"SUNRISE FROM INDIAN POST OFFICE"

BY PRISCILLA WEGARS
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THE HERITAGE
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ABOUT THE FOUNDATION

The purpose of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., is to stimulate public interest in matters relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the contributions to American history made by the Expedition members, and events of time and place concerning the Expedition which are of historical import to our nation. The Foundation recognizes the value of tourist-oriented programs, and supports activities which enhance the enjoyment and understanding of the Lewis and Clark story. The cooperation of the activities of the Foundation is broad and diverse, and includes involvement in pursuits which, in the judgment of the directors, are of historical worth or contemporary social value, and contribute to the heritage of Lewis and Clark. The activities of the National Foundation are intended to complement and supplement those of state and local Lewis and Clark interest groups. The Foundation may appropriately recognize and honor individuals or groups for activities of distinction, achievement in the broad field of Lewis and Clark, historical, writing, or deeds which promote the general purposes and scope of activities of the Foundation. Membership in the organization comprises a broad spectrum of Lewis and Clark enthusiasts including Federal, State, and local government officials, historians, scholars, and others of wide-ranging Lewis and Clark interests. Officers of the Foundation are elected from the membership. The annual meeting of the Foundation is traditionally held during August, the birth month of both Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. The meeting place is rotated among the states, and tours generally are arranged to visit sites in the area of the annual meeting which have historic association with the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

MESSAGE FROM PRESIDENT DOERK

This is the occasion when the outgoing President has an opportunity to reflect on the condition of the Foundation, achievements of the past year, and to thank all those members who contributed their time, talents and energy in attaining Foundation goals.

On July 28, 1990 the annual Board Meeting will be held, making important decisions and setting the strategies for continued development in the 1990s. Results will be forthcoming in the November issue of WPO including a new editor for WPO, Planned Giving Committee initiatives to broaden our financial base, status of the exciting Video Discovery project, consideration of an executive secretary for the Foundation, and an array of committee reports from establishment of a policy regarding acceptance of archives materials to the "five-year" plan for annual meetings through 1995.

"Reading—this joy not dulled by age, this polite and unpunishable vice, this selfish, serene, life-long intoxication." (Logan Pearsall Smith). Most of us were introduced to the Expedition by the literature we have read. This initial exposure may well have been reinforced by visits along the

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 Secretary; Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.; P.O. Box 3434; Great Falls, MT 59403.

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

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES*

General: $15.00 (3 years: $42.50)
Sustaining: $25.00
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* For foreign memberships add: $5/year in Canada; $10/year in Europe; and $15/year in Asia, Australia and New Zealand.
** Please indicate grade and school when applying
Trail, but reading the details heightens the experience. *Westering Captains: Essays on the Lewis and Clark Expedition* by noted author and scholar James P. Ronda is now available to Foundation members as *WPO* Supplement #9, a 120-page collection of eight essays. It will not only whet your appetite but expand your knowledge. Essays are a good way of providing insights to the Lewis and Clark story to newcomers conversant with western history but not of the Expedition. Think of this new publication when you are making your gift lists and you may provide the spark that will create an interest lasting a lifetime. My personal thanks to Bob Lange and his Publications Committee who brought this project to fruition and to Jim Ronda for gathering the essays for one publication.

From east to west and all along the trail, dollars continue to be committed to meet a public demand for more sophisticated knowledge and interpretation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the environments and cultures they encountered.

The creation of a new visitor center at Wood River (greatly expanding the present center), development of the 200-mile stretch of abandoned railroad line along the bluffs of the Missouri River into a hiking and biking trail, the pending purchase of Pompeys Pillar by a government agency (thus protecting it and making it accessible to the public for future generations), the ongoing efforts to establish an interpretive center near Great Falls, and the significant enlargement of the facilities at Fort Clatsop are all examples. Lewis and Clark used the knowledge they gained from the Indian tribes, fur traders, and records of early explorers to their advantage. We are doing the same by building on the efforts of those who preceded us. "Building a heritage" is what it's called and may it never cease. Thank you, one and all, for allowing me to serve you... you have given me more than I can ever repay.

**NOTES FOR THE NEXT WPO EDITOR**

Editing *WPO* has been a rewarding experience for me over the past three years. Unfortunately I have too many interests, and have therefore undertaken too many projects in addition to my regular job. It has become increasingly more difficult for me to devote sufficient time for producing *WPO*. Foundation members expect, and deserve, a fine publication. I feel that I must step aside in order for that expectation to be realized.

As the search for a new editor continues, and potential candidates come forward, I thought it might be helpful to outline the editor's duties, present some suggestions, and offer my assistance to whomever becomes our new editor.

With the generous gift of desk-top publishing equipment by the late Robert Betts, in 1989, the editing of *WPO* took on new dimensions. From that point the editor has done all the prepress work. This includes a good deal of writing, editing, typesetting, design, and paste-up, as well as working with the printers and authors. With the computer and software programs and the laser printer the prepress work was greatly simplified, and has given the editor better control of the production.

The annual budget for *WPO* is $22,500. This includes telephone, postage, production materials, printing, mailing, and the editor's compensation of $5,000. In my experience, an editor should allow about 200 hours per issue in order to do a good job.

In addition to the production of the magazine...
Lewis and Clark contended with many different languages on their journey—French, Spanish, native dialects, sign language, smoke signals, not to mention the drolleries of English spelling. They also had to interpret signs and languages of nature—animal tracks, calls, scents, leavings—all the distinctive means by which creatures, human and otherwise, recognize and communicate in the wilderness. Through most of these "linguistic" challenges they labored along reasonably well. With the help of interpreters, Drouillard, Charbonneau, Sacagawea, and others the Corps managed to understand, and to be understood, in its various confrontations.

One language, however, less obvious in its declensions though nonetheless crucial, was never properly managed—the language of the feet. In the ancient tradition of armies, feet can always talk. But the messages given to the Captains en route—by their own feet, the feet of their men, and indeed the feet of the natives—were understood only late in the game.

The footwear of the men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition is depicted by Richard Schlecht in this drawing of the men at the burial of Sergeant Charles Floyd, August 20, 1804. Illustration taken from In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark, published by National Geographic Society 1970.
It was not until the departure from Fort Mandan in the Spring of 1805 that feet began to talk in earnest. The messages then became painfully clear: We have NO SHOES! The men were not adequately shod, and they had to improvise footwear which was constantly wearing out and falling apart. These soldiers were condemned to relearn the age-old footsore lessons of the infantry—lessons which became embedded in their souls, and on their soles, throughout the latter part of the journey.²

By the time the Corps had reached present-day Idaho, it had become a traveling podiatry clinic, devoting every spare moment to nursing bruised, aching and bleeding feet, and to mending, patching or making moccasins.

Why this failure of adequate provisioning? Should not a much larger inventory of sturdy, regular Army shoes been purchased or obtained back in the States and carried along to meet a seemingly obvious need? Arlen Large in his recent article "Additions to the Party," offers a partial explanation: In the preparatory stages, the Expedition ballooned in size as the leaders extemporized for their needs; as the magnitude of the effort gradually became apparent, improvisation fed on itself, resulting in "a scramble for extra supplies for the extra people." From the original plans for "ten or twelve chosen men," the party burgeoned to a "permanent corps" of 33 people for the roundtrip.³

Lewis's "scramble" for provisions is evident in his effort during May and June, 1803, to obtain supplies and equipment that would "see him through a two-year expedition."⁴ At the Purveyor's office in Philadelphia he orders arms and accouterments, together with standard items of clothing to outfit 15 soldiers. The only special mention of shoes in this activity is in the clerk's packing instructions which include this curious note:

"By request of Captain Lewis the articles ... are sent to be pack'd at the Arsenal in a suitable Cask, if the cask should contain more than those articles he wishes in such case (only) to have Twenty Pairs of shoes added to them ..." (italics added)⁵

Were the twenty pairs of shoes just an afterthought, to be thrown in only if space permitted, not as essential items? The invoices do confirm that 20 pairs were actually purchased and shipped. But the question remains as to what Lewis considered necessary for the footwear of his men. He must have known that twenty pairs of shoes would hardly be sufficient for fifteen soldiers on a two-year trek across the continent. Presumably, Lewis would have been familiar with the standard clothing requirements for enlisted men of the U.S. Army of that day. Those requirements are reflected, for example, in daily orders preserved in the Garrison Orderly Books at Fort Wayne (Indiana) from 1802 to 1813.⁶ The annual clothing allowance included provision for four pairs of shoes per man.⁷ Army shoes were not at that time just heavy moccasins. This is evident in artist illustrations and sketches of Army footwear used even earlier, during the Revolutionary era. See, for example, Sketch Book '76, The American Soldier 1775-1781.⁸ The shoes illustrated there are tougher, bigger, heavier, obviously more durable than the soft deer-skin moccasins used for "woodland duty," also illustrated.

If Lewis had proceeded on the above Army standards, he would have ordered, for a two-year stint, 8 pairs of shoes per man, i.e., for 15 soldiers, 120 pairs; for 33 persons he should have ultimately scrounged at least 250 pairs.⁹ Was this requirement given sufficient thought during the winter and spring months of 1803-4, while the Corps was assembling and training at Camp Dubois? Could the additional shoes have been produced at nearby St. Louis or requisitioned from a key Army post such as Fort Wayne (not an unreasonable distance from Camp Dubois)?

One concludes that Lewis just expected to "pay as you go," producing shoes or moccasins en route as needed. He could have been dominated by the common notion of the time about the western country—the notion that passages over that terrain and its mountains were analogous to the trails across the Appalachians, i.e., smoothed by the tread of native traffic, free of desert and volcanic conditions, with only a short portage of a day or two across the Divide, whence a river-roll to the ocean, as on the Potomac or the Ohio. In this view, footwear would not be an overriding concern. The
Listing of a “shoe float” and rasps in Lewis’s equipment tally may point to this make-do-as-we-go philosophy. Such instruments were used by shoemakers of the period for rasping off the ends of inside wooden pegs which unite the soles and uppers of boots and shoes. However, no references appear to be in the journals concerning the actual use of this equipment, nor is there mention of any one of the crew as specializing in shoe-making like there is to other men named as artisans in gunsmithy, carpentry, iron work, etc.

The purchase records and equipment lists do suggest that Lewis had moccasins, rather than shoes, very much in mind; he ordered and carried several gross of awls and needles for sewing leather. These items, however, are for the most part designated in the lists as “Indian Presents,” inferring perhaps that they were not originally intended for use by the men of the Corps to make their own footwear.

Possibly Lewis was also concerned about adding further shipping weight and space which would be required for a gross or two of Army shoes. But such concern did not inhibit him from lugging along other items even heavier and bulkier (and by hindsight less important) such as rum kegs; or the structures for the famous “iron boat,” which were carried over two thousand miles across the continent before being dumped, unused ... Considering the traditional priority for proper foot care for an infantry soldier, shipping limitations would not seem to justify omission of the best footwear available for the mission.

The Corps would ultimately pay dearly for this omission, but not during the first year out. On the way to Fort Mandan, and while still in winter quarters, the two captains give their footwear attention mainly to the natives. They are mindful of Jefferson’s instructions which commanded them to observe and record traits of the people encountered, including their “... food, clothing and do-

mestic accommodations.” Henceforth the journals include more specific references to tribal dress and moccasin characteristics. Therein, we see the rudiments of a growing “vocabulary” for a “mockersons branch” of the foot language of the Expedition. This was, of course, a language already familiarly read by native tribes. We are reminded of this by Gudmund Hatt and other ethnologists who have studied the natives of the plains. It was commonly observed, Hatt notes, “that the Indians were able to distinguish the footprints of moccasins of their own and neighboring tribes. Accordingly, we might expect to find the outline of the sole characteristically different in shoes from different tribes—something of that sort unquestionably may be found.”

Lewis and Clark became increasingly aware of these distinguishing features; differences in size and style, for example, are recognized in the journals as follows: (Italics added)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Journal Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 30, 1804</td>
<td>Sioux</td>
<td>&quot;large legins and mockersons...&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 12, 1804</td>
<td>Ricarees</td>
<td>&quot;Dress of the men of this nation is simply a pr. mockerson, Leagins, flap in front &amp; a Buffalo robe, with ther arms and ears Deckorated. The women wore Mockersons legins fringed and a shirt of Goat Skins...&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[One wonders if the “flap in front" refers to a flap on the moccasin, as exhibited on moccasins catalogued by later ethnologists, or to a breechcloth “in front" as an item of male dress.]

"Mandan Mandans Miscellaney" and "Arikaras" "The Ricares & Mandans men Dress in Leather Leagins & Mockersons a flap of Blanket Generally before... the womin the same..."

A year later (August 21, 1805) Lewis provides a more specific description of footwear of the Shoshones:

"The mockersons of both sexes are usually the same and are made of deer Elk or buffalo skin dressed without the hair. sometimes in the winter they make them of buffalo skin dressed with the hair on and turn the hair inwards as the Mandans Minetares and most of the nations do who inhabit the buffalo..."
country. the mockerson is formed with one seem on the outer edge of the foot is cut open at the instep to admit the foot and sewed up behind. in this respect they are the same with the Mandans. they sometimes ornament their mockersons with various figures wrought with the quills of the Porcupine. some of the dressy young men ornament the tops of their mockersons with the skins of polecats and trale the tail of that animal on the ground as they walk . . . the legings of the women reach as high as the knee and are confirmed with a garter below. the mockerson covers and confines it's lower extremity. they are neither fringed nor ornamented. these legings are made of the skins of the antelope . . ."

Of the Chopunish (Nez Perce), Clark notes on October 10, 1805, the "very dressy" attire of this tribe, and observes that "Some few were [wear] a Shirt of Dressed Skins and long legins & Mockersons Painted . . ." (italics added)

At the Pacific, the captains record that the Clatsops never wear moccasins on account of the mild, watery climate.

These entries are indeed skimpy, from an ethnologist's point of view are disappointingly lacking in detail. Except for Lewis's description about the Shoshones, nothing is said about shape, patterns (i.e., one, two, or three pieces), variations in sewing, seams, toe decorations, soft or hard soles, nor are there sufficient comparisons and contrasts among the numerous tribes. Thomas Jefferson, for example, would probably have been hungry for such details. Ardent Virginian that he was, Jefferson doubtless knew that "the term moccasin derived from one of the eastern Algonkian dialects" and was used for the first time in print in John Smith's "Map of Virginia."18 With Jefferson's interest in Indian costume and vocabularies, evident early in his career, one can imagine him searching the captains' journals for such information, pondering variations as cultural traits, and speculating about origins, evolution and roads of cultural transmission among these North American populations—all as traceable through moccasin characteristics.18

Back with the Corps, however, the only direct "cultural transmission" (if we may speak ironically) was via the packed boxes shipped with Corporal Warfington from Fort Mandan to St. Louis in the Spring of 1805. James Ronda comments on this nod of the Expedition to "culture" as follows:

"Clothing was included in the Indian collection sent down river. Four buffalo robes and 'some articles of Indian dress' wrapped in a Hidatsa robe were placed in . . . [a] numbered box to show the curious back home something of native fashion."19

One may imagine that suitable Indian moccaasin specimens were among these articles.

Regardless of whether tribal traits were adequately recorded in the journals, the captains soon knew that moccasin clues had meanings for their mission. For example, among the Mandans during the winter, horses were stolen by raiding Indians—"they left a number of parts of Mockersons" the journals note (February 16, 1805), "which the Mandans knew to be Sioux mockersons . . ."

Here also the captains learn of moccasin metaphors...
which had become idioms of native languages:

* As to Peace: (October 31, 1804) The Mandan Chief welcomes the Expedition's mediators between tribes and says that his people "now could hunt without fear & their women could work in the fields without looking every moment for the Enemy, and put off their mockersons at night ..." (italics added)

* As to War: (November 30, 1804) The captains are warned that "two towns of the Ricasres were making their Mockersons, and that we had best take care of our horses ..." (italics added)

Actual moccasin specimens also literally add rhetoric to the language of Indian diplomacy. On February 8, 1805, one of the principal chiefs, Black Cat, pays his respects to Captain Lewis: "his Squaw ... presented me with 2 pair of mockersons for which in return I gave a small looking glass & a couples of nedles ..." And at the embarking ceremonies of April 8, 1805, as the captains head west, Clark reports: "I took my leave of the great Chief of the Mandans who gave me a par of excellent mockersons."

Concerning the foot problems of the party itself during the Mandan winter, the record remains somewhat ambiguous. An entry in Clark's "Miscellaney" indicates that the captains were thinking shoe manufacture rather than moccasin handicraft. "Sent out hunters," he notes, "and frequently went ourselves to hunt the Buffalow Elk & Deer and precured a Sufficiency dureing the win-

As the upriver travel re-commences in the spring, the first two months west of the Mandans seem relatively free of foot pain. It is rather the footprints of the Indians which come into focus. Here Sacagawea begins to perform as interpreter and consultant on the "mockersons language." Her background is prophetic for this role: (I) She comes from the Shoshone nation, the name of which "arose from their moccasins being worn out by the lava rocks in their home regions";21 and (2) She has lived with the Soulier ("shoe" in French) Indians (i.e., the Ahnahaways) in a village whose chief is named Black Moccasin, just before joining the Corps of Discovery.22 Sacagawea is center stage on May 29, 1805, when Lewis examines an Indian encampment of fairly recent date near Judith's River. The captains call on her to interpret the cast off moccasins and footprints. Clark reports that "she told us they were the Indians which resided below the Rocky Mountains & to North of this river that
her nation make their mockersons differently.” Thanks to Lewis’s description of the Shoshone moccasins, (quoted above) we know in general what was unique about them. From this area westward the Corps will appreciate why Sacagawea’s nation was known as the “people of the broken moccasins.”24 The country becomes more and more inhospitable to flimsy footwear. Proceeding on with the Expedition, the reader wishes for a pair of heavy G.I. shoes in accompanying the party across the tortuous terrain. Here is the litany of pain:

* May 31, 1805: river banks “so slippery unable to wear their moccasons,” labor incredibly painful, walking apparently bare-foot on sharp fragments of rocks …  
* June 4, 1805: “great abundance of prickly pears which are extremely troublesome; as the thorns very readily pierce the foot through the Mockerson . . .”  
* June 7, 1805: Lewis and Windsor narrowly escape 90 foot death fall as moccasins slip on the wet, muddy river banks.  
* June 22, 1805: At the Portage, prickly pears cause “incredible fatigue,” cause the men to try to put “double souls” on their moccasins.  
* July 19, 1805: “Captain C. extracted 17 bryers [from his feet] one evening by the light of the fire . . .”  
* July 26, 1805: “needle & thread grass penetrates the moccasins”. . . Lewis says “My poor dog suffers from the pricks.”  
* August 13, 1805: near Lemhi Pass, Lewis writes that the cactus leaves “are so lightly attached that when the thorn touches your mockerson it adheres and brings with it the leaf covered in every direction with many others—this is much the most troublesome plant . . .”  
* September 16, 1805: In snow 8 inches deep, Clark writes “I have been wet and as cold in every part as I ever was in my life, indeed I was at one time fearful my feet would freeze in the thin mockersons which I wore.”

Little wonder then, in the midst of this travail, that the Corps becomes a rag-tag pooped-out handcraft lodge stumbling among peril to the next. On July 29, 1805, Lewis writes that “all are leather dressers and tailors . . .” At every stop, the exhausted men are described as “mending their moccasins, or “busily engaged in making mockersons etc.” At times they had nothing to mend, as hides got used up and came in short supply. Animals were needed as much for hides as for meat. On Clark’s reconnaissance for navigable waters beyond Lemhi, August 26, 1805, he laments: “not one mouthful to eat tonight . . . I directed the men to mend their Mockersons to night and turn out in the morning early to hunt . . .” Back with Lewis’s main party near Lemhi, the sojourn with the Shoshones is heavily preoccupied with moccasin activity, including extra help from the natives themselves. The journals note on August 20, 1805, that “the Indians with us behave themselves extremely well; the women have been busily engaged all day making and mending the moccersons of our party.” Similar references to “busy engage-

Detail from Richard Schlecth's drawing of six men being chased by a grizzly, May, 1805. In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark, National Geographic Society.
to find is that reported in a study of the culture of the Indians of Quebec by Carole Levesque. She quotes research that in the populations studied, moccasins of native hunters, made of caribou hides and worn throughout the year, were used at the rate of ten pair per year per hunter. It would thus seem that Lewis had good grounds for optimism that the Corps' inventory was "ample," considering that travel time back to St. Louis would require about seven months and much of that would be down river, off the feet. But what happens? Those cruel mountains, bristling with prickly pear cactus, and rocks, from Idaho and into Montana again take their toll. By mid-May near the Upper Kooskoose, Shannon had to come in early from a hunting trip because his moccasons were worn out. In latter-July Clark prepares to send Sergeant Pryor ahead separately by land with three men to the Mandan Villages. One of the men is apparently without any footwear whatever, i.e., absolutely "necked." Clark gives him "one of my two remaining shirts a par of leather Legins and 3 pr of moccasons." This man must already have used up his ten pairs, assuming each man had an aliquot share of the 358 pairs back at Clatsop.

Moreover, the horses suffer as much as the men in this foot-ruinous country. On July 16, 1806, Clark reports that "two of the horses was so lame owing to their feet being worn quill[e] Smooth and to the quick, the hind feet was much the worst." Clark is in an instinctive "moccerson mode" at this point: he causes "Moccersons [to be] made of green Buffalow Skin and put on their feet which seems to relieve them very much in passing over the stoney plains." Too bad this remedy had not been invented a year earlier when Lewis's poor dog Seaman was suffering so much pain from all the prickly pear cactus!

Finally the plagues and tortures subside as the Corps breaks out into smoother lands and river travel quickens the pace. Downstream, flowing homeward at a good clip on the summer currents, the feet of the Corps (still true to Army tradition) must have spoken in more subdued tones—in soothing contrast to the harsh protests from the tattered moccasons back west.

Acknowledging the aches and pains of these now legendary men, the armchair fellow traveler who accompanies them via the journals can only regret that President Jefferson did not amplify his instructions to Lewis at the outset of the Expedition. Jefferson could have instructed Lewis in the same manner as the President himself had been advised earlier when he was Governor of Virginia during the Revolution. Pleading for the footwear needs of the Army in Virginia, General Nathanael Greene wrote from his field headquarters to Governor Jefferson on March 31, 1781: "I beg your Excellency to pay the greatest attention to the manufacturing [of] shoes. More depends upon this than you readily imagine. I am much afraid our supply will be very unequal to our demands..."

That would have been good advice to Lewis before starting his march up country, as the feet of the Corps would later testify—in a plain, though unspoken tongue.

**FOOT NOTES**

1. For detailed discussion of the many facets of language and linguistic features of the Expedition, see Lewis and Clark: Linguistic Pioneers by Elijah Henry Criswell, published in the University of Missouri Studies, Quarterly of Research, Columbia, Vol. XV April 1, 1940 No. 2; also "The Lost Vocabularies of the Lewis & Clark Expedition" by Bob Saindon, We Proceeded On, Vol. 3, July 1977. pp. 4-6.

2. The reader can thank Meriwether Lewis himself for the pun. Lewis at the "portage camp" of June 23, 1805 notes that "this evening the men repaired their moccasons, put on double souls (sic) to protect their feet from the prickly pears"—The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Gary E. Moulton, Editor. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, Vol. 4, pp. 327... All quotations or references from the Journals herein are from Moulton, by date, unless otherwise indicated.


4. Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854, Donald Jackson, Editor. Second edition, Uni-

5. Ibid, 1:77.


9. We are not suggesting here that tough soled Army shoes were needed to be worn at all times; lighter moccasins were obviously more appropriate during certain portions of the journey. But experience of the ages dictates that more durable footwear is essential for extensive foot travel in rugged mountain country, particularly in extremes of weather with burdensome packs.


15. Moulton, 3:488.


18. Indeed, in later years the moccasin of the Virginia Indians was found to have essential characteristics in common with the forms of footwear of the Plains Indians encountered by Lewis and Clark. See Hatt, op. cit. pp. 151 et seq.; also, especially Dress Clothing of the Plains Indians, Ronald P. Koch. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman 1977, pp. 145-151.


20. Moulton, 3:486. This appears to be the last time the journals say anything about shoes for the Corps. Later footwear references are to moccasins. It is possible, of course, that the terms were used interchangeably, but the premise of this paper is that the captains consciously distinguished the literal differences between the two terms.


22. Ronda, op. cit., p. 70.

23. Lewis seems to have been particularly fond of the Shoshone costume, including their moccasins, as depicted in the impressive portrait of him in full Shoshone regalia. See Original journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition 1804-1806, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Editor. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1904-5.


25. Thwaites, 4:98.


30. Ibid, 5:266 (July 16, 1806)

31. Jefferson Papers, 5:301

32. Julius Caesar, Act I, Scene 1.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:
Foundation member Robert R. Hunt, who retired from Seattle Trust and Savings Bank in 1987, is no stranger to readers of WPO. Since his retirement, his byline has appeared with several well-researched and intriguing articles relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition in WPO as well as in other publications. Articles by Hunt published in WPO are found in Vol. XIII, No. 2; Vol. XIV, No. 4; Vol. XV, No. 2; and Vol. 16, No. 1.
POMPEYS PILLAR

Should mere fragments of facts become a "general" conclusion?

BY ARLEN J. LARGE

Here's how Pompeys Pillar in Montana got its name:

On July 25, 1806, William Clark was descending the Yellowstone River with a party of eight others, heading home from the expedition that he and Meriwether Lewis had led to the Pacific Ocean. On the south bank he saw a roundish sandstone butte rising 200 feet above the river bottom. He gave it the name of a classical monument in Alexandria, Egypt, said to honor Pompey the Great, a Roman general...

Hold it right there.

That's not what the tourist guidebooks say today. Everyone knows that when Clark saw that rock rising 200 feet above the river bottom, he named it for his party's youngest and cutest member, Sacagawea's 17-month-old son, who bore the nickname "Pomp." Pompey was just an affectionate variant of Pomp; it had nothing to do with a Roman general.

Implausible as it sounds, however, the Egyptian monument story of the naming of Pompeys Pillar was embraced by the Expedition's earliest scholars, and there's more circumstantial evidence for it than you might think. The son-of-Sacagawea interpretation only emerged a century after the explorers' return. Neither version is written down in any Expedition record. Both require some conjectural conclusion—jumping from mere fragments of fact. Controversy encrusts every aspect of that rock's label, and unless new clues turn up the true origin of the name can never be known for sure.
None of this detracts from the historical significance of the Yellowstone structure itself. A billboard for centuries of Indian graffiti, it had caught the eye in September, 1805, of a rambling Canadian fur trader, Francois-Antoine Larocque, who described it in English as "a high hill." Larocque was the same North West Company operative who had volunteered to join the Lewis and Clark Expedition at Fort Mandan earlier that year, but was turned down. Ten months after Larocque’s visit Clark’s party arrived at the butte, where the captain added his own name to the Indian petroglyphs. His carving, "Wm Clark July 25 1806," remains the only known physical mark of the passage of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

All rock-naming theories must start with this July 25, 1806, entry in Clark’s manuscript journal: "This rock which I shall call Pompy’s Tower is 200 feet high and 400 paces in circumference . . ." That name was no slip of Clark’s pen. He wrote it at least three times more that day, dropping the possessive apostrophe but each time spelling Pompy without an "e," and each time he called it a tower, not a pillar.

Nicholas Biddle seems to have assumed it was a slip of the memory, that Clark had the Egyptian monument in mind, but couldn’t recall its exact name. Biddle was the young Philadelphia lawyer picked by Clark to examine the Expedition’s manuscript journals and write a narrative of the trip. Biddle did the writing in 1810 and 1811, and the resulting two-volume work was published in 1814. In his paraphrase of the events of July 25, 1806, Biddle wrote: “After enjoying the prospect from this rock, to which Captain Clark gave the name of Pompey’s Pillar, he descended and continued his course.”

Now, Biddle never explained his Egyptian monument assumption in any record that has been found. No reference to Pompeys Pillar appears in his extensive notes of a long personal interview with Clark about the Expedition. Clark may have explained what he meant by Pompy’s Tower in a conversation that Biddle never wrote down, or the Princeton-educated lawyer may have just drawn on his own classical knowledge to clarify a puzzling passage in Clark’s journal.

Some 80 years later Elliott Coues concurred in the Egyptian monument assumption in preparing a new edition of Biddle’s 1814 narrative. By 1893 Coues had seen Clark’s original journal entry, and in one of his typically brash footnotes he explained the discrepancy between Clark’s tower and Biddle’s pillar this way: “So our hero must have polished up his classics later, or perhaps had
Olin D. Wheeler visited the Yellowstone butte before writing his respected 1904 account of the Expedition. He, too, knew that Clark “first called this, rock Pompey’s (sic) Tower,” and offered this explanation: “Afterward, either he refreshed his memory regarding the historic pile at Alexandria, Egypt, for which it was undoubtedly named, but which it does not in the least resemble, or Biddle and Allen corrected his text.” (Paul Allen had been hired by Biddle to put finishing touches on the 1814 narrative.) In accepting the Egyptian monument theory as “undoubtedly” true, Wheeler rejected local legends that the rock took its name 1) from a Yellowstone River steamboat hand called Pompey, or 2) from the slave accompanying Clark, wrongly believed to have been named Pompey, not York.

Today the name Pompey—the Roman general—is hardly a household word, and his bush-league pillar in Alexandria is just a local tourist stop. Why did smart people like Biddle, Coues, and Wheeler take it for granted that Clark wanted to identify his riverside hunk of sandstone with that obscure relic?

Oddly enough, Pompey’s Pillar was rather famous at the start of the 19th century, both in Europe and America. Everything having to do with the near-Orient half of the venerated Roman Empire was enjoying something of a cultural craze. In Europe Mozart and Haydn had popularized “Turkish” music imitating the strong percussive beat of bands in the Sultan’s Janissary guard. Napoleon’s 1798 invasion of Egypt, then a province of Turkey, had set off a new round of interest in antiquities from both the Roman occupation and the older civilizations of the Pharaohs. The French army was accompanied by a team of civilian scientists, engineers, artists, and writers to record these ancient wonders. One of the artists was named Vivant Denon, who wrote a book, *Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt*, published in France in 1802. An American edition in English appeared in 1803.

“That book contributed more than any other item to the vogue for things Egyptian that swept the decorative arts and the world of fashion,” wrote Princeton University’s Charles C. Gilispie in a recent account of Napoleon’s adventure on the Nile. Not surprisingly, President Jefferson owned a copy of the French version.

One part of Denon’s book told of his visit to Alexandria and Pompey’s Pillar, a single red granite column topped by a Corinthian capital of, judged the author, “bad workmanship.” The structure rises about 90 feet, less than half the height of the rock in Montana. “It was named Pompey’s pillar in the fifteenth century,” Denon wrote, “when learning began to recover itself from the torpid state in which it had so long languished.” Like everyone else who has studied the column, however, Denon concluded that in its present form it is not really a monument to Pompey, one of the Roman republic’s surplus of politician-generals who was assassinated in Egypt in 48 B.C.

“The pillar has nothing to do with Pompey,” agreed the English writer E. M. Forster in a 1961 Alexandria guidebook. He and others think the 15th century mis-namers were Frankish Crusaders who, wrote Forster, “were no scholars but they had heard of Pompey, so they called the pillar after him.” An inscription on the weathered base has led most experts to believe the column actually was put up in 297 a.d. as a tribute to the Roman emperor Diocletian, perhaps assembled from pieces of an earlier Egyptian temple. Though purists sometimes put it in sneering quotation marks, Pompey’s Pillar remains the popular name tag.

On September 12, 1803, that part of Denon’s book describing “Alexandria & Pompey’s Pillar” ran in nearly three columns on page one of the *National Intelligencer* in Washington. A three-times-weekly Republican party organ, the newspaper was must reading for all good Jeffersonians. Editor Samuel Harrison Smith evidently shared the current faddish interest in Egyptology. His next issue excerpted Denon’s description of the pyramids near Cairo, and the month before he had printed another pyramid account by a recent British expedition.

On the day the Pompey’s Pillar story ran in Washington, Lewis was already heading west down the Ohio River in the Expedition’s keelboat. Clark was waiting for the keelboat at his home in...
Louisville. There was plenty of time for a copy of the Pompey's Pillar article to have reached Clark between its publication in Washington and the captains' October 26 departure from Louisville. Also, in a November 16 letter Jefferson told Lewis that subscriptions to both the *Intelligencer* and the Philadelphia *Aurora* would be sent to the explorers in Illinois, and perhaps some back issues were included. Admittedly there's no evidence that Clark ever saw that article in the *Intelligencer*, and no local reprint has been found in the contemporary Cincinnati, Lexington, or Frankfort newspapers available to him. But one way or another Denon's tales of old monuments had surely entered the cultural background of the times, and they probably became a topic of small talk in not a few barrooms and front parlors.

It's quite conceivable, then, that Clark really was trying to emulate that Egyptian monument in naming his Yellowstone discovery. It would somehow be appealing to think of a line of cultural continuity running from the classical architecture of Egypt and Rome, relayed by the French revolution, and ending at a North American natural outcrop attended only by meadowlarks and the prairie wind.

But that's a rather cerebral notion, and it's been no match for the clear sentimental favorite among Pompey's Pillar origin theories. Once it became known that Clark's affectionate nickname for Sacagawea's son was Pomp, the lingering mystery of the rock's name seemed to be solved to the satisfaction of all, and the rather tortured Egyptian monument theory was mostly forgotten.

Elliott Coues and Olin Wheeler didn't know about the boy's nickname when they wrote their Pompeys Pillar explanations. That is, they didn't know about the existence of an August 20, 1806, letter from Clark to the boy's father, Toussaint Charbonneau, written after the Charbonneau family was already established in present North Dakota while the Expedition headed home to St. Louis. As one of the party's civilian interpreters, the French-Canadian Toussaint comes across as a bumbling brute in the explorers' daily journals, but in parting Clark complimented him for conducting "your Self in Such a manner as to gain my friendship." Clark also praised the interpreter's Shoshone wife, Sacagawea, chummily using her Expedition nickname, "Janey." But the captain saved his warmest words for "my boy Pomp," born on February 11, 1805, at Fort Mandan and formally named Jean Baptiste by his parents. The boy was one of the exploring party's 33 members who journeyed all the way to the Pacific and back to Fort Mandan, where his family dropped off. Clark's letter was part of his ultimately successful effort to adopt the child and give him a good education.

Clark used both names interchangeably, the letter's most charming reference being to "my little dancing boy Baptiste." He did not explain where the nickname Pomp came from. Nowhere in the letter did he use the diminutive, Pompey, with or without an "e." With Clark silent on the nickname's origin, speculation has been offered by various students of the Expedition who, of course, disagree. In his book *Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, Charles G. Clarke is among those contending that Pomp was a Shoshone word meaning head man or leader, a title often given to a first-born son. Not so, argues Foundation past president Irving Anderson, a recognized authority on the Charbonneau family. Anderson has found no evidence for any such Shoshone word being used as a personal name, and has written that Clark apparently used Pomp to characterize "Baptiste's ostentatious 'little dancing boy' demeanor,"

For nearly 100 years the draft copy that Clark retained of his letter to Charbonneau remained locked up in a collection of family papers inherited by the explorer's granddaughter, Julia Clark Voorhis. The collection was discovered in 1903 by Reuben Gold Thwaites, who at that point had almost finished work on the first published edition of Expedition journals. After coaxing permission from Mrs. Voorhis, Thwaites in 1905 published parts of the collection—including the letter to Charbonneau—in the Volume Seven appendix of his eight-volume Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

John Bakeless was one of the first scholars to make the new leap from the Charbonneau letter to the inspiration for Clark's name for the Yellowstone rock. Writing in 1947, Bakeless concluded: "There is no real doubt that Clark named the Tower for Sacagawea's baby, whom he habitually called 'Pomp'. ." Bakeless endorsed the nickname's Shoshone origin, while adding the thought that Pomp was also a common name for slaves in the south (and thus familiar to the slave-owning Clarks). Just about every subsequent writer on the Expedition has followed Bakeless's lead on how Pompeys Pillar got its name.

There's an extra cartographic clue supporting this theory. Biddle, Coues, and Wheeler all seemed to assume that Clark just had an on-the-spot memory lapse in trying to commemorate the Egyptian Pompey's Pillar; writing "Pompy's Tower" in his journal and on his field map was a simple mistake that he would fix after a reminder
from classical authorities back in civilization. Rather soon after his return to St. Louis in the fall of 1806, Clark compiled a summary list of tributaries and "remarkable places" he had encountered on the Yellowstone. "Pompey's Tower" was on the list, spelled for the first time with the Roman general's "e," but still not obviously styled after any Egyptian pillar.

With that exception, Clark himself never changed his original name for the Yellowstone rock on any post-Expedition manuscript that has survived. In December, 1810—four years after the explorers' return—Clark began working on a comprehensive map of the entire West. He marked the Yellowstone butt with a tiny circle and a label, "Pompey Tower," exactly as written on his original field map. Another corrective "e" would have lent weight to the Roman general theory, but as Clark rendered it again in 1810 after time for reflection, Pompy makes more sense as a diminutive of Pomp, the little boy, just as Fred casually becomes Freddy. The point can be belabored by noting that Clark later used Pomp and Pompy as endearments for one of his own sons, Thomas Jefferson Kennerly Clark, born in 1824.

Other map-makers later clouded that interpretation by gratuitously inserting that corrective Roman "e." When it came time for Clark's 1810 manuscript map to be engraved for publication with Biddle's narrative in 1814, Philadelphia cartographer Samuel Lewis labeled the Yellowstone feature "Pompey's Tower." So did Benjamin O'Fallon, Clark's nephew, when copying the original field map in 1833 for use by a noble tourist, Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied.

Despite the back-and-forth with the Roman "e," all these early maps consistently followed Clark in calling the rock a tower, not a pillar. Thus keen-eyed readers of the authorized 1814 Expedition narrative would have been puzzled to see the rock named Pompey's Tower on the accompanying Samuel Lewis-engraved map, and Pompey's Pillar in Biddle's text. Yet Biddle's lonesome label was the one that stuck. In 1860 an Army geological expedition on the Yellowstone encountered the rock, which Dr. C. M. Hines unhesitatingly recognized in his notebook as "Pompey's pillar;" he described it as made of "alternate layers and yellow clay and sandstone, pebbly on top." Today the rock's official name on government maps is Pompeys Pillar, without an apostrophe. Nearby is the tiny town of Pompeys Pillar, a name ratified by the government when it established a post office there in 1909.

It's doubly ironic that while Biddle's label has prevailed, his assumption of a classical Egyptian origin has not. Everyone in the 20th century has perceived this as a false start, because the nickname for Sacagawea's son seems to be a more plausible explanation for Clark's persistent use of Pompeys Tower. Yet even this widely accepted theory has a ragged edge of doubt, again stemming from Clark's enigmatic report for July 25, 1806.

Right opposite Pompeys Tower, Clark spotted "a large brook" flowing into the Yellowstone from the north, which he said "I call Baptists Creek." As with the rock itself, he did not identify the creek's namesake, and once again there have been plenty of experts to fill in the gap. In a footnote to Clark's entry about the creek, journal editor Thwaites explained: "After Baptiste Lepage, one of the party." In his 1904 book, Wheeler agreed. Actually, both Thwaites and Wheeler were following Coues, who ten years before had decreed flatly that the creek was named for Lepage. Jean Baptiste Lepage was a French-Canadian fur trader who, like the Charbonneau family, joined the Expedition during its first winter at Fort Mandan. It wasn't strange that he and the boy Pomp shared Christian names inspired by John the Baptist; so did half the men in Canada. Naming the Montana creek for him would have been in line with the captains' habit of hanging the names of their men on practically every stream in sight. The common practice, however, was to use the last names of the party's adults, and in fact "River La Page" had already been given by Clark to a tributary of the Columbia River in Oregon (it's now the John Day River). It should be noted, too, that Lepage wasn't a member of Clark's group at the tower, consisting of the three Charbonneaus, York, and four soldiers. Lepage was then traveling with Sergeant John Ordway's canoe
detachment on the Missouri. The only Baptiste in Clark's sight that day was Sacagawea's child. Recalling that the captain called the boy both Pomp and Baptiste, it's possible that he intended a double-barrelled complement of using one for the rock and the other for the creek. The stream was named "obviously for the baby," concluded Bakeless in his 1947 book, after reasoning that the rock was too. "Efforts to show that the captain was thinking of an Old World monument are very doubtful, as are efforts to show that the creek was named for Baptiste Lepage."

But that smacks of commemorative overkill, even to other experts who agree with Bakeless. "It is surprising that Clark waited until the homeward leg of the journey to name two geographical features after Sacagawea's infant son, Jean Baptiste," wrote Expedition authority Donald Jackson in his last book in 1987. The surprise vanishes, however, if the perplexed student returns to the original theory that Clark really did have the Old World monument in mind for the rock, even if he never got the name straight. Then the boy Baptiste—not the absent Lepage—could have exclusive claim to the creek. (Today the creek's official name is—what else?—Pompey's Pillar Creek.)

And for what it's worth, consider the chance that Clark was thinking of both the Roman general and Sacagawea's youngster in concocting a punning mixture of their names as a whimsical label for the rock. In a drought of facts, any theory can bloom.

NOTES


2. For a discussion of other possible Expedition footprints, see Bob Saindon, "They left their mark: Tracing the obscure graffiti of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," We Proceeded On, August, 1987, pp. 10-23.


15. Moulton, Atlas, Map 77.


ABOUT THE AUTHOR:
Arlen J. Large of Washington, D. C. is a former Foundation president (1983-84); a frequent contributor to WPO; a retired correspondent of the Wall Street Journal; and continues to travel the world pursuing his many scientific interests. He certainly ranks among the top Lewis and Clark authorities in the nation; and he serves on the editorial board of WPO. Other articles by Large that have appeared in WPO may be found in Vol. VI, Nos. 1 and 3; Vol IX, No 4; Vol XI, No. 3; Vol XII, No. 2; Vol XIII, Nos. 1 and 4; Vol XIV, No. 3; Vol XV, Nos. 1,2,3, 4; and Vol XVI, Nos. 1 and 2.
A MOON TO LIGHT THE WAY

BY ROBERT N. BERGANTINO

Camping out, prior to the widespread use of mobile homes, campers, and vans; high-intensity gas lanterns, portable electricity generators, and fluorescent lanterns; televisions, multitudinous flaming campfires, and 5000-watt yard lights, meant spending a night out under the dark vault of the heavens illuminated by its own celestial lights.

The stars were magnificent but the moon was special. Between the first and last quarter phases, the moon was bright enough to cast shadows. At full moon it was possible even to read—but who wanted to read when there were so many wonders to observe.

Imagine what the night sky must have looked like to the members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition! And the moon... softening that distant, fearful blackness of a campsite on some sandy shore or on some prickly pear-infested plain, remote from civilization... must have been a welcome guest. Yet, except for the astronomical observations, the journalists of the Lewis and Clark Expedition never once mention the stars; the moon is mentioned only once—that was by Lewis when he and his party were hurrying back to the Missouri River after their skirmish with the Blackfeet on July 27, 1806. Lewis wrote, “after refreshing ourselves we again set out by moonlight and traveled leisurely, heavy thunderclouds lowered around us on every quarter but that from which the moon gave us light.” Lewis and his party traveled by the light of the moon until 2 a.m. on the 28th, then laid down to rest in the plains. Where was the moon during their hours of night travel? What was the moon’s phase that it gave them enough light to travel through unfamiliar plains? What did the night sky look like at the expedition’s various campsites?

(Continued on page 20)
The principal stars that might have been visible at any particular campsite are easy to determine because their cycle is annual. The moon's phases, on the other hand, follow an irregular 19-year cycle and are not so easy to determine with precision. Fortunately, approximations can be made where data are not available, especially with new computer programs. And, even more fortunately, some libraries have preserved almanacs that provide precise information not only as to the date of the phase, but the exact time that the phase occurs. Nautical or astronomical almanacs also provide moon-coordinate information so that the azimuth and altitude of the moon (or other celestial objects) can be determined at any time. Thus, on the night of 27 April 1806, we find that the moon at 8 PM (commencement of civil twilight) had an azimuth of 127° (S53°E) and an altitude of 56°. At 2 AM on 28 July 1806 it had an azimuth of 262° (S82°W) and an altitude of 38°. Its phase was a little more than two days before full moon.

The Moon Phases for 1804-1806 are from two sources. The 1804 phases are from a table based solely on the 19-year cycle and possibly are accurate to +1 day from the date given. The moon phases for 1805 and 1806 were derived from the Great Britain Nautical Almanac for those years, and the time of the phase was adjusted to Mountain Standard Time.

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*Adjusted from Great Britain Nautical Almanac—1805

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(Continued on page 22)
ABOUT THE AUTHOR:
Robert N. Bergantino is an engineer/cartographer from Butte, Montana. He is an expert on the surveying practices of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and has done a great deal of work with respect to identifying Lewis and Clark sites in Montana. He prepared a detailed map of the Great Falls portage; a large-scale map showing the Lewis and Clark campsites in Montana; and has put on computer all of Lewis and Clark's Courses and Distances in Montana, and identified them with regard to the river channel today. He has contributed a great deal to our understanding of Lewis and Clark cartography.

HISTORICAL ESSAY CONTEST WINNERS ANNOUNCED

The fourth annual essay contest sponsored by Robert Cavaliere, Engineering Systems Analyst, at Brooklyn Union Gas (BUG), was held at St. Bernadette School in Dyker Heights, New York this past month.

The topics for the essay contest were the Lewis and Clark Expedition, General George Armstrong Custer, and the Battle of Little Bighorn. The topics, related to American westward expansion, allow the students to express their own opinions based on their research.

The winners were first place: Kim Prinzivalli, "Custer Before and at the Battle of the Little Bighorn," second place: Christopher Oliviero, "Was Custer the Right Man?" third place: Tara Visconti, "The Louisiana Purchase."

This year the judges gave special recognition to Matthew Catanzaro, "The Louisiana Purchase"; Peter Marcolini, "Custer's Life"; and Josephine Cavaliere, "Custer and the Battle of the Little Bighorn." Josephine Cavaliere is related to two of the judges and was therefore not eligible to win any of the prizes.

The First Place winner received $50 in cash, a plaque, a first place ribbon and a Custer medal. The other winners received ribbons, medals and certificates.

The students' research was aided by books purchased for the school library through a $500 donation made by BUG in 1988. BUG has recently provided an additional $500 for acquiring video films. Mr. Cavaliere hopes to have the video library available to students and teachers by September 1990.
NPS ACCEPTS 39-ACRE INTERPRETIVE SITE

On May 11, 1990, the National Park Service (NPS) accepted 39 acres of land at the Lewis and Clark State Park along Highway Route 3 near Wood River, Ill. The land, to be used for a Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center, was then turned over to Illinois to proceed with construction. See "Proposed Development of Lewis and Clark Historic Site," WPO, Vol.15, No 2, pp. 20-21.

It was a happy day in Edwardsville, Illinois, on May 11, 1990, when the Lewis and Clark Society transferred 39 acres to the National Park Service for a public Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center. (Seated) Senator Sam Vadalabene and Lucille Rich holding the check, and Walter Greathouse, president of Metro-East Levee and Sanitary District; (second row) Judy Sheraka, Winifred George, Tom Hewlett of the Corps of Engineers, and Christine Bramstedt.; (back row) George Arnold, Robert Colter, and Ray Switzer.

Photos by DENISE MACDONALD

Winifred George, of St. Louis, Vice President of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, thanks Senator Sam Vadalabene, of Edwardsville, Illinois for his tireless efforts in bringing to reality the acquisition of land for the national Lewis and Clark Center to be built at "Site Number 1" on the Lewis and Clark Trail near Wood River.
BOOK REVIEW

Louis Charbonneau,
Trail.
506 pages. $22.95

Charbonneau’s long novel is based on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, inviting the question of whether we need another novel on this subject, as important as the 1804-1806 exploration may have been. One thinks of novels by Julia Davis, Eva Emery Dye, Hildegarde Hawthorne, Ethel Hueston, Jeannette C. Nolan (why did the Expedition attract so many women writers?), Emerson Hough, Donald Culross Peattie, Dale Van Every, Will Henry, and Vardis Fisher. There are undoubtedly more.

The best of these is Vardis Fisher’s Tale of Valor, based so closely on the journals kept by Lewis and Clark that Fisher tells us frequently that Lewis retires to his tent in the evening to enter the day’s events in his journal, at which point Fisher quotes from the journal. The reader feels that the writer is scrupulous in his attempt to be historically accurate while adding the novelist’s dramatic techniques. Perhaps even more important are Fisher’s psychological insights into the characters of Lewis and Clark, allowing for a realistic, and expected, development of the two personalities and the relationship between them.

Charbonneau, on the other hand, seems to be writing for a young adult audience, or even on the level of the juvenile. The general approach and much of the dialogue are romantic and unabashedly patriotic. Although Charbonneau has done his research, the two elements on which the story hangs are fictional. One is the use of non-existent journals, those which might have been kept by George Shannon but are invented by the author. Quotations from this “journal” are extensive, while those from the actual journals of Lewis and Clark are brief. The other ploy is more difficult to accept, at least by an adult reader. Lewis’s dog appears prominently throughout the story, often as a “character” through whose point of view we confront the action.

I confess to a deep-seated prejudice against animal-narrated stories, with the exception of Walter Van Tilburg Clark’s remarkable “Hook,” and it may be that other readers will not be as offended.

Trail is, however, a narrative mish-mash, written in short almost anecdotal sections with little development of plot or character. Its saving grace is that it provides a somewhat palatable mine of information for young people who have not yet realized the historical importance of the magnificent feat accomplished by a fairly small group of explorers, only one of whom died on the way west. Nearly one-fourth of the novel covers the period of preparation and the pre-Missouri River travel.

John Milton
University of South Dakota

BACK ISSUES OF WPO AVAILABLE

A limited number of copies of back issue of WE PROCEEDED ON are available at $2 per single copy for Foundation members, and $2.50 for non-members. Several WPO supplements are also available. To order a free prospectus of Foundation publications, send your request to Robert E. Lange, Publications, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., 5054 SW 26th Place, Portland, OR 97201.

Please include $1 to help defray printing and mailing costs.
BEFORE LEWIS AND CLARK
AVAILABLE IN PAPERBACK

A. P. Nasatir's lifetime study, *Before Lewis and Clark*, a classic two-volume collection of early Missouri River documents, is now available in paperback from Bison Books. Originally published in 1952 by the St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, this scholarly compilation of 230 documents "illustrates the history of the Missouri from 1785-1804." Along with the documents and maps the author has provided copious notes which reflect his many years of scholarly research. This excellent account of the activities along the Missouri River between St. Louis and the mouth of the Yellowstone River prior to 1804, is a must for anybody interested in a better understanding of the men and events that were to pave the way for the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

In addition to an excellent historical narrative which Dr. Nasatir wrote to introduce the 1952 edition, the Bison Book edition provides a fascinating introduction by Dr. James P. Ronda, author of *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*.

A copy of the original edition of *Before Lewis and Clark* is rare, and a difficult publication to find. However, the new Bison Book edition is readily available from your local book dealer. Volume I sells for $11.95, and Volume II for $12.95.

DISCOVERY CORPS PLANS BUSY SUMMER

It was a busy spring for Discovery Corps of Council Bluffs, Iowa—a group dedicated to recreating the era of Lewis and Clark with their period dress and accouterments. This summer also promises to be a busy time according to Jack Schmidt (alias Sergeant John Ordway), editor of the group's newsletter, *Discovery Corps*.

In May the Corps participated in the Council Bluffs Pride Parade, and the Florence Days Parade in Omaha. June 8-10 they took part in the Onawa (Iowa) Park Lewis and Clark Festival and Reenactment. The Corps provided the color guard and reveille and retreat ceremonies, and participated in the Pageant.

Members also attended the national Muzzle Loaders Rendezvous Association at the site of Fort Mandan, the reconstructed 1804-1805 Lewis and Clark winter headquarters near present Washburn, North Dakota.

July 19-22 they participated in the Second Annual White Catfish Camp and Reenactment at Long's Island, just above the Platte River on the Iowa side of the Missouri.

August 17-19 the Corps is scheduled for the Sergeant Floyd Memorial Encampment and Reenactment. They anticipate a repeat of last year's successful visit to the monument.

For more information about the Corps and their activities, write Jack Schmidt, 1225 Crescent Drive, Council Bluffs, IA 51503.

BISMARCK'S NEW RIVERBOAT NAMED LEWIS AND CLARK

Of the 2,000 entries and 14,000 suggestions received in the competition to name the new riverboat that was launched at Bismarck, North Dakota, June 9, 1990, 40 contestants submitted the winning name "Lewis and Clark."

The $500,000 paddle wheel boat built by Robert E. McMahon of LaCrosse, Wisconsin, replaces the *Far West* which was moved by its owners down the Missouri River to a town in South Dakota. Those who attended the Foundation's annual meeting in Bismarck in 1988 will recall their ride on the *Far West*.

Of the 40 who selected the name "Lewis and Clark," three names were drawn to win a riverboat cruise for themselves and seven guests.

"It's a fitting name," said Joe Hauer, Missouri Riverboat, Inc., investor, "Lewis and Clark were the first explorers to spend time in the area and write extensively about this part of the country."

The new riverboat was being booked before it was built. By May 4, twenty-five private groups had already reserved the boat. The *Lewis and Clark* was hauled to Bismarck from LaCrosse over a four-day period beginning June 1, and lowered by a 50-ton crane onto the Missouri River, and was christened June 9.

AUGUST 1990

WE PROCEEDED ON
Bitterroot Field Trip Called "Great Success"

A sunny, comfortable day helped draw 88 people in 37 cars for the May 21st field trip held by Travelers Rest Chapter, Missoula, Montana. The motorcade commenced in Missoula with a stop at the probable Lewis and Clark campsite of September 8, 1805, in the Bitterroot Valley near Stevensville. The motorcade then paralleled the Expedition's route to the campsites of September 4-7, 1805, to the July 4, 1806, campsite, the group left Clark's River (present Bitterroot River) and followed the Lewis and Clark Trail over to Ross Hole, where Lewis and Clark met the Flatheads.

The motorcade then crossed over present Gibbon's Pass—the place Captain Clark and his party entered into the Big Hole Basin on their return from the ocean. The field trip concluded at the Big Hole Battlefield (Chief Joseph's battle of 1877) near where Clark's party passed on July 6, 1806.

Anyone interested in the activities of the Travelers Rest Chapter should write, Travelers Rest Chapter, Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Box 477, Lolo, MT 59847.

Letter

Thanks for L&C Videos

NOTE: The following letter, dated April 30, 1990, was received by former Foundation president, Don Nell.

On behalf of the nine school districts in Park County, may I express their appreciation for the video of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, "We Proceeded On," that your organization placed in each library.

The video and accompanying publication is an excellent documentary and beautifully edited. Also, the video is easily adapted to most grade levels. Instructors have been able to incorporate the video into lesson plans on several different occasions, not only when studying the history of the Expedition, but in the general study of Montana history and in the study of recreation in Montana. With a copy available in each district library, teachers have had more flexibility in planning and use since they did not have to depend on renting and returning deadlines.

Besides the added instructional use, students have often chosen to use free time to watch the video for individual enjoyment. Others have extended their interest through further research, reading and reporting.

With the 1986 funding freeze and corresponding tight budgets, Park County rural schools are not often able to purchase videos. The Foundation's gift of the Lewis and Clark video is a welcome addition to the libraries of these districts. Besides, students will benefit educationally for many years as a result of this gift.

Thank you for sharing your interest in history, discovery and education. It is a gift that will really keep on giving!

Billie J. Fleming
Park County Superintendent of Schools

26 WE PROCEEDED ON AUGUST 1990
L&C ARCHAEOLOGICAL DIG GETS HIGH-TECH HELP

Dr. John Weymouth of the University of Nebraska will be bringing some high-tech equipment to the Lower Portage Camp archaeological site on the Missouri below Great Falls, Montana. The magnetometer is able to detect changes in the magnetic field caused by fire. Hopefully, the 185-year-old camp fires of the various squads of the Expedition will be detected by this modern technology.

This is the fourth year at the site for archaeologist Ken Karsmizki of Bozeman, Montana. The discovery of a wooden stake last year gave renewed hope to the group of professional and amateur archaeologists who, so far, have excavated 40 plots five feet square.

Because the scientists have only turned up one wooden stake in three summers of work, there is concern about finding continued financial support for the project. Last year's work ate up most of the $25,000 grant from Montana coal-tax funds. Donations from interested individuals and various chapters of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation have also helped pay the $3,000-a-week cost to keep a crew in the field. When this summer's work is done in September, Karsmizki estimates that the tab for the camp search will have topped $50,000. The magnetometry work alone will cost about $5,000. This money still has to be raised.

In addition to the campsites, the scientists believe their excavations on higher ground may be nearing the cache site described in the Lewis and Clark journals. Here the explorers buried a good deal of equipment before continuing on to the Pacific Ocean. At least most, if not all, of the cached materials was recovered on the return trip.

The Nebraska professor will visit the site on July 28, 1990, and will return for a week in mid-August to do the magnetometry work. The process will yield a computerized map that will show the "fire features." The information will be important in telling how deep the archaeologists should dig.

The magnetometry will focus on a one-acre plot and Karsmizki is faced with picking the right acre from the roughly 500,000 square feet that encompass the campsite. "If we can pick out the right acre, we may find out a lot," said Karsmizki. "With magnetometry, we hope every hole we dig in going to produce something."

For information on how to give financial support to the Lower Portage Camp archaeological dig, write to Ken Karsmizki, c/o Portage Route Chapter, P.O. Box 2424, Great Falls, MT 59403.

PROGRESS CONTINUES ON PLANS FOR THE PURCHASE OF POMPEYS PILLAR

The U.S. Senate and House Appropriations Committees have given the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) authority to negotiate for the purchase of the Pompeys Pillar site 28 miles east of Billings. Before the purchase can take place, BLM must have an appraisal done of this historic L & C landmark and the surrounding acreage. Then BLM will enter into negotiations with John and Stella Foote for the final purchase price.

Montana Senator Max Baucus has urged the director of BLM to begin plans to develop Pompeys Pillar into a family recreational and historical site. "While I realize BLM must still complete its appraisal and negotiate the final purchase, it is not too early to begin planning how this area will be managed and improved over the next several years," Baucus said.

(EDITOR'S DUTIES Continued from page 3)
Lolo Hot Springs at the source of Lolo Creek in the Bitterroot Mountains, west of present Missoula, Montana. This view, looking west, was drawn by John M. Stanley in the 1860s as part of a railroad survey from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. It must be the same view as seen by the Lewis and Clark Expedition in September, 1805.