



Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation / www.lewisandclark.org

November 2010 Volume 36, No. 4

VIOLINS ACROSS THE WATER

MUSIC AND MUSICIANS IN TRANSIT

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Richard Prestholdt's lovely November image of the Columbia River. With grateful thanks to the photographer.

"The fog So thick this morning we did not think it prudent to Set out until it Cleared away..." November 3, 1805, William Clark.

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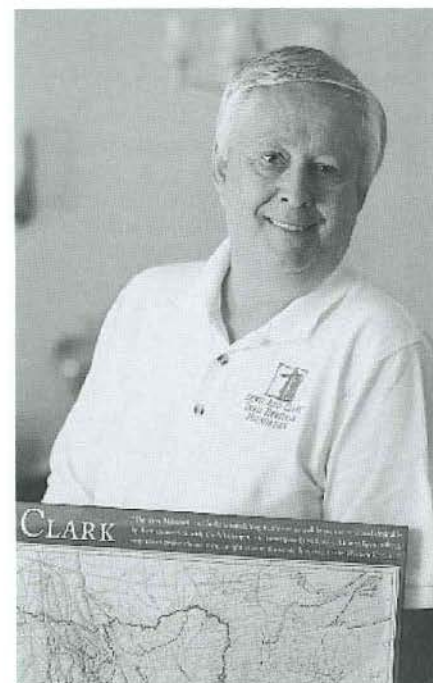
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Interim Editor

L. C. Carr
PO Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403
wpo@lewisandclark.org

Guest Editor

Dr. Jay Buckley, Department of History
Brigham Young University

Volunteer Proofreaders

Dr. H. Carl Camp and Mr. Jerry Garrett

Printed by Advanced Litho, Great Falls, MT

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President's Message

An 'Arduous Journey' With a Vital Goal

As the incoming President of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, I would like to welcome any new members who might be reading this letter and receiving WPO for the first time. I would also like to take this opportunity to thank all who attended our annual meeting in Lewiston and our wonderful hosts, the Idaho chapter and the Nee Me Poo Tribe.

While in Lewiston I visited the campus of the local state Lewis and Clark college, where my friend Carol Grende's statue of Sacajawea (sic) called Arduous Journey greets visitors to her namesake Hall. It is a lovely statue and quite authentically landscaped with the beautiful flowers and plants she would have recognized. I mention it because I think the statue's title aptly describes what the Foundation has been going through the past several years. We have experienced our own Arduous Journey since the end of the Bicentennial. Now it seems we as a Foundation have arrived at our own decision point, and like the Corps at that crucial juncture we need to study the situation and move forward. As a lifelong canoeist I think the most important thing a paddler needs to understand is that to hesitate can be harmful, and it is better to paddle harder when you are about to hit a rapid. Forward momentum is necessary to keep from swamping your boat. As the next in line for leadership I ask you to trust the Board and me just as the men did their Captains when it came to

choosing which fork was the true Missouri River. Our choice is to recommit to the Trail for another generation: to teach it, to protect it, to value it just as much, if not more than before the Commemoration. Like the Corps, we need to utilize the creativity of each and every member to reach this goal. We need to make the most of the connections forged by Bryant Boswell and to take advantage of the opportunity to work with knowledgeable and highly qualified advisors who recognize the passion of our membership and want to help us develop several new and exciting partnerships in the very near future.

As I travel the Trail and meet the people who tell the story of Lewis and Clark at the historical sites, interpretive centers and museums along the way I am continually amazed by the "spirit" of those who discover walking in the footsteps of Lewis and Clark is a lifelong pleasure. History is not dead. You and your family have the ability to time travel, to learn together, to experience nature together and to realize that Legacy implies more than a gift from the past, it conveys a duty for us to pass it on, 'unimpaired for future generations'.

I pledge to do my best as your President and I implore you to help make the Foundation the best, most up to date, most authoritative, most inventive resource it can be. We might not be facing the snowy peaks of the Bitterroot Mountains or the boiling cauldron of the Falls of the Columbia River but we are confronted with significant

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Input from Lewiston

This summer, Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail staff kicked off their Comprehensive Management Planning process in Lewiston Idaho at the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation Annual meeting. WOW! The Annual meeting was great event and a wonderful place to start our planning process. I really appreciated the willingness of the Foundation to allow us the opportunity to start this process at their meeting. In many ways, I see our comprehensive planning process as a chance to strengthen and develop new partnerships. Starting this process on the Nez Perce Reservation with the Foundation as our first host was really fitting. In the past two months we have held 14 public listening sessions along the trail and received hundreds of other comments through the mail, by phone and e-mail.

These meetings were tremendously helpful and informative. One of the most interesting was an extra meeting called by a Morton County Commissioner, in North Dakota. The major concern and fear was that Trail would impinge on private property rights. We had a positive and far ranging discussion that really helped me understand people's concerns and helped them understand they had to reason to fear that their property would be taken from them for the National Historic Trail.

The other meetings were also very positive, but focused much more on resource protection and ways that all the various individuals and groups along trail can ex-

perience the trail work together.

Here are a few of the comments we have received, that provide a sample of what we have heard so far.

"The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is best experienced... primitively. Experiencing it as little brown signs along the highway at 60 mph is not experiencing the trail at all.... An emphasis should be placed on connectivity, making it possible for modern day adventurers to retrace the trail by floating, walking, or riding, with convenient campsites along the way."

"The Trail is a big part of our local history here in Jefferson City and Mid-Missouri.... Twenty years from now we hope people will still be interested in learning about Lewis and Clark and much their journey affected our lives today and in the future."

"Is it not ironic that 200 years ago the American Indian endeavored to protect their land from Eastern intrusion...and now we are trying to protect these same land areas from "growth" by the "establishment"? Your CMP for the next 15-20 years is too narrow.... plan ahead 40 years minimum."

"I hope we [will] steward the trail and the story for many generations to come, with protected view sheds, peaceful trails in woods/meadows, clean water to canoe, raft and fish..... as well as creative discourse with all kinds of scholars."

"During the Bicentennial Commemoration a successful effort was undertaken to provide Native American's a venue to explain their history and perspectives regarding the expedition in their own words. This type of effort must be continued and increased if we are to

understand the full history and consequences of the expedition."

"At each stop [along the trail] I would like to see a map of the entire trail and a marker for the stop. I would like a written quotation about the stop from the Journal and directions to other sites."

"[The NPS should] support groups that provide maintenance volunteers; provide additional interpretative signs along the Trail."

"I would like a comprehensive website that would enable someone to check out any location...a clearinghouse of info on exhibits and events along the trail so one could plan a trip."

"I would like it if the NPS could continue and increase their work as coordinator and facilitator of all the groups and people that care so deeply about the trail and its history."

While these comments represent only a small sample of those received, they provide great insights and suggestions for us as we continue our planning process. Once our public scoping process closes out we will take some time this fall to review and fully analyze all the comments. Once this is done we will publish a newsletter that provides a summary of what we have learned and then begin the process of developing alternatives for future actions.

- Mark Weekley
Superintendent

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail
National Park Service, Omaha NE

<http://parkplanning.nps.gov/lecl>
<http://www.nps.gov/lecl/parknews/newspaper.htm>

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc.

P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403
406-454-1234 / 1-888-701-3434
Fax: 406-771-9237
www.lewisandclark.org

The mission of the LCTHF is:
As Keepers of the Story ~ Stewards of the
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Heritage Foundation, Inc. provides
national leadership in maintaining the
integrity of the Trail and its story through
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Letters

Masons in Maury County

Minutes of the Maury County, Tennessee County Court provide answers to two questions related to Meriwether Lewis's death. In 1905, the Court adopted a resolution in response to an effort of an Oregon group to move Lewis's body from Tennessee.

The minutes reflect that Masons primarily from Maury County conducted Masonic rites for Lewis and took charge of burying his bones in 1848. Lewis's grave had been opened by a state commission charged with erecting a monument over the grave. The commission wanted to make certain it had made proper identification of Lewis's remains. The minutes refer to the service as a "funeral" but they do not mention the presence of anyone other than the Masons. Presumably members of the state commission discharged their duties by witnessing the burial of the body.

During preparations for last year's commemoration of Lewis's life, a search was made for information as to whether a

WPO welcomes letters. We may edit them for length, accuracy, clarity and civility. Send them to us c/o Editor, WPO, P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403 (e-mail wpo@lewisandclark.org).

memorial service had ever been conducted for Lewis. It was clear he had never been honored with a public memorial service that was national in scope; however, no one could provide any information as to whether a funeral of any type had been conducted for the explorer.

The second significant question relates to an inquest. The minutes state that an inquest had been held "over the body" of Meriwether Lewis in Maury County at the time of Lewis's death. Tennessee law in 1809 provided that an inquest was to be held in the view of the body of a person who died under suspicious circumstances. The local Justice of the Peace was to convene a jury of seven men to view the body, interview witnesses and make a determination of whether to refer the matter to the county coroner.

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A Letter From Our Retiring Editor:

Time and again my family has been moved by the kindness, sincerity and generosity of members of this Foundation. Yet I was absolutely stunned to receive a gift from those who attended the annual meeting in Idaho in the form of an education fund for our children. I have pondered for weeks how to properly express my gratitude, and since I do not know all who contributed to the fund, I have not found a way that satisfies me. I can only hope that each person who contributed will read this letter and know how deeply appreciative I am. One day our children will know who started their education funds, and I hope they will share your love of history and commitment to preserving the great legacies of this country.

*Wendy Raney
Cascade, Montana.*

Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail Completion

The National Park Service Special Resources Study Team has mailed you a new letter dedicated to the Eastern Legacy Study. This Congressional mandated study is gathering public opinion concerning the Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT) extension east of the Mississippi River. In addition to reviewing the newsletter responses, the study team will be hosting public hearings in communities along the Eastern corridor of travel use by the Lewis & Clark expedition. It is extremely important that each member of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and our friends provide comments concerning this great opportunity. Of course, I hope you will provide a positive statement supporting the action but more importantly, I urge you to make your feelings known, pro or con, to the team of National Park professionals. As part of the report, your comments will be sent to Congress, as the public law authorizing the study required. This is your opportunity to express your opinion on a subject that will be beneficial to the entire Nation.

No doubt most of you have read previous position papers that I have written on the subject during the past nine years but a reminder of the salient points never hurts.

1) A completed sea to sea trail will tell the full story, including the pre-exploration phase of planning, provisioning and staffing for the expedition. The post exploration phase will explain discoveries made during the epic journey as they were reported to President

Thomas Jefferson and the Nation. Other historical events in our Nation's history are interpreted through the cause-event-effect on our history and the same should be done with the Lewis & Clark story.

2) The educational benefits, especially east of the Mississippi River, will be greatly improved in the class room or out-of-doors settings. There is nothing like the NPS-LCNHT "Two Captains Pointing the Way" Signs to attract the attention of children and adults. This should be another resource for teachers in the east, just as it has been in the west for many years. All tools should be made available to enlighten and motivate students of all ages about their history and legacy. Scholars during the past 20 years have found new primary source documents and collections that shed new light on the full story of the Lewis & Clark expedition. It is now time to complete the LCNHT so that everyone can learn the lessons of perseverance, determination, shared responsibility, and respect for their fellowman of all cultures as experienced during the expedition.

3) Tourism will be enhanced because of those same "Two Captains" signs through increased communications, publications, and opportunities for volunteers of all ages. A completed trail will be a truly continental trail that leads easterners to see the beautiful western country and western citizens will be enticed to travel east to see original historic building like Monticello, Charlottesville, VA and Historic Locust Grove,

Louisville, KY or the White House at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, Washington, D.C. These are homes visited by Meriwether Lewis, William Clark and other members of the expedition including York and the Tribal delegations that visited Thomas Jefferson as diplomats from their respective Nations. All of these homes are connected by beautiful vistas along rivers and highways. While traveling the trail in the east, everyone should take advantage of the opportunity to see original documents or material collected during the exploration of the west, including the original handwritten Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition housed in the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, PA.

4) The health benefits of a trail experience are entwined in points 2 and 3 but have a major impact on all of us.

Hiking, canoeing, geocaching or any kinds of out-of-doors experience is beneficial to a healthy lifestyle.

I'll spare you my lecture about too much time in front of computer monitors or televisions by just saying, a good brisk 30 minute walk or even better, a ½ day hike along a segment of the trail, in the city or countryside, is good for the mind and body. At this time when our country is struggling with health issues of great magnitude, the trails, especially the LCNHT, need to be available to the entire population of our Nation from coast to coast.

From the prospective of the Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage

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EDITORS' NOTES

Building upon the number of positive responses we received about the May 2010 issue, which featured college student essays, we determined we would deliver an encore. With the assistance of the interim editor, Dr. L.C. Carr, I have selected and edited a series of articles for this issue. J. Ryan Badger's article, "'That They Might Be Informed Who We Were': A Historiography of the Lewis and Clark Expedition from the Last Decade", examines the major publication trends of the bicentennial decade. Written for his senior capstone seminar in 2010, Badger synthesizes some of the major books published between 2000 and 2010 and examines the evolution of historical thought about the expedition and its members. Ryan had the good fortune to fulfill a summer internship at the Lewis and Clark National Trail Interpretive Center. He is currently employed as an educator and interpreter at the American West Heritage Center in Wellsville, Utah, and plans to complete a PhD in Western American history at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

Rachel Barnard's "Putting The Corps in the Core Curriculum" is a revised article for an essay she completed in my American Studies course on Lewis and Clark. Barnard analyzes the way the Lewis and Clark Expedition has been portrayed in middle school and high school textbooks. Her conclusions indicated that most textbooks do not provide an accurate portrayal of the expedition and lack detailed information about its relevance and significance in American History. An American Studies minor, Barnard plans to obtain a master's degree in museum studies and work as a curator.

Sara V. Olds began research on "The Music of the Lewis and Clark Expedition" when she was accepted into the 2010 Larry H. Miller Summer Seminar for History Teachers led by myself. This included a 50 mile canoe trip down the wild and scenic Missouri River. A violinist since the fourth grade and a certified Suzuki violin teacher, she brought along her instrument to play on the banks of the Missouri. The experience was unforgettable. The resulting article sheds new insight on the technical difficulties the violinists and their instruments faced on the journey across the continent as well as a study of the music Pierre Cruzatte and George Gibson probably played. A mother of three and a devoted teacher, Sara has a bright future.

We hope that you enjoy this special issue. And if you have your own ideas for a special issue, or know of someone researching a pertinent story or issue related to WPO's mission, please do submit it to wpo@lewisandclark.org.

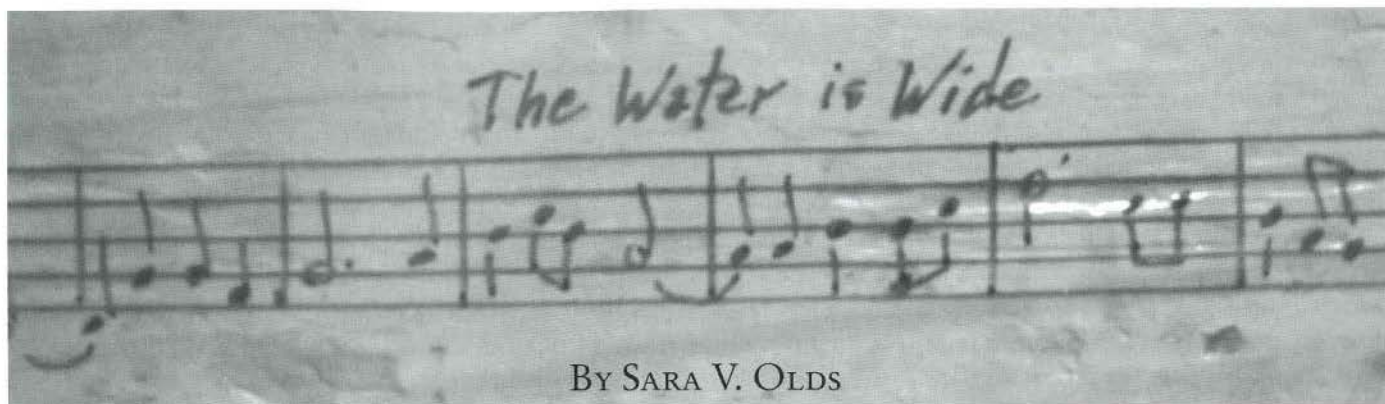
JAY H. BUCKLEY, GUEST EDITOR

I am delighted to second the sentiments above. Working with these authors was a great introduction to the diversity of rising Lewis and Clark scholarship, and showcases a potential variety I hope to continue as interim editor. Let's proceed on!

L. C. CARR, INTERIM EDITOR

MUSIC OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

On the trail with violin in hand.



BY SARA V. OLDS

Music has charms to sooth a savage breast." This line from William Congreve's play *The Mourning Bride* (1697) was not at the forefront of Meriwether Lewis's and William Clark's minds when they turned to their musicians to impress the native tribes they encountered during their transcontinental journey. As it turned out, however, music played a significant role in the diplomatic success of the Lewis and Clark expedition as well as bolstering the psychological needs of the members of the Corps of Discovery.

THE MUSICIANS OF THE EXPEDITION

Two men – Pierre Cruzatte and George Gibson – took violins on the expedition. Pierre Cruzatte is described by Joseph Whitehouse as a "Canadian Volunteer" in the preface of Whitehouse's journal dated December 10, 1806. Cruzatte, of French heritage, also had Omaha blood. Many people suggest that Cruzatte was a voyageur, and his skills as a hunter and a boatman played an important role in the success of the expedition. His musical abilities, though, brought him more notoriety than his water skills then and now.

It is unclear precisely when Cruzatte joined the group but it is generally believed he came from St. Charles where several French voyageurs joined. It is possible he was with the expedition as early as April 1, 1804, when Clark compiled a list of men in the company and lists "Peter" as one of them.¹ Pierre was described as a small, wiry man with sight in only one eye. Eye problems in rivermen were common, due to

the sun's glare off the water when they looked ahead to interpret the movement of the river, hunt for snags and watch for unexpected eddies which might flip the canoes or pirogues. Cruzatte's poor eyesight figured prominently in a hunting accident near the end of the expedition when he mistook Captain Lewis for an elk partially concealed in some bushes and shot him in the buttocks. Lewis was wearing buckskin clothing at the time. Historian David Lavender has contended that Cruzatte's alleged myopia may have been exaggerated, but he was at least very near-sighted.²

George Gibson owned the other violin. Gibson, born in Mercer County, Pennsylvania, joined the Corps as one of the Nine Young Men from Kentucky on October 26, 1803. Recruited by Clark at the Falls of the Ohio, Gibson proved himself of great value as an interpreter, hunter, and woodsman.³

While these two were the only ones recorded as owning violins, Joseph Whitehouse wrote on December 25, 1804 that:

we having with us Two Violins &
plenty of Musicans in our party.—⁴

This suggests that there may have been more men than Gibson and Cruzatte who could play instruments or make music as singers. Perhaps there were others who could have played those two violins. Without many entertainment options available, Cruzatte and Gibson may have taught others to play their instruments over the course of the journey.

THE MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Several other instruments besides the violins are identified as brought by the Corps: a Jew's, Juze or Jaw Harp, tambourines and a trumpet or sounden horn and drums. The "jaw harps" are listed in the baling invoices—six dozen were brought! They were occasionally presented as gifts to the Indians, as on August 30, 1804 when Whitehouse mentions:

Gave them [the Yanktons] all Some Marchandize &c— &c— they Received them verry thankfully divided them out among themselves, & play on their juze harps.

Later that day he says again,

they play'd on the Jews harps & danced for us for Beads that we gave them.

These three references – the list and the two journal entries – are the only times these small handheld instruments are mentioned. The "jaw harp" is little more than a "u" shaped piece of metal with a finger or filament protruding from the center of the "u" which is played up against the teeth, creating a tonal sound now famous as the "boing" noise used in cartoons and old



westerns.⁶ Written references to the Jew's Harp have been around for at least four hundred years and the instrument has changed very little over time.⁷ It is an attractive, simple instrument requiring little training to use and keep in repair.

Drums are the most often mentioned musical instrument. All the Indians cultures encountered by the Corps used these instruments. Patrick Gass points out that Lewis could appreciate the importance of such an instrument when he records that Lewis gave the Yanktons:

a grained deer skin to stretch over a half keg for a drum.⁸

A tambourine or rattle is also mentioned. It is played at Christmas in 1804 at the Mandan village but

whether it came ready-made or was created on the journey is not clear.

Trumpets or horns are also mentioned by Lewis.

...it grew very dark and my canoes which had on board the most valuable part of my stores had not come up, ordered the trumpet to be sound and they answered.⁹

Historian Gary Moulton suggests that this trumpet may have been one of the "4 Tin blowing Trumpets" purchased in Philadelphia.¹⁰ Joseph Mussulman contends that although Lewis refers to trumpets, they were more likely to be the boatmen's horns used for communication between boats and shore. These tin horns generally cost fifty cents, had no finger holes, and held only a basic mouthpiece containing a "reed" made of flexible metal. When blown, this reed would vibrate producing a single-toned squeak, much like today's party or New Year's Eve noisemakers.¹¹ As instruments go, such confined output does not suggest much entertainment value, but the travelers may have found a way to improve the instrument's range slightly. Musician Daniel Slosberg—who has created a one man show spotlighting the stories of the Lewis and Clark Expedition through the eyes of Pierre Cruzatte—proudly admits he has learned to produce up to three and a half different tones on his sounden horn.¹²

With the possible exception of Indian drums, Cruzatte's and Gibson's violins are the most frequently mentioned instruments in the Lewis and Clark journals. Among all the journal writers, the words "fiddle" or "violin" appear thirty-four times. A fiddle and a violin are identical instruments physically; their difference lies in the type and formation of the music played upon them.

John Ordway mentions the fiddle the most with twelve separate references to the fiddle or fiddling. He never uses the term "violin." This is not surprising as the fiddle was a much more common term. What is interesting is that Ordway talks about the strings of the instrument more than any other writer. The first time active fiddling is mentioned comes from his journal.

Thursday 16th [August 16, 1804] a pleasant morning. the party in high Spirits fiddleing & dancing last night. I was up all night on duty.¹³

Perhaps he made special note of it because he was

awake on duty, and the music helped to pass the time. He may have watched the others enjoying themselves and wished he could join in. His last fiddling entry was almost two years later on June 8, 1806. Clark also made a notation which was to be his last mentioning music in his journal on that date.

One wonders why no further mention of music comes after June 1806. Could the violins have been lost or broken? Unlikely, as their loss would have been worth mentioning. Faced with the prospect of going home, the group seems to have become too busy or too hurried to record everything they did. Thoughts of home may have become so insistent that they applied their energies to speeding homeward rather than making music and dancing.

By contrast, during the first phase of the journey, journals indicate the men often danced and enjoyed themselves, building their relationships at night as they prepared physically and mentally for the next day. Cruzatte's music provided them with an important chance to come together.



"Fiddle" music then and now is a style or type of music conventionally associated with country people and folk culture. "Violin" music—or the classical violin—brings to mind the salons of the educated and the upper class. We know that Jefferson was a well-trained violinist and often practiced several hours a day. He studied under Williamsburg music teacher Francis Alberti, and by the time he enrolled in the College of William and Mary he had achieved such proficiency that he was regularly asked by Royal Governor Francis Fauquier to play chamber music in "the Palace."¹⁴

From 1801-1803 Lewis served as President Jefferson's personal secretary, and through his employer would have been exposed during that period to the detailed, classical forms of eighteenth century music. This

experience may explain Lewis's referencing stringed instruments more often as a "fiddle" (five times) over his use of "violin" (three times) as it seems most likely that Cruzatte and Gibson would have known common songs or folk music of the day rather than the highbrow music of the wealthy and powerful. In other words, Lewis would perceive the men as playing fiddles, not violins, because of their choice of music.

The other journal writers also mention strings in this qualified way. Whitehouse brings up both the words "violin" and "fiddle" each twice. Clark mentions "fiddle" four times and "violin" eight. Clark's use of "violin" over that of "fiddle" may reflect Clark's more civilized or more educated background than that of Whitehouse or Ordway. Unlike Lewis, he probably had an appreciative rather than a trained ear.

Those unfamiliar with violins may imagine the two taken on the journey as rough-hewn, rustic instruments, hand-crafted and tough as the men who played them. This is quite unlikely. Violin making requires a great deal of skill and time. Luthiers (trained violin makers) need many fine tools to construct an instrument with precision: drills, files, saws, calipers, clamps, access to adhesives, knowledge of and access to different types of wood for the body, fingerboard and pegs, and special varnishes (since even the thickness of a particular type of varnish changes the sound of a violin). It is hard to imagine the Expedition's members finding the materials to create an instrument en route, even if they had the skills to do so. Ken Pollard, violin maker and owner of the Owyhee Mountain Fiddle Shop in Weiser, Idaho, explains:

Violins were common, so why make something that is so easy to buy? Perhaps if you were stuck, out in the wilderness, with no violin, and time on your hands, you might whittle one out. But as soon as you could, you'd buy a real violin.¹⁵

The fact that either violin survived the trip is astonishing, especially considering the sheer physical danger the instruments would have been in during the travel between the 620 separate camps during the 863 day journey. Were they transported in thin pine cases covered simply by paint or leather and protected inside by a thin layer of cloth or paper? Or would they have been kept in a canvas bag with a drawstring at the top to keep the sack closed?¹⁶ Or possibly did they use a leather bag cut to the size of the violin with a flap at the bottom and a narrow box to carry the bow?

Could they have been put inside a waterproof sealskin or oilskin bag to keep the dampness out?¹⁷ While any of these could have been possible, no bag or case could have offered complete protection from the bumps and shakes all of the luggage must have experienced. As any violinist knows, even one good hard crash can slip a violin so far out of tune it is difficult to pull it back in.



Today, travelers on rivers have access to thick, malleable, airtight “dry” bags, with seams sealed by high tech adhesives. A modern violin’s incredibly strong, lightweight and protective case can be slipped into these bags. But nothing like that existed for Gibson’s and Cruzatte’s instruments. While appreciating the choice to take along the instruments, historians have not understood how truly miraculous it was that the Expedition kept these instruments playable. John Bakeless for instance commented that Cruzatte’s fiddle was “carried several thousand miles in river damp and across the Rockies in freezing cold, so that its tone was by no means Stradivarian.”¹⁸ Still, it played.

More than transport endangered these violins on their long journey. There are special parts violins require to play, which must be regularly replaced. A Hudson Bay Company post carried violin strings on their list of supplies for purchase, for instance, although Cruzatte and Gibson would most likely have learned to make replacement strings from the gut or intestines of animals.¹⁹ While gut strings offer a more sensitive tone than many modern materials, just as in the expedition’s time, they are very sensitive to heat and humidity. This can cause them to break or stretch and become unreliable. The players would have needed to create and replace strings repeatedly over their journey.

The tailpiece, while itself fairly solid, is yet another vulnerable part of the violin. It acts as the anchor to hold the strings in place; and it, in turn, is held on to the violin by a small piece of gut that could have

split and snapped as the humidity changed. Because this piece of gut is a similar width to a violin string, cutting one to the correct length should have been fairly easy once replacement strings were made or obtained. Much more difficult to replace and yet vital to a violin is the sound post. This is a small dowel, preferably of spruce, which is placed internally. Not only does it offer support for both the top and back of the body—a pillar under the bridge—but careful placement can change the voice or brilliance of an instrument’s character. A mere millimeter’s movement can change a violin’s tone from loud—unpleasantly bright or strident—to closed and dull or the shift can bring out a mellow richness.²⁰ Should the sound post fall, perhaps to the instrument being dropped, it is vital to get it properly replaced or the violin’s body could cave in. Luthiers have very delicate and special tools to reach into the belly of violins to nudge them into the correct position. It is difficult to imagine that a riverman or a woodsman from Kentucky would have had such specialized skill and tools if the need for it arose.

Making a replacement bridge—the thin perpendicular piece of wood which balances the strings away from the fingerboard where they are played and the tailpiece—would have been quite difficult to carve, due to its slenderness. Wooden pegs and the tailpiece might also need replacing. The pegs anchor the strings at the top of the instrument. By turning the pegs, strings are wound up or down subtly changing their pitch higher or lower. Traditionally, pegs are made of ebony or rosewood. Discounting the lack of these exotic woods, the pegs, with their simple shape, would not be as difficult to replace as the carved scroll and peg box at the top of the instruments in which the pegs rest.

Even more intriguing is to contemplate the condition of the violins’ bows. Without a bow, there can be no flowing tune, no sprightly jig to warm one’s soul. Joseph Mussulman has examined the difference between the typical eighteenth century bow and the modern Tourte bow. The main difference is that bows from years ago bend more upward than today’s bow, which made playing on a single string more difficult.²¹ While this may not interest non-players, the maintenance of the bows should.

Violin bows have two or three main components: the stick, the hair and a way to make the hair taut. The stick is very thin, rather flexible, fragile and can be quite easily snapped. Depending on the “case” or “bag” in which the instruments were stored, the bows might not have had any real support or protection. If

TIMING AND TYPES OF MUSIC PLAYED BY THE EXPEDITION:

CELEBRATIONS OF HOLIDAYS

12/25/1804	Christmas Party at Fort Mandan: tambourines, drum and sounding horns— York Dances and Pierre plays	Whitehouse, Clark, Gass, Ordway
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CELEBRATIONS OF SUCCESS

4/26/1805	Celebration at the Mouth of the Yellowstone	Ordway
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CELEBRATIONS OF AMBASSADORSHIP

10/29/1805	"Flatheads" Pleased with Fiddle	Clark
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Gibson had snapped his bow out on the plains with little timber at hand, what would he do? Perhaps he could have fashioned one from an arrow from a friendly band of Indians to replace a snapped stick. Bows have long used horsehair stretched across the stick in order to make their lyrical sound. Human hair is too fragile, plant hair like corn silk is too degradable and not long enough. Surely, both Gibson and Cruzatte must have needed to re-hair their bow at some point along the way. One can only imagine how fascinated Indian tribes like the Shoshones or Nez Perces with access to horses must have been to watch Cruzatte or Gibson yanking or slicing hair from horses' tails only to have it stretched across a stick to make music. Yet hair and stick are still not enough to make music. New hair on a bow simply whispers across strings bringing little sound. A rosin or resin is still needed for the bow to grip ever so slightly on the string. Rosin comes in "cakes" which are molded round or rectangular shapes and are soft enough when rubbed to powder up. The microscopic dust particles will cling to the fine hair of the bow, and brittle enough to shatter when dropped. A cake of rosin can last even the most active player for many years, so using it up would not have been an issue. But what if this small, seemingly insignificant, tool had been lost? They would need pine sap from which turpentine could be boiled and beeswax be added.²² Lewis longed for pine pitch during the portage when trying to seal the hide stretched over the iron boat; it would not have been easily found or created. A cake of rosin usually measures no bigger than two inches by a half-inch, and yet in this case, it was worth its weight in gold. Without it, there would have been no music.

One surprising facet of this discussion is that violins actually have a great capacity to adjust to dry and damp conditions (atmospheric, not actually getting wet). This means that a violin traveling the country

slowly (as they did) would have had time to breathe and stretch or contract as necessary.

WHEN AND WHAT KINDS OF MUSIC DID THEY PLAY?

There are more than 19 entries in the various Expedition journals that refer to fiddles, violins, or fiddling, and 27 that mention dancing. Some occasions made such an impression that many of the journalists chose to mention them at the same time. In all cases, each entry discusses a celebration of sorts (see chart above).

The music they played spoke to the native tribes. Bakeless describes the Indians' response this way: "the Indians were astonished at the music. Some of them even said politely that they enjoyed it."²³ It also had a more practical purpose, of bringing energy and gaiety to tired bones, especially during the grueling portage around the Great Falls of the Missouri.²⁴

During the long, lonely and discouraging winter of 1806, it seems likely the music did not sing of celebration, but of home. It takes little to imagine a solitary air—a traditional melody carrying a melancholy tune—rising among the trees of Fort Clatsop as the rain fell and clouds hung low. The music anchors the weary and worn travelers to the East. It calls them back, giving them energy to face not only the long voyage ahead but the nearly overwhelming task of preparation for their return. At Fort Clatsop, they did not have teams of builders, towns of shops and lines of skilled workers who could help them, nor military stores upon which to call for support. They were on their own. Through that bleak Christmas and winter, they must have turned to music for essential sustenance.

Joseph Mussulman says that when considering the songs the Corps played, it is necessary to look at the message and type of songs the men would have desired

and enjoyed, not just what songs were available to contemporary musicians of their training and class.

Medicine songs to confirm the bonds of brotherhood...of travail and triumph. Martial fanfare to celebrate patriotic pride. Funny songs to unleash relief and satisfaction, and launch laughter. Love songs to soothe loneliness. Dance tunes that spin, shuffle and stomp. Gutsy hymn-tunes, vibrating with the passion of frontier faith, rawboned and ripe. Sweet, sweet melodies so tender and true that they transcend the meanness of intervening years and soothe us still.²⁵

His words aptly describe folk music, whose tunes have been played and re-played for generations until they have become a part of the fabric of our culture. Many American folk tunes are still played today as they were in the late 1700's and early 1800s. It is not difficult to find songs popular at the time of the expedition that are well-known to modern-day listeners. But what did they play? No one knows. However, many make suggestions because music is a popular method of connecting with the expedition.

As of July 2010, ten music CDs with a Lewis and Clark slant were readily available; two articles have appeared recently in this journal; a recommended song list from the Lewis and Clark Heritage Trail Foundation website was put up due "to popular demand"; and, last but not least, there is a list in the book, *Lewis and Clark For Dummies*. It should be remembered that the titles reflect songs which are still fairly easily obtained today, and not any folk songs which may have been lost to us over time. A compilation of song titles gathered from these various sources (the CDs, journal articles, website and book) can be broken down into patterns.²⁶

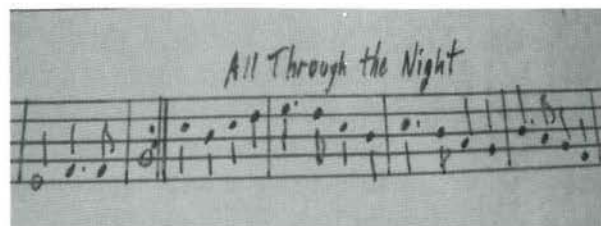
1. 320 songs, including medleys.
2. 211 unique titles, not including such recommendations as "Various" hornpipes.
3. 12 Christmas songs.
4. 31 French (including a few Christmas titles).
5. Top most commonly recommended songs:
 - a. "Jefferson and Liberty" written as an

- election piece during Jefferson's run for the presidency – 8 times
- b. "Fisher's Hornpipe" – 6 times
- c. "Yankee Doodle," "La Bastringue"—the most famous French Canadian folksong—both 5 times

The majority of these songs are English, French or Irish folk tunes. Several are jigs such as the "Irish Washerwoman." Most are reels like "Jefferson and Liberty" or "Rakes of Mallow." The reel was the most traditional of country dances done in the eighteenth century. Even in the far reaches of the West, like St. Louis for instance, the well-to-do and the not-so-well-to-do enjoyed a good spin across the floor – as did Joseph Whitehouse at St. Charles on May 18, 1804:

passed the evening very agreeable dancing with the French ladies, etc.²⁷

Not all of the songs are dance tunes. A few, like "The Ashgrove" and "Greensleeves," are softer airs. Still others ("Amazing Grace" and "All Hail the Power of Jesus' Name") are hymns. All fulfilled different functions for the men: whether for entertainment, nostalgia, morale, religion, or a combination of motives.



MY PERSONAL JOURNEY

As a violinist offered the prospect of a remarkable canoe journey on the Missouri River, a desire to gather and learn some of the pieces possibly played by Cruzatte and Gibson blossomed in me. After looking over the lists above, several choices leaped forward. "Irish Washerwoman"—one of the most iconic Irish fiddle pieces of all time. "La Bastringue"—perhaps the most traditional French Canadian tune. "Amazing Grace"—with continuing audience appeal. "Liberty"—a simple, traditional reel. "Devil's Dream"—because it is very fun to play! "Sailor's Joy"—a fairly uncomplicated hornpipe; and since the

expedition spent so much time on the water it seemed appropriate to learn. Traditional airs: "All Through the Night" and "The Ash Grove" were chosen, because Gibson and Cruzatte would have brought along well known and well beloved tunes and these pieces are personal favorites familiar since childhood. All of the music, as they are folk tunes, are in the public domain and their use today would not infringe upon any copyright. This is only appropriate. Musicians who love folk music want the traditions shared, to be passed on and for others to make these pieces their own.

We cannot tell how Cruzatte and Gibson might have played any of these pieces. Cadences, trills, repeats, introductions, anacrusis and embellishments could all have been simplified or made more complicated, reflecting the personality of the musicians and needs of their audience.

CONCLUSION

In researching possible musical choices of Cruzatte and Gibson, one is struck by the colorful and creative language used by historians familiar with the Corps and these two musicians' role in history. The incredible fact that two delicate instruments traveled successfully on this fantastical voyage and influenced so many varied cultures seems to deserve such astonishment and praise. John Bakeless appropriately describes the situation. "Tucked away in Private Cruzat's [sic] personal baggage was one other article of equipment which surely no exploring expedition had ever carried before. Cruzat [sic] had taken along his violin.... It turned out to be one of the most useful things the expedition carried."²⁸

The actual musical choices of Cruzatte and Gibson will never be known. Nor will the favorites of the Corps—those pieces they were forever begging the fiddlers to play. But should those interested ever find themselves in like circumstances in the wild, they should be certain to follow Robert Hunt's advice so that future generations will not face frustrations similar to those Lewis and Clark fans, historians, musicians and the simply curious experience today:

...Please be sure to mention describe and document it [your playing] in your journal. Write down the names of the tunes you play also. Two hundred years hence, historians may well be grateful to you.

Anyone can play a radio--but expeditions are by nature participatory,

interactive undertakings. Not many can play a fiddle, [so] try to learn if you have the opportunity.²⁹

After receiving a master's degree from Texas A&M University, Sara Olds spent the next several years raising her children which included playing and teaching violin in three countries and several states. Now returning to the academic world, she's busy teaching history to secondary students. In June of 2010, she took a 50 mile canoe trip on the Missouri River following in the Corps of Discovery's path.

NOTA BENE:

All photographs in this articles were taken by the author. The model was David Bone. Musical notation was provided by LaVonne VanOrden.

A spreadsheet cataloging all the CDs, lists and songs referenced in this article can be found at saravolds.com/lewisandclarkmusic.

Sheet music for the pieces specifically mentioned and many other folktunes are available at no charge from the following websites:

<http://www.cpmusic.com>
http://www.8notes.com/digital_tradition/s.asp
<http://www.thesession.org/>
<http://www.freesheetmusic.net/Folk1.html>
http://www.ibiblio.org/fiddlers/BARN_BB.htm

NOTES

1 Gary Moulton suggests that the reference may simply refer to Peter Wiser and that Cruzatte perhaps did not join until May. William Clark, April 1, 1804, in Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 2:p. 190 fn.4.

2 David Lavender, *The Way to the Western Sea* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988) p. 103.

3 Larry E Morris, *The Fate of the Corps What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers After the Expedition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 77.

4 Joseph Whitehouse, December 25, 1804, in Moulton, *Journals*, 11:p. 114.

Continued on page 29

PUTTING THE CORPS IN THE CORE CURRICULUM

The Lewis and Clark Expedition in Textbooks

BY RACHEL BARNARD

Most Americans learn about the Lewis and Clark Expedition in grade school. That is why it is so important this early exposure be accurate. Unfortunately, most resources available to teachers do not tell the whole story. The typical, mainstream American history textbook gives students a false representation of what actually occurred during the Lewis and Clark Expedition by establishing a neat, patriotic narrative for the expedition. Textbook authors want to “create” main characters of Thomas Jefferson, William Clark, Meriwether Lewis, and Sacagawea. What is deemed uninteresting or too messy, such as interactions with natives or Clark’s slave ownership, is rarely mentioned and in most cases left out entirely. The result is an ill educated citizen, who remains unaware of key events in the history of our nation.

This article reviews the descriptions of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in middle and high school American History textbooks. Advanced Placement texts, such as *Created Equal*, *The American Pageant*, and *Out of Many*, are also included. Middle school texts are vastly different from high school texts in some regards (for example, they are often more interactive). What has become apparent in looking at all of these texts is that most fall short in properly describing the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

MAIN CHARACTERS IN THE TEXTBOOKS

In these books, a common view of the expedition appears. The same four people show up time and time again: Thomas Jefferson, Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Sacagawea. Emphasizing these four members creates the wrong impression that other

members of the Corps of Discovery did not make major contributions to the expedition.

Emphasis at the outset is typically on the Louisiana Purchase; how Jefferson acquired it and his agony over the constitutionality of the purchase. The President is often placed in the spotlight as personally preparing his private secretary, Meriwether Lewis, for the assignment. Where texts often differ is in the actual reason for the expedition. Most state that Jefferson wanted to explore the newly purchased land. Some state that he wanted to make scientific inquiries and interact with Native Americans. Few note that Jefferson was interested in trade. Instead, textbooks portray Jefferson exclusively as a political leader and a man of the Enlightenment, interested in science and reason. A key reason for acquiring the territory, though, was money. Jefferson wanted the United States to expand economically; the land meant nothing if America could not make a profit from it. Authors choose to downplay this idea, and to depict Jefferson as more interested in spreading democracy than furthering the economic success of the country. This creates a false ideal by which students are taught that intangible aims (furthering democracy) are morally preferable to tangible aims (increased trade). In reality, both motivated Jefferson.

Lewis and Clark then become the main characters of the expedition saga. Lewis is usually described as a young, able military leader. Some texts explain his existing relationship with Jefferson; others simply say that the President chose him. Most books introduce Clark as Lewis’s co-captain and leader on the expedition; some mention they knew each other from service together in the army.¹ For the most part,

textbooks provide minimal background information on the pair. As for the actual expedition itself, the texts do not speak of the captains' daily activities and duties in great detail. These simplified heroes are flatly portrayed as being unfazed by any situation they encountered on the expedition. Little mention is made of any of their hardships; textbooks instead celebrate and emphasize their accomplishments. The contemporary success of their nation is even attributed to Lewis and Clark; *Created Equal* (2007), for example, calls them "a key component in the new nation's economic growth and development."²

In a desire to define the captains as heroes of Western expansion, textbooks make no mention of their lives after the journey or of the darker sides of their personalities; of Lewis' possible suicide or of Clark's slave ownership. The only information given pertains to the expedition, as if neither accomplished anything before or after their journey. James Loewen explores this "heroification" ably in *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (2007).³ In an effort to create role models, authors often "turn flesh-and-blood individuals into pious, perfect creatures without conflicts, pain, credibility, or human interest."⁴ In essence, the story is cheapened. In this version, Lewis and Clark instinctively knew the way to travel. It was their 'Destiny' to travel to the Pacific Ocean and claim it for America. There was no teamwork amongst the rest of the Corps. Lewis and Clark were able to accomplish everything with little or no help. In this telling, they become rugged mountain men embodying "the spirit of dominion over nature" upon which our country was founded.⁵ At this point, the story of the expedition is used to explain the triumph of man over nature, not an example of American diplomacy.

Perhaps the greatest modern star of the expedition is Sacagawea. History textbooks describe her variously as "an Indian princess", an interpreter, or a guide.⁶ The Advanced Placement textbook, *America Past and Present* summarizes the key misconception established in most textbooks, flatly stating:

The [Lewis and Clark Expedition] owed much of its success to a young Shoshoni woman known as Sacagawea.⁷

Several textbooks include N.C. Wyeth's painting Lewis and Clark Expedition or an image similar to it. Wyeth's piece features Sacagawea pointing the way for Lewis and Clark with an expansive, heroic gesture. These images are ingrained in the American

memory, giving Sacagawea more credit for leading the expedition than is warranted. There is a simple reason for this. By including Sacagawea, educators are able to selectively add a minimum of ethnicity and gender to a story about the triumphs of two white men, but still manage to avoid dealing adequately with a complex, difficult reality.

LOST TRIBES, LOST HEROS

Considering curricula planners' keen interest in Sacagawea and the cultural diversity she represents, it is interesting that Old Toby is rarely included in the story of the expedition. Although he helped to lead the Corps over the Rockies, he is generally overlooked. Why is Sacagawea included in the saga, while Old Toby is left out? Both were Shoshones who made a contribution to the expedition.

The omission could be because most textbooks do not have room to enter into the actual day-to-day details of the expedition. Generally students simply receive the idea that the expedition lasted for a period of two years and traveled several thousand miles. While some texts mention the difficult crossing of the Rockies, they make no mention of the Indian guide, giving the impression that Lewis and Clark were able to traverse the mountains without any help.

Old Toby disappears from history because of space constraints and a need to create heroes exclusively from the captains and Sacagawea. His treatment is typical. Many of the Indian interactions on the journey are left out or remain in the background of the larger story. This is an interesting twist as many textbooks list one of the secondary goals of the expedition as increased knowledge of native cultures. Sacagawea is often the only named Indian. Most do not mention the planned meetings with the natives. There is no discussion of the many Native traditions that the Corps participated in (especially those considered unsuitable for younger ears). Nowhere is it mentioned that they carried gifts for the tribes or had to make an effort to establish positive relationships. Some texts describe Sacagawea's reunion with her brother Cameahwait, but for the most part that is the only description of interaction with the Shoshones. Most history textbooks imply that all the encounters with the Indians were peaceful. This is typically credited to Sacagawea, whose

...presence reassured suspicious Native Americans that the goal of the expedition was peaceful.⁹

They do not point out what a great or unusual

accomplishment this was. Most fail to mention the skirmish with the Blackfeet, though Houghton Mifflin's AP edition of *American Pageant* highlights the conflict as an example of "hair-raising wilderness adventure stories".¹⁰ There is also little mention of the Mandans, with whom the Corps spent an entire winter. There is one exception to this. Prentice Hall's AP textbook *Out of Many* (2005) gives an extensive description of the Mandan winter, but it is only used to highlight the negative aspects of white influence on native people. After an in-depth discussion of the kindness and hospitality of the Mandans, it is stated that Americans "in return for the kindness of the Mandans...brought this plague [smallpox]."⁸ This insinuation that the downfall of the Mandans was the direct fault of the Lewis and Clark Expedition leads students to belittle the accomplishments of the Corps, departing radically (and bewilderingly) from the general educational message. These two extremes of peace and contention create a confusing conflict for students.

MEN OF THE CORPS

The men making up the Corps of Discovery are hardly mentioned. Typically they are just a number, varying from 40 to 50 men who traveled along with Lewis and Clark. Students are given little explanation of why these men were needed or who they were. Usually they are simply dismissed as military personnel, with no discussion of their daily activities. Students remain unaware of the strenuous daily work of rowing and pulling a keel boat. Occasionally it is noted that some men were also able to work as translators. Patrick Gass is a notable exception to the rest of the Corps. Several of his journal entries are often included in curricula. The rest of the men are lost to history.

York, whose story fascinates many adult Lewis and Clark scholars, is one such "lost" man. York's exclusion from many textbooks may be a conscious choice to avoid painting Clark in a bad light, or reflect the authors' inability to discuss the nuances of slavery in the period. A few texts do mention he was a slave but do not identify him specifically as Clark's slave. This treatment of Clark mimics that given the Founding Fathers; he is supposed to have spread democracy throughout the continent, not perpetuated the institution of slavery. By obscuring the truth, textbooks lose a great story of Americans overcoming the limitations of slavery and racism. No text mentions that York worked and slept alongside the other men of the Corps, and nowhere is it mentioned that he participated in the vote deciding the winter settlement

of 1806. Clark's reversion to a conventionally oppressive role as slave-master and poor treatment of York in the years after the expedition is also eliminated.

Several texts make no mention as to how the Corps traveled, leaving students to wonder if they traveled by foot, horse, or boat. The expedition "saga" is often brief and one-dimensional, with no details provided about daily activities, diseases, or hardships. In some cases, the actual expedition is given less than a half page of print. The selective, specific elements that curricula planners have considered important aspects of the expedition make a short and convoluted story. As a result of the decisions publishers and authors have made, students miss out on interesting and exciting stories that might spark an interest in American history.

Textbooks also rarely focus on the return of the Corps. Students emerge unaware of the confrontation with the Blackfeet or that Lewis and Clark split up for a time. Both of these occurrences go against the ideals of peace and friendship that textbooks attempt to portray. Educators use the story of Lewis and Clark to promote the importance of teamwork amongst their students. They do not wish to show imperfections and weaknesses, and risk marring the image of Lewis or Clark as a perfect American hero. But how is it possible for students to understand the expedition fully, when its second half is skipped completely?

IMPORTANCE OF PRIMARY SOURCES

Texts that do accomplish an accurate portrayal of the expedition utilize primary sources extensively. The inclusion of journal entries creates a more realistic portrayal of the expedition. Students are able to read first hand the observations and thoughts of the Captains and several other members of the Corps of Discovery. They have a greater exposure to the culture and mindset of the times, and learn more about the men on the expedition. Reading Gass's grizzly bear encounter first hand is considerably more interesting than a banal overview of the animals he met. Some students also find comfort in knowing that Clark had just as much trouble in spelling as they do! The journals counter the hagiography of most textbooks, portraying a group of real humans, with needs, accomplishments, and faults. The more interactive journal exercises are, the greater the opportunity students will have to understand the significance of the venture.

Textbooks increasingly make an effort to introduce students to the journals by incorporating them into the narrative. However, this is still an area where most textbooks fall short because those that do include

entries often use them in problematic ways.

Most of the journal entries that are included are typically used to inspire pride in the American landscape. Many textbooks use the same passages from the journals, such as Lewis's letter to his mother from Fort Mandan,

This immense (sic) river so far as we have yet ascended waters one of the fairest portions of the globe, nor do I believe that there is in the universe a similar extent of country, equally fertile, well watered, and intersected by such a number of navigable streams.¹¹

Lewis's account gives a description of the beauty of the virgin West and a sense of the patriotic superiority that history textbooks try to evoke. Another popular quote is the encounter with "immense (sic) herds of Buffaloe (sic), Elk, deer, & Antelopes feeding in one common and boundless pasture."¹² Through this emphasis on the beauty of the untouched landscape, its conquest is made more grand. Curriculum planners thus often use the journals to further their promotion of patriotism and pride, not to create a general sense of what happened on the expedition. ■

SOLUTIONS FOR EDUCATORS

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has created an excellent resource for teachers to use in the classroom in its curriculum guide, which is filled with supplemental lesson plans. Many of the activities ensure direct interactions with the various expedition journals, as students read and analyze entries. The curriculum also offers many subject areas other than history or social studies in which the expedition can be incorporated.

In addition to printed lesson plans, there are numerous teaching resources on the Internet. Teachers can find whole lesson plans put out by such organizations as PBS and "Lewis and Clark: The National Bicentennial Exhibit". Teachers who choose to take an interest in exposing their students to the expedition have the resources to do so at minimal or no cost, if they choose to obtain these materials.

It is important for teachers to keep in mind the biases that contemporary textbooks have. Looking specifically at the Lewis and Clark Expedition, it becomes clearer that teachers are in constant need of better resources to supplement what textbooks lack and to present a more accurate story. The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation has made an

effort to help, as have other historical societies. But until publishers and authors rectify the problems in the textbooks, teachers retain the responsibility of finding these resources and utilizing them in the classroom. Teachers have the unique opportunity to mold students' views about our nation. Realizing this, they need to make every effort to tell as accurate a story as possible. It is important to remember and honor all the members of the Expedition in a proper manner. People should not be left out. They should not be molded into a preconceived American ideal, and events that truly happened should be spoken of truthfully. Teaching this 'real' version of the Lewis and Clark Expedition will still inspire patriotism in American students, and perhaps even more effectively than the current sanitized version. Even if some aspects of the expedition were not ideal, students may be more inspired by what it accomplished despite its human imperfections.

An American Studies minor at Brigham Young University, Rachel Barnard plans to obtain a master's degree in museum studies and work as a curator.

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Stuckey, Sterling. *Call to Freedom* (Austin: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 2005).

NOTES

1. Sterling Stuckey, *Call to Freedom* (Austin: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 2005), 341. Jesus Garcia. *Creating America: A History of the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2000), p. 321.

2. Thomas Borstelmann, Jacqueline Jones, Elaine Tyler May, Vicki L. Ruiz, and Peter H. Wood, *Created Equal: A Social and Political History of the United States, Brief Edition, Volume I* (New York: Longman, 2007), p. 327.

3. James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Touchstone, 2007), p. 12.

4. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*, p. 11.

5. Borstelmann, Jones, May, Ruiz, and Wood, *Created Equal: A Social and Political History of the United States, Brief Edition*, p. 325.

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“THAT THEY MAY BE INFORMED WHO WE WERE.”

A Historiography of the Corps of Discovery from the Last Decade

BY J. RYAN BADGER

The decade surrounding the Bicentennial commemoration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (2000-2009) provided tens of thousands of Americans the chance to vicariously participate in history: to stand where Meriwether Lewis stood when he first gazed upon the Great Falls of the Missouri, to struggle over the pristine Lolo Trail, and to walk on the same beach where thirty-three individuals struggled to find 200 years earlier. This quest to rediscover the epic journey of the Corps of Discovery extended to people of all ages. Some desired to acquaint themselves with the humanistic story of the Expedition members and their unique role in making history. Others wanted to learn about the members of the expedition, their trials and challenges, and what transpired upon their return. All reflected upon how the historical perspective of the Corps of Discovery has changed over the last two hundred years. The bicentennial commemoration presented the perfect opportunity for authors—both historians and fictional writers—to reinterpret and reexamine the lives of expedition members. Through the publication of primary resources and historical biographies, Lewis and Clark enthusiasts examined the individuals of the Corps and presented their interpretations to the world.

With the recent popularity of biographies, it comes as no surprise that recently historians have made an effort to look at individual members of the most notable American expeditions of all time. The fact that the Expedition lost only one man (Sgt. Charles Floyd) and, despite the hardships they endured, every member of the group willingly followed their commanding officers with total confidence, this devotion to the Captains and the success of their extraordinary journey, stirred a desire within contemporary authors to examine the individual lives of the Corps of Discovery.

This period of renewal, revision and revival brought forth some of the finest scholarship on the Expedition since President Thomas Jefferson penned his tribute to Meriwether Lewis. The most significant thing about these publications was that they further revealed the personalities of the men and women that shaped the expedition into the great American Odyssey. During this past decade, a revised edition of Charles Floyd's journal, as well as a compilation of correspondence by William Clark appeared. Biographies proliferated, with three new ones on Meriwether Lewis (two focused primarily upon events surrounding his death), three on William Clark, three on Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau, one on the Charbonneau family, one on Sacagawea and one on George Drouillard. Larry E. Morris's *The Fate of the Corps*, and nearly half of the articles of the journal *We Proceeded On* focused on reinterpreting and rediscovering the individual lives and personalities of the members of the Corps of Discovery.

The extensive reservoir of primary documentation on the Lewis and Clark Expedition has led a historian to christen Lewis and Clark the “writtingest explorers of all time.”¹ The bicentennial afforded historians the opportunity to re-release previously published documents, and to offer new documentation that significantly contributed to the historical insight of the expedition members as individuals. These sources facilitated the research accessibility for scholars and made the documents of the Expedition more accessible to the general reader.

The bicentennial brought a renewed interest in the Corps of Discovery. In an effort to cash in on the public interest, publishers released several new editions of the journals. Gary Moulton and the University of Nebraska

Press produced the most significant versions during this period. Coming off of his twenty-year project of editing and annotating the 13-volume "definitive edition" of the expedition journals, Moulton compiled an abridgement of the most interesting and important journal entries into a single volume. This abridgment draws from all the available journals and provides the first compilation of its kind since Bernard DeVoto's abridgment in 1953.² While DeVoto's edition drew from Reuben Gold Thwaites' eight-volume set, Moulton sought out the original journals and added clarifying annotations.³

Gary Moulton's most recent paperback edition of *The Lewis and Clark Expedition* provides an invaluable asset to historians. Equally important was his completion of the final volume of his thirteen volume magnum opus, *The Comprehensive Index*, published in 2001 which enables scholars to utilize his edition of the journals to locate information on a particular individual, event or topic. Through the use of the *Comprehensive Index* one can find stories, information and incidents that provide a foundation for gleaming information into the lives of well-known figures like the Captains, York and Sacagawea as well as teasing out information on lesser known individuals like Joseph and Reuben Field. The index provides five columns of information on these two individuals, in which the volume number and page number are cited. Neither kept a journal that we know of. Were it not for the expedition journals, the contributions of these two young men who were involved in

...all the most dangerous and difficult scenes of the voyage, in which they uniformly acquitted themselves with much honor⁴

would be lost to history. The *Comprehensive Index* and the University of Nebraska's recent online publication of the Lewis and Clark journals allows authors quick access to the individual stories of the Corps members, and the role they played in the Expedition.

THE CAPTAINS

One of the books that contributed to a clearer understanding of William Clark came through the 1988 discovery of a bundle of personal letters from the Captain to his brother Jonathan. James J. Holmberg cited and annotated forty-seven of these letters, which appeared in *Dear Brother*. This book offers a decidedly different look at the man primarily seen as a public figure.

These letters written to Jonathan Clark over a nineteen year period change that. They provide the most detailed perspective yet of what the real William Clark—the man himself—was like. They allow the reader to see beneath the persona of the famous explorer and territorial administrator and are a vital source for any biography or study of him.⁵

Holmberg's book offers the first volume of primary documents from either of the Captains since editor Donald Jackson's *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* appeared in 1978. Scholars this past decade have utilized *Dear Brother* in the creation of their books and articles about William Clark.

Through the pages of *Dear Brother* readers find a virtual treasure-trove of Clark's personal feelings about slavery through his treatment of York, the body-servant that accompanied him on the Expedition. Readers get a sense for Clark's feelings on the death and rumored suicide of Meriwether Lewis, when he read the news about the incident. These letters reveal Clark's deep attachment to his own family and the existence of these letters say something about their importance to the family. Clark's correspondences are replete with avowals of affection and concern for the well being of his family and, although this book does not include any replies made by the other members of the Clark family, the fact that the letters were saved for one-hundred and fifty years after his death certainly indicates affection for their famous brother.⁶

The bicentennial provided an opportunity for William Clark to emerge from under Lewis's long shadow, made longer by Stephen Ambrose's successful biography of Lewis, *Undaunted Courage*. Holmberg's *Dear Brother* provided new insights into Clark's personal life and correspondence. Based upon the new resources and the extensive collection of Clark's journals (before, during, and after the expedition), three new biographies emerged tell the complete life story of William Clark. The biographies disprove the notion of Clark as a simpleton and convey his intelligence and complexity. The first biography to appear was Landon Jones's *William Clark and the Shaping of the American West*. Jones, a former magazine editor at *People*, tended to include the sensational anecdotes that display the extremes in Clark's character and attributed them to the wild and violent society in which Clark grew up. The chapters

preceding and following the expedition delve into the intricacies of this society and the way in which struggles with Native Americans, land claims, and British encroachment shaped society and citizens like Clark. Jones particularly seems to favor the influence that George Rodgers Clark held over his younger brother "Billy" and the reader learns almost as much about George as about William. The author asserts that Clark's older brother set a precedent in Indian relations during the Revolutionary War that carried over to the young Clark.⁷

William E. Foley's *Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark* takes a more scholarly approach and focuses on Clark's role in the expedition and his influence in Missouri's territorial politics. Foley portrays Clark as an advocate of Western American expansion, and covers Clark's life before, during, and after the expedition. Through his writings Foley demonstrates how the military ideology of the early nineteenth century molded Clark's character and made him a tool in the hands of the government to propagate their interests, often at the expense of Native people.

Jay H. Buckley's *William Clark: Indian Diplomat* focuses on Clark's role as a soldier, explorer and frontier diplomat. Buckley, a former student of Gary Moulton, concentrates on Clark's public life as an Indian Agent and Superintendent of Indian affairs in St. Louis, primarily on the period following the expedition's return to the United States. Though Buckley does not paint as intimate a portrait as Jones, he reveals Clark's attitude towards the major political and economic challenges of the time and delves into Clark's involvement in the fur trade, which Clark used as a tool for trade and diplomacy. He also provides interesting insights into Clark's complex nature as a politician as well as his strengths and shortcomings as an Indian agent.⁸

While each of these three monographs views Clark's life through a different lens, they all emphasize Clark's gregarious and generous nature. Henry Vest Bingham echoed the general sentiment concerning Clark as "a very Civil polite Gentleman altho he must be Much plagued by the Visits of Strangers; he politely Invited us to use his office to Do any writings that we wished and Said the Door was always open at an Early hour in the morning we Could he said use his paper Maps & to ascertain the Situation of the Country."⁹ When not playing the hospitable host, Clark took the time to enjoy life and indulge in the pleasures it offered him and his family. His ledger book often recorded items such as "seegars and oysters" for himself, toys for his children and a piano for his wife Julia. He enjoyed the

theater and promoted education, writing as a young soldier what might be termed a motto for his life: "Every person of learning is finally his own teacher."¹⁰

Despite the general concurrence between authors that Clark worked toward the happiness of his friends and family, his biographers highlight some discrepancies between Clark's personal principles and public policies. The most contradictory episodes involve his perception and treatment of Indians and slaves. Buckley, a western historian, brings Clark's controversial treatment of the Native Americans into full light. He emphasizes Clark's dealings with the Osages resulted in the loss of vast tracts of Indian land due to his willingness to impress his superiors in Washington and fulfill his duty as a newly appointed Indian agent. Clark defended his negotiations and claimed, "no unfair means had been taken on [his] part" to facilitate the land cession from the tribe. Despite this earlier assertion, Clark later feared that that this particular treaty might condemn his soul to hell. Others agreed that he

...had reason to fear a tenure in hell, because he admitted to complicity in political manipulations that contributed to the exaggerated accusations of Osage 'depredations' to advance American interests.¹¹

While Clark did not provide an explicit answer as to why he acted the way he did towards Native groups, he most likely did so in order to keep his job. Prior to his years on the expedition, Clark tirelessly worked to iron out the financial turmoil of his brother George. This period weighed heavily upon him and he spent the years following his journey to the Pacific engaged in several business ventures. Personal financial security ranked high on Clark's list of importance. Therefore, in order to maintain his own security, it was in his best interest to advocate government policies such as Indian removal. By the same token, Clark did feel genuine concern and affection for the tribes under his jurisdiction. So, although he felt conflicted concerning government policies towards Native Peoples, he acquiesced to the demands of the federal government rather than fighting popular policy and losing all influence and financial security.

Another difficult character trait to understand is Clark's racial prejudice and ill treatment towards his black servants. That Clark owned slaves can be attributed to the society in which he lived, but the manner in which he treated those slaves, particularly

York, sometimes baffles people. Jones addresses Clark's feelings of anger and confusion that his Negro servants and Indian charges could not, or would not, "conform to his way of life."¹² He utilized Holmberg's work to show Clark's impatience and harsh treatment towards his slaves, making special mention of William Clark's letter to his brother Jonathan in which he rationalized his need to flog his slaves.¹³ Foley condemned Clark's treatment of his servants, and offered a impassioned opinion of Clark as a "callous and indifferent master." Modern readers wonder how an individual who ascribed to the idea that "the principle point of one's existence is to make his fellow creatures happy" could whip an expectant mother, force his lifelong companion to leave his wife or discuss slaves and livestock in the same context.¹⁴

Despite Clark's shortcomings, the stories these three recent biographies tell ultimately change the public notion of Clark as a backwoods simpleton, (based on his phonetic spelling and lack of formal education) to a sophisticated man.

[He] throughout his life exhibited a dogged perseverance and determination that made him among other things a successful explorer, soldier, territorial governor, Indian diplomat, and family man, and above all else a steady presence and comfort to those who knew him best.¹⁵

The year 2009 marked the bicentennial of Meriwether Lewis's death. Due to that unfortunate event, the literature of the twenty-first century focused primarily on the nature of his demise. Unlike Clark biographies, whose first biography did not appear until 2004, biographies recounting the life of Captain Lewis were published as early as 1965, with Richard Dillon's groundbreaking work on the life and death of the young explorer. Stephen E. Ambrose expounded on and popularized the expedition's story thirty-one years later with *Undaunted Courage*. These two books laid the groundwork and the main arguments for the theories surrounding the Captain's mysterious death. While Dillon asserts that Lewis met his violent death at the hands of an unknown assassin, Ambrose adamantly advocated the suicide theory, asserting that Lewis killed himself due to a combination of mental illness and substance abuse.¹⁶

Recent literature builds upon past scholarship and explores new ideas in the quest to further understand his life as well as seek to determine the circumstances

surrounding Lewis's death. Recently, historians and authors have attempted to provide a balanced academic debate on the nature of Lewis's death; while others have searched for a plausible reason, beyond mental illness, for Lewis to take his own life.¹⁷ The cooperative work of James J. Holmberg, John D. W. Guice, and Jay H. Buckley, *By His Own Hand?*, offered fresh insights into the controversies and mysteries surrounding Lewis's death. This collaboration successfully accomplishes what Vardis Fisher set out to do in 1962 to present a balanced analysis of the arguments surrounding Lewis's death.¹⁸ Not only does this book offer strong, well-supported arguments for both murder and suicide, but it also provides readers with different aspects of Lewis's personality and how they influenced his death. Guice, in particular, attributes his bias against suicide as a result of his perception of Lewis as a generally positive and vivacious individual. He defines the Captain as a genuinely optimistic man whose sanguine attitude prevails through his journal entries. Guice analyses a journal entry Lewis penned on his thirty-first birthday near the Continental Divide in modern-day Idaho commonly used by individuals attempting to prove Lewis's melancholia and subsequent suicide. In his writing, Lewis evaluates his life up to that point, expresses regret for lost opportunities, and resolves to "live for mankind as I have heretofore lived for myself."¹⁹ Rather than interpreting this as an indication of manic depression, Guice detects hope and the desire to persevere beyond previous personal limits. He cites Richard Dillon's biography, quoted below, as the basis for his concept of Lewis's character.

Is it likely that the cause of Lewis's death was self-murder? Not at all. If there is such a person as the anti-suicide type, it was Meriwether Lewis. By temperament, he was a fighter, not a quitter. Much has been made of his introspection but a line-by-line analysis of his long journals and letters show[s] his thirty-first birthday reveries (always pounced upon by suicide theorists) to be an almost unique example of moody soul-searching or excessive introspection. Sensitive he was; neurotic he was not. Lewis was one of the most positive personalities in American history.²⁰

While Guice portrays Lewis as an irrepressibly

optimistic character, Holmberg advocates the suicide theory more widely accepted by scholars like Moulton and Ambrose. In his article, Holmberg focuses on Lewis's darker side. His basic argument centers on the notion that Lewis suffered from melancholia, or manic depression, and substantiates this hypothesis by citing the reactions of the people Lewis knew and trusted, namely Thomas Jefferson and William Clark. Holmberg asserts that because his closest friends saw in the young man the possibility of suicide, based upon his behavior, then the most reasonable deduction is that Lewis took his own life.²¹

Most scholars who ascribe to the suicide theory look to Jefferson's short postmortem remembrance of Lewis as evidence for Lewis's supposed mental depression. The "Sage of Monticello" lived with Lewis for two years in the Presidential Mansion, knew his family, and treated Lewis like a son. When Nicholas Biddle requested some information on Lewis a few years after the explorer's death, Jefferson penned a telling eulogy.

[He had] courage undaunted...with all [the] qualifications, as if selected and implanted by nature for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him.

Jefferson continues his report,

Governor Lewis had, from early life, suffered from hypochondriac affections...While he lived with me in Washington I observed at times sensible depressions of the mind.²²

Given this information and the apparent shortcomings of Lewis in matters of love and professional acquaintances, particularly Fredrick Bates his secretary, one can see the plausibility in this thesis, and how modern authors can arrive at this same conclusion.

Thomas C. Danisi and John C. Jackson, authors of *Meriwether Lewis: A Biography*, agree that Lewis took his own life, but ascribe his motivations to advanced malaria rather than depression. These two authors pinpoint the excruciating pain of advanced malarial rather than chemical imbalance as the primary cause that drove the Governor to suicide death. This new concept provides Guice and Dillon with a basis for their notions about Lewis's character, that he lived a vivacious life, full of fight and motivation. Jackson and

Danisi's theory also appeases Moulton, Holmberg and others who ascribe to the suicide theory. The authors do not deny that Lewis also lived a difficult life of which disappointment, disease and substance abuse were a part; but they offer a plausible thesis for his demise.²³

While these recent works offer new possibilities to explore regarding Lewis's death, they also present details concerning his often overlooked life. Twenty-first century authors flesh out the story of a man who lived for success. *Meriwether Lewis: A Biography* focuses on his achievements as a politician and show that, despite some slander from political rivals like Fredrick Bates, Lewis successfully negotiated the opening of the United States fur trade through St. Louis. While some historians opted to examine new areas of Lewis's life, in the last ten years his occupation and accomplishments were overshadowed by the debate surrounding his death.

The strong emphasis during the last decade on Lewis's death encouraged creative thought about the character of the great explorer. Although the basic debate remained the same (did Lewis take his own life, or was it taken from him?), the bicentennial of the expedition and his death forced scholars to evaluate the personality behind the legend. Some like Guice maintain the idea of a stalwart Lewis, able to overcome all challenges but tragically struck down in the prime of life. Holmberg and Moulton maintain the notion that Lewis suffered from clinical depression and, although he lived a great life, he ultimately succumbed to the effects of depression and alcohol. Danisi and Jackson also espouse the suicide theory but propose environmental factors and disease in the case of Lewis's demise. Despite all the re-evaluation and revision, historians can only prove that Lewis died from two bullet wounds. This debate will doubtlessly continue until the tercentennial of the Captain's death.

THE CHARBONNEAU FAMILY

The first decade of the "New Millennium" not only brought out new information about the Captains of the Corps of Discovery, but it also reexamined the life and family of Sacagawea. During this period, six new biographies appeared on the Charbonneau family. Recent historians have refocused their attentions on this interesting family who joined and contributed to the success of the Corps of Discovery.²⁴

W. Dale Nelson's *Interpreters with Lewis and Clark* expounds on the experience of the Charbonneau family before, during and after the expedition.

[This family should be known]not only as key figures of American history, but as living human beings.²⁵

Nelson also redeems the name of Toussaint Charbonneau by emphasizing his positive characteristics and the trust that Clark placed in him after the expedition. His reason for such emphasis stems from the fact that Lewis and Clark scholars tend to look down on this particular member of the Corps because of his disastrous record as a waterman, an incident where he struck his wife and Lewis's classification of him as a "man of no particular merit."²⁶ In his 1902 edition of the expedition journals, Elliott Coues called him a "craven French apology for a male."²⁷ Nelson argues that although the journals may cast the man in a negative light his services as an interpreter and cook were invaluable. He further emphasizes the fact that Clark hired him to work as an interpreter on the Upper Missouri under contract with the federal government. Nelson's portrayal depicts Toussaint as a very capable individual, affable and trusted by his employers.

Sacagawea has undergone frequent reexamination and provides an interesting historiographical study by herself. Within the last two-hundred years her reputation went from being characterized as "Charbonneau's woman," to the guide of the expedition, to an Indian princess. Her history has become a combination of myth and history. Donna J. Kessler's *The Making of Sacagawea* covers the evolution of her legend through history and fiction until the late twentieth century. Kessler notes that since Grace Raymond Hebard published her book in 1932 and cast Sacagawea as the "guide and interpreter of the expedition," authors have searched for some grasp on her character and her actual role in the expedition. Although many Sacagawea authors, such as April R. Summit, Ella E. Clark and Margot Edmonds, all assert that she did not act as the guide of the expedition, some twenty-first century publishers still advocate her as such.²⁸

Another point of contention on the post-expeditionary life of Sacagawea deals with the year she died. Dr. Charles Eastman, of Santee Sioux and Anglo-American ancestry, was hired by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1920s to locate Sacagawea's remains. Relying primarily upon the oral tradition of the Shoshones, he deduced she had lived with them and died in Wyoming in 1884. He located her grave on the Wind River Reservation. Hebard accepted his research and incorporated it into her book as the

definitive end to the young woman's life. For the next fifty years Sacagawea's long post-expedition life in the Rocky Mountain West was accepted as fact. An account from John C. Luttig at Ft. Lisa states that Sacagawea actually died in 1812 of a "putrid fever" at the same fort. Based on this account, most historians now agree that Sacagawea's death occurred in 1812, but include both versions and allow readers to formulate their own opinions.

These two questions about her role on the expedition and her death form the main points of discussion in any historiography. Some still hold to Hebard's theories, which many K-12 schools teach as part of their curriculum, while others choose to base their opinions on William Clark's record and John C. Luttig's account of her death.²⁹

Despite Sacagawea's immense popularity, the last decade showed a decline in the number of new scholarly material based on the life of the young Shoshone woman. The 1980s and 1990s produced more than a dozen books about her. In the last ten years, however, the demographic for books on Sacagawea shifted dramatically from a balance between adult and juvenile literature to a predominantly younger readership. Authors now use Sacagawea, a child herself when she joined the expedition, as the vehicle to appeal to children and draw them into the expedition story. During the bicentennial period, relatively little new scholarship appeared on her.

April R. Summit's *Sacagawea: A Biography* relied on the journals and an account of her death to bring out her character and answer the questions regarding the expedition and her death. Since Sacagawea kept no records of her own, Summit utilized expedition journal entries to discern her character. The author maintains the popular beliefs of Hebard, Clark & Edmonds and Ambrose that Sacagawea served as a vital member of the expedition. Her presence showed other tribes that they were peaceful, she gathered food for the Captains, and she facilitated the trade of horses to cross the Bitterroot Mountains.³⁰ Summit asserts her views about Sacagawea's role in the expedition quite firmly.

Sacagawea served only in the capacity of translator and gatherer of roots and plants, according to the records. It is a romantic view that this American Indian woman served as a guide to the white people, but in truth, her contribution was not as a guide.³¹

She also accepts Luttig's account as ample evidence for the young woman's death in 1812 rather than 1884.

Nelson's *Interpreters with Lewis and Clark* offers little new information about Sacagawea. He generally maintains the conservatism as Summit, in that he holds to primary records to interpret the young woman's character. Nelson does take the time to debate circumstances of Sacagawea's death, whether it occurred at Fort Manuel, North Dakota, in 1812 or on the Wind River Reservation in 1884. The author deems the former theory as the most accurate, based on Clark's unofficial 1825 roster of the Corps when he labeled her "dead."³²

Though we may never know all the details of her life, Sacagawea's contributions to the expedition were unique and vital to the success of the voyage. The recent trend of authors to utilize the young woman as an ambassador to appeal to younger readers makes her role, once again, invaluable. By providing children with a connection to the Corps of Discovery, authors provide a foundation and a love of history that will potentially lead to further interpretation and historical examination of the expedition and the lives of the Corps members.

The son of Toussaint and Sacagawea, Jean-Baptiste, also made his mark on the world. Despite his formal education, Jean-Baptiste apparently never kept a memoir or a journal that we know of. Two books produced in the last decade by Susan M. Colby and Michael Lance Ritter relate the exciting story of his life. Jean-Baptiste lived a unique existence and traveled further than any other individual on the expedition. Strapped into a cradleboard at two months and carried across the country, this baby, whom Clark nicknamed "Pomp," saw more of the American West before he could walk than many others ever saw in their lifetimes. After the expedition, Clark took it upon himself to educate the boy.

Ritter's *Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, Man of Two Worlds* provided the first biography on the man who gained notoriety in the West at an early age. The author acquaints readers with an overview of the little known *post*-expedition life of young Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. The book relates the story of the Native American, Euro-American, and European forces that influenced him throughout his formative years. Ritter attributes Jean-Baptiste's success to this background, which allowed him to readily adapt to circumstances within the courts of Europe, in a mountain man encampment or on the Santa Fe Trail.

Susan M. Colby expresses a similar opinion about Jean-Baptiste's achievements in *Sacagawea's Child*.

This book presents a more academic study of young Charbonneau's life. Colby, like Ritter, ascribes Jean-Baptiste's success to his multi-cultural background. She demonstrates that his formal education and lineage made him a novelty to Europeans and frontiersmen alike. Colby strongly emphasizes Charbonneau's Indian heritage as one of the main factors that drew him westward after his time in Europe.

These books give depth and substance to a man whom most people see as the baby carried on his mother's back. They describe him as a strong and able-bodied man, capable of maintaining himself in any conditions. That he survived an eleven-day march across the harsh western desert in search of water indicates his resilience and his endurance. Those he encountered describe him as a fine cook, trustworthy, well-read, with

...a quaint humor and shrewdness of his conversation, so garbed with attention and perspicuity, that he at once insinuated himself into the good graces of listeners, and commanded their admiration and respect.³³

These biographies also dispel the notions of Grace Hebard that Jean-Baptiste went to the Wind River Indian Reservation to see Sacagawea and died there in 1885.³⁴ This family never wrote a single page about their own life or experience with the Corps of Discovery; however, through the works of recent scholars such as Ritter, Colby and Nelson, the lives and the personalities of the Charbonneau family find their rightful recognition in American history.

THE MEN OF THE CORPS

The first decade of the twenty-first century also gave voice to some unknown members of the expedition. The enlisted men of the Corps, generally, did not keep journals. Yet, they all contributed to the success of the expedition. Once they established the permanent party of thirty-three at Fort Mandan, Lewis and Clark depended on those men as they struggled to the Pacific and back. Each individual had a unique part to play in the successful outcome of the journey and their contributions aroused the interest of modern authors; the bicentennial offered these authors the opportunity to rediscover these men and their unique roles in the expedition, as well as what they did after they returned in 1806.

The bicentennial also led to new transcriptions of primary materials to further expound upon the lives of

the individual expedition members. James J. Holmberg produced a revised edition of Charles Floyd's journal and an edited volume on William Clark's correspondence. The production of Floyd's journal grew out of an article that Holmberg authored for *We Proceeded On* in 1996. Despite Moulton's publication of Floyd's journal in volume nine of the definitive edition, Holmberg noted some personal discrepancies with Moulton's transcription and proceeded with his revised publication in 2004.³⁵ The book itself presents a unique tribute to the only member of the Corps to die along the way. Part biography and part facsimile, Holmberg's version of the journal fleshes out some of the little known details on Floyd's life and provides a fully annotated transcription of the Sergeant's journal with digital copies of the original. Through this work, readers gain a sense of Floyd's personality as one of the nine young men from Kentucky. Holmberg portrays Floyd as one of the "best woodsman and hunters of young men in this part of the country [Kentucky]."³⁶ Floyd was entrusted with responsibilities as a courier, quartermaster, supervisor of men and a record-keeper. Until his death, Floyd maintained "a great deal of composure" and his commanders felt his funeral was one deserving "all the honors of war."³⁷ To re-enforce his notions, and to further acquaint readers with Floyd's character, Holmberg includes the three month journal in its entirety, thereby allowing researchers to further draw their own conclusions from the original source.

Bison Books republished M.O. Skarsten's *George Drouillard* in 2003. This biography, the only one on Drouillard, reveals the story of the most valuable man on the expedition save the Captains. As Drouillard kept no records of his own on the expedition, the author relies on the expedition journals and St. Louis Fur Company documents to prove his theories. Skarsten describes Drouillard as the best hunter and woodsman of the group, as well as the most important interpreter. The book provides numerous examples of his responsibilities and the positive nature of his character and credits Drouillard's hunting ability and diplomatic skill with Indians as key to the success of the expedition. No other author has refuted Skarsten's claims since its initial publication in 1964.³⁸

In a similar fashion to Skarsten's work on Drouillard, Robert E. Betts' *In Search of York* received a second printing in 2002. This book, originally published in 1988, goes a long way to correct misleading information about York. York, who accompanied the expedition as Clark's slave, has often received an unfair literary depiction based on the social prejudices of the

nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Washington Irving's *Western Journals* depict York as a buffoon, wholly incapable of surviving outside the bonds of slavery. Betts counters this argument more than 150 years later. He asserts that York lived a prosperous life away from Clark and suggests that York possibly returned to the West and lived the remainder of his days as a chief of the Crow Nation.³⁹ This book represents the only major academic study of York, and while it provides great insight, it seems unfortunate that it is the only one of its kind.

The University of Nebraska Press issued a reprint of Charles G. Clarke's *The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* in 2002. Originally published in 1970, this work bears mentioning as it once again demonstrates the emphasis on the men of the Corps. With a new preface by the Dayton Duncan, this book rests in a sort of middle ground between biography and a primary resource. Clarke replicates particular journal entries and makes general summations based on the Biddle, Thwaites, Quaife and Coues editions of the journals. Through these chronological entries, readers can track the actions of the individual members and flesh out the stories that demonstrate the character of the Corps members. Though useful, this book provides a somewhat limited version of the men's histories.

In 2004 Larry E. Morris's *The Fate of the Corps* provides a summation of the lives of the individual members of the Corps. Through it one finds some of the attitudes of Corps members, their continued affiliation and the information that will help readers understand the personalities of the men who were willing to give their all in pursuit of a goal. *The Fate of the Corps* goes beyond Clarke's timeframe to show what happened to the expedition members after their return to the United States. Morris conducted thorough research and delved into previously neglected family history records to follow the significant events in the lives of the individual members. It clarifies how Joseph Field died, the first to perish, while attempting to return to the West.⁴⁰ It provides a greater breadth of information on George Shannon's post-expeditionary career.⁴¹ Morris shows that the men who accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific Ocean were strong, passionate individuals. Some returned to the West, others stayed as far away from it as possible. Despite their reactions, all were affected by their experience and it shaped their individual stories and personalities.

The bicentennial decade offered a great opportunity for remembrance and reevaluation of Captains Lewis and Clark. Through the works of Holmberg, Jones, Foley and Buckley the complex nature of William

Clark came to light through his correspondence and in-depth studies of his actions. These actions, when contrasted with the study of Clark's environment and the perceptions of the time, allow readers to understand the ideological basis for some of Clark's personal shortcomings. These biographies also allowed him to receive due credit for his accomplishments and corrected the fallacy of Clark as a backwoods simpleton.

The life and especially the death of Meriwether Lewis remains a mystery. Recent historiography has provided ample information on the possibilities of both suicide and murder in a well-balanced manner. Danisi and Jackson shed light on Lewis's tenure as governor of the Upper Louisiana Territory, an era often omitted or counted as a failure by twentieth century authors.

Scholars like Nelson, Summit, Ritter, and Colby altered public perception of the Charbonneau family and their role on the expedition. Through their works, the notion of Toussaint Charbonneau as a no-account has been rebuffed. Summit's work displayed the historiographical shifts in Sacagawea's depiction, and contradicted the arguments of Grace Hebard. For the first time readers were able to find information about the life of Sacagawea's child, and the impact he had on western expansion.

This last decade also provided new information on the often forgotten men of the Corps of Discovery. The works of Holmberg and Harris were particularly meaningful in that they redefined what was previously published. Holmberg's article expanded the public's understanding of Charles Floyd and the fate of his remains, as well as offering an alternative, fully-annotated transcription of his brief journal. Harris truly gave a voice to the men who kept no journals; his extensive research answered the question "what happened to these men after the expedition?" It also updated and revised the previous stories told by Clarke.

Though the scope of Corps of Discovery bicentennial literature is much broader than this paper addresses, the main themes of modern scholars comes through clearly. They wanted to show the bicentennial reader who the Corps members were, as individuals united in a common cause. Bringing out the individual personalities of the Corps members made the expedition come to life for modern individuals. As the personalities of the Corps emerged readers formed a connection with them, and as they formed those connections, thirty-three men, one woman and a dog gained a new identity that kept them alive forever.⁴²

J. Ryan Badger is currently employed as an educator and interpreter at the American West Heritage Center in Wellsville, Utah. He plans to complete a PhD in Western American history at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.

NOTES

1 Robert B. Betts, "The Writingest Explorers of their Time": New Estimates of the Number of Words in the Published Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," *We Proceeded On* 7:2 (August 1981), pp. 4-9. Betts records that the journals contain more words than the Bible.

2 Devoto's edition was republished in 1997 due to the renewed interest in the Expedition caused by the publication of Stephen E. Ambrose's best-seller *Undaunted Courage*.

3 The University of Nebraska also re-released Moulton's edition of the journals in paperback in 2003 as *The Definitive Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*.

4 Donald D. Jackson, ed, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1: p. 367.

5 James J. Holmberg, *Dear Brother: The Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark* (New Haven: Yale University Press), p. 4.

6 Holmberg, *Dear Brother*, p. 1.

7 Landon Y. Jones, *William Clark and the Shaping of the American West* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2004), p. 313.

8 Jay H. Buckley, *William Clark: Indian Diplomat* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), p. 79-81.

9 Jones, *Shaping of the American West*, p. 247.

10 Buckley, *Indian Diplomat*, p. 40.

11 Buckley, *Indian Diplomat*, p. 77.

12 Jones, *Shaping of the American West*, p. 170.

13 Holmberg, *Dear Brother*, p. 201.

14 William E. Foley, *Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004), p. 167.

15 Foley, *Wilderness Journey*, p. xii.

16 In a 1997 interview for Ken Burn's documentary on the Corps of Discovery, Ambrose claimed that Meriwether Lewis suffered from what modern physicians term 'manic

depression.' While this theory is still popular among most scholars, some others, even some who subscribe to the 'suicide theory', disagree.

17 James E. Starrs and Kira Gale, *The Death of Meriwether Lewis: A Historic Crime Scene Investigation* (Omaha: River Junction Press, 2009). While this book presents some valuable information on the coroner's inquest of 1997 and the movement to exhume the body of Meriwether Lewis for the purpose of forensic investigation, it is not covered in this paper. The purpose of this work is to show how the literature of the last decade has portrayed the individual members of the Corps of Discovery. The information concerning Lewis's character in this book is thoroughly covered in *By His Own Hand?* and further review would be redundant.

18 Vardis Fisher, *Murder or Suicide?: The Strange Death of Meriwether Lewis* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993).

19 Gary Moulton, ed., *An American Epic of Discovery: The Lewis and Clark Journals* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), p. 188.

20 John D. W. Guice, *By His Own Hand?* "Why Not Homicide?", p. 101. The complete citation and Dillon's argument for murder can be found in his *Meriwether Lewis: A Biography*.

21 James J. Holmberg, *By His Own Hand?* "Case for Suicide," p. 30.

22 Nicholas Biddle, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1962), p. xxv. This was a reproduction of the original 1814 journals.

23 Substance abuse refers to Lewis's reliance on laudanum, a mixture of opium and alcohol used widely as a panacea in nineteenth century America.

24 The six biographies are: Susan M. Colby, *Sacagawea's Child: The Life and Times of Jean-Baptiste (Pomp) Charbonneau*; W. Dale Nelson, *Interpreters with Lewis and Clark: The Story of Sacagawea and Toussaint Charbonneau*; Michael Lance Ritter, *Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau, Man of two Worlds: Son of Sacagawea, Toussaint Charbonneau & William Clark*; April R. Summit, *Sacagawea: A Biography*.

25 W. Dale Nelson, *Interpreters with Lewis and Clark: The Story of Sacagawea and Toussaint Charbonneau* (Denton: University of North Texas Press, 2003), p. x.

26 Donald D. Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), I: p. 369.

27 Elliot Coues, ed., *History of the Lewis and Clark*

Expedition (New York: Dover Publication), 1: p. 311.

28 Grace Raymond Hebard's *Sacajawea: Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* was reprinted in 2002 for the bicentennial celebration.

29 John C. Luttig resided at Ft. Lisa in 1812 and left the record stating that "This evening the wife of Charbonneau, a Snake squaw, died today of a putrid fever. She was a good and the best woman in the fort." Shortly thereafter Clark was given legal custody of Sacagawea's daughter Lizette and Jean-Baptiste, who had traveled with the expedition. Cited in Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, p. 115.

30 Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), p. 225.

31 April R. Summit, *Sacagawea: A Biography* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press, 2008), p. 79.

32 Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 2: p. 638.

33 Michael Lance Ritter, *Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau, Man of two Worlds: Son of Sacagawea, Toussaint Charbonneau & William Clark* (published by the author, 2004), pp. 112-13.

34 Grace Raymond Hebard, *Sacajawea: Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (New York: Dover Publications, 2002), p. 211. While Hebert, and others who accepted her theories, believed that Jean-Baptiste went to the Wind River Reservation, Ritter and Colby both assert and document his death near Inksip Station, Oregon, in 1866 of pneumonia.

35 James J. Holmberg, ed., *Exploring with Lewis and Clark: The 1804 Journals of Charles Floyd* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004), p. viii. The foreword was written by Gary Moulton.

36 Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1: p. 366.

37 See both Holmberg, *Exploring*, p. 14. and Moulton, *Journals*, 2: pp. 494-496.

38 Those interested in the life of George Drouillard may enjoy the novel *Sign Talker* by James Alexander Thom, who utilized the expedition's journal accounts and artistic license to create a fictional version of Drouillard's life and experiences with the Corps of Discovery.

39 Robert E. Betts, *In Search of York: The Slave Who Went to the Pacific with Lewis and Clark* (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2002), p. 143.

40 Larry E. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers After the Expedition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 30.

41 Ibid., pp. 82-89.

42 There are more books available on some individual members of the Corps; John Colter for example has had several books dedicated to his exploits. However, they are not relevant to this discussion due to the time period of their publication.

1803, in Moulton, *Journals*, 2:p. 72.

10 Moulton, *Journals*, 2:p. 72 fn.2.

11 Joseph A. Mussulman, *That Sounden Horn* (The Lewis and Clark Fort Mandan Foundation, 1998-2009). <http://lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=580> (accessed May-Jul 2010).

12 Frances Hunter, Guest Post: *Daniel Slosberg on Becoming Pierre Cruzatte, Part II* (June 1, 2010). <http://franceshunter.wordpress.com/page/2/> (accessed May-Jul 2010).

13 John Ordway, August 16, 1804, in Moulton, *Journals* 9:40.

14 Michael Sartorius, *Mr. Jefferson's Music*. Arton Baroque. <http://www.barquemusic.org/bqxjef.html> (accessed July 18, 2010).

15 Ken Pollard, *Lewis and Clark's Fiddlers*. http://www.owyheemountainfiddle.com/Site/Lewis_&_Clark_fiddles_.html (accessed May 15, 2010).

16 My first violin teacher, David A. Shand, former Assistant Conductor of the Utah Symphony with Maurice Abravanel and professor of violin at University of Utah owned an 18th Century violin complete with gut strings. This was the first violin I ever played. Over my time with him, he showed me examples of early cases.

17 Both sealskin and oilskin bags (bags sealed with linseed oil and beeswax) were in use during this time. Winifred Aldon Stearns' *Labrador: A Sketch of Its People* (1884) mentions the use of naturally water-repellent sealskin bags to carry provisions and supplies used by the native peoples of Labrador in the early 1800s. Traders with the native peoples of the Atlantic coast could have brought these items south. Because Cruzatte is of French Canadian heritage it is not too much of a stretch to suppose he would have knowledge of such items.

18 John Bakeless spells Pierre Cruzatte's name one of many ways and forms. Clark himself spells it at least three different ways: Crusett, Crusat, Crusatte being the most popular. John Bakeless, *Lewis and Clark: Partners in Discovery* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1947), p. 312.

19 Ken Pollard, *Lewis and Clark's Fiddlers*. http://www.owyheemountainfiddle.com/Site/Lewis_&_Clark_fiddles_.html (accessed July, 18 2010).

20 Leif Louis Luscombe, *How to Set a Sound Post*, <http://www.violins.on.ca/luthier/soundpost.html> (accessed August 8, 2010).

21 Mussulman, *That Sounden Horn* (accessed July 18, 2010).

22 Paul Kotapish, "Sticky Business," *All Things Strings*. Nov 1998. <http://www.stringsmagazine.com/issues/strings98/rosin.html> (accessed July 18, 2010).

23 Bakeless, p. 114.

24 David Lavender, *The Way to the Western Sea* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988.), 108.

25 Joseph A. Mussulman, "The Greatest Harmony 'Meddicine Songs' On the Lewis and Clark Trail," *We Proceeded On* 25:4 (1997), p. 4.

26 Space does permit full listing of title sources, but a complete spreadsheet detailing all the relevant information can be found at saravolds.com/lewisandclarkmusic.

27 Whitehouse, 18 May 1804, in Moulton, *Journals*, 11: p. 10.

28 Bakeless, pp. 113 - 114.

29 Robert R. Hunt, "Merry to the Fiddle: the Musical Amusement of The Lewis and Clark Party," *We Proceeded On* 25:2 (May 1999), p. 11.

Olds - continued from page 13

5 Whitehouse, August 30, 1804, in Moulton, *Journals*, 11: p. 65.

6 Frederick Crane, *Trump in the Movies*. Edited by Michael Wright. 1997. <http://www.jewsharper.info/index.php?id=22> (accessed July 18, 2010).

7 Bill Gohring and Janet Gohring, *History of the Jew's Harp*. April 2009. <http://www.jewsharpguild.org/history.html> (accessed July 18, 2010).

8 Patrick Gass, August 30, 1804, in Moulton, *Journals*, 10:p. 33.

9 Meriwether Lewis, September 5,

The Foundation in Other Media: John Lipscomb Meets the Press



The left, a herd of buffalo thundered across the hillside. Across the river, elk lunched on the underbrush. Ahead was hunger, hardship and uncertainty, but explorer William Clark recorded every detail of the scene, on orders from then-president Thomas Jefferson.

Two hundred years later, former Sanford resident Robert Cline stood in the same spot along the Yellowstone River, reading from Clark's journal and looking around in awe.

"Just sitting here thinking about it starts to put my hair on end—I was exactly where those men stood 200 years ago," Cline said. "Aside from going to the moon, that was probably the most exciting adventure anyone has ever been on."

Clark and colleague Meriwether Lewis were the leaders of the "Corps of Discovery" — now better known as the Lewis and Clark expedition — ordered by then-president Thomas Jefferson to explore the uncharted West in search of the Northwest Passage in 1803. After a dangerous three years and many narrow escapes, the explorers made it to the Pacific Ocean with the help of Shoshone translator and guide Sacagawea, returning to St. Louis, Missouri, in 1806.

Cline, who recently moved to Burlington after 45 years in Sanford, has traveled two-thirds of the explorers' westward journey, along with current Lee County resident John Lipscomb. As dedicated members of the award-winning Carolina Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, the two men travel west as often as possible to retrace the journey that opened up the American West.

The men travel by foot, horseback, car or canoe. Along the way, they stop at each of the explorers' camp sites to read from the journals and scope out the surviving landmarks, from Indian camps along the Knife River in North Dakota, to the rock in Billings, Montana, where Lewis carved his name.

Of course, the trail has undergone some changes in the past 200 years.

"A lot of the rest of the trail has been developed," Cline said. "They put a big Air Force base in one spot—that disturbs a little bit of the pristine element of it, to be looking along the trail and suddenly see this mile and a half of asphalt runway."

Still, long stretches of the route are still clear and beautiful, and both men are eager to return.

On Thursday, Lipscomb's living room was cluttered with Lewis and Clark books, maps and memorabilia. He leaves today with his wife and daughter to walk a few more miles in the explorers' footsteps, sharing the experience with his family for the first time.

Lipscomb, a retired junior high school history teacher, credits his fascination with the journey to the explorers' pioneer spirit and the dream of travel into an uncharted land ripe with adventure.

"Nobody knew what was west of the Mississippi River," Lipscomb said. "It was incredibly exciting."



WESLEY BEESON / Sanford Herald

John Lipscomb (left) poses with his daughter Johanna Lipscomb who is dressed in full costume as Sacagawea. Lipscomb will be leaving today with his wife and daughter to walk a few more miles in the explorers footsteps and experience this with his family for the first time.

Lipscomb's journey started five years ago, heading to Montana to travel a portion of the route. At the time, Lipscomb hadn't camped since he was 13 years old. He didn't know how to set up a tent, and he was terrified of rattlesnakes. But the expedition had captured his imagination, and the chance to relive a portion of it in person was irresistible — even if it meant “being in the backwoods, 150 miles from the nearest outhouse.”

“It's humbling, and it makes you a better person — you appreciate what a hard life they had,” Lipscomb said. “You can't help but be more spiritual when you're out there in the middle of the wilderness.”

Lipscomb eyes light up when he is asked about the expedition. He can rattle off names and events, dates and locations.

He hasn't traveled as much of the trail as Cline, but his enthusiasm is contagious. His 15-year-old daughter, Johanna Lipscomb, has begun attending chapter meetings in full costume as Sacagawea.

- Chelsea Kellner
The Sanford Herald

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Tubbs, continued from page 2

challenges. Thanks to the friendship and enthusiasm of our members and indeed of the history of our organization I believe we can put the Trail back into the American consciousness at a time in our nation's history when the lessons of the Expedition cannot afford to be ignored.

In Peace and Friendship,

I remain your obedient servant,

Stephenie Ambrose Tubbs

President

Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

Mallory, continued from page 5

Foundation this is not an effort to start a new trail, but to complete the trail we have devoted ourselves to since 1969. Our Foundation predates the Congressional designated Lewis & Clark National Historic Trail by nearly ten years. We are an outgrowth of the Lewis & Clark Commission established in 1965, and our Foundation has been involved in trail improvements and education from day one. Our long history of trail advocacy for the good of the entire Nation must go forward. A great Nation deserves great trails, so please join me in providing comments relative to completion of the LCNHT. Complete and submit the questionnaire and attend public hearings!

Respectfully,

Jim Mallory

Immediate Past President

Lewis & Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

Turnbow, continued from page 4

Grinder's Tavern was located in what was then the southwest corner of Maury County. Coroner's inquest records were not required to be filed in Maury County in 1809. Writers have often theorized that Maury County was too undeveloped at the time to conduct a coroner's inquest. However, the County contained about 9,000 residents and it had elected a sheriff, a coroner and justices of the peace. The local lore has often been dismissed because no mention of an inquest has been found in the county records. That is no longer the case.

Local lore and family traditions hold that Samuel Whiteside, who lived in the same judicial district as Grinder's Tavern, was notified of Lewis's death and rode his mule seven miles to Grinder's house to conduct an inquest. Legend also holds that Whiteside kept his own records of the proceeding in a pocket journal. The pocket journal was given to Whiteside's grandson Griff, who lived in Samuel's house. When Griff died in the early 1900's, the journal disappeared. Newspaper accounts claim that Maury County historian Frank Smith had read the journal; however, he made no mention of it in his county history.

The argument will no doubt be offered that second or third generation accounts are unreliable. The county court would not have adopted the assertions about the burial or the inquest unless both were common public knowledge. The county court likely contained members who were Masons familiar with the accounts of Lewis's death and reburial. Robert Cooper, who wrote that he helped make the nails for Lewis's coffin in 1809 and that he helped identify

Lewis's grave in 1848, was one of the county leaders who helped organize the effort to create Lewis County, Tennessee from a portion of Maury County. Cooper was also one of the founders of the Meriwether Lewis Lodge in Hampshire, Tennessee about seven miles from Lewis's grave. Cooper may have organized the Maury County Masons to participate in the reburial. The state Grand Master Edmund Dillahunt served on the Monument Committee and likely played a role in the reburial.

The writer of a previous letter to WPO notes that most discussions of Lewis's death amount to a rehashing of the same facts reconfigured to fit a particular theory. A thorough review of early source material will begin to answer lingering questions about the circumstances surrounding Lewis's death.

**-Tony Turnbow
Franklin, TN**

Donna Reed in buckskin and the rise of American auto-tourism

In The Footsteps of Lewis and Clark

Wallace G. Lewis

University Press of Colorado
\$40.00/248 pages

Wallace G. Lewis' *In The Footsteps of Lewis and Clark* is, in a general sense, an informative and thought-provoking exercise in what one might call "highway historiography". That is, how the interpretation of historical fact—in this case as described in a lengthy and compulsively detailed journal—are shaped by the artifacts of a nation's growth, in the form of highways, railroad lines, monuments and a variety of commemorative events.

History and irony are familiar partners and the erratic, up and down story of the Lewis and Clark commemorations provides all too many examples of this pairing. What could be sweeter than Hollywood's Donna Reed, childless and in fashionable buckskin, as the young Indian wife and mother, Sacajewea* in a romantic relationship with Charlton Heston's Clark? Or, on a more serious note, in Armstead, Montana's Lewis and Clark pageant in 1915, when the "famous" Shoshone War Dance was introduced to symbolize the tribe's participation in the very peaceful meeting between the explorers and the dancers' Lemhi Shoshone ancestors. (In an even darker irony, it came to pass that both Armstead and the Corps

of Discovery's nearby Camp Fortunate were both inundated by the Clark Canyon Reservoir in later years.)

Wallace Lewis is at his best in his Chapter One – "Monuments" recounting of the enigmatic presence of Sacajewea in the Corps of Discovery's commemoration and, most importantly, her emergence as an iconic figure in American history. A surprising note in this last regard is the fact, not legend, that this young Indian woman guide and interpreter became an important symbol of female courage and accomplishment for the suffragette movement of the early twentieth century.

The heart of this work is in the chapter "Tracing the Route", and one might ask, "Is this trip necessary?" Turns out it is, as the author verbally overlays with present geography, highway route numbers and river and mountain views, a summary of the actual scene and events as described in the Journals. The logical continuation is to "The New Explorers" of the following chapter in recounting the efforts of writers, road builders, journalists and Lewis and Clark buffs to follow or even approximate the original course of the original journey. Just another example of how the understanding of American history is shaped by auto-tourism.

A side benefit in Lewis' narrative of the 150th anniversary celebration of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the Sesquicentennial in 1955, is an insight into the importance of the historical pageant as an example of

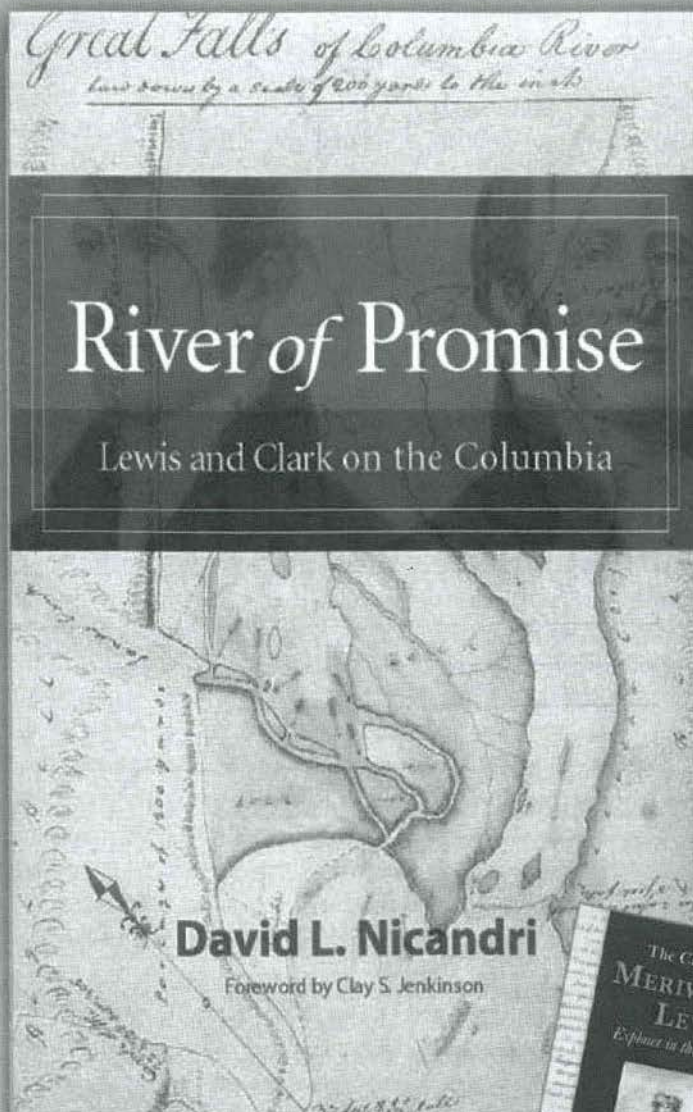
vernacular theater as well as a formal literary event. But most important in the overall history of the Lewis and Clark commemorations, the wide variety of 1955 events served to "stimulate the movement" toward the ultimate establishment of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. The author, in his final chapters, guides us through the complex local and federal political journey toward that end.

Like all good history, *In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark* not only tells its own story but also opens doors for the curious reader. One small example is provocative, a single sentence mentioning the use of "federal prisoners and Japanese internees" during WWII years, to help build the Lochsa segment of the long-planned Lewis-Clark Highway. Were these Japanese-Americans paid? Forced labor? Interesting questions. And like all good historians, Lewis tells his story with clarity, energy and a balanced perspective.

– Marc Jaffe

Marc Jaffe is a long-time editor and publisher. Among many other books, he edited Best Stories of the American West, Volume One, and partnered with the late Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. in editing Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes. He lives in Williamstown, MA.

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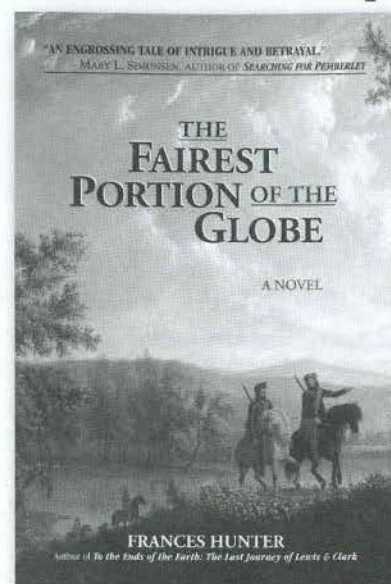
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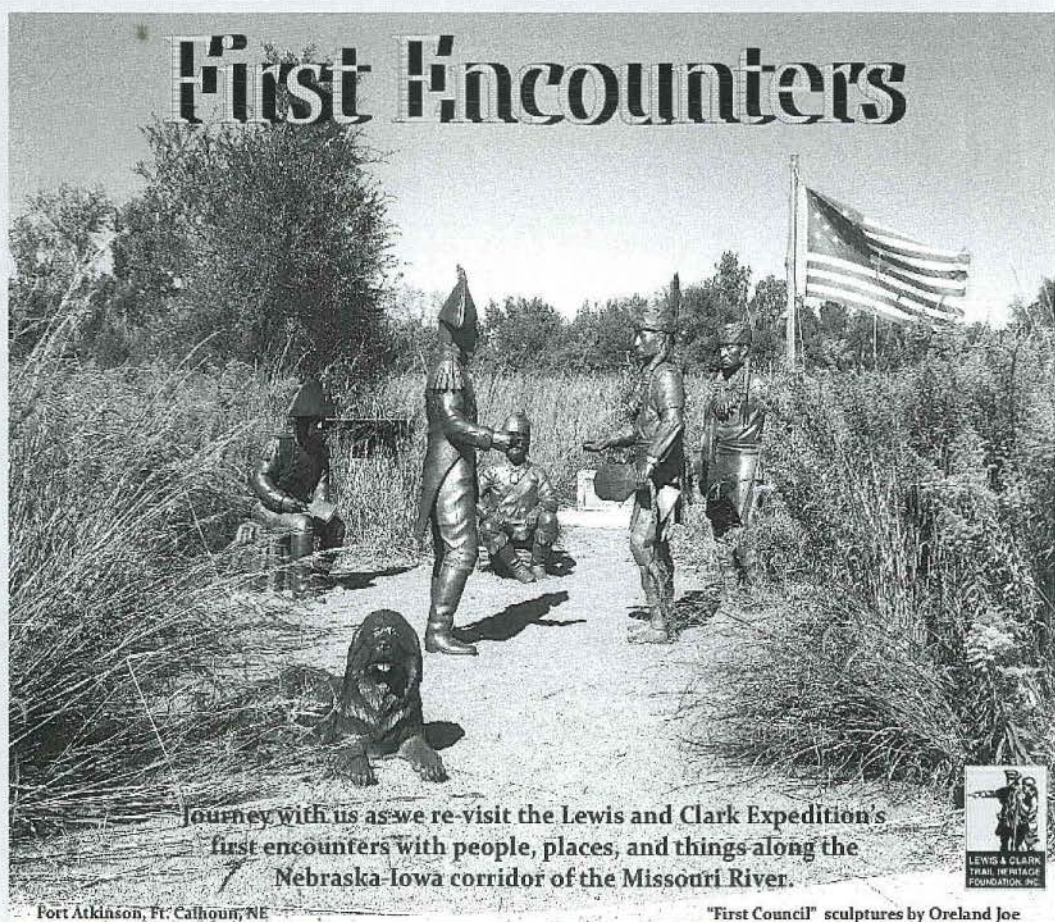
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What you hold in your hands may almost be described as a journal with three editors. Our outgoing editor, Wendy Raney, selected and established the articles within it, and I cannot justly take any responsibility for their choice away from her. The writers were encouraged and initially edited by Dr. Jay Buckley of Brigham Young University, known to many of you as a wise and thoughtful author in his own right. My role, as Interim Editor, was to come in halfway through the process. I was lucky to have such a clear path to follow, but I hope that both Wendy and Jay will not take offense when I say that I'm looking forward to editing February's issue as much as seeing November's off to the printer!

This, though, is my first real chance to introduce myself at a distance to this journal's many readers. I met many of you at this year's Annual Meeting, where we enjoyed the hospitality of the Nez Perce outside Lewiston. It was a wonderful introduction to the Foundation, and I hope I made as good an impression on you as you did on me.

I come to Lewis and Clark chronologically, so to speak – through my research into the history of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, particularly London's scientific societies. That fascinating point in time, when the human spirit flowered through factory dust, represents the mental version of the physical exploration the Expedition engaged in. With a long interest in my own country's colonial and Revolutionary period, it was only a matter of time before I got on the trail. Now that I'm here, I hope to stay in close contact with our readers. Please write to wpo@lewisandclark.org with suggestions, comments, criticisms, and perhaps eventually even compliments. If there is an area or subject you feel is underserved in *We Proceeded On*, now is the time to bring it up. And if you would like to submit an article or image, I encourage you to do so! If Lewis and Clark prove anything, it is that good scholars are not always the product of scholarly institutions.

If the thought of submitting an article to the editing process is too intimidating just at the moment, 'The Long View' is a new feature we are introducing on our back page. It is designed for shorter, more personal essays. Each new issue will feature a member of the Foundation talking about something they care about - whether it's an exciting new piece of research you've just started, a section of the trail you've recently walked, or a funny or sad story about your life with Lewis and Clark. Photographs and art can also feature here, so even if you think you're no writer you can still participate.

Outside my editorial work, I enjoy hiking, plants, and old books. My husband Michael Corey and I are presently settled in Chicago, where Lou Ritten has made us feel very welcome at what (little) remains of Fort Dearborn. Michael is a native of Pittsburgh, and grew up hearing about the beginnings of the Expedition. We have been to the site of its beginning many times; this year, we hope to see its end at the Pacific as well.

L. C. CARR

"An excellent study of a misunderstood hero."

DAVID LEE POREMBA, *The Past in Review* online

"Danisi and Jackson present a well-written, superbly documented narrative . . . and cite eighteen manuscript collections, twelve microfilm collections, the *Early American Imprints* microfiche series, twenty-four newspapers, ten Web site collections, and 342 primary and secondary printed works."

SHELDON AVENIUS

History: Review of New Books

"Thomas Danisi and John Jackson are diligent and exacting researchers. By combing hitherto unexamined sources they have managed to turn up substantial new information about the life of Meriwether Lewis and to propose a persuasive new theory about his death. This book, which focuses attention on Lewis's neglected but critical years as governor of Louisiana, contributes an important new piece to the puzzle that is Meriwether Lewis. Anyone who has ever wanted to solve that mystery should have a copy."

CAROLYN GILMAN

Author of Lewis and Clark: Across the Divide

"Best known as one-half of the Lewis and Clark expedition . . . which explored the uncharted territory west of the Mississippi River, Meriwether Lewis's life was surrounded by myth and mystery. . . . Authors Danisi and Jackson have produced the first full-length biography of Lewis in fifty years. . . . This gives tremendous insight into why Lewis was chosen to lead the exploration and how he continued his career afterward. . . . The authors make a convincing case for the cause of Meriwether Lewis's early death. . . . This is an excellent study of a misunderstood hero and of the early national period in US history."

DAVID LEE POREMBA

The Past in Review online

"This is by far the best biography of the serious, sexy, dangerous half of the Lewis and Clark expedition, the eternally puzzling and contradictory Meriwether Lewis. Danisi and Jackson have combed through archives, studied letters, and most important done a lot of thinking about what their sources are really telling them—and the result is a thoroughly invigorating biography of a young man who would certainly have become president, had he lived (the authors also tackle head-on the problems involved in that innocent-sounding 'had he lived' by digging deep into the mystery of why he didn't)."

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"It's Lewis's early years and the time between the exploration and the suicide that Thomas C. Danisi and John C. Jackson focus on in Meriwether Lewis. There's no question that the authors feel Lewis has been slighted. Right from the start of their exhaustive study, they come out swinging. . . . Danisi and Jackson's research is thorough, their imagery is complete. . . . Their defense of Captain Lewis is unwavering."

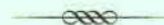
BOB OSWALD

Chicago Sun

Meriwether Lewis

by Thomas C. Danisi & John C. Jackson

424 pp (illustrations) / HC / \$28.98 / ISBN 978-1-59102-702-7



Independent scholars Danisi and Jackson have written this definitive biography based on twelve years of meticulous research, rereexamining the original Lewis and Clark documents and searching through obscure and overlooked sources to reveal a wealth of fascinating new information on the enigmatic character and life of Meriwether Lewis.



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