"The Greatest Harmony"

Medicine Songs on the Lewis and Clark Trail

By Joseph A. Musulman

On April 28, 1806, under a waxing moon, on the north bank of the Columbia opposite the mouth of the Walla Walla River, several hundred Wallula and Yakama Indians gathered at the Lewis and Clark Expedition's camp for a grand feast and dance. Chief Yelleppit of the Walulas was eager to forge a bond of friendship with the American tourists, and he proposed to seal it with a song. Sergeant John Ordway reported: "They wished to hear once [sic] of our medicine Songs and try to learn it and wished us to learn one of theirs and it would make them glad. So our men Sang 2 Songs which appeared to take great affect on them."

Ordway and the rest knew that by "medicine" the chief meant mysterious, supernatural, unaccountable, powerful music, and especially choral song, is a potent force. It draws people together. It unifies, inspires, and confirms community, especially through songs that really matter to the singers, that match the moment-We Shall Overcome, John Lennon's Imagine, or Beethoven's Ode to Joy, for example. Successful leaders in all nations and cultures have known this. Chief Yelleppit surely knew it.

But what two songs did the Americans choose? Actually, the possibilities are so numerous that we risk missing the mark by speculating from so great a distance in time. We can narrow the field somewhat by remembering that the criteria Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark established for their recruits favored rugged outdoorsmen rather than "Gentlemens sons," so it is probably safe to assume that most if not all of the men preferred popular music, rather than the "scientific" styles admired in social circles such as Jefferson's. Moreover, some of the popular songs of that era are still within earshot today, and it may be that their very durability is sufficient grounds for some informed guesswork.

During the generation to which the young men of the Lewis and Clark expedition belonged, the traditions of popular music were fundamentally different from today's. In those days, texts-called songs, meaning poems to be sung-and tunes were two separate repertoires. Many songs were written "to be sung to the tune of..." a specific melody already known by its association with other words. If no tune were specified, the singer was free to use any tune which fit the meter of the lyrics.

The musical tastes of the singers or the listeners determined whether or not a given match of song to tune was "right" with regard to mood, style, and effect. Generally speaking, the most popular tunes were the ones that worked well in any meter or at any tempo, and tolerated any kind of tone quality, from a lusty bawl to a reedy nasal whine to a resonant bel canto. Most popular songs consisted of several stanzas, so a good tune was one that tolerated repetition.

Singing, like dancing, was considered a manly pastime. One measure of a man's social status was his ability to remember a goodly number of tunes to perform with them with a fitting sense of style, and to summon an impressive variety of songs for a given situation. Instrumental accompaniment was optional. If harmony were improvised, it was most often in three parts, high, medium and low, with the melody in the middle. When women joined in, they sang the same parts as the men—an octave higher, if necessary.

New tunes in the popular idiom were played by street musicians or theater performers and picked up by ear, and passed on in the same way. Songs were printed from woodcuts on handbills—called broadsides—and sold on the streets for a penny apiece.

After the Revolutionary War the popular music market expanded rapidly. Reopened theaters stimulated public taste, and the publishing industry promptly responded to the demand. Therefore, to make a list of the songs from which the men might have chosen their two favorites, we need only look at contemporary theatrical notices, broadsides, and music in print.

The first song that leaps to the list is "Yankee Doodle." Exactly who wrote it, and where, has been the subject of much discussion and speculation among musical scholars, but one very reasonable guess
holds that it was an American dance tune—"Mind the music and the step./And with the girls be hasty"—for flute or fife. It appeared in print for the first time anywhere in 1782, in a Scottish publication under the title "Yank Doodle." By that time, however, the tune surely had been in the air for at least a full generation. It had been sung in an American comic opera in 1767, and was played by the victors' band at the surrender of General Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1781. In 1795 the tune was printed for the first time in the United States, as one of the eight most popular melodies of the time chosen by a young English immigrant, Benjamin Carr, for inclusion in a theater overture he cobbled together, which he called A Federal Overture.

The short-breathed, neatly shaped, crisp little tune was a natural for doggerel of all descriptions—patriotism, simple nonsense, or bawdy jokes. During the little undeclared war with France in the late 1790s, a new song summed it up: "Sing Yankee Doodle, that fine tune./Americans delight in./It suits for peace, it suits for fun./It suits as well for fighting." It worked equally well in jig time or in march time, and because it belonged to the oral tradition it could exist simultaneously in several slightly different versions. As "The Lexington March" ("NB. The Words to be Sung thro' the Nose, & in the West Country drawl & dialect"), it dropped the better-known refrain in favor of a section in a new key, with a slightly different shape.

Although the tune is said to have been a vehicle for a British parody on Colonial military manners, the first time the song showed up on a broadside, it began "Father and I went down to camp/Along with Captain Gooding./And there we saw the men and boys/As thick as hasty pudding," continuing in the whimsical style of a Bill Mauldin cartoon, or a Beetle Bailey comic strip.

It served as a weapon in a heated political duel between the Federalists and the Republicans in the spring and summer of 1800, and about the same time bore the burden of a venomous attack on Thomas Jefferson over his rumored liaisons with his black servant, Sally Hemings: "Of all the damsels on the green,/On mountain, or in valley,/A lass so luscious ne'er was seen/As Monticellle Sally."

"Yankee Doodle" remained at the top of the charts throughout the 19th century. After hearing it in a Cincinnati theater in 1827, the English critic Frances Trollope left us a clue about performance standards. She noted that "a patriotic fit" seized the audience when they joined in singing it, and "every man seemed to think his reputation as a citizen depended on the noise he made." Whether it would have conveyed to the Indians an appropriate sense of American majesty, solemnity, or dignity consistent with a "medicine song" may be open to question, but it certainly had the force of tradition to recommend it.

Among the many "national airs" the men might have chosen to impress the Indians was another one that Benjamin Carr had picked for his Federal Overture—the stirring President's March. The tune was welcomed into the oral tradition immediately after it was composed in the early 1790s by a Philadelphia violinist named Philip Phile. Its stock soared after 1798, when Joseph Hopkinson, a son of one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, wrote some patriotic verses to fit it: "Hail, Columbia, happy land./Hail! ye heroes, heav'n born band." When it was first sung in a variety show on April 25, 1798, at the peak of the war hysteria over the French crisis, the audience demanded to hear it six times over, finally leaping to their feet and shouting out the cho-

Lexington March (Yankee Doodle). From Sonneck, Report on... "Yankee Doodle." Plate XX.
rus: “Firm, united, let us be,/Rallying round our liberty,/As a band of brothers joined./Peace and safety
we shall find.”

Of equal appeal to the masses was the tune to The Anacreontic Song. Originally the theme song of the
Anacreontic Society of London, and later of similarly convivial brotherhoods in the U.S., the song
was a hymn to the Greek poet Anacreon (fl. c. 500 B.C.) celebrating the delights of wine and love. It
was published in London 1778, reaching America before the turn of the century, where the tune be­
came a vehicle for countless other texts, ultimately to be linked permanently with Francis Scott Key’s
“The Star Spangled Banner,” beginning in 1814.

Meanwhile, the tune was used in 1798 by the well-known political pamphleteer, Thomas (“These are the
times that try man’s souls”) Paine, for his hit, “Adams and Liberty”: “Ye sons of COLUMBIA, who
bravely have fought,/For those rights, which unstained from your Sires had descended, May you long
taste the blessings your valour has bought, And your sons reap the soil which your fathers
defended.... And ne’er may the sons of COLUMBIA be slaves,
While the earth bears a plant, or the sea rolls its waves.” In 1803 it
was commandeered for service with a presidential campaign song
titled “Jefferson and Liberty,” the text being a variation on Tom

As the tune for our present (since 1931) national anthem, The
Anacreontic Song is considered by many Americans to have much too
wide a range for ordinary citizens to cope with. In the early 1800s,
however, when “real men” were much less timorous about shouting
out the high notes than they are today, it was just a good old rouser!
Of course, it’s all relative. The Walulas and the Yakamas, on that
memorable April evening, tried to sing along with the Americans
“with a low voice,” which must have made everybody laugh. The
Indians’ normal style was typically way up in the vocal stratosphere­in
the range of a modern rock vocalist—yet effortless by comparison,
and they must have laughed at the Americans’ raucous bellowing.

An alternative song that the men might have preferred, was
“God save America/Free from
tyrannic sway/Till time shall
cease;/Hush’d be the din of arms/
And all proud wars alarms;/Follow
in all her charms, Heaven born
peace.” The tune, “God save the
King,” was another British import—a simpler, more solemn expression
that could be crooned by nearly
anyone.

The greatest marching song of the American Revolution, entitled
“Chester,” would have been a
golden oldie to the young men of
the Corps. It was composed by
William Billings, the most widely
known and admired New England
tunsmith and teacher of his time,
and published in his own Singing
Master’s Assistant (Boston, 1778):

“Let tyrants shake their iron rod,/And Slav’ry clank her galling chains,/We fear them not, we trust
in God, New England’s God for ever reigns.” While the bitter irony
of the second line of that first
stanza may have been lost on most
contemporary singers and audi­
ences—though perhaps not on
Clark’s personal slave, York—the
fourth stanza pointed up the youthful
self-confidence of the new na­
tion: “The Foe comes on with
haughty Stride,/Our troops adva­
ced with martial noise, Their
Vet’runs flee before our Youth,/And
Gen’rals yield to beardless Boys.”

If simple fun rather than patri­

tism was the standard the men ap­
plied to the demands of the

moment, perhaps they decided
upon one of the other songs on the
contemporary hit parade repre­
sented by Carr’s Federal Overture, such as “O Dear, What Can the
Matter Be,” or even “The Rose
Tree.” The first, a tongue-twisting
patter song of uncertain age, was
as handy as “Yankee Doodle” for
parodies and satires, surviving in
college hangouts today under one
disguise or another.

For a sentimental touch, “The
Rose Tree” would have qualified
nicely. The tune had been on the
streets for more than 30 years, and
had recently appeared in an
American collection of standard
fiddle-or-flute tunes called Even­
ing Amusement, published by Ben­
jamin Carr in 1796. The song
was published on a broadside in
1770 (together with “Father and I
went down to camp,” quoted above), but it made its strongest
impression in a popular little comic
opera entitled The Poor Soldier, first
performed in Philadelphia in 1783,
and known to have been a favorite of
George Washington’s.

Aside from William Clark’s note
that, on Sunday, May 20, 1804,
“the most of the party” went to
church in St. Charles, Missouri, reli­
gion was scarcely mentioned in
the expedition’s journals. However,
while the singing of traditional
songs helped families and commu­
nities to preserve their ethnic iden­
tities in the American melting pot,
religious music was breaking down
cultural differences. Thus the men
might well have shared as many
musical commonalities in the reli­
gious genre as in the secular, and
someone might have suggested a
hymn would come closer to match­
ing the spirit of the song that
Yellepitt’s people would offer.

Among the early Separatists and
Protestants in America, the only
music permitted in church, upon
clear Biblical authority, was the
singing of the Psalms, translated
from the original Hebrew into
short rhymed verses. Following the
revival movement of the First Great
Awakening in the 1740s, hymns,
or poems based on scriptures
other than Psalms, were intro-
duced by Isaac Watts, the Wesleys,
and others. The Psalms and hymns
were sung to easily-remembered
tunes drawn from long religious
tradition, with new tunes occasion-
ally taking hold. Each tune had its
own name, by which it could be
summoned from memory.

Around the expedition's camp-
fires Meriwether Lewis himself
might have struck up the venerable
St. David's tune, a favorite of Tho-
mas Jefferson's. At the time of
the expedition's departure, how-

ever, one of the most successful
new tunes was Coronation, com-
posed in 1789 by Oliver Holden to
a hymn written ten years earlier by an Englishman, Edward Perronet.
First sung during a visit to Boston
by President Washington in 1789
and published four years later, it
captured quickly and, as with any
well-liked piece of music, was
freely reprinted by other tune-book
publishers.

An especially durable new tune
was Kedron (the Hebrew word for
dark), a taut, solemn melody still

found in a few hymnals, at that
time linked by custom with the
words: "Thou man of grief, re-
member me/Thou never canst thy-
self forget./Thy last mysterious
agony./Thy fainting pangs and
bloody sweat." Kedron, which
reached print in 1799, appeared
regularly thereafter in the shape-
ote repositories of "spirituals" in-
spired by the revival movement
which began in Kentucky in the
late 1790s, and burst into the full
flame of religious passion in 1800.

During the first few years of this
Second Great Awakening,14 camps
of as many as 30,000 sinners as-
sembled for week-long religious
celebrations of exceptional noise,
excitement, and emotionalism, in-
descendant of one of the early cir-
cuit riders recalled that the sound
of the singing at the camp meet-
ings was undisciplined and loud:
"at a hundred yards it was beauti-
ful; and at a distance of half a mile
it was magnificent."

Sometimes a song was con-
ceived by a preacher with a well-
known popular tune in mind. Such
a process produced "There is a
land of pleasure," to that standard
pop tune, "The Rose Tree." By the
time they appeared together in
print, in the shape-note Knoxville
Harmony of 1838, the old tune had
developed a few new twists.15

Popular tunes are like that. They
shift their shapes like jokes-the de-
tails change, but the spirit, like a
punchline, remains the same.

Another revival hymn that could
have been in the repertoires of
Lewis and Clark and their men is
"Amazing Grace," written in 1748
by a former English slave-ship cap-
tain turned evangelist, John New-
ton. The text may have been
linked with the familiar tune,
thought to have evolved from an
African melody, for some time be-
fore the two were officially paired
up in William Walker's shape-note
collection, The Southern Harmony,
in 1835. It remains one of the
best-known and loved of American
religious songs, and is one of the
few of its vintage to survive the
current trend toward Christian
rock.

The camp meetings were inter-
racial institutions, with much shar-
ing of musical experiences, so
Captain Clark's personal slave,
York, might have known many of
the same tunes and songs as the
white men. In addition, he could
have contributed some African-
American spirituals, such as "Go
Down, Moses," or versions of
Wesleyan hymns left over from the
First Great Awakening.

The journalists recorded a num-
Facsimile of Coronation, from The Easy Instructor, a singing-school "long boy" tune book published by William Little and William Smith (Albany, 1798), p. 43. The four shapes of the notes, triangle, circle, square and diamond, represent, respectively, the four syllables fa, sol, la, and mi. An ascending eight-note diatonic major scale would be sung fa, sol, la, fa, sol, la, mi, fa, sounding like the modern do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, ti, do. This shape-note system became identified with the most widely-used collection of revival hymns and tunes from the Second Great Awakening, the Sacred Harp, first published in 1844 and still in print after numerous editions and revisions. Today, Sacred Harp singing conventions are held regularly in 34 states and three foreign countries. Information is available on the World Wide Web at <www.his.com/~sabol/PRC96-harpinfo.html>

ber of occasions when the men sang under less demanding, command-performance circumstances. At the mouth of the Yellowstone on April 26, 1805, "much pleased at having arrived at this long wished for spot," they "spent the evening with much hilarity, singing and dancing, and seemed as perfectly to forget their past toils, as they appeared regardless of those to come."17 And on Sunday, June 9, 1805, after a week of indecision at the mouth of the Marias, the men "amused themselves dancing and Singing Songs in the most Social manner."18 Liquor tends to loosen vocal cords along with inhibitions, and so it is hardly surprising that on the Fourth of July, 1805, as they sipped the last of their "spirits," they "continued their mirth with songs and festive jokes and were extremely merry until late at night."19 At moments like those, without the need to agree on what constituted a "medicine song," the men of the expedition might have drawn upon an even richer lode of popular music, including many imports from England.

They wouldn't have needed special celebrations to raise a song or two, but there would have been thirty or forty birthdays each year, depending on the number of voices in the company. Lewis's thirtieth birthday on, August 18, 1804, was celebrated with "a Dance which lasted untile 11 oClock," and it is hard to imagine dancing without a few songs thrown in. "Happy Birthday" would not have been among them, however; it awaited the inspiration of an American schoolteacher in 1893.

Two original creations of James Hook (1746-1827), a highly successful and extremely prolific English music-hall composer and performer were so popular, both in Great Britain and the United States, that they were widely assumed to be traditional: "The Lass of Richmond Hill," and the pseudo-Scottish "Within a Mile of Edinboro' Town," both published here about 1795.

Perhaps more suitable to the taste of the Corps' enlisted men might have been the hit tune by the English composer Thomas Arne (1710-1778), "The Soldier Tir'd of War's Alarms," which stayed near the top of the charts in America until about 1830;20 the fantastical "How Stands the Glass Around?"("Why, soldiers, why?/Shou'd we be melancholy, boys?/Why, soldiers, why?/Whose business 'tis to die!);21 and the similarly mournful but obviously home-grown "Kentucky Volunteer" (to be played or sung Andante Affetuoso-Slowly, with feeling).22 More light-hearted was "How Happy the Soldier," celebrating the carefree quality of military life, topped off with a rollicking refrain: "...With a row de dow, row de dow, row de dow, dow;/And he pays all his debts with a roll of his drum." "How Happy..." made its debut in that hit show of 1783, The Poor Soldier, along with "The Rose Tree."

In a similarly cheerful vein was "Malbrouck has gone to battle," which settled permanently into American tradition in 1842 as a convivial collegiate chant, to the words, "We won't go home till morning." More high-toned in character were "Comin' Thru the Rye," "The Bluebells of Scotland," and "Drink to me only with thine eyes." Traditional ballads, or story-

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songs, such as “Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor,” “Barbara Allen,” and “Chevy Chase,” were to comprise one of the foundations of hillbilly music.

The Corps’ Christmas observances would have summoned a special store of songs and tunes to the firelight. On December 25, both at Fort Mandan in 1804, and at Fort Clatsop in 1805, there was typically “a Selute, Shoute and a Song,” all part of a traditional Southern Christmas observance. The salute would have been a volley of gunfire: the shout would have been “Christmas Gift!” obliging the hearer to respond with a present (which the instigator would of course reciprocate).

But the song?

It’s easy to list some that were out of the question because they hadn’t yet been thought of: “Silent Night,” “O little town of Bethlehem,” “We three kings,” “It came upon a midnight clear,” “Away in a manger,” or “Jingle Bells,” for instance.

However, they could have sung “While shepherds watched their flocks by night,” Isaac Watts’s “Joy to the world,” or the Wesley-Whitefield “Hark! the herald angels sing,” though not to the tunes we know today. They could have known “God rest you merry, gentlemen,” or “The first Nowell,” both 18th-century English carols. “O come, all ye faithful” was an old standard then, the tune (in 3/4 meter) and the words both having been written by John Francis Wade in the mid-18th century (though not translated into Latin until the mid-1800s). Whether York could have contributed “Mary had a baby,” or the tune now matched with “Go tell it on the mountain,” cannot be known; they’re possibly quite old, though they weren’t introduced into white Christmases until after 1900. Someone in the company might have resorted to “Yankee Doodle” for the verse “Christmas is a-coming, boys, We’ll go to Mother Chase’s,/And there we’ll get a sugar dram/Sweetened with molasses,” or even made up some more to suit the setting.

On New Year’s Day someone might well have struck up “The old year now away is fled,” to the old, old tune, “Greensleeves” (in print in England by 1580). “Auld Lang Syne” was perhaps well known, but it hadn’t yet taken over the climactic moment in the American observance.

Finally, it is conceivable that the Charbonneaus’ baby boy Jean Baptiste, or “Pomp,” as he came to be called, might have inspired one or another of the men with children or little brothers or sisters back home to croon nursery rhyme or two: “Hush a By Baby,” “Patty Cake, Patty Cake,” and the rest. Although it first appeared in print in the U.S. in 1785, the standard repertoire was ageless even then. There is no truth to the tale that the original Mother Goose was an 18th-century American woman, the tourist attraction in Boston’s Old Granary Burying Ground notwithstanding.

During the months between the Corps’ departure from Camp Dubois and the time the boatload of engagés was shipped back to St. Louis from Fort Mandan, in March of 1805, there were enough Frenchmen in the party to occasionally take over center stage before the campfire. The Americans might even have chimed in on songs such as Ça ira, Carmagnole, or the Marseilles, which were popular in some quarters, but the Frenchmen’s preferred repertoire would have tended more towards their own traditional songs and tunes: Alouette, in which the genteel side of the ‘Babettes, or Pierre Cruzatte threatened to shoot him unless he regained control of the craft. It was a close call for the entire enterprise,
and the relieved captains consoled the men that evening with a gill of spirits. It’s doubtful that anyone felt much like singing.23

On September 14, 1806, just nine days and less than 400 miles from the end of their odyssey, hungry and homesick, the expedition met three boatloads of traders headed upriver from St. Louis. Gratefully accepting the proffered victuals and whiskey, they proceeded on to an island near the middle of the river and set up camp. Unperturbed by the clouds that had crept in during the afternoon, the party “received a dram and Sung Songs until 11 o’clock at night in the greatest harmony.”24

And what might they have sung? Medicine songs to confirm the bonds of brotherhood, woven of travail and triumph. Martial fanfares 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 meanines of intervening years, and soothe us still.25

—FOOTNOTES—

1The author is indebted to Prof. Deane L. Root, of the Center for American Music at the University of Pittsburgh, and to Prof. Paul F. Wells of the Center for Popular Music at Middle Tennessee State University, for their advice and corrections.
8James Aird, A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish and Foreign Airs, Adapted for the Fife, Violin or German Flute (Glasgow, 1782). Among the other “foreign airs” were several Virginian tunes, and the “Negroe Jig” Pompey Ran Away. See Joseph Musulman, “My Boy Pomp: About That Name.” We Proceeded On, Vol. 21, No. 2 (May 1995), pp. 20-23.
9In The Disappointment; or The Force of Credulity, the character called Raccoon, a rich, free black man, sings to his white mistress: “Oh how joyful shall I be/When I get de money/I will bring it all to dee/O! my doddling hinn!” Sam Densmore, Som­ datize My Name: Black Imagery in American Popular Music (New York: Garland Publishing, 1982), pp. 8-9.
10Such as: “Two and two may go to bed./Two and two together:/And if there is not room enough/Lie one atop o’ the other.” And so on down the scale of barracks—or “Tonight Show”-humor.
11The Columbian Songster: Being a Large Collection of Fashionable Songs. Wrentham, Mass, 1799. [or is it the Columbian Songster, A Ferial Companion (1797).]
13The Philadelphia Songster...Being a collection of choice songs such as are calculated to please the ear while they improve the mind and make the heart better. By Absalom Awnell. (Philadelphia, 1789). The tune, of course, was destined to become the vehicle for the hymn, “My country! ’tis of thee”—but not until 1831.
14“Evening Amusement containing fifty air’s, song’s duet’s, dances, hornpipe’s, reel’s, marches, minuet’s &c. Sc. for 1. and 2. German flutes or violins. Printed and sold at B. Carr’s Musical Repositories, Philadelphia and New York, & J Carr’s, Baltimore [1796].
15Jefferson was said to have been particularly fond of sacred music, especially the old psalm tunes. “He constantly sang or hummed psalm tunes, Scotch songs, and occasionally Italian airs.” See Helen Cripe, Thomas Jefferson and Music (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1974), p. 92.
16An earlier revival era, the First Great Awakening, peaked along the eastern seaboard in the early 1740s. It brought to America from England the hymns of Isaac Watts, such as “When I Survey the Wondrous Cross,” and of Charles Wesley, including “Jesus, Lover of My Soul.” These hymns, and others from the same period, possibly were well known to some of the Corps, but to different tunes than we associate with them now.
18Sanjek, American Popular Music, 1:263-64.
19Moulton, 4:274. 
20Lewis, Moulton, 4:326.
23Evening Amusement, p. 21.
24May 14, 1805. Moulton, 4:152.
25Moulton, 8:560.
26Many of the best and most durable Expedition-era songs remain on the fringes of modern musical practice. Some are included in graded school music series such as Barbara Stanton, et al., Music and You (9 vols., New York: Macmillan, 1991), and similar series published by Follett and Silver Burdett publishing companies. They may also be found in special collections such as The American Heritage Songbook, compiled and arranged by Ruth and Norman Lloyd (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, 1969), and The Early American Songbook, compiled and arranged by Lee Vinson (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974). Several CDs and cassette tapes of 18th-century music are available at Colonial Williamsburg.

About the author...

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"AN ANONYMOUS PIECE OF DOGGEREL"

In 1807 the American poet Joel Barlow (1754-1812) wrote a rather stuffy laudatory poem for delivery at an "elegant DINNER... given to CAPT. MERIWETHER LEWIS, by the Citizens of Washington, as an expression of their personal respect and affection, of their high sense of the services he has rendered his country, and of their satisfaction at his return to safety into the bosom of his friends."

Jefferson's opponents, the Federalists, quickly responded to Barlow's ode with an anonymous piece of doggerel that may have been sung to that old non-partisan tune, "Yankee Doodle"—perhaps the version linked with the "Lexington March." Of course, its monotonous rhythm would fit any tune with a similar line-length.

GOOD people, listen to my tale, 
'Tis nothing but what true is; 
I'll tell you of the mighty deed 
Achieved by Captain Lewis,
How starting from the Atlantick shore 
By fair and easy motion, 
He journied, all the way by land, 
Until he met the ocean.
Herioick, sure, the toil must be 
To travel through the woods, sir; 
And never meet a foe, yet save 
His person and his goods, sir! 
What marvels on the way he found 
He'll tell you, if inclin'd, sir—
But I shall only now disclose 
The things he did not find, sir.

He never with a Mammoth met, 
However you may wonder; 
Not even with a Mammoth's bone, 
Above the ground or under-And, spite of all the pains he took 
The animal to track, sir, He never could o'ertake the hog 
With navel on his back, sir.
And from the day his course began, 
Till even it was ended, 
He never found, an Indian tribe 
From Welchmen straight descended: 
Nor, much as of Philosophers 
The fancies it might tickle; 
To season his adventures, met A Mountain, sous'd in pickle.
Let dusky Sally henceforth bear 
The name of Isabella; 
And let the mountain, all of salt, 
Be christen'd Monticella—The hog with navel on his back 
Tom Pain may be when drunk, sir—
And Joel call the Prairie-dog, Which once was call'd a Skunk, sir.
True-Tom and Joel now, no more 
Can overturn a nation; 
And work, by butchery and blood, 
A great regeneration—Yet, still we can turn inside out 
Old Nature's Constitution, And bring a Babel back of names—
Huzza! for REVOLUTION!
—Joseph A. Mussulman

DISCOVERING LEWIS AND CLARK WEBSITE READY FOR VIEWING

A new site on the World Wide Web, Discovering Lewis and Clark, is now available for viewing. The site opened October 1 at <http://www.lewis-clark.org> where it may be seen by a limited audience, including all members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

Following a two-month review period, it will also be accessible through the major search engines, such as Infoseek, Lycos, or Yahoo. Additions to the site will be posted regularly, twice a month, for the next two years.

Viewers have the on-screen choice of either a "slow computer" or a "fast computer" edition of the site. All viewers are encouraged to fill out an on-screen evaluation form and email it to VIAs.

Discovering Lewis and Clark is highly interactive, with the "fast computer" version employing some of the most advanced Web design techniques. All graphic images are active, leading to brief descriptions which often include related excerpts from the explorers' journals. Short moving pictures and numerous sound files enhance the viewer's experience.

The centerpiece of the website is an essay on the Lewis and Clark Expedition written by Harry Fritz, professor of history at the University of Montana. The site is being created and produced by Joseph Mussulman of VIAs and designed by Keith Phillips of Big Sky Net.

Discovering Lewis and Clark: The Website, has been funded by the Montana Committee for the Humanities and the Montana Cultural Trust, with planning assistance from the National Endowment for the Humanities.

Before you sign on e-mail contact Joe Mussulman for orientation instructions.
"Captain" Clark's Belated Bonus

Editor's Note: This is the third of three articles Jim Large wrote for WPO before his untimely death.

by Arlen J. Large

Students of the Lewis and Clark Expedition know the truth about William Clark's army rank during the 1804-1806 journey to the Pacific Ocean. Everybody called him a captain, but to the War Department in Washington he was really just a lowly lieutenant.

As a practical matter it made little difference. Clark and Meriwether Lewis considered themselves co-equal commanders of the small unit of army explorers, and were so regarded by their soldiers.

What happened to Lieutenant Clark's paychecks after the Pacific heroes got home, however, must have been a nightmare for the tidy bureaucratic mind. Rules were bent. Exceptions were made. Creative accounting and a kindly congress finally gave Clark even more than a real captain's compensation. In line with government policies of the day, he also got a subsidy for the expenses of his slave, York.

Much of that generosity stemmed from the guilt quite properly felt by President Jefferson and his Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn. They clearly had done Clark wrong. The facts are well known. Jefferson's choice to lead the Pacific expedition was Meriwether Lewis, an army captain serving as the President's private secretary. In June 1803, Lewis invited Clark to join the mission as an equal co-leader. Lewis said he was making the offer "with the privity of the President," who expressly authorized Clark to have the rank of captain.

That sounded pretty air-tight to Clark, who accepted and said he would like to be commissioned a captain in the Corps of Engineers. Believing themselves equal in rank, Lewis and Clark went west to their jump-off point near St. Louis and waited for Clark's formal commission to catch up from Washington.

It came barely a week before the explorers started up the Missouri River in May 1804. Clark had been appointed a second lieutenant of artillery. "My feelings on this Occasion was as might be expected," Clark growled years later. Lewis of course was mortified that the government hadn't backed up his promise to Clark, and told his friend that their difference in formal rank would be concealed from the soldiers.

All the way to the Pacific and back both officers preserved the fiction that Clark was a captain. It must have required a wry sense of humor for Clark to watch his co-commander sign official orders with a full military flourish—"Meriwether Lewis Capt. 1st U.S. Regt."—and then add his own ambiguous "Wm. Clark Capt. &c." What did etcetera mean? Let the War Department figure it out.

Secretary of War Dearborn has been loudly booed for finding what history writer Bernard DeVoto called "bureaucratic reasons" to deny Clark his captaincy. Dearborn's explanation to Lewis did sound awfully lame. "The peculiar situation, circumstances and organisation of the Corps of Engineers is such as would render the appointment of Mr. Clark a captain in that Corps improper," Dearborn wrote on March 26, 1804.

Actually, the reasons weren't bureaucratic but statutory. In enacting the Jefferson administration's own proposed law shrinking the "Military Peace Establishment," Congress in 1802 specified that the elite Corps of Engineers could have no more than one colonel, two majors, four captains and eight lieutenants. No captain's slot was vacant at the time Jefferson made Clark's appointment; the only jobs available were for entry-level second lieutenants in the lone regiment of artillery. Jefferson's real mistake was in not checking the law before letting Lewis be so open-handed with his promise to Clark.

To his credit Dearborn recognized the injustice of it all. Sweetening his lame explanation of Clark's raw deal, the secretary pledged that Clark's lowly rank "will have no effect on his compensation for the service in which he is engaged." In other words, Clark would be paid as if he were a real captain.

Curiously, this promise was fulfilled only in stages, according to pay records in the National Archives in Washington. The records leave some matters unexplained, so the reasons for this incremental approach can only be guessed at.

Clark remained on the official rolls as a second lieutenant until February 1806 when the explorers were rusting in the rain at Fort
Clatsop on the Pacific coast. As such he was entitled to regular pay of $25 a month, plus the cash equivalent of two daily subsistence rations, plus one extra daily subsistence payment for his military “waiter,” York. (In this case one “ration” worked out to about 23 cents a day.) In contrast, Lewis got a real captain’s pay of $40 a month, plus that rank’s allowance of three subsistence rations.⁹

Back in Washington on February 21, 1806, papers were shuffled promoting Clark to first lieutenant in absentia. That then entitled him to $50 a month, with the same daily subsistence allowance as before, two for him, one for York. (First and second lieutenants got the same subsistence.) After the explorers got home late in 1806, it was up to the Army Accounting Office to sort out all the payroll problems. The final answers are summed up in handwritten entries in a dusty ledger stored in the National Archives.

The government’s extra redress to Clark started right off the bat. His second lieutenant’s commission was dated March 26, 1804, which would have robbed him of both pay and seniority for the previous months he had spent helping Lewis assemble the expedition. In recompense, the army bookkeepers showed Clark’s pay starting on August 1, 1803. That roughly coincides with the date the government received Clark’s acceptance of Lewis’s offer.

For the five months from August 1 to December 31, 1803, the ledger computed Clark’s pay at $150. For the 12 months of 1804, the tally was $360, a sum repeated for each of the next two years. He received $60 for the first two months of 1807, ending with his resignation from the army on February 28.⁶

You can hear the rules creaking. All of those figures work out to a rate of $30 a month—a first lieutenant’s entitlement throughout, even during the 30-plus months when Clark was only a shavetail second lieutenant worth $25 a month.

The ledger shows an interesting comparison of subsistence payments for both Lewis and Clark. For the year 1804, for example, the subsistence payment of $228.51 was exactly the same for both officers, but the sums were computed differently. The subsistence payment to “it. Wm. Clarke & his black Waiter” covered his own entitlement of two rations, or $152.34 for the year, plus York’s one-ration allotment of $76.17. Lewis submitted no bill for a servant, so his $228.51 for the year solely represented his captain’s entitlement of three rations.

Lieutenant Clark’s first-round compensation for his 43 months of expedition service add up to $2,114, comprised of $1,290 of regular pay and $824 in subsistence, including the allowance for York.⁷ Then on March 5, 1807 congress approved legislation doubling the regular pay of everybody on the trip-officers, enlisted men, civilian interpreters and all.⁸ That would place Clark’s total first lieutenant’s take at $5,404, including his undoubled subsistence.

That’s not all. Journal N, dated August 5, 1807, includes a terse notation that may have been added after the books originally settled Clark’s compensation as a lieutenant with doubled pay. The journal allocates to Lewis a blanket $4,932 “for payments made by him to Boatsmen Interpreters &c. for services on the Expedition including a payment to William Clark for difference of Pay & Subsistence between a Lieut. & Captn. during the Expedition by order of the President of the U. States.”

There’s no Journal N breakdown itemizing the size of this fulfillment of Secretary Dearborn’s guilty 1804 promise, either in the version published in Donald Jackson’s Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition or in the manuscript journal itself. A check of other Lewis and Clark records in the archives turned up no backup accounts which might have specified this extra amount. (Archivists in 1955 helpfully identified 216 pages of War Department accountants’ records pertaining to the expedition, though some have only a thin connection.) Jefferson’s “order” to fill Clark’s pay gap may have been verbal only. Or if anybody wrote it down, the order’s exact terms have been lost or misplaced.

If Clark’s lieutenant’s pay was doubled in March 1807 and the presidential adjustment to a captain’s rank was computed later, accountants probably figured the 43-month difference between a first lieutenant’s regular pay scale of $50 a month vs. a captain’s $40. That would have produced a total pay bonus of $450. Additionally, Jefferson specified that Clark should get a captain’s three daily subsistence rations instead of a lieutenant’s two. Because Clark had already received three rations (two for him, one for York) that would have entitled him to four rations for the trip, or an additional $275.

Added to his previously doubled lieutenant’s compensation of $3,404, the Jefferson bonus would have brought Clark’s haul for the expedition to $4,019. That, admittedly, is the tightwad way of figuring it, which seems in line with the military frugality of the day. If the accountants had computed a captain’s pay bonus of $430 and then doubled that in line with the March Act of Congress, Clark’s total compensation in pay and subsistence would have come to $4,538. For how it actually was done, the record is silent.
The subsidy for York’s expenses wasn’t unusual. Every officer was entitled to at least one servant. In theory this “waiter” could be a private soldier from the barracks, but the army actively discouraged that as a drain on combat strength. Instead, an officer could get cash equal to an extra subsistence ration, from which he could hire a free civilian servant or keep his own slave.

Despite the pay bonus Clark was still a first lieutenant, and his bad luck with army rank continued after his homecoming. In February 1807 Jefferson and Dearborn tapped him to be second in command of the 2nd Infantry Regiment, a lieutenant colonel’s job. Trouble erupted when the nomination hit the senate.

"Clark is a brave man, & I believe his moral character is fair," wrote Federalist Senator William Plumer of New Hampshire in his diary. "He was a lieutenant under Capt. Lewis in the late exploring expedition to the Pacific Ocean."

But Plumer went on to explain why he and other opposed Clark’s abrupt elevation by three notches in rank. "I regret that this nomination is made," the senator said, "for there are several older deserving officers in the army of superior grade to Clark. In times of peace prior rank, especially when qualified, ought always to have the preference." Clark’s nomination came to a vote on the evening of February 28, and lost 20 to 9.

Jefferson quickly gave Clark a consolation plum, appointing him brigadier general of the Louisiana Territory’s militia headquartered in St. Louis. The great explorer had been unjustly cuffed around by his government, but now he had his best revenge by answering to "General Clark" for the rest of his days.

**FOOTNOTES**

2Dearborn to Lewis, March 26, 1804, in Jackson, Letters, Vol. 1, p. 172
4Dearborn to Lewis, March 26, 1804, in Jackson, Letters, Vol. 1, p. 172
5Scales of pay and subsistence for all army ranks at the time of the expedition, as specified by congress in 1802, are shown in Callan, Military Laws, pp. 142-4
7From this point pay and subsistence amounts are rounded off to the nearest dollar.
8Jackson, Letters, Vol. 2, p. 377. Besides getting doubled pay, the two officers were equally rewarded with 1,600 acres of land each, with lesser acreages going to others in the party.
9For the political background of this appointment, see Theodore J. Crackel, Mr. Jefferson’s Army. (New York University Press, New York, 1987) pp. 121-2

**Weber Named Director of Interpretive Center**

Jane Schmoyer-Weber, the Forest Service project coordinator for the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center/foundation national headquarters in Great Falls, Montana, has been named director of the center. She assumed her new duties October 1.

As director, Weber will be responsible for the day-to-day operations of the center. A member of the board of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, she has been project coordinator for the center since 1989 and was (and still is) responsible for overseeing the design and construction of the 25,000 square foot center. She also has been working with many community interest groups in fund raising, contracting, educational and budgeting facets of the project.

Weber has a B.S. degree in art education from Kutztown State College in Pennsylavnia, and a B.S. degree in forest science from the University of Montana. Both degrees are with honors. She has also done post graduate studies in outdoor recreation and recreation management. She has been an employee of the U.S. Forest Service since 1977 working as a forestry technician, a forester, a public affairs specialist and an assistant forest planner. She has won numerous professional awards.

Her husband James is employed by the U.S. Department of Labor and they have a son and two daughters.

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**Jane Schmoyer-Weber stands below the new Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center.** (Photo courtesy of Stuart White, Great Falls Tribune)
Clark's Road

by Phil Scrivener

When Captain Clark surveyed a trail around the Great Falls of the Missouri, his primary concern was expediency. Uppermost in his mind was the quickest and easiest route to portage the falls and return to their "highway"—the Missouri River. Of no concern to him was the fact that he was plotting a "road" that would not perish. He had no way to know that "Clark's Road" would be marked and re-marked and still be traveled nearly 200 years later. How could he have known that he was surveying a national landmark?

On June 17, 1805 Captain Clark set out with a crew of five men to survey a portage around the falls. The 17 miles 3/4 plus 46 poles course was marked with "stakes and flags" so it could be more easily followed later on. When completed Captain Clark reported it as "a tolerably good road." Thus began the marking and re-marking of the portage. Clark's Road was not frequently used over the ensuing years and it remained somewhat elusive.

The next attempts to find, re-trace and mark the portage that is recorded comes from a letter written by a W.A. Hedges of Great Falls to "The Committee of the 20th Legislature (Montana State) to Whom Has Been Referred the Report of the Commission Authorized by the 19th Legislative Assembly to Recommend Appropriate Action on a Suitable Monument to Commemorate the Work of the Lewis and Clark Expedition Through Montana in 1805-6."

To quote Mr. Hedges, "[he] lived on the townsite of Great Falls from midsummer 1878 to late fall 1880, receiving the first patent on its land." Early Cascade County land records at the Cascade County Historical Society show that Hedges did record the earliest land patent. He purchased patent number 739 on 168½ acres bounded on the south by the Medicine (Sun) River and on the west by the Missouri River. (T20N R3E S11, lots 3, 6, 7 and other adjacent land). This is the land across the Sun River from the Meadow Lark Country Club.

"In 1878 in company with three others we carried a pack along practically the identical route of their (Lewis and Clark's) portage, the records of which we used as a guide. While during the two succeeding seasons we traversed the entire route from Black Eagle Falls to Great Falls and Portage Coulee; stood often under the original cottonwood tree used to name the first falls; and in 1879 and 1880 portaged several boats around the falls."

Clark's Road was again marked in 1924 by several Boy Scout Troops. This time instead of "stakes and flags" five cement markers with bronze plaques attached were used. A total of 70 Scouts traveled the portage and otherwise aided in marking the route.

From the Great Falls Tribune of June 1, 1924, "The portage of Lewis and Clark in the vicinity of Great Falls was commemorated Saturday night (May 31) by a program at the Big Falls dam (Great Falls or Ryan Dam) when a marker honoring the visit made there by the Explorers in 1805 was affixed to a standard by Boy Scout troops. The marker was the fourth placed on the trail of Lewis and Clark Saturday by the Scouts and two more will be added in a short time. "Seventy Boy Scouts representing ten troops hiked over the same trail used by Lewis and Clark in 1805, starting at White Bear Island at 8 o'clock and reaching the Big
Sacajawea, the Indian woman with the party, and the words ‘Lewis and Clark passed here 1805-1806’ is cast on them. The markers are affixed to cement standards.” The bronze plaques were oval measuring 14 inches wide and 18 inches in length. The cement standards were six feet in height with an additional two feet buried in the ground. They were shaped in a modified obelisk 12 inches square at the top and 20 inches square at the base. The section that was buried measured 30 inches square.

By reading through the Tribune issues during that period of time it is revealed that this project was a major undertaking of the entire community. A total of six markers were placed; one at each end of the portage and three more along the route. A final marker was placed near the Great Falls. The Daughters of the American Revolution were in charge of the contest held to select the design for the bronze plaque. The Anaconda Smelting and Refining Company donated the copper and had the plaques cast. A local cement finisher by the name of Gust Wallin made the cement markers.

One of the speakers during the commemorative program was Dan Whetstone, division chief for the Bureau of Labor and Publicity, from Helena. The following is excerpted from his speech: “It is rather disappointing to encounter so many who have but a vague knowledge of and a slight interest in this most outstanding adventure in the history of the United States and the newspapers of Great Falls, the major, the Boy Scouts, and their leaders are performing a distinct service to Montana and the whole region traversed by the Expedition in commemorating the incidents connected with the discovery and inspection of what was fittingly called the ‘Niagara of the West.’”

Detailed maps showed exact locations of all six of the markers. Alas, four markers have disappeared completely. The bronze plaques were stripped and salvaged for their copper in the latter part of the depression. One marker fell victim to the changing course of the Missouri; one to the advances of civilization and a shopping mall; another gave way to the runways at Malmstrom Air Force Base; the one near Lower Portage Camp is gone, but nobody knows what happened to it. The final one on the portage route was broken so that only the bottom one-third remains.

As an interesting sidenote, this marker stands atop a modest hill that Paris Gibson, founder of Great Falls and later U.S. Senator, used to delight his eastern guests by solemnly swearing that it is the exact spot where the expedition drank the last of their grog on the Fourth of July 1805. While his historical accuracy may not have been one hundred percent, his story surely impressed his visitors. This area was ceded to the City of Great Falls in 1920 for a park. However, it was never developed and was returned to the Mitchell family who owned the land. They later sold the land. The only marker and standard that remains intact is the one that was placed near Big Falls Dam.

Another relic of that Boy Scout project still remaining is one of the bronze plaques. When these plaques were cast an extra one was made. After the ceremony at Big Falls that extra plaque was presented to Mayor Mitchell. It is currently mounted on an iron rod in the yard at the Ayrshire Dairy just south of the city of Great Falls and the portage route.

In 1928 the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a monument to the expedition’s discovery of Giant Springs. The four foot boulder with a bronze plaque attached proclaims to the world that the Lewis and Clark Expedition had been in the area and discovered the largest fresh water springs in North America on June 29, 1805. While it was not in and of itself an effort to mark the portage route, it was a part of the overall goal to mark Lewis and Clark sites of interest in the Great Falls area.

In 1963 the remains of a cement covered pyramid shaped marker was found near 13th Street and up the coulee from the partial marker placed by the Scouts in 1924. It would appear to be along the portage route but who built it
and placed it or when and why have never been discovered. It was definitely not one of the Boy Scout markers from 1924 since it was much smaller and of different construction.

Yet another "marker" exists that is sometimes confused with the 1924 Boy Scout markers. In 1968 the Urquart family gave the Boy Scouts twenty acres of land near the Lower Portage Camp. A stone marker with a bronze plaque was placed there. The stone was taken from some that had been used in early days to pave the streets in Butte, Montana. Doty Monuments of Great Falls made the actual marker. A look at the marker will quickly dispel any confusion with those early day cement ones.

The last and most serious work done towards re-marking Clark's Road was actually an effort at preserving a national treasure. By the late 1970s and early 1980s civilization was making itself well known to the route as city development was working to obliterate the upper end of the portage. Malmstrom Air Force Base sits directly on the route at about eight miles from the Upper Portage Camp. From the base to White Bear Island city growth is encroaching upon the route and in several cases covering it.

Interest in the Portage Route used by Lewis and Clark first started when people moved to the new town of Great Falls. That interest has never lost its lustre and continues today. Preservation of the portage was in full swing by 1984. A local group of Lewis and Clark enthusiasts determined to do a re-enactment of the portage as part of the Great Falls centennial. This effort was the acid test of considering terrain for moving clumsy hand-drawn carts across the prairie. The results of the re-enactment were immediate and varied.

The Portage Route Chapter of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation was created. Maps were revisited and examined closer. They were more clearly marked as to where the portage actually was. Bob Bergantino and Ken Sievert were key participants in the mapping effort. Ella Mae Howard and Bob Doerk collaborated to prepare formal documents resulting in the portage being named a national historic landmark.

Bob Doerk has probably played the largest part in preserving the portage. Like W.A. Hedges before him, Doerk traversed the portage many times relating it to the daily journal entries of the two captains. His expertise has grown to where he is continually sought out to guide groups over the portage.

Clark's Road has come full circle. At its inception it was the focal point for 33 people as they bypassed the falls on their way to the Pacific. During the ensuing 192 years it was occasionally used as "history buffs rediscovered it." Today it is the focal point once again. The Lewis and Clark community in Great Falls has as its basis Clark's Road.

The Future of Clark's Road

One of the major problems with the portage is that much of it lies on private property. Consequently a complete marking of the exact location of the portage is very nearly impossible. It crosses a variety of types of land ranging from wheat fields to hay meadows to private citizens' back yards. Shopping centers and the runways for Malmstrom AFB are located on the portage. Although several people in the Great Falls area know where the portage actually is and there is a quite good map readily available, a person wishing to "walk the length of the portage" is soon stymied.
Rainbow Falls, the second largest of the five falls the expedition spent a month portaging around.

To prevent the creep of civilization from totally obliterating the portage, several ideas for projects have been proposed. The idea is to at least give the tourist the opportunity to travel a portion of Clark's Road.

One proposal was to create a walking tour of about a mile of the portage where it cuts across Tenth Avenue South and through a residential area before stretching across an open field and onto Malmstrom AFB. The route would be marked with unique signs to self-guide the walker along the portage. Gazebos would be erected at either end. Interpretive signage would complete the project.

Another proposal was to construct an all-weather surface hiking-jogging trail from the Upper Portage Camp to the point where the portage crosses Tenth Avenue South. This trail would follow the portage and be about five miles in length. There are several places along the trail where shaded rest stops could be built and interpretive signage constructed. The trail could eventually be connected to the Rivers Edge Trail system currently being built.

To do this project the first step would be to conclusively locate Upper Portage Camp. This camp would then be semi-developed and used as a trailhead. Development here would be sufficient to park cars and possibly for outdoor barbecue events. It could be used for outdoor Lewis and Clark activities and gatherings. Such an outdoor gathering place would not only preserve two important Lewis and Clark sites but it would also add a new dimension to programs and activities of the Portage Route Chapter.

The Corps of Discovery is Returning to South Dakota After 191 Years

The Howard Hughes Medical Institute is awarding a grant to fund the Lewis and Clark Project at the South Dakota Discovery Center & Aquarium in Pierre, South Dakota. There will be four annual awards of $37,500, totaling $150,000. This grant will fund the development of a Lewis and Clark curriculum for grades 4-6. The curriculum will also be used at Lewis and Clark Festivals around the state and to pay for teaching kits and teacher workshops. This grant covers 45 percent of the project budget and represents 20 percent of the center’s annual budget over the four years of the project.

Portage Markers

One of the frustrations of researching history is the realization that a particular answer simply is not recorded. Regardless of the time spent looking and reading, the answer just isn’t there. One overriding question I had while working on Clark’s Road was: Why did the Boy Scouts place the markers in 1924 instead of, say, 1930 during the quasquicentennial of the expedition’s arrival in Great Falls? In the absence of fact I offer the following theory:

When the 1917 Montana Legislature designated two statues would be erected honoring the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Great Falls was selected as one of the two locations. The failure of the Society of Montana Pioneers to raise the $15,000 to match the $5,000 that was appropriated resulted in great frustration. After seven years the legislature appointed a commission to settle the issue of locating, funding and placing a suitable memorial (see February 1996 WPO, pp. 22-24).

William McClay (possibly Edgar; both are mentioned in Tribune articles) was a leader in the efforts to convince the commission to select Great Falls as the site for the memorial. The best I can find is that the Boy Scout markers were another chapter in the continuing saga to win that legislative commission’s vote.

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CLASSIFIED

REPLICAS OF the type of horn the expedition might have carried are available in either tin or terneplate finish at $35 each plus postage, with delivery in four to six weeks. Contact Joseph Mussulman, c/o VIAs, Box 954, Lolo, MT 59847; (406) 273-2112; <jmuss@lewis-clark.org>.
The Ulm Pishkun: An Ageless Symbol of Community

by Cindy Kittredge, EdD
Executive Director
Cascade County Historical Society

Cutting across the horizon to the north of Ulm, Montana is what has come to be known as the Ulm Pishkun. The Ulm Pishkun, located three miles north of Ulm (and 12 miles west of Great Falls), just off Interstate 15, stands as an example of how human beings across time have interacted with their environment and how that environment has shaped their lives.

The site's rich layering of history and prehistory holds evidence of a variety of human activities; for just as people have changed over time, so has the use of the Ulm Pishkun. Its history resembles the structure of an onion, each layer distinctly individual and yet filled with flavor in its own right. All the layers are needed to make up the whole, in this case a site with both prehistoric and historic significance.

The Ulm Pishkun, which in Piegan means "deep kettle of blood," is about one mile long, making it one of the largest prehistoric bison kill sites in North America. It is one of a number of very large cliff jumps in the Northwestern Plains. While most of the known Northern Plains kill sites were corral type structures called pounds, none of them were as large as the large cliff "jumps" like the Ulm Pishkun, whose face is fifty feet high in places. Some scholars believe that the large kill sites were locations for
commercial enterprise that traded bison products such as meat, hides, and pemmican to the peoples who lived downstream along the Missouri River.

All the available archaeological and written information indicates that bison were harvested at the site during prehistoric times. Radiocarbon dates range from a recent time of about 500 to 800 years ago to a maximum of about 1100 to 1400 years ago. Projectile points found at the site indicate that it may have been in use at least 1500 years ago. However, materials gathered over the last 40 years have not produced any evidence of such items as metal projectile points or horse bones after the Europeans’ arrival.

Oral histories of the tribes such as the Blackfeet of the Northern Plains east of the Rockies and the Salish who are now west of the Rockies claim usage of the site. Dr. Carling Malouf has written that before 1400 a.d. the Pend Oreille Indians lived in the area, but then were pushed further west by the Shoshoni.

Archaeological research that studied the jaws of immature bison and the bones of fetal bison has revealed that the killing took place during fall, winter, and early spring. Evidence shows that the butchering process involved removing muscle from the skeleton, dismemberment of skeletal parts, and the extraction of marrow and grease from the bones. Bison bones occur in the largest numbers at the site, although bones from rabbit, fox, wolf or dog, and a deer-sized animal were also unearthed.

Carbonized seeds recovered from the site reveal a variety of plant species. Slimleaf goosefoot is the most common seed found, with bedstraw, green needlegrass, blue grama, and fescue also present when the archaeologists ran their flotation tests.

The bison harvested were a mainstay for the tribes who used them. Besides providing them with food, shelter, clothing, the animal was a guiding spirit, “Buffalo Person.” However, killing this 2,000 pound animal would have posed a problem for only one hunter on foot, and the processing would have also taxed one person. Through the cooperative effort of the tribal community, the bison were guided by the drive lanes across the flat land above to the cliff. The entire tribe took part in the process from the prayers that preceded the hunt, to the hunt itself, the processing of the meat, and the celebration that followed. The oral histories of the individual Plains tribes are rich in information about how each group conducted its hunt.

Another layer of history lies in the stone quarrying that occurred at the site. Between 1889 and 1905, the Ulm Pishkun’s sandstone cliffs became a quarry. A church in Helena was built from the stone, as well as the foundations for many buildings in Great Falls and Helena. Evidence of this quarrying is apparent not only in the drill holes and immense blocks of stone that have been broken off, but also in the quarriers road up the cliff face and the small stone building located nearby. The unquarried stones that were left by the workers ended up covering the protecting much of the archaeological evidence that remains to be discovered.

In roughly the same period, homesteaders filed claims on the site, scribing their claim information on the face of the sandstone cliffs. They found the Pishkun desirable because of the water seepages at its base, the lush grass in the area fertilized by the bones, and the flat top that lent itself to farming.

The bone-mining of the 1930s and 1940s represents another layer in the Pishkun’s history. Between 1945 and 1947, a commercial bone-mining company removed 328 cubic yards of bison bone meal and related products from the site for sale as cattle feed supplement or fertilizer. Records show that 150 tons of bone meal were shipped from the Ulm railhead alone. Archaeologists say, however, the years of mining and quarrying barely touched the significant archaeological deposits.

The 1950s and 1960s form another layer of history. From tests performed on the site, called at that time Taft Hill, amateur archaeologist Maynard Shumate found bison bone three feet deeper than the lowest point excavated by the bone miners. Dr. Carling Malouf recommended in
1958 that the site be named a monument, and in 1958 local rancher Earl Monroe leased the land around the Pishkun in an effort to prevent its further damage. The Montana Institute of the Arts and the Great Falls Nature and Wildlife Society began work to make the area a state park, and University of Montana students studied the site further in the late 1960s.

The 1970s saw approximately 170 acres of the site designated as a State Park. Dr. Leslie B. Davis and Mr. Robert Carroll did aerial photography of the site, mapping portions of it. In 1974 the site was nominated to the National Register of Historic Places.

In the 1980s the Hi-Noon Optimists adopted the site, cleaning it, making arrangements for garbage disposal, and developing the picnic areas and signage. By the early 1990s interest in the Pishkun became more widespread. A coalition of groups and individuals formed as the Ulm Pishkun Support Committee. Under the aegis of the Cascade County Historical Society and with the leadership of Stan Meyer, the committee worked with Fish Wildlife and Parks to better preserve and interpret the site.

In 1992 and 1993 the Cascade County Historical Society's Ulm Pishkun Support Committee and Montana State Fish Wildlife and Parks brought in archaeologists headed by Dr. Tom Roll of Montana State University. They evaluated the site to determine how it had been impacted by bone mining and artifact hunters. They ascertained the horizontal extent of the site, evaluated the site for significant deposits, and enlarged on the sampling of bones, artifacts, and other materials collected from the site. In 1995, a grant from the Turner Foundation enabled the UPSC to bring back the archaeologists, this time headed by Dr. Jack Fisher, also of MSU. These archaeologists conducted research on the portion of the site that had been purchased by Ted Turner in the early 1990s. Their work gathered more data to further the understanding of the site.

Public awareness in the Pishkun has increased in the latter years of the 1990s. Events like Evening at the Pishkun have drawn up to 500 people to enjoy a barbecued bison burger, revel in the view, and learn about the heritage of the site. The site has been enlarged by 1,070 acres through a land trade between Ted Turner and the State of Montana. A 1997 purchase by State Parks has added an additional 1,600 acres for an interpretive center.

DAWN OF THE HUNT... 
a Blessing by King Kuka

Before the coming of the horse everyone joined in the buffalo hunt. From the rituals of the dance and prayers before the hunt started to the hunt itself, and the preparing the meat afterwards. Men, women and children all joined in to keep the buffalo moving as the herd gathered speed as it rumbled towards the edge of the cliff. The buffalo gave their lives so the tribal community could live.

Dawn of the Hunt is a prayer asking for a successful hunt; it is a thanks to the sun for providing life; it is a thanks to the buffalo for their generosity. The statue shows a young woman using water as purification in the blessings before the hunt.

If you are interested in more information on the bronze of Blackfeet culture feel free to contact King Kuka when you attend the annual meeting in Great Falls.
V. STRODE HINDS
1927-1997

We’ve lost another member of the Corps of Discovery-20th Century Detachment, Sioux City Squad. In Strode’s heaven he’ll have a set of charts spread out across a table, with Clark explaining the ambiguities of mapping the middle Missouri; and Lewis will demonstrate how you get an unwieldy keelboat up the log-strewn Big Muddy. Strode will go looking for Sergeant Charles Floyd and then will take some time to sober up a Pittsburgh boat builder and get the most minute details about building a barge that works on the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers. Many questions—and all the time in heaven for answers.

Verner Strode Hinds was born September 29, 1927 to Vern and Frances (Strode) Hinds in Clear Lake, Iowa, and died unexpectedly of a heart attack on August 3, 1997, a few weeks short of his 70th birthday. Strode graduated from Clear Lake High School and in 1945 he joined the U.S. Naval Reserves and served in the Pacific aboard the USS Saufley until 1946. After military service he attended Macion City (Iowa) Junior College, and in 1948 he entered the University of Iowa College of Dentistry, where he received his doctor of dental surgery degree in 1952 and his master of science degree in oral surgery in 1954.

Strode met Beverly Rowland in 1951 while both were in school at the University of Iowa and they married on September 6, 1953 in Osage, Iowa. The couple lived in Iowa City while Strode taught oral surgery at the College of Dentistry and at University Hospital, and then moved to Sioux City in 1958. Here Strode practiced oral surgery until his retirement in June 1992.

Strode’s professional associations were numerous. He was a member of the American Dental Association, a trustee of the Iowa Dental Association, a member of the Northwestern Iowa Dental Association, a trustee of the Iowa Dental Association, a member of the Northwestern Iowa Dental Association, a past president of the Iowa Society of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgeons, a member of the Midwest Society of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgeons, and the Diplomat American Board of Oral and Maxillofacial Surgeons, and was on the medical staff of St. Luke’s Regional Medical Center and Marian Health Center, Sioux City.

He was active in local civic organizations, including the Chamber of Commerce, and the Waterways Committee, he was a past president of the Sioux City Rotary Club, a member of the Tyrian Lodge 508 A.F. & A.M., a 32d Degree Scottish Rite Mason, and a member of the Abu Bekr Shrine. Strode was a founder of Sioux City's River-Cade and served as port admiral in 1989. He was also active in Boy Scouts, serving as committee chairman and post advisor.

We remember Strode best for his activities in the foundation. Strode got interested in the Lewis and Clark Expedition about 25 years ago when friend and fellow Rotarian Ed Ruisch asked him to help out with the Lewis and Clark Annual Meeting at Sioux City in 1971. Strode confessed that he knew little about the expedition, but Ed just wanted him to run a meeting. Hinds was hooked. He and Bev have attended nearly every annual meeting since 1974, and he served as the foundation’s president in 1981-82. Strode was co-chairperson of the annual meeting of 1980 at Omaha and he and Bev hosted the national meeting in Sioux City in 1996, where the couple received the foundation’s Award of Meritorious Achievement.

Strode connected his love of the Lewis and Clark Expedition to his love of Sioux City and sailing. In recent years he worked with city officials and others on restoring the Floyd Monument, which is now undergoing major repairs. At the time of his death, he was thinking of ways to celebrate the expedition’s bicentennial in Sioux City and was working with local organizers toward that end. Strode was also instrumental in getting a forensic cast of Sergeant Floyd's head. He was able to track down a forensic artist-anthropologist to do the work and, much to his surprise, discovered that she was distantly related to Floyd. In April the forensic figure came to Sioux City...
where it is displayed at the Sergeant Floyd Welcome Center. Strode developed a love for sailing during his youth at Clear Lake and his naval career just added to his appreciation of boats and waterways. In this regard, he was vital to the two years of planning and building a working copy of the expedition keelboat at Lewis and Clark State Park, Onawa, Iowa. Strode published in We proceeded On and helped to obtain Lewis and Clark interpretive markers along the Missouri River in Nebraska and Iowa and to get a map published of the sites.

The funeral service was held on August 6 at the First United Methodist Church, Sioux City, to a sanctuary packed with friends and relatives. Graveside services were at the Clear Lake Cemetery the next day. The Sioux City minister's words captured the Strode we've known and loved these many years. It was especially good to hear testimony about Strode's mentoring to dental surgeon students. He even taught himself to work left-handed so he could teach students who were similarly oriented. He was a natural teacher and a dear man given to frequent acts of selfless kindness.

Survivors include Bev, two sons and their wives, Mark and Ann of Sioux City and Steve and Maureen of DeSoto, Texas, and a daughter and her husband, Lynne Hinds Peterson and Walt of Sioux City, and seven grandchildren, Sarah, Katherine, Brad, Justin, and Jared Hinds, and Spencer Elizabeth and Alexis Christine Peterson. Memorials for Strode may be directed to the foundation.

--Gary Moulton

JANE RHOADS BILLIAN

Jane Rhoads Billian, 79, of Villanova died Monday, July 28, 1997 at Lankenau Hospital from the effects of smoking for 50+ years.

She was the widow of Harold B. Billian, a former president of the local Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation chapter and they were unofficial hosts during the last visit of the foundation to Philadelphia.

Born in Bluefield, West Virginia, she was the daughter of the late Leroy and Stella Rhoads. She is survived by her son Wayne, Villanova, and her daughter, Connie Billian DiNunzio, Wyomissing, Pennsylvania, as well as her grandchildren: Mark, Ann and Bruce Billian and Mary Beth, Nancy and David DiNunzio. Mrs. Billian is also survived by her brother, Wayne Rhoads, Orwigsburg, Pennsylvania and her sister, Louise Culligan, Philadelphia.

Mrs. Billian was a graduate of Bluefield College and the University of Pennsylvania (1941). Most recently, she was employed by Wayne Jewelers. She had been active as a member of the Main-Line Questers, Bryn Mawr Presbyterian Church, Lower Merion Historical Society, Women's Club of Bala Cynwyd, and the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.

WPO CLASSIFIED ADS

Classified rates in WPO are 50 cents per word for foundation members; 75 cents per word for non-members; $10.00 minimum. The address, city, state and zip count as one word. Payment must accompany all ads.

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

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

Ads will be limited to offering sales of services or material related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
The intrepid explorer, Alexander Mackenzie, who completed the first crossing of Canada on July 22, 1793, was born and raised on the Northwest Scottish Isle of Lewis. A coincidence, I'm fairly sure.

A Splendid Moment...

The evening of August 6, 1997, was likely the most splendid moment in the history of the Fort Clatsop Memorial (with the possible exception of the dedication of the fort's replica in 1955), according to a columnist for The Daily Astorian. Ken Burns, Dayton Duncan, Steve Ambrose and a philanthropist made it a night to remember. A General Motors executive presented a check to Cynthia Orlando, the superintendent at Fort Clatsop, and Steve Ambrose announced he would be contributing $100,000 to the fort over the next 10 years.

After watching segments from the Burns film about Lewis and Clark, the audience was invited to see Fort Clatsop by candlelight.

The columnist goes on to say, "The striking thing about Ambrose and Burns is their zeal for the Lewis and Clark story. It is not contrived enthusiasm. When you listen to these two, the story of the Corps of Discovery becomes palpable."

Saying the capacity to generate excitement is a characteristic of great artists, he notes that their exuberance is "the solid fuel that propels the first stage of the rocket off the launching pad."

"If the bicentennial celebration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition is markedly different from that of the centennial, it will be because of the enthusiasm of Burns, Ambrose and others. In Oregon, at least, the centennial was marked by a world's fair in Portland. It was a gigantic event of great consequence, but the tone of this one promises much more fascination with the expedition itself."

'Destiny and Searching and Friendship'

The undaunted trio of Ken Burns, Dayton Duncan and Steve Ambrose were a hit at Fort Clatsop as they contributed to making a dugout canoe by taking turns using an axe to chip out hunks of pale yellow cedar from the huge boat, part of the interpretive history program the Park Service runs at the fort.

They were at Fort Clatsop to promote the Burns/Duncan film on Lewis and Clark which airs on PBS November 4 and 5 (see above article), but they were also there to learn and share with others.

"This is the best story I know: a great, heroic adventure that speaks to the heart of this country," Burns, the 44-year-old filmmaker told the preview audience. "It is about— as you all know—bravery, dedication and duty; about triumph, loss and the bittersweet in-between. It is about the individual and the community, them and us, the past and the future. Most of all, it is about destiny and searching and friendship."

At a press conference earlier in the day they expressed their passion about this project.

"We think that Lewis and Clark is a story running on all cylinders—it's history running on all cylinders," Burns said. "It's an adventure story, it's a story about a remarkable friendship...a story about the most spectacular landscape on earth, and what happened to it."

But the documentary also portrays the darker sides of the Corps' journey—how the explorers' discoveries and the westward expansion of the United States all but wiped out many Native American cultures, as well as flaws in Meriwether Lewis's psyche that eventually drove him to suicide in 1809.

"The film that we have made is complicated, is bittersweet, has aspects of loss as well as triumph," Burns said. He added that Lewis emerges as "even more of a hero for (having) some of these dark and more complicated sides."

- The Daily Astorian
  Astoria, Oregon

New Meriwether Lewis Song Recorded

Rob Quist, singer, songwriter and leader of Montana's premier country western band, the Great Northern, has written, but not yet recorded, the band's latest album titled Living Wild and Free. The title song tells the story of Meriwether Lewis on his journey up the Marias River in Montana. As the story is told in the song, Lewis camped with the Blackfeet. The early morning theft of the explorer's rifles and horses caused a fatal fight to break out. Two Indian warriors died and Lewis and his men made a hasty retreat.

- Silver State Post
  Deer Lodge, Montana
Visitors at Lewis and Clark Site Find Graffiti, Trash Shocking

Litter covers the ground and weeds poke through the concrete walkways at the Illinois state memorial near Wood River where Lewis and Clark camped before their legendary exploration of the West. Floods have killed trees and faded the lettering on the monument. Graffiti mars the monument. Three flagpoles at the site lack flags. The flags were stolen early on and never replaced.

It is a mess. Visitors are shocked at the poor condition of the memorial which honors the site where the expedition started on its journey.

Bob Coomer, the superintendent of historic sites for the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency concedes the site at the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers leaves much to be desired. He says it is difficult to maintain with no full time staff committed to it.

The $250,000 monument was erected in 1981. It features a stone and steel monument with 11 pillars for each of the states that now make up the territory visited by the explorers.

New controversy arose over the long neglected site last month when Hugh A. Stahlie of St. Louis wrote to the Post-Dispatch that his “great expectations” were dashed after driving to the memorial.

“What a shock! There, where two great rivers meet, is a crumbling monument, dirty despite an old rusty oil drum for garbage,” Stahlie wrote.

George Arnold, president of the Lewis and Clark Society of America, said his group of volunteers, with help from municipal workers from nearby Hartford, regularly go to the site to clean it up. He said the only way to really improve the memorial is to build an interpretive center with a full time staff and security.

Superintendent Coomer said officials have estimated it would cost $2.94 million to build and staff a modest interpretive center. The state has pledged less than half of that with no money in sight for the estimated $60,000 annual operating budget. Federal dollars are apparently unavailable to improve the memorial.

—St. Louis Post-Dispatch
St. Louis, Missouri

Archaeologists on Trail of Lewis and Clark

Fort

Editor's note: Ken Karsmizki's dig at Fort Clatsop has received nationwide publicity as evidenced by this article which appeared in the Washington Post and USA Today and was copied the next day in the Great Falls (Montana) Tribune. Since Ken's dig has been previously covered in WPO, I am excerpting primarily just quotes.

“We are trying to solve a puzzle that's never been solved,” Ken Karsmizki reports as he stands in a four-foot deep hole searching for clues as to the exact site of Lewis and Clark's wintering fort on the Oregon coast.

Finding the precise spot where the Corps of Discovery completed its storied journey to the Pacific would fill a historical and emotional gap. For the many Americans still enthralled with the opening of the West, the bridging of a continent, and what is at its heart a great adventure story, this would be hallowed ground.

“As we approach the bicentennial of the expedition, we cannot say of any place with absolute certainty, 'This is one of those places they camped, right here, right at this spot,' Dayton Duncan said. The co-producer, with Ken Burns, of an upcoming PBS series on the expedition continued, 'We know where Pickett's Charge was. We can stand on that place and know exactly where the different regiments were. That's a sacred and important part of our national history.'

"There's a monument at Bunker Hill. The whole Lewis and Clark Trail itself is a national treasure, and long stretches have been protected by Congress. But we are missing that one little link where we could say, 'I'm standing on the place where the first U.S. citizens to enter the West camped.'"

Duncan and the others believe that the possible discovery of Fort Clatsop will be an electrifying moment, at a time when Steven Ambrose's best-selling book on the expedition, "Undaunted Courage," and the bicentennial early in the next century have stoked popular interest in Lewis and Clark.

"People have been squeezing the journals for a long time," said Karsmizki. "No one has been squeezing the archaeological record. This is like a whole new set of journals."

To Duncan the importance of finding Fort Clatsop rests not so much in what it might add to the historical record but in the emotional link it will forge with a defining moment in U.S. history.

"They were the early 19th century equivalent of landing on the moon," he said. "Their expedition

(News Update continued on page 26)

Four French pilots planned to fly in ultralight aircraft from Selma, Oregon to Billings, Montana last July roughly following the trail of Lewis and Clark. "The Circle of Little Aviators," as they call themselves, planned to spend 10 days making the 800 mile trip, stopping every three hours to refuel. A second group planned to fly from Montana to Missouri. No word yet if they made it or if they even took off from Selma.

NOVEMBER 1997
The Journals of Patrick Gass, Member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, edited and annotated by Carol Lynn MacGregor, Mountain Press, Missoula, Montana, 1997, 445 pages, illustrations, appendices, indexes, hard cover $36.00, soft cover $20.00

A review by Martin Erickson

Patrick Gass was a plain-spoken man. He was born June 12, 1771 and died April 2, 1870 just short of his 99th birthday. During those 99 years he served in the army twice, was a member of the Corps of Discovery, was one of three men on the expedition to keep continuous logs of the entire journey, was the first to have his journals printed (1807), outlived two wives, and kept an account book of his daily expenditures.

A number of editions of his journals have been printed in the 190 years since David McKeehan first edited them. None of them included his account book.

Carol Lynn MacGregor spent nine years researching and writing the newest edition of the Gass Journals. In 1992, at the foundation annual meeting in Vancouver, Washington, she saw his account book for the first time at the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center at Fort Canby, Washington, across the Columbia River from Fort Clatsop. Descendants of Patrick Gass told her where the account book was and gave her permission to use it. The result is a marvelous addition to our understanding of the world of Patrick Gass.

Gass claimed to have had only 19 days of formal education, but his account book belies that. His spelling may have been jumbled on occasion, but he knew his math, knew how to keep records, and organize data.

So does Carol Lynn MacGregor. Her book, which is

NEWS UPDATE

Cont. from p. 25

was the very first exploration into unknown spaces ever undertaken by the United States. Jefferson, in launching them, began a legacy of exploration that leads...to the space program itself.” —The Washington Post

Washington, D.C.

Credit Indians, Ambrose Suggests

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark owed the success of their venture in good part to the American Indian, and in particular to two Indian women, historian Steven Ambrose says.

Speaking at the Missouri Headwaters State Park (near Three Forks, Montana), he noted that as the 200th anniversary of the expedition approaches, towns and cities along the route are gearing up for celebrations and re-enactments. He expects there will be a lot of hard feelings among American Indians.

“We’re going to have Native Americans saying things we’re going to have to deal with, we’re going to have to face,” Ambrose said.

Lewis and Clark “never could have made it across the continent without the Indians,” he said. “The Indians have a lot to be proud of.”

The Mandans showed them how to survive a North Dakota winter. Sacagawea helped the expedition buy badly needed horses from her Shoshoni people. And it was a Nez Perce woman who talked her village’s warriors out of killing the white men and seizing what then was the largest arsenal west of the Mississippi River.

“If the captains were aware they owed something to Sacagawea, they never said so.”

Next year National Geographic will air a six-part film on the expedition based on “Undaunted Courage,” Ambrose’s best selling book on Meriwether Lewis. National Geographic is also bringing out a book on the Lewis and Clark Trail as it is today, with Ambrose writing the text.

White Cliffs Scenes Shot for Lewis & Clark TV Special

KOA (Kampgrounds of America) is sponsoring a television special that shows it is still possible today to travel much of the same route Lewis and Clark traveled and to see the same sites they saw. A film crew from Freewheelin’ Films of Englewood, Colorado, was in Fort Benton, Montana, in mid-August to shoot scenes in the White Cliffs area of the Missouri River. They started their journey in St. Louis two weeks earlier and were scheduled to finish the shooting in Astoria, Oregon, within the week. The show will air on ABC in November of 1998.

—The River Press
Fort Benton, Montana

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divided into Book 1, the journals, and Book 2, the account book, also includes six woodcuts from the 1810 edition, the first published graphics of the expedition. In addition, she has six appendixes, three in Book 1 and three in Book 2. They list the members of the expedition; a table of expedition hunters, what they killed and the date killed; Lewis’s letter critically expressing his concern and dismay about “unauthorized publications” about the expedition, and McKeenan’s prospectus for the Gass journals; a chart of the number of purchases recorded in the account book; unspecified cash purchases in the account book, and a record of liquor purchases by Gass.

Gass did like to have his booze. In the notes accompanying most pages of the account book, MacGregor explains events surrounding purchases. Note 129, for May 26, 1833, notes a fine imposed on Gass for drinking “too much” on Sunday. The fine was for 83 cents. He was also court martialed in 1813 on December 16 and 27 for being drunk. There were other drinking bouts, but on the whole, he did not seem to be an excessive drinker.

MacGregor’s notes accompanying the account book as well as the extensive notes for the introduction to the account book are, to me, one of the most fascinating parts of Book 2. She spent a tremendous amount of time researching the pages of the Wellsburg (Virginia and now West Virginia) Weekly Herald through a good portion of the 19th century to background the names and items listed in the account book. Wellsburg was where Gass settled down after leaving the army and the editor of the paper, J.G. Jacobs, was his official biographer.

The account book covers only 1826-37 and 1847-48, but MacGregor’s research in the Wellsburg paper and other sources goes well beyond that and gives us a vivid picture of the people and times in a small rural town in the 19th century. For example, the entry for September 13, 1827 reads “13/4” Brown Holland .44 (cents). Note 44 tells us that “Brown Holland was a plain linen fabric with little or no bleaching, retaining the natural color of the flax fiber. Dictionary of American English.” I didn’t know that. Note 102 tells us, “Two days after Elizabeth’s birth, the Gasses bought a chamber pot probably so Maria (his wife) would not have to walk to an outhouse after birth.” This is the kind of information that gives us a much better understanding of Patrick Gass. We begin to understand the community he lived in with notes like #143 in reference to a $5.00 payment to Edward Smith on March 25, 1834. “In 1853, Dr. Edward Smith ran for the office of Delegate to the General Assembly of Virginia (Wellsburg Weekly Herald, May 6, 1853). Dr. Smith continued his medical practice in July 1853 (Wellsburg Weekly Herald, July 6, 1853). Three years later, he was confined to his room for 12 weeks with rheumatism but could ‘receive friends for a good humored chat.’ (Wellsburg Herald, December 16, 1856).”

The account book is easy to read and MacGregor’s placement of the notes on the page opposite the entries makes for smooth sailing and a quick understanding of the expenditures, the people and the circumstances surrounding the payments.

Many of the readers of WPO have read the Gass Journals. For them this book provides new information on the day to day life of Patrick Gass and his family. For those of you who have not had an opportunity to read the journals you will find the writings of Patrick Gass are a refreshing look at the journey of the Corps of Discovery from the viewpoint of a plain spoken enlisted man. Gass was a positive man. He looked at each day on the expedition as a challenge. Only occasionally does he express disappointment or negative views on the journey. He was a carpenter, a builder, and he takes note of the structures the explorers saw on the journey. He was more interested in the practical aspects of daily survival than he was in scientific data gathered on the trip by the captains. Now and again he notes the presence or absence of females when other journalists do not.

Once you read this book you will find that Patrick Gass sticks in your mind. He did his job, no matter what the captains called on him to do. He was a reliable man—not a flashy, stand-out person. Without him, the expedition would have been much harder to complete.

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

Black and white camera ready advertising only.

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

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

**WPO** reserves the right to reject any advertising deemed unsuitable.

Advertising or inquiries should be sent to: Editor, *We Proceeded On*, 1203 28th Street South #82, Great Falls, MT 59405. Telephone: 406-761-4706.
The Smoking Place, Idaho
To shake Harlan Opdahl's hand is as much a shock to a city dweller as a night on a camp cot. His skin is the texture of ancient leather, his grip firm and quick.

Crows feet an inch long spread from the corner of his blue eyes. A twig seems glued to the corner of his mouth, bobbing like a log in the surf when he talks.

This wilderness outfitter thrives on big game hunting trips in Idaho's Clearwater National Forest, for which he charges as much as $3,000 a week. But these days his business is coming more from museums and tour groups seeking to track history, not bears.

For Opdahl has become the premier guide to one of the last wild sections of the Lewis and Clark Trail.

As the coming bicentennial of that epic American adventure looms, interest in retracing the steps of the expedition is growing by bounds. And Opdahl worries that business might get better than the isolated back country can handle.

"I come up here once a year with a big group of horses," he says, standing at The Smoking Place, a windswept ridge high in the Bitterroot Mountains. Lewis and Clark joined their Nez Perce guides here in 1806, on their homeward journey, in the traditional smoking of a pipe.

"So far, it hasn't done any damage," Opdahl says. "But you come up here once a week, you're going to cause problems."

Across the nation, concern is growing over pressures the bicentennial will bring to the handful of pristine sections of the trails that remain.

Civilization has dammed, fenced or plowed just about all of the more than 8,000 miles of the original route followed by the expedition of 1803-06. Trail experts agree there are only three places, owned by the public, that still look as they did 200 years ago.

Remote sections of the 150-mile Lolo Trail in northern Idaho are, perhaps, the most pristine and endangered. This was the most daunting passage of the entire expedition.

Now, well-meaning but eager sightseers could easily overwhelm the fragile ecology of romantically named sites like The Smoking Place, The Sinque Hole or Spirit Revival Ridge. Most are accessible via short hikes from a U.S. Forest Service road.

The prospect of too many visitors has raised the spectre of imposing federal restrictions in sensitive areas.

And while enthusiasts worry about the trail being overrun, they also worry about what the bicentennial could do to history itself.

In an age where patriotic celebrations, like the Columbus quincentennial of 1992, fall into squabbles about conquest and cultural genocide, the celebration of America's greatest exploration is an easy target.

The Corps of Discovery, as the expedition was named at the time, is rich fodder for such a debate. The journey opened up the West to the fur trade and the Pacific Northwest to claims of ownership by the fledgling U.S. government, and spelled the beginning of the end for the pre­meval peoples and ecology of western North America.

"My concern about the bicentennial is there is another part of this story that is not told-the Indian story," says Allen Pinkham, a Nez Perce Indian and expert on the Indian trails of the Bitterroots, the very ones the expedition followed. "We hear about the 'Corps of Discovery,' and we were already here. So what did they discover?"

Lewis and Clark buffs-and they are legion—are eager to include native sensibilities in their celebration plans. If they fail, they worry that philosophical and political distractions will taint the raw physical heroism of the expedition.

"They were the first American citizens to come into this country," said New England author and filmmaker Dayton Duncan. "When we celebrate that act, it raises certain questions about what came next, and I think that is appropriate."

**Interest Already Intense**

The three-year bicentennial doesn't start for five years. But interest already is intense.

A documentary on the expedition, by famed filmmaker Ken Burns, is slated for a public television premiere November 4 and 5. The National Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Council is planning a nationwide celebration that will begin in Philadelphia in 2003 and move west, accompanied by museum exhibits, re­enactments and festivals.
Tens of thousands are expected to trace the journey, by car, boat and foot.

Oregon is expected to play a dramatic role of its own, likely based at Portland and at Fort Clatsop, near Astoria, where the expedition spent the bitterly cold and wet winter of 1805-1806.

"It's hot," says Chet Orloff, executive director of the Oregon Historical Society and president of the national bicentennial council. "People want to get on the bandwagon. Tourism, historic sites, parks, counties along the trail-everyone wants to get in on the action."

Visits to Fort Clatsop are up 11 percent this year after five years of zero growth; more than 200,000 visitors tour the reproduction of the log fort each year. Opdahl's outfitting business has seen its share of hunting decline, while Lewis and Clark trips have more than doubled in the last five years.

But no other sign of passion for the expedition is more telling than the sales of "Undaunted Courage," a biography of expedition leader Meriwether Lewis.

Historian and author Stephen Ambrose says he was overwhelmed by the response.

The first printing of 40,000 copies in 1996 was considered a respectable sales volume for a history book. But as of July, "Undaunted Courage" had sold 410,000 copies in hard cover and another 300,000 in paperback, making it a publishing phenomenon.

Ambrose-best known for his biographies of Presidents Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon—said he began "Undaunted Courage" in the 1970s as a project of deep passion. At that time, he said, such a book would have barely created a ripple in the commercial market.

"Patriotism wasn't just out of fashion, it was scorned," says Ambrose, who summers in Montana and winters in Mississippi. "Now, 20 years later, people are starved for a hero. People are starved for national unity. That is why this is going to be so big."

New Land Opened

When 32 men and one woman returned from their journey in 1806, the nation greeted them with wild celebration. While they had failed to find the fabled Northwest Passage, they unveiled a rich and rugged country new to an emerging society.

They were conquering heroes who had explored a land many thought might still contain dinosaurs. The Corps of Discovery had touched the Pacific Ocean and brought back an immense treasure of scientific discovery to an eager President Thomas Jefferson. Only one member of the expedition died during the arduous undertaking.

The courage required by the expedition, combined with the intellectual achievements of its leaders, placed it among the great accomplishments of any nation's plunge into the world's remaining wilderness.

"The Lewis and Clark Expedition was America's belated commitment to the enlightenment," says Stephen Dow Beckham, a historian at Lewis and Clark College in Portland. "The instructions from Jefferson were for the kind of intellectual commitment other countries had already made with scientific explorations."

The presence of the Shoshoni Indian woman Sacagawea, her child Jean Baptiste, and a black slave named York only added to the wonder in a nation hungry for heroes, myths and western expansion.

It is that same desire for a national identity that drives attention today.

"It is our national epic," says Gary E. Moulton, editor of the Lewis and Clark Journals and a world-renowned scholar on the expedition. "For people out West, it's our connection. We didn't have the Revolutionary War or the Civil War out here—we had Lewis and Clark."

Most Areas Changed

Modern fans of the Lewis and Clark Expedition have precious few opportunities to see what the explorers saw nearly 200 years ago. Portions of the Lolo Pass Trail remain pristine, as does a stretch of the Upper Missouri River in central Montana and parts of Lemhi Pass on the Idaho-Montana border.

The 149-mile Missouri River segment is protected as a National Wild and Scenic River. Possibly the most remote section of the expedition trail, it requires a five-day water trip to explore. However, a famous landmark rock formation, named Eye of the Needles, was toppled by vandals along the route in May.

Lemhi Pass today is a patch of dirt road divided by a fence separating Montana from Idaho, although the view Lewis saw from the spot remains unchanged. It is here that Lewis realized there was no Northwest Passage-only mountain range after mountain range standing between him and the trade routes of the Pacific.

The Lolo Pass route, which extends from near Missoula, Montana, to near Kamiah, Idaho, contains the greatest number of identified camp sites dating back to the expedition, and some of the most rugged country in the nation.

It is the trail's remote location on the pine-covered ridgetops of the Bitterroots that has been its salvation. Although an unimproved Forest Service road parallels and crosses much of the original trail, it remains difficult to find.

When the Corps of Discovery first plowed through here in the fall of 1805, it was led by a Shoshoni Indian guide who had trouble following the trail. An early snow prompted Capt. William Clark to write in his journal: "I have been wet and as cold in every part as I ever was in my life."

What the explorers thought would be a five day journey stretched to 11 days. They began killing horses for...
food. Midway through the moun-
tains they were consuming their 30-
pound supply of buffalo-tallow
 candles to survive. It was, without
question, the roughest part of their
entire odyssey.

The Smoking Place on the Lolo
Trail is a well-known reference in
the expedition journals. For it was
here, on the less arduous return in
1806, that Lewis sat with his Nez
Perce Indian guides and smoked in
respect of the grandeur surrounding
them.

Today, aside from a handful of
clear cuts and a road slicing the
ridge across the valley, little mars
the view. The meadow is spread
over a rocky knoll with a scattering
of pine trees, tufts of grass amidst
mineral-stained shale and dirt, and
wild flowers in purple, white and
yellow. Three stone cairns about
three feet tall sit here, built by the
Indians. When Lewis smoked here,
there was one, with a 15-foot tall
pine pole stuck in the middle.

Over the years, vandals have dis-
mantled earlier cairns and thrown
them down the ridge, piece by
piece.

At 6,500 feet elevation, the
ground is thin and fragile. It would
take little disturbance to damage it
for years to come. Yet there is noth-
ing to stop anyone from camping at
the site.

"We have some sites up there
that should be protected," says
Pinkham, the Nez Perce trail expert.
"We have cases of people going up
there and picking up rocks. To them
they are just rocks, but to the people
that put them there they are spe-
cial."

Pinkham says sacred offerings
have been removed from spots
along the trail, sites the tribe used
for generations before and after the
expedition. Restrictions on travel on
the Lolo Trail may be needed to save
those sites.

"Maybe there needs to be some
kind of permit system," says
Pinkham, who also is employed by
the Clearwater National Forest. "I

hate to see that, but how else do we
control 1,000 people?"

Pinkham's question is one the
Forest Service is not sure how to an-
swer.

Chuck Raddon, a trail expert with
the Clearwater National Forest, says
the agency has no final plan for pro-
tecting any of the historic trails that
wind through the mountains. In the
past, little manpower has been de-
voted even to the enforcement of
existing laws.

Motorcycles, for example, are
banned from the Lolo Trail. Yet, "Ev-
every time I go up there we see tracks
and we...seldom catch anyone,"
Raddon says.

Increased patrols by Forest Ser-
vice officials and volunteers are be-
ing considered, as are permits for
groups of 10 or more people. In (the
extreme, permits would be required
for everyone visiting the trail. The
Forest Service "500" road that runs
along the trail could be made one-
way, limiting traffic, he said.

And then again, the best strategy
might be to hope that people simply
won't make the arduous journey
over the primitive mountain road,
he says.

"Our strategy is to attract people
to the places that can take the im-
 pact and just not mention the other
places," Raddon says.

Meanwhile, business is booming
for Harlan Opdahl and his wife Bar-
bara. The Smithsonian Museum
sends out trips each year, as do high
schools and groups of Lewis and
Clark fans. It marks a change in the
Opdahl's mountain encampment, a
place more used to the rough world
of big game hunters than school
marm.

"You don't mention you're a
hunter until after the first day,"
Harlan says. "Then they discover
you're human."

NEW video

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Opdahl bristles at the notion of cutting off access to the back country. But he worries for the future of the trail.

Burns—whose previous documentaries on the Civil War, The West, baseball and Thomas Jefferson drew wide audiences—is in favor of preserving places like the Lolo Trail in as pure a state as they are today. Improvements need to be kept out.

"It's essential," Burns said. "We need those places where the ghosts echo and speak to us of this wise past."

**ULM PISHKUN**

*Cont. from p. 21*

Education characterizes the current layer of history at the Pishkun, and the completion of the $2 million center, which is slated for 1998-1999, is a fitting marker for it. With the center's completion, over 75,000 people yearly are expected to share the site's heritage.

Further information about the site is available from either the Cascade County Historical Society (406) 452-3462 or the regional office of Fish Wildlife and Parks in Great Falls. Docented tours for larger groups are available. Educational materials in the form of a traveling exhibit, trunk, and curriculum guide are also available for classroom/organizational use.

**EDITOR'S DESK**

*Cont. from p. 3*

lished and the Compass Rose will soon be installed. Exhibits are arriving for installation and a director for the interpretive center has been selected. The new director is Jane Schmoyer-Weber who has been the project coordinator for the center. She is a member of the foundation board of directors. A better choice couldn't have been made. Jane knows the center inside and out down to the smallest detail and she knows the Lewis and Clark story, particularly on the upper Missouri River area that will be the focal point of the center.

It looks like the Bureau of Land Management is going to build a replica of the Eye of the Needle and place it in Fort Benton rather than trying to rebuild the original eye in the White Cliffs area of the river. That might be a better idea than trying to recreate God's handicrafting.

The sudden passing of one of the stalwarts of the foundation, Strode Hinds, caught many of us by surprise. We will surely miss Strode, his sense of humor, his foresight, his humanness. Gary Moulton's obituary tribute to Strode is on page 22. To Bev, Strode's wife and the unofficial annual meeting photographer, and their children I express my heartfelt sorrow and condolences. I know I speak for many when I say Strode will be missed.

**PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE**

*Cont. from p. 3*

Lewis & Clark Expedition. The portions of the documentary shown were truly excellent. The four hour documentary will be shown on PBS in two two-hour segments on November 4 and 5, 1997.

Next year's convention will be held at Great Falls, Montana. Note that this convention at Great Falls will be held earlier than usual. It will be held from June 29 to July 2 and will be followed by the annual Great Falls Lewis & Clark Festival and the dedication of the U.S. Forest Service's new Lewis & Clark Interpretive Center. (This center will house the foundation's office.)

As many of you likely know, the foundation has suffered two grievous losses in the last 12 months. In November 1996, Arlen J. "Jim" Large died, and in August 1997, Dr. V. Strode Hinds died. Both were past presidents of the foundation, contributors to *We Proceeded On*, committee chairs and otherwise very active in foundation affairs over a long period. We are fortunate indeed in having enjoyed their superlative services for most of the foundation's existence.

With reference to foundation affairs, activity continues in varied areas. For example, the bicentennial committee, under the energetic leadership of Bob Weir, is pursuing several possible ways to commemorate the expedition's bicentennial. These range from seeking issuance of a commemorative stamp to a photographic re-survey of the trail from Camp Wood to the Pacific. The archives committee is arranging for a professional archivist to prepare foundation archives for public use at the Great Falls office. Internally, the foundation is in the process of putting committee functions into a more coherent structure by grouping committee functions according to the area of interest served. Other committees are, of course, also actively working in their respective fields.

Michelle Bussard, the new executive director the foundation shares with the bicentennial council, began her regular duties in September. We wish her every success in this new and challenging venture. The foundation's part-time executive director, Barbara Rubik, remained through October to assist Michelle in the transition. Barb has served us exceedingly well, and we owe her a hearty thank you for her services as executive director. Barb is a newly-elected member of the foundation's board of directors, so we will continue to have the benefits of her expertise and experience.

If you have comments or questions about the foundation, please feel free to write.
Capt. Lewis / Monday July 15th 1805

.... we have now passed Fort Mountain [Square Butte] on our right it appears to be about ten miles distant....it's sides stand nearly at right angles with each other and are about a mile in extent. these are formed of a yellow clay...and rise perpendicularly to the height of 300 feet. the top appears to be a level plain and...covered with a similar coat of grass with the plain on which it stands....