President's Message
by David Borlaug

Not too many years ago, if someone would have approached anyone in our Foundation with the suggestion that someday, there would be a nationally-broadcast documentary on the Lewis and Clark Expedition, receiving great public acclaim; that a number one best-selling book would tell the expedition story; and that suddenly the entire tourism industry of the United States would be riveted by the Lewis and Clark "experience" we would have thought, "OK, that's it, we can fold our tents and go away. Our mission is accomplished."

Of course, all this has come to pass, and rather than claim victory and move on, we are all thrilled that our story is being told by the world's greatest story-tellers, with predictable results.

Now the difficult part comes. How do we, as a foundation, respond to this remarkable opportunity?

We've already responded in a very positive way by forming the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council. This entity, while separately chartered,

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From the Editor's Desk

Will wonders never cease? Your old editor had an opportunity to use some of the Ambrose money to take a trip to Philadelphia in September and boy! he didn't hesitate to do it. I spent four days in that wonderful, historic city, most of it in the historic district, and I do believe it was worth every penny that was spent. I will start telling you about the City of Brotherly Love in the February WPO. Ken Karsmizki, our dirt digging archeologist, can put away the bottle of ketchup he has been saving to eat his hat. Twelve years ago he said he would eat his hat if he couldn't positively identify the exact spot where the Corps of Discovery established its lower portage camp. He held a press conference in Great Falls in mid-September to say he has verified the site of the camp. I will summarize his announcement in this issue and have a more detailed account of the discovery of the campsite, with pictures in the next issue.

When you turn to the middle of the magazine you are holding in your hands you will discover color, two pages of beautiful color. From now on in WPO

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From the National Bicentennial Council

The National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council inaugurates its first column in this renowned publication of the foundation, We Proceeded On, with exciting news.

First, the council dedicated its national headquarters at Officers Row in Vancouver, Washington this summer. Overlooking the parade grounds at Ft. Vancouver, the council's offices are located in the U.S. Grant House. Built in 1849, it was named in 1879 after General Ulysses S. Grant visited the row upon completion of his presidential terms. Executive Director Michelle D. Bussard welcomes visitors to our headquarters on the mighty Columbia River, the final river passage in Lewis and Clark's journey to the Pacific Ocean. The council's new address is: 1101 Officers Row, U.S. Grant House, Vancouver, WA 98661. Or, you can reach us at (306) 735-8343; via the world wide net at www.lewisandclark200.org; or via e-mail at bicentennial@lewisandclark200.org.

Second, the council has set theme, venue and dates for its 1999 Fourth Annual National Planning

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ON THE COVER—A re-created Fort Mandan on the bank of the Missouri River in North Dakota will be one of the sights we visit at our 1999 annual meeting.
A CLOSER LOOK AT...
The Uniform Coats of the Lewis and Clark Expedition

By Bob Moore
Historian, Jefferson National Expansion Memorial

When Lewis and Clark assembled their team of intrepid explorers at Camp DuBois, Illinois in 1803, the individual men came from a variety of backgrounds. Their temperaments were not all suited to the restrictions of military life, as is evidenced by the willfully bad behavior and punishment of some of the men (Werner, Hall, Collins). The purpose of Camp DuBois was not only its function as an assembly point, but also as a training ground where discipline and unit cohesion could be fostered before setting off for the unknown. When the explorers assembled at Camp DuBois, the previously enlisted men of the 1st and 2nd Regiments of Infantry and the Regiment of Artillery wore distinctive uniforms prescribed by United States Army regulations. The new recruits, such as the “nine young men from Kentucky” were issued “drab” colored uniforms designed by Meriwether Lewis. It seems that all the men recruited for the expedition had uniforms. The uniforms worn by the men at Camp DuBois, coupled with military drill, shared duties, hardships, and harsh punishments, instilled a sense of unit cohesion into the tough group between December 1803 and May 1804.

In a previous article in We Proceeded On (August 1994), I discussed all of the clothing of the expedition, from uniforms to hats to mocassins. Since that time I have been involved in a process of researching the exact look of the military coats of the period, for the purposes of recreating them for demonstrations and programs. I think that all reenactors or potential reenactors of the expedition, especially in light of the upcoming bicentennial, should note this article and the previous article on Lewis and Clark’s clothing. The profusion of coonskin caps and buckskin fringed jackets and trousers will hopefully be eliminated, and replaced with felt hats, military overalls and hunting frocks. We know that the military coats of the expedition were kept with the baggage and brought out for formal occasions such as parleys with the Indians, military drills, the burial of Sgt. Floyd, and punishments.

No original military coats used by the regular U.S. Army from the period of the Lewis and Clark expedition are known to exist, nor am I aware of any accurate reproductions prior to the coat illustrated here. The period is a transitional one in military garments, midway between the American Revolution and the War of 1812 during a period when Napoleon’s armies were changing world military styles.

A contributing factor to the difficulty of obtaining information on military dress of the 1800-1803 period is the fact that the overall size of the United States Army was so tiny. Altogether, there were only a little over 3,000 soldiers in the entire army during this period, and there were consequently fewer coats and other pieces of clothing made. There were no wars or land engagements of American forces during the period to inspire contemporary artists, and portraits of the time inevitably portray officers, men who had the money and the leisure time to have their likenesses made. As a result, recreating the look of the regular army volunteers who assembled at Camp DuBois in 1803 is difficult, especially in regard to the actual cut and look of their uniform coats.

What did the official U.S. Army uniform coat look like in 1803? Bud Clark, a direct descendant of William Clark and a military collector/reenactor, Greg Hudson, the proprietor of Weeping Heart Trading Company in Kentucky and fabricator of historic clothing, and myself, the historian at the Gateway Arch in St. Louis, were all interested in recreating an enlisted man’s coat of this period. The challenge was great, but the satisfaction came in accurately fabricating a garment no person...
had seen in nearly 200 years. I began with pure research into the written record.

First, there were the orders issued by the quartermaster corps in the early 19th century, most of which are today collected in the National Archives in Washington, D.C. There is also an orderly book for the Lewis and Clark Expedition in the collections of the Missouri Historical Society. In addition, we also relied upon the look of surviving state militia coats of the 1790-1812 period, and the illustrations of regular army coats from the Whiskey Rebellion, the campaigns of Anthony Wayne, and the War of 1812. Although crude, the illustrations published in the 1811 Mathew Carey edition of the Patrick Gass Journal accurately mirror what we know of the period uniforms from contemporary written descriptions. This makes these illustrations an indispensable source.

The written record began in April 1801, when Secretary of War Henry Dearborn issued specific orders regarding the appearance of army uniforms. Infantry waistcoats were to be made “of white wool with nine small buttons.” Each man was to have a pair of blue woolen overalls with narrow white stripes along the outer seams for winter wear, and another pair made of white wool or linen with blue seams for summer. Overalls for the artillery were to be the same, except the seams for both blue and white pairs were “to be yellow in all cases.”

The official color for U.S. Army uniform coats was blue, a tradition left over from the final years of the American Revolutionary War. On January 30, 1787, Secretary of War Henry Knox prescribed a blue uniform coat with red lining and yellow trim for the artillery. He also yearned for “a characteristically national uniform.” During his years as Secretary of War, Knox saw to it that this came to pass. Illustrations and paintings of troops from the Whiskey Rebellion period clearly show blue uniforms. In forwarding inspection returns to Gen. Alexander Hamilton in November 1798, Army inspector Maj. Thomas H. Cushing complained that the “materials of which [the coat] is made are badly matched both in color and quality. It is not uncommon to find three or four shades of blue, and as many grades of cloth in the same Company.”

The scarcity of blue cloth, which became a problem at the time of the War of 1812 when the army expanded quickly, caused some American units after 1812 to dress in grey cloth rather than blue. This shortage of blue cloth was started by President Thomas Jefferson’s embargo of 1807. There is no evidence that there was a scarcity of blue cloth for the small 3,000 man U.S. Army in 1803, and every reason to believe that Lewis and Clark’s men were dressed in the blue uniform coats faced with red described in contemporary documents.

As mentioned in my previous article, the new style of uniform coat authorized in 1804 was not yet available when Lewis and Clark set out up the Missouri in May of that year. The regular enlisted men of the expedition, including Serg. John Ordway, Patrick Gass, John Boley, William E. Bratton, John Collins, John Newman, Peter M. Weiser, Joseph Whitehouse, and Richard Windsor of the 1st Infantry, Corp. Richard Warfington, Hugh Hall, Thomas Proctor Howard, and John Potts of the 2nd Infantry, John Dame, John Robertson, Ebenezer Tuttle, Isaac White, and Alexander Hamilton Willard of the Regiment of Artillery, and Robert Frazer, Silas Goodrich, and William Werner of unknown Army units, were using coats from stores stockpiled in March 1802 and issued in 1803. Collar, cuffs and lapels were of equal width, with eight large buttons on each lapel. The sleeve opened “a little deeper than the Cuff along the outside Seam with one or two vest buttons & small button holes Crossways of the Cuff.” Some of the most important information about the pre-1803 coats came from what was written about their deficiencies in comparison to the proposed 1804 coats. For instance, Purveyor of Public Supplies Tench Coxe wrote to the Secretary of War on Septem-
ber 19, 1803 that "...the Old uniform of the Current and past years has neither edging nor binding, nor button holes, nor turned Skirts, nor sham pockets." An article entitled "The Infantry Enlisted Man's Coat, 1804-1810" by Detmar H. Finke and H. Charles McBarron provided several clues to the appearance of the pre-1803 coats. Finke notes that "Robert Brobst, a Philadelphia master tailor...wrote Tench Coxe, the new Purveyor of Public Supplies, in early August 1803 about an improvement in the artillery and infantry coats. Brobst contended that changes could be made which would use much less cloth to produce a more attractive coat. He said that the fullness of the coats' skirts, their length, and other redundancies made them uncomfortable on the march, wasted cloth and gave the soldier a very heavy appearance." In speaking of a prototype for the new 1804 coat, the article goes on to say that "Like the old uniform worn in 1803 and earlier it had no buttonholes, white cloth edging instead of binding and white turnbacks which were recommended to be red as the white soon became dirty...When backlined with brown linen as heretofore, the coats were too hot in summer at all posts, and too hot in winter at the southern posts." Further information was gleaned from still another edition of Military Collector and Historian which featured a specific article about the clothing of the expedition.

After taking this information into account, I sent it to Greg Hudson in Kentucky, who made a pattern for a pre-1804 coat based on a militia coat of the 1790s in the collection of the Chicago Historical Society. The pattern for this coat was printed in an article by H. Charles McBarron in a 1951 edition of Military Collector and Historian. We used this pattern as a starting point because it fit the written descriptions of the 1803 coats better than any other pattern we had seen. We then had to summarize the information we had gleaned about the coat from original sources. First we knew that the collars, cuffs and lapels of the 1803 period coats were of equal width (3 inches). We knew that eight large buttons were on each lapel and one or two small buttons on each cuff, without [large decorative] buttons or button holes. The sleeve opened "a little deeper than the Cuff along the outside Seam with one or two vest buttons & small button holes Crossways of the Cuff." Most importantly, the uniforms were cheaply made; they had "...neither edging nor binding, nor button holes, nor turned Skirts, nor sham pockets." These coats cost only 80 cents apiece to make, (compared to $1.50 apiece for the 1804 U.S. Army coats, and $2.50 for the Lewis coats). Philadelphia tailor Brobst complained of the fullness of the coats' skirts and their length; the Infantry coat skirt hung ten and a half or eleven inches below the waist in 1803. The coats were blue in color with scarlet lapels, cuffs and standing collars; the linings were scarlet for Artillery and white for Infantry. Compared to coats of the Revolutionary era, they had few buttons and functional parts, for the turnbacks, lapels, and collars were not movable to keep the soldier warm. In fact, the lapels and turnbacks were fakes, sewn down to the coat itself. In addition, the uniform had no pockets, false or real. In other words, the men of the Lewis and Clark expedition wore cheaply made uniform coats which mirrored the low value the government placed on the army at that time.

Several questions about the construction of our reproduction coat had to be settled in discussions over the telephone. One was whether or not the coats had "edging or binding." There was conflicting information about this subject, which refers to an edge in another color sewn along the outside of the lapels and collar. In this case, white edging was mentioned by Finke and McBarron in their article, but Tench Coxe in 1803 said specifically that there was no binding or edging on the pre-1803 coats. We decided to go with Coxe's original account, especially since each coat was made so cheaply. Did the coats...
1803 U.S. Army Enlisted Man’s Coat
of the Style Worn by the Corps of Discovery
Commanded by Lewis and Clark, 1804-1806
Source: Notes from regulations for military coats, March 17, 1801.

Infantry:
3 Yards Blue Wool
1 Yard Red Wool
2 Yards White Wool
2 Yards White Linen

Artillery:
No White Wool; substitute
3 Yards Red Wool

Total Buttons:
16 Large
6 Small
have shoulder straps to hold equipment belts in place? We didn’t think so, because there weren’t enough buttons and again because the coats were so cheaply made. Next we had to decide where to put the four to six small buttons we knew each coat had. We put two on each cuff and the last two on the back at the top of the skirts. Greg Hudson said that buttons at the top of the skirts were almost a pre-requisite on all the original specimens he had seen from the period. Further, the woodcuts in the Gass Journal of 1811 show the buttons on the back of the coats. Finally, did the coat have turnbacks at all, fake or real? We knew from the primary sources that there were no real turnbacks, but fake suggestions of turnbacks were standard on all the coats we had examined or seen pictures of from the period. All these turnbacks amounted to were little triangles sewn onto the bottom front of the skirt of the coat on each side. They were white in the case of the infantry, and red for artillery. In the end, we decided to include them, once again because the illustrations in the 1811 Gass Journal show them. Our decisions on these points were a little arbitrary, and others may take exception to them. For instance, Alan Archambault and Marko Zlatich in their article on Lewis and Clark visualized the coats with shoulder straps and without false turnbacks.

One further, surprising note about the uniforms involves noncommissioned officers. A system of chevron stripes for the sleeves had not yet been adopted by the United States Army to indicate rank in 1803. What then did Sergeants Floyd, Ordway, Pryor and Gass, and Corporal Worthington, wear on their uniforms to distinguish their rank? A system of epaulettes was still in use at the time, left over from the 18th century. Officers wore gold or silver epaulettes according to rank, but non-commissioned officers were narrow epaulettes made of worsted wool. At the end of the American Revolution, sergeants wore two white worsted epaulettes, one on each shoulder, while corporals wore one white epaulette on the right shoulder only. These orders stayed in force until January 9, 1799, when an order from the War Office provided that sergeant majors and quartermaster sergeants would wear two red worsted epaulettes, a sergeant would wear one red worsted epaulette on the right shoulder, a corporal would wear one red worsted epaulette on the left shoulder, and a chief musician would wear two white worsted epaulettes. However, one year later [1800] the colors of these epaulettes were changed once again. Those of the chief musicians were changed from white to blue, and those of the sergeants and corporals were changed from red to yellow. These orders stayed in effect until 1816. Thus, the expedition’s non-commissioned officers wore yellow worsted epaulettes, sergeants having one on the right shoulder, and corporals wearing one on the left. 1

I find no evidence in the journals for Ordway to wear two epaulettes in the capacity of "sergeant major." The journals and orderly book are fairly explicit in stating that "The following persons (Viz Charles Floyd, John Ordway, and Nathaniel Pryor are this day appointed Sergeants with equal Powers (unless when otherwise specially ordered). The authority, pay, and emoluments, attached to the Said rank of Sergeants in the Military Service of the United States, and to hold the Said appointments and be respected Accordingly, during their good behaviour or the will and pleasure of the said Commanding officers." Although Ordway acted as a defacto sergeant major during the Camp DuBois period and at other times, he was never appointed officially to that position, and I believe would have retained just one epaulette as a visual sign that he was a coequal of the other sergeants. 2

With a great deal of historical research and examination of period clothing, we created the enlisted man’s coat seen in these illustrations and the enclosed pattern. We also created an officer’s coat for William Clark using the same painstaking research. What struck us when the enlisted man’s coat was finished was, despite the fact that the original coats were made cheaply, they are quite beautiful, and look sharp when they are worn or just displayed on a mannequin. In other words, these military coats could easily have been contributing factors to the formation of the Corps of Discovery as a cohesive military unit during the winter of 1803-1804 at Camp DuBois.

---FOOTNOTES---

1See Francis Paul Prucha, Sword of the Republic: The United States Army on the Frontier, 1783-1816. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986, page 60. A law passed March 16, 1802 reduced the standing army to two regiments of infantry, one regiment of artillery, and a corps of engineers. There were an average of 76 enlisted men in each company. Each infantry regiment had 10 companies, or a total of 1,520 infantrymen in the entire army; there were five battalions of artillery, each composed of four companies, with a total of 1,520 artillerymen. This small force garrisoned the east coast and the western frontier. The two forts from which volunteers were taken for the Corps of Discovery, Massac and Kaskaskia in Illinois, were garrisoned with 78 and 117 soldiers, respectively. At the end of 1804, a total of just 847 men guarded the entire Mississippi River-Louisiana Territory region, from St. Louis to New Orleans.

2See Henry Dearborn to Whelen, War

(Coats continued on page 35)
Meriwether Lewis's
"Curious Adventure"

Dayton Duncan presented this paper at the annual meeting of the foundation, Great Falls, Montana, July 2, 1998.

We're gathered here at West Bank Park this morning to discuss the activities of Meriwether Lewis on June 14, 1805—just one single day for just one single member of the Corps of Discovery.

As single days go, it does not rank in history with other, more memorable, dates on the Lewis and Clark "calendar of events." Dates like May 14, 1804 when the expedition first set off from Camp Dubois on its epic journey; or August 12, 1805 when Lewis reached the summit of Lemhi Pass and saw the great dream of a Northwest Passage vanish before him in the jumbled peaks of endless mountains stretching westward.

We all remember November 7, 1805, for William Clark's famous journal entry, "Ocean in view! Of the joy"—remember it not only for his inventive spelling of ocean and his uncharacteristic use of double exclamation points to punctuate the almost unspeakable emotions of the moment, but also because, as they all soon discovered, the ocean really wasn't in view.

And no one forgets September 23, 1806, the day the startled residents of St. Louis looked up to see the expedition's white pirogue and dugout canoes swing into view and then heard a volley of three rounds from the grizzled explorers whom everyone assumed had long since been swallowed up by the vastness of the West.

Here in this area, the two best-remembered moments occurred downstream and upstream from this point: June 13, 1805—when a jubilant and enraptured Lewis first encountered the Great Falls, the "sublimely grand spectacle," he said, that "forms the grandest sight I ever beheld." And, of course, July 4, 1805—a day we will soon commemorate together—the day the expedition's exhausting portage was finally complete; the 29th birthday of the nation whose flag and future the Corps of Discovery was carrying toward the continent's farthest shore; the holiday they celebrated well into the night by draining the last of their whiskey. (Let's all hope that we've learned at least something from history and won't run out of it on Saturday!)

But our topic today is June 14, 1805—the day after Lewis first made his discovery of the Great Falls. Though perhaps not as historically significant as the day preceding it, June 14, too, would have its share of discoveries. It too would have its moments of excitement and high drama.

And yet I think we should refer to it the way Lewis did—not once, but twice in his recounting of June 14. Call it the day of Meriwether Lewis's "Curious Adventure."

He awoke that morning before dawn—which would have been around 4:30—with the newly discovered falls thundering next to his campsite. The steady roar of those falls must have been music to his ears, because this was, without doubt, the best morning of the entire expedition up to this point for Meriwether Lewis.

Only a few days earlier, back with the rest of the Corps at the junction with the unexpected Marias River, he had been listening to all the reasons why the men believed the Marias was the true Missouri, why it was the fork that would lead them to the waterfall described by the Hidatsas and on to the Northwest Passage beyond.

Lewis and Clark had thought otherwise, but given the gravity of the situation had decided to delay for a week while they reconnoitered the two forks. "To ascend [the wrong] stream," Lewis had confided to his journal, "would not only loose us the whole of this season, but would probably so dishearten the party that it might defeat the expedition altogether."

The reconnoitering had solved nothing. Lewis and Clark still wanted to take the southern fork; the men, following the lead of their best boatman, Pierre Cruzatte, still wanted to take the northern one, though they admitted the choice was up to the captains. The captains had pointed up the southern fork, with Lewis and a small scouting party pushing ahead of the others.

Think, therefore, of what it meant to Lewis when he had finally come upon the Great Falls on the 13th of June.

It meant they were on the correct fork of the Missouri. It meant they would not have to retrace their steps, go back to the Marias, and head up that river—with all the maddening, additional delays
associated with such a "retrograde march," as Lewis would have grudgingly called it.

On a more personal level, it meant something more. It meant that Lewis and Clark, not the men, had been right.

Think for a second about the consequences if it had been the other way around; think about it for a second, because you know it must have been running through Lewis's mind for days on end.

As I already said, if the captains had been wrong, there would have been more delays—and more discouragement—at a crucial time when the expedition desperately needed the reassurance that out here, out in the unmapped and incredible, yawning distances of the West, they could rely on their leaders to at least head them in the right direction.

So an even more critical consequence would have been an unmistakable undermining of the captains' authority. Every decision, every order from that moment on would have been subjected to inevitable second-guessing, murmuring and back-biting. (If you want to know how well a group full of second-guessers, murmurers and backbiters crosses the continent, study the journals of the Donner Party.)

Consider this a few seconds more from Lewis's point of view. No one enjoys being proven wrong—losing face—in front of other people. Officers particularly want to avoid it in front of their subordinates (even more than parents in front of their own children). And if we know anything about the character of Meriwether Lewis, we know that he was especially sensitive about not losing face in front of anyone.

So on June 13, when he stood at the base of the Great Falls and struggled again and again to describe their power and their beauty and his sense of absolute elation at being the first American citizen to behold them, mixed in with his ecstasy was the knowledge that he would not lose face with his men—and that made the beauty of the falls that much more beautiful.

He had been sick for days, unable to keep anything down, but his dinner that night, of buffalo hump and tongue and marrowbone, parched meal, salt and pepper, and the first cutthroat trout ever described for science, was heartily consumed, and it only added to the sense of excited bliss that had overtaken him.

When Lewis woke up on the 14th he was still under its spell.

At the crack of dawn he sent Joseph Field downriver to give Clark and the rest of the expedition the encouraging news about the falls. Drouillard, Gibson and Goodrich were dispatched to bring in the meat from some buffalo they had shot the day before and to prepare it for drying.

Meanwhile, Meriwether Lewis... waited. Was he writing his account of the Great Falls while the early morning sun illuminated the roiling waters and produced the beautiful rainbow he so vividly described? Did he have a second helping of the cutthroat trout Goodrich had caught the previous evening? Was he simply relaxing, basking in the serene knowledge that during the great test of leadership and geographical deduction which had confronted them at the Marias, he and Clark had passed with flying colors—a fact that the others would learn as soon as Field reached them, but something he could momentarily savor by himself?

We don't know what he did. But we do know it wasn't until nearly 6 hours after sunrise—around 10 a.m.—that Lewis decided to take a solitary stroll upriver.

He anticipated going only a few miles and returning before dinner. The Hidatsas, after all, had mentioned only one waterfall, and Lewis assumed a short hike would take him past the rapids above the falls and allow him to begin planning the short portage still firmly in his mind. If he thought otherwise, he wouldn't have waited until 10 a.m. to set off.

He brought along his rifle and his espadrille. The weather was clear, wind from the southwest, and warm enough—headed toward the mid-70s—for him to decide to wear his yellow flannel shirt without his leather oversky.

Walking along the rough ground on the river's north side, he saw continuous rapids and a few small cascades for a distance of roughly five miles.

That's when he received his first surprise of the day: a 19-foot waterfall angling across the river. He named it Crooked Falls (a name it still retains) and considered returning to camp with this new information.

But a constant, loud noise just upstream, around a sharp bend in the Missouri, drew him farther upriver. Surprise number two: Just
around the bend... was another waterfall. This one—which we now call Rainbow Falls—was 50 feet high, intersected the river at a right angle, and had an edge, Lewis writes, "as regular and as straight as if formed by art, without a niche or a brake in it."

If Lewis was disappointed or unnerved by this revelation of two more major obstacles in the expedition's way, he doesn't exhibit it in his journal. Instead, he rhapsodizes about Rainbow Falls in much the same manner—though not at the same length—as he had about the Great Falls the day before. He even weighs the two on the scales of beauty, concluding that "at length I determined between these two great rivals for glory that this (Rainbow Falls) was pleasingly beautiful, while the other (the Great Falls) was sublimely grand." (Personally, I think that still "bestows the palm" as Lewis would have phrased it, on the Great Falls—"sublimely grand" trumping "pleasingly beautiful" in my own mind—but Lewis himself diplomatically avoids ranking them, leaving the judgment for each of us to make.)

Looking upriver from Rainbow, he got surprise number three: yet another falls at the distance of half a mile. "Thus invited," he writes, "I did not once think of returning, but hurried thither to amuse myself with this newly discovered object."

Ponder those words—"amuse myself with this newly discovered object. " This is the third unexpected waterfall he's come across in what started out as a little walk to peruse a short stretch of rapids; the plans for a half-day portage are already in rubble; and Lewis is using terms like "amuse myself?" Either he's deep in self-denial at this point, or that state of bliss from yesterday's discovery was even stronger than we imagined!

This was what became known as Colter Falls, now entombed in the waters behind Rainbow dam. It was a cascade, Lewis writes, that "in any other neighborhood but this... would probably be extolled for its beauty and magnificence." But up against Rainbow Falls and the Great Falls, he decided it was not worth tarrying over.

Besides, as he pressed forward another two and a half miles, by this point Lewis was running short of waterfall adjectives and he probably wanted to save whatever ones he had left, in case there were any more surprises lurking around the next bend of the Missouri.

And there was: Surprise number four (or waterfall number five when you count the unsurprising Great Falls), a cataract of 26 feet, showing a fine mist into the air and sending torrents of water around a small island, where an eagle had placed her nest in the crown of a lone cottonwood—Black Eagle Falls.

In Lewis's estimation, these falls were not quite up to the incredibly high standards set by Rainbow and Great Falls, but they were certainly, he writes, "a more noble, interesting object than the celebrated falls of [the] Potomac or [Schuykill] rivers back in the East. Take that, Philadelphia and Virginia!

If you're following this ranking system—with its "sublimes" and "pleasingly beautiful" and "noble" objects—what it means is this: with the notable exception of Niagara Falls, Lewis is claiming that he has just discovered the second-, third-, and fourth-most majestic waterfalls in North America, all in the space of 24 hours. No wonder that his journal writings still seem infused with rapture and awe, even a little cockiness, rather than focusing on the fact that he's hiked more than 10 miles by now and he still isn't sure whether even more cascades await him just upstream.

So he decided to climb the large hill just north of Black Eagle—the hill where Anaconda would later erect its giant smelter smokestack, the most commanding prospect in this immediate area—for a better view upriver.

And what a view it was. A "beautiful and extensive plain" stretched from the river all the way to the base of snow clad mountains to the south and southwest. In the fertile valley at his feet, Lewis saw a herd of a thousand buffalo grazing peacefully and vast flocks of geese feeding along the river's shore. Even more pleasing, for as far as he could see the Missouri was now a "smooth, even and unruffled sheet of water" nearly a mile wide, apparently finished with its succession of rapids and waterfalls.

And four miles away, a large river flowed into the Missouri from the distant mountains—another landmark the Hidatsas had told the captains about, the river they called the Medicine, and which today is called the Sun; further proof that the decision Lewis and Clark had made at the Marias had kept them on track toward the headwaters of the Missouri and the Northwest Passage.

Taken in one sweeping panorama, it was, Lewis writes, "a ravishing prospect." He rested a few minutes to drink it all in.

He could have decided to return to his camp now. He had hiked more than 10 miles. It must have been mid-afternoon, and he was much farther from his campsite back at the Great Falls than he originally planned. With a placid, smooth Missouri stretching to the south, his reconnaissance was completed, and he had learned a lot—much more than he had initially bargained for—from his ramble.

But instead, Lewis determined to push forward to the mouth of
the Medicine River. Now things get even stranger, and his “curious adventure” takes some new twists.

After descending to the valley, he decided to shoot one of the buffalo in the teeming herd, for supper in case he needed to spend the night before returning to the other men. He selected a nice fat one, shot it through the lungs, and was, he writes, “gazing attentively on the poor animal discharging blood in streams from his mouth and nostrils, expecting him to fall every instant.”

Lost in this vivid reverie—not far from this very spot, according to most estimates—Lewis suddenly noticed something only 20 paces away. It was a grizzly—the species of bear the expedition had first encountered on April 29th; one of those huge, fearless monsters which had been thoroughly intimidating the Corps of Discovery ever since then with their ferocity and near-invincibility.

Who knows where it came from so suddenly or how it had managed to get so close undetected. This was open plains, according to Lewis, not a single tree or bush within 300 yards.

Lewis instantly raised his gun to fire—and just as instantly realized that he had been watching that buffalo bleed to death instead of reloading his rifle.

Now, 20 paces is not much of a distance when it's just you and a grizzly bear on the open plains. If ever there was a chance for the grizzly to even the score with the Corps of Discovery for all their fallen comrades, this was it.

Lewis began retreating at a brisk walk, hoping the bear wouldn't pursue him.

No such luck. “I had no sooner turned myself,” Lewis writes, “but he pitched at me, open mouthed and full speed.” Lewis sprinted for 80 yards, but soon learned what all westerners are taught from childhood: In a 100-yard dash, bet on the grizzly.

It was gaining on him fast, so he jumped off the shallow river bank, splashed into waist-deep water, and then wheeled around with his espontoon, pointing it as firmly as he could while still holding onto his unloaded rifle.

At the same time, the grizzly reached the edge of the water, snarling less than 20 feet from our beloved captain.

Most of you have read accounts of the Corps of Discovery's numerous encounters with grizzly bears. How one wounded, infuriated bear chased William Bratton for a quarter of a mile, even though he had put a bullet through its lungs. How Willard was nearly killed by another. And how yet another severely wounded grizzly routed a hunting party of six men, pursued them across the plains, and jumped a 20-foot embankment into the water after them, only to be felled at the last minute by the twelfth slug the hunters pumped into it.

Well, as luck would have it, this particular grizzly apparently was not closely related to those others. It turned out to be the only cowardly grizzly bear the Corps of Discovery encountered in Montana.

Rather than swiping the espontoon from Lewis's hands like a match stick and making a brief appetizer out of the captain before turning to the dead buffalo for a main course, this grizzly inexplicably turned tail and ran off. It ran away as fast as it had pursued Lewis; ran at full speed, occasionally looking over its shoulder; ran for three miles until it disappeared into the woods along the Medicine River.

Now, if you think that's “curious,” consider what Meriwether Lewis did next. Did he count his blessings and head in the opposite direction towards his camp? No. Let him tell us in his own words: “I passed through the plain nearly in the direction which the bear had run to medicine river.” Does that make sense to anyone here? A huge grizzly chases you into the river and then, miraculously, spares you a fight to the death by retreating of its own accord. So you not only continue your hike, but continue it along the same route the grizzly just took? “Curious adventure,” indeed.

Anyway, from here he proceeded on to the Medicine River—a “handsome stream” in Lewis's words, where the grizzly fortunately made no second appearance.

He looked at his watch. It told him it was 6:30, eight and a half hours since his departure from the camp he estimated was 12 miles away (but which I would guess is closer to 15 miles downstream). Time—finally—to turn back.

Before he once again reached this spot, his gaze fell upon a strange animal—a “tyger cat” he calls it, brownish yellow, standing near its burrow, probably a wolverine. It made signs that it might spring at him, but disappeared into its hole when he shot at it. (This time he immediately reloaded.)

“It now seemed to me that all the beasts of the neighbourhood had made a league to destroy me,” he writes, “or that some fortune was disposed to amuse herself at my expense, for I had not proceeded more than three hundred yards from the burrow of the tyger cat, before three bull buffaloes, which were feeding with a large herd about half a mile from me on my left, separated from the herd and ran full speed towards me.”

On a “curious” day like this, you've probably already figured out that running for your life from three stampeding buffalo bulls or at least dropping the lead bull with a shot from your rifle simply weren't considered options by
Meriwether Lewis. No, instead, he writes, "I thought at least to give them some amusement and altered my direction to meet them." And of course, rather than stomping him to dust on the plains for foolishness, the bulls suddenly stopped about 100 yards away and then, too, turned around and hastily ran off.

It's at this point—after the unexplainably cowardly grizzly, after the disappearing "tyger cat," after the trio of madly charging, madly retreating buffalo bulls—that you have to wonder whether there was something about that yellow flannel shirt of Lewis's that was acting as some sort of super-powerful animal repellent.

Or perhaps it was Lewis's state of mind—that sense of undiluted euphoria he had first experienced at the Great Falls the day before, but was still with him when he awoke that morning: that incredible rush of excitement and wonder that had allowed him to view four more waterfalls not as extra obstacles to be overcome but as sublime works of nature; feeling alive with such incredible intensity that even moments of extreme danger can be viewed with detached bemusement.

Perhaps such a state of mind somehow magically cloaks a man with temporary invulnerability.

Lewis himself seems to have perceived some magic in the day—a magic he was unsure would last much longer.

Despite the late hour and the long distance to camp, he writes, "I then continued my rout homewards passed the buffalo which I had killed, but did not think it prudent to remain all night at this place which really from the succession of curious adventures wore the impression on my mind of enchantment; at sometimes for a moment I thought it might be a dream, but the prickly pears which pierced my feet very severely once in a while, particularly after it grew dark, convinced me that I was really awake."

Late that night—we don't know what time—after his 30-mile day on foot, he arrived back in camp, where Drouillard, Gibson and Goodrich had been worried sick for his safety. Having expected him back hours earlier, Lewis tells us, "they had formed a thousand conjectures, all of which equally forboding my death" and were making plans to search for his corpse the next morning.

But fate had other plans for Meriwether Lewis—a fate that would not allow mere grizzly bears, or tyger cats, or stampeding buffalo, or a succession of waterfalls to stand between him and the end of his journey.

There would be plenty of days ahead when he would see danger and disappointment for what it was. And there would be plenty of other times when he would be unable to greet triumph, and success, and good fortune without a sense of inadequacy, sorrow, and his own deep foreboding.

As we all know, Meriwether Lewis was perfectly capable of seeing even sunny days as situations when the glass of life was half-empty. But not this day. Mark June 14, 1805, down as a special day on the Corps of Discovery's calendar and in Lewis's all-too-abbreviated life. Not because it was a turning point for the expedition, or because something particularly historic occurred. Mark it down because on June 14, 1805, everywhere Meriwether Lewis turned, everything he saw, everything he did, convinced him that the glass of life was instead half-full—half-full and brimming over.

For him, life that day was a "curious adventure."

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**Dog Lover Gives Foundation $10,000**

As a young child, Lorna Spangenberg was saved from drowning by the family pet dog. It is surmised this incident led to her life-long interest in and love of dogs. She was an avid educator of young people about dogs, a shower of dogs and a collector of dog stamps. Her stamp collection numbered more than four thousand stamps including ones issued by Ajman State, Bequi, Cuba Tuvalyu, Fijeria, Mongolia, New Guinea, Oman and Uum Al Qiwain—all together a total of more than 50 countries. She was a certified judge for the American Philatelic Society.

Mrs. Spangenberg, who died July 29, 1996, was a member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. In her will she left $10,000 to the foundation in memory of Seaman, Meriwether Lewis's Newfoundland dog who, in many ways, was a major contributor to the success of the expedition.

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**Missouri Lewis and Clark Commission Appointed**

On July 1, Governor Mel Carnahan appointed nine persons to serve on the Missouri Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Commission. The co-chairs are Don Gallop of St. Louis and Jonathan Kemper of Kansas City.

Others appointed are Dr. Robert Archibald, Frank Jacobs, Dr. Barbara Woods, and Dr. Ann Rogers, all of St. Louis, along with Marci Bennett of St. Joseph, Dr. Gerald Lee of Kansas City, and Cheryl Thorp of Platte City.

The commission also includes representatives from the Missouri State Historical Society, Division of Tourism, Department of Conservation, Department of Natural Resources, and Governor's Office.
For the history lover, North Dakota is packed full of points of interest. At the same time, the wide open spaces and largely untouched landscape will open your heart and take your breath away. While visiting Theodore Roosevelt National Park, for example, you can revel in the history of the legendary Roughriders while gazing out over the same rugged terrain that captured Roosevelt’s imagination. In his journals, Meriwether Lewis observed that the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers would be an excellent spot for a trading post. In 1829, the Fort Union Trading Post was established there. Today, the fort is alive once again with the sights and sounds of the fur trade as interpreters bring living history to visitors from all over the country. Fort Union is located 24 miles southwest of Williston, North Dakota. In the same area is Fort Buford, a military post established in 1866 to guard the confluence of the rivers. One of the most famous figures to visit Fort Buford was the Sioux Chief Sitting Bull, who surrendered his rifle to the U.S. government there after five years of exile in Canada. Today, the Fort Buford site offers a museum housed in an original building.

Other points of interest throughout the state of North Dakota include:

- Dakota Dinosaur Museum: Located in Dickinson, North Dakota.
- Assumption Abbey: Located 20 miles east of Dickinson in Richardton, North Dakota, a majestic Benedictine Cathedral of world-class beauty.
- The Three Affiliated Tribes Museum: Located in New Town, North Dakota, a fine museum dedicated to the peoples of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara tribes.
- The International Peace Garden: A symbol of lasting peace along the world’s longest unprotected border, between the U.S. and Canada.
- The Scandinavian Heritage Center: Located in Minot, North Dakota.
- The exact geographical center of the North American continent: Located outside Rugby, North Dakota.
- Icelandic State Park: Located 6 miles from Cavalier, home to Pioneer Heritage Center.
- The Roger Maris Museum: Located in the West Acres Shopping Mall in Fargo, North Dakota. And these are just a few of the places to go and things to do in North Dakota. As you can see, North Dakota’s history is as diverse as it is interesting. Along with historical sites and points of interest, there are hiking, biking and canoeing opportunities throughout the state. To learn more about all that North Dakota has to offer, please call 1-800-HELLO-North Dakota to receive a free information/travel packet. We’ll see you in the Land of Sakakawea!
Schedule for 1999
Meeting Taking
Shape

The 1999 meeting will begin with registration at 1 p.m. on Sunday, August 1. The Vendor's Fair will also begin at this time. Sunday evening will be the opening reception. On Monday the fun begins with a trip to the Knife River Indian Villages. The Three Affiliated Tribes will host a day at Knife River that will surely make us feel like we are receiving the same hospitality that Lewis and Clark did over a 150 years ago.

On Tuesday, we will proceed on to the North Dakota Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center and Fort Mandan. An evening at Fort Abraham Lincoln touring the On-A- Slant Indian Villages, Custer House and a North Dakota Pitch Fork Fondo. Wednesday will be at the hotel with sessions focusing on the meeting theme “Land of Sakakawea.” This will also be Kid Camp day with exciting activities planned for the kids. The meeting will come to conclusion on Wednesday night with the banquet.

More on Fossils

In my recent article on the fossil and dinosaur finds of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (May 1998 We Proceeded On), I neglected to mention one of the largest and most significant discoveries of the corps on this topic. On September 10, 1804, while making their way up the Missouri River in the vicinity of present-day Geddes, South Dakota, William Clark found the fossil remains of the backbone, teeth and ribs of a plesiosaurs, an ocean-dwelling creature of the Mesozoic Era. This fossil find was astonishing if only for its enormity—the backbone of the creature was 45 feet long. The bones, thought to be those of a large fish by Clark and the other journalists (Gass, Ordway and Whitehouse) were found on an island named Cedar Island. The entire area is now inundated by Lake Francis Case. Gass noted that some of the vertebra were sent back to “Washington City” with the various specimens from Fort Mandan in the spring of 1805. The footnote in Gary Moulton's edition of the journals (volume 3, p. 63, fn. 2) notes that "some of the vertebra apparently are now in the Smithsonian Institution." So far as I know, the plesiosaurs fossil, the mastodon remains at Big Bone Lick (September-October 1803), Patrick Gass' "Petified Jawbone of a fish or some other animal," (August 6, 1804), and the Pompey's Pillar, Montana find by Clark of "the rib of a fish" (July 25, 1806—which probably was from a large dinosaur such as a Hadrosaur or a Tyrannosaurus Rex), constitute the sum total of fossil finds on the expedition. I apologize for the oversight in not including the plesiosaurs find in my original article. —Bob Moore
"We Encamped By Some Butifull Springs"

AN INTERPRETATION OF
CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK'S CAMPSITE ON JULY 7, 1806

by Anna Loge

As the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 2004 draws near, the need for identification and interpretation of the trail and points of interest along the route increases. For nearly twenty years the course traveled by the Corps of Discovery has been recognized as a National Historic Trail, and the general location of many campsites have been located along its path. The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. has made substantial efforts to identify and mark sites along the trail. However, due, in part, to insufficient information and a lack of local researchers, many of the campsites and points of interest recorded by Lewis and Clark have yet to be acknowledged through historical analysis and interpretive efforts. Recognizing this need for further research of the Lewis and Clark Trail, I recently investigated a campsite situated in Beaverhead County, Montana, where Captain William Clark and seventeen members of his party encamped on the night of July 7, 1806. This campsite is one of hundreds of points at which the explorers sought rest on their historic journey across the North American continent nearly two hundred years ago.

Their journey was conceived well before the purchase of Louisiana Territory from France in 1803 which placed the United States in possession of an immense, rugged frontier largely untracked by white trappers and explorers. Determined to assess the economic value and the natural history of his country's large acquisition, President Thomas Jefferson organized the expedition and appealed to his close friend and personal secretary, Meriwether Lewis, to lead the extensive journey across the continent to the western seaboard. In a letter to Lewis Jefferson instructed that, "The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri river, & such principal stream of it, as, by its course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean...may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce." (Jackson 61) William Clark, a friend and former army colleague of Lewis, accepted a share in leadership of the expedition, and in May of 1804, the captains and forty-three men set off upstream with three boats from the mouth of the Missouri River north of St. Louis. The explorers began their mission guided by scarce and often inaccurate information gathered in St. Louis. After wintering in 1804-1805 at Fort Mandan, sixty miles up river from present-day Bismarck, North Dakota¹, the Corps of Discovery proceeded west into uncharted land. They became the first white men to encounter indigenous people in the Rocky Mountains and to see the natural landscape formations of the region. Jefferson instructed the captains to take notice of "the soil & face of the country, its growth & vegetable productions, especially those not of the U.S. [and] the animals of the country generally, & especially those not known in the U.S." (Jackson 63).

Following orders, the explorers described and categorized 178 new species of plants and 122 new species and subspecies of animals as they recorded in their journals the natural history of the areas through which they traveled (Cutright 399-447). While staying at Fort Clatsop on the Oregon coast during the winter of 1805-1806, the captains made plans for the return journey which included dividing the party at Travelers Rest near Missoula, Montana, to further explore the water routes flowing from the Continental Divide. On July 3, 1806, after stopping at Travelers Rest, Meriwether Lewis and nine men traveled east up the Blackfoot River hoping to discover a shorter route to the Missouri River near its great falls and further explore the Marias River, a northern tributary of the Missouri. William Clark, with fifty horses, twenty men, Sacagawea and her baby followed the Bitterroot River south to the mountains which they had crossed on their westbound journey the previous summer. The party planned to uncover the canoes and supplies...
cached at the head of the river where they had acquired horses from the Lemhi Indians a year earlier. After two days of traveling, Clark's party reached the Bitterroot Range and camped near the top of its western slope. The night of July 5th was unusually cold, as Clark described in his journal: "Some frost this morning, the last night was so cold that I could not Sleep" (Moulton, Vol. 8, 166). The first week of July was uncommonly cold, and the party awoke to frost on more than one occasion as they passed through southwestern Montana.

On July 6th, in an attempt to avoid the treacherous trail of the previous summer along the Salmon River and over Lost Trail Pass, Clark decided to follow an old Indian trail which "assessed a ridge with a gentle slope to the dividing mountain which separates the waters from the Middle fork of Clarks river from those of Wisdom and Lewis's river" (Moulton, Vol. 8, 166). Setting their course toward the cache of canoes buried at two forks of the Jefferson (Beaverhead) River, now covered by Clark Canyon Reservoir, Clark crossed the Continental Divide into the Big Hole drainage at Gibbon's Pass. Descending the mountains the party followed a buffalo and Indian trails until they emerged onto an "extensive open level plain in which the Indian trail Scattered in such a manner that we could not pursue it, the Indian woman wife to Shabon inhibited me that she had been in this plain frequently and knew it well, that the Creek which we decended was a branch of Wisdom river and when we ascended the higher part of the plain we would discover a gap in the mountains in our direction to the Canoes..." (Moulton, Vol. 8, 167).

Having determined a route across the large valley as directed by Sacagawea, the party camped next to a creek in the northwestern part of the Big Hole Valley. Clark wrote in his journal for July 7th, "at 1/2 past 10 A.M. I set out and proceeded on through an open rich valley...after crossing the river I kept up on the N.E. side. Sometimes following an old road which frequently disappeared, at the distance of 16 miles we arrived at a Boiling Spring" (Moulton, Vol. 8, 169-170). The party stopped at this hot spring late in the afternoon to eat dinner and rest the horses. Clark noted that a piece of meat "about the size of my 3 fingers Cooked dun in 25 minuts" (Moulton, Vol. 8, 170). The hot spring surfaces from a hillside on the southeastern slope of the valley, from there the party was still more than thirty miles from the cache of canoes and after eating continued southeast to where they made camp for the evening.

"after taking dinner and letting our horses graze 1 hour and a half we proceeded on. Crossed this easterly branch and up on the N. Side of this middle fork 9 miles crossed it near the head of an Easterly branch and passed through a gap of a mountain on the Easterly Side of which we encamped near some butfull [NB: Springs] which fall into Willards Creek," Clark wrote about the final hours of traveling on July 7th (Moulton, Vol. 8, 170). At the end of his entry, Clark tallied that they had covered twenty-five miles during the day. Interpretations about the location of the party's campsite on the evening of July 7, 1806, must depend upon this passage, the log of daily mileage, and corresponding maps of the expedition. This passage and related publications can be problematic to a researcher, however.

In Moulton's edition of the journals, a segment of Clark's passage pertaining to the campsite appears as: "we encamped near some butfull [NB: Springs] which fall into Willards Creek." The bracketed insertion in the passage complicates interpretation of this critical passage recorded by Clark. In his editorial comments Moulton clarifies that the initials "NB" in the brackets identify an amendment made in the codices by the first editor of the journals, Nicholas Biddle. Moulton explains, "Some of Biddle's emendations were made for his own purposes and some perhaps were made on the advice of Clark, with whom Biddle occasionally collaborated..." (Moulton, Vol. 2, 51). Because the term "springs" was not inserted by Clark the accuracy of the passage may be questioned. However, two observations help settle this question. First, Biddle spent three weeks with Clark when he began the project of interpreting the journals and maintained a correspondence with Clark as questions arose and clarification was needed. Secondly, with Biddle's emendation removed, the passage flows as though a term related to water was missing. There is the possibility that Clark intended to describe a creek, but only springs can be found near the top of a pass where the travelers stopped; further downhill streams form from the confluence of the spring waters. Therefore, it can be assumed with confidence that Biddle's note in the passage was accurate and clarified a missing or questionable word in the passage composed by Clark.

Questions surrounding the campsite also stem from the three maps drawn by Captain Clark that illustrate the route traveled by the explorers during the first week of July. As Moulton points out, the campsite for July 7, 1806, is accurately marked
Atlas map 67 identifies the traveler’s route, but not the campsite, and “[o]n Atlas map 103 the camp appears to be incorrectly labeled Campd. 8 July.” (Moulton, Vol. 8, 171n). On the most accurate map of the three, Clark marked the campsite just beyond a range of mountains at the source of a small stream which joins Willards Creek, supporting his journal description that they “passed through a gap of a mountain on the Easterly Side of which we encamped near some butiful [NB: Springs] which fall into Willards Creek.”

It is now generally accepted that the “gap of a mountain” through which the explorers passed on July 7th, is Big Hole Pass in Beaverhead County, Montana. The pass divides the Big Hole Valley on the west from the Grasshopper Valley on the east. In 1893, Elliott Coues, a naturalist and historian who was the first to publish an edition of the Biddle/Allen narrative of the journals with annotations, noted that “the ‘gap’ pointed out by Sacajawea...is under Bald mountain, in the range W. and N.W. of Bannock City” (Coues 1124n), and that the campsite is “in the pass S.W. of Bald mountain and N.W. of Bannock City, on an upper course of Willard’s or Grasshopper Creek, probably now called Divide Creek” (Coues 1126n). Both passages describe the Big Hole Pass. Ten years later, however, Olin Wheeler, after retracing the route traveled by the Corps of Discovery, misidentified the location of the campsite. According to Wheeler, “On the night of the 7th, having crossed the divide, they camped by some springs on the southern slope of Bald Mountain” (Wheeler 21).

Together these accounts present conflicting information. Bald Mountain, now Baldy Mountain, is a large prominent peak visible from both sides of Big Hole Pass which rises to the northeast of Big Hole Pass across the Grasshopper Valley from the gap. To camp on the “southern slope of Bald Mountain,” as described by Wheeler, the party would have had to descend Big Hole Pass and travel at least ten miles across the valley, significantly exceeding Clark’s calculations. A simple misinterpretation of Coues’s description which Wheeler often used as a reference source—in The Trail of Lewis and Clark Wheeler quotes numerous passages from Coues—accounts for his inaccurate location for the campsite on July 7th. Big Hole Pass is in the shadow of or “under” Bald mountain but is not on its southern slope as Wheeler assumed. Coues’s annotation of the campsite is correct and agrees with recent research. Clark and his crew of explorers traveled over the crest of the Big Hole Pass, camping on the eastern side of the divide overlooking the Grasshopper Valley. Determining precisely where they camped on the easterly side of the pass is a much more difficult, if not impossible, task, however.

Presently, on the eastern side of Big Hole Pass there are at least three substantial natural springs flowing into tributaries of Grasshopper Creek all within a mile of the crest of the pass. Which of these three springs most likely provided respite for the weary explorers the night of July 7, 1806? Other springs emerge further down the hill, but it is unlikely according to the daily mileage recorded by Captain Clark that the party would have continued farther than a mile beyond the crest of the divide. All three springs at the top of the divide currently have a continuous flow of clear water and surface in nearly a north-south line from one another. The north spring flows from the base of Deadhorse Mountain, the northern rise of the pass’s saddle. It has been crudely developed to form a series of pools primarily used for watering livestock. A small stand of cottonwood trees shades one of the pools, and the surrounding terrain is generally rugged and dry. The middle spring surfaces in a deep, narrow gully a few

The southern springs trickle through the willows as Baldy Mountain looms across the valley.
hundred yards south of the first spring. Scattered sagebrush bushes are the only wooded vegetation surrounding the source, though a thicker stand of pine trees and willows flourish a quarter of a mile down the gully. Today a wooden fence encircles the source of the spring to keep the livestock away from the water. The adjacent terrain is steep and dry, offering no protection or shelter from sudden storms which are common in early July. The spring to the south is located on the gentle rise to the right of the travelers’ route nestled near the tree line. Thick grasses carpet its banks, and willow bushes reveal its course to distant observers. Several springs meander together here, and a shallow open slope rises from the springs to the tree line providing a pleasant, practical site to settle for the night. Of the three, this southern spring is the most convincing site of Clark’s encampment on July 7th.

Several features of the setting lead me to this conclusion. The first is the appearance of the springs. The lush vegetation would provide a soft bed for the travelers, and the willows and nearby trees would protect them from the violent winds that frequently funnel through the gap, blowing from the west. A substantial supply of timber could be found in close proximity to the springs. Several groves of pine trees which appear to be between two and three hundred years old advance within fifty yards of the origin of the springs. Along with willow bushes, they would provide an abundant and accessible source of shelter and firewood, both attractive since Clark described the evening as a “remarkable Cold night” (Moulton, Vol. 8, 172). The most convincing aspect of this site, however, is what appears to be an old trail running over the divide which passes less than fifty yards from the southern springs. Clark and his party regularly followed any roads they came across, preferring a campsite not far from their route. A path can still be seen near the crest of Big Hole Pass and continues eastward for almost a mile until it branches and fades as the valley levels out. Today this long rut is not easily discernible and shows no sign of use for some time. Its depression resembles a dry creek bed filled in with wild grasses and flowers; however, its straight, narrow course does not follow the gradient down the hill, suggesting that the furrow is not a natural feature.

During much of their journey Lewis and Clark both utilized Indian and wild game trails when navigating overland. In his journal entry for July 7th, Clark mentioned a path they followed when traversing the Big Hole Valley early in the day: “after crossing the river I kept up on the N E. side, Sometimes following an old road which frequently disappeared . . . .” (Moulton, Vol. 8, 170) Indians visited the Big Hole Valley to hunt buffalo and beaver and dig various roots in the meadows. Sacagawea guided Clark’s party from the Continental Divide over Big Hole Pass through territory she had crossed as a girl. Sergeant Ordway, one of five men Clark sent to search for missing horses on the morning of July 7th, also mentioned Indian and game trails in the valley and surrounding hills. “(G)ot on the track of the horses and followed it on until towards evening and found them still going on an Indn. road,” he wrote in his entry for the day (Moulton, Vol. 9, 332).

Indian roads were numerous and well defined in the mountainous regions of southwestern Montana. In pursuit of the Nez Perce Indians in 1877, O.O. Howard observed, “The paths made by them in the expeditions after Buffalo, antelope, and other game are even now clear and well defined... They often make a side hill look as if terraced, and are as graceful in their windings as if made by a skillful engineer” (Hagelin 15). Trails used by Indians often followed old game trails skirting over mountains.

Historian Paul Cutright notes

Old pine trees and willows surround the southern springs. This view is looking south.
Photos by Anna Loge

A field of light blue camas in Grasshopper Valley. The flower colors the fields blue in early July every year.

Biscuitroot turns a meadow on the east slope of Big Hole Pass bright yellow. The crest of the pass appears at the top of the photograph and the southern springs trickle from the top left corner of the scene.

The hyacinth-like flowers of the camas flower emitted a sweet fragrance similar to a lily.

The sizes of the root of biscuitroot and camas relative to a nickel, i.e., the bust of Thomas Jefferson, the genius of this expedition. Indians dug both roots in the mountain valleys of the Rocky Mountains. The camas root is on the left.
A field of wildflowers at the crest of Big Hole Pass looking into Big Hole Valley.

White mules-ea, Wyethia helianthoides, peeks out from among thick grasses near the southern set of springs.

Bright pink shootingstars, Dodecatheon pauciflorum, bloom from late May to July.

A bouquet of American bistort, (a); long-plumed avon, (b); and cinquefoil, (c), dances in the breeze on top of Big Hole Pass.

Pink sticky geraniums bloom in front of a shaggy bush of sagebrush. Sagebrush covers the valleys and open hillsides of the Rocky Mountains.

Rushy cinquefoil with its yellow flowers also grows in the mountaneous valleys and hillside.

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that "long before the Indian arrived, the buffalo and other animals had discovered the most practical and direct routes between points of importance to them" (Cutright 143). Even today game trails are often better worn and easier to follow than marked hiking trails in the mountains of southwestern Montana.

To remain visible today regular use of the path over Big Hole Pass must have continued long after Clark and his party journeyed along its course. Upon reaching the canoes on July 8th, Clark recalled the course of their journey from the Bitterroot Valley and made a worthy prediction for future settlement in the area: "The road which we have traveled from travelers rest Creek to this place [is] an excellent road, and with only a few trees being cut out of the way would be an excellent wagon road" (Moulton, Vol. 8, 172) Indians continued to pass through the Big Hole Valley until the 1870s. White fur trappers began setting trap lines in southwestern Montana by the 1830s. Mountain man Warren Angus Ferris trapped and traded in the Rocky Mountains during this time and while traversing the Big Hole Valley "followed the Indian trail across this hole to Wisdom [Big Hole] River." He also mentions, "We left Horse Prairie on the last day of the month, and crossing the mountain to the northwestward, descended into the Big Hole" (Ferris 117). The mountain Ferris crossed to descend into the Big Hole Valley is likely Big Hole Pass, northwest of the Horse Prairie Valley near where Lewis and Clark buried their canoes.

Following the earlier footsteps of the trappers, homesteaders began settling in the Big Hole Valley in the 1880s. The closest commercial center was Dillon, forty-five miles to the east, so residents began traveling a rough but regular route across the county. One longtime rancher from the Big Hole, Jack Hirschy, remembers his father talking about a wagon route over Big Hole Pass that ran south of present-day Highway 278, perhaps in the rut that is visible today. The settlers followed scattered paths up the pass, joined the well-worn route at the crest of the hill, and branched off to any track with steady traction at the bottom. In 1910, a regular road was carved along the north side of the pass; today Highway 278 follows a similar route. In a statement applicable to Highway 278, Cutright observes that "a ribbon of asphalt or concrete across the prairie land of Colorado, Wyoming, or Montana today often overlees the route once traveled by hordes of lumbering buffalo and wide-ranging companies of moccasined Crow, Cheyenne, or Blackfeet" (Cutright 143). The trail over the top of Big Hole Pass hasn't been used for almost a century, but the history of travel along it suggests its importance even when Captain Clark trekked there nearly two hundred years ago. The location of the long rut near the southern most springs supports the notion that these springs are the site of Clark's encampment on July 7, 1806.

The possibility that none of these springs may be the ones mentioned by Clark must also be considered. Two factors make it impossible to know for sure near which springs they encamped. First, springs are not entirely stable over time. An earthquake or extended dry spell can alter the path and disrupt the flow of water from the ground. Further studies might identify some dry springs in the area, but even with this research it would be difficult to determine the campsite's location. Secondly, because the party was traveling quickly to the cache of canoes beyond the pass, their stay at the springs was brief.

They had eaten dinner at the hot springs earlier in the evening and stopped at the springs on Big Hole Pass near dark, using the site only for a comfortable bed and a protected night's sleep. It is unlikely that excavations in the area would reveal any information pertaining to the campsite.

In interpreting the campsite, however, other components of their travel in the area can be examined, namely the natural history surrounding the campsite. As instructed by President Jefferson, Lewis and Clark recorded the flora and fauna of the regions through which they passed. Clark described a wide range of plants and animals in the areas around the July 7th campground. Other histories also illustrate the fertility of the Big Hole and Grasshopper Valleys. Even today in the summer months the slopes of Big Hole Pass are seas of wildflowers and grasses, and the timber and sagebrush-covered hillsides harbor an abundance of wild game.

While ascending the mountains to the Big Hole Valley on July 5th, Clark reported that
“Shannon and Crusat killed each a deer this morning and J. Shields killed a femail ibex or big horn on the side of the mountain” (Moulton, Vol. 8, 165). The animal, probably a mule deer, had been a common sight east of the Rocky Mountains, providing the party with a regular food source for much of their journey. Driving along any Montana highway today or hiking the mountains, one is apt to see a mule deer grazing in a meadow or pasture nearby. The other animal mentioned in Clark’s passage, the ibex or bighorned sheep, prefers the habitat of steep dry rocky slopes. Captain Clark was the first to describe this animal on the voyage up the Missouri the previous year: “this animal is a species peculiar to this upper part of the Missouri...it was Somewhat larger than the Mall of the Common Deer; The body rather thicker deeper and not So long in proportion to its height as the common Deer; the head and horns of the mail are remarkably large Compared with the other parts of the animal” (Moulton, Vol.4, 196). The bighorn sheep has thick conical horns that spiral behind its head; “The Horns are large at their base, and occupy the Crown of the head almost entirely, they are compressed, bent backwards, and lunate,” Clark observed (Moulton, Vol. 4, 197).

Encounters with bighorn sheep are less common today, but signs of this beast can still be found high in the mountains near the Continental Divide.

The expedition encountered tremendous herds of buffalo daily on their voyage up the Missouri, often feasting on these animals several times a day. Once they reach the mountains, however, the party saw very few of these animals and by the time the rivers became too shallow to navigate, buffalo had not been seen for many weeks. Nonetheless, Clark frequently noticed signs of the animal while returning across the Continental Divide. “I observed the appearance of old buffalo roads and some heads on this part of the mountain proving that formerly Buffs roved here,” he wrote when descending into the Big Hole Valley (Moulton, Vol. 8, 166). The discovery of buffalo jumps in high mountain valleys today also indicates that buffalo once grazed in the alpine meadows of southwestern Montana. Regarding the absence of buffalo in the region during Lewis and Clark’s journey Gary Moulton explains: “The mountain Indians, since acquiring the horse and thus increasing their hunting efficiency, had greatly reduced the numbers of this animal by Lewis and Clark’s time” (Moulton Vol. 8, 168n). Also, in the nineteenth century the buffalos’ migratory path fluctuated from year to year.

Though Clark observed no buffalo in the region in 1806, trapper Warren Angus Ferris “found buffalo numerous the whole distance from Dripp’s camp (a fellow trapper) to the Big Hole,” while traveling through the area in the 1830s (Ferris 301). On July 8th, lagging behind the main party, Sergeant Ordway “saw elk & deer and goats or antelopes” in the Big Hole Valley (Moulton, Vol. 9, 332). The elk, a majestic dark-brown animal, grazes on the prairie and in the timberland of the upper Missouri; the smaller antelope, which the captains frequently called a goat, inhabits the same areas. Interestingly, while passing through the region Lewis and Clark never encountered a moose, even though the gangly game animal is especially common to wooded, miry creek bottoms in southwestern Montana. Moose are slow animals which probably made them easy targets for Indians. This might account for the sparse population when Lewis and Clark journeyed through the region.

Other wild animals observed by Captain Clark and Sergeant Ordway during their brief journey through the Big Hole and Grasshopper Valleys included ground squirrels, rabbits or hares, and beaver. The slow shallow streams of the Big Hole Valley were ideal for beavers to build dams and mounded homes of willows twigs and mud in the cool water. Clark discovered “emence [immense] beaver sign” and Ordway “saw many beaver dams &c” as he crossed the valley. While encamped on Big Hole Pass on July 7th, Clark recalled the outstanding attributes of the Big Hole Valley through which the party had just passed: “This extensive valley Surround with [mountains] covered with snow is extremely fertile covered [with] esculent plants &c and the Creeks which pass through it contains emence numbers of beaver &c” (Moulton, Vol. 8, 171).

Just as remarkable to Clark as the beaver of the valley were the wildflowers and grasses. As he traveled through the Big Hole Valley Clark saw a wide variety of wildflowers covering the valley floor. Indians dig the roots of many flowers in the valley. Clark described this in his journals on July 6th, “I observed some fresh Indian Signs where they had been gathering quawmash. This is the great plain where Shoshonees gather quawmash & cowss &c” (Moulton, Vol. 8, 167). Quawmash and “cowss” both have edible roots and provided a staple for the mountain Indians. Peterson’s Field Guide to Rocky Mountain Wildflowers describes quawmash, better known as camas, *Camassia quamash*, as “a hyacinth-like spike of bright blue flowers.” During the peak flowering season for camas in June
and July entire meadows are painted with its blue flower and scented with its sweet bouquet. In his journals, Clark described the sight of a meadow filled with camas, "the quawmash is now in blume at a short distance it resembles a lake of fine clear water, so complete is this description that on first sight I could have sworn it was water" (DeVoto 402). Fields of camas still flood the pastures of the Big Hole and Grasshopper Valleys in early July. The plant was critical to the expedition as they traveled through the Rocky Mountains. The camas bulb, which resembles a potato in flavor and an onion in shape, provided an ample source of food for the Indians and travelers. Peterson's Field Guide to Rocky Mountain Wildflowers identifies its importance: "The camas probably played a more significant role in early western history than any other plant. It formed the chief vegetable diet of the Indians of the northwest, trappers, and early settlers. Members of the Lewis and Clark expedition used the camas extensively and at times were entirely dependent on it as food" (Craighead 21).

Biscuitroot, the plant the Indians called "cows," was also an important food source for the Indians. The yellow flowered plant, Lomatium ambiguum, has parsley-like leaves and a thick bulb. Captain Lewis first described the plant when visiting Indians near the head of the Columbia River: "The cows is a knobbed root of an irregularly rounded form not unlike the ginsans [ginseng] in form and consistency" (Curtright 284). Possessing a starchy flavor and solid texture, the Indians often pounded the root into cakes, ground it into flour to make bread, or boiled the bulb for a meal. Like the camas root, Lewis and Clark supplemented their diet with this root and often traded beads and other goods with Indians for cakes of biscuitroot.

Other plants growing along Clark's route through southwestern Montana include sagebrush and a wide variety of small bushes common to the upper Missouri like bush willows, shrubby cinquefoil, and wild rose bushes. Many of the wildflowers found in the mountains and meadows today most likely were also in bloom when Clark and his party traveled through the area. Some of the flowers which bloom in late-June and early-July include shooting stars, American bistort, cinquefoil, sticky geraniums, long-plumed avons, yellow paintbrush, and white mules-ears. Every year a dense and colorful mixture of these flowers carpet Big Hole Pass. The feet of Clark's companions and hooves of their horses trampled the tender blossoms on their path through Beaverhead County, Montana. Perhaps some of the men fell asleep on July 7, 1806, atop the blanket of cinquefoil, sticky geraniums, and shooting stars while deer and elk watched their slumber. Clark's "butfull" springs bubbled down the hillside into Grasshopper Creek, its waters flowing into drainages that would lead the explorers home after completing the most remarkable and important journey in American History.

Bibliography


Forest Service Maps and Aerial Photos of Big Hole Pass, Beaver-head County, Montana.


Williamson, Anna Loge. "The Wildflowers of Montana." Anna Loge won the foundation's Youth Award in 1997. She wrote the essay as a term paper at Williams College in Williamstown, Mass., while she was a sophomore.
OBITUARY

HARRY HUBBARD

Harry Hubbard, 78, a former board member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and the founding president of the National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Council, died peacefully in his sleep on July 26, 1998.

Born in Olympia, Washington, he graduated from the University of Washington and was a naval officer in the Pacific Fleet during World War II. The founder of Daedalus Press in Seattle, he retired as manager of the business forms department of Unisys. He led an active life of community service including church, scouting, Queen Anne Community Council, Seattle 2000 Commission and several environmental organizations. He was a member of Occidental Lodge 72, NW Rhododendron Species Foundation and the Washington Nature Conservancy.

He is survived by his wife Ruth; sons Kendall (Ginny Green) Hubbard of Whidbey Island and Brian (Linda) Hubbard of Richmond, California; daughter Penny (Mike) Ewing-Hubbard of Quilcene, WA; grand-

children Kira, Katrina, Jed and Raina. Memorials may be made to The National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Council, 1101 Officers Row, Vancouver, WA 98661, or your favorite conservation organization. The following is from Kendall Hubbard, Harry's oldest son.

As many of you know, Harry has been in a frail condition for the past year from his bone cancer. While working at the family's land on the Olympic Peninsula, he fell and sustained an injury that required stitches and hospitalization to control blood loss from his low platelet count. During hospitalization, Harry had a heart attack and left his body two days later. Interestingly, Harry had recently shared with my sister, Penny, a wish to pass on from a heart attack instead of facing the increasing pain from cancer.

With his pain control well managed these past many months, it has been a blessing that Harry was well enough to carry on with many of his projects. Among them, he planted his small garden of vegetables and flowers and traveled to his grandson's tenth birthday. Though received in absentia, he was greatly moved by the recognition and good wishes received from The National Lewis & Clark Bicentennial Council and the Trail Heritage Foundation.

Harry was still going non-stop in July when his family gathered for our annual summer get together.

What a great sense of timing he had that we were all here to be at his side.

If you wish to communicate with his family, the mailing address is: 1416 11th West, Seattle, WA 98119.

WPO DISPLAY ADS

Display advertising must pertain to Lewis and Clark and/or North American history such as books, art or related items for sale, and conferences, workshops or other meetings.

Black and white camera ready advertising only.

Rates are:
- full page-$500; half page-$250; one-third page-$167; one quarter page-$125; one column inch-$16.67.

Deadline for ads is six weeks before the publication month of the scheduled quarterly issue, e.g., March 15 for the May issue.

Please send ads to: Editor, We Proceeded On, 1203 28th Street South, #82, Great Falls, MT 59405.

Ads will be limited to offering sales of services or material related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

COMMEMORATIVE STAMPS TO BE ISSUED

If you are a Lewis and Clark buff or a stamp collector or better yet, both, you will want to have the following address available to check on commemorative issues during the years of the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Louisiana Purchase stamps will be issued in 2003. Lewis and Clark Expedition stamps will be issued during the years 2004-06. For information write to:

Citizens Stamp Advisory Committee
c/o Stamp Development
U.S. Postal Service
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Room 4474 E
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Classified rates in WPO are 50 cents per word for foundation members; 75 cents per word for non-members; $10.00 minimum. The address, city, state and zip count as one word. Payment must accompany all ads.

Deadline for ads is six weeks before the publication month of the scheduled quarterly issue, e.g. March 15 for the May issue.

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NOVEMBER 1998

WE PROCEEDED ON 27
Any readers of WPO are quite familiar by now with the cache of William Clark letters that emerged from a Louisville, Kentucky, attic in 1988. This group of forty-seven letters was unknown before being discovered by descendants of William's brother Jonathan. The majority of the letters, forty-two, are written to Jonathan, an important brother/father-figure to William. Three are to his brother Edmund, and two to his nephew, Jonathan's oldest son John Hite Clark. The historical importance of the letters is significant. Covering the period 1792-1811 (the year of Jonathan's death), they chronicle William Clark's life, activities, opinions, and emotions. They truly do open up a window to his heart, revealing the man himself, and not simply the historical icon of famous explorer.

These letters now are part of the collection of The Filson Club Historical Society; a gift from the grandchildren of Temple Bodley, a Louisville attorney and historian, and great-grandson of Jonathan Clark. I have worked on the letters in recent years as time permitted, and although progress has been frustratingly slow, the project now is nearing its end. Various passages from the letters have appeared in print. In the article that I did on the letters in the November 1992 WPO, and an article Gary Moulton and I did in the July 1991 Filson Club History Quarterly concerning the five expedition letters, readers got a good sense of the extraordinary content of these letters. Quotes from the letters have subsequently appeared in books by Stephen Ambrose and Dayton Duncan, and Ken Burns's Lewis and Clark film.

As a preview for the edition of the letters, it is The Filson Club's and my pleasure to offer Lewis and Clark enthusiasts a "sneak peek," so to speak, of a complete letter with amplification notes. I will not attempt to state editorial policy here. I think additions by me will be evident to the reader. The letter itself has not been changed. It is just as William Clark wrote it almost one hundred and ninety years ago, gloriously creative spelling and all. Some of the amplification notes printed here will differ somewhat from those that will appear in the book edition in order to identify people that will have been identified previously in the book. I hope you enjoy this sample letter from "Dear Brother": Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark.

St. Louis 31st Jan'y. 1811

Dear Brother

We have not had the pleasure of hearing from you for a long time, indeed I fear our friends are beginning to forget us as they do not write—we are Striving to get along as well as we Can, and as Clear of desputes or Brocks as possible, which is a difficult matter. I believe I told you a Duell took place in which I acted as Second—in this affair [\(^3\) fires] the man whom I was acting for wounded his advosary every Shot, which was Close Shooting for a young hand—a report got into Circulation that I had gave private Signals which I gave to enable the Gentleman to get the first Shot. This report has vexed me a little, and [\[\]] Caled [on] the opposit Sides for a Certificate which is in the paper inclosed, and Shall bring forward the man whom gave [\[\]] the report. [\(^4\)]

This business originated with Liet. Campbell whom has been in the opinion of maney about this place much injured. He is now arrested and all must Come out. His friends in Town I believe are powerfull, those in Camp I am told Confined to his Capt. Owens [\(^5\)]—Such proceedings has not been common.

Campbell is full of fight but Cant get a fight—he Says he wished you were Convenient that he might take your advice[\(^7\)]—I have paid $1000 to Wards the Bond given Manuel Liza, [\(^8\)] Settld my public ac-
and Julia express dismay and receive letters from their family and theme in William's letters. Both he friends to the eastward, and they periodically returned to evidently really did fear that they may duct had been made against him. Kentucky and Virginia for visits. William makes no mention of a temptible fellow. If this is what which charges of improper had been involved in a duel in it. Therefore, he either is mistaken in thinking he had mentioned the duel to Jonathan, or there is a gap in the letters. The latter certainly is a possibility. I believe it very likely that there are missing letters in this series of correspondence.

4. The duel was between Dr. Bernard G. Farrar and James Graham and occurred in the closing days of December 1810 on the east side of the Mississippi. Graham was an attorney who had settled in St. Louis from the Pittsburgh area in April 1810. Lt. John Campbell took offense at something Graham said about him, and sent him a challenge by William Clark. Graham refused, saying Campbell's behavior was such that he did not deserve an affair of honor. Dr. Farrar consequently believed his honor had been insulted by Graham's refusal, and sent him a challenge by William Clark. Lt. Col. Daniel Bissell of the U.S. First Infantry acted as Graham's second. The standard distance of ten paces (approximately sixty feet) with pistols was observed, but the matter was deadly serious because multiple fires occurred. Three fires took place as William reported, and Graham was indeed hit with each one—the side, through both legs, and the right hand. Farrar was wounded in the second fire in the buttocks. Graham lost so much blood that William and Bissell agreed to stop the proceedings until Graham was ready to take the field again if Farrar should request it. It initially was believed that Graham would recover, but he died of his wounds. The 2 January 1811 edition of the Louisiana Gazette (formerly the Missouri Gazette) mentioned the duel, but refused to report the particulars of the "barbarous custom, hooted at by civilized society." The 31 January edition that William refers to carried a statement by Graham declaring that the entire duel was conducted in a fair and honorable manner, and any charges directed toward Farrar and Clark to the contrary were malicious and false. (L. Ruth Colter-Frick, Courageous Colter and Companions, (Washington, Mo.:Video Proof, 1997), 472-75; Louisiana Gazette, 2, 31 January 1811)

5. John Campbell was a native of Virginia. He was commissioned an ensign in the First U.S. Infantry, June 1808, and rose to the rank of captain, May 1814. He was honorably discharged in June 1815. He was a second lieutenant at this time, apparently stationed at Belle Fontaine. He may be the John Campbell who served as Benjamin Howard's brigade major during the War of 1812, and was involved in the Parairie du Chien campaign in which he reportedly was severely wounded. Scharf states that he married Polly Nichols in St. Louis in 1810. If this is correct he would have entered William's extended family through the Christys, if I am correct in surmising that Polly Nichols was Matilda Nicholas Christy. This is doubtful, however, because Christy would have been twelve in 1810, and family records list her marrying for the first time David V. Walker in 1816. Regardless of his possible Christy connection, he still was an associate of William's. He was not the Capt. John Campbell of the Second Infantry, from whose company at South West Point, Tennessee, some of the members of the expedition were drawn. What he had done following the duel to result in being jailed is unknown. William implies that it is due to his role in the duel, but it would seem that if that was the case, others involved also would have been jailed. (Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 2 vols., (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1903), 1:278; Meriwether Lewis Clark, Clark Family Genealogy manuscript, The Filson Club Historical Society, Louisville, Ky. (hereafter cited as TFC); John Thomas Scharf, History of Saint Louis City and County, 2 vols., (Philadelphia: Louis H. Everts & Co., 1883), 1:315n)
6. Capt. Simon Owens. A native of Virginia, he was serving in the First Infantry at the time. He had arrived at Cantonment Belle Fontaine (the army camp north of St. Louis at the mouth of the Missouri) in the spring of 1810 with some 120 soldiers (possibly including Lt. Campbell). He was dismissed from the army in October 1814. (Heitman, 1:764; Louisiana Gazette, 24 May 1810)

7. A wonderful statement re: Jonathan’s apparent wisdom and good advice. Campbell either knew Jonathan or had heard about his wise counsel through William. His reputation extended from Virginia to St. Louis, the breadth of the then settled United States!

8. Manuel Lisa (1772-1820) was a native of New Orleans and of Spanish descent. He had settled in St. Louis about 1790 and became well established in the fur trade. When the U.S. took possession of Louisiana Territory, he transferred his allegiance to it and continued as one of the leaders in the fur trade. Lisa was one of the earliest traders to follow the trail the Corps of Discovery had blazed up the Missouri beyond the Mandan and begin exploiting the rich fur country of the Rocky Mountains. He, along with William and others, were founders of the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, and his and William’s paths crossed often in personal and official business. From 1807 to his death he made twelve or thirteen trips up the Missouri, totaling some 26,000 miles. He was married three times (having a white wife and an Indian wife simultaneously) and died in St. Louis. He is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery. The question of whether Manuel Lisa is also the Mr. Manuel that William refers to in this and previous letters has not indisputably been settled, but I believe they are one and the same. It seems unusual for William to refer to Lisa by his first name, yet some of the references seem to indicate that that is what he is doing. Perhaps William was confused concerning Lisa’s name and mistakenly used his Christian name thinking it was his surname or did so because others did. John Luttig in his 1812 journal refers to Lisa as both Lisa and Mr. Manuel. Lisa did come east on business, including St. Louis, buying from merchants Edmund and John H. Clark and Dennis Fitzhugh. He owned a store in Vincennes, Indiana Territory, previous to settling in St. Louis, and since he consequently lived there a part of each year it is quite likely that William knew him from business trips to that place. But despite the relationship it would be unusual for William to refer to him simply as Manuel, unless it was done due to custom. There is a possibility, but I think it unlikely, that the Mr. Manuel mentioned could be Philip Manuel of Lexington or another merchant in the area with that surname. (Dictionary of American Biography, 11:291; John C. Luttig, Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813, Stella M. Drumm, ed., (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1920), 116; Richard E. Oglesby, Manuel Lisa and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 9-13)

9. E. & J. H. Clark was the mercantile firm of Edmund and John Hite Clark. Edmund (1762-1815) was one of William’s older brothers. He served as an officer in several Virginia regiments during the American Revolution and, like brother Jonathan, was taken prisoner by the British at Charleston, South Carolina, in May 1780. After the war he operated a store and mill in Virginia. He returned to the army for several years in the late 1790s as a captain in the 7th US Infantry when war with France threatened. He moved to Kentucky with Jonathan and his family in 1802. Except for a brief residence in western Kentucky, he lived in Louisville and on the Clark plantation “Mulberry Hill,” about three miles southeast of Louisville. He was a merchant and mill operator, and served as a trustee and clerk of Louisville. He is credited with preserving Louisville’s early records. Like brother George Rogers Clark, he never married. John Hite Clark (1785-1820) was the oldest son of Jonathan Clark and thus William and Edmund’s nephew. He was engaged in the mercantile business in Louisville, and from 1809 until Edmund’s death in 1815 was in partnership with his uncle in the firm of Edmund and John H. Clark. William himself was very interested in opening a store in St. Louis, seeing a lucrative market after permanently settling there in 1808. He frequently proposed joining with Edmund and John in such an enterprise, but they declined to do so. Although William was thwarted in this attempt, he did operate a store in some capacity, especially re: his services as Indian agent and as a partner in the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company. (John Frederick Dormian III, “Descendants of General Jonathan Clark, Jefferson County, Kentucky, 1750-1811,” The Filson Club History Quarterly, vol. 23 (January 1949), 26-27; Francis B. Heitman, Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army during the War of the Revolution, (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1967, reprint), 156; John H. Gwathmey, Historical Register of Virginians in the Revolution, (Richmond: The Dietz Press, 1938), 153; Jonathan Clark Papers, Draper Manuscripts, Series L, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisc.; John Hite Clark Papers, TFC; Edmund and John H. Clark Papers, TFC;
William Clark to Jonathan Clark, no date (ca. March 1811), Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodley Collection; Luttig, 11-14:

10. Julia Hancock Clark (1791-1820) was the daughter of George and Margaret Strother Hancock. Born and raised in Fincastle, Botetourt Co., Va., she was christened Judith, but apparently preferred Julia and went by that name (although her father called her Judith). She knew William before the expedition, and in May 1805 he named a river in present Montana for her. After the expedition William courted her and they were engaged in early 1807. They married in January 1808 and in June 1808 settled in St. Louis. They had five children. She was in poor health by 1820, and while on a visit home to Virginia she died at her parents' Montgomery Co. estate “Fotheringay,” on 27 June 1820. She was buried in the family vault there. (Christy Hawes Bond, Gateway Families, Alicia Crane Williams, ed., (Concord, Mass.: Christy H. Bond, 1994), 178, 189-90, 242-43.

11. Sister is Jonathan’s wife Sarah Hite Clark (1760-1818). William consistently refers to her as “Sister” or “Sister Clark.” Julia sometimes refers to her as her “Kentucky mother.” Nany is their daughter Ann Clark (1792-1833). She was about the same age as Julia and they quickly established a liking for each other. William specifies various family members to be remembered to in his letters, usually children of Jonathan and Sarah Hite Clark, with Sarah and often Ann Clark being constants. (Dorman, 29)

Foundation Elects Two New Board Members

At the annual foundation meeting in Great Falls, the membership elected Beverly Hinds and Larry Epstein to the board.

Beverly Hinds and Jim Peterson, immediate past president of the foundation, exchange comments.

Larry Epstein still looking like an enthusiastic boy scout at the foundation’s annual meeting.

Werner since 1977 and has been Glacier County attorney since 1993. A navy veteran, he served as clerk of the Montana Supreme Court in 1976-77. He is one of the Boy Scouts who located the Two Medicine fight site in the 1960s. His home life is built around his wife and one cat. He served on the board of directors of the University of Montana Alumni Association and remains active in Boy Scouts having served as a scout master for 14 years and as president of the Boy Scouts council. He currently serves on the Western U.S. Region Board for Boy Scouts and is a member of the Glacier County Historical Society.
In an informal poll in the Great Falls (MT) Tribune, the response was 15 to 1 in favor of the recommendation to put Sacagawea on the face of the new dollar coin. One negative responder said, "...to pick Sacajewea, I think, is a great disservice to the rest of the women in the United States.”

Nez Perce invited to commemorate Lewis and Clark

The mayor of Vancouver, Washington, has asked the Nez Perce Tribe to support plans for a Lewis and Clark commemoration that will include the Indian point of view. They were asked to participate in creating a cultural center in connection with the bicentennial of the expedition. The center is planned for the Vancouver Historic Reserve.

Nez Perce Tribal members visited Vancouver in the spring of 1998 for a ceremony honoring the 33 members of Chief Red Heart's band of Nez Perce who were held prisoners at Fort Vancouver in 1877-88.

Tribune Expert says Lewis and Clark campsite verified near Great Falls

On September 8th, archaeologist Ken Karsmizki announced that researchers have scientifically verified the first Lewis and Clark campsite. A week later he held a formal press conference and identified the 1805 Lower Portage Camp, where he has been searching for clues for 12 years, as the first of the 600 expedition campsites to be officially identified. It is a pioneering discovery that has excited the nation's scientific community and elated fans of the expedition.

A "growing body of evidence," including two key finds this summer, spurred him to proclaim that he has scientifically verified the location.

The systematic research led to finding three campfires "built in regimented style" in a straight line with firepits evenly spaced 50 feet apart. They were unlike fires used by Indian tribes, Karsmizki said, and there were no major military-style expeditions that far up the Missouri until 1832. The team also found artifacts ranging from a flamed gun flint and hatchet-notched bison vertebrae to hundreds of bone fragments, a sharpened wooden stake and an iron push pin. All can be dated by two scientific tests to the approximate time the Corps of Discovery was in the area, and all were found four to seven inches below ground.

"The discovery of a Lewis and Clark campsite allows us to move from imagination to reality and makes the expedition more tangible than it has ever been before," he said. "It is the discovery of a lost record that, properly interpreted, will reveal much about the expedition that was left undocumented in the Lewis and Clark journals."

Karsmizki said he will submit and defend a paper on his discovery to the Society of Historical Architects next year in Utah.

In a related Tribune article, dated July 12, 1998, the Society Daughters of the American Colonists dedicated a brass plaque marking the Lower Portage Camp as a historic site. The 5,000 pound red granite rock sits on a hill above the river bottomland site.

Darlene Fassler, a direct descendant of expedition member Patrick Gass, was there as was Mary Urquhart, the regent of the Montana Society Daughters of the American Colonists, who proposed to the national group that the site be declared a historic landmark. The land where the camp is located is at the junction of Belt (Portage) Creek and the Missouri River on the Urquhart ranch.

The society has designated many historical sites across the country, including Jamestown, VA. In order to qualify for historic recognition, a site must be "worthy of preserving for future generations" based on its historical and educational value.

"Those of you from the east know how special this place is," Lucretia Ottaway, national president of the SDAC, said. "It's so much closer to God than we are in the city."

Mary Urquhart plans to limit the number of visitors in order to preserve the site.

"We want to keep it in its original state - the way it was when Lewis and Clark were here," she said.

Hill forms caucus to promote Lewis and Clark bicentennial

First the news came from Jim Holmberg, curator of special collections at the Filson Club, that four more letters written by William Clark to his brother Jonathan had been donated to the Filson Club by Clark relatives.

Then came the stunning news that the original handwritten letter in which William tells Jonathan on October 28, 1809, that "I fear this report has too much truth, tho' hope it may have no foundation..."
fear! I fear the weight of his mind has overcome him."

Holmb erg said: "That pretty much says right there that he does indeed believe his best friend took his life. This is basically the only written evidence that we've been able to find in which William (Clark) comes out and says he believes it's suicide."

The only previous evidence was a typed copy of the letter which has been in circulation for some 70 years.

The Filson Club obtained an initial batch of Clark's papers in 1990, when six of Jonathan Clark's descendants gave 47 of William Clark's letters written between 1792 and 1811 to the club. Over the summer, the descendants donated the balance of the family papers - two steamer trunks fulls - to the club.

Lewis and Clark center details

Indian influence

USA Today travel reporter Gene Sloan notes that, "When it comes to epic journeys, the cross-country expedition of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark that began in 1804 is unmatched in U.S. history. Yet the explorers were far from the first to see the splendors of the West. There were, of course, thousands of Native Americans already there."

Writing about a tour of the new Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls, he says that this is the central theme of the center, with a Mandan lodge, a Shoshone tepee, a Nez Perce willow-frame fish trap, and other displays of the life and culture of the tribes Lewis and Clark encountered. Interpretive Center Director Jane Weber says the tribes are key to understanding the expedition from St. Louis to Astoria, Oregon, and back. She says that what was dubbed the "Corps of Discovery" didn't discover anything the Native Americans hadn't already known, and the explorers owed much to the Indian people. The Shoshone gave them horses; the Mandan and Hidatsa prepared them for their trip through Montana; the Nez Perce fed them.

A sidebar to the article lists and explains the other Lewis and Clark centers along the trail, but unfortunately leaves out the new Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in North Dakota.

A headline in the July 4, 1998 Great Falls Tribune reads, "Great Falls celebrates greatest Fourth of July since 1805." The Lewis and Clark "Week of Discovery" apparently made a real impression on the headline writer.

Traveling Trunk

In the president's message column of the Traveler's Rest Chapter newsletter, Nancy Maxson writes, "Our intrepid interpreters have had little rest this summer."

Chuck Sundstrom, George Knapp, Teri Health, Nancy Grewatrz, and a few other fools (including me) have been delivering about 2 trunk presentations a week all summer long. So far, about 12,000 people have seen one of our trunk presentations..."

Iron boat may be sunk under waves of grain

Ken Karsmizki is on the trail of the holy grail of Lewis and Clark artifacts, magnetometer in hand. So says reporter Kim Skornogoski in the Great Falls Tribune.

She reports Karsmizki thinks the explorer's iron boat is buried 10 feet down in a field near White Bear Island, on the southern fringes of Great Falls.

Mystery surrounds the boat. Designed by Lewis, it was the largest, most expensive and perhaps the most useless item brought on the expedition. It was dubbed "the big disappointment" after it sank because of the lack of pine pitch to hold it together.

He determined the age of the dirt on Harry Mitchell's farm where the search is being carried on, and later he took his magnetometer into the field to search for metal. He now thinks he knows the location of the explorers' campsite and from there hopes to find the boat.

If found on Mitchell's property, the State Antiquities Act states the boat would belong to him. Mitchell said he would make the boat and other artifacts found on his land available to the public. Either the boat would be kept whole at the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center or at the Museum of the Rockies (Bozeman), or in pieces at several Lewis and Clark museums along the route.

Mitchell is the recently retired president of the foundation's Portage Route Chapter in Great Falls.

National Geographic Magazine has backed Karsmizki's research with a $27,000 grant.

Lewis and Clark boosters want new centers at Pompeys Pillar, Illinois campsite

As the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark expedition approaches, enthusiasts plan to build new interpretive centers at Pompeys Pillar in Montana and at the expedition's first camp in Illinois to commemorate the journey and its influence on American history.

They hope the federal government will provide funding this year.

Many people rate Pompeys Pillar one of the most important artifacts associated with the expedition. It is where Clark etched his name in sandstone on July 25, 1806. The Illinois site is where the explorers stayed for five months before launching their expedition.

The Pompey's Pillar Association wants funds to build a 12,000 square feet visitor's center which will include...

(Update continued on page 34)
**Book Reviews**


A review by Martin Erickson

Little Coyote is described as "an epic novel about the Flathead Indians 1805 - 1891". If epic means long, then it sure is, but it is 857 pages of fascinating reading. I was given a review copy of the book at the Bicentennial Council meeting at Bismarck, North Dakota last spring, and it took me most of the summer to read it. It was worth it.

Charles Keim, the author, is a Montana native and a lifelong journalist and educator. He is Emeritus Professor of Journalism and English at the University of Alaska. Keim spent a dozen years researching and writing this novel about the Flathead Indians.

**UPDATE—Cont. from p. 33**

such basic amenities as a modern restroom. The Senate interior appropriations subcommittee has earmarked $2 million for the project. The bill has a long way to go before the money will materialize. The Illinois group already has $2.9 million allocated in state funds and is hoping for federal funds to build a center that will include audiovisual presentations, exhibits, documents, artifacts and an information area.

The Senate interior appropriations subcommittee also has provided $775,000 for maintenance and development along the trail.

Great Falls (MT) Tribune

**American Rivers kicks off plan to renew Missouri**

A new initiative to change management focus and revitalize the Missouri River from its Montana headwaters to St. Louis was launched in Great Falls on July 3rd by the national conservation group American Rivers.

Rebecca Wodder, the group's president, said the initiative will be locally driven and locally controlled.

"...Hopefully, the end result will be a healthier and more beautiful Missouri River."

Under the "Voyage of Recovery" project, which is tied to the 2004 bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the group and its supporters hope to convince the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to alter its water management policies. This would be accomplished in part by giving greater attention to recreation, fish and wildlife concerns by controlling Missouri River flows on a more natural basis. Along with some thirty other conservation groups, civic organizations and sports clubs, American Rivers is advocating that communities along the corridor pump new life into their waterfronts by creating more public access, more parks, more trails and byways, and more nature preserves. Another aspect of the five-year recovery program, according to Wodder and Stephen Ambrose, an American Rivers board member and nationally recognized author and historian, is to work with agricultural producers and management agencies to reduce impacts on cottonwood trees. They are often damaged or destroyed by grazing cattle and are disappearing because of a lack of life-giving floods.

"In many cases, ranchers are some of our best allies" when trying to fix problems in riparian areas, Wodder said.

The project has been endorsed by the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council. Another shot in the arm is $8 million that has been approved by Congress for mitigation projects in the Missouri Basin.

A companion bill, which envisions $50 million in federal funding for restoring some of the river's channels to a more natural state, is also being considered by lawmakers, Wodder said.

Great Falls (MT) Tribune

In his youth, Little Coyote began a long life as seer-medicine man-warrior for the Flathead tribe. The tribe lived in what is now the Bitterroot Valley in western Montana, south of Missoula. Those who attended the 1994 foundation annual meeting in Missoula know the beauty of the Flathead tribe's homeland.

Shortly after Little Coyote becomes a seer-medicine man, Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery come through the valley. The first white men the tribe had ever seen made a lasting impression on them. A Salish-Kootenai (as the Flatheads and other tribes on the reservation are now known) speaker at a luncheon during the 1994 foundation annual meeting commented that tribal leaders gave Lewis and Clark robes to warm them because they thought their white skin meant they were cold.

In his vision quest in 1804, Little Coyote saw the...
coming of the white men and was told never to fight them. Instead the tribe helped them, listened to them and defended them. In turn the whites were treacherous, exploited them, neglected them, took their freedom from them and finally drove them from their home valley to a reservation to the north.

Lewis and Clark and their men are a continuous thread throughout the book. Their influence was strong on the Flatheads during the expedition and the years following when John Colter, George Drouilllard and others returned as trappers and mountain men. The Black Robes, Fathers Pierre De Smet and Anthony Ravalli and others are also a prominent part of the tribe’s history as are the traders, Indian agents and politicians.

Both the heights of glory and the depths of despair of the Flatheads come through in this book as the narrative ranges from Astoria, Oregon, to Washington, D.C., and brings to life the 86 years of transition of the tribe from free roaming hunter-warriors to pathetic shells of their former selves as transplanted tillers of the soil.

The Flatheads had contact with many other tribes from the Nez Perce on the west to the Mandans on the east. They traded with them, hunted buffalo with them, and some of the tribes fought the Blackfeet with them. The Shoshoni and the Crows were their allies as were the Kutenai, Colville and Spokane.

The Flatheads are portrayed at their barbaric worst and their humanitarian best. Charles Keim does an outstanding job of showing the reader the many sides of both the Flatheads (and other tribes) and the whites in their interaction with the Indians. Keim has taken the historical record and filled in the blanks.

I would not hesitate to recommend Little Coyote to anyone who has the slightest interest in learning as Paul Harvey says, “the rest of the story”.


Book Review by Dr. Jack DeForest

President Thomas Jefferson ordered the 1804-06 Lewis and Clark “Corps of Discovery” expedition from St. Louis up the Missouri River, over the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific Ocean after his 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Given the travel time and distance, available technology, food availability, disease encounters and climate exposure, this was the most impressive exploration activity in U.S. history.

The author and the artist in this attractive small book produced a well-written succinct text and excellent illustrations concentrated on an important native woman (with a baby son) who was not recognized accurately for decades. Yes, she was one of the 33 Corps members who left Fort Mandan (in North Dakota) on April 7, 1805—entering a region never before explored by Americans.

Sacajawea (the spelling preferred by her current Lemhi Shoshone culture) was a 16 year old mother married to the French interpreter Charbonneau, hired by Lewis and Clark, who developed interest in his Indian wife. She had been captured by another tribe when 11 years old and after a vigorous life on the expedition gave birth to a daughter and later died at 25 on December 20, 1812, from a fever disease. Her two children were later cared for by Captain Clark.

This book concentrates on one aspect of this historic event—now approaching its bicentennial—with a study guide for understanding her valuable expedition service. She provided Lewis and Clark with needed regional geographic information and communication for securing food and horses from encountered tribes, did much work on harvesting food plants in various ecosystems, personally saved important journal papers after a river boat accident and provided a native Indian presence in the Corps that conveyed a peace message to Indian warriors that might have attacked if only soldiers were visible.

The author’s discussion is based on his careful review of six volumes of the new journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (University of Nebraska Press) edited by Gary E. Moulton. In three brief segments of each dated journal report of Sacajawea’s work there are comments on the quoted entry and notes about expedition activity, with each issue revealed in different printing. The preface stated goal that he wanted to provide “a complete, clear picture of Sacajawea and her contribution to American history” is achieved. While the book lacks a bibliography on the subject, its use of the Lewis and Clark journal entries will be of interest to many readers.

About the author...

Dr. Jack DeForest is an environmental economist and a member of the foundation.

COATS—Cont. from p. 8

Dr. Jack DeForest is an environmental economist and a member of the foundation.
Your Foundation Officers Are...

New foundation officers for 1998-1999 are, left to right: Ludd Trozpek, secretary; Jerry Garrett, treasurer; Cynthia Orlando, president-elect; David Borlaug, president, and Barbara Kubik, vice president.

About your new officers

Ludd, an astronaut and rare book dealer, is serving his second term as secretary. He is retired from a career in the field of inertial navigation and recently retired as a major in the army reserve. He is a commercial pilot with an instrument rating. As chair of the Ad Hoc Website Committee, he developed the official website for the foundation. Ludd lives in Claremont, California.

Jerry, serving his second term as treasurer, is also treasurer for the National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council. He is a native Missourian who lives in St. Louis. Jerry is a CPA, a member of the adjunct faculty of the Washington University School of Medicine, and a past president of the Metro St. Louis Chapter. He has hiked the Grand Canyon twice.

Cindy Orlando is a 28-year veteran of the National Park Service and has been superintendent of Fort Clatsop National Memorial since 1990. She has a degree in anthropology and archaeology and serves on the Oregon Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Board. Cindy lives with her family in Astoria and has been a board member for five years.

David Borlaug was born and raised in North Dakota and lives with his family in Washburn, home of Fort Mandan. He is group manager for Lee Agri-Media, publisher of farm newspapers in Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska and Wisconsin. David is chairman of the North Dakota Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Foundation and the Governor's Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Advisory Committee. He also serves on the board of directors of the National Bicentennial Council.

Barb Kubik, former interim executive director of the foundation, works as a contract historian for USA Weekend Today and the Washington State Historical Society. She is a member of the Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee and a past contributor to We Proceeded On. Barb is the foundation's Education Committee chair and driving force behind our soon-to-be-published curriculum guide for middle school students. Barb is a recipient of the foundation's 1998 Distinguished Service Award. She lives with her family in Kennewick, Washington.

COATS—Cont. from p. 35

"Purveyor of Public Supplies to the Secretary of War, Box No.11, Hodgdon and Pickering Papers, RG94, Records of the Office of the Adjutant General, USNA.
"Whelen to Dearborn, 9 June 1801: ff 180, Letters sent by the Office of the Purveyor of Public Supplies, 24 May 1800-29 July 1802, Entry 380, RG 45, Records of the United States Navy, USNA.
"Coxe to the Secretary of War, Sept. 19, 1803: ff 195-196, Letterbook of the Purveyor of Public Supplies, 2 August 1802-30 December 1803, Item 15, Vol.29, Entry 2117, RG 92, USNA.

"Lewis and Clark Orderly Book, from The William Clark Papers, Box 3, Folder 9, Missouri Historical Society, a bound notebook with covers, kept by Captains Lewis and Clark and Sergeant Ordway between 1804-1806, April 1, 1804, page 4.

Proceded on
Montana Chorale CD Honors Corps of Discovery

"Voices of Discovery," a compact disc of music from the Jeffersonian era, has been released by the Montana Chorale, a professional chamber choir of adult Montana singers. The release coincides with the recent celebration of the opening of the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls. The music, from the Colonial and Revolutionary periods of the United States, is a blend of patriotic, humorous, and spiritual songs of the period. After several months of research, the songs and ballads were chosen by Chorale Artistic Director Dr. Kenyard Smith of Great Falls.

Music on the CD includes "The Riddle Song," "The Girl I Left Behind Me," "Yankee Doodle," "British Grenadiers" and an original poem, "The Journey of Lewis and Clark." The poem, written especially for the chorale and the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center festivities, is by Elizabeth Cain, writer, and musician from Lincoln, Montana. The poem is set for three solo voices: the men of the expedition, Sacagawea and Mother Earth.

Music was important in colonial settlements and is mentioned 30 times in the Lewis and Clark Journals. Jefferson liked music and knew the tunes and dances that were popular. "Music was an activity reserved for men, particularly singing, which was loud. Loud was considered good, and loudest was best," according to Ann Cogswell. Popular songs of the period were the result of the cultures brought to the new world.

For more information: Montana Chorale, Box 6083, Great Falls, MT 59406 or call (406) 452-8355.

The Grand Canyon Chapter on the Trail

Although the Grand Canyon Chapter in Arizona is admittedly "miles off the trail," its members' interest in the Lewis and Clark expedition whets their appetites for knowledge of other explorations. For their April 19th spring meeting, 25 members of the chapter journeyed to southern Arizona for a talk by Don Garate of the U.S. Park Service on two Spanish expeditions, one in 1774 followed by another in 1775. The expeditions, led by Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, were for the purpose of establishing an overland route from Sonora (which includes today's northwestern Mexico and Arizona) to Alta (Upper) California, and securing a major Spanish presence in the area as a response to English and Russian influence.

De Anza, a captain of the Royal Presidio at Tubac, Sonora (now in southern Arizona), privately financed the first and relatively small expedition to determine the route of the trail, chartering watering holes, and establishing contacts with local native tribes. The following year, the Viceroy of New Spain authorized the second expedition which set out on October 23, 1775, its aim being to colonize the port of San Francisco and strengthen the mission system. This trek, involving 240 people with their supplies and livestock, arrived at the scattered missions in northern California in the spring of 1776, as a full scale colonial revolt was coming to a head on our Atlantic shores.

Although the route to northern California was closed by a revolt of the Yuma Indians in 1781, effectively denying the Spanish any further use of the trail during the Spanish colonial period, the trail would later serve the military, settlers, cattlemen, forty-niners and other desert travelers. The De Anza Trail is one of 12 national historical trails in the United States.

While in southern Arizona, the Grand Canyon Chapter also visited Tumacacori National Historical Park, site of one of the first missions in upper Spanish Sonora built in 1691, and near-by Tubac Presidio State Park, where a small Spanish garrison was established in 1752 to protect the colonists and missions.
WPO Feature Articles Editor Seeks Information

The editing and preparation of the feature articles from the past twenty-three years of WPO is in its final stages. Editor Bob Saindon is now seeking assistance in updating the biographies of the authors and preparing appropriate acknowledgments.

We are especially concerned that no appropriate acknowledgment is overlooked. If you know of any person, company, or institution that should be acknowledged for its contribution to WPO over the years or to this project specifically, we would like to hear from you. Please do not assume that your thoughts on this matter are too obvious.

At present there are about 170 articles written by 62 authors that have been edited and are being considered for the publication. Nearly half (81) of these articles were written by ten Foundation members who are now deceased.

The articles have been categorized and placed in chronological order with regard to the historical sequence of the subject matter (e.g., Before Lewis and Clark, Expedition Preparations, Along the Trail, Scientific Aspects, etc., etc.) Appropriate illustrations will be selected from those used in WPO, an extensive bibliography and index are also being prepared.

It is hoped that the final publication will be popular to the general reader as well as a unique source for scholars doing serious research on matters relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Authors wishing to make minor corrections in their articles can do so by photo copying the original from WPO and indicating the corrections. Please do not send rewritten manuscripts.

Foundation members providing requested information should contact Bob Saindon, 316 Benton Street, Wolf Point, MT 59201.

The following is a tentative list of authors whose articles are being considered for inclusion in the publication. If the living authors and friends or relatives of the deceased authors would kindly update biographical information it would be appreciated.

William Clark Adreon
John Logan Allen
Stephen Ambrose
Irving W. Anderson
Guy Benson
Michael J. Brodhead
Jo Ann Brown
Raymond D. Burroughs
Robert B. Betts
Louis Charbonneau
Roy M. Chatters
Eldon G. Chuinard
Roy Craft
Paul C. Cutright
Thomas W. Dunlay
Ruth Frick
Harry W. Fritz
James A. Gardner
Robert E. Gatten, Jr.
Larry Gill
Paul C. Graveline
Charles E. Hanson, Jr.
Jane Henley
Wilbur Hoffman
Bob Holcomb
Erik Holland
James J. Holmberg
Virginia C. Homgren
Howard Hovestol
Robert R. Hunt
Donald Jackson
Joseph D. Jeffery

If you are in the neighborhood of National Geographic's museum (Explorers Hall) you can examine artifacts of the Lewis and Clark expedition until November 27, 1998. And mark your calendars to watch the miniseries of Stephen Ambrose's bestseller Undaunted Courage—coming in the fall of 1999 from National Geographic Television.

Which way should we go? An alert foundation couple spotted this left-sign, right arrow confusion somewhere along the trail.
BICENTENNIAL COUNCIL
Cont. from p. 3

Workshop. This year’s theme is: “Proceeding on with our Partners.” The Workshop will be held April 21-24, 1999. For more information, contact the Council.

Third, the Council just returned from a successful event in Washington, D.C., where on October 1, 1998 in the Jefferson Room at the Library of Congress, we joined 13 federal agencies in a joint Memorandum of Understanding for activities and programs for the bicentennial of the expedition. The council co-hosted a congressional reception following the signing, and at the council’s invitation Stephen Ambrose briefed those present on the essential and critical challenges of preserving the legacies of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The 125 guests included members of the council and foundation’s board of directors, trial state senators and representatives, several federal agency directors, representatives from the Association of the U.S. Army, American Rivers, National Geographic, and the press.

In closing, the council notes with sadness the passing of founding president Harry Hubbard. In the words of his award conferred at the foundation’s annual meeting: “May we proceed in the steps of Mr. Hubbard’s dedication to the commemoration of the expedition...as a gift to future generations in their quest for knowledge, new frontiers and expanded understanding of our world.”

Finally, the council has an awards program: the Harry Hubbard Founder’s Award, dedicated to the memory of Mr. Hubbard’s leadership of the council, recognizes outstanding effort in promoting the commemoration of the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The Outstanding Service Award recognizes service to the council. Nomination forms are available in this issue of We Proceeded On, or may be obtained by contacting the council at either our street or “www” address. Deadline for receipt is January 15, 1999. Awards will be conferred at the council’s Fourth Annual National Planning Workshop.

EDITOR’S DESK
Cont. from p.3

we will run color when we have something colorful to run. Once again the Ambrose Fund is allowing us to do this.

The Week of Discovery in Great Falls at the end of June and early July was a total success. 498 people registered for the annual meeting of the foundation. 575 attended the foundation banquet. More would have attended, but that was the maximum seating in the Heritage Inn in Great Falls where the meeting was headquartered. Speaking of space available, I am going to try to squeeze some Week of Discovery photos in this issue if I can find the space, but I am more than full up so, as my friend Harold says, “either I will or I won’t”.

Those who attended the annual meeting found out in a hurry why Great Falls was selected as the site for the national headquarters. There are a number of doers in the Portage Route Chapter of the foundation. Doers, not talkers. People who think we can accomplish anything we choose to do abound in this Lewis and Clark chapter. They are a reflection of the community at large where, even as I write this, the Charlie Russell Museum board has raised about two-thirds of the $5.7 million needed to expand the western art museum. Those of you who attended the annual meeting visited the Russell Museum for a reception and tour and know what a fine example of community effort it is.

I say this because, just like Great Falls, our Lewis and Clark chapters in Philadelphia, Washington State, Minnesota, Idaho, St. Louis as well as our other Lewis and Clark chapters are on the road to making their communities and states aware of the vitality and importance of the expedition in the history of our country. They are utilizing and expanding the same teamwork that made the expedition such a success. Oh, almost forgot. The Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls reports over 63,000 paying visitors from when it opened in May until the end of August.

Is it a success or what?

Marty Emerson
Capt. William Clark / 2nd Novr. 1804 Friday

Capt. Lewis returned to the Village & I fixed on a place for to build a fort and Set to work