THE LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL
HERITAGE FOUNDATION, INC.

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OFFICERS—EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

President
Robert K. Doerk, Jr.
1443 Park Garden Road
Great Falls, MT 59404

1st Vice President
Winfred C. George
6240 Rosebury Ave. 2 W
St. Louis, MO 63106

2nd Vice President
James R. Panio
9201 S. 66th St.
Yankton Ridge
Lincoln, NE 68516

Barbara Kahle, Secretary
1712 S. Ferry Ct.
Kemperick, WI 53337

John E. Walker, Treasurer
18309 S. Springwater Rd.
Estacada, OR 97023

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

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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 scope 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 commensurate with 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 acts of distinction, achievement in the broad field of Lewis and Clark historical research, writing, or deeds which promote the general purpose 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

In preparing for the Louisville meeting, I had occasion to read Bill Sherman’s article in Volume 12, Number 3 of We Proceeded On. It concerned background and information on the Filson Club, our hosts for the 1991 Annual Meeting. Then I read Frenchy Chuinard’s article “Where Did the Lewis and Clark Expedition Start?” in Volume 8, Number 2. What a wealth of information is contained in back issues of WPO and how fortunate we are to have these still available to us at a reasonable price. Bob Lange has done yeoman work in the past to make this possible. As we have developed a “color” format for the magazine, reproduction becomes more of a problem but if it is information an enthusiast wants, there are few sources better than Xeroxed copies of WPO.

The Genealogy Committee continues to collect information about our intrepid explorers and their families. Who knows, these efforts may result in uncovering the long lost journal of Frazier or perhaps one by Pryor, never mentioned but perhaps written as he was a sergeant and under “orders” to keep a journal. If you have information on the Expedition themselves, or their descendants, please contact Donna Masterson, chairman of this

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

ANNUAL MEMBERSHIP DUES*

General: $15.00 (3 years: $42.50)
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** Please indicate grade and school when applying.
From the Editor’s Desk

It looks to me like I will be sitting in a front row seat at the national Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Convention in Louisville, Kentucky. About the time you receive this WPO, I will be learning to talk Kentuckian.

I will probably sound like a native Montanan (no accent) as I wrap my tongue around “Heah, y’all” and other phrases of importance.

Actually, I’m just kidding about the foreign language. I’m not kidding when I say—if I can be half as gracious and warm as the folks from Louisville I’ve been talking to these last months, I will have accomplished a great deal.

Once the convention is over we can all proceed on to wherever our interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition may lead us. The November issue of WPO will cover the convention as much as possible.

Back to the present … the other day I had the opportunity to see the spot where some believe the Expedition members drank the last of the booze they carried with them. It is a spot far short of either end of the journey. For more on the trials and tribulations of the military members of the Expedition who expected their liquor ration every day, see Bob Hunt’s article on page 19. Dr. E.G. Chuinard takes a look at the ongoing controversy about the death of Meriwether Lewis starting on page 4. Father Barnaby Faherty tells us about William Clark and the Jesuits on page 13.

I wish you could all come to Louisville so I could meet you.
Maybe next year.

New Lewis & Clark Exhibit at St. Charles, Missouri

Mini Jackson writes from St. Charles, Missouri: “We have a new exhibit at the Lewis & Clark Center in St. Charles, Missouri. Enclosed is a photo of our museum artist, Evangeline Groth putting the finishing touches on ‘Crossing the Bitterroot Mountains.’ This extends the Lewis & Clark Trail dioramas showing the men traveling along the Missouri River, over the mountains, and on to the Pacific Ocean.”

ON THE COVER—
The broken column monument at the Meriwether Lewis National Monument near Hohenwald, Tennessee. The column, erected in 1848 by the State of Tennessee, may or may not stand over the spot where Lewis was buried. See Dr. E.G. Chuinard’s article on Lewis’s untimely death on page 4.

Photo by Norma Hite
How Did Meriwether Lewis Die?

IT WAS MURDER

BY E.G. CHUINARD, M.D.

Part 1

Once a statement, however unsubstantiated, once an attractive assumption, however unwarranted, is printed in a book, it becomes gospel fact and to eradicate it from the general mind or to forestall its reuse becomes very nearly impossible.  

"Excessive sentiment is always the enemy of truthfulness in historic preservation." Opinion unsupported by fact is the danger that leads historians astray with a reasoning that will support a faulty conclusion already made.

The State of Tennessee erected a monument at the site of Meriwether Lewis's death in 1848; the inscription of the last line reflects the prevailing neighborhood opinion: "It is more probable that he died by the hand of an assassin."

October 11, 1809—a date which has caused so much discussion and disagreement among historians. Did Meriwether Lewis commit suicide or was he murdered?

The most recent article dealing with this question is that of Dr. Paul Cutright in We Proceeded On in March, 1986. He expressed the definite opinion that Lewis committed suicide and gave his reasons in support of this conclusion.
Because I have always felt that there was too much question about the death of Lewis for one to be as certain as Dr. Cutright, I discussed this with him in a quickly composed letter, and we had discussed the question in person from time to time. He had previously told me that he was organizing his material to formalize his opinion and hoped I would comment on it. I regret I have been delayed in writing this article until after Paul has left us. It is the finest tribute that can be paid to a scholar of Dr. Cutright's standing that we could feel free to discuss our different opinions without fear of offending each other.

I quote from the letter I wrote to Dr. Cutright soon after his article appeared in We Proceeded On, under the date of March 12, 1986:

"Indeed, I have read your article on Meriwether Lewis’s death, and as you say, we do have some differences in our opinions—but I certainly respect yours and your reasoning. I keep telling myself, perhaps I am not objective because I am dealing with my hero. I do think that Lewis’s conduct lends itself to justifiable speculation of suicide, but thousands of people have been ‘mentally perturbed’ and alcoholic imbibers without committing suicide.

"Instead of Suicide or Murder, it really is Suicide and Murder—murder of oneself. Looking at it that way, there is only circumstantial evidence, evidence on which a jury today would not convict a person. Admitting a circumstantial situation, there are too many unresolved, unreasonable things for conviction of Lewis murdering himself. If I were the attorney defending Lewis the charge of Suicide, I would ask: 1) Where was Neelly all night in the dark looking for a horse? 2) Why wasn’t one of the servants sent for the horse and Neelly continue to watch over Lewis? 3) What about the three varying accounts given by Mrs. Grinder? 4) The story of Lewis shooting himself so as to expose his brain and another shot into his body and then wandering around for so long begging for water, is not believable. 5) If Lewis was coherent enough to beg for water and walk or crawl about for several hours, why couldn’t he reload his pistols and complete the job he implored others to do? 6) Russell’s letter to which Dr. Cutright refers was written almost two years after Lewis’s death and, like Jefferson’s, reflects submitting an account that was compatible with the propounded suicide theory. 7) Are we to believe that a woman, used to meeting all sorts of robbers and thieves while staying alone, would be afraid to give a dying man a drink of water? 8) The unresolved question of ‘Where was Mr. Grinder?’ and was there an inquest with him on the spot, as tradition holds in the area? 9) Missing articles from his rifled trunk, especially money, causes one to suspect foul play.

"Paul, my feeling is that we will never know the truth. I think our differences lie in the fact I give weight to the defense where questions of doubt arise, and there is plenty of doubt it seems to me.

"What I appreciate about our friendship is that we can ‘bounce the ball around’ with an exchange of ideas and opinions and still maintain

**AUTHOR’S NOTE**

I have read Dr. Cutright’s article and consulted the references many times in the preparation of this paper. I have been three years in writing it, putting it aside for periods of time to “cool off,” and then to read it again for re-appraisal. I regret that Dr. Cutright and Dr. Jackson died before I completed the paper. I would have liked to have had them review it before sending it to the editor. Perhaps it is just as well to submit it as an expression of my own opinion; however, I had the opportunity of discussing Lewis’s death with them several times, and for this reason presented the correspondence with Dr. Cutright.

I think the evidence given by Mrs. Grinder, with its variations, and the various newspaper reports, would, if presented to a jury, cause the case to be thrown out of court, or lead to a verdict of “Not Guilty” because of so much doubt and conflicting evidence. I agree with Richard Dillon that proof of Lewis not having committed suicide is lacking; but that there is reasonable doubt of his having done so, with the preponderance of evidence in his favor.

I have appraised the stories related by Mrs. Grinder as nothing more than hearsay. My account of the death scene relies very much on the course of the bullet in Meriwether’s body and the unreasonableness of Mrs. Grinder’s story. More than any other author, I believe that malaria was the cause of Lewis’s erratic behavior, and I wish to emphasize the reader’s attention to this point. I believe that what I have put forward as the cause of Lewis’s death is plausible and probable and better fits the situation than the stories fabricated by Mrs. Grinder.
our firm friendship and regard for each other—and on my part toward you, a deep and abiding respect for the very pinnacle of Lewis and Clark scholarship.'

On March 21, 1986, Dr. Cutright wrote (excerpted from a full letter): "... Just a few words in rebuttal to your remarks against suicide. You failed to address two points in particular, both of which I regard as most important. One is the utter failure of Lewis to give his publisher a single line of copy and, two, the unhappy erosion of the long-established friendship between Lewis and Jefferson.'

And thus, was I challenged to a more thorough review of Suicide or Murder,7 reading the book several times and checking details repeatedly, with attention given to the accounts and opinions expressed several times. I think that the known facts regarding malaria have not been given due attention and evaluation by the proponents of suicide, and for this reason I present the attached medical description for the reader to have in mind when he considers Lewis's mental derangement.

Reports of Lewis's Death

The reader is invited to review in detail the two most quoted reports of Lewis's death.

The first report of Meriwether Lewis's death was that of James Neelly8 in his written/posted letter from Nashville to Jefferson on October 18, 1809 (about a week after Meriwether's death). The second report was that of Alexander Wilson, the noted ornithologist, which is almost two years later "in the spring of 1811."

Note that Neelly was not an eye-witness; in his letter which follows, he said, "I came up sometime after ..." which means that his account of Lewis's death is hearsay from Mrs. Grinder. This is important because it was the first "authentic" account of suicide.

The intervening time between the reports of Neelly and Wilson give rise to much widespread gossip and varying accounts of Lewis's death. This intervening time also permitted Mrs. Grinder to formulate a story that would alter any previous statements she might wish to, and this appears to be what she did.

Letter from James Neelly to Jefferson.*

Nashville, Tennessee
October 18, 1809
Sir,

It is with extreme pain that I have to inform you of the death of His Excellency Meriwether Lewis, Governor of upper Louisiana who died on the morning of the 11th Instant and I am sorry to say by Suicide.

I have also in my Care his Rifle, Silver watch, Brace of Pistols, dirk & Tomahawk; one of the Governor's horses was lost in the wilderness which I will endeavor to regain, the other I have sent on by his servant—who expressed a desire to go to the governor's Mothers & to Monticello; I have furnished him with Fifteen Dollars to Defray his expenses to Charlottesville; Some days previous to the Governor's death he requested of me in case any accident happened to him, to send his trunks with the papers therein to the President, but I think it very probable he meant to you. I wish to be informed what arrangements may be considered best in sending on his trunks, etc. I have the honor to be with Great respect Yr.Ob.Sert.

James Neelly
U.S. agent to the Chickasaw Nation

Alexander Wilson's report regarding Lewis's death is herewith recorded by him as given to him by Mrs. Grinder.

This distinguished ornithologist was on one of his journeys to find subscribers to his book on birds, in the late winter or early spring of 1811, when he came to Grinder's Stand and heard from Mrs. Grinder her story on how Lewis died. Wilson listened to Mrs. Grinder's story, took notes, went on to Natchez, and wrote a letter to a friend. We now have a second version of Mrs. Grinder's story by a reputable reporter written in the spring of 1811.9

"Next morning (Sunday) I rode six miles to a man's house, of the name of Grinder, whose poor friend Lewis perished.

"I have got in my possession his two trunks of papers (amongst which is said to be his travels to the pacific Ocean) and probably some Vouchers for expenditures of Public Money for a Bill which he said had been protested by the Secy. of War; and of which act to his death, he repeatedly complained.

"In the same room where he expired, I took down from Mrs. Grinder the particulars of that melancholy event, which affected me extremely. The house or cabin is seventy-two miles from Nashville, and is the last white man's as you enter the Indian country. Governor Lewis, she said, came hither about sunset alone, and alighting brought his saddle into the house. He was dressed in a loose gown, white, striped with blue. In being asked if he came alone, he replied..."
that there were two servants behind, who would soon be up. He called for some spirits, and drank a very little. When the servants arrived, one of who was a negro, he inquired for powder, saying he was sure he had some in a canister. The servant gave no distinct reply, and Lewis, in the meanwhile, walked backwards and forwards before the door, talking to himself.

"Sometimes, she said, he would seem as if he were walking up to her; and would suddenly wheel around, and walk back as fast as he could. Supper being ready he sat down, but had eaten only a few mouthfuls when he started up, speaking to himself in a violent manner. After a time, she said, she observed his face to be flush as if it had come on him in a fit. He lighted his pipe, and drawing a chair to the door sat down, saying to Mrs. Grinder, in a kind tone of voice, Madam, this is a very pleasant evening. He smoked for some time, and quitted his seat and traversed the yard as before. He again sat down to his pipe, seemed again composed, and casting his eyes wistfully toward the west, observed what a sweet evening it was. Mrs. Grinder was preparing a bed for him, but he said he would sleep on the floor, and desired the servant to bring the bear skins and buffalo robe, which were immediately spread out for him; and, it now being dusk, the woman went off to the kitchen and the two men to the barn which stands about two hundred yards off.

"The kitchen is only a few paces from the room where Lewis was, and the woman being considerably alarmed by the behavior of her guest who could not sleep, but listened to him walking backwards and forwards, she thinks for several hours, and talking aloud, as she said, like a lawyer. She then heard the report of a pistol, and something fall heavily to the floor and the words O Lord! immediately afterwards she heard another pistol, and (in a few minutes) she heard him at her door calling out, O madam! give me some water and heal my wounds!"

"The logs being open, and unplastered, she saw him stagger back and fall against a stump that stands between the kitchen and the room. He crawled for some distance, and raised himself by the side of a tree where he sat about a minute. He once more got to the room; afterwards he came to the kitchen door, but did not speak; she then heard him scraping in the bucket with a gourd for water; but it appeared that this cooling element was denied the dying man.

"As soon as day broke, and not before, the terror of the woman having permitted him to remain for two hours in this most deplorable situation, she sent two of her children to the barn, her husband not being home, to bring the ser-
...
of French wines, and his inventive skill was put to use in developing an elevator to bring bottles of wine from the basement to the table. Lewis’s decorum in all things must have been very satisfactory to give him command of the Corps of Discovery above all others that might have been entrusted with this mission that was very dear to Jefferson. Lewis’s secretary and vicious critic, Frederick Bates, never accused Lewis of drinking or being drunk, even though his criticism of Lewis was wide-ranging, unfair and vitriolic.17

Lewis arrived at St. Louis to take up his duties as Governor of Upper Louisiana on March 8, 1808, and from then until he departed on September 4, 1809 to go to Washington to plead his case, there is no record of his drinking. Phelps writes that “He quarreled bitterly with his second-in-command, the territorial secretary,” as if to impugn this sole cause of the quarreling to Lewis; from a reading of the correspondence, Bates was the contentious person.

To say that Lewis’s depression was the result of excessive drinking is highly speculative. As Jefferson’s secretary, he lived with Jefferson for nearly two years with no mention of it during that time. He also had a close friendship with Mahlon Dickerson for the two years he served as Jefferson’s secretary, during which time they “did the town” without mention of drinking. Also, Lewis was elected to the American Philosophical Society in 1803, and on his return from the Pacific Ocean, attended meetings in April, June, and July with never any mention of improper decorum. When Dr. Cutright says: “To the writer it would seem that his affinity for alcohol already began to cloud his judgement,” he seems to be adopting a “reasoning to support a predetermined conviction.” It may be that Lewis was drinking too much, yet historians have noted that his notebook entries at the time were “eminently clear and sensible.”

Jefferson believed that Lewis was both an alcoholic and had committed suicide, not on the basis of fact, but on what he knew of the man.”29 This assertion is hard to understand; if Jefferson did not have facts for the basis of his belief, it can only be attributed to supposition. It is to be noted that Lewis was harshly critical of the builder of the keel boat, who was perenially drunk and gave poor attention to getting the keel boat built on time—are we to believe that Lewis was drinking with him?

Bakeless21 and F2 have both suggested the possibility of Lewis’s mental confusion being due to periodic bouts of his recurrent malaria, with fever, chills and depression. (See appended discussion of malaria.) Attacks of malaria were so prevalent in the valleys along all the rivers that they were considered too common to mention, like the common cold.23

That Lewis did have malaria is shown by the fact that he pulled his boat on shore to have his chills and fever while going down the Ohio River (this was prior to meeting with Clark and the latter joining the planned Expedition). “…I was seized with a violent ague which continued about four hours and as usual was succeeded by fever which, fortunately, abated in some measure by sunrise the next morning … and was entirely clear of fever the next morning … felt much better but extremely weak.”24 Apparently, Lewis kept medicine available for such attacks, as indicated by a letter he wrote to Clark from the City of Washington on March 11, 1807: “My dear Friend, I took some pills last evening after your departure from which I found considerable relief, and have no doubt of recovering my health perfectly in the course of a few days.”25

3. Regarding not furnishing his publisher, Conrad, copy for the Journals; and inattention to other correspondence: Lewis cannot be defended in this regard, except to say that he probably had other things demanding his attention which caused delay, and recurrent bouts of malaria; thus, the delay became far more extended than he had at first contemplated. From Jefferson’s point of view—and our own—there should have been nothing of greater importance to Lewis than to get copy to his publisher or at least to keep in touch with him and Jefferson. But why did Jefferson allow Lewis to continue as Governor of Upper Louisiana, when he had been dilatory in his regard?

What can be said is that this was one of Lewis’s breaks from attention to things, consistent with the lack of continuity of attention to his journals up the Missouri. This showed up early in going down the Ohio: a lapse from September 18 to November 11; thirty-nine intervening pages were blank, representing 694 miles. Regrettably, this included the time when the two old friends met for the first time in a long while, at Louisville. What a great story this would be if Lewis had recorded
it, using the feeling language he did in describing the Great Falls, or the White Cliffs of the Missouri, or his introspective soliloquy on his thirty-first birthday.

In his letter of September 22, 1809, he wrote to Amos Stoddard, "I must acknowledge myself remiss in not writing to you in answer to several friendly epistles which I have received from you since my return from the Pacific Ocean." The entire letter is a lucid, coherent statement written when he was supposed to have had a mental derangement while coming down the Mississippi and during his first days at Fort Pickering. The date of the letter, September 22, is only a couple of weeks before his death. Also, in this letter, he says, "You will direct to me at the City of Washington until the last of December, after which I expect I shall be on my return to St. Louis." This does not sound like a "mentally depressed" person. A return to his duties in St. Louis was clearly in his mind—not suicide.

This letter shows that it was during the last two and one-half weeks of his life that he decided to alter his route from going through New Orleans, to going by way of the Natchez Trace. The letter also shows that: 1) it is another example of a long lapse in writing to a friend, and 2) it is a perfectly coherent letter.

Gilbert C. Russell wrote a long letter on November 26, 1811, reviewing Lewis's death of two years before, stating that Lewis landed at Fort Pickering (where Russell was the commanding officer), "in a state of mental derangement which seemed to have been produced as much by indisposition as other causes," and "on the fifth or sixth day, all symptoms of derangement disappeared and he was completely in his senses for ten or twelve days ..." In this letter Russell also writes (several months after the supposed fact) that the crew of the boat reported that Lewis had already made two attempts on his life while coming down the Mississippi, with no details of how, where, or subsequent care of the wounds. Russell ends his letter "... the writer and others believe were the result of self-inflicted pistol wounds."

Jefferson did not answer Russell's letters of January 4 and January 30, 1810, until April 18, 1810, after Lewis had died. Jefferson then wrote: "He was much afflicted and habitually so with the habit of hypocondria. This was probably increased by the habit into which he had fallen and the painful reflections that would necessarily produce in a mind like his." It is strange that Jefferson would appoint Lewis to head the Expedition, and to the Governorship of Upper Louisiana, with this appraisal of him.

4. Regarding unanswered letters and the loss of friendship between Jefferson and Lewis: this covers Lewis's failure to write to Jefferson and thus evidence of the reason for a strained friendship. Let us begin chronologically with Lewis's letter from Cincinnati on October 3, 1803 to President Jefferson, asking for more kinepox, "as I have reason to believe from several experiments made with what I have that it has lost its virtue." There is no record that Jefferson ever received the letter and Lewis did not receive a reply to his request. It can be believed that Jefferson would have sent the kinepox had he received Lewis's letter, knowing his great interest in malaria. The uncertainty of the post, or relying on delivery by entrusting the letter to some person, occasionally resulted in its miscarriage.

Another example of Jefferson not responding to letters from Lewis was during the planning stages for the Expedition; in his letter of November 16, 1803, from Washington, in which he says: "Dear Sir, I have not written to you since the 11th & 15th of July, since which yours of July 15, 22, and 25 and Sep. 8, 13 & Oct. 3 have received." Jefferson offers excuses, but hardly a plausible one for not sending a note acknowledging receipt of any of this series of letters. (Was malaria bothering Jefferson again?) Jefferson then makes up for not answering by enclosing a long letter with much information, and ending the letter with "present my friendly salutations to Mr. Clark & accept them affectionately yourself."

5. Did lack of correspondence indicate an interruption of the friendship between Jefferson and Lewis? Lewis wrote to President Jefferson from Fort Mandan, but more important and significant to this review of correspondence, Lewis wrote promptly to Jefferson on his return to St. Louis from the Pacific Coast on September 23, 1806, as follows: "It is with pleasure that I announce to you the safe arrival of myself and party at 12:01 today at this place with our papers and baggage." Although probably dead tired, Lewis wrote what constitutes 5½ pages—a tedious job, with a quill pen!

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But it wasn’t until October 26, 1806, a full month later, that Jefferson replied: “I received, my dear Sir, with unspeakable joy your letter of September 23 announcing the return of yourself, Captain Clark and your party in good health to St. Louis. The unknown scenes in which you were engaged and the length of time without hearing of you had begun to be felt awfully! ... I salute you with sincere affection.”

And yet, with all this concern about Lewis, and his relief at getting his letter, Jefferson wrote first to Lewis’s brother, Reuben, on the day Lewis returned, telling him of his brother’s return. Later on November 3, he writes to Thomas Randolph, apologizing for not writing sooner; “... but was in the intervening evening taken with the autumnal fever so as to be unable to write.” It is a reasonable assumption that the “autumnal fever” was malaria.

Did Jefferson’s friendship for Lewis undergo the erosion which Dr. Cutright believes? Jefferson was undoubtedly, in not hearing from Lewis regarding progress in publishing the Journals. Perhaps Jefferson’s harshest words to Lewis in this regard were in a letter of July 17, 1808, in which he wrote, “... since I parted with you in Albermarle in Sep. last, I have never had a line from you.” This was from September to July—certainly a long time for Lewis not to report to the President, and particularly to not send some word about the status of the Journals. It is not often quoted that Jefferson ended this letter “wishing you every blessing of life and health, I salute you with constant affection & respect.”

Jackson summarizes this lack of correspondence from Lewis in Letters, page 445, but this summary does not quote from the letter of August 16, 1809 from Jefferson, which arrived after Lewis’s death: it reads: “Present my friendly salutations to General Clark and be assured yourself of my continuous and unalterable affection.”

Finally, it seems fair to draw attention to Dr. Cutright’s “final flaw” in the support of the murder theory: failing to name the perpetrator. Surely Dr. Cutright would agree that some murders are obvious, without knowing the perpetrator; the papers constantly report unsolved murders. Also, I respectfully suggest that Dr. Cutright treads on infirm ground in citing the age of the proponents of the suicide theory (Coues, Wheeler, Reuben Gold Thwaites, Bakeless, and Dillon) and stating that “it is definitely true that the accuracy of memory depreciates with advancing generations.”

Regarding Dr. Cutright’s reference to the “flaws” of the supporters of the suicide theory: he overlooks Jackson’s use of the phrases “inclined to believe” and “in my opinion.” Certainly everyone gives high regard to Jackson’s opinion, but opinion is not solid evidence. Dr. Cutright uses the phrase “evidence supports the presumption ...” (italics mine), but J.F. Moore, an obscure attorney, is “a rational thinker” because he supports the suicide theory—perhaps implying that those who think otherwise are not rational.

Dr. Cutright cites Howard I. Kushner, a historian at San Diego State University, about the dynamics of suicide. Kushner makes much of Lewis not having an opportunity for complete mourning after the death of his father, when Lewis was four years old, thus making him susceptible to suicide. It is hard for me to accept that a four year old boy’s impression would outweigh the more serious problems Lewis dealt with all his life. Dr. Cutright gives more space to quoting Kushner than to any of the supporters of murder, even though his theory is far-fetched.

(To be continued.)

NOTES

1Cutright says, “It seems best to begin this study in February, 1807, when President Jefferson nominated Lewis to be Governor of Louisiana Territory...”; however, certain things which are pertinent to his character before this date should be mentioned, and will be in their proper place.


4Date of Meriwether Lewis’s death.

5 Paul Russell Cutright, We Proceeded On, Vol. 12, No. 1, pp. 7-16.

6Dr. Cutright died March 10, 1988.


8The Indian Agent at Chickasaw Bluff who accompanied Lewis and supposedly was looking after him.


10Fisher, Ibid., pp. 129-130.

11Vardis Fisher, Suicide or Murder, pp. 146-9.

12Cutright, Ibid., pp. 7-16.

13Fisher, Ibid.

14Jackson, Letters, pp. 719-721.

15Meriwether Lewis Letters, Missouri Historical Society.

High Schoolers Clean Up Sulphur Spring

BY MICHAEL WOLFE

Sulphur Spring is a natural mineral spring located about 200 yards northeast of the Missouri River, nearly opposite to the entrance of Belt Creek (Portage Creek) in central Montana. In June, 1805, the Corps of Discovery administered some of the foul-smelling water to an ailing Sacagawea, who had complained of severe abdominal pain. Whether or not the treatment worked is debatable, but the young native woman recovered to complete the epic journey.

On May 22, 1991, nineteen students from Largent School in Great Falls, Montana, traveled to Sulphur Spring for a field trip. The students are part of a special education program offered as an alternative to regular high school. Accompanying the students were Ron Yates, Dale Schaeffer, Val Hancock and Michael Wolfe, all employees of the Lewis and Clark National Forest.

The purpose of the field trip was to clean up litter and spent shotgun shells and generally spruce up the area around the historic spring. The students listened to short lectures on the history, geology and hydrology of the spring and the benefits of no-trace camping. The students enjoyed a picnic lunch and barbecue provided by their instructor, Craig Madsen. Mr. Madsen is also a local river outfitter and guide who conducts float trips down the wild and scenic Missouri River.

Officials of Montana Power Company, the owners of the land on which the spring is located, have begun discussions about a possible donation of a conservation easement to the U.S. Forest Service. This easement would provide for public access to the spring and for protection of natural and cultural resources.

Special education program students from Great Falls receive instructions on how to clean up Sulphur Spring (above).
General Clark and the Jesuits

BY WILLIAM BARNABY FAHERTY, S.J.

"... have established a school at that place for the education of Indian children and deserve the cooperation of the government ..."

--Gen. William Clark

No Jesuit rushed to the riverfront in 1806 to welcome Lewis and Clark back from the Oregon country. But no Clark had been on hand when Fr. Jacques Marquette accompanied Louis Jolliet down the river in 1673, or when another Jesuit missionary, Fr. Pere Jacques Gravier began the mission among the Kaskaskia at the mouth of the River Des Peres in 1700. The last of the French Colonial missionaries, Fr. Sebastien Meurin had died one year before George Rogers Clark, William's older brother, had invaded the Illinois country in 1788.

As governor, William Clark had welcomed the first bishop to visit St. Louis, the Rev. Benedict Joseph Flaget, of Bardstown, Kentucky, when he made a tour of inspection of the villages in the region of St. Louis. Flaget wrote that the French residents of the area wanted a Jesuit missionary to work among them. Their ancestors had been accustomed to having Jesuits during the colonial days in the Illinois villages near Fort Chartes where they had lived before the founding of St. Louis.

Jesuits missionaries from Belgium would come to St. Louis in 1823 with the encouragement of Indian Commissioner William Clark, under the combined auspices of President James Monroe and Bishop Louis William V. DuBourg of the Louisiana Territory. A native of the West Indies, Louis W.V. DuBourg had gone to France for his education, had become a priest and director of a seminary in suburban Paris, when the Revolution broke out. Escaping the guillotine, he fled to Spain and later to the United States. In Maryland he joined the Order of St. Sulpice, a religious brotherhood dedicated to educating young men for the clerical state.

Educated and gracious, DuBourg had become president of Georgetown University. In that post he came to know many of the great men in the nation, including President George Washington. Appointed Bishop of the Territory of Louisiana in 1815, Bishop DuBourg went to Europe to retrieve personnel for his new diocese. He was a man of great vision and recruiting ability, but little carry through or staying power. He recruited fifty men and women including St. Philippine Duchesne and Bishop Rosati Joseph to work in the religious education and service in the American midcontinent.

Anxious to be involved in the apostolate to the tribes of the West, he chose St. Louis rather than New Orleans as his headquarters in 1818. Shortly after, the government offered subsidies to religious and educational organizations who presented philanthropical, educational and cultural societies programs for the improvement of the tribes. Bishop DuBourg first offered a plan to send three missionaries to specific government posts in the West, Council Bluffs on the Missouri River, and Prairie du Chien and Fort Snelling on the Upper Mississippi, to work with members of various tribes.1

President James Monroe approved the plan. The Secretary of War, John Calhoun, under whose department Indian Affairs lay, suggested that DuBourg seek Jesuit missionaries. In March 1823 Calhoun directed General Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in the west, to furnish the missionaries with passports and otherwise befriend them in their work.2

Before DuBourg could put this plan in operation, he learned that a group of young Belgian Jesuits
Indian Commissioner William Clark approved the plan of Bishop W.V. DuBourg of the Louisiana Territory to set up a combined Indian school and Jesuit Seminary at Florissant, Missouri, and encouraged the young Jesuit missionaries as they began their work with the tribes.

Photo courtesy Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky
in Maryland, anxious to work among the Indians of the west, were in need of a new place to finish their seminary training. He offered a plantation in the rich Florissant Valley, northwest of St. Louis. Here Indian boys could be educated in the ways of civilization while young whites could be trained to work among them as missionaries.

President Monroe looked with even greater favor on this new plan of the Bishop. Eleven Jesuits, under the leadership of Father Charles Felix Van Quickenborne, hiked overland and took a flatboat down the Ohio River in the spring of 1823. Among the young men were Peter Jan de Smet, destined to be the greatest Catholic missionary of the Rocky Mountains, and Peter Verhaegen who would earn a state charter for Saint Louis University, the first university west of the Mississippi River.

DuBourg requested Secretary Calhoun to urge General Clark and Colonel Benjamin O'Fallon to lend assistance in inviting Indian boys to the new School. When the Belgian missionaries arrived in St. Louis, Father Van Quickenborne went to visit Governor Clark and received special encouragement. He wrote at the time: "He [Clark] approves the plan cordially and will write to the government to have it on a larger scale." General Clark asked Fr. Van Quickenborne to come to St. Louis from Florissant. The General informed the priest that some Iowa Indians had offered to send their boys to the school. Fr. Quickenborne agreed to take them and words to this effect were sent to the Iowa Chiefs. Meanwhile, two Sauk lads, one of eight and one of six, had been received and the Indian School-seminary opened on May 11, 1824.

General Clark had good feelings about the Indian school, sometimes looking upon it more enthusiastically than some of the Jesuits themselves did. As Indians from the east were being sent west into the Kansas territory, Clark was also anxious that Fr. Van Quickenborne send missionaries among them. Fr. Van Quickenborne notified his fellow Jesuit in Maryland, Father Francis Dzierozynski, of this fact on January 10, 1825.

The Commissioner recommended that Father Van Quickenborne personally visit the Osage who had in the meantime moved from the western border of Missouri into what is now southeastern Kansas. Unless the priest visited the Indian villages, General Clark was dubious of the continued success of the school. The zealous missionary took his advice and went to the villages of "White Hair" and "The Stoic."

General Clark responded positively on the program. When Father Van Quick_SBorne sent in a report to the government in order to receive the promised subsidy, General Clark wrote to Washington as follows: "This is to certify that the Catholic Mission Society at Florissant in the state of Missouri have established a school at that place for the education of Indian children and deserve the cooperation of the government. The progress of the boys have been very rapid and satisfactory. William Clark."

The five hundred dollars that Calhoun directed to be paid to Van Quickenborne at St. Louis was the first money appropriated by the United States government to a Catholic Indian school west of the Mississippi. As the number of boys at St. Regis had increased beyond 8, the appropriation in its favor for the years 1825 and 1826 was eight hundred dollars. The total amount of money paid by the government to the Florissant school during its career of six or seven years was approximately thirty-one hundred dollars. The cost of maintenance of the combined seminary-Indian School had been a little in excess of ten thousand dollars.

No evidence suggests that General Clark ever visited the seminary. But he did meet with the priests at St. Ferdinand Church not far away in the village of Florissant on the occasion of marriages within the Mullanphy family.

John Mullanphy, a wealthy merchant, had purchased land in the vicinity of Florissant from the St. Vrain family (later to gain fame in the western fur trade) and built his country home there. Two officers from Fort Bellefontaine not far away courted Mullanphy’s daughters. Major Thomas Biddle, brother of the President of the United States Bank, married Ann Mullanphy at Ferdinand’s Church on September 1, 1823. General Clark and Colonel Henry Atkinson were in attendance. Major Richard Graham married Ann’s sister Catherine at Ferdinand’s on July 1, 1824. Father Van Quickenborne officiated at both ceremonies.

In 1827, Bishop Joseph Rosati of St. Louis, Bishop DuBourg’s successor, ordained the six young Jesuits at the completion of their seminary training. From then on, instead of inviting Indian boys to come to the school at Florissant, the Jesuits would go to the homes of the tribes.
A sketch of the original facade of the Church of St. Ferdinand in Florissant, Missouri. The church was built in 1823 and some claim it is the oldest church in the Upper Louisiana Territory.

Sketch by Sheila Harris from one of Father N. Point's originals.
General Clark urged Father Van Quickenborne to visit the Kickapoo, recently relocated in Kansas. This he did in the middle of the thirties. In September 1838, Clark lent encouragement and support for a new mission that Fathers Peter Jan DeSmet and Felix Verreydt would undertake among the Potawotomi at Council Bluffs. He at once prepared the passports necessary for whites entering Indian country and instructed the subagent at Council Bluffs to lend the fathers all possible protection and aid them to the best of his ability to make their enterprise a success. This was the last time Clark was called upon to render aid to the Belgian missionaries. He died shortly after in September 1838.

A year later, a delegation of Iroquois Indians, who had been living among the Flatheads in Montana, came through Council Bluffs on the way to St. Louis to seek a "Blackrobe" to instruct them in Christianity. Father DeSmet caught the vision. He went with them to St. Louis where he pleaded with his long-standing friend and classmate, Peter Verhaegen, by then Superior of the Jesuits, to send him. Thus began Father DeSmet's great work in the Rockies.

On the wall of the Senate Chamber in the State Capitol of Montana is the impressive painting by Charles Russell of the meeting of Lewis and Clark with the Flathead Indians in 1805. On the wall of Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa is another painting of Charles Russell. This one shows Father DeSmet meeting with the Flathead Indians in almost the same area, near Stevensville, Montana. The identical mountains stand in the background. Both in literary and artistic history, the name of William Clark and the early Jesuits are bound together.

NOTES

2Calhoun, Washington, to Clark, March 1823, in Archives of the Missouri Jesuit Province (hereafter MJPA) 4615 West Pine Blvd., St. Louis, MO 63108.
3DuBourg, St. Louis, to Calhoun, March 7, 1823, office of Manuscript Records, Dept. of Interior, quoted in Garraghan, 1, 53. Also Calhoun, Washington to DuBourg, March 21, dated 1822, but obviously 1823, in MJPA.
4Van Quickenborne (hereafter V2), Florissant, to DuBourg, Feast of the Sacred Heart, 1823, in the Archives of the Archdiocese of New Orleans.
5V2, Florissant, to Dzierozynski (hereafter DZ), Apr. 29, 1823, in MJPA.
6V2, Florissant to DZ, Jan. 10, 1825, in MJGP.
7Addendum to V2 to Calhoun, Nov. 1824, quoted in Garraghan, 1, 154n.
8V2 Account Book, in MJPG.
9Records of St. Ferdinand's Church, Florissant, Sept. 1, 1823, in the St. Louis Archdiocesan Archives.
10Ibid, July 1, 1824.
11Garraghan, I 432-3, n.

Jesuit Historian William Barnaby Faberty, a charter member of the St. Louis Chapter, and author of 22 published books on historical topics, directs the Museum of Western Jesuit Missions at the historic seminary where Father De Smet and his associates completed their theology and taught Indian boys. He discussed the relationship of General Clark and the Jesuits at the last national meeting held in St. Louis.

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18 WE PROCEEDED ON — AUGUST 1991
GILLS AND DRAMS OF CONSOLATION
Ardent Spirits on the Lewis & Clark Expedition

BY ROBERT R. HUNT

"If you contemplate some enterprise against the enemy, the commissary must scrape together all of the beer and brandy that can be found ..."

--Frederick the Great

Dr. Rush was the leading physician and professor of medicine at the nation's first medical school, the University of Pennsylvania. He drew up a list of eleven rules as a guide for Lewis in caring for the medical needs of the Expedition.1 Most of Rush's rules seem rather routine to us today. "Rest in a horizontal position," he said—a standard bit of advice, certainly, for soldiers who learn in boot camp never to stand when you can sit and never to sit when you can lie down. Other rules had to do with fasting, sweating, washing, and "gently opening the bowels." But rules number 6 and 8 must have caused Lewis to suppress a smile:

Rule 6: "The less spirit you use the better ..."

Rule 8: "After having your feet much chilled it will be useful to wash them with a little spirit."

What was an Army Captain, about to lead a contingent of soldiers on a prolonged campaign, to make of these injunctions about "spirits?" Could Dr. Rush have realized (or did he know all too well) how much the military of this era depended upon the liquor ration? After seven years of frontier experience prior to his tour with the President, Lewis knew well enough that spirits were not for foot baths, and that rations must be ample to last throughout a mission.

Lewis's Early Army Experience
His acquired learning on such matters began with his very first days in the Army. As a volunteer at age 20 in the Virginia Corps during the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, the new recruit wrote home from western Pennsylvania that "he and his mates were each cutting a most martial figure" ... "We have mountains of beef and oceans of whiskey, and I feel myself able to share it with the heartiest fellow in camp."2 A year later, commissioned an Ensign, serving with General Anthony Wayne in the Ohio Valley Campaigns, Lewis became involved in a "spirited" dispute with a fellow junior officer. Accused of being drunk and ungentlemanly, he was brought before a court martial, the first held in Wayne's Legion.3 He emerged from this scrape "not guilty" and was acquitted with honor but one wonders whether too much whiskey had been shared among these "hearty young fellows in camp." Considering the rough and tumble life of a soldier on the frontier, with its daily conditioning to the use of spirits, such incidents were inevitable.

Background of the Liquor Ration
Despite its risks, the liquor ration was an absolute necessity. No military commander of the 18th Century would have thought of leading his troops on any mission without planning for this need. Frederick the Great, probably the greatest military strategist of that time, advised in his writings:

"If you contemplate some enterprise against the enemy, the commissary must scrape together all of the beer and brandy that can be found en route so that the Army does not lack either, at least during the first days. As soon as the Army enters enemy territory all of the brewers and
distillers, especially of brandy, must be seized so that the soldier does not lack a drink, which he cannot do without."

Thomas Jefferson, as Governor of Virginia during the Revolution, attended to these needs through legislation by the General Assembly. "Officers, soldiers, sailors and marines raised under the Laws of this Commonwealth, shall, during their continuance in the service, be furnish... with... rum or brandy at ten shillings by the gallon, whiskey at five shillings by the gallon..." And in August 1780 he writes that "We have lately appointed a commercial agent within whose particular line of duty it will be to provide spirit for the army. To him we shall refer the proposition of General Roberdeau to furnish whiskey." These "furnishings" were not cheap. Jefferson's papers include an order on the State of Virginia of April 4, 1781 from General Nathanael Greene for $14,500 for 110 gallons of whiskey "purchased for the use of the Southern Army." The liquor ration authorized by resolution of Congress November 4, 1775 for General Washington's Continental Army included "one quart of good spruce or malt beer." After the Constitution was established, Congress, by the Act of April 30, 1790 gave to the enlisted man of the Army (in addition to clothing and food allowance) a daily ration of "half a gill of rum, brandy or whiskey." This basic ration was revised by Congress by the Act of March 16, 1802 authorizing a liquor ration of one gill of rum (thus the official ration throughout the Lewis and Clark Expedition) which remained in effect through the War of 1812. By the time of that war, temperance sentiments seemed to have set in. A veteran of 1812, Charles Cist, relates his belief that the whiskey ration "was drank by parts only of each mess; but its presence, and the convivial spirit of those days, doubtless led too many to contract a relish for ardent spirits, which brought individuals in after-periods of their lives to a premature grave."

Cist's conclusion as to the dire effects of Army spirits seems tellingly confirmed during the Black Hawk Campaign in Illinois in June 1832. The commanding general, Winfield Scott, seeing the effects of drunkenness in connection with an epidemic of cholera among his troops, echoed Cist's vision of premature graves with his famous order as follows:

"That every soldier or ranger who shall be found drunk or sensibly intoxicated, after the publication of this order, be compelled as soon as his strength will permit, to dig a grave at a suitable burying place, large enough for his own reception, as such graves cannot fail to be wanted for the drunken man himself or some drunken companion. This order is given as well to serve as a punishment for drunkenness, as to spare good and temperate men the labor of digging graves for their worthless companions." Scott's order was issued at the very time when "ardent spirits" were abolished from the ration and were forbidden in any camp, fort or garrison. Sugar and coffee had replaced the issue of whiskey. Thus it was that by November 1832 the Army had been the "first institution of our government to prescribe prohibition for its personnel." Logistics of the Ration But at the time of Lewis and Clark, the ration was still very much a part of military life. To understand its implications for the Expedition, one must know its logistics: quantities, procurement, shipment, storage, distribution and usage. In legislation and military orders of the day, the ration was typically expressed in "gills." The journals of the Expedition refer also to "drams" and to "grog." How much is a gill? The Oxford English Dictionary defines a gill as "a measure for liquids containing one fourth of a standard pint." In folk terms, "a pint is a pound the world around." Thus, at one fourth of a pint, a gill equates to four ounces. With two pints to the quart and four quarts to the gallon, there are thirty-two gills to the gallon—in other words, one soldier's ration for thirty-two days per the authorized ration at the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. A fluid "dram" equals one-eighth of a fluid ounce (containable in two thimbles of average size), thus 128 drams per pint (i.e. 8 x 16 oz.) and 1024 drams per gallon (i.e. 8 x 128). "Grog" is defined as a drink "consisting of spirits (originally rum) and water... 'half and half grog;' a drink made of equal parts of spirits and water..." All of these terms appear repeatedly in the journals of the Expedition and should be clear in mind as the reader follows Lewis and his party across the continent.

To give the reader a modern-day perspective on the effect of a ration of one gill (equivalent as noted above to four ounces of whiskey), it should be noted that the American Medical Association and...
the National Safety Council have made studies of levels of alcohol in the blood causing intoxication. These studies became the basis for the conclusion that blood alcohol values of 0.10% or more is evidence of being "under the influence." This standard has been generally adopted in many states of the U.S. as legal evidence of intoxication and grounds for apprehension as a dangerous driver. The accompanying illustration shows volumes of whiskey or beer necessary to produce such level. The inference is that the daily ration authorized for Lewis’s Corps of Discovery would have been at an intoxicating level.

Blood alcohol as related to driving (percentage in a person weighing 150 lb.)

When Lewis was in Philadelphia in 1803 he had to determine how much liquor was to be provided for the Expedition to fulfill the Army allowance for his men. He made a "List of Requirements" for the public purveyor who was to make his purchases. Under "Provisions and Means of Subsistence," Lewis listed—

"6 kegs of 5 gallons each making 30 gallons of rectified spirits such as is used for the Indian trade
6 kegs bound with iron Hoops."
"...explore the Missouri river, & such principal stream of it, as ... may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent..."

Thomas Jefferson's instructions to Meriwether Lewis

Drawings by Richard Schlect

The above figures may tie in with Clark's entry made earlier at Camp Dubois, January 26, 1804 when Clark was planning for the stow away of provisions in the Expedition's own keel boat. He offered the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kegs</th>
<th>In</th>
<th>I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>45 for pok</td>
<td>18 long</td>
<td>10 Thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 for flour</td>
<td>24 long</td>
<td>15 Thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 whiskey</td>
<td>15 long</td>
<td>12 Thick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 corn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the presumption that Clark is recording the dimensions of barrel-type kegs (i.e., broader or "thicker" in the middle than at top and bottom) we may estimate the gallonage of spirits which were stored in the hold. A barrel-shaped keg 15" high, 12" wide at its "thickest" middle and 10" wide on top and bottom (on the assumption that the staves, the lid and the bottom were 1/2" thick) would contain 1184.761 cubic inches. One gallon contains 231 cubic inches. Thus one keg of such dimensions would contain c. 5.13 gallons and 18 kegs would contain 92.34 gallons—assume then that these were 5 gallon kegs; the 18 kegs would account for 90 gallons. This supply plus the 30 gallons purchased in Philadelphia would account for the 120 gallons in Lewis's expense estimates noted above, which we assume here for the purpose of this paper was the total supply carried when leaving Camp Dubois.

Sufficiency of the Ration

Two questions come to mind: (1) how long would this level of supply last, and (2) what supply would have been necessary to last until July 4, 1805, the date recorded for the last of the ration? In addressing both questions, a tentative assumption is made that the daily ration distribution was the official one, one gallon authorized by law and that the distribution was limited to U.S. soldiers on board. These assumptions are prompted by Donald Jackson's analysis of "The Expedition as a Military Detachment."23 Jackson reminds us that "Lewis and Clark were Army men going by the book." Further, that soldiers like those on the Expedition knew, when they lined up for the ration, "exactly how much whiskey they would receive while it lasted." Going "by the book," rations could be drawn only for U.S. soldiers, sworn in and on duty, not for the non-soldier members of the party such as the accompanying French engages, and the "hires," including Drewyer, Charbonneau, et al. To determine the adequacy of the supply, the number of those participating in the ration can be calculated by journal references to the personnel complement, such as when the voyage paused near the junction of the Missouri and the Kansas Rivers. Clark provided then a short summary of the party as of July 4, 1804 below a list of the engages as follows:

3 sergs. & 23 men from the Boat (good)
George Drewyer
1 Corp & 4 Privates in a Perogue ...
Mr. Dueron
"Capt. Lewis myself & York"
"in all 46 men July 4th 4 horses & a Dog"

Extrapolating from this table, there were 33 U.S. soldiers (incl. the two captains) entitled to participate in the base ration. Captains were authorized three rations a day (on the premise that they had to provide for servants);24 the 33 base number would thus be augmented by 4, i.e. plus 2 each, for both Lewis and Clark, in addition to the per capita count. This makes a total ration base of 37 for the period from May 14, 1804 (departure date) through the winter to April 7, 1805 when the permanent party headed west, and the return party
south, i.e., 330 days in all. Thereafter the permanent party “consisted of the two Captains, three sergeants, twenty-three privates, Drouillard, Charbonneau, Sacagawea and her infant and York’’; the military ration base was then 32, from April 7, 1805 through July 4, 1805, the date on which there was no longer any supply of ardent spirits.

Remembering that one gallon provides one ration for 32 days, the questions as to adequacy of the supply for the above bases can be answered: (1) 120 gallons would have provided 37 rations at the “legal rate” for only 104 days, that is, would have lasted only from May 14, 1804 until about August 26, 1804, still a long way from winter quarters at the Mandans!, (2) if full rations could have been distributed from May 14, 1804 to July 4, 1805, approximately 470 gallons of spirits would have been needed, i.e. 94 kegs of 5 gallons each! Where could Clark have stashed an additional 70 kegs or more on the keel boat?? Even that supply could have lasted the party only as far as the Great Falls ... These considerations make it clear (1) that the estimated supply of ardent spirits was grossly inadequate for soldiery expectations, but on the other hand, (2) that it would have been impossible as a practical matter of available cargo space to have started the voyage with provisions for full rations for even half the distance to be traveled. If indeed only 120 gallons were on board at embarkation, the Commanders would seem to have erred significantly. Paul Russel Cutright has noted that when Lewis was in Philadelphia preparing for his trip he “knew in general what articles he wanted to take, but he chafed under the problems of how much to buy ... He made mistakes ...” Cutright ranks the shortage of the liquor supply alongside the failure to buy enough of the blue trading beads as among the most serious of Lewis’s mistakes. In short, after less than four months of the voyage up the Missouri, there was an insufficient ration of spirits on hand.

Problems Caused By Liquor on the Expedition

Beginning with his preparations for the trip down the Ohio from Pittsburgh, Lewis had to contend with “rivers,” if not “oceans” of whiskey! In August 1803, he lost valuable travel time as he “waited for drunken Pittsburgh carpenters to finish the Expedition’s keel boat.” Once under way from there his party of 11 hands, “7 of which are soldiers, a pilot and three young men on trial” began to give him disciplinary problems from too much imbibing. The Ohio journey became a prologue for the whiskey problems suffered at Camp Dubois:

*September 14, 1803, near Marietta, “Set out this morning at 11 o’clock was prevented setting out earlier in consequence of two of my men getting drunk and abstaining themselves. I finally found them and had them brought on board, so drunk that they were unable to help themselves”

*November 18, 1803, near junction of the Ohio-Mississippi “…lacked on the Spanish side ... found a number of our men who had left camp contrary to instructions and drunk ...”

It would have been easy for these men whenever in the vicinity of civilian settlements to find liquor in excess of their daily military ration. Whiskey in this era was a kind of medium of exchange. Keel boats carrying copious quantities constantly plying the river arteries of the frontier, serving settlements along the way. Lewis made note of such traffic November 22, 1803 near Cairo, Illinois, when he “overtook two keels from Louisville bound to Kaskaskias loaded with dry goods and whiskey …”

Promptly after the party had settled in at Camp Dubois near St. Louis, the men wasted no time in finding local sources to quench their thirst. Christmas morning, Clark was awakened to find that “Some of the party had got drunk (2 fought) …”, and a week later he had to record “Colter ... Willard Leakens Hall & Collins drunk.” He issued orders prohibiting a “Certain [blank] Ramey from selling liquer to the Party.” (This was apparently Nathan Rumsey who was agent for Elisha G. Galulsha, contractor for army rations in the area.) Clark’s undated notes of the period evaluating his men? list the drinking propensities of some of them. Collins is shown as a “blackguard” and

* * * * *

“Howard—never Drink water”

* * * * *

“Hall +——+ Drink”

Other drinking bouts ensue:

*January 4, 1804—Clark notes “Warner & Potts fight after Dark without my knowledge.”

[Robertson, the Corporal apparently then in charge of these men, was busted to private for
failure to control them, and had himself some
difficulties involving drinking. Clark's Field
Notes (April 12, 1804) show Robertson
designated for the return party.] Clark later
(January 6th) ordered the men "who had fought
got Drunk & neglected Duty to go and build a
hut for wo[man] who promises to wash & Sow
the . . . Barrel intended for the party." Hall too was
morning which whiskey was Stored on the Bank
in late June. The party had paused several
days near the
order, rule or regulation." These were heavy
Crimes." This incident marked a turning
point in drinking problems of the Expedition, there
being no further disciplinary action recorded for
drinking abuses—whether because of the more
severe punishment levied or simply because op­
portunities for infractions diminished as the Corps
penetrated further into the wilderness? Were the

men becoming more "civilized" the farther they
got from civilization?

Distribution of the Ration

Beyond this frontier point the consumption of
spirits falls into place as an orderly part of military
protocol. The first Detachment Order issued May
26, 1804 after the river voyage had commenced
defined how the ration was to be handled. Ac­
cording to this order, the men were assigned to
messes, squads and places of duty on board;
duties of the Sergeants were specific. Included
among the duties of the sergeant at the center of
the keel boat (a post "rotated" among the three
sergeants) was command of the guard; he was also
charged to "attend to the issues of spirituous li­
quors; ..." Whiskey had also been previously pro­
minent in earlier orders of the Expedition. For ex­
ample, a large part of the very first Detachment
Order, issued by Lewis at Camp Dubois on
February 20, 1804, had been devoted to the ra­
tion. "No whiskey," Lewis ordered, "shall ... be
delivered from the Contractor's store except for the
legal ration and as appropriated by this order,
unless otherwise directed by Captain Clark or
myself." This order sets forth in detail a system
of rewards of extra gills of whiskey each day to
the sawyers and the blacksmiths during the days
they labored at their tasks; the sugar producers
were similarly awarded a half gill. Extra rations
(or, better said, "extra shots?") were also offered
as incentives to excel in rifle target practice. The
order specified that the practicing party "will
discharge only one round each per day ... all at
the same target and at the distance of fifty yards
off hand. The prize of a gill of extra whiskey will
be received by the person who makes the best
show at each time of practice.''

Aside from the above rewards, the issuance of
extra portions of spirits during the first year ac­
cented special days or events, as well as relieved
unusual strains and stresses among the party. Un­
til the end of September 1804 (when the supply
as noted above must have been considerably
depleted) the extra distributions were in gills, on
the following occasions:

*April 13, 1804: Clark returned to Camp Dubois
after several days absence. "I give out to the men
Lead, Powder, & an extra gill of whiskey--"

*July 4, 1804: Independence Day—"we Closed
the [day] by a Discharge from our bow piece,
an extra gill of whiskey."

*March 3, 1804—"Lewis punishes Colter, Boyle,
Wiser and Robinson (Robertson) by confining
them to quarters for ten days for having "made
hunting or other business a pretext to cover their
design of visiting a neighboring whiskey
shop ..."

*April 16, 1804—"Several men confined for
Drunkenness to day''

*May 2, 1804—"Several Drunk"

By far the most serious or "sobering" episode
in these drinking annals of the Expedition occurred
in late June. The party had paused several
days near the "mouth of the Kanseis" river, the
site of present-day Kansas City, Missouri. On June
29th Clark records that John Collins was charged
"with getting drunk on his post this morning out
of whiskey put under Charge as a Sentinal and
for Suffering Hugh Hall to draw whiskey out of
the ... Barrel intended for the party ..." Hall too was
charged with "taking whiskey out of a keg this
morning which whiskey was Stored on the Bank
or, better said, "extra shots?"") were also offered
as incentives to excel in rifle target practice. The
order specified that the practicing party "will
discharge only one round each per day ... all at
the same target and at the distance of fifty yards
off hand. The prize of a gill of extra whiskey will
be received by the person who makes the best
show at each time of practice.''

Aside from the above rewards, the issuance of
extra portions of spirits during the first year ac­
cented special days or events, as well as relieved
unusual strains and stresses among the party. Un­
til the end of September 1804 (when the supply
as noted above must have been considerably
depleted) the extra distributions were in gills, on
the following occasions:

*April 13, 1804: Clark returned to Camp Dubois
after several days absence. "I give out to the men
Lead, Powder, & an extra gill of whiskey--"

*July 4, 1804: Independence Day—"we Closed
the [day] by a Discharge from our bow piece,
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an extra gill of whiskey."
Were Spirits Involved in Sgt. Floyd's Death?

This latter serving of an extra gill has been intruded into discussions concerning the death of Sergeant Charles Floyd which occurred two days afterward on August 20, 1804. Dr. E.G. Chuinard cites J.G. Jacob, author of The Life and Times of Patrick Gass who wrote that the "immediate cause" of Floyd's death was as follows: "he had been amusing himself and carousing in an Indian dance until he became overheated, and it being his duty to stand guard that night, he threw himself down on a sandbar of the Missouri, despising the shelter of a tent offered him by his comrades on guard, and was soon seized with the cramp cholic, which terminated his life." This passage was presumably based upon discussion personally with the aged Sgt. Gass (who had been elected to replace Floyd as Sergeant) more than a half century after the event. It was taken by some as an inference that Floyd had really died of "drunkenness," rather than the now generally accepted explanation of appendicitis. Considering what we know of Floyd and all the circumstances surrounding his illness, such an inference seems utterly unreasonable. (On this matter, the reader is referred further to Dr. Chuinard's interesting account in WPO Publication Number 4.)

Conservation Measures

On September 30, Clark reports that he "refreshed" the men with a "glass of whiskey after Brackfast," the party having just gone beyond a possible encounter with the Tetons. A "glass" is also dispensed on October 5 near the Little Cheyenne River in present-day South Dakota. Of all the references to the issues of spirits in the Expedition records to this point, these are the first which are not referred to as "extra." Heretofore, when the extra gills were mentioned, the reader could reasonably assume that the regular, daily ration of one gill to each soldier had occurred as a routine part of each day's proceedings. At this point, if not sooner, it is a good guess that the Captains have begun seriously to conserve the supply. This seems confirmed by the next occurring reference—Clark's entry of November 3rd. Having arrived at the winter site with the Mandans, the party sets about building a "cabin." At the end of this work, Clark says that "the men were indulged with a Dram this evening." From this date on, the liquor references (with one exception) are all in terms of drams and none are described as "extra." Remember that a dram is only 1/32nd of a gill! A rather drastic cutback, particularly on the assumption that there is no longer a daily issue. Apparently there were no further distributions until almost four weeks later on November 30: Clark had led a troop on a bitterly cold venture to find the Sioux who were threatening the Mandan villages. Upon return to quarters he reported "I then Paraded and Crossed the river on the ice and Came down on the N. Side the Snow So deep, it was verry fatiguing arrived at the fort after night, gave a little Taffee [dram] to my party." Taffia is described by journal editors as an inferior kind of rum from coarse molasses.)

Christmas Day and New Years, true to frontier tradition, called for less restraint. On Christmas, Clark says he "gave them all a little Taffia." Private Whitehouse amplifies this and records three "glasses" of brandy during the day, prompting much dancing and "frolick."—"kept it up in a jowel manner" says Whitehouse. Three "glasses" of "good old whiskey" as Sgt. Gass described it, also made the rounds on New Years Day 1805, with more merriment resulting.

Thereafter a long, dry spell seemingly sets in. Not until April 26, 1805 is there any mention of spirits. On that date the Corps is encamped at the junction of the Yellowstone River with the Missouri. In a meditative mood, Lewis observes his party "much pleased at having arrived at this long wished for spot and in order to add in some measure to the general pleasure which seemed to pervade our little community, we ordered a dram to be issued to each person; this soon produced the fiddle, and they spent the evening with much hilarity, singing & dancing and seemed as perfectly to forget their past toils as they appeared regardless of those to come."

Three weeks later, on May 14, 1805, one of the most toilsome and nerve-wracking days of the Expedition is recorded—at a place the Captains named "Brown Bear Defeat Creek." Here occurred the famous encounter with the grizzly which took 8 rifle balls, 2 through his lungs and 1 through his head, before expiring, and also the narrow escape of the White perogue with its precious cargo. After these harrowing events, Lewis wrote that "we
thought it a proper occasion to console ourselves and cheer the spirits of our men and accordingly took a drink of grog and gave each man a gill of spirits. " (This is the only reference to a "gill" after the entry of August 18, 1804; Whitehouse's journal however refers to this distribution as "a draghm of ardent spirits.") Note that Lewis for the first time refers to "grog," in other words, a dilution of spirits—further evidence of rigorous conservation.

On May 29th, after weathering the assault of a stampeding buffalo bull which damaged the White perogue and wrecked York's gun, and encountering a "most horrid stench" of buffalo carcasses near Judith's River, the Captains gave each man "a small dram." The record of this date confirms the absence of liquor from the ration over an extended period. Despite the small portion issued this time, Lewis notes "several of them were considerably effected by it; such is the effects of abstaining for some time from the use of spirituous liquors . . ."

Two days later, May 31st, the men labor in the cold river water under the White Cliffs at the Missouri River Breaks, up to their arm pits, in their bare feet or with tattered moccasins, dragging the heavy burden of a canoe—again the "evil genii" of the White perogue when the tow rope broke!—Certainly it was time for a "dram," which "they received with much cheerfulness, and well deserved." The mounting stress and pain of the journey posed further needs for the Captains to "refresh" and "console" the party. Additional issues of spirits occurred as follows (all described as "drams" and as "grog"):  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Circumstance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 3, 1805</td>
<td>Junction at the Marias</td>
<td>Party has divided opinions as to which river tributary to follow; &quot;our cogitative faculties have been busily employed all day.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 8, 1805</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>Lewis's scouting party returns from laborious reconnoitering of the Marias River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 24, 1805</td>
<td>White Bear Islands; portage sites around the Great Falls</td>
<td>The party &quot;arrived with two canoes from the lower camp. They were wet and exhausted . . .&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 27, 1805</td>
<td>Ditto</td>
<td>The men were still &quot;cold and wet,&quot; laboring with portage tasks and work on the Iron Boat; the dog Seaman had barked all night &quot;constantly pawing . . .&quot; (presumably because of grizzly danger).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clark has a narrow escape this date. He and several others, including York, Charbonneau, Sacagawea and child, were caught in a ravine by a flash flood. Drenched, after barely escaping from being swept away, Clark hastily improvised warm clothing for the child and Sacagawea. "I caused her as also others of the party" he wrote "to take a little Spirits which my Servant had in a Canteen, which revived verry much." Bravo for York! The reader wonders whether any others in the Corps might have been quietly siphoning off a bit of their private drams for storage in canteens for later "consolation" as needed.

Finally, on July 4th, all hands were employed "in completing the leather boat." Whether because of finishing this task (long a pet project of Lewis) or because of the national day of celebration, the Captains "gave the Party a dram." Sgt. Ordway's journal reads—"it being the 4th of Independence we drank the last of our ardent Spirits except a little reserved for Sickness." Some of the men, Lewis noted, "appeared a little sensible of its effects. The fiddle was played and they danced very merrily until 9 in the evening . . . they continued their mirth with songs and festive jokes and were extremely merry until late at night." Having thus exhausted the supply, the Corps was forced on this special day to become "independent" of spirits for more than a year. It was also on this Fourth of July that Lewis heard the mysterious, thunder-like noise in the distant West. "I am at a loss to account for this phenomenon," he wrote; but it was an appropriate sound for a day of such "Independence."

Ahead, the Corps was yet to face the challenge
of finding the Shoshones and their horses and the
pain of the Bitterroot Mountains—with no prospect of
"refreshments" nor "consolation" along the way. After surmounting these trials, over the hump and on the down hill grade, 3½ months after "Independence Day," on November 21st, the men enjoyed an agreeable surprise, courtesy of John Collins—the man Clark had earlier described as a "blackguard" and who had been court-martialed for being drunk on post. The journals report that Collins "presented us with some very good beer made of the Pa-shi-co-quar-mash bread, which bread is the remains of what was laid in as [x: a part of our] stores of provisions at the ... head of the Koss-Kooske river which by being frequently wet molded & Sowerd &c." It seems that Collins had redeemed himself, if not earlier on the voyage, then certainly by this bit of ingenuity in contriving a beer substitute for spirits.

(To be continued.)

NOTES

14. See also The Social History of Bourbon, an Unhurried Account of our Star-Spangled American Drink, by Gerald Carson. Dodd, Mead & Company, New York, pp. 8-9, 20-21, 72 et sequitur, also notes on p. 251.

"The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Gary E. Moulton, Editor, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln and London, 1975, Vol. 2, p. 166 ... all quotations or references from the Journals noted herein are from Moulton, by date indicated in the text, unless otherwise indicated in these notes.
20. Jackson II: 429 n. 11.
23. The formula for calculating the interior cubit inches for a keg of such dimensions, on the assumptions made, is:

\[ V = 0.262 \times H (2D^2 + D^2) \]

where \( V \) = volume, \( H \) = height, \( D \) = diameter at widest width, and \( d \) = diameter of narrowest width. Thus \( V = 0.262 \times (2 \times 11^2 + 9^2) \).
35. Thwaites, op. cit. 7:83.

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. His byline has appeared with several well-researched and intriguing articles relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Articles by Hunt have appeared in Vol. XIII, No. 2; Vol. XIV, No. 4; Vol. XV, No. 2; and Vol. XVI, No. 1.
Lewis and Clark's Expedition soon may make its way back into the Beaverhead in a diorama which was formerly part of the Montana Historical Society Museum in Helena.

The diorama, created in 1954 to depict the Expedition near the headwaters of the Beaverhead River in 1805, has been in storage in Great Falls. It was the largest scene in the state museum and was removed along with several other dioramas when the state museum was remodeled in 1987.

After figuring out some logistics, the Beaverhead County Historical Museum hopes to make it part of its permanent collection and research center in Dillon.

The Dillon museum is anxious to acquire the Lewis and Clark diorama because it depicts a scene 19 miles south of Dillon in an area now under 80-90 feet of water in Clark Canyon Reservoir, said Everett Johnson, president of the Beaverhead museum board. The only concern now is fitting sections of the approximately 20-feet long display through the doors into the museum, he said.

The diorama was brought to Great Falls in May 1987 and stored at the C.M. Russell Museum in the event it could be included in the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center proposed for the Giant Springs area. But space could not be worked into the plans and a new home was sought for the diorama.

Great Falls artist Les Peters painted the background, Missoula artist Rudy Autio created the 26 hero-size human figures, and then-curator Bob Morgan coordinated and created some of the small figures and accessories including the boat, Near said.

Because of the combined work of Peters, Autio and Morgan, the Lewis and Clark display "has its own little history by itself," she added.

Johnson said the "painting is very well done" and represents the area which can no longer be seen because it is under water.

Museums around the state provided new homes for other dioramas that were moved when the state museum was remodeled. Since the Lewis and Clark scene is in the Dillon area, it would be great to have it installed there, Near said.

Elizabeth Dear, acting director of the Russell Museum agreed, saying it does not really fit in with the Lewis and Clark story in the Great Falls area.
Ropes help hold figures together in the Lewis and Clark diorama.

Great Falls Tribune photo by Wayne Arst
Governor Stephens Signs Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center Funding Bill

BY PETER JOHNSON
Tribune Staff Writer
Great Falls Tribune, Great Falls, Montana, May 25, 1991

Gov. Stan Stephens called the proposed Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center near Great Falls "an investment in Montana's heritage" and signed a bill reserving $700,000 in state matching funds to help build it.

Standing on a bluff overlooking the Missouri River about a quarter mile west of Giant Springs State Park, the governor led several speakers lauding the proposed $9.5 million interpretive center they hope will be built on that site within the next few years.

Stephens said the interpretive center would significantly increase the attractions that Montana offers to a growing number of tourists.

The governor praised numerous government agencies, private groups and individuals who have worked for the project, especially the united Cascade County legislative delegation and Marcia Staimiller, a local volunteer Stephens said was "tenacious and dedicated" in lobbying both in Helena and Great Falls.

Gov. Stan Stephens signs House Bill 990 Friday during a ceremony above the Missouri River upstream from Giant Springs. He is surrounded by Great Falls area supporters of the project. The bill reserves $700,000 of state money for the proposed $9.5 million Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center.

Great Falls Tribune photo by Wayne Arns.
Stephens then signed a bill reserving $700,000 in state money until Jan. 1, 1993 for the interpretive center, provided that matching funds of $8 million in federal money and $300,000 in private money also are raised. “Standing on the banks of the Missouri River on a beautiful spring day sure beats signing the bill back in my office in Helena,” Stephens said.

Staigmiller said later that U.S. Reps. Ron Marlenee, R-eastern district, and Pat Williams, D-western district, are lobbying members of the House Interior Appropriations Subcommittee to get $4 million for the project included in the 1992 budget. Obtaining the $700,000 in state matching funds on top of as much as 50 acres of donated state land worth up to $1.3 million, will help them persuade Congress of the local commitment, she said.

Obtaining as little as $2.3 million in federal money this year would give the project a big boost, allowing all plans to be completed, utilities to be moved and the Giant Springs Road to be relocated.

U.S. Forest Service officials have already told Marlenee they will seek $4.5 million for the center next year in the 1993 federal budget.

Bob Doerk of Great Falls, national president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, said the interpretive center can make Great Falls “the linchpin of the entire exposition” for Lewis and Clark buffs who consider the exposition “our national epic of exploration.” The foundation plans to place its headquarters and archives at the center.

Artifacts from the 7,700-mile 1804 to 1806 trip can be found throughout the nation, he said, but no interpretive center does an in-depth job of tracing the explorers’ whole route, as the Great Falls center would. Nor does any center stress the importance of the high plains segment, or the key role that Plains Indians played, as the Great Falls center would, Doerk said.

Chris Risbrudt of Missoula, deputy regional forester for the U.S. Forest Service, which would run the visitor center, praised Great Falls resident Bob Bivens for stirring “the idea and dream” of a Lewis and Clark interpretive center near Giant Springs.

Great Falls Mayor Ardi Aiken called the day “a momentous occasion,” and said the interpretive center will have a major impact on the Great Falls economy, with projected job creation and expanded tourism of the destination point bringing a projected $10 million in direct economic benefits to the region.

Rep. Sheila Rice, D-Great Falls, principal sponsor of the bill, recalled that some people considered President Thomas Jeffersons’ “dream to be impossible” of buy-
Better late than never. This photo of the recently dedicated Lewis and Clark statue at Long Beach, Washington, goes with the article in the February 1991 WPO (Vol. 17, No. 1, p. 28).

Photo supplied by Ken Heckard, Long Beach, Washington.