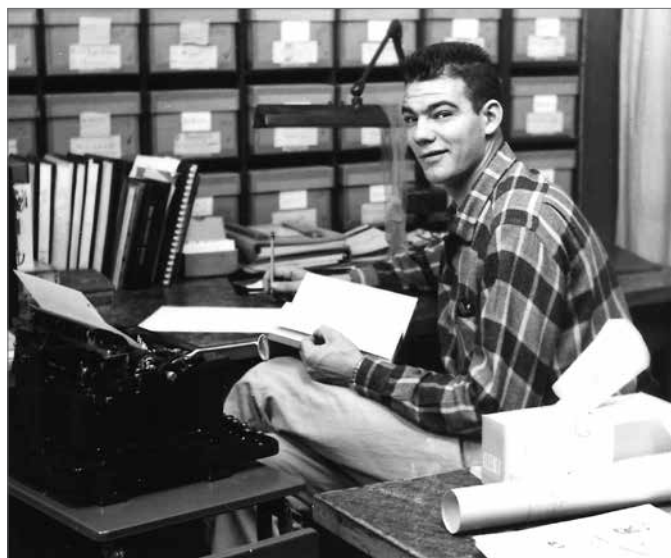
When I sent requests to Ray’s friends, colleagues, and former graduate students for reminiscences of Ray, I received a flood of wonderful stories. Of course, they all related experiences of Ray’s unfailing help in their professional lives and told of his academic accomplishments, but they also shared

scenes of private moments of Ray's humor and grace. I want to share those stories with you, so you can know the Ray Wood that I did, the one behind the pages of his academic books or beyond the dry language of archaeological site reports.

I begin with a personal reminiscence. Not long after I started the Lewis and Clark project, Ray came riding into Lincoln on a Harley and saved me from multiple mistakes. He was in Lincoln for a year, working with the National Park Service, but he had time for me. He sought me out and offered help. At the time I was mired in Clark's maps of the Missouri River and floundering in the early days, trying to get the atlas volume underway. Ray reached down and pulled me up, but I never reached his heights. He helped me so much the year he was in Lincoln and then continued as a steady informant, sorting out maps and clarifying Missouri River Native peoples. Ray knew everyone who had made maps, penned words, or touched foot on the Great Plains: from early explorers, fur traders, and mapmakers to current archaeologists and anthropologists doing field work and research. He provided instant entrée to a host of experts.

The same sort of help from Ray was true for Marsha Gallagher and Stephen Witte when they worked on the journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied at the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha. Steve had this to say.

The thing I will always remember most fondly about Ray was his amazing generosity with his time, his expertise, and even his personal resources. Marsha and I must have called or emailed him hundreds of times over the years with questions ranging from Missouri River geography to fur trade history to Mandan cultural practices. Ray always made time to speak with us or to reply to our electronic missives. When he knew the answer, he'd give us a source citation to go along with the information. When he didn't know the answer, he made use of his vast network of friends and colleagues to help us out. Sometimes this was as simple as Ray telling me to call Jack Lepley of the Montana Agricultural Museum for help with Montana geographical terms. Sometimes, Ray himself would handle the contact for us. For me, the most memorable example of Ray's generosity is loaning us his personal copies of Lt. Gouverneur K.



Ray Wood in the archives of the State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1956. From the W. Raymond Wood Collection, State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Warren's 1855-56 manuscript maps of the Missouri River. He knew that Warren's maps would help us solve all manner of Missouri River geographical puzzles,

And Marsha Gallagher added:

Ray was the one I turned to for help on puzzles large and small, whether it was correctly identifying Bodmer's view of Citadel Rock as taken from upriver or down (he sent photos he had taken from both locations), information about lead mining in Wisconsin, or a definition of "stick tobacco." If Ray didn't know the answer, he knew who would. Warm, always interested, and as eager to learn from you as you were from him, he was a wonderful mentor, colleague, and friend.

Jim Ronda, H. G. Barnard Professor of Western American History, emeritus, University of Tulsa, echoed those sentiments:

When I began work on what became *Lewis and Clark among the Indians* I was smart enough to realize I knew nearly nothing about the exploration of the American West in general and the Lewis and Clark Expedition in particular. There was little doubt that I needed a guide to help me get up the river and across the mountains. As I began to read

I kept bumping into one name, Ray Wood, professor of anthropology at the University of Missouri-Columbia. Seeking out what he had written about the Native peoples of the Middle Missouri River two things became quickly evident: Ray had an amazing grasp of the written and cartographic record. Equally impressive, he had a life-time of experience uncovering and interpreting the material culture of the earth-lodge people and their neighbors. I took the leap and wrote a letter to Ray. He quickly replied and promised help and advice to someone he'd never met. Patient and generous, he became my mentor in all things anthropological and archaeological. He helped me know what to read and how to read it. Ray was always there with a suggestion, a sharp question, and some much-needed reassurance when I needed it most.

Ann Johnson related more about Ray's collegial bonding and mentoring skills.

Ray opened up opportunities and led by example. Fellow graduate students got along, learning from and with one another, instead of having destructive competition between us. Ray was an important part of the obvious comradery that the Missouri students felt which was missing at some other graduate departments. He supported both women and men in archaeology and related fields as he mentored people in the fullest scope of the definition. He was good at getting funding to support research. For example, he sold Sonny Trimble's dissertation to the National Park Service before it was written. That contract depended entirely on Ray's reputation and contacts. Ray was not perfect as none of us do everything well, but he could be characterized as a Looker into the past and a Builder of students' futures. That is an excellent legacy.

Mary Jo Schneider, a graduate student at the University of Missouri in the late 1960s, remembers Ray's good advice and honest evaluations.

In 1969, Ray Wood gave me spot-on advice when I prepared for an interview for a faculty position in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Arkansas. Ray had spent a couple of years at Arkansas so he was in a position to fill me in about what I might expect. Ray's counsel gave me confidence when I interviewed. His words continued to guide me throughout my 40-year faculty career. My thanks to Ray – the right words at the right time. I admired Ray as an academic and as a person. My last contact with Ray was when I was department chair and considering whether or not to hire an applicant for an archeological position on the faculty at the University of Arkansas. Ray gave me an honest evaluation, as I knew he would. Ray had good judgment. I trusted what he told me.

Ray also helped graduate students who needed assistance in less scholarly ways. Mark Flotow, adjunct research associate in anthropology at the Illinois State Museum, will always be grateful for Ray's help.

One day, late in my tenure there, I received official word that my originally assigned advisor in anthropology was leaving MU. That same day, I walked to Dr. Wood's office and, somewhat with hat in hand, asked if I could finish up my masters program with him as my advisor, even though my emphasis was not in his area. He was kind and gracious enough to take me into his graduate student fold, and I will never forget that.



King of the Road, W. Raymond Wood. From the W. Raymond Wood Collection, State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Nor did Ray forget his students after they left his fold. Patricia Treat, a graduate student at University of Missouri, 1973-1978, had this recollection.

For all of Dr. Wood's patience and gentle prodding, I did not complete my Ph.D. program. While disappointed, he was supportive and encouraging not only in my career plans but also in my personal life. As an example of the interest he took in his students outside the classroom, in 1977 Dr. Wood and then spouse Peggy took on the role of my "parents" in order to visit me in the hospital after I gave birth to my son Alan. They then welcomed us back home with a baby gift and a bucket of Kentucky Fried Chicken.

Ray not only worked to get graduates into the field but kept up his own scholarship in a tireless way. He wanted to share his discoveries, so he was always quick to get his ideas onto paper and into publication. Long after he had a résumé that most scholars would envy, he kept up an output that would exhaust younger ones. He was renowned for his skill and dedication in that area. My own experience at Ray's eagerness was probably typical. While he was helping me with the atlas volume, we decided to do an article on Prince Maximilian's maps of the Missouri River. Those were copied for the prince in the 1830s from William Clark's originals that are now lost. Shortly after we agreed to do this joint project Ray came walking in with a rough draft while I was still sharpening my pencils.

Dale Henning, Director of American Archaeology at the University of Missouri during the early 1960s, remembers Ray's scholarship this way.

My recollections of those Missouri days with Ray are so positive: his archaeological investigations were always well-organized and thorough and his tenacity and efficiency in producing excellent finished manuscripts and publications still amaze me, whatever the topic. He was talented and thoroughly professional.

Paul R. Picha, retired chief archaeologist at the State Historical Society of North Dakota, adds.

Ray's historical cartography projects were renowned. While attending his ethnohistory seminar at the University of Missouri, I

had the pleasure of contributing to his 1993 Illinois State Museum publication, "Joseph N. Nicollet's 1839 Manuscript Maps of the Missouri River and Upper Mississippi Basin." Ray's talents as a writer and editor were never so apparent. Needless to say both left an indelible impression for which I am forever thankful.

Bruce McMillan, Ray's friend and colleague for many years at the University of Missouri, writes glowingly of Ray's innovative scholarship.

I was never a student of Ray's but worked with him as a young research associate for the University of Missouri. In the summer of 1964, I began work testing the Rodgers Shelter which contained cultural strata that spanned the Holocene. The area, on the prairieforest border of western Missouri, was also the location of several peatfilled artesian springs that contained pollen and fossil remains of extinct megafauna. Ray conceived an interdisciplinary program to unite the cultural chronology from the shelter with the paleoecological record from the springs, a program for which he was able to secure funding from the National Science Foundation. His ecological perspective was cutting edge for its time in American archaeology. Today, a halfcentury later, it is easy to underestimate Ray's vision as he conceptualized a research program that, by design, would integrate data from this series of disparate and unique sedimentary contexts – rock shelter, spring sediments, and alluvial terrace deposits. And he assembled a team of interdisciplinary researchers who were to design their individual research in such a manner that, as a team, they could optimize the integration of the environmental and cultural records.

Steve Chomko, one of Ray's graduate students in the early 1970s, put it succinctly.

Ray epitomized what it means to be a scholar and academician as exemplified

by his wide ranging intellectual interests, his dedication to the publication of his research, and his scrupulous honesty in never taking credit for his students' efforts.

And Ray was quick to give credit to others who shared in discoveries. Ken Kvamme, retired professor of anthropology, University of Arkansas, recalls one such example.

I will never forget an evening at our lab near the Double Ditch site in North Dakota in 2002. I had just finished covering our wall with a composite mosaic of the day's geophysical findings. They were startling and unanticipated because they revealed not only the two visible defensive ditches from which the site receives its name, but two additional ditch systems, complete with bastions at regular intervals, farther outside the village. Clearly, Double Ditch was a much larger concern than we suspected and there was much yet to learn. Stunned, I sent for Ray and our project leader, the late Stan Ahler, to give them the news. When they arrived Ray teetered, also overwhelmed by the results. He exclaimed "All my life I never guessed." Thereafter I was pleased with the sobriquet, bestowed by Ray himself, of "Merlin," a name he called me whenever we subsequently met, and one which I was proud to own.

Ray is also remembered for his humor. He loved to tell bad jokes and stupid puns and then laugh uproariously before he even got to the punch line. Dale Henning put it this way.

He was great fun to be around. No one told a joke quite like Ray Wood, who maintained a host of them, ready for the telling. His procedure was consistent: the joke would begin and often continue for rather too long, but when the punch line finally was coming he would **always** break up with laughter and could barely get it out. I would like to hear just one more.

Marvin Kay, who first worked with Ray in 1964 and is now in the Department of Anthropology at the University

of Arkansas, remembers this about Ray.

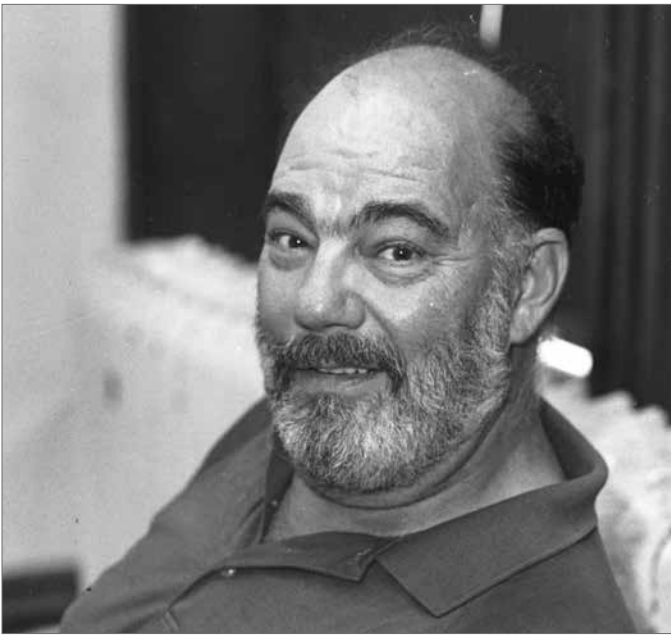
I knew Ray as a teller of awful jokes and bad puns, all coupled with honest, thoughtful advice. Ray was a deeply valued friend whom I shall never forget.

Steve Chomko relates one story to illustrate Ray's wild side. My wife and I were on this trip and find it humorous now, less so then.

I had the good fortune to accompany Ray on a canoe trip down the Missouri River with a number of Lewis and Clark scholars. One night, after putting a significant dent in a bottle of Jack Daniels and after the rest of the group had retired to sleeping bags, he and I commandeered a canoe and paddled far back up river to float back down, enjoying the moonlit scenery, and paying homage to Captains Lewis and Clark and Master Daniels. Our rather loud and indiscreet conversation carried across the river keeping the camp fully awake and irritated. Upon arriving back down river, we were floating rapidly past the camp and in our desperate, inebriated attempt to make it to shore managed to capsize the canoe, and then watched as the scuttled canoe and its contents (gear belonging to our comrades) floated on south. We stumbled along the shore plucking soaked bags from the river, finally beaching the canoe well down river from the camp. The flotsam strewn along the shore attested to our escapade. While most of this is a hazy memory, I distinctly recall Ray saying in a stage whisper, "Lets sneak back to our sleeping bags so no one will know we took the canoe," then listening to his laughter echo off the valley walls as we slunk back into camp. The next morning we were greeted as "the Rogue Anthropologists" and despite all this were welcomed back on the trip.

Jim Ronda gives eloquent testimony to Ray's powers of observation and provides a perfect end to this tribute to Ray.

Ray could take a bit of charcoal or a scattering of blue beads, a rusted knife blade or



Hail and Farewell, Ray Wood. Photo courtesy State Historical Society of North Dakota, the W. Raymond Wood Collection.

a piece of broken pottery and make each bring to life lives otherwise lost. What scholars sometimes call “material culture” was not an abstraction for Ray. The objects

that came from each dig were messages from the past. Ray had the imagination to read those messages and pass the news on to us. He could look at a patch of windswept North Dakota prairie and imagine it as it was nearly two centuries ago – a place that many diverse peoples and cultures called home. That is scholarship at its finest.

Note: For those who would like to know Ray’s full story, I recommend: W. Raymond Wood, *A White-Bearded Plainsman: The Memoirs of Archaeologist W. Raymond Wood* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011). Ray has a chapter on the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. ■

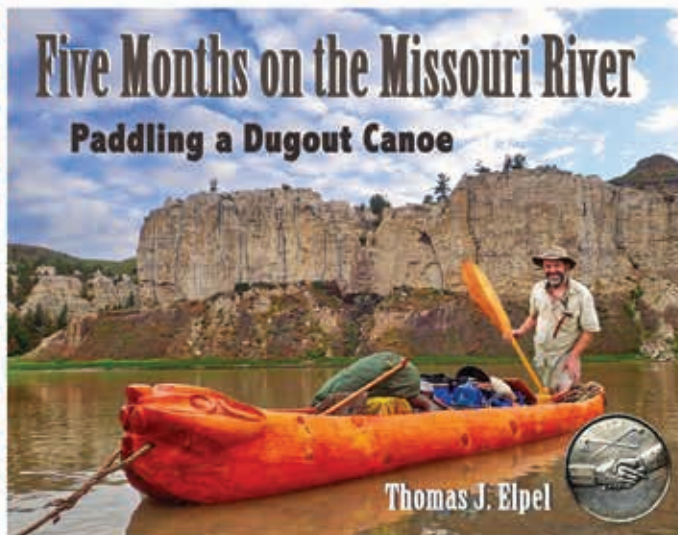
Gary Moulton is Thomas C. Sorensen Professor of American History, emeritus, University of Nebraska-Lincoln, and retired editor of *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*. Author and editor of numerous books, Moulton is a frequent contributor to *We Proceeded On*. His most recent book is *The Lewis and Clark Expedition Day by Day*.



Award-Winning Adventure Story!

LCTHF member Thomas J. Elpel carved a dugout canoe with Churchill Clark, the great-great-great-great grandson of Captain Clark. They whittled a 10,000 lb. Douglas fir log down to a 500+ lb. canoe. Enlisting friends to join the adventure, Elpel led a five-month “Missouri River Corps of Rediscovery Expedition,” paddling the Missouri River from Montana to St. Louis. A stray puppy joined the five-man expedition en route, growing up on the canoes as the adventurers proceeded downriver on their journey of rediscovery.

Five Months on the Missouri River: Paddling a Dugout Canoe.
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Reviews

Five Months on the Missouri River Paddling a Dugout Canoe

By Thomas J. Elpel
HOPS Press, 2020, 280 pp, \$36.

Reviewed by Mark Jordan

Thomas J. Elpel's *Five Months on the Missouri River Paddling a Dugout Canoe* records a journey I would love to have tried. What Lewis and Clark fan has not dreamed about following the captains' excursion? But my journeys have been confined to a trip thirty-five years ago on the 160-mile Wild and Scenic Section of the Missouri and a forty-mile paddle from Canoe Camp on the Clearwater to its confluence with the Snake. This book fills some of those gaps.

Elpel set out to paddle the Missouri from Three Forks to St. Louis in a dugout canoe on his own Voyage of Re-Discovery. Given what the Lewis and Clark Expedition experienced going upstream, his choice of a downstream trajectory was very rational. He further chose to explore the land and



meet its people. He eschewed the idea of hurrying and preferred to botanize, to forage, to fish, to geologize.

Joined by William Clark's great-great-great-great grandson Churchill Clark, Elpel crafted a gorgeous dugout canoe, not from a cottonwood tree but from a Douglas fir, which was far more attractive than anything the Corps managed to create. Churchill Clark "saw" a beaver head buried in the prow of the canoe and carved it into the design, its orange caramel color strikingly set off against the Missouri River's more subdued hues.

Elpel and several friends left in their canoes from Three Rivers Park, enjoying an early drift on a gentle Missouri. Then they encountered dams that had to be portaged and the Great Falls and, as we all know, a longer por-

tage. After their paddle down the Wild and Scenic section, they faced the massive reservoirs created by dams, much of which they cruised by adding a motor to the canoe and copying Clark's example on the Yellowstone and that of Jessaume and Sheheke-shote (in August and September 1806) of joining two canoes together. Not all their journey appeared to be pleasurable, particularly when they faced threatening weather and strong winds. On the lower Missouri, where the river suffered from serious flooding, the Elpel crew was challenged to locate campsites but always managed to secure a place to sleep for the night. Extending the trip into the fall enabled them to feel the seasonal change and watch the trees change with it. It must have been a powerful experience.

Chapters break the river into sections as the crew passed through each state, starting with Montana. Elpel prefaces the chapters with a journal quote that usually matches the particular locale of their downstream journey. Although the narrative, written in a breezy journalistic style, offers a number of different perspectives on the five-month trip and the expedition's ascent of the Missouri, it is primarily a travelogue. Elpel identifies many places along the river relevant to the expedition as well as other sites worth visiting.

Elpel provides interesting descriptions of the landscape, both historical and modern. He examines the river and its boundaries with eyes attuned to Lewis and Clark's descriptions, but also with the sensibility of the modern traveler, commenting on what has been wrought upon the river in the last 200 years. His commentary touches on some subjects about which a conservationist like Elpel might have concerns



Crew members at First Peoples Buffalo Jump State Park, at Ulm, near Great Falls, Montana, June 19, 2019.

– the American Prairie Reserve and the reintroduction of bison; oil wells that scar the landscape and the wasteful flaring of natural gas at well sites; trash that bedevils the river; dams that tame the river but destroy it. I suspect not everyone would share his worldview on these subjects, but a little controversy never harmed a book. In evaluating the evolution of historical interpretation, he finishes with a statement that I found particularly important: “Piece by piece we are telling a more authentic narrative of our history, and that is an achievement to be appreciated and honored.” By “we” he means today’s scholars, travelers, and interpreters.

The book includes guide-quality photos of many of the indigenous plants he encountered along the way. Scenic photos of the route provide a nice connection to the terrain through which he and his companions passed. His photos of the meals he prepared using locally growing wild but edible plants made my mouth water.

But – and I wonder why he felt this was necessary – there are too many photos of Elpel or his paddling companions. Do we need to see them in yet another setting? Or their feet again sticking out over the gunwales of a canoe? I made a cursory count and there were more than forty-five photos of Mr. Elpel alone. In terms of cuteness, however, there are ample photos of the stray pup they picked up in Montana that made the balance of the journey with them. It was enjoyable to follow the images of Jubilee as he grew bigger.

Oddly, Elpel occasionally includes not entirely correct generalizations about the expedition.

For example, in his chapter entitled “Taste of Freedom,” he quotes Clark: “my servant York nearly losing an eye

by a man throwing Sand into it.” Elpel then continues, “Clark didn’t elaborate why a member of their expedition threw sand in York’s eyes . . . but it was apparently an intentional act.” He assumes the men may have tormented York because “they resented having an African American on the expedition.” Elpel’s quotation from Clark is not complete. In Clark’s *Field Notes*, the quotation reads: “York verry near loseing his Eyes by one of the men throwing Sand at him *in fun* & recved into his eyes” [Italics added].¹ It seems they might have been playing games along the river – the “fun” of Clark’s note – and the sand flew by accident into York’s face. I have not encountered anything in the journals to indicate that anyone had negative feelings about York, so this supposition seems insupportable.

In the section, “A Hail of a Portage,” Elpel writes, “Their larger wooden pirogues were too big to portage, and thus hidden below the falls.” By the time the Corps of Discovery had reached the Great Falls, the red pirogue had already been cached – at the junction of the Marias and the Missouri. Only the white pirogue was cached at the Belt Creek site below the Great Falls.

Elpel also asserts that “the crew attempted to assemble Lewis’ lightweight iron-frame boat but failed for lack of pitch to seal the seams.” Actually, the men did assemble the iron-frame boat, though at about 600 or more pounds (with the skins on) I doubt that it could be considered lightweight. Not only was it covered with skins, but wooden slats or limbs were used to fill out the iron frame.² The boat failed after it was put in the water because Lewis lacked pitch to seal the seams that had been sewn with rawhide. The author did get this partly correct in the section “Gates of the Prairie.”

One other note of curiosity. The expedition, in a number of its different iterations on the return journey, paddled downstream. The book ignores this journey, claiming to have traveled the Lewis and Clark Trail in reverse. Elpel traveled no differently from Ordway from Camp Fortunate or Lewis and Gass from the mouth of the Marias or Clark from somewhere below the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers. That perspective is missing and to me it seems it should have been recognized. In fact, it would have been a more representative look at travel on the Missouri



Lazing a river is an American tradition, from Huck Finn to John Neihardt.

for anyone interested in repeating the Elpel downstream journey.

Other than the above and a couple of typos, *Five Months on the Missouri River* is an enjoyable and in many ways valuable look at the Missouri and the vagaries of traveling it today. ■

Mark Jordan, adventurer and educator, has canoed many of the waterways of North America and speaks extensively on the epic journey of Lewis and Clark. He traveled the Lewis and Clark Trail again in 2016 from the confluence of the Missouri and the Marias to Astoria to photograph the iconic locales associated with the Corps of Discovery. This proved prescient as those images became the backdrops for his transition from in-person to online teaching during the pandemic and brought the captains' landscapes to his students across the country. He lives in Walnut Creek, California.

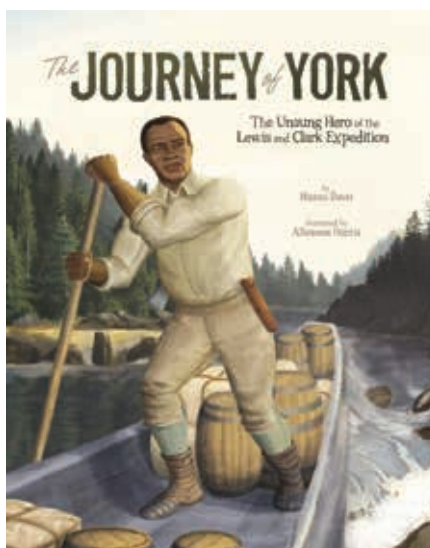
Journey of York

By Hasan Davis
Capstone Press, 2020, 39 pages, \$17

Reviewed by Ron Craig

When one finds his DNA (historically speaking) as Hasan Davis has in a suppressed American story, he set it to rights by profiling a Black man named York, one of history's hidden heroes whose exploits are a little known facet of U.S. history. York was the only Black member of the legendary Corps of Discovery's mission to explore and map a route to the Pacific Ocean through the Louisiana Purchase land acquired by President Jefferson from Napoleon of France.

Hasan's children's book *The Journey of York* has put to rest the time-honored



statement that "history is boring." His book totally debunks some of the early narratives of the life of York and his participation in the Lewis and Clark Expedition and instead inspires the minds and hearts of a younger generation. In telling about York's contribution, this book enhances the standing of African Americans through rediscovery of their role in U.S. history.

From the first day of meeting Hasan, I found him to be spiritually linked to York through his portrayal of York on stage for the past twenty years. My colleagues and I looked upon his telling the story of York as empowering to young students. The book's literary flow and artistic images have truly become an inspiration for young minds curious about the history of African Americans in this country. We have found that knowing one's history gives all young people a greater sense of confidence and self-esteem. Within the Black community this has been ignored for decades.

In recreating the physical presence of a Black man who walked the trail with the Corps of Discovery 200 years ago, Hasan and I were a new Corps of Discovery of our own in wanting to

educate all about this corner of the life of an African American slave who lived as "Big Medicine" among Indigenous people of the western United States. Yet upon his return to St. Louis, after three years of respect, York was cast back into the slave-master scenario of the time. Hasan's book walks young students through a timeline of York's personal history, truly a Greek tragedy.

Another remarkable aspect of Hasan's children's book is the artwork by Alleanna Harris. We find the visual aspects created by Ms. Harris so in tune with Hasan's verbal depiction of the life of York. This is all the more important as we all understand how young people are tied visually to books in their early days.

Overall Hasan Davis' clarity in conveying the life of York and how it has impacted history will take many young people to the head of the class. I hope this will inspire them to seek out and publicize the stories of other hidden heroes of our shared history. ■

Ron Craig, filmmaker, actor, and author, has portrayed and lectured about York including at the Clinton White House, made award-winning documentaries about York, and written a children's book. He was an active planner and participant in the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commemoration. Ron lives in Portland, Oregon.



Hasan Davis as York.



Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.

FY 2019-2020 Annual Report

October 1, 2019 – September 30, 2020

President's Message

The year 2020 was a challenging one to say the least, with Covid-19 looming large over everything. The year started out with great promise for the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) as we brought Sarah Cawley on board as our executive director. She quickly got up to speed and became an indispensable part of our operations. When the full brunt of the risk of infection became apparent, and indoor restrictions were mandated, Sarah smoothly managed the necessary transition to having our entire staff work remotely. We thank our administrative assistant Chris Maillet, library technician Della Van Setten, and bookkeeper Lora Helman for their flexibility.

While most of our customary meetings at the Chapter and National level were curtailed by governmental restrictions on in-person gatherings, we were nevertheless able to stay in touch through video conferencing. This was evident most notably when our 52nd Annual Meeting, originally scheduled to be held in the usual manner in Charlottesville, VA, took place via this new method.

And it worked! With over 170 people attending from the comfort of their own homes and at a relatively low cost, attendees were able to participate in tours of Monticello, Montpelier, the Lewis family cemetery, and the sites of historic Charlottesville. Among many other terrific presentations, we heard from our third Moulton Lecturer Dr. J. Jefferson Looney, the editor of multiple books in the "The Papers of Thomas Jefferson: Retirement Series." Our meeting hosts Alexandria Searls and Malou Stark of the Lewis & Clark Exploratory Center and Sally Thomas of the LCTHF Homefront Chapter provided us with a wonderful experience. Read more about it below.

Through the generosity of our members and lead sponsor Lorna Hainesworth, as well as the expertise of experienced exhibit designer, Lewis and Clark scholar, and LCTHF member Carolyn Gilman, LCTHF now has completed production of a mobile map exhibit, "Reimagining America: The Maps of Lewis and Clark." Available for rental by any responsible institution throughout the nation, it has already

been reserved into 2022. We believe this will be a boon to boosting attendance at Lewis and Clark visitor centers and other partners well into the future.

Our volunteer Board, committees, and chapter leaders all continued their work in preparation for less restrictive times when we can gather in person once again to enjoy further learning, exploration, and fellowship together. Although we are a non-profit, or precisely because we are one, we must constantly keep in mind our financial wherewithal, husband our monetary resources prudently, and attempt to grow them. Our fiscal year financial report is within this report to give you a snapshot of the year. Of course, the listed donors likewise deserve great thanks for their role in providing us the financial means to do what we do. Please consider joining that list by making a donation, and enjoy recognition next year.

We welcome our new members and hope you will enjoy your experience in LCTHF. Thank you for joining the adventure. Sadly, we must also bid farewell in particular to Missourian Darold Jackson and three women who passed away this past year. Montanans Ida Johnson and Ella Mae Howard, and Jane Knox of Connecticut, all gave a great deal of themselves to LCTHF in several capacities through the years. We also lost Eugene Painter Gass, the great-grandson of Patrick Gass, at the age of 104. We who are in their debt thank them for all they did and we will miss their presence greatly.

Other projects remain works in progress and, with your help, we will work diligently toward completing them. Look for program and event announcements on our website and social media platforms in the near future. Stick around and see what 2021 brings for LCTHF. Even better, pitch in to help bring it about! Thank you for being a member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and I hope to see you along the trail soon.

-Lou Ritten

Trail Stewardship Grants 2019-2020**Organization****Project Name**

Bitter Root Cultural Heritage Trust	Descent Trail Interpretive Signs
Cut Bank Trails Inc.	Trail History Signage
Fort Atkinson Foundation	Lewis and Clark Animal Signs
Lewis & Clark National Park Association	Visitor Orientation Project*
Ohio River Chapter LCTHF	L&C Eastern Legacy Project
Oregon Chapter LCTHF	NeCus' Village Interpretation
Town of Cathlamet	Chinook Tribal Heritage Trail
Travelers' Rest Preservation and Heritage Association	Journey Stories

*The Lewis & Clark National Park Association returned their grant due to difficulties because of the pandemic.

Education and Scholarship Grant 2019-2020**Organization****Project Name**

Sacajawea State Park and Interpretive Center	Lewis and Clark Traveling Trunk Refurbishment
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LCTHF Awards**Awarded at the 52nd Annual Meeting**

Meritorious Achievement Award to Mark Jordan and Tim Peterson for their works in education and disseminating knowledge of the Expedition to the public.

**Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation
2019-2020 Board of Directors**
Officers

President	Lou Ritten	La Grange Park, IL
Vice President	Jim Sayce	Seaview, WA
Secretary	Jane Knox	Mansfield, CT
Treasurer	Yvonne Kean	Kansas City, MO
Immediate Past President	Philippa Newfield	San Francisco, CA

Directors at Large

Bud Clark	Brighton, MI
Lee Ebeling	Great Falls, MT
Lucy Ednie	Butte, MT
Karen Goering	St. Louis, MO
Margaret Gorski	Stevensville, MT
Barb Kubik	Vancouver, WA
Wayne Madry	Statesville, NC
Collette Sorgel	Three Lakes, WI
Jerry Wilson	Versailles, IN

Staff

Sarah Cawley	Executive Director
Chris Maillet	Administrative Assistant
Della Van Setten	Library Technician

2019-2020 Active LCTHF Committees and their Members

Awards: Jane Knox-Chair, Philippa Newfield, Collette Sorgel, Jerry Wilson

Bicentennial Trail Stewardship/Advocacy: Rob Heacock-Chair, Dick Fichtler, Karen Goering, Jim Rosenberger, Bob Russell, Jerry Wilson

Diversity: Wayne Madry-Chair, Ron Craig, Amanda DeBonis, Barb Kubik, Jason Levister

Eastern Legacy: Paige Cruz-Chair, Mike and Lorraine Loesch, Philippa Newfield and Philip Gordon, Janice and Jerry Wilson, Phyllis Yeager

Education and Scholarship: Barb Kubik-Chair, Amanda DeBonis, Brad Tennant, Janice and Jerry Wilson

Financial Affairs: Rob Barg-Chair, Karen Goering, Mike Loesch, Yvonne Kean-ex-officio

Governance: Jerry Wilson-Chair, Keith Bystrom, Lee Ebeling, Rob Heacock, Jane Knox, Steve Lee

Human Resources: Margaret Gorski-Chair, Yvonne Kean, Barb Kubik, Mike Loesch, Philippa Newfield, Jim Sayce

Investment: Yvonne Kean-Chair, Steve Lee, Nelson Weller, Philippa Newfield

Library: Beverly Lewis-Chair, Sue Buchel, Lynn Davis, Barb Kubik, Jeremy Skinner, Kathryn Hamilton Wang, Della Lemons Van Setten-Library Technician, Kris Townsend-ex officio

Moulton Lecture: Philippa Newfield-Chair, Jim Knox, Steve Lee

Special Projects: Phil and Sandy Barney, Keith Bystrom, Carolyn Gilman, Ken Jutzi, Gary Kimsey, Collette Sorgel, Dan Sturdevant, Kris Townsend, and many others

The Orderly Report: Philippa Newfield and Arend Flick, co-editors

Volunteers: To our countless volunteers both at the National level and with our Chapters, we are grateful for all you do! We logged over 33,833 hours of service in the past year.

Wellness Challenge: Jerry and Janice Wilson

We Proceeded On Advisory: Clay Jenkinson-Editor, Philippa Newfield-Chair, Jay Buckley, Mark Jordan, Barb Kubik, Gary Moulton, Jerry Wilson

Focus on Education

Mark Jordan is a well-known educator among the universities of America. He has hosted many lecture series in the past, and the pandemic was not about to stop him. Zoom was being used at the University of South Carolina, and his talk "Near Misses" attracted over 170 students, historians, and staff alike. From there, he started teaching at Cal State University East Bay and Santa Clara University, all while working from home. These classes likewise reached a cumulative 162 students.

Although Mark much prefers teaching in person so he can dress up and really interact with his students, he still enjoys this opportunity. If anyone would be interested in having Mark give his "Near Misses" talk, please contact Sarah Cawley at

director@lewisandclark.org to make arrangements.

"Near Misses" focuses on the many times when members of the expedition nearly did not make it through, and the various dangers that threatened them.

If you are an **educator**, and looking for ways to bring Lewis and Clark to your classroom, check out the LCTHF website! We have made available the **Curriculum Guide** online, to assist teachers in bringing history to life.



Focus on the Eastern Legacy

As you recall, the LCNHT was formally extended in 2019, and now covers 4,900 miles, from Pittsburgh to the Pacific. Although that took time and effort, we are not done with our work on the eastern states. The Eastern Legacy Committee has been working hard in order to spread the word, including increased signage, public access, and education.

The Ohio River Chapter was a grant awardee during FY20, and with their grant of \$5,790, they were able to purchase signs to place along the trail at key locations. The National Park Service assisted in this project in identifying the official sites where these signs could be displayed, along with providing the official LCNHT Trail Signs.

Focus on a LCTHF Partner – The Lewis & Clark Exploratory Center

The Lewis & Clark Exploratory Center is located in the beautiful Darden Towe Park along the Rivanna River in Charlottesville, VA. This year, the LCEC co-hosted the 52nd Annual Meeting with the Homefront Chapter. Although the meeting was planned to be in person, Covid-19 forced it to be held virtually, which brought the presentations right to people's homes! The LCEC hosts hands on activities to inspire curiosity and exploration in its visitors while teaching them about the expedition.

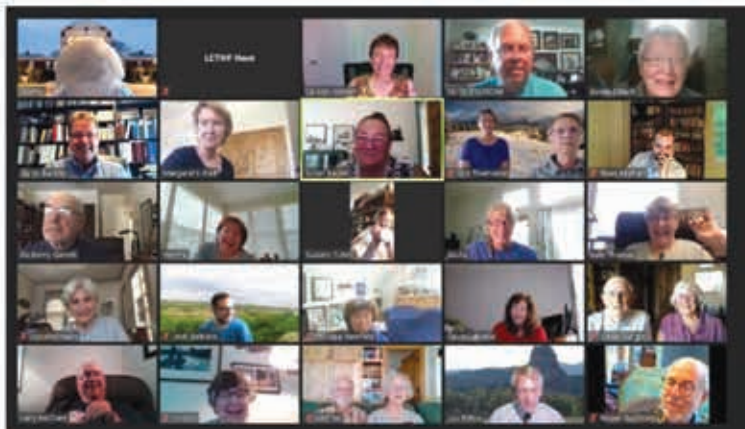
More information on the LCEC can be found at www.lewisandclarkvirginia.org



52nd Annual Meeting “Home Places and New Spaces”

The Covid-19 pandemic was not going to stop the Homefront Chapter and the Lewis & Clark Exploratory Center from bringing the Annual Meeting to life. We explored the Center and downtown Charlottesville without having to leave the comfort of our homes. More than 170 folks from all over the country were able to sign in and experience a new way of sharing the Lewis and Clark Story.

Other exciting aspects of the meeting were personalized tours of Monticello and Montpelier, both of which were exceptional presentations. We heard from many scholars, including our third Moulton Lecturer Dr. J Jefferson Looney. Dr. Looney spoke about the Michaux Expedition of 1793, and Jefferson’s efforts to retrieve and publish key documents from the Expedition.



53rd Annual Meeting – Tentative Announcement

Plans are being formulated by the Idaho and Washington chapters to host an annual meeting in 2021. Tentative plans have been made for a three-day in-person meeting next August in the Lewis-Clark Valley if a physical meeting can be hosted in a safe manner. Limits in the size of the event will be dependent on state regulations. In conjunction with the meeting will be a virtual component allowing members far and wide to gather safely to participate in another informative meeting.

The tentative theme will be “Interpreting Lewis and Clark through Public Art.” There are 21 artistic objects from Lolo Pass to Dayton, WA. The meeting will focus on events important to the expedition including the Lolo Trail, building dugout canoes, providing medical services to the Natives, and the hospitality of the Nez Perce Indians.



The in-person meeting is planned for Swallows Nest Park in Clarkston, WA. It will be an outdoor setting. Field trips will be by individual car and not by bus. There will be no central hotel venue. The reason for these changes is due to safety concerns and Covid-19 restrictions on large events. Meals will be on your own; however, we can gather for a picnic lunch at the park, giving attendees a chance to see old friends once again.

Photos for meeting provided by Steve Lee

\$1-24

Atchison County Historical Society
 Anonymous
 Baggest, Alberta and James Barr, M. James
 Christiansen, James
 Dimaggio, Joseph
 Fislser, Joe
 Ford, Lynn W.
 Gray, Jeffrey L.
 Guth, Gerald R.
 Humphries, Fanita
 James, George F.
 Kaplan, Bernice
 Lawrence, Monika
 McCammon, George E. and Lillian A.
 Miller, Robert C. and Rosemarie
 Miskie, Adele
 Newfield, David and Nora
 Smith, Shirley
 Strifling, Robert
 Swink, Justin
 Trainer, Leah and Allen
 Walker, Richard and Margaret
 Wasser, Caroline

\$25-49

Anderson, Ders
 Breeden, Deborah
 Clark, Mary and Peyton "Bud" C.
 Craddock, Meghan
 Decker, Marilyn R.
 Fitzgerald, Michael
 Grant, William M.
 Harmon, Shannon
 Hatfield, Charles and Gwen
 Hayes, Andrea
 Heifner, Sue
 Hotovy, Gregory
 Hunter, LuAnn P.
 Irwin, Diane Lee
 Jengo, John W.
 Johnson, Mary A.
 Jopek, Joe J.
 Kelly, Bruce E. and Amy K.
 Lawrence, Monika
 Manning, Sherry
 Miller, Kerri
 Morin, William and Lolly
 Oregon Chapter of the LCTHF
 Pickman, Diane
 Ratzlaff, Neal and Deb
 Reed, Mary Katherine
 Skinner, Richard and Elizabeth

Smith Candelaria, Maria
 Stevens-Briody, Susie
 Watson, Raymond and Susan
 Walcheck, Kenneth
 Whiting, Robert M.

\$50-99

Aamodt, Lila
 Alford, Jesse and Shirley
 Aungst, David and Audrey
 Black, Ralph and Nell
 Brunn, Joe and Fran
 Buchel, Sue
 Davis, Lynn and Doug
 Deitemeyer, Steve and Patricia
 Dillard, Bonita
 Flick, Arend
 Florio, Philip
 Freeman, Sally
 Garnett, Betty
 Gordon, Phillip
 Hastert, Robert and Ava
 Hoppe, Nancy
 Jones, Walter J.
 Kvenvolden, Keith and Mary Ann
 Langhorst, Mary T.
 LaRondeau, John
 Laverty, Michael
 Loesch, Michael and Lorraine
 Michels, John and Eppa
 Nicandri, David L.
 Norman, Debby
 Nunes, Joe
 Peters, Nancy
 Rauch, Ruth
 Reed, Stephen D. and Val
 Rogers, Janet
 Russell, Jay and Renee
 Schulze, Mark
 Swanson, Cynthia R.
 Taylor, Susan
 Vermillion, Louis
 Waters, Luann
 Williams, Ron
 Yeager, Phyllis and Ray
 Wilson, Scott L.

\$100-149

Agan, Michael
 Barg, Robert M.
 Brady, John
 Brasfield, Craig
 Carolina Chapter of Lewis & Clark
 Case, Robert M.

Crawley, Robert and Holly
 Duncan, Dayton and Dianne
 Ednie, Lucy
 Gaitley, Barbara J.
 Gaston, George
 Geranios, Nick
 Gorski, Margaret
 Guard, Robert P.
 Harris, Bill
 Hemphill, John
 Herter, Walter
 Hess, John and Mary
 Hobbs, Ken L. and Terry A.
 Jackson, Richard W.
 Jackson, Helen
 Kaye, Edward B.
 Kitson, Gary
 Lee, Paula
 Lovell, Joe
 Lucksinger, Henry and Annette
 Montague, H. John
 Moore, Elizabeth
 Mordy, James and Marjory
 Network for Good
 Offer, Jerry and Ruth
 Pakula, Lawrence
 Rathmann, Patricia
 Roman, Victor
 Saunders, L. Ralph and Marlene
 Schroeder, James
 Schulze, Mel
 Scribner, Kent
 Smith, Clay and Kim
 Snyder, Jim
 Toomey, James E. and Kathleen
 Toyama, Roy
 Vaughn, Warren L.
 Wheeler, Kim
 Wozniak, Margaret and Douglas

\$150-249

Bystrom, Keith
 Jackson, John R.
 Klaber, Stephen and Mona
 Palmer, Theodore W.
 Townsend, Kris
 Frick, Patti
 Hamilton, Susan
 Juza, Susan
 Kean, Yvonne J.
 Laycock, Ron
 Lee, Steven G.
 Missouri-Kansas Riverbend Chapter
 Roche, Diane
 Rosenberger, James and Mary

Olsen, Beatrice and Kevin
 Sturdevant, Dan
 Wang, Steve
 Wilson, Jerrold K. and Janice

\$250-499

Barney, Philip L.
 Bourbeau, Melissa
 Burningham Foundation
 Ebeling, Lee
 Epstein, Larry and Callie
 Hamilton, Susan
 Julich, Gordon
 Jutzi, Ken
 Kubik, Barbara and Rennie
 Lingo, David and Patty
 Maillet, Chris and Louie
 Ritten, Louis N.
 Roby, Lois
 Shubert, Judith
 Smith, Robert
 Walker, Walter E.
 The Benevity Community Impact Fund
 Prestholdt, Richard
 Stark Dichtel, Malou K.

\$500-999

Badger State Chapter
 Foss, Jeffrey
 Frick, Patti
 Gaitley, Barbara J.
 Garrett, Jerry B.
 Lewis, Beverly
 Martin, Janell
 Moulton, Gary E. and Faye
 Rogers, Brian C.
 State of Idaho
 Stockdale, Molly
 Vanstone, Keith C.
 Weller, Nelson

\$1,000-1,499

Brooks, Dick
 Downs, Phil & Charlene
 Henley, Jane and Page
 Jordan, Mark
 Newfield, Philippa
 Patten, Lanny R. and Ann

\$1,500 and greater

Goering, Karen and Lawrence
 Hainesworth, Lorna
 Knox, James
 McClure, Larry and Eleanor
 Portage Route Chapter
 Terry A Brannian Estate

Heritage

Atha, Terry
 American Philosophical Society
 Ashcraft, Lee and Ann
 Belangie-Nye, Jean
 Borges, Kent H.
 Brasfield, Craig
 Brunn, Joe and Fran
 Caler, Al
 Calvert, Christopher K.
 Carrick, Michael and Beverly
 Colvin, Susan L.
 Condon, John & Frances
 Cross, Larry
 Daniel, Molly and Steven
 Davidson, Nan and Otto
 Davis, Lynn and Doug
 Deitemeyer, Steve and Patricia
 Dickinson State University:
 Stoxen Library
 Douglas Wilson & Company PC
 Duncan, Dayton and Dianne
 Findlay, Andrew and Yong Hui
 Fischer, Eric
 Flick, Harold A.
 Fritz, Charles
 Gaitley, Barbara J.
 Gaston, George
 Gieck, Joe and Sally
 Guard, Robert P.
 Hall-Reppen, Deb and Rich
 Hamingson, Daniel and Karen
 Hardee, Jim
 Hasebroock, Robert
 Howard, Michael
 Jackson, Helen
 Jengo, John W.
 Jensen, Joyce
 Johnson, Mark
 Johnstone, Richard
 Julich, Gordon
 Kimsey, Patty
 Kindt, Cathi
 Kvenvolden, Keith and Mary
 Ann
 Lewis and Clark College Library
 Lewis and Clark Foundation
 Loesch, David and Shirley
 Mahon, Linda
 Mariani, Mitchell and Dolores
 Marriott Library University of
 Utah
 McVey, Judith
 Meade, Jim and Phyllis D.
 Medvec, Stephen and
 Alexandra
 Meyer, Stephen M.
 Mihelish, Bruce and Pam
 Morin, William and Lolly
 Mueller, Jeff
 Norman, Jr, William
 Olsen, Beatrice and Kevin
 Palmer, Theodore W.
 Pierre/Ft. Pierre Historic

Preservation Commission

Ratzlaff, Neal and Deb
 Remley, Dan K.
 Riddle, Mary
 Risseeuw, Hugh
 Ritten, Mary and Peter
 Rivinus, Randolph P. and Susan
 L.
 Robertson, Jerry and Linda
 Robleto, Robert and Elizabeth
 Romig, Pete
 Scribner, Kent
 Stearns, Hal and Sheila
 Swanson, Cynthia R.
 Swenson, Jim and Linda
 Thomas, Joseph
 Thomas, Sally and George
 Toenniessen, Carla and Bob
 University of Idaho Library
 University of Wyoming Library
 Van Berkorn, Trevor
 Verhoeven, Wouter
 Vermillion, Louis
 Wang, Steve
 Welch, Richard
 Wheeler, Kim
 Whitley, Kenneth
 Wright, John
 York, Wayne J.
 Young, John
Explorer
 Aungst, David and Audrey
 Barg, Robert M.
 Brasfield, Craig
 Fischer, Karl
 Flannes, Martin A.
 Gaitley, Barbara J.
 Kimsey, Gary
 Klaber, Stephen and Mona
 Merritt, John I.
 Moulton, Gary E. and Faye
 Nagy-Trujillo, Claudia
 Schwab, Oliver and Ana
Jefferson
 Bagley, Craig
 Gluth, Alan
 Bodenstedt, Joseph and
 Patricia
 Bourbeau, Melissa
 Brooks, Austin
 Burningham Foundation
 Eide, Richard
 Henley, Jane and Page
 Hobbs, Ken L. and Terry A.
 Jordan, Mark
 Kean, Yvonne J.
 Koss, James and Virginia
 Margolis, Sam A.
 Parsons, Bruce
 Roehm, David and Claire
 Schiefelbein, Richard and
 Marilyn
 Skold, Mary

Smith, Jeff
 Wallenborn, Ken and Lucy
 Young, John L.

Discovery

Barney, Philip L.
 Epstein, Larry and Callie
 Hammerness, Virginia
 Hurd, Richard and Wanda
 Laverty, Michael

Steward

Allen, John
 Amiet, Don
 Anderson, Jerome L.
 Asker, Kevin
 Babcock, Edward
 Baker, Barlett
 Beattie, Donald
 Betty Ford Adventureland
 Camp
 Branom, Hank and Sara
 MacGilvra
 Bronson, William O.
 Bronson, Carol
 Buckley, Jay
 Buckley, Brian and Susan
 Chandler Sr., Glenn
 Cirincione, Dominick
 Clark, Wade
 Cleary, John and Rita
 Cray, Bud
 DaRosa, Alison and Jim Miller
 Davis, Kenneth
 Diamandis, Sharon
 Downs, Phil and Charlene
 Dukes, Deborah
 Dunn, Robert
 Dwyer, Bonnie
 Eggers, Fred
 Falvo, Ed
 Fichtler, Dick and Katherine
 Forrest, Stephen
 Foss, Jeffrey
 Frick, Pattie
 Garnett, Betty
 Gatten, Florence
 Goering, Karen and Lawrence
 Gordon, Phillip
 Gorski, Margaret
 Gucciardo, L. Suzanne
 Hagstrom, Lorna Jean
 Hainesworth, Lorna
 Hall, Gary and Pat
 Hammond, Mary
 Hansell, William
 Headley, Helene
 Herman, Douglas and Sarah
 Hole, Donald
 Hunt, Patricia
 Jackson, John R.
 Jenkinson, Clay
 Johnson, Matthew L.
 Jutzi, Ken
 Knox, James

Kubik, Barbara and Rennie
 Laycock, Ron
 Lee, Steven G.
 Lewis, Beverly
 Ludwig, Gary K.
 Martin, Janell
 Mattson, John
 McCammon, George E. and
 Lillian A.

McClure, Larry and Eleanor
 McKenzie, Mark and Alicia
 Millier, M.
 Miller, Gerald
 Mitchell, Sam
 Mitchell, Jean M.
 Mitchell, Davy J.
 Mohler, Jimmy
 Mordy, James and Marjory
 Nelezen, Cindy
 Newfield, Philippa
 Nici, James
 Nottingham, Jack and Betty
 Obdam, Anthony
 Osborne, Joseph
 Pakula, Lawrence
 Papp, Stan
 Patterson, Paul
 Pollak, Dorothy
 Raney, Wendy
 Reinhold, Deloris
 Ritten, Louis N.
 Rogers, Brian C.
 Rosenberger, James and Mary
 Scholl, Ed
 Schulze, Mark
 Seaberg, Ladd
 Seaberg, Karen
 Simmons, Jerry and Gail
 Slosberg, Gloria
 Smith, Robert
 Smith, Mark S.
 Sorgel, David and Collette
 Sturdevant, Dan
 Townsend, Kris
 Trogdon, William
 Truppi, George
 Tubbs, John
 Ward, Robert E.
 Welch, Patricia
 Yeager, Phyllis and Ray

Captain

Bauer, Della M.
 Boswell, Bryant
 Holton, Eddie
 Lingo, David and Patty
 National Park Service(LCNHT)

President

Baria, Eleanor
 Payne, Margaret Anne
 Strodtman, Mike
 Weller, Nelson

We apologize for any misspellings or incorrect information.

	9/30/2020	9/30/2019
Statement of Activities		
Revenues and other support		
Contributions, gifts, and donations	\$48,266.00	\$128,373.00
Merchandise sales and publications	\$9,263.00	\$4,628.00
Memberships	\$75,052.00	\$82,229.00
Investment return	\$155,749.00	\$28,118.00
Miscellaneous income	\$16,138.00	\$16,633.00
Total revenues and other support	\$304,468.00	\$259,981.00
Expenses		
Program services		
Library	\$13,535.00	\$13,840.00
Trail/Field programs	\$49,027.00	\$122,773.00
Merchandise/Publications	\$41,629.00	\$39,962.00
Total program services	\$104,191.00	\$176,575.00
Supporting services		
Management and general	\$130,027.00	\$159,449.00
Total supporting services	\$130,027.00	\$159,449.00
Total expenses	\$234,218.00	\$336,024.00
Decrease/Increase in net assets	\$70,250.00	\$(76,043.00)
Statement of Financial Position		
Assets		
Cash	\$146,011.00	\$80,706.00
Investments	\$2,991,327.00	\$2,989,318.00
Other current assets	\$13,317.00	\$24,341.00
Fixed assets, net	\$884.00	\$1,064.00
Library books and collections	\$187,906.00	\$187,906.00
Total assets	\$3,339,445.00	\$3,283,335.00
Liabilities		
Accounts payable and accrued expenses	\$18,251.00	\$29,346.00
Deferred revenue and memberships	\$86,071.00	\$89,116.00
Total liabilities	\$104,322.00	\$118,462.00
Net assets		
Without donor restrictions	\$426,713.00	\$368,747.00
With donor restrictions	\$2,808,410.00	\$2,796,126.00
Total net assets	\$3,235,123.00	\$3,164,873.00
Total liabilities and net asset	\$3,339,445.00	\$3,283,335.00



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