

THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.

Incorporated 1969 under Missouri General Not-For-Profit Corporation Act IRS Exemption Certificate No. 501(C)(3)-Identification No. 51-0187715

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Mission Statement

The mission of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. is to stimulate public appreciation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition's contributions to America's heritage, and support education, research, development and preservation of the Lewis and Clark experience.



We Proceeded On is the official publication of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. The publication's name is derived from the phrase which appears repeatedly in the collective journals of the famous expedition.

E.G. CHUINARD, M.D., FOUNDER

ISSN 0275-6706

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In this issue—

Page 6-

Sacagawea: Her Name and Her Destiny Irving Anderson

Page 10-

Lewis and Clark's Old Glory Dayton Duncan

Page 12-

All in the Family: The In-house Honorifics of Lewis and Clark

Page 16-

George Drouillard and Fort Massac Io Ann Brown

Page 22-

32nd Annual Meeting—See the "Cradle of Montana History"

Page 24-

Herpetology on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-06 Keith R. Benson

Page 30-

News Update

Page 31-

Book Reviews

Page 34-

Chapter News

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

Membership in the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. is open to the general public. Information and an application are available by sending a request to: Membership Coordinator; Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.; P.O. Box 3434; Great Falls, MT 59403.

We Proceeded On, the quarterly magazine of the Foundation, is mailed to current members during the months of February, May, August, and November.

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP CATEGORIES*

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President's Message

by Cynthia Orlando

Let me begin with a heartfelt thanks to you all, and particularly the Oregon Chapter, for your tribute at the close of the annual meeting in Bismarck. What we have been able to accomplish at Fort Clatsop National Memorial has been because of the thousands of you, who live, breathe and sleep the Lewis and Clark legacy, and work with us to protect and preserve the story and physical sites associated with the expedition. What an incredible beginning to this new foundation year!

Similarly, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foun-

dation could not exist without you. The past three years have brought a myriad of changes, the result of the energy and enthusiasm and hard work of many, many foundation members. The organization has evolved and grown to a national membership of over 2,500 and been thrust into, as Past-President Borlaug notes, a national leadership position. We will be pulled in many different directions over the next few years and what we must remember first and foremost are the values on which this organization is built.

(President's Message continued on page 4)

From the National Bicentennial Council

by David Borlaug and Michelle D. Bussard

Poised on the eve of the next century and commemoration of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial, the council welcomes our new president who will take us into the new millennium. He is one you all know, who has come on over from the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation—David Borlaug of North Dakota. With our new president we will also be unveiling the council's national logo (see page 39). We are thrilled to be able to share it with the readers of WPO. The logo will adorn our materials and in the

spirit of cooperation and partnership, will be shared with our national, state and institutional partners and grace publications, products and programs being developed to commemorate the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

April 2000 will mark a significant moment for the council when we launch our annual planning workshop in Kansas City, Kansas with Dr. Stephen Ambrose and the dedication of a magnificent Lewis

(Bicentennial Council column continued on page 4)

From the Editor's Desk

To all you folks out there, let me say, "It's been a good time, but I'll be moving on."

This is my last editorial as editor of We Proceeded

The new editor, with a new title of publications editor, Jim Merritt, will be taking over January 1, 2000.

I will be moving on to other adventures after having written 38 editorials in WPO since my first one in November 1990 (I wrote two editorials in that first issue). I say adventures because it has been an ad-

venture editing this magazine. It has been an exciting adventure learning about the Corps of Discovery, the Native Americans and all that went into the long walk the expedition took; a heartwarming adventure in the fellowship of meeting and sharing and laughing with all of you at the annual meetings and an editing adventure trying, and sometimes succeeding, in making WPO a better publication.

I am moving on because the foundation decided to expand the duties of the editor into the field of

(Editor's Desk continued on page 4)

ON THE COVER—Little has changed at the red bluff near Townsend, Montana. See Editor's Desk above.

Photo by Troy Helmick.

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Cont. from p. 3

"The mission of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., is to stimulate public appreciation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition's experience to America's heritage, and to support education, research, development and preservation of the Lewis and Clark experience."

How can we do that? Only with your help. The story of Lewis and Clark revolves around teams of volunteers who were important to the success of the expedition. Like the expedition, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation could not survive without your commitment and support, your resolution, fortitude and positive attitude.

Organizations don't perform unless they perform together. The executive team and board of directors look forward to working with you as we take our organization into the next millennium, and thank you for your willingness to share of yourself this coming year.

Cirly O.

BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL Cont. from p. 3

and Clark statue on a bluff above the Missouri River. The workshop, April 26-28, will feature the council's announcement of a board of national advisors, many of whom you already know as the Lewis and Clark luminaries, unveiling of a national calendar of events and very special trips to Fort Osage and Atchison, Kansas.

In the immediate future the council, with our federal agency partners, is hosting a trail states coordinating meeting in Portland, Oregon that is designed to create a framework for a coordinated, uni-

EDITOR'S DESK

Cont. from p. 3

working with publishers on all the different publications that they are involved in. The foundation advertised nationally for the position and selected a person they felt was better qualified in this area than I am.

So, I move on.

A few thoughts before I leave you. In my first editorial, I commented that I could say "antidisestablishmentarianism" as well as the next person, but why should I if I can find a simpler way to express it. That is still my philosophy. The cover of the first WPO I edited was a slightly out-of-focus picture of the red bluff on the Missouri River near Townsend, Montana, mentioned in the journals. where the Indians used the red earth to make paint. A newer, clearer photo of the red bluff is on this issue's cover and, in a way, it defines the progress that has been made on the magazine.

I have a lot of wonderful memories of annual meetings, but one of the best happened at the meeting in Sioux City, Iowa, when the Idaho gang and I drove to the town of Lamar, Iowa, to the Blue Bunny

fied commemoration. This follows four tribal summits that brought together dozens of tribal nations to explore participation in the bicentennial. Continuing work with the tribes will include more summits and the council is actively working on securing a staff position for tribal affairs and outreach.

As so many of you already know, the bicentennial is really just around the corner and we all have much work to do. The council is honored to be the foundation's partner in this work.

Ice Cream Factory. We were looking for free samples, but the receptionist told us they didn't do free samples anymore. Crushed at the thought of another small bit of Americana disappearing, we decided to take a group picture in front of the building. While we were doing this, the manager came out and we told him our sad story. He took us to the lunchroom and said, "Help yourself to all the ice cream you want." We did, and it was really swell. Americana lives on!

Who can forget when Steve Ambrose told me he was going to give \$10,000 a year to WPO as long as his best selling book "Undaunted Courage" was doing well? It continues to sell well with over 1,400,000 copies sold so far. A friend even purchased a copy in Australia although she had a hard time finding one because most bookstores were sold out.

A particularly gratifying memory revolves around the many people who would come up to me at meetings and tell me how much they liked the magazine and what a great job they thought I was doing. Of course, there was the other side of that coin which featured those who thought I was really messing up. Fortunately, there were not too many of them, but there were enough to keep me from getting a swelled head.

All along, it was the people, you, the members, who kept me going. I never worked in isolation. You were always with me. For that, I am grateful.

Give Jim Merritt the same welcome and the same support and he will ably carry on the tradition of *We Proceeded On* that I have had a small part in building.

I hope to see you at the annual meetings and along the trail.

Keep on keepin' on.

Marty Enclose

— OBITUARY —

IRVING W. ANDERSON

1920-1999

rving W. Anderson, past president of the foundation, died at his Portland, Oregon home August 20, 1999. He was 79. "Andy," as he was known to many of the foundation members, attended the November 1970 annual meeting that inaugurated the foundation's yearly meetings. He served as secretary from 1973 to 1979 and president in 1980-81. He holds the foundation's highest award "For Outstanding Contributions in Bringing to this Nation a Greater Awareness and Appreciation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition."

Irving W. "Andy" Anderson was born in Seattle on February 2, 1920. He served in the U.S. Army Signal Corps during World War II and later earned a B.A. in geography at the University of Washington. His entire professional career was devoted to public land and resource management in widely varying locales including Alaska, Egypt, Washington D.C., Oregon and Washington state.

With a true academic's rigor, Andy insisted on primary documentation for his, and others', works on Lewis and Clark. This extended to such details as verifying and insisting on the "correct" spelling and pronunciation of the Indian woman Sacagawea's name. The name was spelled phonetically in the journals ("Sah-ca-gah-weah"). He wrote many articles on this subject alone. This effort emerged in unlikely places, such as the new dollar coin depicting Sacagawea. Corresponding with the director of the U.S. Mint, Andy effectively campaigned for a correct spelling of the name.

From 1986 to 1992, Anderson

was a faculty member of *The Heritage Institute* of Antioch University in Seattle. His course, titled *Thomas Jefferson and the Lewis & Clark Legacy*, emphasized the Columbia River estuary and its significance to the activities of the Corps of Discovery; his *Trails West* course focused on segments of the Lewis & Clark and Oregon National Historic Trails in the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area.

With a reverence for fact, Andy would not shrink from challenging any assertions about Lewis and Clark that were contrary to the explorers' primary records, their journals. Although he was gratified by Stephen Ambrose's Undaunted Courage and the exposure and the financial contributions Ambrose gave to the foundation and other Lewis and Clark endeavors, this did not deter Andy from documenting a considerable number of factual errors in the book, noting them in his published review in the Patrice Press, Tucson, Arizona.

Anderson chaired numerous state and academic advisory committees including Oregon's Lewis and Clark Trail Advisory Committee; Oregon's Committee for a Livable Oregon; and the U.S. National Park Service Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Advisory Council. In 1976 he chaired the Bicentennial Committee that created a Lewis and Clark Botanical Memorial in Portland's Waterfront Park.

Anderson was recognized nationally for his research, notably biographies of Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, his mother Sacagawea, and his father, Toussaint Charbonneau, all of

Lewis and Clark Expedition fame. Anderson's research contributions and his many reviews of recent Lewis and Clark Expedition scholarly books have been published in the Oregon Historical Quarterly; Congressional Record; Montana, the Magazine of Western History; and South Dakota History; together with manuscript reading/critiquing for University of Oklahoma Press. He was also the co-author of the historical and biographical texts printed in the National Park Service's Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail map brochure, U.S. National Park Service, and was coproducer of its video, Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail.

He is survived by his wife, Lynne; daughters Elizabeth Pfeifer and Kristine Schmidt, both of Newberg, Oregon; Katharine Anderson-White of Durham, Oregon and Ingrid of Issaguah, Washington; a son, John-Erik of Redmond, Washington; a brother, Frank of Seattle and 12 grandchildren. A memorial service was held in the Agnes Flanagan Chapel at Lewis & Clark College. Memorials for Andy can be directed to the Irving Anderson Memorial Fund at the Archives and Special Collections Department at Lewis & Clark College, Portland, OR 97219.

Andy's historical research and writing efforts may be found on two Internet websites:

- PBS Online: www.pbs.org/ lewisandclark/Inside the Corps
- The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation: www.lewisandclark.org/ The History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

-John Montague

Sacasawla HER NAME AND HER DESTINY

by Irving W. Anderson and Blanche Schroer

Editor's Note: Irving Anderson and Blanche Schroer have both passed on. Both were Sacagawea scholars—Schroer for 60 years (see WPO, February 1998, page 8). She passed on in April 1998.

istory has accorded the Shoshoni¹ Indian woman member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition a most novel place in the hearts and minds of generations of Americans. That her fame is deserving is evident from historical records. Sacagawea was by birth a Shoshoni. As can best be determined she would have been approximately 12 years old in 1800, the year understood by the explorers to have been when she was taken prisoner by the Hidatsa Indians. Her captors had forcibly removed her from her Rocky Mountain homeland, east to their Hidatsa village near present Bismarck, North Dakota, where Lewis and Clark encountered her in November 1804. By that time she had been given the Hidatsa name Sacagawea, which means Birdwoman.

Her age is based on a reconstruction of it by Captain Lewis. On July 28, 1805, at the Three Forks of the Missouri (Montana), Lewis noted in his journal that this was the area of Sacagawea's kidnapping "five years since." And later, on August 19, 1805, when the party was among her Shoshoni people, Lewis wrote that when she had been taken prisoner, she had not yet "arrived to the years of

puberty...which with [the Shoshoni] is considered to be about the age of 13 or 14 years."²

The Lewis and Clark party constructed Fort Mandan, its 1804-1805 winter headquarters near the Hidatsa village, and hired Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian fur trader, as an interpreter for the westward journey. Charbonneau, who had resided among the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians for a number of years, had purchased Sacagawea from the Hidatsa, and claimed her as one of his two Shoshoni "wives," a la facon due pays (after the fashion of the country).³

Toussaint was conversant in both French and Hidatsa, and Sacagawea spoke both Shoshoni and Hidatsa. Sacagawea was added to the party when the captains realized that she could be very helpful as a Shoshoni "interpreter through Toussaint"4 if the explorers met her people upon reaching the Rockies. She was at that time about 17 years old, and pregnant, which resulted in the birth of a son at Fort Mandan, February 11, 1805.5 The boy, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, whom Clark nicknamed "Pomp" or "Pompy," for his pompous "little dancing boy"6 antics, accompanied his parents to the Pacific and back to Mandan during 1805-1806.

Sacagawea was not the popularized girl-guide depicted in art and fiction. She did, however, remember from her childhood geographic features she sighted when the expedition reached her tribal homeland. Clark praised her during the return journey, for pointing out to him Shoshoni routes he followed

through two Rocky Mountain passes. Sacagawea's knowledge of native plants and berries for food, and some plants for medicinal purposes, contributed importantly to the welfare of the group.

Her services as interpreter proved immeasurably valuable when the party, through remarkable coincidence, encountered her brother. Cameahawait, chief of her Shoshoni band. This bond, together with her knowledge of the language, aided significantly in securing a trail-wise Shoshoni guide and horses, needed by the explorers to cross the "tremendous mountains" that lay before them. Also, her presence with her baby assured territorially established Indian nations encountered by the expedition, that the group was not an invading war party. 7 Sacagawea was regarded at the turn of the century, as America's "Women's Suffrage Pioneer," for her participation in the first American democratically held election west of the Rockies. Her view was recorded equally with the men, when each expressed their individual preference for a location of the party's 1805-1806 winter quarters at the mouth of the Columbia River.8

Factual information about Sacagawea is sparse. Except for Clark's laconic statement that Sacagawea's complexion "...was lighter than the other [Shoshoni wife of Charbonneau] who was from the more Southern Indians," none of her other literate contemporaries left a physical description of her. There is an indelible record, however, contained in the explorers' journals, and later, in fur trade diaries, that attribute to her, exem-

plary behavioral and character traits that were sincerely respected and admired by her associates. Numerous geographic landmarks have been named for her. Markers, monuments and memorials have been placed in her honor. Several statues, and countless artworks and literary compositions have given her prominence. These honors testify to her well-deserved place in our nation's history.

Regrettably, a curious mystique completely envelops two dimensions of Sacagawea's life story: 1) A disparity persists among her admirers concerning the derivation, spelling, pronunciation and meaning of her name; and 2) A dispute has raged for nearly a century concerning her fate following the expedition, especially events relating to the time and place of her final hours.

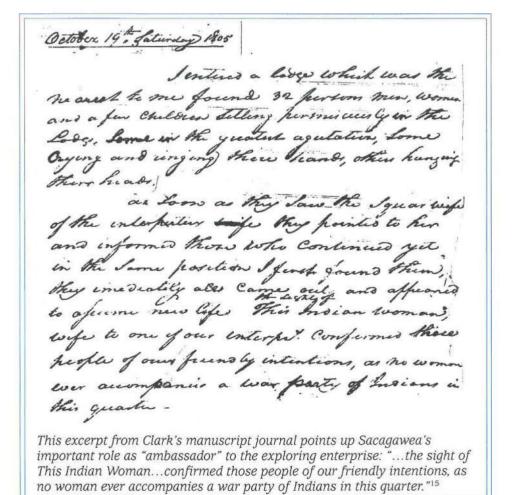
With respect to the latter, a popular theory evolved that purported Sacagawea died at age 100, April 9, 1884, and was buried at Fort Washakie, Wind River Indian Reservation, Wyoming. There indeed was a celebrated Shoshoni Indian woman interred at Fort Washakie in 1884, who had a son named Bazil. Only two antiquarian documents have been found that provide positive identification of that woman.

One, created while she was living, is the inclusion of her name on the "Census Roll of the Shoshone tribe of Indians, present at the Shoshone and Bannock Agency, Wyoming Territory November 1st 1877." The other is her official death record, dated April 9, 1884. Both of these primary documents identify the woman merely

as "Bazil's mother." 10 At age 100 in 1884, the Wind River person would have been born in 1784, and would have been 21 years old if it had been she who set out with the expedition in 1805. Claimed by her admirers to have been the "child captured by the Hidatsa" in 1800," "Bazil's mother" could hardly have been the girl who had not yet "arrived to the age of puberty" in 1800, that Lewis recorded in 1805.

Nevertheless, through a regrettable circumstance resulting from oral history interviews transcribed through interpreters, together with written "remembrance" testimonials obtained from persons who allegedly knew "Bazil's mother" to be "Sacajawea" on the reservation, she was mistakenly determined to be the Shoshoni woman of Lewis and Clark Expedition fame. Collected during the period 1905-1930, 21 to 46 years after the death of "Bazil's mother" in 1884, those recollections, no matter how well-intended, were unsupported by antiquarian written records of any kind, that linked her to the 1804-1806 exploring enterprise. 12

Contravening that theory are decisive, retrievable primary records created in time and place by persons who were there, that trace an unbroken chronology of Sacagawea's life. These conclusively pinpoint her presence at Fort Manuel (South Dakota), at the time of her death, December 20, 1812, "aged abt 25 years." 15 Extensive archaeological investigations have been made at Fort Manuel, but no identifiable grave for Sacagawea has been found. In formal recognition of her death there, the Fort Manuel site was entered into the National Register of Historic Places on February 8, 1978, ensuring a lasting commemoration to the final chapter in the life's role of a remarkable heroine of our nation's history.14



Sacagawea's name was spelled by the explorers a total of 17 times. Thirteen of these were recorded by Lewis and Clark, and one was documented by Sergeant John Ordway, each in their original long hand journals. In addition, Clark inscribed her name on three of his maps. Although their flair for inspired spelling created some interesting variations, in every instance all three of the journalists who attempted to write it were consistent in the use of a "g" in the third syllable.

The captains' longhand manuscript journals15 reveal a standardized phonetic spelling of her name, together with its meaning. Lewis's journal entry for May 20, 1805. reads: "a handsome river of about fifty yards in width discharged itself into the shell [Mussellshell] river...this stream we called Sahca-gah-we-ah (sah KAH gah WEE ah) or bird woman's River, after our interpreter the Snake [Shoshoni] woman."16 Clark's three maps that show the river named in her honor reinforce Lewis's spelling and meaning of her name.

Lewis and Clark history scholars, together with the U.S. Geographic Names Board, the U.S. National Park Service, the National Geographic Society, Encyclopedia Americana and World Book Encyclopedia, among others, have adopted the Sacagawea form. The Bureau of American Ethnology, as early as 1910, had standardized the Sacagawea spelling in its publications. Her name traces its etymology to the Hidatsa Indian tribe, among whom she lived most of her adult life. The name derives from two Hidatsa Indian words: sacaga, meaning bird, and wea, meaning woman. It is pronounced Sa ca' ga wea, with a hard "g". Clark would later explain that in recording Indian vocabularies "great object was to make every letter sound."17

Osusus Porsent at the Shortone tribe of Suciaus Greent at the Shortone "A Cannock agency Shipping Sentory November 1th 1844

Show six se 2 1 0 3 6 112

Oat toz 3 4 1 0 8 113

Mah. ve. eip 1 1 0 0 2 114

Otnorew 3 2 2 1 8 115

Oazilo Mother 0 2 1 0 3 117

Oazilo Mother 0 2 1 0 3 117

Oazilo Mother 0 2 1 0 3 117

OBITUARY Bazil's Mother

(Date) April 9, 1884. (Name) Bazil's mother (Shoshone). (Age) One Hundred. (Residence) Shoshone Agency. (Cause of death) Old age. (Place of burial) Burial Grounds, Shoshone Agency. (Signature of clergyman) J. Roberts.

Episcopal Parish Register of Burials. Shoshone Mission Shoshone Agency, Wyoming 10

Over the years a number of linguistic attempts to decipher the mystery of her name have been published. Shoshoni advocates claim her as "Sacajawea" (pronounced SAK ah jah wee ah), a form of her name which has become widely popularized both in spelling and pronunciation, especially in the Far West. This leads to complications, however, because her name never was spelled "Sacajawea" by her contemporaries during her lifetime. Moreover, "Sacajawea" allegedly means the equivalent of "canoe launcher" 18 in Shoshoni, which contradicts Lewis and Clark's primary documentation, "bird woman."19

The "Sacajawea" spelling derives from the 1814 narrative of the journey, a secondary source published two years after Sacagawea's death.20 The narrative was edited by Nicholas Biddle, a classical scholar who never met Sacagawea, so never heard how she pronounced her own name. Biddle worked from the captains' original longhand journal entries, correcting spelling and grammar, and substantially abridging many daily entries. Although Biddle's editing methodology is credited with standardizing the "Sah ca gah we a" form in the longhand journals, it is indeterminate as to why he decided upon the "Sacajawea" spelling in his 1814 narrative, when all of the primary documents available to him spelled the name with a "g".21 Perhaps Biddle was influenced by the poorly formed "g's" contained in many other words evident in Clark's longhand journal entries.

much the same in appearance as that voy san min or bather and that about five miles also the mouth of shell river a handrome river of about fifty, yards in midth discharged itself into the shell river on the Star? or upper side; this othern me called district of the Snake woman's River after our interpretes the Snake woman. Shields also found a bould afing on fountain in this plain country is a quant noverty; I have not seen a bold fountain of pure water amounty; I have not seen a bold fountain of pure water since I left the Mandans; there are much on the latter and all without ones but all without ones from are impregnated with the latter which abounds

Excerpt from Lewis's May 20, 1805 manuscript journal entry. Here, Lewis has written in his own hand: "Sah-ca-gah-we-ah or bird woman's River." (Lewis's "w" in we-ah appears to be an "m".) The amended spelling, Sah ca gah we a, is Biddle's longhand standardized spelling form. 15

Indeed, two decades after the expedition, Clark persisted in this quirk of his penmanship when he spelled her name one final time. On the cover of his 1825-1828 account book, he recorded whether his exploring partners were then living or dead. Here, as is documented elsewhere in the account book, Clark's writing of words such as "wajgen" (wagon), "Georje," "schoolinj," etc., he corroborates his life-long, exasperating idiosyncrasy of scribbling poorly formed "g's" that appear to be "j's" when he penned: "Se car ja we au Dead."22

Certain North Dakota Hidatsa advocates vigorously promote a "Sakakawea" (pronounced sah KAH KAH wee ah) spelling and pronunciation form of her name. Analogous with the "Sacajawea" form, the "Sakakawea" spelling similarly is not found in the Lewis and Clark journals. To the contrary, this spelling traces its origin neither through a personal connection with her, nor in any primary literature of the expedition. It has been

independently constructed from two Hidatsa Indian words found in a dictionary titled: Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians, published by the Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1877

Compiled by U.S. Army Surgeon, Dr. Washington Matthews, 65 years following Sacagawea's death, the words appear verbatim in the dictionary as "tsa-ka-ka, noun; a bird," and "mia [wia, bia], noun; a woman." In a 1950 publication titled: Sakakawea the Bird Woman, it is revealed that when Dr. Matthews' "... Tsakakawia is anglicized for easy pronunciation, it becomes Sakakawea...the spelling adopted by North Dakota."23 This form, however, contradicts Dr. Matthews' own explanation: "In my dictionary I give the Hidatsa word for bird as 'Tsakaka.' Ts is often changed to S, and K to G, in this and other Indian languages, so 'Sacaga' would not be a bad spelling...but never 'Sacaja' [for bird]...wea means woman."24 On page 90 of Dr. Matthews' dictionary it is explained that there is no j included in the Hidatsa alphabet, and that g is pronounced as a "hard g."

The authors of this research effort agree with the sources cited above, that the Shoshoni Indian woman's name has been decisively treated by the disciplines of orthography, etymology and philology, with the effect of formally establishing the Sacagawea spelling and pronunciation. Hopefully, over time, the American "editorial ethic" will uniformly adopt the Sacagawea form. We owe it to America's most famous Native American heroine to correctly spell and pronounce her name, and to unequivocally recognize that the time and place of her rendezvous with destiny was December 20, 1812, at today's nationally designated Fort Manuel Historic Site, South Dakota.

About the Authors...

Irving W. Anderson was a past president, Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. Among his numerous published research efforts was his complete treatise detailing the lives of all three Charbonneaus. Titled: "A Charbonneau Family Portrait: Biographical Sketches of Sacagawea, Jean Baptiste, and Toussaint Charbonneau," the trilogy first appeared in American West Magazine, March/April 1980. A reprint version is available through the Fort Clatsop Historical Association, Astoria, Oregon 97103.

Blanche Schroer was a freelance western history writer and a long-standing member of the foundation. Her vast knowledge of local Wyoming legends concerning Sacagawea was based on decades of residence on the Wind River Indian Reservation and in nearby Lander. Two of her research efforts pertaining to this subject are: 1) Sacagawea: "The Legend and the

NOVEMBER 1999 WE PROCEEDED ON 9

Herris end. Clarks 818 Charts

by Dayton Duncan

epresenting the young nation that would eventually follow them across the continent,

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark "planted the flag" for the United States in the West—figuratively and literally. Tucked away among the tons of equipment they brought with them on their epic journey was a supply of American flags, one of the earlier designs of Old Glory, with 15 stars and 15 stripes.

The captains used the flags for a variety of purposes. One fluttered

over their big keelboat as they ascended the Missouri, signaling that a new nation now claimed the land watered by the mighty river. Others were presented to Indian chiefs, along with a message from their new "Great Father" promising that "when you accept his flag and medal, you accept his hand of friendship, which will never be withdrawn from your nation." (A Yankton Sioux chief was thankful, he said, because the flag was "large and handsome, the shade of which we can sit under," and Lewis is said to have wrapped a newborn Yankton baby in a flag, declaring

the child "an American.")

On Christmas morning of 1805, having just completed their winter quarters, the entire crew began the day by firing off their guns, drinking a round of brandy, and then hoisting the Stars and Stripes. "its first waving in Fort Mandan," added Sergeant Patrick Gass, "was celebrated with another glass."

A flag was with Lewis on August 12, 1805, when he ascended Lemhi Pass, becoming the first United States citizen to reach the Continental Divide. And it was with him the next day, when he became the first white man to reach the

SACAGAWEA

Cont. from p. 9

Truth," In Wyoming, Dec/Jan, 1977-1978; and 2) "Boat Pusher or Bird Woman? Sacagawea or Sacajawea?" *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 52, No. 1, Spring 1980.

END NOTES

'The Shoshoni spelling form was standardized early in this century through scholarly studies sponsored by the Bureau of American Ethnology, now the Smithsonian Institution. See Hodge, Frederick Webb, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, 2 Volumes, published by the Bureau of American Ethnology, Wash., D.C., 1910. Vol. 2, p. 1139.

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15The original manuscript journals are held in the archives of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia. Microfilm copies may be found in major libraries throughout the nation.

¹⁶Moulton, *Journals*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 171. ¹⁷Jackson, *Letters*, op. cit., p. 503.

¹⁸Hebard, *Sacajawea*, op. cit., p. 289. ¹⁹Schroer, Blanche, "Boat-pusher or Bird Woman? Sacagawea or Sacajawea?", *Annals of Wyoming*, Vol. 52, No. 1, Spring 1980, pp. 46-54.

²⁰Biddle, Nicholas and Allen, Paul, Eds., History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, 1804-1806, 2 Vol., 1814. Reprint edition, Coues, Elliott, Ed., Dover Publications, Inc., 3 Vols., 1965.

²¹Anderson, Irving W., "Sacajawea, Sacagawea, Sakakawea?" *South Dakota History*, Vol. 8, No. 4, Fall 1978, pp. 303-311

²²Reid, Russell, "Sakakawea the Bird Woman," *State Historical Society of North Dakota*, Bismarck, 1950, p. 4. ²⁵Wheeler, Olin D., *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*, 1804-1904, G.P. Putnam's Sons,

1904, 2 volumes, Vol. 1, pp. 126, 135.

homeland of the Shoshones, whose willingness to provide horses to total strangers would determine the success or failure of the whole expedition. Conspicuously leaving his rifle on the ground, Lewis advanced alone and on foot toward 60 mounted Shoshone warriors, carrying only the flag, he wrote, "as an emblem of peace."

Lewis and Clark proudly flew the 15-star banner over Fort Clatsop near the ocean, even though Britain still claimed the Pacific Northwest as its own. And long after running out of nearly everything else-whiskey, salt, tobacco, and trade goods-the expedition still had plenty of their nation's flags. Clark used one to purchase food from some Indians on the return trip. Lewis presented one to some Blackfeet warriors, but then pointedly reclaimed it from their corpses after a deadly fight. And Sergeant John Ordway mentions displaying one as they all sped down the Missouri in September of 1806, just a week before their triumphant arrival in St. Louis.

Symbol of empire, token of peace; provider of shade, food, good cheer, and solemn ceremony; talisman of both promises made and promises broken; banner of exploration, reminder of home: Old Glory not only went everywhere with Lewis and Clark, it became, in effect, one of the most important (and versatile) members of the Corps of Discovery.

In following the captains' footsteps to make our television documentary, Ken Burns and I became equally attached to the authentic replica of the 15-star flag which we brought with us on every production trip. We filmed it flying from the stern of a reconstructed keelboat that was traveling up the Missouri from St. Louis to Independence Creek in Kansas, named in 1804 when the explorers marked the first Fourth of July ever celebrated west of the Mississippi.

In our film, the same flag hangs limply over the deserted campsite when Sergeant Charles Floyd is buried near what is now Sioux City, Iowa. It flaps in a frigid wind during a blizzard at Fort Mandan in North Dakota; snaps smartly in a gentle breeze near Great Falls, Montana, where the Corps of Discovery spent July 4, 1805, dancing into the night and drinking the last of their whiskey; and it waves over Fort Clatsop during the scene of Christmas 1805, when for the first time the men's journal entries betray a profound homesickness.

Even at places where we weren't filming it, the flag was always with us. Ken and I unfurled it in the midst of the White Cliffs of the Missouri—the very place Lewis had called "seens of visionary inchantment." We raised it at Lemhi Pass, carted it with us through the snow-capped Bitterroot Mountains, and stowed it in our satchel on a crab boat that bobbed and rolled in the rough swells at the mouth of the Columbia.

Only at the end of the project did we come to a realization about our well-traveled companion, now faded and worn and fraying at the edges: In the nearly two centuries since Lewis and Clark first embarked into what the historian Bernard DeVoto called "the province of the American future," as the nation added 35 bright new stars to its banner, ours is probably the only 15-star United States flag to have retraced the entire length of their historic route.

Understandably, to some people that may be a distinction of little consequence. But to Ken and me it means quite a lot. For us, retracing the trail of Lewis and Clark and retelling their story on film was our own "voyage of discovery," full of the same sense of adventure, awe, adversity, and ultimate accomplishment that the journey held for the two famous friends and co-captains who preceded us.

Our flag is a vivid reminder of that journey—theirs, ours, our nation's.

Editor's Note: The flag had to be returned to Fort Clatsop National Memorial. Sorry, guys!

Foundation member Dayton Duncan is the writer and coproducer, with Ken Burns, of Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery.

FUNDS SOUGHT TO RESTORE MERIWETHER LEWIS PORTRAIT

The Missouri Historical Society seeks funds to support the restoration of a famous portrait of Meriwether Lewis to its original condition in order to exhibit the original artwork in the upcoming National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Exhibition. The portrait is not currently in exhibitable condition.

The portrait is the only surviving one of two profiles of Lewis created by French artist Charles Balthazar Julien Fevret de Saint-Memin. The portrait hung at Locust Hill until the house was sold in the late 1800s. It came to the Missouri Historical Society in 1936 from Meriwether Lewis Anderson, the great-grandson of Lewis's sister Jane.

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation granted the Missouri Historical Society \$3000 to restore and preserve the portrait. The second phase of the restoration, the replication of the frame and glass, will cost \$2000.

Those interested in contributing to this project may send checks to the Missouri Historical Society, P.O. Box 11940, St. Louis, MO 63112. Make checks out to The Missouri Historical Society, with a notation "For Lewis Artifact Fund." Contributions are tax deductible.

ALL IN THE FAMILY

The In-house Honorifics of Lewis and Clark

by Arlen J. Large

During the Lewis and Clark Expedition, landscape features were named for all 33 people who made the round trip to the Pacific. Names were sometimes linked to events involving party members, but more often they seemed to be assigned randomly. Early revisits by expedition veterans helped some of these names to survive.

This article first appeared in 1994 in the publication of the American Name Society.

he Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804-1805 offers much raw material for students of the "psychological and social process of naming," as the discipline of onomastics has been defined (Grimaud, 7). President Thomas lefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to find a trade route from St. Louis across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. On a round trip lasting two and a half years the travelers crossed a vast area of North America that had never been mapped. That landscape was thick with features needing names.1 This study deals with a particular source of Lewis and Clark names: the members of the exploring party themselves. A landscape feature was named for each of the 33 people who made the trip to the Pacific and back. The names of 15 were used twice. Lewis's name was given to three different features and Clark's to four.

Of course, the explorers drew on other sources for their map names.

They used existing names, such as Big Horn River (a translation from the Mandan) and Mt. Hood, mapped during the British Navy's 1792 survey of the Pacific Northwest. They applied their own descriptive names (Milk River, Gates of the Rocky Mountains), and daily events inspired others: Mast Creek was where the party's keelboat suffered a broken mast. And where did Roloje Creek come from? Clark said it was "given me last night in my Sleep" (Moulton, Journals 2:500).

Lewis and Clark were regular U.S. Army officers commanding a military unit formally called the "Corps of Volunteers for North Western Discovery." They led 26 enlisted men to the Pacific, plus two hired civilian interpreters, one of whom was accompanied by his wife and infant son. Clark also took a slave named York. For Lewis and Clark this personnel roster was a handy reservoir of names to tap when nothing else seemed appropriate.

It was the officers' prerogative to decide whose name would go on which feature. A page-by-page examination of the expedition's maps and journals (Moulton Atlas, Journals) has been undertaken to uncover patterns that may have guided these selections. The findings suggest that in-group humor and random whim have an interesting place in the onomastics of exploration. Additional insight is provided on the reasons why some explorer-bestowed names survive while others do not. The examination even throws indirect light on the question of a reputed romance

between Clark and the famed Sacagawea.

There is a long tradition of explorers lending their own names to landmarks they encounter. The 1792 British naval survey led by Captain George Vancouver sprinkled the Pacific Northwest with the names of his shipmates, Lieutenant Peter Puget providing the best-known example. U.S. Army Major Stephen Long likewise wanted to "compliment" a colleague during an 1820 reconnaissance of the Front Range of the Rockies. Long put the name James' Peak on a conspicuous height in modern Colorado after a successful climb to the summit by Edwin James, the expedition's botanist. The peak, however, never shook its association with Lieutenant Zebulon Pike, who had seen it on a previous trip in 1806.

A commander who names a new-found landmark for a subordinate can intend it simply as a morale-building reward. That seemed a reasonable surmise to George Stewart, describing in Names on the Land how Captain John Smith came to name Keale's Hill for his ship's lookout while exploring Chesapeake Bay in 1608: "And though that hil 'was but low,' yet Richard Keale must have felt warm toward his Captain for that courtesy, and was perhaps the better soldier in the days that came" (32).

Early in the trip Lewis and Clark explicitly named Missouri River landmarks for party members linked with some particular event. The first such instance occurred on July 4, 1804, not far from modern Leavenworth, Kansas, and involved Private Joseph Field, one of two brothers in the unit. Clark reported "a Snake bit Jo: Fields on the Side of his foot" (Moulton, *Journals* 2:345-6). That prompted the unpracticed captain to put the awkward label *Jo Fields Snake Prarie* [sic] on a swath of nearby grassland

Floyds River, which enters the Missouri near Sioux City, Iowa, still commemorates the death on August 20, 1804, of Sergeant Charles Floyd, the party's only fatality of the entire trip. A month later, in modern South Dakota, the other Field brother, Reubin, was memorialized for a specific deed. The party's keelboat passed the mouth of a modest stream which, said Clark, "we Call Reubens Creek, as R Fields [sic] found it" (Moulton, Journals 3:106).

The event-specific naming pattern for expedition members stopped in the spring of 1805. Clark's map for the Missouri River route which the expedition followed on April 14 of that year shows a small stream labeled Frasures Run—an Eastern generic that seems out of place on the North Dakota plains, but one that came naturally to the Virginia-born officers. Neither captain's journal bothered to give a reason for singling out Private Robert Frazer, but he was indeed involved in a specific event, which can be identified only in the separate journal of Sergeant John Ordway. He said Frazer, a novice hunter, had to shoot a buffalo "several times" with his musket before killing it (Quaife, 167). Clark's unexplained map name very likely reflected some teasing by his chortling comrades. At any rate, the captains were no longer consistently spelling out such name-event linkages for posterity.

Now began the gratuitous naming of a series of landmarks for various expedition privates, apparently just for the feat of showing up that day: Werner's Creek, for William Werner; Brattens Creek, for William Bratton; Wisers Creek, for Peter Weiser; Goodrich's Island, for Silas Goodrich; Windsors Creek, for Richard Windsor. On May 28 Clark tied the memorialization of Private John Thompson to general merit, describing a stream which "I call Thompsons Creek after a valuable member of our party" (Moulton, Journals 4:213).

At this point, anyone seeking patterns to this naming might ask whether Lewis and Clark tried to rank their esteem for various subordinates according to the size or importance of the feature(s) named for them. Were, for instance, the bigger streams named for the more able members of the party?

The answer is clearly no. Apart from the officers the party's brightest star was unquestionably George Drouillard, a half Shawnee civilian interpreter. "Drewyer," as the captains usually spelled his name, was the group's top hunter and woodsman. Lewis warmly recommended him for a big mission-end bonus. His sole reward in the coin of a named landmark, however, was Drewyers R, described by Clark as "a large Creek" (Moulton, Journals 5:281), passed by the explorers on October 13, 1805, as they rode the Snake River through the dry plains of eastern Washington state. It's now called Palouse River, just a skinny blue thread on the highway maps.

Private John Colter was another of the party's most valued members, but the naming of *Colters Creek* (an unremarkable branch of the Clearwater River in Idaho) rated only a passing mention in Clark's summary of daily compass courses. Conversely, Clark inscribed one of the Columbia River's bigger tributaries in Oregon (now the John Day River) as the

namesake of one of his least enterprising soldiers, Baptiste Lepage.

In assigning these in-house honorifics the captains seemed to work randomly through the personnel roster, honoring stars and ciphers alike as the need arose. After the expedition's arrival at the Pacific Ocean in November, 1805, the name of every adult in the party had been given to at least one feature along the way.

The honorees included Sacagawea, the Shoshoni wife of Toussaint Charbonneau, the other civilian interpreter. When in May, 1805, the explorers came to the junction of the Missouri and Musselshell rivers in eastern Montana, scouts reported seeing "a handsome river" branching off the Musselshell. It went on the route map as Sar kar-gah wea Fork (Moulton, Atlas, Map 51). Clark's slave, York, was commemorated at a multi-channeled division of the Missouri within the Rockies; the route map for July 23, 1805, shows a marking for York's 8 Islands.

The leaders' conscious decision to use everyone's name on the westward journey required a belated catch-up entry for one member who had been overlooked earlier. On the Pacific Coast Clark checked over his outbound route maps and discovered that nothing had been named for Pierre Cruzatte, the party's popular fiddle player. The captain earlier had put the name New Timbered river on a modest stream entering the lower Columbia. He scratched that out and wrote Crusats River instead (Moulton, Journals 5:356-7).

The explorers had fun with a name bestowed during the expedition's winter encampment at the Columbia estuary. In January, 1806, Clark led a detachment to an Indian village to see the carcass of a beached whale. He camped on one side of a small creek and, "while Smokeing with

NOVEMBER 1999 WE PROCEEDED ON 13

the nativ's." heard a scream from the other side. An Indian had lured Private Hugh McNeal across the creek in hopes of robbing him. McNeal was rescued with the help of a native girl ("an old friend"), and everybody went back to the expedition's fort (Moulton, Journals 6:189). McNeal's creekside adventure was related, doubtless with much joshing, to Sergeant Ordway and others who had stayed behind. Ordway wrote "this Creek was named by Capt Clark Mcneals folley" (293). However, Clark later decided to be less whimsical with map names. On his sketch of that neighborhood he called the creek Eculah, a Chinookan term meaning 'whale.'

The expedition began the return journey in the spring of 1806. By July the party was back in the Montana Rockies, where it split to investigate two routes not covered on the outbound trip. As a horseback group led by Lewis rode toward a pass on the Continental Divide, the captain saw a chance to correct an injustice done to his dog, Seaman, a floppy Newfoundland who had made the entire trip thus far. A remote mountain stream thus became Seamans Creek. Lewis decided to name a bigger nearby creek for William Werner, a member of his detachment, though Werner already had been memorialized by a creek in eastern Montana the year before.

With Clark's eastbound detachment, double naming was the rule for nearly the entire party. The captain led 12 people over Bozeman Pass to the upper Yellowstone River where he encountered numerous features needing map names. The first was a northern feeder stream of the Yellowstone which Clark named Shield River, for Private John Shields, the party's blacksmith. Shields' name previously had been given to a creek near the Great

Falls of the Missouri on the outbound trip. Now, on the Yellowstone, the captain saw no difficulty in recycling it.

As the party moved down the Yellowstone. Clark continued to reuse the name of each soldier. William Bratton got his second creek of the trip. Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor's name went on an important-looking tributary running from some squat mountains in the south. Privates George Shannon, Hugh Hall, Richard Windsor, Francois Labiche and George Gibson all had their names placed on Yellowstone feeder streams. York got a "river," though it was only a dry bed, and so did the interpreter, Charbonneau.

The captain didn't forget himself, either, marking a Clark Fork of the Yellowstone on his map. And, at last, he was able to honor a likable expedition member whose name previously hadn't been used at all. By now Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, the interpreter's son, was a year and a half old. The boy had utterly captivated Clark. who called him Pomp. When the party came to an isolated sandstone bluff on the Yellowstone's south bank, Clark called it Pompys Tower.2 And for good measure a nearby stream became Baptiests Creek [sic].

On August 3, 1806, Clark reached the junction of the Yellowstone and Missouri rivers for his planned reunion with Lewis. The name of every member of Clark's party had been used on the Yellowstone except one: Sacagawea, Charbonneau's wife and Pomp's mother.

A number of novels and films purportedly "based upon" the expedition have spiced the story with a love affair between Clark and Sacagawea. A 1955 movie, *The Far Horizons*, depicted Charlton Heston grappling with an unlikely Donna Reed in swarthy makeup. There is

nothing, however, in any of the journals to support this romance— or to disprove it, either. It's one of those open-ended historical mysteries that can only be weighed with indirect evidence. However, Clark's failure to honor his supposed sweetheart with a Yellowstone creek—even a dry one—while so memorializing her husband weighs against the novelists' claim.

The onomastics of the expedition say something about the survivability of landscape names bestowed by transient explorers. Only a few of the names bestowed by Lewis and Clark appear on today's maps, and these tend to be concentrated on the upper reaches of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers in Montana. We might well ask why these and not others?

When Lewis and Clark returned to St. Louis on September 23, 1806, they dazzled the townspeople with tales of western streams alive with beaver. Their word-of-mouth accounts, plus probable Clark sketchmaps of the best beaver country, energized fur trade entrepreneurs such as Manuel Lisa and Auguste and Pierre Chouteau. The very next spring Lisa headed toward the Yellowstone in the company of two expedition veterans, George Drouillard and John Colter.

Thus, by 1807, men already familiar with Clark's map names were on the Yellowstone, making Shield River, Clark Fork³ and Pryors River (and ultimately the Pryor Mountains) part of their regular vocabulary.

These same men were also early defenders of the expedition's greatest naming triumph. In southwestern Montana three streams join to form the Missouri River. The explorers in 1805 gave these three tributaries the names of three political celebrities back home: the *Jefferson*, the *Madison* and the

Gallatin, for the President and the Secretaries of State and Treasury. These were important people, and that fact alone explains in large part why today's maps still show the Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin Rivers converging at the town of Three Forks, Montana.

Perhaps equally important for their survival, these names were used early on. Sergeant Patrick Gass in 1807 scooped his sluggish captains by publishing a narrative account of the Pacific expedition. Gass's widely-circulated book made the first published references to the celebrity names given by Lewis and Clark to the three forks of the Missouri, Also, in 1810 a Lisa-financed trapping team again including Drouillard and Colter-returned to the area, further ensuring that the names of those rivers would remain in general use.

Thus, by 1814, when an authorized account of the expedition was finally published by Philadelphia lawyer Nicholas Biddle (ghostwriting for Clark; Lewis was dead), a few of the original names on the upper Yellowstone and Missouri were already locally current. Biddle's narrative was accompanied by a continental-scale map which Clark had compiled from his smaller expedition route maps. The engraver had to squeeze out the names of party members originally applied to some of the smaller features, but Clark's published map still showed landmarks named for himself and 29 of his companions. Of these, only the names of seven features given by the explorers survive. Perhaps we may learn from this the lesson that "the naming of places is not an act of permanence" (Jackson, 89), and names parceled out by people "just passing through" tend to vanish unless they are nourished soon and often by local usage.

It may also take government intervention to save a name from local natural extinction. No old Lewis and Clark soldiers returned to that neighborhood on Montana's Musselshell River where the captains had named a fork for the then-obscure Sacagawea in 1805. With no defenders the explorers' name gave way to Crooked Creek when settlers arrived. By the twentieth century, however, Sacagawea had become a celebrated feminist heroine, and many wanted the explorers' old honorific restored on government maps. In 1979 the U.S. Board on Geographic Names decided that Crooked Creek would officially be known as Sacagawea River.

About the Author...

A former president of the foundation, the late Arlen J. "Jim" Large was one of the most prolific and best writers to appear on the pages of WPO. This is the last article he sent to WPO.

END NOTES

'Lewis and Clark went 80 percent of the way on rivers, so they mostly named tributary streams, islands and other riverine features. Mountains generally went unnamed unless they were conspicuous stand-alone features, such as Mt. Jefferson, a volcanic cone in the Oregon Cascades missed by the 1792 British naval survey. Several mountains in the Rockies today

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honor expedition members, but they were named decades after the trip.

²In his 1814 narrative of the expedition, Nicholas Biddle altered Clark's original name, Pompys Tower, to Pompey's pillar, which survives today without the apostrophe. Biddle was mimicking an Egyptian monument to a Roman general of that

³Besides Clarks Fork (with a modern s) of the Yellowstone, another surviving expedition name marks Clark Fork, a distant tributary of the Columbia. Both are in Montana but on opposite sides of the Continental Divide.

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GEORGE DROUILLARD and Fort Massac

by Jo Ann Brown

ix years before signing on with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, George Drouillard took part in a sensitive international mission for the United States Army. What's more, this mission was probably just one of Drouillard's many services to the United States in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

The setting was Fort Massac, an army stronghold on the lower Ohio River in what is now southern Illinois, less than 40 miles above the Mississippi River. The time was July 1797. The backdrop was the long delayed evacuation of Spain's Mississippi River posts in accordance with the Treaty of San Lorenzo, commonly called Pinckney's Treat, of 1795. How Drouillard got involved as an army auxiliary requires a little background information.

Spain made four major concessions to the United States when its minister, Manuel de Godoy, signed Pinckney's Treaty. First, it agreed to abandon its fortifications east of the Mississippi River and north of Spanish Florida. Second, it granted Americans the right to freely navigate the Mississippi. Third, it guaranteed Americans the right to store their commercial wares in New Orleans for ocean transshipment. And last of all, it promised to stop stirring up the tribes east of the Mississippi. I

The first and last points were mutually contradictory: by abandoning its eastern posts, Spain would surely aggravate the Native Americans who looked to these strongholds for protection and support (the Chickasaws, Choctaws, Cherokees, and Creeks). Many expected these tribes to avenge themselves on the incoming American forces.

George Drouillard and his maternal relatives (who were Shawnee) apparently had settled in the Mississippi Valley by this time. They must have felt the tension created by these changes, whether through dealings with the above tribes or through their kinship with Louis Lorimier, commandant of Capt Girardeau, a Spanish post on the west side of the Mississippi River.² Like other post commanders, Lorimier had the difficult task of keeping the peace throughout the political transition.

Madrid first ordered Governor Hector Baron de Carondelet in New Orleans to abandon the eastern posts in compliance with the treaty. No sooner had the baron dispatched express riders to the faraway posts with orders to this effect than new orders to the opposite effect arrived from Spain. Due to friction among the European superpowers of that day (France, Spain and England), the baron was now instructed to hold on to the posts as bargaining chips for as long as possible.

Again, he sent express riders galloping north and east from New Orleans in an effort to beat the first group. Carondelet was partially successful. The new orders reached the forts at Natchez, Walnut Hills (now Vicksburg, Mississippi) and St. Stephen (in southern

Alabama) in time. But the Spanish commander at the far-flung post named San Fernando de las Barrancas, at what Americans of that era called the Chickasaw Bluffs (later the site of Memphis, Tennessee) had carried out the first set of instructions immediately. By the time Carondelet's revised mandate arrived in the spring of 1797, Fort San Fernando's contingent had already dismantled and abandoned their fort. This left the bluffs open—an inviting toehold for American forces.³

News of the evacuation reached Fort Massac, where Captain Isaac Guion of the Third U.S. Infantry and two companies of his regiment, along with a handful of artillerymen, waited impatiently to proceed downriver and take command. Guion, a "singularly handsome man, with a military port and manner," was a native New Yorker and a Revolutionary War veteran, and had served once before at Fort Massac.4 Ordered by General James Wilkinson to take possession of the Mississippi River posts and to establish American jurisdiction in the ceded area. Guion and his command had left Fort Washington at Cincinnati on May 26, 1797 and stopped briefly in Louisville on their way down the Ohio River.

William Clark, recently retired from the army, had been noting American troop movements from his home near Louisville since February of that year when he wrote his brother Edmund, "a Detachment of about 100 men is hear on the way to take possession of

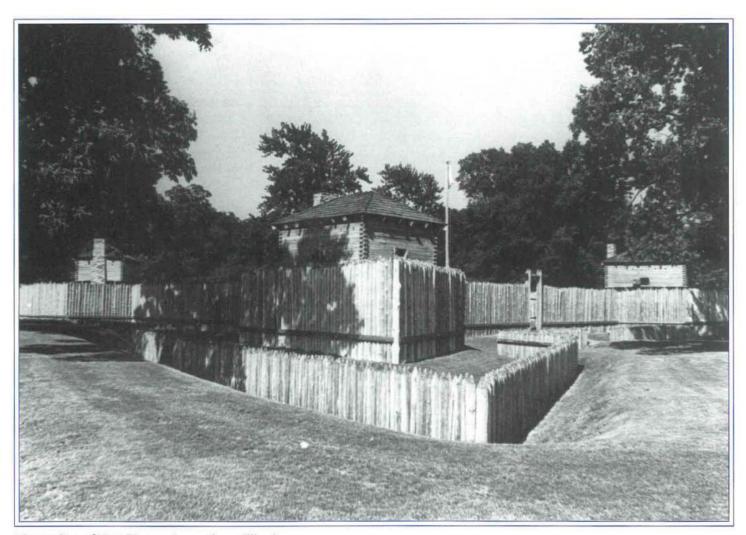
Nautchez."5 It was fitting for a Clark to notice a military party headed toward Massac. Clark's famous brother, George Rogers, had made brilliant use of this site in 1778 when he and his ragtag band of Virginians conquered the Illinois country for the American cause.

Back then, Fort Massac (commonly called Fort Massacre) was an abandoned French outpost separated by miles of rough country from settlements at Vincennes and Kaskaskia. American forces continued to use this site long after the revolution ended British control of the Ohio Valley. They found the remaining defenses helpful in keeping the native peoples in check and in monitoring conspiracies among those who were plotting to separate Kentucky and Tennessee from the United States. George Rogers Clark, hounded by creditors and disillusioned by the United States' refusal to pay the debts he incurred in his country's service during the revolution, was involved in one such intrigue in 1793.

So worrisome were these rumors of conspiracy and Indian troubles that the following year Gen. Anthony Wayne put together an expedition to rebuild the fortifications at Massac. This led to Wayne's meeting a remarkable young Shawnee hunter named George in 1795, after he received a glowing letter praising George's linguistic and hunting abilities. Two years later, Isaac Guion sent a letter to Wavne's successor, General James Wilkinson, in which he mentioned sending George Drouillard on a diplomatic mission.

Because the first letter does not give George a surname, it cannot be proven beyond a doubt that it refers to Drouillard. Still, both messages stand as testimonials to the same talents and attributes that Lewis and Clark noted a decade later in their "Drewyer."

Wayne met "George" through Maj. Thomas Doyle, whom he put in charge of rebuilding Massac. Doyle directed Capt. Isaac Guion's company and a group of artillerymen to erect a blockhouse



The replica of Fort Massac in southern Illinois.

Photo courtesy of Clyde Wills, The Metropolis Planet. Metropolis, Illinois

and a redoubt on a bluff overlooking the river. Although these and the other buildings of that era have not survived, enough of their contours remained in the soil to make possible a twentieth-century reconstruction of the fort now open to the public at Fort Massac State Park, near Metropolis, Illinois. This reconstruction includes a palisade of upright logs, a surrounding ditch, and several two-story bastions. About 60 surrounding acres were originally cleared to make a parade ground and to afford an unobstructed view.6

Major Doyle and his men had good reason to take such precautions. Although rumors of conspiracies continued to bubble, the neighboring Indians presented an immediate threat. Bands of Shawnees and Delawares found the activities at Fort Massac so alarming that they called a council of war across the Mississippi at New Madrid, where they tried to arouse Spanish authorities against the Americans. But the Spanish threw their support to Doyle and his forces, and negotiations began with the disgruntled Indians.

Doyle praised "George" in a letter to General Wayne dated August 23, 1795:⁷

I had the honor to mention to Your Excellency, the Services the Garrison of Fort Massac had received from George a young Shawanee lad. This young man has just come up, led altogether by a desire of seeing the Army & some relations among his tribe. I take the liberty to present him to your Excellency, as a young man deserving your Notice & Encouragement. When he came to me last October he could not speak a word of English but now can understand Whatever is said to him. he is remarkably Sober and has a strong desire to live among the White people,

he understand[s] seven Indian Languages in a short time would make an excelant interpreter. No allowance or present of any kind has ever been made to him from the public altho he served me as an Interpreter δ a Messenger, at several times, δ has for some time Suported the Garrison by his hunting.

Fast forward to 1797, when the handsome Isaac Guion was moving against the old Mississippi Forts of Spain. On June 9 of that year, Guion and the vanguard of the army's occupational force tied up their flatboat, the Experiment, at the foot of Fort Massac. There to greet them was the post's commander, Capt. Zebulon Pike (father of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, who later explored the southern Rocky Mountains).

Guion expected resistance from the Spanish before he even reached the Mississippi. Instructed by General Wilkinson to "sail under the flag of the United States, displayed conspicuously" and to notify Spanish authorities of his contingent's approach but not to stop for anything short of an official order or menace,8 Guion promptly sent a messenger from Massac to the Spanish commander across the Mississippi at New Madrid, Col. Charles Dehault Delassus replied by inviting the captain and his men to linger at New Madrid. Guion refused.9

Alarming news about the southern tribes reached Massac at around the same time. A Kentucky trader who had recently left New Orleans told Guion that although the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations appeared friendly, the Spanish had been inciting the Creeks to strike against the United States—a violation of the new treaty, if true. With Guion's assent, Massac commander Pike sent a small contingent downstream to notify the Chickasaws of Guion's coming.¹⁰

On July 8, five Chickasaw hunters showed up at Fort Massac, claiming to have no knowledge of Pike's messengers. Guion gave them presents, noting that they were "apparently highly satisfied," and persuaded one of them to descend the Mississippi with him as far as the Chickasaw Bluffs. He also plied a peaceful band of neighboring Cherokees with flour and salt, but was unable to meet their needs for tobacco."

In a letter dated July 9, 1797
Guion reported to General
Wilkinson that two of these Cherokees, an influential man named
Longhair and his English-speaking
wife, had agreed to join the party
to the bluffs. Then, almost as an
afterthought, he added, "George
Drouillard the young half-breed
also goes." Before closing the letter, Guion wrote, "As soon as I have
passed New Madrid I shall send
George Drouillard back to Massac
with the report of the event."

12

Why George Drouillard? Years later, Lewis and Clark praised his abilities as a hunter and a master of Indian languages, but Guion's offhand mention of Drouillard suggests that by 1797, this son of a French Canadian father and a Shawnee mother had already earned a reputation as a go-between in the Illinois country. It seems likely that Captain Guion had become acquainted with young Drouillard and his valuable skills during Guion's rebuilding of Fort Massac in 1794.

George Drouillard went on to carry important messages for the Corps of Discovery. Even before the expedition got underway, he delivered letters and necessary items between Lewis in St. Louis and Clark at the Wood River campsite. After the death of Sgt. Charles Floyd, both the commanders relied on "Drewyer" to carry messages, as well as to hunt and interpret for the party.¹³

Captain Guion found conditions around the Chickasaw Bluffs peaceful enough to establish a garrison. Although this post was christened Fort Adams, it soon became known as Fort Pickering, the name by which it was known when Meriwether Lewis arrived on his fatal post-expedition trip to Washington in 1809.

Guion turned over command of the Chickasaw Bluffs fort in November of 1797 and continued downriver to complete his mission. The Spanish soon withdrew from the last of their posts. When Captain Guion reached Natchez, he prepared the vast area known as the Mississippi Territory for civil government. Considering the obstacles facing him at the beginning of his mission—the lack of cooperation from the Spanish and the understandable fears of the area's tribes-Guion presided over a remarkably smooth transfer of international power. His journal makes no further mention of Drouillard.

There are no other details known about the young man's mission between Fort Massac and New Madrid, Aside from Lewis and Clark's enlistment of Drouillard in November of 1803, the sketchy records of this era have little else to add until February of the following year, when Drouillard returned to Fort Massac from St. Louis and executed a promissory note for just over \$300 to a creditor named Frederick Graeter.14

That Lewis and Clark let Drouillard travel so far away from their base on personal business testifies to the respect he must have earned in their eyes—before the expedition even began. Or possibly the commanders were responding to the high praise of authorities such as Capt. Isaac Guion and Maj. Thomas Doyle. For whatever reason, Lewis and Clark never regretted enlisting "George Drouillard the young half-breed" and thereafter relied upon him perhaps more than they relied on any other member of the expedition.

About the author...

Jo Ann Brown is an attorney in Florissant, Missouri.

END NOTES

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"Ibid., pp. 31-34. 12 Ibid., p. 33.

13Skarsten, p. 29. 14 Ibid., pp. 23-24.

Addicted to Lewis and Clark

Addictions are not always a bad thing. Roger Wendlick knows.

For 18 years he worked six days a week to underwrite his addiction. A middle-aged construction foreman, he refinanced his home three times and skirted personal bankruptcy.

He got hooked in 1984 when he spent \$695 on a 1904 edition of the Lewis and Clark journals. His obsession began with a souvenir plate from the 1905 Lewis and Clark Exposition that he inherited from his grandmother. Within four

years he'd gathered 1,200 items from the exposition. When he grew bored, he sold all but a place setting and turned his attention to books.

The end result?

He built the world's finest private collection of rare books about the 1804-06 Lewis and Clark Expedition.

It would be hard to put a price tag on the more than 1,000 books, maps, newspapers and other documents he collected, but just one of his prized books, an 1814 Nicholas

Biddle edition of the journals in prime shape, may be worth as much as \$200,000.

Wendlick sold his collection to Lewis & Clark College in Portland, Oregon last fall for an undisclosed amount. "It was part gift and part purchase," said Michael Mooney, college president.

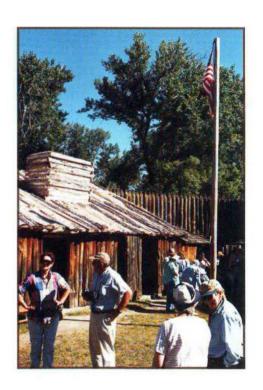
Wendlick's collection, teamed with another given to the college by the late E.G. "Frenchy" Chuinard, pushes the college into the top ranks for Lewis and Clark research.



Sakakawea

31st Annual Meeting BISMARCK, NORTH DAKOTA

Photos by Steve Lee and Beverly Hinds







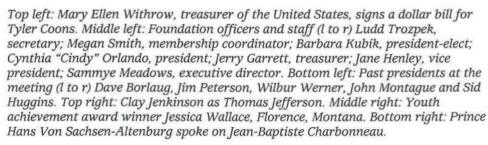


Top left: Sakakawea statue by Crunelle on the North Dakota capitol grounds near the North Dakota Heritage Center. Middle left: Inside Fort Mandan. Bottom left: An easy way to travel the Missouri River. Top above: A powerful image—the entry to a Knife River earth lodge and (above) Fort Abraham Lincoln near Bismarck.

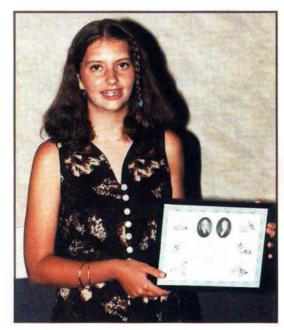














NOVEMBER 1999 WE PROCEEDED ON 21

32nd Annual Meeting—

See the "Cradle of Montana History" As An Optional Trip

group of Colorado miners, called Pikes Peakers, who were making their way through the mountains on the way to Idaho gold fields, camped along a small tributary of the Beaverhead River on July 28, 1862. Lewis and Clark had called the river Jefferson's River and the tributary was named Willard's Creek. The miners called the tributary Grasshopper Creek and when they panned sand from it, they started the first major gold rush in what is now Montana.

Mining produced considerable gold and the town called Bannack (named for an Indian tribe, but spelled wrong by the post office department) grew rapidly. Bannack and the surrounding area may have reached a population of 5000 by the summer of 1863. When gold was discovered in Alder Gulch in the summer of 1863, the population of Bannack was depleted.

The Territory of Montana was created on May 20, 1864 and Bannack was designated as the capital because that was where the man who was appointed governor lived.

There was an understanding that the capital would be moved to Virginia City after the legislature met for one session in Bannack.

Bannack has been called the "cradle of Montana history". The town was the site of many "firsts". The first major gold discovery, the first territorial capital, the first jail, the first Masonic temple, the first organized mining district (called Gulch Government), and eventually, the first electric gold dredge in the world.

The Grasshopper area produced between \$5 and \$10 million worth of gold. Most of the production sold for \$16-\$18 an ounce. There were a total of five gold dredges operated in the area in the late 1800s.

Bannack is now a state park where the emphasis is on preservation rather than restoration. An annual Bannack Days is held each July and attracts many people.

There are re-enactments by mountain men, road agents and vigilantes, horse-shoers, candle makers and quilters to name a few. There are a wide variety of 1860s costumes.

Bannack attracts about 40,000 visitors a year.



Bannack, Montana



Meade Hotel, Bannack, Montana

22 WE PROCEEDED ON

Paddle a 34' Voyageur Canoe Along The Trail of Lewis & Clark!

Missouri River Expeditions



iver Odysseys West (ROW) is proud to offer fully outfitted trips on the Upper Missouri River traveling in stable 34' canoes that replicate those of the early fur-traders. Similar in size to the dugouts used by the Corps of Discovery, each canoe carries up to 14 paddlers and two talented ROW guides. They provide the perfect platform for spinning yarns and gazing upon the many points of interest along the way while you paddle from a comfortable sitting position. These adventures are designed for people age five and up with an interest in exploring and learning about the rich history of the Upper Missouri. No previous camping or canoeing experience is required.

Several departures are designated as Iourneys of Discovery™ and will feature talented authors, historians and interpreters with specialized knowledge of this area. For the year 2000, look for Jack Nisbet, author of Sources of the River, a book about the famous fur-trader David Thompson; Otis Halfmoon, chief interpreter for the Nez Perce National Historic Park, who will bring his story telling and knowledge of the Indian history of the area; and several others.

ROW provides all the equipment you need along with our legendary "safari-style" luxury camping. A camp boat sets up camp prior to your arrival, including roomy tents, dining tables, chairs, and sun-showers. Six-course meals begin with tasty hors d'oeuvres and end with a Dutch oven dessert. Stargazing and tales around the evening campfire complete the day.

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The adventure begins in Great Falls, Montana, Five-Day trips include a visit to the fabulous Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center. We also stop in Fort Benton for lunch and then we proceed on to the put-in point at Coal Banks Landing.

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Herpetology on the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1801-1806

by Keith R. Benson Department of Biology Whitworth College, Spokane, Washington

Editor's Note: This article first appeared in *Herpetological Review* magazine in September 1978. It is reprinted with permission of the author.

ne of the main goals of the overland exploration to the new Northwest Territory, commissioned by Thomas Jefferson and led by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark between 1804-1806, was to compile a comprehensive list of the flora and fauna of the northwest region. As a result, the journals Lewis and Clark kept during their journey to the Northwest contain a wealth of information concerning the natural history of the area. Typical of the thrust in natural history during the early part of the nineteenth century, their journal accounts reflect an overwhelming preoccupation with ornithology, botany and mammalogy. Mammals received particular attention because of their importance both as a food source for the naturalists and for the economic value of their fur. The herpetological forms of this area are given little treatment in the journals. Most references to reptiles and amphibians are of an incidental nature and, therefore, appear to be subsidiary information to the main body of knowledge compiled by the expedition. In spite of the "second billing" status of herpetology

on the overland exploration, much information can be obtained concerning these animals by a careful examination of the journal passages in which references are made to reptiles and amphibians.

Unfortunately, there has been little attention paid to the herpetological observations of Lewis and Clark. In fact, until fairly recently there have been few attempts to examine any of the natural history done on the expedition. Most of this neglect can be attributed to the tendency of treating Lewis and Clark as pioneering explorers, adventurous woodsmen and able military leaders. The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (Burroughs, 1961) and Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists (Cutright, 1969) have been two recent attempts directed toward providing an additional interpretation of the overland explorers. Both authors attempt to depict Lewis and Clark as able amateur naturalists by emphasizing the zoological aspects of the expedition. In this attempt, Burroughs and Cutright have set out to characterize the animal forms described by the two naturalists in their journals. Generally, the classifications have been enormously successful. However, complete satisfaction is lacking in reference to the classification and description of the herpetological

There are several conjectural reasons to explain the unsatisfactory treatment of the reptiles and amphibians. First, many of the ref-

erences Lewis and Clark made to these animals are very scanty and descriptively superficial. This fact alone has made exact identification of species difficult in many cases and almost impossible in a few instances. Secondly, neither Burroughs nor Cutright appear to have placed the necessary emphasis upon a careful scrutiny of the herpetological entries in the journals. It is not apparent that either author consulted a herpetologist to aid in these descriptions. Burroughs did not list any reference to herpetological guides, check lists or manuals in his bibliography. Cutright utilized only three herpetology references (Cope, 1900; Steineger and Barbour, 1939; Schmidt, 1953). Two of these are quite old and none emphasizes western species. Thirdly, neither author appears to have an extensive personal acquaintance with the reptiles and amphibians of the Northwest. As a result, their identifications of species described by Lewis and Clark often rely upon reference to dominant species usually found in a given geographical area. In several cases, such a technique has resulted in erroneous identification.

The procedure followed in this study has been to refer to the journals of the expedition (Thwaites, 1904-05) to examine the field descriptions Lewis and Clark have provided concerning the animal they examined, and to consult, when necessary, herpetological field guides and maps to provide

24 WE PROCEEDED ON NOVEMBER 1999

an accurate identity to the species under consideration (Stebbins. 1966). In several cases, the result of this study has been to correct previously erroneous identifications. Additionally, it has allowed identification of species not previously identified. However, there are a few instances in which several possible species are provided instead of the one species usually described. In these cases, the problem is one of narrowing the possible species down to the most likely species; that is, the descriptions offered in the journals do not allow for a more precise identification.

SALAMANDERS

1. Taricha granulosa, roughskinned newt

William Clark, Fort Clatsop, Oregon, March 12, 1806.

"There is a species of water lizard of which I only saw one just above the grand rapid of the Columbia. it is about 9 inches long the body is reather flat and about the size of a mans finger, covered with a soft skin of dark brown colour with an uneven surface covered with little pimples, the neck and head are short, the latter terminating in an accute angular point and flat, the fore feet each have four toes, the hinder ones five unconnected with a web and destitute of tallons. it's tail was reather longer than the body, and in the form like that of the Muskrat, first riseing in an arch higher than the back, and descending lower than the body at the extremety, and flated perpendicularly, the belley and under part of the neck and head were of a Brick red every other part of the colour of the upper part of the body are dark brown the mouth was smooth without teeth." (Thwaites, Vol. IV. p. 162.)

The skin texture, coloration and general body description along with the habitat indicates that

Clark was describing Taricha granulosa. While the venter is not characteristically "Brick red," specimens have been observed with a reddish orange color on the ventral surface (Stebbins, 1966). Clark noted that the "water lizzard" did not have teeth, but perhaps this incorrect observation was the result of a brief visual examination. If he had felt the roof of the mouth of Taricha, he would have noticed that the newt does have teeth, although they are not readily visible. The most convincing evidence for this identification. however, comes from the distribution of Taricha. It is the only newt or salamander found in the Columbia River region even closely resembling Clark's description.

Burroughs (1961, p. 280) erroneously identifies this newt as *Diemyctylus torosus*, the California newt. *D. torosus* is indigenous to California, not Oregon (Stebbins, 1966). Cutright (1969, p. 429) makes the same error as Burroughs. He also adds the incorrect species names of *Tritorus torosus torosus and Triton totosus*.

FROGS

 Bufo boreas, western toad Meriwether Lewis, Kamiah, Idaho, May 30, 1806.

"a large species of frog which resorts the water considerably larger than our bull frog, it's shape seems to be a medium between the delicate and lengthy form of our bull frog and that of our land frog or toad as they are sometimes called in the U'States. like the latter their bodies are covered with little pustles or lumps, elivated above the ordinary surface of the body; I never heard them make any sound or noise." (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 87).

Lewis's description is probably of a *Bufo*, and the only large *Bufo* frequenting this part of Idaho is *Bufo boreas*. While Lewis claimed to have never heard the toad call, western *Bufo boreas* does have a

mellow chirping. However, the voice is not remarkable as B. boreas does not have a resonating vocal pouch (Stebbins, 1954). In addition, Bufo boreas is one of the anurans losing its species specific mating call. The toad is found in regions where no other similar species occurs and, consequently, little or no opportunities for crossmating exist (Porter, 1972). Habitat and range characteristics of the frog from the journals are also consistent with current descriptions of Bufo boreas. The toad prefers water or moist habitats and is widely distributed throughout the Northwest, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming.

3. Hyla regilla, Pacific tree frog

4. Pseudacris triseriata, chorus frog

Meriwether Lewis, Yellowstone (Wyoming-Montana region), April 15, 1805.

"I heard the frogs crying for the first time this season; their note was the same with that of the small frogs which are common to the lagoons and swamps of the U. States." (Thwaites, Vol. I, p. 312)

Meriwether Lewis, Fort Clatsop, Oregon, March 29, 1806.

"The frogs are croaking in the swamps and marshes; their notes do not differ from those of the Atlantic States." (Thwaites, Vol. IV, p. 216.)

Meriwether Lewis, Fort Clatsop, Oregon, March 30, 1806.

"The frogs are now abundant and are crying in the swamps and marshes." (Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 211.)

Meriwether Lewis, Kamiah, Idaho, May 30, 1806.

"a smal green tree-frog." (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 87.)

The description, "a smal green tree-frog," definitely refers to *Hyla regilla*. It is a widespread species in the Northwest and is the species responsible for most of the calls and "crying in the swamps and marshes." However, the range of

Hyla does not extend into the Yellowstone region. While Lewis did not mention actually observing the frog, he did note its voice similarity to the small frogs of the United States. My supposition is that Lewis may have been referring to the boreal chorus frog, Pseudacris triseriata, which is dispersed widely from the Rocky Mountains to the Eastern Seaboard.

Cutright (1969, p. 428) refers to the frog in the Lower Columbia region between the Lewis River and Fort Clatsop as Rana pretiosa. This identification is highly unlikely. While the range of R. pretiosa may have been markedly reduced in the last 150 years by Rana catesbeiana, it probably had a very limited distribution west of the Cascades. When found in this area, it is usually limited to cold, fast waters. In addition, the voice of R. pretiosa is unknown (Stebbins, 1966). The journal entries made definite reference to the calls of the frog.

TURTLES

5. *Trionyx spiniferus hartwegi*, western spiny softshell turtle.

Meriwether Lewis, Musselshell River on eastern slope of Rocky Mountains, May 26, 1805.

"near it's entrance it had a handsome little stream of running water; in this creek I saw several softshelled Turtles which were the first that had been seen this season;" (Thwaites, Vol. II, p. 79).

William Clark, Musselshell River on eastern slope of Rocky Mountains, May 26, 1805.

"we passed 2 creeks on the Stard Side both of them had running water in one of those Creek Capt Lewis tells me he saw soft shell Turtle." (Thwaites, Vol. II, p. 83.)

William Clark, Tongue River in Yellowstone area, July 29, 1806.

"The river widens I think it may be generally Calculated at from 500 yards to half a mile in width more Sand and gravelly bars than above. cought 3 catfish. They were small and fat. also a Soft Shell turtle." (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 307.)

There is only one softshell turtle which has a range into the Yellowstone region, *Trionyx* spiniferus hartwegi. Cutright (1969, p. 337) provides an incorrect name for this turtle, *Amyda spinifera* spinifera.

6. Chrysemys picta, painted turtle.

Meriwether Lewis, Great Falls, Montana, June 25, 1805.

"see a number of water terrapins." (Thwaites, Vol. II, p. 186.)

From this extremely abbreviated reference, positive identification of the turtle species is impossible. However, a conjectural identification based upon the range of specific turtles can be offered. *Chrysemys picta* is widely distributed in the Rocky Mountain region and is quite common in Montana.

Cutright (1969, p. 428) describes the turtle as *Pseudemys troosti elegans* or *Emys elegans*. The accepted name for this turtle is *Chrysemys scripta elegans* (Conant, 1975), but even this name is incorrect since this species had a more southern dispersal.

LIZARDS

7.-8. *Phrynosoma douglassi*, pigmy horned lizard (*P. d. douglassi*) and Eastern shorthorned lizard (*P. d. brevirostre*).

Meriwether Lewis, Upper Kooskooske between Walla Walla and the Bitter Root Mountains, May 29, 1806.

"a species of lizzard called by the French engages prairie buffaloe are native of these plains as well as those of the Missouri. I have called them the horned lizzard. They are about the size and a good deal of the figure of the common black lizzard. but their bellies are broader, the tail shorter and their action much slower; they crawl

much like the toad, they are of a brown colour. arround the edge of the belley is regularly set with little horney projections which give to these edges a serrate figure the eve is small and of a dark colour, above ane behind the eyes there are several projections of the bone which being armed at their extremities with a firm black substance has the appearance of horns sprouting out from the head, this part has induced me to distinguish it by the appellation of the horned Lizzard. I cannot conceive how the engages ever assimilated this animal with the buffaloe for there is not greater analogy than between the horse and the frog. this animal is found in greatest numbers in the sandy open parts of the plains, and appear in great abbundance after a shower of rain; they are sometimes found basking in the sunshine but conceal themselves in little holes in the earth much the greater proportion of their time, they are numerous about the falls of the Missouri and in the plains through which we past lately above the Wallahwallahs." (Thwaites, Vol. V. pgs. 80-81.)

Both Lewis and Clark made several other entries in the journals to the horned toad or "horned Lizzard." This species is so distinct that it is unquestionably *Phrynosoma douglassi*, the only species of horned lizard found in this area. There are two subspecies the naturalists probably encountered. In the Columbia River region, *P. d. douglassi* is commonly found, while the subspecies *P. d. brevirostre* is the horned toad observed in Montana, Wyoming and the Dakotas.

Cutright (1969, p. 428) incorrectly describes the horned lizard as *Phrynosoma cornutum*. The error can be attributed to lack of attention to range maps. *P. cornutum* is the species native to Texas, Oklahoma, New Mexico and northern

Mexico. The northern species is *P. douglassi*, which ranges from Oregon to the Dakotas.

9. Sceloporus occidentalis, Western fence lizard.

Meriwether Lewis, Fort Clatsop, Oregon, March 11, 1806.

"the black or dark brown Lizzard we saw at the rock fort Camp at the commencement of the woody country below the great narrows and falls of the Columbia; they are also the same with those of the United States." (Thwaites, Vol. IV, p. 155.)

There are numerous references of a casual nature referring to the "common Lizzard" or the black or "dark brown Lizzard." The problem with providing an accurate identification of these lizards is that there is not a species of lizard so ubiquitous in the United States to fit uniformly the widespread distribution to which Lewis refers. However, if we look back to Lewis' description of P. douglassi, there is a relative description of the "common black lizard." This lizard is about the same size and shape of the horned toad, but the abdomen is narrower, the tail longer and the action of the lizard is much more rapid. The general body description, shape and the habits of the lizard correspond to Sceloporus occidentalis, a species found throughout Oregon and a member of a genus which is spread across the United States. The only problem with this identification is that S. occidentalis has a brilliant blue to turquoise coloration on the belly. If Lewis had carefully examined this lizard, he should have been sufficiently impressed by the coloration to make note of it in the journals. Perhaps he did notice the coloring, but failed to make permanent record of it. Or, perhaps he could not capture the elusive lizard and did not notice the ventral coloring. or caught only dull-colored females or young. As previously mentioned, his lack of careful attention to detail in regard to the lizards can be explained by the general lack of interest in the collection of herpetological forms. From the sketchy descriptions of salamanders, turtles and frogs, it should be apparent that there was not much emphasis upon making a careful record of reptilian or amphibian detail.

The only other possible lizards that Lewis could have observed would have been Eumeces skiltonianus. Gerrhonotus coeruleus and Gerrhonotus multicarinatus. Again, E. skiltonianus is a brownish lizard with very rapid motion, but the body is very slender and in no way is similar to the horned toad. Additionally, this lizard usually has a bright blue tail, a fact sure to attract even the most casual observer. Both Gerrhonotus species could have been sighted, but Lewis's reference appears to be much more consistent with Sceloporus occidentalis. It is also quite probable that the naturalists could have lumped all sightings of lizards under the rubric of "common Lizzard."

SNAKES

10. Opheodrys vernalis, smooth green snake.

William Clark, Salt River, Missouri, September 19, 1806.

"saw a green Snake as high up as Salt Rivr on the Missouri." (Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 229.)

From the distribution of green snakes, the only species Clark could have been describing is the smooth green snake, *Opheodrys vernalis*. It is the only snake with this coloration that inhabits the Missouri region. In addition, isolated populations are located in the mountains in the southern and western part of its range, which includes the Dakotas, Missouri, Wyoming, Montana and Idaho.

11.-12. Pituophis melanoleucus,

bullsnake or gopher snake. Meriwether Lewis, Blair, Nebraska, August 5, 1804

"Killed a serpent on the bank of the river adjoining a large prairie Length from nose to tail, 5F 2 Inch

Circumpherence in largest part, 4 1/2

Number of scutta on belly, 221 Dd. on Tale, 53

No pison teeth therefore think him perfectly inocent, eyes, center black with a border of pale brown yellow Colour of skin on head yellowish green with black specks on the extremity of the scuta which are pointed or triangular colour of back, transverse stripes of black and dark brown of an inch in width, the end of the tale hard and pointed like a cock's spur the sides are speckled with yellowish brown and black, two roes of black spots on lite yellow ground pass throughout his whole length on the upper points of the scuta of the belly and tale 1/2 Inch apart this snake is vulgarly called the cow or bull snake from a bellowing nois which it is said sometimes to make resembling that animal tho' as to this fact I am unable to attest it myself." (Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 124.)

Sergeant Charles Floyd, Blair, Nebraska, August 5, 1804.

"a verry large Snake was Killed to day Called the Bull Snake his Colure Something like a Rattel Snake..." (Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 24.)

Meriwether Lewis, Bonhamme County, South Dakota, September 5, 1804.

"This day one of our hunters brought us a Serpent beautifully variegated with small black spotts of a romboydal form on a light yellow white ground. the black predominate most of the back the whiteish yellow on the sides, and it is nearly white on the belly with a few partly couloured scuta in which the black shews but imperfectly and the colouring matter

seems to be underneath the Scuta, it is not poisonous it hisses remarkably loud; it has 221 Scuta on the belly and 51 on the Tale, the eyes are of a dark black colour the tale terminates in a sharp point like the substance of a cock's spur. Length 4F 6I." (Thwaites, Vol. VI, p. 128.)

Meriwether Lewis, Upper Kooskoose, Idaho, May 16, 1806.

"I killed a snake near our camp, it is 3 feet 11 Inches in Length, is much the colour of the rattlesnake common to the middle atlantic states, it has no poisonous teeth, it has 218 scutae on the abdomen and fifty nine squmae or half formed scutae on the tail. the eve is of moderate size, the iris of a dark yellowish brown and purple black, there is nothing remarkable in the form of the head which is not so wide across the jaws as those of the poisonous clas of snakes usually are. I preserved the skin of this snake." (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 42.)

William Clark, Upper Kooskooske, Idaho, May 16, 1806.

"a snake which resembles the rattle snake in colour and pots on the skin, larger and inosent." (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 43.)

The descriptions given above are undoubtedly of *Pituophis melanoleucus*, the bullsnake or gopher snake. It is an ubiquitous species of snake in the West, especially appearing in the grasslands and open brushlands, extending as far east as the Mississippi Valley. Because of its coloration, it is often mistaken for the rattlesnake, a fact Lewis mentioned in several places. Perhaps this accounts for his careful inspection of the snake for poisonous teeth.

There are two subspecies of *P. melanoleucus* that Lewis and Clark encountered. Those gopher snakes described from the Montana, Wyoming and Dakota region were *P. m.*

sayi (bullsnake); those in Idaho and Oregon were *P. m. deserticola* (Great Basin gopher snake). While there are no direct references to the gopher snake in western Oregon, the subspecies in this area is *P. m. catenifer* (Pacific gopher snake).

13. Thamnophis elegans vagrans, wandering garter snake.

Meriwether Lewis, Three Forks, Montana, July 24, 1805.

"we observed a great number of snakes about the water...speckled on the bottom and striped with black and brownish yellow on the back and sides...much like the garter snake of our country and about its size...they all appear to be fond of the water." (Thwaites, Vol. II, p. 266.)

From the description Lewis offered concerning the coloration and habitat and from the location of this snake near Three Forks. Montana, this species can most accurately be identified as Thamnophis elegans vagrans. Distinguishing characteristics include the speckling on the venter and the prominent mid-dorsal stripe extending the length of the body accompanied by lateral striping. In addition, a common trait of the wandering garter snake is to enter water, if it is available, when frightened. This behavior could account for Lewis's observation that the snakes "appear to be fond of the water."

Cutright (1969, p. 429) identifies this snake as *Thamnophis* ordinoides. While Lewis and Clark probably observed *T. ordinoides* on some part of their exploration, they were not making reference to this snake in the journal entry from Montana. *T. ordinoides* is restricted to the Northwest coast.

14. Thamnophis sirtalis, common garter snake.

Meriwether Lewis, Deer Island in Columbia River, Oregon, March 28, 1806.

"we saw a great number of snakes on this island; they were about the size and much the form of the common garter snake of the Atlantic coast and like that snake are not poisonous, they have 160 scuta on the abdomen and 71 on the tail, the abdomen near the head, and jaws are high as the eyes, are of a bluish white, which as it recedes from the head becomes of a dark brown, the field of the back and sides is black, a narrow stripe of a light vellow runs along the center of the back, on each side of this stripe there is a range of small transverse oblong spots of a pale brick red which gradually diminish as they recede from the head and disappear at the commencement of the tail. the purple of the eye is black, with a narrow ring of white bordering it's edge; the ballance of the iris is of a dark yellowish brown." (Thwaites, Vol. IV, p. 211.)

Lewis's description of this snake is one of the most detailed observations conducted by any member of the expedition concerning reptiles. Without a doubt, his notes identified as *Thamnophis sirtalis* (subspecies *concinnus*). The distinguishing characteristic of *T. sirtalis* is the "pale brick red" coloring on the side of the snake. Due to this coloration, the snake is commonly referred to as the red-sided garter snake.

15.-16. *Thamnophis spp.*, other garter snakes.

Meriwether Lewis, Sauvies Island in Columbia River, Oregon, March 29, 1806.

"the garter snakes are innumerable and are seen entwined arround each other in large bundles of forty or fifty lying about in different directions through the prairies." (Thwaites, Vol. IV, p. 214.)

From this and other passages referring to the prevalence of garter snakes, it is highly likely that

two other species, *Thamnophis elegans* and *Thamnophis ordinoides*, were also sighted in the Oregon territory. Both species are widely distributed in western Oregon.

17. Crotalus viridis oreganus, Northern Pacific rattlesnake.

Meriwether Lewis, Arlington, Oregon, April 25, 1806.

"several rattlesnakes killed by the party, they are the same common to the U. States." (Thwaites, Vol. IV, p. 323.)

Meriwether Lewis, Walla Walla, Washington, May 30, 1806.

"The reptiles which I have observed in this quarter are the Rattlesnake of the species discribed on the Missouri. they are abundant in every part of the country and are the only poisonous snake which we have yet met with since we left St. Louis." (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 86.)

Crotalus viridis oreganus is the subspecies of rattlesnake found in the Columbia River area of Oregon with the range stretching into the region where Oregon, Washington and Idaho meet. These two references represent two of the more extended journal entries regarding the rattlesnake. The journals contain many accounts of rattlesnake sightings, captures and killes.

18. *Crotalus viridis viridis*, prairie rattlesnake.

Meriwether Lewis, Yellowstone region (Montana-Wyoming), May 17, 1805.

"Capt. Clark narrowly escaped being bitten by a rattlesnake in the course of his walk...this snake is smaller than those common to the middle Atlantic States, being about 2 feet 6 inches long; it is of a yellowish brown colour on the back and sides, variegated with one row of oval spots of a brown colour lying transversely over the back from the neck to the tail, and two other rows of small circular spots of the same colour which garnish the sides along the edge of the scuta.

it's bely contains 126 scuta on the belly and 17 on the tale." (Thwaites, Vol. II, p. 41-42.)

Meriwether Lewis, Marias River, Montana, June 15, 1805.

"when I awoke from my sleep today I found a large rattlesnake coiled on the leaning trunk of a tree under the shade of which I had been lying at a distance of about ten feet from him. I killed the snake and found that he had 176 scuta on the abdomen and 17 half formed scuta on the tale: it was of the same kinde which I had frequently seen before; they do not differ in their colours from the rattle-snake common to the middle atlantic states, but considerable in the form and figures of those colours."

Meriwether Lewis, Yellowstone region (Montana-Wyoming), August 4, 1806.

"during our halt we killed a very large rattlesnake of the speceis common to our country. it had 176 scutae on the abdomen and 25 on the tail, it's length 5 feet. the scutae on the tail half formed." (Thwaites, Vol. V, p. 234.)

The rattlesnakes mentioned in these selections have been identified from the locations that Lewis cited in his journals and from the present ranges of the subspecies. *Crotalus viridis viridis* frequents most of Montana and Wyoming.

Admittedly, while some of the species identifications made in this study have been conjectural or have been based upon fairly sketchy evidence from the journals, the intent in this account has been to re-rexamine the details provided by Lewis and Clark in an effort to give a more accurate description of the reptile and amphibian forms encountered by the two explorers than has heretofore been provided.

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News U-P-D-A-T-E

by Martin Erickson

Another Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center may become a reality at Clarkston, Washington, if Art Seamans and others have their way. They are proposing a site at the confluence of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers. The center would focus on Lewis and Clark and historical aspects of the area including the Nez Perce Indian lifestyle and regional geological sites. The possibility of a bicycle/pedestrian trail linking the center to Chief Timothy State Park was also discussed. It is all in the idea stage at this time. No money has been awarded to build it.

The foundation's trail stewardship initiative is getting underway just in time.

National Geographic has predicted that 10 percent of the nation's population, a staggering 25 million people, want to visit part of the Lewis and Clark Trail during the 2003-2006 bicentennial, according to Stephen Ambrose. Ambrose and four other expedition scholars recently voiced words of caution and concern about the anticipted upcoming traffic jam along the Missouri River.

Author Dayton Duncan said, "We are playing a sort of Paul Revere role, sounding the warning."

Foundation Executive Director Sammye Meadows said 14 agencies already are working together on action plans including recommendations for facility improvements.

Author and historical geographer John Logan Allen said the fragile riparian environment of the wild and scenic portion of the Missouri is probably receiving more pressure now from floaters than it can take.

"I just urge the maximum care be taken with the minimum amount of people allowed. I realize that isn't popular," Allen said.

Journal expedition editor Gary Moulton noted the need to protect key Missouri sites from visitors "loving the land to death," and archaeologist Ken Karsmizki, who uncovered the Lower Portage campsite of the expedition, asked people "to dig only if they know what they are doing and have permission of the landowner."

Ambrose predicted at least 300,000 people will want to travel through nearly pristine trail spots in Montana and Idaho and urged the two states to make the trail accessible by adding campsites, outdoor toilets, tap water faucets and emergency medi-

cal services without spoiling the route.

"If Montana does it right, people will continue to come forever," but if changes aren't made people will tell their friends, "Don't got to Montana; you can't find a place to take a leak or park."

It took Lewis and Clark two years, four months and nine days to go from the mouth of the Wood River in Illinois to the Pacific Ocean and back. It will take Bob Rickards of Thousand Oaks, California, 23 years to finish 80 oil paintings depicting their journey. So far, he has completed 30. Twenty years ago Rickards, a self-taught artist, picked up a book on the Lewis and Clark Expedition and he couldn't put it down. In his vividly detailed paintings he depicts the trip's milestones, like the day the adventurers nearly lost their keelboat, or the night Indians danced around a fire in celebration of the food the explorers brought them.

"When I'm painting, I'm not painting ahead of the expedition. I'm going along with it," he said. "It's a labor of love because each painting is different, it has a different challenge."

Rickards wants to paint his last canvas in 2003 so he can put everything together in time to tie it to the bicentennial.

"Lessons for the New Millennium, From the Journals of Lewis and Clark," by Warren Buckleitner, cites three observations which came to him after listening to Ken Burns' Corps of Discovery documentary. His page on the Internet Children's Software Revue lists Lesson I: Planning, research and eventual success; Lesson 2: If at first you don't succeed...; Lesson 3: Everyone needs a say in the process. For the details, check it out at www.childrenssoftware.com.

The National Trust for Historic Preservation named the **Travelers' Rest** site near **Lolo, Montana**, as one of America's 11 most endangered historic places, a designation meant to attract attention and, most critically, money. Traveler's Rest may benefit, despite the \$1 million or more needed just to begin buying land. During the 11 years of the most endangered list, not one site named has been lost. Ernie Deschamps' 15-acre hobby farm, the site of the

30 WE PROCEEDED ON NOVEMBER 1999

-Book Reviews-

The Saga of Lewis and Clark: Into the Unknown West, by Thomas and Jeremy Schmidt, photography by Wayne Mumford, DK Publishing, New York, 1999, 210 pages, photos, maps, illustrations, index, hard cover, \$35.00

A Review by Martin Erickson

Take two brothers who are writers, naturalists and adventurers, add a photographer who knows how to take full advantage of the land, the sky, the shadows, the colors, and you have one huge visual view of the expedition of the Corps of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean and back. If a person can speak of writing as visual, then that is what the text of this book is.

Thomas Schmidt, a former newspaper reporter has written a number of books on natural history including a series of guidebooks for the National Geographic Society. He has traveled the length of the Lewis and Clark Trail. Jeremy Schmidt is a writer and photographer who specializes in natural history and outdoor subjects. An author of nine books, he has traveled to remote settings and wilderness areas on all the continents except Antarctica. Both brothers would probably have done well on the expedition.

The write-up on Wayne Mumford, the photographer, notes that he captures nature's every mood and emotion. I certainly agree with that description of his photography. It is visually stunning. It is breathtaking. It is outstanding. He sees into the heart of what he is looking at and photographing.

Thomas and Jeremy Schmidt don't give us all the facts about the journey of the Corps of Discovery. They highlight major and minor happenings during the day to day course of traversing the continent and compare the then and now.

On page 43, for example, they describe the rest stop at the Kansas River in the hot summer of 1804 where the "rest" consisted of building a defensive breastwork, repairing the pirogues, cleaning the keelboat, drying the supplies, cleaning rifles, repairing the tow rope, jerking more meat, hunting, fishing, dressing deer skins and flogging two of their comrades for stealing whiskey...

"If that was rest," they write, "think of what a towering chore it must have been to wrestle those boats upriver. We of the soft feet and remote-control era can scarcely imagine it."

A little later, on the same page, when one of the men collapsed from heat stroke while pulling the boats upriver, they write, "Lewis bled him and gave him saltpeter, a diuretic. It was the standard, useless remedy of the day. What the man needed was more water and electrolytes—Gatorade."

On page 155, Clark commented after passing through the Short Narrows on the Columbia River, that "from the top of the rock [the water] did not appear as bad as when I was in it."

The authors reply from their own experience. "It never does. Rapids always seem worse with a paddle in the water and your butt at gunwhale height, the

(SAGA continued on page 32)

Lewis and Clark campsite, is square in the path of development in a high-growth area south of Missoula.

Our neighbors to the north, the Alexander Mackenzie Voyager Route Association, are making news in the media with three different videos on the AMVRA being filmed or ready for distribution. Good progress is being made on the Millennium "Mackenzie" video with shoots at Bella Coola and Thunder Bay completed. The BBC (Scotland) Alexander Mackenzie video has been completed in three versions. The North American Version is said

to be "quite nice—sort of like the recent American PBS video on the Lewis and Clark Expedition." Contact GREAT NORTH productions at 372 76th Avenue, Edmonton, Alberta, T6B 2N9 - [780 440 3400] for information on the purchase of the video. Backpacker magazine's "Anyplace Wild" videos on Alexander Mackenzie are featured in the magazine. An early summer video shoot in the Bella Coola area for their American PBS video on Mackenzie's 1793 journey through the area has been completed. The premiere video is entitled "Lewis and Clark's Inspiration."

NOVEMBER 1999 WE PROCEEDED ON 31

boat lifting and dropping over the waves, sweeping past rocks, tipping, righting, coming up on the next wave or set of cliffs way too fast, the adrenaline pumping and the spray in your face."

They put you right in there with the expedition members and you feel the strain, the joy, the pain, the exultation, the exhaustion.

The same is true of the photos that Wayne Mumford took for the book. On pages 48-49 you can almost feel the threatening thunderstorm coming over the see-forever Great Plains. On pages 144-145, the Clearwater River just leaps out at you and throughout the book the skies are vivid and often ominous.

Add in pages from the original journals, Karl Bodmer paintings, historic photos and museum artifacts and you have a real America the beautiful and amazing kind of a trip across the continent from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean.

There are some errors in the book that will need correcting in the next printing, such as on the three page gatefold map on pages 27-29. The locations of Tillamook Head and the saltworks are reversed and Cape Disappointment is on the wrong side of the river, but most of the map gives you a good approximation of key points along the expedition trail.

The Saga of Lewis & Clark: Into the Uncharted West should be in bookstores about the time you receive this issue of WPO. It is worth every penny of the cost.

THE CAPTAIN'S DOG, by Roland Smith, Harcourt Brace, Oct. 1999

SEAMAN, THE DOG WHO HELPED LEWIS & CLARK EXPLORE THE WEST, by Gail Karwoski, Peachtree Press, Spring 1999

A Review by James Alexander Thom

One of the most vivid characters in the Lewis and Clark Expedition was different from all the others in two ways:

He was not a human being.

No one knows whether he got home to St. Louis with the rest of the Corps of Discovery.

The last mention of Captain Lewis's Newfoundland dog in the journals was July 15, 1806, shortly before Lewis set off on his dangerous sortie up the Marias River.

Historians speculate whether the mascot followed his master on that violent adventure or stayed with Sergeant Gass and his men near the Great Falls.

Two authors this year have published books for

young readers on the captain's sagacious canine. In neither of these two well-researched stories does Seaman finish the expedition with Lewis.

Unlike historians, who can simply admit that the truth is unknown, a storyteller must imagine or deduce the likeliest scenario and proceed with the narrative. The authors of these two books imagined that Seaman didn't get back to civilization—but for different reasons.

Roland Smith, writer, filmmaker and animal behaviorist, supposed that Seaman did accompany Captain Lewis on the Marias River expedition but was unable to keep up with Lewis's pell-mell 120-mile retreat from Blackfeet country. That's the scenario of his novel for young readers, *The Captain's Dog*.

Gail Karwoski's book, Seaman, The Dog Who Helped Lewis and Clark Explore the West, doesn't lose the dog so tragically. Without revealing the ending, the reviewer may say that Seaman "chooses" to stay in the Upper Missouri country, where life certainly would be more fun than back in St. Louis or Washington with the emotionally troubled Lewis.

Karwoski's book was published in spring 1999 to favorable reviews about its style and historical accuracy.

The same praise is due Smith's version, released in October 1999. It is plain that both authors pored over the journals of the expedition. Both authors obviously intend to teach young readers about the expedition without misleading them. Both rely on young readers' empathy with pets to get them absorbed in the Voyage of Discovery, which was an enterprise of adults. Through the lovable and admirable dog, youngsters get to know the members of the expedition, the geography, the wildlife and the pleasures as well as the hardships.

Both books make readers appreciate what a tremendous sensory adventure the voyage must have been to the mascot; imagine what a dog's keen nose could make of a heap of rotting buffalo carcasses, or how the evening serenade of a wolf pack would sound to his acute ears, or how he would have been tormented by clouds of biting insects. In fact, in Lewis's last journal entry on Seaman, the dog "howls with the torture" inflicted on him by mosquitoes.

Smith's animal behavior studies helped him understand another kind of canine sensitivity: that of a dog to its master's mood swings—an important aspect of Lewis's life too much underplayed in history, until recently.

Author Karwoski prepared herself to tell Seaman's story by spending time with Newfoundland dog

breeders and trainers, to familiarize herself with the traits of this legendary breed.

It is the prerogative of a fiction writer, especially one writing for children, to use imagination and invention to tell the story most effectively. To educate young readers about the purposes and events of the great expedition, author Smith endows Seaman with comprehension of human speech and a memory for names of people, tribes and places.

As a counterpoint to Seaman's point of view, Smith also quotes from an imaginary private journal being kept by Lewis, and lost during the fracas at the Marias River—an echo of the supposed "lost journal" that some scholars like to believe Lewis was penning along the way.

Among Lewis and Clark aficionados are many who brook no sort of fictional or speculative license-even though many esteemed historians over the years have put plenty of their own spin on the documented record and read plenty between the lines. Such nitpickers probably will resent these Seaman books for imagining Seaman's fate beyond the iournals.

But even they should appreciate the accuracy of

these two well-researched books, and their potential for hooking still another generation of readers on this grand adventure.

It appears that many storytellers got the idea of a Seaman's-eve-view at about the same time.

In 1998 a veterinarian named R.W. Gustafson published The Dog Who Helped Explore America, a brief children's book. It is short on specific historical details, and it presumes that Seaman did go on back to civilization.

It ends happily; after Lewis's death, Seaman lives at Captain Clark's home in St. Louis and romps with Sacagawea's son Pomp, who has been brought down for an education.

This quick spurt (perhaps one better say spate) of Seaman shows that even though several authors might get the same idea, they don't get it the same wav.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR ...

Foundation member and historic novel writer James Alexander Thom's new novel on George Drouillard will be in book stores in summer 2000.



Captain Lewis Sighting the Yellowstone

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This painting, completed after extensive historical research, depicts Captain Lewis' April 25, 1805 journal entry. Anticipating their close proximity to the Yellowstone River, Captain Lewis and four men from the Corps of Discovery proceeded in advance of the boats. That afternoon, from a high bluff on the south bank of the Missouri, they made their first sighting of the Yellowstone River, an important milestone on their epic journey.

About the Artist

Montana artist Charles Fritz has exhibited his work widely in museums across the West. The C.M. Russell Museum, the Albuquerque Museum, the National Museum of Wildlife Art, the National Cowboy Hall of Fame, the Buffalo Bill Historical Center, and the Denver Art Museum have all exhibited or own his works. Listed in "Who's Who in the West" and "Who's Who in America," his paintings have won many awards including the Lee M. Loeb Award for Landscape at the Salmagunda Club, New York, N.Y.

- Chapter News -

The Minnesota Chapter adopted the Lewis & Clark Elementary School in Grand Forks, North Dakota, after the devastating 1997 flood in that area. The school principal, Ann Porter, keeps the chapter updated on happenings at the rebuilding school with regular e-mails. In her latest report she notes that the school's new library will be named "Lewis & Clark Discovers Library" and it will include portraits of Lewis and Clark from the Independence National Historic Park.

The **Philadelphia Chapter** is expecting an attendance of 800 to 1000 people at the 2003 foundation annual meeting that will kick off the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial.

The **Idaho Chapter** will host a legislative reception in **Boise** on January 24 to let the Idaho legislators know about the Lewis and Clark Trail in Idaho as well as the activities planned for the bicentennial.

Orofino city officials are seeking federal funds for a pathway along the Clearwater River in conjunction with the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial.

The Washington Chapter newsletter reported that the Washington, Oregon and Idaho chapters held a joint meeting to discuss tri-state cooperation to: 1) organize regional symposia to focus on various facets of Lewis and Clark heritage; 2) collaborate in seeking grants to accomplish heritage purposes that others cannot or will not do; 3) to consider preparation of a northwest brochure or guidebook with emphasis on history/heritage vs. tourism efforts.

The new suggested motto for the Washington Chapter is "O! The joy."

The state legislature's transportation budget included \$2 million toward relocation of U.S. Highway 101 near Lewis and Clark's Station Camp between the Astoria Bridge and the Chinook Tunnel. Preliminary plans call for the creation of a "linear park" as much as a mile long containing interpretive monuments and signs describing the explorers' stay at the site.

Don Nell, past president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and long time Lewis and Clark enthusiast and Headwaters Chapter member, has donated his private collection of more than 250 books on Lewis and Clark in Montana to the Gallatin County Museum in Bozeman. The collection is valued between \$13,000 and \$15,000, based on the rarity of some of the books and their condition.

The chapter has published a new map brochure "Three Forks of the Lewis & Clark Trail." For copies contact Don Nell.

A Lewis and Clark mural at the new Chamber of Commerce Building in Bozeman has been designed and awaits funding and a construction timetable.

Several members of the **Home Front Chapter** hosted Mary Summerill from Bristol, England. She is writing the script and coordinating filming of a BBC special on Lewis and Clark. The film will be part of a series produced by BBC on explorers. Ms. Summerill has crossed the country doing research on the project.



34 WE PROCEEDED ON NOVEMBER 1999

CHAPTER NEWS

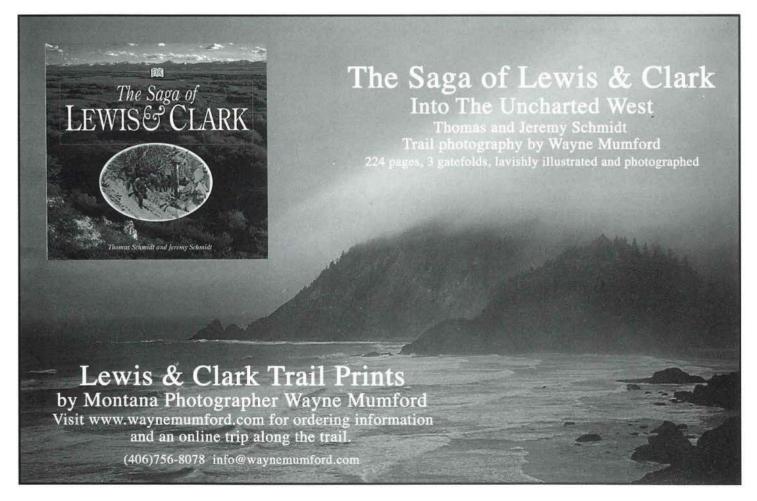
Cont. from p. 34

The City Council of Charlottesville, Virginia, has appropriated the funds for a consultant to conduct feasibility and planning studies for the proposed Lewis and Clark Expedition Center. The Lewis and Clark Exploratory Committee's goal is the establishment of a national caliber facility to complement Monticello, Ashlawn and Montpelier. They envision a center that focuses on the origin of the expedition in Charlottesville.

The Camp Fortunate Chapter dedicated a new plaque to replace a stolen plaque at the Camp Fortunate Overlook south of Dillon. Montana.



Chuck Raddon and Charles Knowles, presenters at the "Lewis & Clark in the Land of Nez Perce" trail location workshop and rendezvous, hosted by Lewis-Clark State College, Lewiston, Idaho, June 10-12, 1999. Another workshop is planned in 2000 and will look at a different segment of Idaho.



Much-perhaps too much-has been made of the "vote" on winter quarters conducted by Capts. Lewis and Clark at the mouth of the Columbia. Several historians apparently have felt moved to wonder at the egalitarian sympathies that led the explorers to take a vote which included not only the soldiers and interpreters but also a black man and an Indian woman.

Stephen Ambrose says in Undaunted Courage, "It was the first time in American history that a black slave had voted, the first time a woman had voted."

Examining the journal on Nov. 24, 1805, one sees that Captain Clark does not use the word "vote" anywhere. This was an army unit with both commanders presentnot a body of militia in which some decisions were made democratically. So the recorded columns of names and preferred options should be called a tally of opinions, not a vote, on the wintering site. Sgt. Ordway's journal entry of that date says, "our officers conclude with the oppinion of the party to cross the River and look out a place for winters quarter."

The slave York's opinion is counted in the tally of opinions, which suggests that Clark, who is recording the tally, values his servant's opinion, as he does, rightly, those of the company. Drouillard, the highly esteemed hunter and interpreter and a hired civilian, gives his opinion: look at the other side of the river or, alternatively, go back up to the falls where he knows the hunting is good. We bear in mind that Drouillard is a métis, part Shawnee, not a white man.

The other interpreter, Charbonneau, is listed with the other names but no opinions appear beside his name.

It is the "vote" of his wife, Sacagawea ("Janey") that deserves a more careful look. She is not counted in the tally of opinions. Clark merely states in a note after the tally count that "Janey in favour of a place where there is plenty of Potas (wapato roots)." As the party's main forager, she would understandably suggest that.

As for the "first time in American history that a woman had voted," oh, indeed not. White women, maybe; but for thousands of years the women of most American Indian tribes had enjoved equal voice and equal vote with men in their democratic council form of government. In some tribes the women could even veto war if they thought the men were being too rash or macho.

It would be my perception, after many years of close association with American Indians and their strong-willed women, that "Janey" wasn't invited to vote but gave her opinion anyway because she took for granted a woman's right to be heard.

Lewis and Clark were remarkable fellows, but in our enthusiasm we shouldn't try to make them politically correct by today's standards, because they just weren't.

They knew the psychological value of letting their men sound off, but they meant to stay at the coast where a ship might come in. And they were, like it or not, white supremacists in a society (Virginian) that would have kept blacks from voting ever, in a nation that was to keep women from voting for more than another century after that day on the Columbia.

> —James Alexander Thom Bloomington, Indiana

INTREPID WALKERS HIKE TRAIL

When Lewis and his fellow travelers arrived at the confluence of the Marias and Missouri Rivers, the young Virginia captain had to decide which river to follow. To make the wrong choice would have almost certainly doomed the Corps of Discovery. He and Clark did their homework and reached a conclusion which left little doubt in either of their minds. The south fork was the true Missouri, the one on which the Indians said they

would find the great falls.

So, on June 11, 1805, Lewis and four men set out overland to find the falls. The first day they walked 7-8 miles, the second day they walked 27 miles, the third day they walked 15 miles. And at noon on June 13, they found themselves looking down upon the falls. On June 11, 1999, seven people, all from Great Falls, Montana, departed the confluence of the rivers to retrace Lewis's three-day walk to the falls. The modern day travelers followed Lewis's path, camped within a few hundred yards of the 1805 campsites, drank water from Grog spring, cooked up the decoction based on Lewis's recipe and arrived shortly after noon at the great falls 194 years later to the dav.

The 1999 travelers figured the mileage was more near 8 miles on day one, 30 miles on day two and 20 miles on day three. For the four people who did what no one person has ever done, it was the best of some really good Lewis and Clark experiences which we have all had following Lewis and Clark. The 1999 travelers were Will Weaver, Ella Mae Howard and Casey and Chervl Wiley. Next year they are planning to follow Lewis up the Marias as he sought evidence on which river to follow.

Lee Gives Grant to Lewis and Clark **Project**

Farm & Ranch Guide, The Bismarck Tribune and the Lee Foundation announced August 12 that they have made a \$50,000 grant to the North Dakota Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Foundation and its interpretive center in Washburn.

The gift is in recognition of David Borlaug, who has been instrumental in the development and growth of the Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center.

Borlaug recently announced his departure from the publishing industry and Lee Enterprises to pursue other career opportunities, while at the same time continuing his high level of involvement in Lewis and Clark related activities at local and national levels.

Borlaug joined Lee in 1988 when he and his family sold Farm & Ranch Guide to Lee. He served as publisher of Farm & Ranch Guide, Lee Agri-Media and Antler Press, former publishers of the Old West Trail Explorers Guide.

"It's great to see Dave pursue his love for the Lewis and Clark Trail and subsequently North Dakota and his hometown of Washburn," said Greg Moore, group publisher of Lee Agri-Media, which includes Farm & Ranch Guide. He added: "It's our pleasure to share in Dave's genuine enthusiasm for this cause and the history of our region. Dave and his family started Farm & Ranch Guide, so I'm delighted to have Farm & Ranch Guide and Lee Agri-Media pay tribute to Dave's hard work. both with Lee and for tourism in our state."

Jim Bridges, publisher of The Bismarck Tribune, said, "Dave has done a wonderful job with the interpretive center and Fort Mandan. His involvement with Lewis and Clark on the state and national level has captured the interest of people from all over the globe. We want to help



From left: Greg Moore, group manager, Lee Agri-Media; David Borlaug; Kristie Frieze, director, North Dakota Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center and Brian Kroshus, general manager, Farm & Ranch Guide.

ensure our region capitalizes on Dave's work and enthusiasm."

Lee, based in Davenport, Iowa, owns more than 100 media enterprises in 20 states. They include 22 daily newspapers, more than 75 other publications, nine networkaffiliated and seven satellite television stations, and a division for commercial printing.



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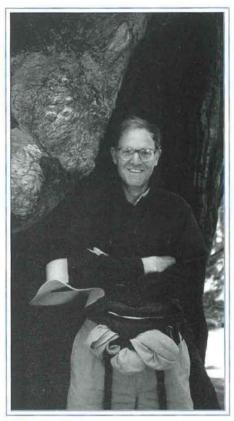
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Meet Your New Editor

Jim Merritt has been a member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation since 1981. That year he took part in a memorable annual meeting based in Helena which on a three-day bus trip retraced the Corps of Discovery's tracks through western Montana and across Lemhi Pass. "The foundation had only about 500 members then, and just 90 took part in the trip," he recalls. "Last August I attended the meeting in Bismarck-my first since 1981-and there were 450 people there out of a total membership of 2,600. I was astonished how much the Foundation has grown."

A freelance writer specializing in western history and the outdoors, Merritt has contributed articles on Lewis and Clark to Field & Stream (where he's a contributing editor) and other publications. He is the author of two books, Baronets and Buffalo: The British Sportsman in



Jim Merritt

the American West (Mountain Press. 1985) and Goodbye, Liberty Belle: A Son's Search for His Father's War (Wright State University Press, 1993), and the editor of The Best of Field & Stream (Lyons & Burford, 1995). Merritt is the immediate past editor of Princeton University's alumni magazine and has worked at Princeton in various communications jobs since 1975. He will be taking early retirement from Princeton at the end of this vear in order to assume the editorship of WPO and devote more time to writing.

"I feel tremendously privileged to be a part of such a wonderful organization and to be following in the footsteps of editors Marty Erickson and Bob Saindon, who have set a standard I hope I can meet and build upon," he said.

Merritt and his wife, Nancy, live in Pennington, New Jersey, and have two grown daughters.

Foundation President Takes New Park Service Job

Cindy Orlando, the newlyelected president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, has left her job at Fort Clatsop just as things are starting to get interesting.

For the last nine years she has been the superintendent at the Fort Clatsop National Memorial, a key component of the Lewis and Clark National Historical Trail. She has moved to Washington, D.C., to accept the position of chief of the park service's concession department.

"I'm leaving the best job in the park service for the hardest," she says.

Cindy has risen in her 29 years with the park service from the low-



Cindy Orlando

est rung of payroll clerk in San Francisco to one of the best and most demanding jobs in the service. In her new job she will oversee and develop policy for all 125 parks that have contracts with outside businesses that sell products and services within the parks.

But, she isn't entirely deserting her old stomping grounds. She wants to return to the Northwest after a few years. She'll be eligible for retirement in four years but confides she would like to run the park service's northwest region someday. If not, she says, she may retire to Clatsop County and try to stay with the local Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Association.

"I know I'll be back," she says.

Millennium Trails Designated

As we head into the new millennium, historic and scenic trails will be a part of our future.

At a recent International Trails and Greenways Conference organized by the Rails-to-Trails Conservancy, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and U.S. Secretary of Transportation Rodney E. Slater announced the designation of 16 National Millennium Trails.

The Lewis and Clark Trail is number one.

The Millennium Trails initiative is a part of the White House Millennium Council's effort to stimulate national and local activities to "honor the past and imagine the future." The purpose of Millennium Trails is to spark the creation and enhancement of more than 2,000 trails as part of America's legacy for the future.

The 16 trails selected from the 50 applicants range from the Unicoi Turnpike, a 68-mile trail dating from the first millennium that carried the Cherokee people from the flatlands east to the Smokies through the mountains to the hills of East Tennessee, to the American Discovery Trail, a yet-



to-be-developed 6,500 mile trail that will cross the nation on a continuous line of existing trails, railtrails, canal towpaths, forest lanes and country roads.



Tom Gilbert Sends His Regrets and Regards

Dear Foundation Members:

I recently received by mail the foundation's Meritorious Achievement Award given at your annual meeting in Bismarck. I regret that I was not able to attend this year's meeting.

I want to thank you for this prestigious recognition. It has been a joy to have the cooperation of the foundation working with the National Park Service in establishing and protecting the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail during the

16 years I served as trail coordinator, then manager, and finally superintendent.

The most treasured reward from all the years of working in partnership with the foundation is the friendships that developed with many of you. Working together toward common goals with such fine, dedicated people as yourselves has been immensely satisfy-

It is with many mixed emotions that my close association with the

Lewis and Clark Trail has now come to an end. I hope that it may be possible for my family and I to attend foundation annual meetings in the future. I certainly will remain a member and look forward to joining with you and all Americans in participating in bicentennial observances in the years just ahead.

> Tom Gilbert Former Superintendent Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail

