Peter J. Parker Annual Banquet Speaker

Fourteenth Annual Meeting participants are looking forward to this year's Annual Banquet address. Mr. Peter J. Parker, Chief, Manuscripts Division, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has prepared an illustrated address titled "Opening the American West: The Philadelphia Story". In a letter to the editor Mr. Parker says: "Such a title is broad enough, but will, most probably examine the intellectual cum social infrastructure of the city in an attempt to explain why, for example, Jefferson sent Lewis to learn taxonomic botany from Benjamin Smith Barton."

Parker has held the position of Chief, Manuscripts Division, of the Society for twelve years. His responsibilities include the administration of the largest privately-supported manuscripts collection in the United States, as well as the Society's collection of prints, maps, and drawings. He has just recently mounted an exhibition titled: "Mapping the Americas: the View from Philadelphia". A feature associated with the exhibit was the symposium of cartographic scholars, who dealt with Philadelphia's cartographic contributions in the 18th and 19th centuries.

Prior to his association with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mr. Parker taught American history at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, N.Y. He was educated at Harvard College and the University of Pennsylvania. He served four years in the United States Navy.

Parker has written thirteen articles published in historical and archival journals, as well as a good number of reviews. Currently he serves on the boards of the MidAtlantic Regional Archives Conference, the Print Club of Philadelphia, and he is President of the Board of the Ebenezer Maxwell Mansion, a Victorian house museum in Philadelphia. He is a member of the Mayor's Commission on Women, and a consultant for the Indian Rights Association.

Foundation members and the 14th Annual Meeting Planning Committee appreciate Mr. Parker's interest and his taking the time from a very busy schedule to prepare and present our Annual Banquet Address.

Cutright Receives Honorary Degree

Foundation member Paul Russell Cutright, Jenkintown, PA, was awarded Honorary Doctor of Letters degree by Beaver College, Glenside, PA. Dr. Cutright is Professor Emeritus of Biology, Beaver College, where he was chairman of the institution's Biology Department for thirty years prior to his retirement in 1964. The annual honors convocation, a highlight of Parents Weekend, April 17, 1982, was held in Stiteler Memorial Chapel on the college campus. In addition to the awarding of honorary degrees, students were recognized for their academic achievements, and the Christian R. and Mary F. Lindback Award for Distinguished Teaching (awarded to Dr. Cutright in 1962) was also presented at this 1982 event. Paul Cutright's honor was in recognition of his research and publications: Elliott Coues: Naturalist and Frontier Historian, with Michael Brodhead, 509 pages (1981); A History of the Lewis and Clark Journals, 311 pages (1976); Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists, 506 pages (1969); Meriwether Lewis: Naturalist, 52 pages (1968); Theodore Roosevelt the Naturalist, 287 pages (1956); and The Great Naturalist (continued on page 3)

1. Beaver College was established in 1853, is privately endowed, and has an enrollment of 1500 students.
President Hinds’ Message

At the beginning of this year, August 1982 seemed far removed, and
the preparation of four “President’s Messages” presented a special task.
As is always the case, time has flown by, and this is my last assign­
ment along this line.

Since last August, being Foundation President has been rewarding
experience for Bev and me. Our September 1981 visit to St. Louis, Mis­souri, and vicinity for the Lewis and Clark Commemorative Postal Card,
First Day of Sale Ceremony;\(^1\) attendance at the Missouri Historical
Society’s symposium, commemorating the 175th anniversary of the ar­
ival of the Expedition from their transcontinental journey to the Pac­
ific shores in September 1806; and the participation in the dedication
of the new Lewis and Clark Memorial structure near Wood River, Illi­
nois,\(^2\) provided the Foundation with recognition at these important
events. We also enjoyed the opportun­
ity to visit Judy and (Foundation Past President and longtime
Treasurer) Clarence Decker during the time that we were there.

In March of this year Bev and I had the occasion to be in Philadelphia,
and this provided us with the oppor­
tunity to visit Jane and (Foundation Director) Hal Billian. Hal
has spent countless hours planning
and organizing this year’s Four­
tenth Annual Meeting.

Earlier in the year, I mentioned in a
“Message” that Foundation mem­
ber Ed Wang, Minneapolis, Minne­sota, had offered to provide us with
an introduction, for a future activ­
ty, to the American Automobile
Association. It now appears that by
working closely through AAA state
organizations, we may be able to in­
troduce Lewis and Clark informa­
tion and historical site locations
into the national AAA tour book and thence to the traveling and vac­
cationing public.

We also hope to maintain our con­
tact with the Nature Conservancy
of Canada relative to their study
and possible development of the
1793 Alexander Mackenzie Grease Trail\(^3\) in western Canada. This
association, at some future date,
might lead to a combined meeting
that would provide us with the saga
of Mackenzie’s journey that so
materially influenced President
Thomas Jefferson’s interest in our

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We Proceeded On, July 1982
nation's westward expansion, and eventually to the implementation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

This year has been smooth and enjoyable regarding the Foundation's business activities because of the work of the Board of Directors and Foundation committees.

I also want to thank all of those individuals who have had a part in the publication of our quarterly magazine, We Proceeded On. The issues have been of extra size, and in addition to the forthcoming July issue of We Proceeded On, a special 52 page "Supplementary Publication" titled Contributions of Philadelphia to Lewis and Clark History, written by Lewis and Clark historian Paul Russell Cutright, is being prepared for distribution at the August Annual Meeting (see page 16, this issue of WPO). All of this requires a lot of time and effort and, I am certain, some frustrations. Our thanks go to our editor, Bob Lange, for these accomplishments.

Since this "President's Message" will be received at or after the Philadelphia meeting, I hope that those of you who were able to join us for the Annual Meeting had an enjoyable experience and a chance to renew Foundation acquaintances, and that your supply of "blue beads" were sufficient to see you through the journey.

Once again, I want to say that it was a privilege and honor to serve as your President.

V. Strode Hinds, President

Cutright - (can't from page 1)


2. Ibid., page 296.

In answer to an inquiry by Foundation Past President, "Frenchy" Chuirnard, Mr. Stephen Cutlett, Manuscript Librarian, American Philosophical Society, in a letter dated January 11, 1982, advised that Lewis was elected to membership in the Society October 21, 1905.

3. John Vaughan was Secretary of the American Philosophical Society.
At 8 o’clock on the morning of June 11, 1805, Meriwether Lewis swung his pack and, accompanied by four men, started walking along the west bank of the Missouri River in north central Montana. Left behind at the junction of the Marias River was the main body of the expedition, commanded by William Clark, who would follow by water.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition at that point was entering what could be called the “where-the-hell-are-we” phase of the journey to the Pacific. More than any other time, the explorers were being forced to feel their way. For the rest of the trip through Montana and into Idaho, there almost always would be a small party scouting in advance of the main group, seeking out the best watercourse and looking for friendly Indians. The two commanders took rather automatic turns in leading the reconnaissance teams, though there were exceptions. One time Clark complained bitterly about missing his turn, but he wasn’t physically up to it.

The alternating leadership of the advance parties illustrated how Lewis and Clark’s unusual shared command actually worked in the field. The two leaders were “equal in every point of view,” Clark declared long afterward. This was a touchy matter. While the two called each other “captain” in their journals and in front of the men, Lewis was the only one commissioned in that rank. A stubborn War Department would only make Clark a lieutenant, though he had been promised a formal captaincy.

Though miffed, Clark said “no difficulty took place on our route relative to this point,” there’s no evidence that Lewis ever pulled military rank on his companion. If Lewis actually had somewhat more authority, it was because he personally stood closer to President Jefferson, the expedition’s mastermind. When Jefferson issued instructions to the expedition before it started up the Missouri, he passed them through Lewis.

At the puzzling junction of the Missouri and Marias Rivers, somebody had to decide who would scout ahead to find the Great Falls, to prove to skeptical members of the party that the river chosen by the captains really was the Missouri. Lewis made the decision. “This expedition I preferred undertaking as Capt. C. is the best waterman & c,” Lewis explained in his journal.

Lewis and the advance group found the falls in just three days. Everything was as described by Indians at Fort Mandan the previous winter, including an eagle’s nest near one of the cataracts. Lewis dispatched Joseph Field back down the river to tell the good tidings to Clark and the men in the ascending canoes.

With the 32-member party briefly reunited at the foot of the falls, it was Clark’s turn to go ahead. Accompanied by five men, he began exploring the east side of the river for a portage route around the falls. He discovered a giant spring gushing water into the Missouri, saw buffalo everywhere and chased a grizzly bear that had been chasing Alexander Willard. Clark selected the smoothest terrain for the portage and put stakes in the prairie to mark the 18-mile route. After four days of scouting he returned to the expedition’s camp.

During the 11-day portage Lewis was assembling his ill-fated iron boat to ascend the river above the falls. When it failed, an impatient Clark made an out-of-turn advance up the river with ten men to find cottonwood trees big enough to make two new canoes. Lewis stayed behind to bury the frame of his beloved boat. By July 15, the whole party was united again to resume the journey in eight overloaded vessels.

After traveling with the group for just one day, Lewis went ahead on foot with three men; two of them, Jean Baptiste Lepage and John Tatts, were ailing and Lewis thought it would be useful for them to get out of the “crowded” boats and walk. The whole party had just passed an apparently recent camp of Shoshone Indians, and everyone was anxious to meet them and buy horses. Lewis’s immediate objective in moving ahead was to get an astronomical fix on the latitude and longitude of the place where the Missouri entered the Big Belt chain of the Rockies. With his sextant Lewis got a sun-sighting which allowed him to compute an immediate latitude, but, as usual, he merely recorded in his journal the sextant observations that could be used later by mathematicians back in Washington to calculate longitude. The advance party camped out overnight, and was eaten alive by mosquitoes. Lewis had forgotten to take his mosquito net, and swore “I never will be guilty of a similar peice of negligence while on this voyage.”

The Lewis team rejoined the main party the next day. Only a day later, on July 18, Clark and three men moved ahead on foot in hopes of finding the Shoshones before the gunfire of the main party’s hunters scared them away. The expedition was approaching the Gates of the Mountains, and Clark’s climb on the west side of the river was tough going. The next day he saw some abandoned Indian camps, but no Indians. That night he pulled 17 prickly pear thorns from his feet. Everyone on the scout team was giving out, so on the evening of July 22 the boats coming up the Missouri found them waiting on the bank to be picked up.

Clark didn’t feel his stint as point man was over. Reported Lewis, “altho Capt. C. was much fatigued his feet blistered and soar he insisted on pursuing his rout in the morning nor weould he consent willingly to my relieving him at that time by taking a tour of the same kind. finding him anxious I readily consented to remain with the canoes.” Clark and Joseph Field, along with three
Clark saw a skittish horse, but still no Indians. On July 25 the reconnaissance party arrived at the Three Forks of the Missouri and walked an incredible 20 miles west along the bank of the Jefferson River. The next morning Clark went another 12 miles up the Jefferson. The next day the party arrived at the Three Forks. Clark still had enough energy to investigate the Madison River, but on July 27 he crashed, exhausted, at the camp of the main party which had reached the forks that morning.

After resting for three days, the expedition moved by canoe up the Jefferson toward the western mountains. It was Lewis's turn to leapfrog, so on August 1 he and three men started walking ahead of the boats, still looking for the Shoshones. Three days later the scouts saw a fork in the Jefferson, with the modern-day Beaverhead River entering from the left and the Big Hole River coming from the right. From the time the leapfrogging began at the Marias, the advance parties had customarily left notes at prominent places along the river for the guidance of the trailing canoeists. Lewis used this routine form of communication at the forks of the Jefferson, putting on a pole a note advising Clark to go left up the Beaverhead.

Clark saw no note but wrote one of his own at the forks informing Lewis he was proceeding on the right up the Big Hole. After struggling for nine miles Clark was intercepted by one of Lewis's scouts, telling him he was going the wrong way. Coming back, one of Clark's boats upset, forcing everybody to stop at the forks and dry out the cargo. Lewis's party rejoined the expedition there. Both Lewis and Clark claimed in their journals that the missing note had been "carried off" by a beaver chewing on the green pole. Some skeptics have wondered if this was just self-serving speculation by the captains to cover a failure of communication, but the beaver story also appears in the journal of Sergeant Patrick Gass, who wrote he was the one who actually put the note in place.

Now the whole expedition was together again, proceeding up the river in the vicinity of Beaverhead Rock, but Indians had not yet been found. Another advance scouting party was needed, and it was Clark's turn to lead it. But he had a painful boil on his ankle that made walking difficult, so on August 9 Lewis set out with three men to find the Shoshones "if it should cause me a trip of one month." Groused Clark in his journal for the same day: "I should have taken this trip had I been able to march." Lewis eventually found the Indians on the western side of the Continental Divide, and the whole party regrouped to buy horses from them. Clark was able to take a belated turn leading a scouting party down the Salmon River in Idaho until he concluded that route was hopeless for either horses or canoes.

The "where-the-hell-are-we" portion of the expedition mostly ended at the Salmon. The captains hired a Shoshone guide who knew, in a general way, how to get across the remaining mountains by horseback. After that the explorers built new canoes to take them down tributaries of the Columbia River that were sure to lead to the Pacific. On the way home in 1806, the whole party either traveled together or boldly divided for independent exploration of new places. There was no more cautious leapfrogging by the captains. By then, they knew the territory.

5. Ibid., II, p. 324.
Oregon-Washington Ninth Annual Lewis & Clark Symposium

This May 1, 1982, event was sponsored by the Oregon (Governor’s Lewis and Clark Trail Committee and the Washington (Governor’s Lewis and Clark Trail Committee. The Annual Symposiums are hosted alternately by the two committees. Joining the Oregon Committee in hosting this year’s Ninth Annual Symposium was the Portland State University Departments of History and Earth Sciences. Co-chairperson of that was Oregon committee member Gordon Dodds (Department of History, Portland State University) and Washington committee member Hazel Bain (Longview, Washington).

The three and one-half hour afternoon program on the Portland State University campus as introduced by Dr. Richard Thoms, Professor of Geology at PSU, was titled: “Science and History Along the Columbia River: the Lewis and Clark Expedition in Oregon and Washington.” Featured speakers were: Dr. John Elliot Allen, Emeritus Professor of Geology, PSU, who spoke about “Geologic Features Noted by Lewis and Clark”; Dr. Victor C. Dahl, Professor of History, PSU, whose subject was “Spanish Concerns About the Lewis and Clark Expedition”; and Virginia C. Holmgren, noted northwest writer and member of the Audubon Society, who spoke on “Birding with Lewis and Clark”. There was a question answering and discussion period prior to adjournment and a late afternoon social session before the evening banquet in the Viking Room, Smith Memorial Center, Portland State University.

Dr. Dodds presided at the evening banquet and introduced the speaker, Mr. James L. Dunning, Regional Director, Midwest Region, National Park Service, Omaha, Nebraska. Mr. Dunning’s subject was “The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail”. The Midwest Region of the National Park Service is charged with the management of, and has recently completed a study and comprehensive plan for management of the Lewis and Clark Historic Trail. In reviewing the status of this activity for the fifty assembled members of the two state committees and their guests, Mr. Dunning stressed that:

We [NPS] are acutely aware that such designated routes as the Lewis and Clark and Oregon National Historic Trails will require long-term commitment to implement management plans developed for them. Unlike the traditional park management function of managing lands and resources within a given area of government owned land, managing a National Trail will be much different. It will require orchestrating the efforts of many agencies at all levels of government and various private sector organizations. Essential in the management of a National Trail to ensure its development and protection will be the promotion of volunteerism and solicitation of the cooperation of a broad spectrum of authorities. The National Park Service will coordinate and assist nonmonitarially the efforts of many varied interests to establish the Lewis and Clark Trail and protect its resources.

In his opening remarks, Dunning acknowledged the work of the Oregon and Washington Lewis and Clark Trail Committees, and remarked that “We [NPS] will also encourage establishment of Lewis and Clark Trail committees or similar organizations.” Additional excerpts from James Dunning’s address follow:

I am really pleased to be meeting with two groups that for many years have promoted in a meaningful way the heritage of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Your two committees from Oregon and Washington have been actively involved since the 1960’s. You are to be complimented for being instrumental in commemorating Lewis and Clark sites in a manner that exceeds the efforts in (continued on facing page)
James Dunning discoursed about Clark National Historic Trail Admissions Memorials. Despite the excellent work that has been done, we all know we are confronted with a huge task as we seek to develop four thousand, five-hundred miles of the Lewis and Clark Historic Trail. I am optimistic the job can be done well. The comprehensive plan for the Trail has been completed and has been approved by the Secretary of the Interior. It is now in the hands of the appropriate Congressional Oversight Committees.

Another reason I am pleased to be here is that I can assure you in person that the National Park Service is dedicated to making this ambitious project successful. As you may know, administrative responsibilities for designated National Scenic and Historic Trails presently rest with relatively new management offices for the National Park Service. We welcome that role....

In designating the Lewis and Clark Historic Trail in 1978, the Congress approved an opportunity for complete commemoration of this epic adventure. The comprehensive plan for management and use of the Trail recommends the development of opportunities for retraction of nearly all portions of the historic expedition route, either as a water trail, a land trail, or a motor route. Hundreds of existing and proposed recreational and historical sites would become an integral part of the Trail and facilitate interpretation and appreciation of the Expedition, as well as provide for public recreation use and enjoyment.

The recommended development plan includes twenty-seven trail segments and thirteen isolated historic sites along the Expedition's route. The trail segments are aggregations of more than five-hundred existing and proposed historic and recreational sites within the Expedition route that can feasibly be connected by land and water trails or motor routes.

About three-thousand, two-hundred and fifty miles would be included in twenty water-based trail segments along the rivers and reservoirs of the Missouri and Columbia drainages. Another three-hundred and fifty miles would be developed as land-based trail and one-hundred miles as motor routes in the remaining seven trail segments.

James Dunning discoursed about the recently organized Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council. The Council includes students and enthusiasts of the Expedition who have been appointed by the Secretary of the Interior and by Trail State Governors to closely liaise with the National Park Serv-

Biddle Edition On The Fur Trade Frontier

Like the editor, most Lewis and Clark bibliophiles are constantly on the lookout for any information that might account for one of the rare 1417 sets of the two volume Biddle/Allen History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark published in 1814 at Philadelphia by Bradford and Inskipe.

Thanks to Foundation Director Bill Sherman, Portland, Oregon, we may take note of the two volumes, even though it is a fleeting observation of them, and we can not account for their ultimate disposition. Bill has called to the editor's attention an article published in the Spring-Summer (Vol. 12, No. 1) issue of Hoofprints, the semi-annual publication of the Yellowstone Corral of the Westerners, Billings, Montana. In this issue, John Popovich writes about an "Incident Along the Yellowstone. The Story of the Immell-Jones Massacre". The disastrous massacre took place in May 1823. Michael Immell and Robert Jones were employed by Joshua Pilcher and the Missouri Fur Company. Their assignment was to lead a fur trading enterprise of thirty men to the Jefferson River above the Three Forks of the Missouri River. They were "to obtain a friendly interview with the Blackfeet Indians and to impress them with the friendly disposition of American citizens towards them."

They did not find the Blackfeet near the Three Forks, but did encounter them on the Jefferson River forty miles upstream from the Three Forks. After what seemed to be a questionable counsel with them, the Immell-Jones party began their return journey to the Three Forks, the East Gallatin River (present-day Bozeman Pass) traverse, and descent of the Yellowstone River.

Following the parley, the treacherous Blackfeet circumvented the fur traders' route to a point lower down on the Yellowstone River, where they could await their arrival and stage the ambush. The site of the encounter and massacre was in a small gap and narrow passage on the trail that followed Alkali creek just northeast of today's city of Billings, Montana. Immell and Jones and five others were killed. The balance of the party escaped and took refuge with some friendly Crow Indians at their camp near the mouth of Pryor Creek, about fifteen miles downstream from the encounter. Lost to the attacking Indians, of course, were the personal effects of members of the party, the 25 packs of beaver pelts, supplies, traps, guns, horses and mules.2

The goods stolen by the Indians did turn up as recorded in the Hudson's Bay journal by a Duncan Finalayson, who was Chief Factor and Governor of Assiniboia at Edmonton House on the Saskatchewan. On October 23, 1823, he recorded: "... some Blood Indians who came to the post with beaver [which] we traded from them, [they] appeared to have been taken from some traders or freemen on, or in the neighborhood of the Missouri River - the
Messrs. Immell Jones party's personal effects turned up and on March 16, 1824, Finlayson's journal reveals: "Messrs. Patrick Small and George Deschambault finished trading with the Blood Indians—they also brought us some more trophies of their victory over the unfortunate Americans with whom they fought last summer, such as rifles, the first volume of the Arabian Nights, LEWIS AND CLARK'S TRAVELS IN TWO VOLUMES [upper case is by the editor], and a small quarto marble covered book [an account book]."

Someone in the party, perhaps the leaders, Immell or Jones, had acquired what may be assumed to be the Biddle/Allen edition, the narrative written by Nicholas Biddle and prepared for the press by Paul Allen some nine years prior. The two volume edition, especially if the engraving of Clark's map (a folded map inside the cover of Volume One) had not been removed, would have been of great value to the leaders of the fur trading party. Finlayson fails to record the disposition of this treasure, but we might assume that it remained with fur trading enterprises in search of beaver in the country originally traversed by the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

There have been a number of sculptures done that relate to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, especially of the two Captains and the Indian woman, Sacagawea. The majority of the work has been done in bronze. Of special interest is a Lewis and Clark sculptured and engraved crystal block produced by the Steuben Glass Company in 1970. In reporting on this art work, Foundation Past President E.G. "Frenchy" Chuinard has this to say:

"I first became aware of this item when visiting the Steuben Glass showroom in New York. Illustrated above, the work was limited to an edition of twenty five, and was priced at $7000.00. Titled Lewis and Clark, the crystal block is 9½ inches long, and a photograph and written description of the work supplied by the Steuben people provides information that the glass design was by Paul Schulze and the engraving design was by James Houston, and depicts the final stage of the historic expedition led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, 1804-1806. Padding a dugout canoe, members of the expedition navigate the rapids of the Columbia River. Above them, in the foregound, appears the map of their journey as drawn by Clark.

"James Houston was born in Canada and studied painting and graphic arts in Paris and Tokyo. He joined the staff of Steuben Glass in 1962.

"Inquiries made with Steuben Glass and the Corning Museum of Glass, together with a search in specialty art magazines and art work indexes, indicates that this is the only item of Lewis and Clark sculpture ever produced in crystal block glass. Response to a letter directed to the Public Relations Department of Steuben Glass informs that a specimen of this beautiful, limited, and rare item is still available at today's price of $10,000. Inquiry may be made to Steuben Glass, Fifth Avenue at 56th Street, New York, NY 10022."

Editor's Note:
Our Foundation mailing list and membership roster has been put on a computer with a local (Portland, Oregon) processing service. Great care has been exercised to avoid any errors. We have noted and corrected a few. Nevertheless, if you note a discrepancy with respect to the spelling of your name, or an erroneous address, please advise We Proceeded On, We appreciate your help.

Anecdote – From The Journals And Literature About the Expedition
When the Expedition set out from its winter establishment at Wood River (Illinois) on May 14, 1804, there was one soldier carrying the rank of Corporal. What little we know about Corporal Richard Washington, his duty and connection with the exploring party, is revealed in a letter from Captain Lewis to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn,
written some months after the return of the Expedition in Washington D.C., January 15, 1807. Accompanying Lewis's letter to Secretary Dearborn was a "... roll of the men who accompanied me on my late tour to the Pacific Ocean ..." Warfington's name does not appear on Lewis's "... roll of men ..." but a detailed account of Warfington's relationship to the exploring enterprise is contained in the lengthy paragraph transcribed here:

Richard Warfington was a Corporal in the infantry of the U. States army whom I had occasion to take with me on my voyage as far as the Mandan Nation [present North Dakota]. His term of service expired on the 4th of August with in nearly three months previous to my arrival at that fort [Mandingo] knowing that it would become necessary for me to send back my boat [the keel boat] in the spring 1805 with a party of soldiers whose term of service had not expired; it was of some importance that the agent should receive in safety the dispatches which I was about to transmit from thence; that there was not one of the party destined to be returned from thence in whom I could place the least confidence except himself, and that if he was discharged at the moment of the expiration of his term of service that he would necessarily lose his military standing and thereby lessen the efficacy of his command among the soldiery; I was induced under these considerations to make an arrangement with him by which it was agreed between us that he should not receive his discharge from military service until his return to St. Louis, and that he should in the interim retain his rank and receive only for his services the accustomed compensation. Accordingly he remained with me during the winter, as the Capt. [of Fort Mandan], and was the next spring in conformity to my plan placed in command of the boat and charged with my dispatches to the government. The duties assigned him on this occasion were performed with a punctuality which uniformly characterized his conduct while under my command. Taking into view the cheerfulness with which he continued in the service after every obligation had ceased to exist, from the exposures, the fatigue, and dangers incident to that service, and above all the fidelity with which he discharged his duty, it would seem that when rewards are about to be distributed among those of the party who were engaged in the enterprise that his claim to something more than his pay of seven dollars per month as corporal cannot be considered unreasonable.

Donald Jackson in his Letters ... provides some details about Warfington's military connections prior to joining the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and indicates that he was a member of Captain John Campbell's company. An entry in the company book for 19 June 1805 shows that he drew from Lt. John Brahan at Fort Massac some articles of uniform clothing, and a later undated entry marks him "Discharged, time expired."

1. Corporal Warfington departed Fort Mandan for St. Louis on April 7, 1805, the same date that the Captains and their party of 31 began their overland journey to the Pacific. With Warfington were the officers of Major Lewis's company and several soldiers including Moses Reed, expelled from the enterprise for desertion, and John Newman who had been court-martialed and ejected for insubordination. Several Indians accompanied the party as far as the Arikara villages. Lewis's journal states that there were two Frenchmen, "... by the name of Joseph "Gravelle," Vol. 3, No. 5, p. 3.


4. Captain Lewis, with orders from Secretary of War Dearborn, was directed to recruit military personnel from army units stationed in the west at Kaskaskia and Massac (Illinois), and at South West Point (Tennessee). Non-commissioned officers and privates were transferred to the Corps of Discovery from: Captain Russell Bissell's Company, First Infantry; Captain Daniel Bissell's Company, First Infantry; Captain John Campbell's Company, Second Infantry; and Captain Amos Stoddard's Company of Artillliers.

**Note:**

Foundation members who attended and traveled on last year's Annual Meeting tour will have the opportunity to review the experience in an article contributed to the May-June 1982 issue of *Americanism* magazine. Jim Merritt, a New Jersey freelance writer and Foundation member, joined the tour and has provided a delightful coverage of scenes and events related to the nearly 500 mile excursion, which followed the Lewis and Clark Trail (continued on page 15).
Private George Shannon:
The Expedition's Youngest Member - 1785 or 1787 - 1836
By Robert E. Lango

"Dear Sir [Nicholas Biddle]

This will be handed to you by Mr. George Shannon the young man I spoke to you about, who was with me on the N W expedition; he has agreed to go to Philadelphia and give such information relative to that Tour as may be in his power. This young gentleman possesses a sincere and undisguised heart, he is highly spoken of by all his acquaintance and much respected at the Lexington University where he has been for the last two years. Any advice and friendly attention which you may show to this young man will be greatly acknowledged by him, and confer an additional obligation on me.

"Mr. S connections are respectable. Since the misfortune of losing his leg, he has been studiously employed in pursuance of an education to enable him to acquire a profession by which he can make an honorable and respectable living - he wishes to study Law, and practice in the Western Country.

"May I request of you to give him such advice or assistance as may be agreeable & convenient to you to enable him to pursue those studies while in Phila.

Mr. N. Biddle

"Accept my highest respect & Friendship

Wm Clark"

In writing about the personnel of the Expedition, Dr. Elliott Coues has this to say about 16 or 18 year old Private George Shannon.

GEORGE SHANNON. Born Pennsylvania in 1787, and also a mere lad in his teens when he joined the Expedition. He was a relative of Governor Shannon of Kentucky, and perhaps the one man on the Expedition whom either of the captains would have been most likely to meet at home on terms of social equality. Shannon was one of the exploring party's "nine young men from Kentucky", as the Captains so often referred to this group of their enlisted men. Records indicate that he enlisted with the Expedition on

October 19, 1803, after Clark had joined Lewis during his descent of the Ohio River, at Louisville, Kentucky. There is considerable evidence that Shannon joined and traveled with Captain Lewis at an earlier date.

Lewis wrote to Clark from Cincinnati on September 28, 1803, and in this letter devoted a paragraph relative to the recruiting of men for the expedition. Lewis wrote:

... your ideas in the subject of judicious selection of our party perfectly comport with my own. I have two young men with me whom I have taken on trial and have not yet engaged them, but conditionally only, tho' I think they will answer tolerably well. 

Donald Jackson, in his Letters ... provides a note following the reproduction of Lewis's letter which relates to Lewis's reference to "two young men". Jackson's note reads:

Perhaps John Colter (d. 1810) and George Shannon (1785-1836). DYE says that Shannon joined at Pittsburgh. ... If Shannon did not join at Pittsburgh, at least he probably had joined by the time Lewis left Cincinnati. His family was at the time of his birth, but had moved to Belmont County, Ohio in 1800 (BIOG. DIR.).

Shannon's enlistment and duty with the Expedition; his post-expedition military service, which involved the loss of a leg; the strong friendship with William Clark which resulted in his special service to litterateur Nicholas Biddle (see boxed feature and pertinent footnote, ante.); and his education, judgements, and political career, have provided biographers with considerably more information for him than any other enlisted man connected with the exploring enterprise.

George Shannon was of Irish-Protestant descent and was probably born in Pennsylvania. His father, who had served in the Revolutionary army, died in Ohio from exposure while hunting during the winter of 1803. He left a widow and nine children. George was the eldest and was not the only son to gain prominence. Thomas, a prominent merchant in Ohio was elected to Congress from that state; James, a noted lawyer, moved to Kentucky where he practiced law for many years; and Wilson, the youngest, also entered law practice, represented Ohio in Congress, became Governor of Ohio, minister to Mexico, and territorial governor of Kansas. In his early teens, George was sent from Ohio to Pennsylvania where he was to live with his mother's family and to attend school. This arrangement was to be short lived, for during a visit to Pittsburgh he met Meriwether Lewis, who was awaiting the completion of a keelboat to be used on the western expedition. Olin Wheeler says that George Shannon ran away from his new home in Pennsylvania to join Lewis, at least for the trip down the Ohio, and adds that he was a "... handsome man, with blue eyes, (continued on facing page)
black hair, always smooth faced, very graceful, and a fine conversationalist."

Because of his youth and several incidents involving him that are recorded in his journal, special interest has been afforded Shannon in much of the literature concerning the exploring enterprise. The fact that at least on two occasions he was reported to be lost and separated for several days from the main party, together with his trait of misplacing equipment entrusted to his care, have tended to label him a misfit and a poor choice to be exposed to the rigors of a military operation on the western frontier.

Closer study of the journals will reveal that when Shannon was lost, he was really not to blame and that he, as Olin Wheeler states, "... exhibited excellent judgment in finding the party again, entirely unaided by them." On August 26, 1804, when the party was west and south of present-day Yankton, South Dakota, in today's Knox County, Nebraska, Clark documented that Shannon was detailed to search for their two horses which had strayed from their night encampment. Shannon found the horses probably at some distance from the river, and when he returned to the river found some tracks undoubtedly made by Indians, which he mistook to be those of the Expedition. Concluding that the party was ahead of him he continued up the river expecting to join his comrades at one of their night camps. Clark's journal tells of Shannon's experience:

... the Man who left us [to search for horses] and has been dead ever since joined us nearly Starved to Death, he had been 12 days without any thing to eat but Grapes & one Rabbit, which he killed by shooting a piece of hard Stick in place of a ball [apparently Shannon had powder, but had expended his supply of lead bullets]. This Man Supposing the boat [of the main party] to be a head pushed on as long as he could, when he became weak and feable determined to lay by and wait for a trading boat, which is expected. Keeping one horse for the last recourse, thus the man had like to have Starved to death in a land of plenty for the want of Bullets or something to kill his meat."

In his 1814 narrative, Biddle states that: "One of his horses gave out and was left behind; the other he kept as a last resource for food. Depearing of overtaking us, he was returning down the river, in hopes of meeting some other boat; and was on the point of killing his horse, when he was so fortunate as to join us."

Shannon's second experience involving his separation from the main party appears to be an episode of mixed-up communications between several members of the exploring party and almost abandonment of the unfortunate Shannon. In August 1805, the Expedition was ascending the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri River near present-day Twin Bridges, Madison County, Montana. Inspection of a modern map will indicate that just downstream from Twin Bridges the Big Hole River joins the Jefferson River, and upstream from this confluence the Jefferson River becomes the Beaverhead River. On August 4, 1805, Lewis with Sergeant Gass, Drouillard and Charbonneau were ahead of Clark and the main party. They had come to the confluence of their "Wisdom" (today's Big Hole) River. At this point Lewis determined that the Expedition should ascend the Beaverhead Fork (the continuation of the Jefferson) and not the "Wisdom" or present Big Hole waterway. In order to advise Clark and his party of this decision, Lewis left a note on a pole at the forks. As Lewis later observed: "this note had unfortunately been placed on a green pole which the beaver had cut and carried off together with the note."

Clark arrived at this confluence on August 5, 1805, and the main party began the ascent of the "Wisdom" or present Big Hole waterway in error. On the 6th of August, Clark encountered Drouillard, who advised him that he was following an incorrect course. (Drouillard was originally with Lewis, but had stayed to hunt in this area, when Lewis, Gass, and Charbonneau returned to the Jefferson-Beaverhead River.) Unfortunately on this same morning, and prior to meeting Drouillard, Clark had dispatched Shannon to hunt farther up the stream. Before Clark and the main party set out to retrace their steps to the junction of the rivers, Clark directed Drouillard to go in search of Shannon. Clark's journal tells of Drouillard's failure to find Shannon:

... but he [Drouillard] rejoined us this evening and reported that he had been several miles up the river and could find nothing of him, we had the trumpet ["sounding horns"] sounded and fired several guns but he did not join us this evening. I am fearful he is lost again. This is the same man who was separted from us 15 days as we came up the Missouri and subsisted days of that time on grapes only."

On August 7, 1805, Lewis makes the statement: "we have not heard anything from Shannon yet, we expect that he has pursued Wisdom river upwards for some distance probably killed some heavy animal and is awaiting our arrival." We might wonder, that if this was the case, why the Captains did not really organize a search party. Olin Wheeler sums up all the confusion as follows and rightfully gives Shannon credit for "using his head":

It seems to me that, under the circumstances, this failure to make a more determined attempt to find Shannon, who was almost a mere boy, is, to some extent, censurable. They sent him out to hunt, then absolutely reversed their programme and route, of which he was entirely ignorant, and went up another river, leaving him finally, "to get out of his scrape" the best way he could. But Shannon was equal to the emergency this time. When returning from his hunt, he did not meet the party ascending the river, he concluded that they had passed up the stream unobserved by him and he accordingly "marched up the river [Wisdom] during all the next day, but was convinced that we had not gone on, as the river was no longer navigable." He then logically returned to the junction, supposing a change of plan might have taken place, and, following up the Jefferson [Beaverhead], reached the party at its breakfast camp of August 9th, safe and sound, but "... much wearied...

(continued on page 12)

10. Writers of books for young people have made Shannon the subject of their work. Two of these are: Curl, Grace Vories; Young Shannon — Scout with Lewis and Clark, Harper Brothers, N.Y., 1941; and Eifert, Virginia S.; George Shannon: Young Explorer with Lewis and Clark, Dodd, Moad & Co., N.Y., 1963.
13. Biddle, Nicholas/Allen, Paul; History of the Expedition Under a Command of Captains Lewis and Clark ..., Bradford and Inkep, Philadelphia, 1814, Vol. 1, p. 70. In the Coos Edition, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 115. If Biddle's text seems to include information not in Clark's original journal, we may conclude that what he writes is factual, since the episode was probably related directly to him by George Shannon when he was with Biddle in Philadelphia.
15. Ibid., Vol. 2, p. 316.
17. Wheeler's quotation is from Coos (footnote 4, ante) Vol. 1, p. 170.
Students of the Expedition are cognizant of the fact that few articles related to the exploring enterprise are extant. A precious artifact in safe-keeping in the collections of the Oregon Historical Society is the sewing kit ("Housewife") carried by George Shannon during the journey to the Pacific and return. This item became the property of Mrs. J.P. Farmer, the granddaughter of George Shannon, who resided in Portland, Oregon. On February 11, 1946, a descendant of Mrs. Farmer, Elizabeth Story of Oswego, Oregon, presented the item to the Oregon Historical Society. The sewing kit measures, when open, 7½" x 15¼", and the description in the files at the Society reads as follows: "Catalog No. 4014: Leather: Dyed red with simple line embossing. Interior dyed green. Pocket lined with white silk; contains one needle with thread. Only top portion of a silver clasp is remaining." Wheelers, op. cit., includes a photographic reproduction of the item in his Volume I, page 119.

Shannon's health must have been good, and on only one occasion did the journals indicate a problem: "J. Potts complains very much of one of his eyes which is burnt by the sun from exposure his face without cover from the Sun. Shannon also complains of his face & eyes &c."23

On October 13, 1804, when John Newman was court-martialed for "... having uttered repeated expressions of a highly criminal and mutinous nature...", George Shannon was one of nine enlisted men de-
tailed for a court-martial to review the charges, render the decision, and suggest the punishment.24

Shannon was with Captain Clark on the return journey descending the Yellowstone River in July and August 1806. After crossing the contiguous lands with the Mandan from the Three Forks of the Missouri to the upper reaches of the Yellowstone,26 the party constructed dugout canoes near present-day Columbus or Park City, Montana. On July 20-21, 1806, during the canoe construction operation, some of their horses disappeared. Shannon, along with Sergeant Pryor, Bratton, and Charbonneau searched for them on the 21st, Sergeant Pryor and Charbonneau on the 22nd, and, on the 23rd, Pryor discovered an Indian moccasin. Clark concluded in his journal entry for July 23, that "... those Indian signs [smoke from their fires and the moccasin] is conclusive with me that they have taken the 24 horses which we lost on the night of the 20th instant, and that those who were about last night were in search of the balance of our horses..."27

Now that the party was able to travel by dugout canoe, Clark directed Sergeant Pryor, George Shannon, Hugh Hall, and Richard Windsor, to take the remaining 12 or 14 horses overland to the Mandan villages. (Pryor also carried a letter to a Mr. Hugh Heney at the Northwest Company.)28 Two days after departing with the horses from Clark's party, Pryor's small detachment lost them during the night to the Indians. After pursuing the Indians for five miles without success, they returned to the river. On the night of the 26th of July when this group of horses were stolen, "... a Wolf bit Sergt. Pryor through his hand when asleep, and this animal was so vicious as to make an attempt to seize Windsor, when Shannon fortunately shot him..."29 The next morning Shannon killed a buffalo, and recalling the Indian's bull-boats, which they had seen at the villages during the winter of 1804-

(continued on facing page)

25. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 190-193. Clark wrote: "we tried the Prisoner Newman last night by 9 of his Peers they did 'Centence him 75 Lashes & Disbanded [from the party]."
26. The route was eastward along the Gallatin, the East Gallatin, and present-day Bannock Pass.
Donald Jackson, in his note number 6, writes: “One of the wounded men was George Shannon...It is curious that Pryor does not mention him by name, and the omission suggests that Pryor wrote Clark a personal account of the attack as well as this official one.”

The leg wound to Shannon received no medical or surgical attention. On October 3, 1807, a Dr. B. G. Farrar, St. Charles or St. Louis, examined Shannon’s leg and found it “...in a state of gangrene and to save his life I was under the necessity of amputating the limb above the knee.” He was near death following the operation, but finally recovered after spending eighteen months in the army hospital at Fort Bellefontaine (a few miles north of St. Louis). This experience earned him the nickname “Peg-leg Shannon”, since he made use of a wooden peg on the limb for the rest of his life. In 1813, an act of Congress granted him a monthly pension of $8.00 for the loss of his leg. Three years later, both Clark and Henry Clay supported Shannon’s petition for an increase, and in 1817 Congress increased the monthly compensation to $12.00. Congressional records indicate that in 1822 a bill was admitted to the Senate for an act of the United States to grant compensation for his injury did not pass.

The foregoing has reviewed what has been said about George Shannon regarding his service to his country, both as a member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and in his post-expedition military service with Ensign Pryor. We may reflect on William Clark’s appraisal of him: “Mr. George Shannon a very worthy and valuable man...accompanied me to the Pacific Ocean, and on that expedition was one of the most active and useful men we had.”

It appears that life had only begun for George Shannon, although he had had experiences enough for an entire lifetime. Now we can follow him for an interesting episode where he was, by Clark’s arrangement, to be of valuable service to Nicholas Biddle who was writing the first official narrative about the Expedition. Except for Clark, Shannon was the only member of the exploring party who was to help first-hand with the publication. He materially assisted editor Biddle in interpreting the hand written journals and notebooks and in relating his personal recollections. In May 1810, he arrived in Philadelphia where he remained until July 1811. In a letter written to Clark on July 8, 1811, Biddle acknowledged receipt of some information Clark had sent him and commented about Shannon’s contribution to developing the publication:

The information [you sent me] was very valuable, & combined with what I have learnt from Mr. Shannon who I find very intelligent & sensible leaves me nothing to wish on the points I mentioned.

Further on in the same letter, when discussing the maps being engraved for inclusion with the publication, Biddle observed:

The engravings were marked off by Mr. Shannon & myself & are now in the hands of the artist [engraver].

During his time in Philadelphia, and probably with the help of the printer and lawyer Biddle, Shannon pursued the study of law.

That William Clark was interested in a career for Shannon is revealed in an August 8, 1811 Letter written by Clark to Shannon proposing a business venture in St. Louis involving trade goods that would be partially underwritten by Clark.

There is nothing, however, in the record that reveals that Shannon ever became involved in such a business venture.

There are indications that Shannon was admitted to the bar of the State of Kentucky where he reported to have furthered his law studies at the Transylvania University at Lexington, Kentucky.
In his later years, Judge Shannon is said to have become quite fond of libations, and several anecdotes are told about him in his connection. One night in a country tavern, the ticking of a clock disturbed him, and when it wouldn’t stop at his command, he got a pistol from his saddle-bags and fired a ball through it. The next morning, finding what he had done, he promptly paid the landlord for the damage. Another time, in Jefferson City, becoming angry at a state senator, Shannon got the legislator helplessly drunk, put him in a skiff and turned it loose on the Missouri River, the unconscious senator not being rescued until he had floated fifteen miles and grounded on a sand bar. On another occasion [presumably in a tavern in Jefferson City, Shannon and a friend agreed to do whatever the other did, [or if unaccounted for, as a penalty, to buy a round of drinks for the assembled onlookers.] Shannon immediately took off his wooden leg and threw it into the fire, and his opponent had to pay for the treat.


43. Ibid. This may be an erroneous statement by Charles Clarke, since there are no other references to Shannon having any political service in Washington, D.C.

Newspapers of the time report the story of Shannon’s death at the age of forty-nine. He had journeyed to Palmyra (north of Hannibal) to defend a man indicted for murder. Arriving there on August 23, 1836, ill and in declining health he immediately sought medical aid. The Palmyra Journal related:

He sustained his illness with a degree of moral composure that has seldom been equaled... On the morning of Tuesday [August] 30th, he sunk into the arms of death without the slightest emotion.

The account does not reveal the nature of his illness. Shannon was dead and had been buried in a cemetery near Massey’s Mill near Palmyra even before members of his family knew of his sudden illness. That he had probably lived in Hannibal was attested by the many friends he had had in that vicinity who attended him in his final moments and arranged for his burial. A prominent Mason, he was buried with Masonic ceremonies.

The local newspaper spoke of his exceptional talents and his fine character, and the members of the Palmyra bar passed resolutions and memorials in which he was referred to as an "eminent jurist". A resolution passed by members of the bar at St. Charles called him the "senior member of our bar". For thirty days following his passing Palmyra and St. Charles lawyers wore crepe on their left arms in his memory.

His wife survived him for only a short time and the plan to move Judge Shannon’s body to St. Charles was never carried out. It is documented that it was all traces of the grave since have been lost.

Shannon’s military career as a member of the famous Expedition was an unique experience, and the loss of a leg in a post-expedition undertaking was a tragic incident. His assistance in the development of the first official edition of a narrative based on the original handwriten journals of the Expedition was an important contribution. That he sought and attained a recognized legal career combined with much public service was to his credit. His nearly fifty years on the early American scene distinguishes him as an outstanding man of his time.

Author’s Note: Almost every member of the exploring party was honored by the Captains’ practice of naming waterways (rivers, streams, or creeks) for them. In several instances, those names have been retained such recognition more than once. Shannon was so honored on two occasions.

Unfortunately many of the names applied to the land and documented in the journals have not persisted, and we may note that this is the case regarding Shannon.

SHANNON’S CREEK: On the outbound journey in September 1804, when the explorers were a few miles south (downstream) from the “Big Bend” of the Missouri River (in present-day Gregory County, South Dakota) a stream entering the Missouri from the west was designated “Shannon’s Cr” (Creek) on both Clark’s Manuscript Map and on the engraved map that was included with the 1814 Biddle/Allen narrative or History of the Expedition Under Command of Captains Lewis and Clark! There is no mention of this waterway in the September 1804 journals (Thwaites, I:145), nor in “Clark’s Summary Statement of Rivers, Creeks, and Most Remarkable Places” (Thwaites, VI:59). Elliott Coues in his 1893 expansion and annotation of the Biddle edition, in a footnote 36, I:115 says: “It is Shannon or Dry River of Maximilian, 1853. This looks as if it were named for George Shannon (see Sept. 11th); and perhaps it was, by an after-thought of Clark’s.” The location relates to where Shannon returned on September 11, 1804, to the main party after having been lost for 16 days. Maximilian’s nomenclature tends to indicate that during part of the year it may have been a dry stream bed. Today’s Missouri River shoreline and tributaries have undergone changes in this area with the building of the Fort Randall Dam and the formation of Lake Francis Case.

SHANNON’S RIVER: On July 29, 1806, Shannon was in Clark’s party descending the Yellowstone River on the return journey. Clark’s journal for that date reads: “I encamped on the Star. Side immediately below the [Shannon] River about 22 yards wide...” (Thwaites, V:294). This waterway is also listed by Clark in his “... Summary Statement of Rivers, Creeks...” (Thwaites, VI:75), and is shown in his (continued on facing page)

2. Nicholas Biddle engaged Samuel Lewis (no relation to Meriwether) and Samuel Samels, Philadelphia draftsmen and engravers to process the copy of Clark’s Manuscript Map for the 1814 edition. The cartoon in the lower left-hand corner of the map includes the statement: “Copied by Samuel Lewis from the Original Drawing of Wm. Clark,” and beneath this the wording: “Saml. Harrison wit.” See also: Jackson’s Letters, Letter 571, pp. 600-601, 603—specifically the accounting entries for “March 29, 1813” and “March 5, 1814,” and Jackson’s Note 1, on p. 603.
Each year, for the past twelve years, Oregon Foundation members Bob Lange and Irving Anderson spend a day with the staff, and particularly the summer-time interpretive personnel, at the National Park Service's Fort Clatsop National Memorial near Astoria, Oregon. This is usually in late May or early June just prior to beginning the "Living History Demonstrations" for the summer season. The purpose of the session is to better equip the staff to answer the multitude of diversified questions about the Lewis and Clark Expedition directed to them by visitors to the National Park facility. A fine private library, shown in the left hand illustration, located in the administration building, provides for ready reference and finds almost continuous use by the staff. In the right hand illustration, Irving Anderson is citing something in one of the volumes to Miss Elaine Miles who portrays the Expedition's Indian woman, Sacagawea. This is the second summer that Miss Miles has been at Fort Clatsop. Chief Ranger Curt Johnson is standing in the rear to Anderson's left. See also, We Proceeded On, Vol. 5, No. 3, page 1.
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