



The Official Publication of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. August 2001 Volume 27, No. 3

PRESERVING FOOD ON THE TRAIL

What did the Corps of Discovery do with its leftovers?



Boiling seawater for salt on the shores of the Pacific, winter 1806.

THE SALT MAKERS, BY JOHN CLYMER

PLUS: JEFFERSON'S WEST, KAREEM HONORS YORK, AND MORE

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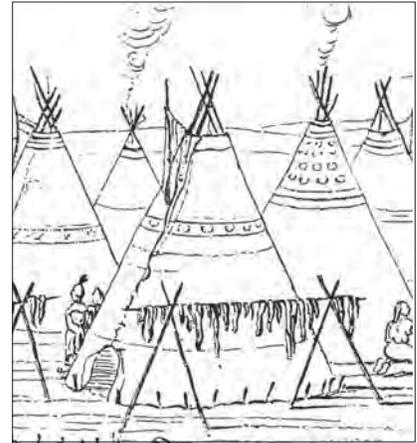
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A Lewis & Clark Symphony?

By Skip Jackson

On the cover

We chose *The Salt Makers*, John Clymer's dramatic painting of Lewis and Clark's men making salt under the curious gaze of Pacific Coast Indians, to illustrate Leandra Holland's story on food preservation (pages 6-11). Historians have generally assumed that the salt produced by boiling seawater near Fort Clatsop was used for curing elk meat, although the journals are not at all clear on this point. We thank Mrs. John Clymer and the Clymer Museum of Art, in Ellensburg, Washington, for permission to reproduce the painting.



Preserving food, p. 6



Jefferson, p. 30



Beethoven, p. 36



August 2001 • Volume 27, Number 3

We Proceeded On is the official publication of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. Its name derives from a phrase that appears repeatedly in the collective journals of the expedition. © 2001.

E. G. Chuinard, M.D., *Founder*

ISSN 02275-6706

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

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Letters

Decision at Chinook Point

Martin Plamondon's piece, "Decision at Chinook Point" (WPO, May 2001), is a timely reminder to everyone not to overstretch in interpreting the Corps of Discovery's actions. But I think he may have overreached a bit himself by setting up a straw man in his opening sentence, saying that people are now claiming that Lewis and Clark "brought democracy to this part of the country."

In reading the collection of book excerpts he cites—including two of mine—I couldn't find that grandiose claim.

Part of this may be semantics, but it's an important point. Was the Lewis and Clark Expedition a military enterprise in which the captains' words were final? Absolutely. Were the captains bound by the vote taken at Chinook Point? No. But admitting this (and I know of no one who disputes it) in no way detracts from what a significant moment this was for the expedition.

Without question it broke from military protocol, just as two captains sharing the command did. Without question it was deemed significant enough for Clark to register each member's individual opinion in his journal—a unique occurrence in that right. Without question York—a piece of property back in the states—was allowed an equal voice; and Sacagawea, too, though back in the States neither women nor Indians had such rights. (Similarly, without question both York and Sacagawea were stripped once again of any sense of equality once the expedition returned from its journey.)

And without question, while the journals don't tell us the details of that evening and we therefore can't say for sure exactly what transpired, the other men's journals clearly show the effect. That very morning, they had all assumed the expedition was about to break camp and head upriver for the winter. By the next morning they had not only agreed to cross the Columbia to scout for possible winter lodgings on the coast, they believed it had been their decision, not the captains'. Two men use the words "consult" or "consulted." Ordway (not unusually) is more precise: "our officers conclude with the opinion of the party." In their minds, at least, the captains were being guided by the group's decision, not vice versa.

My own belief is that the vote's results were what the captains were hoping for—probably even lobbied for in whatever discussion may have preceded the recording of each person's opinion. But that's only my belief. No one can say for sure what would have happened if the members' votes had been overwhelmingly in favor of skipping the south side of the Columbia and evacuating a miserably wet coastline as soon as possible. Maybe the captains would have simply ordered the canoes to cross the river anyway; or maybe not. I don't pretend to know the answer to that, but neither should anyone else. So we're all left with interpretation, though an obligation to ground it with what facts are at hand. I think the facts support a conclusion that this was an extraordinary act of leadership by Lewis and Clark with an immeasurable impact on the morale and sense of unity of the party, whether or not it was originally intended to bind the captains to any particular course of action. The facts also support a belief that this was a symbolically transcendent moment—for the expedition, and by extension for the nation they were representing on the continent's farthest shore.

The foundation of American democracy (that is, republican democracy) is that leaders are not absolute, that they derive their power from the consent of the governed, and that while they do not have to consult their citizens on every decision, they are well advised to take the citizens' views into account. Further, our history shows that the definition of who a citizen is—that is, whose opinion is taken into account—has been constantly broadened since the declaration that "all men are created equal" was originally narrowly defined as "some white men with property." On November 24, 1805, at Chinook Point—out in front of their nation both geographically and metaphorically—the Corps of Discovery expanded that definition and stretched that boundary, however momentarily. Yes, they were a military expedition, firmly (and expertly) commanded, and only the captains could make the ultimate decisions at every turn. And no, their action that day did not touch off an immediate outbreak of broadened democracy, either

in the Pacific Northwest or in the nation they called home—or even, for that matter, within the Corps of Discovery itself. But make no mistake: what happened there was a quintessentially democratic act, all the more profound because of the time, location, and circumstance under which it occurred. Others may wish to call what happened a “poll” or a “consultation.” But based on both my understanding of our nation’s history and the day-to-day workings of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, I intend to continue calling it a “vote,” and see no reason to do otherwise.

DAYTON DUNCAN
Walpole, N.H.

Ordway’s signature

In “Dependable John Ordway” (WPO, May 2001), Larry Morris states that the Corps of Discovery’s first Christmas was spent at Fort Mandan. Actually, according to William Clark’s journal entry of December 25, 1803, the company’s first Christmas was spent at Camp DuBois, in Illinois. Clark mentions some of the men getting drunk, giving whiskey to visiting Indians, killing several turkeys, and snow falling in the morning.

HARRY WINDLAND
Lewis and Clark Society of America
Glen Carbon, Ill.

The Iron Boat

In “The Forensic Conservator and Lewis and Clark” (WPO, February 2001), an otherwise well-researched article, writer Carolyn Gilman erred in stating that Lewis’s iron boat weighed 99 pounds and that after assembly it “sank like a stone.”

The figure of 99 pounds is all too often taken out of context from a letter Lewis wrote to Thomas Jefferson from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, on April 20, 1803. In this letter, Lewis describes one curved section, consisting of iron and hide, as weighing 47 pounds. Lewis also describes the “semicilindrical” section, also consisting of iron and hide, as weighing 52 pounds. Add one curved section at 47 pounds and one “semicilindrical” section at 52 pounds and you have the 99-pound figure so often quoted as the weight of the completed iron boat.

We know from later journal entries that the finished boat consisted of two curved sections and six “semicilindrical”



LANNY JONES

“ORD 1804” at Tavern Cave

I read with interest the letter from Lucie Huger about Tavern Cave and the inscription “ORD 1804” said to have been carved there by Sergeant John Ordway on May 23, 1804 (WPO, May 2001).

Mrs. Huger is to be congratulated on her efforts to recognize the importance of Tavern Cave to the expedition, which led to the installation of a National Park Service marker at nearby St. Albans, Missouri, in 1997. Although the cavern itself is on private property and all but inaccessible, I was able to visit and photograph it early this spring. The adjacent precipice that Meriwether Lewis climbed and from which he nearly fell to disaster is readily apparent [see photo above], as is Tavern Cave itself, well known to trappers and Native Americans long before Lewis and Clark arrived in 1804. The intriguing “ORD 1804” inscription [inset] is, however, difficult to authenticate. Although he was one of the journal-keepers, Ordway himself does not mention making such an inscription on this date (unlike the usually self-effacing Clark, who conspicuously noted his marks both at

Pompey’s Pillar and at Cape Disappointment). The “ORD” initials are visible, but so is a preceding “F” that raises the possibility of another inscriber, named “FORD”—or a subsequent vandalizer. (Indeed, the “F” appears to be from another hand.) There is no evidence that Sergeant Ordway was known familiarly as “Ord” or why he might otherwise have shortened his name.

While the “ORD” remains difficult to verify, that does not diminish the importance of Tavern Cave to the expedition as the scene of its first near calamity. Moreover, its role for hundreds and even thousands of years as a stop-over for human travelers on the Missouri makes it an archaeologically significant site. Repeated floodings have inundated the cave but may have also preserved many artifacts in layers of silt and sediment. It is time for archaeologists to examine both the “ORD” more closely and to uncover the fascinating historical record that lies beneath it.

LANNY JONES
Princeton, N.J.

sections, for a total of eight sections. In his letter Lewis states that each section contained 22 pounds of iron, so the total weight of the iron frame came to 176 pounds. To the weight of this bare iron frame one must add Lewis’s estimated weight for the hides as well as for wood and bark (materials that may have lined

the boat’s interior), which brings the curved sections to 78 pounds apiece and the “semicilindrical” sections to 89 pounds, making the total weight of the fully assembled iron boat 690 pounds. This figure may well be on the low side, since Lewis’s two experimental sections constructed at Harpers Ferry probably

used deer hides, whereas much heavier elk and bison hides were utilized at the Great Falls of the Missouri.

Gilman's statement that the assembled iron boat "sank like a stone" just isn't so! On July 9, 1805, after completing the iron boat's construction, Lewis wrote in his journal, "launched the boat, she lay like a perfect cork on the water." This entry goes on to describe the failure of the "composition" to fully seal the seams, so he "therefore relinquished all further hope of my favorite boat and ordered her to be sunk in the water, that the skins might become soft in order the better to take her in pieces tomorrow." The frame was disassembled and cached.

JOHN L. STONER
Townsend, Mont.

Lewis and Clark hats

Bob Moore's article on the hats of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (WPO, May 2001) was thorough and well illustrated, but it omitted Captain Clark's rare drawing [inset] of George Shannon, the Corps's sole male teenager.



JAMES ALEXANDER THOM
Bloomington, Ind.

Another L&C naval ship

Regarding U.S. Navy ships named for Lewis and Clark (L&C Roundup, May 2001), on November 21, 1964, a Polaris submarine, the U.S.S. *Lewis and Clark* (SSBN 644), was launched at Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Company, in Newport News, Virginia. It was christened by my mother, Mrs. W. Goodridge Sale, a great-great niece of Meriwether Lewis, and Mrs. Martin Engman, a descendant of William Clark. I was Mrs. Sale's matron of honor at the ceremony.

The ship was decommissioned in 1991 or thereabouts and scrapped in Bremerton, Washington.

GRACE SALE WILSON
Millwood, Va.

WPO welcomes letters. We may edit them for length, accuracy, and clarity. Send them to us c/o Editor, WPO, 51 N. Main St., Pennington, NJ 08534 (e-mail: wpo@lewisandclark.org).

From the Directors

A special and hearty thanks to all

It has been an honor and a pleasure to serve as the president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation this year—to serve as *your* president. The year has been exciting, challenging, and most of all a lot of fun!

I begin this column, my last, with my most heartfelt thanks—to the Foundation's board of directors, to the staff, to the team leaders, to the committee chairs, and to you, the members. I say "thank you" to the Past Presidents' Council—for your support and insightful comments and suggestions. Your collective wisdom is indeed a treasure. All of you have contributed countless hours, money, inspiration, and insight. We are where we are today because of your hard work and dedication to the story we share and to the trail we steward.

Each day, I find evidence of a new generation of scholars and authors who so graciously share with all of us their knowledge of the story of the Corps of Discovery. New books and articles on Lewis and Clark keep rolling off the presses. Ron Craig continues his work on a documentary film about York, and we have just received word that the Arthur H. Clark Company is reprinting *The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*.

The sound of music

Music abounds in the story we tell. Songwriters are crafting new songs to tell this story, and CDs with the songs and the music of the early 19th century—from Monticello to the Missouri River to the Mandan villages—proliferate. Several operas, symphonies, and musicals are in various stages of composition and production.

In many of these works we find the hand of the LCTHF. As a foundation, we have generously provided grant monies, hours of research, review and collaborative time, and access to our non-circulating library. As individuals and as chapters, many of you have been equally generous with your personal

support. As interest grows in the story of the Corps of Discovery, the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, and the commemoration of the bicentennial, so to do demands on our time, energy, abilities, and limited resources.

Just as I could not have done the job without the support of the Foundation's board, staff, team leaders, and committee chairs, neither can the Foundation do its work without your generous support. With this issue of WPO and for many issues to come we are enclosing a solicitation envelope for memberships and donations. I encourage you to use this envelope to purchase a gift membership for your local library, historical society, or bicentennial committee or to make a donation to our work that most interests you. Is it trail stewardship? The library? Office management? Alternatively, share the envelope with a friend or colleague. Perhaps the message on the envelope or the season of the year will inspire your own ideas of support and membership.

"A story worth the telling"

By now, you all know of the honors bestowed upon the members of the Corps of Discovery, including now-captain William Clark and honorary sergeants Sacagawea and York in January. In April, York was again honored when the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum placed him in its Hall of Great Westerners. Around the country there are bicentennial plans for statues, parks, and trails that collectively or individually celebrate our explorers and the meetings of cultures they fostered.

It is a story worth the telling—in music, words, and pictures. The LCTHF is honored to be "the keepers of the story and the stewards of the trail." Help us to help others who would tell the story in their own creative way or who would be stewards of the trail in their own community.

—Barb Kubik
President, LCTHF

400 at Omaha workshop; Ambrose pledges \$1M

The National Council's sixth annual planning workshop in Omaha, Nebraska, brought together over 400 attendees representing communities from tidewater-to-tidewater for an intense, information-packed conference. Keynote speakers—Antone Minthorn, tribal chairman of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla; Bobbie Conner, director of the Tamasklikt; and Gerard Baker, superintendent of the Lewis and Clark Historic Trail; and author Jim Thom—reminded us all of our responsibilities to be good stewards of the stories and the land. They also challenged us to be steadfast in our inclusivity, diversity, and commitment to creating a lasting legacy for all Americans as we commemorate the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The Circle of Tribal Advisors (COTA), chaired by board member Amy Mossett, met formally for the first time with just over 25 designated members present. Work focused on developing an inter-tribal guidance agreement to provide a basis for collaboration among tribes and other bicentennial partners.

The Circle of State Bicentennial Advisors (COSA), chaired by Clint Blackwood of Montana, gathered for its second meeting, with 14 states represented. Discussions centered around the announcement of national signature events, marketing and research, opportunities for state collaboration, and strategies for working with the Congressional Lewis and Clark Caucus and federal agencies.

The National Council announced the 10 communities that will host national signature events. They are: (1) Charlottesville, Virginia, (2) Louisville, Kentucky/Clarksville, Indiana, (3) St. Louis, Missouri/Hartford and Wood River, Illinois, (4) Atchison and Fort Leavenworth, Kansas/Kansas City, Missouri, (5) Omaha, Nebraska, (6) Bismarck, North Dakota, (7) Great Falls, Montana, (8) Lower Columbia

River, Oregon and Washington, (9) Billings, Montana, and (10) New Town, North Dakota. In the next few months, the Council will look for chronological and historical gaps in this list and invite proposals from other areas.

Matching gift

With joy and fanfare the Council announced a commitment of \$1 million from Dr. Stephen E. Ambrose, to be matched over the next five years, starting with an initial investment this year of \$200,000—which has already been matched! It was also announced that both the National Geographic Society and *Smithsonian* magazine have joined with the Council as media partners for the bicentennial.

Activity in Congress has been heating up. This is the appropriations season, and we are encouraged that many federal agencies will receive substantial new funding for Lewis and Clark projects. The Council has worked with the L&C Congressional delegation to identify project priorities and needs.

Please mark your calendars now for the April 11-14, 2002, workshop in Lewiston, Idaho.

—David Borlaug
—Michelle Bussard

The Road to Lemhi Pass

I climbed the road to Lemhi Pass,
The road that seems to never end.
The valleys are long, the streams
swift and strewn with stones.
The banks are slippery and thick
gumbo clings to mud-soaked
moccasins.
Who can lift me from this never-
ending valley,
And join me on the heights where
western waters bid me forward?

—Gary Moulton
October 2000

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Incorporated in 1969 under Missouri General Not-For-Profit Corporation Act. IRS Exemption Certificate No. 501(c)3, Identification No. 510187715.

PRESERVING FOOD

on the L&C Expedition

*After you've killed a buffalo and eaten your fill of it,
what do you do with the leftovers?*

by LEANDRA HOLLAND

As the Corps of Discovery made its way across the continent and back, it lived largely off the land, eating fresh game shot daily by George Drouillard and other hunters. What meat the expedition members couldn't consume immediately they preserved by various means. The explorers also carried provisions that in one way or another had been treated to prevent spoilage.

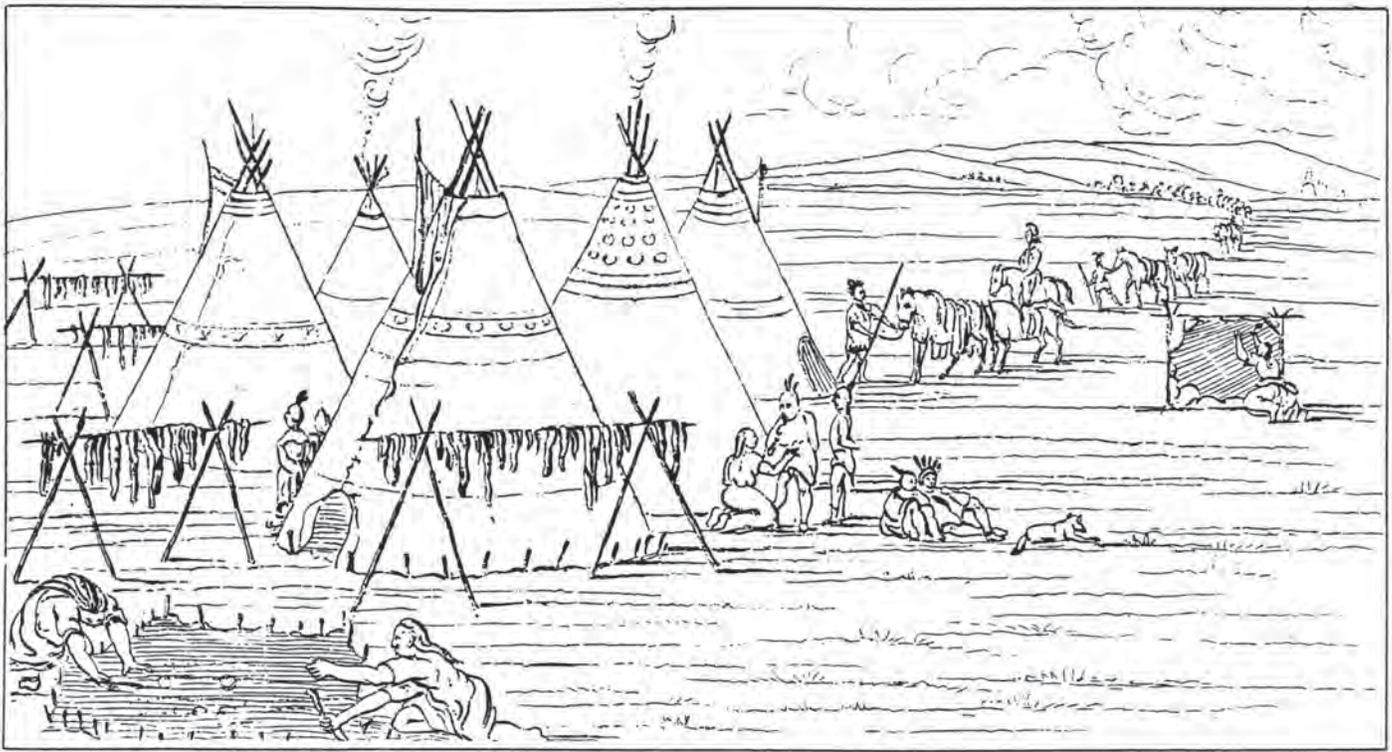
In 1809, three years after the expedition's return from the Pacific, a French pastry chef named Nicolas Appert would perfect a method of keeping food in airtight jars—tin cans would come along a few years later—and by the mid-20th century soldiers and trekkers would be carrying freeze-dried meals, which can be easily reconstituted with water, and M.R.E.s, or “Meals, Ready-to-Eat,” of Gulf War fame.¹ But for Lewis and Clark, the choices for food preservation were limited to ways that had been around for thousands of years. Meat and fish could be sun-dried, air-dried, pickled, salted, smoked, or sealed in fat. Grains and fruit could be dried and ground, and fruits saturated with sugar. The Corps of Discovery used most of these methods.

REDUCTION AND DRYING

What we think of today as “instant soup” has been with us in one form or another since at least the 1720s. Broth—

made by boiling meat and bones in water—was condensed by slow cooking, then dried into cakes held together by gelatin from the bones. An 18th-century recipe described the end product as a gelatinous cube “which will be stiff and hard as Glue in a little Time, and may be carried around in the Pocket without Inconvenience.”² It was also known as veal glue. The notorious playboy Casanova carried what he called “pocket soup” and said he never traveled without it.³ In 1729, William Byrd of Virginia recommended that “if you shou'd be faint with Fasting or Fatigue, let a small Piece of this Glue melt in your Mouth, and you will find yourself surprisingly refreshed.”⁴ According to Ann Shackelford, the creator of a recipe for dried soup published in the 1760s, “These lozenges, or cakes, will keep good four or five years.”⁵

The grocery shopping for the expedition began with Lewis's commissioning 193 pounds of “portable soup.” François Baillet, a Philadelphia cook, boiled down the meat stock into a concentrate whose nutritive value must have been close to today's bouillon cubes—about 30 calories per tablespoon—but far less salty.⁶ We have no information on the consistency of Lewis's portable-soup concentrate or in what form members of the Corps of Discovery ate it. The only clue is in the journal of John Ordway, and that is ambiguous. On September 16, 1805, he records, “about one oClock finding no water we halted and melted



FROM GEORGE CATLIN, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, LETTERS AND NOTES ON THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS

On the upper Missouri in 1832, artist George Catlin drew Indians sun-drying strips of buffalo meat, which might later be beaten into pemmican.

Some snow and eat or drank a little more Soup”⁷ His statement about eating the soup as well as drinking it suggests that it may have been chewable.

Boiling down the meats extracted their nutritious components while also sterilizing the broth. Whether exposed to the heat of an oven or even the sun, the secondary drying of the gel extracted whatever moisture was left, thus rendering the “glue” into a substance inhospitable to bacteria, molds, or other pathogens.

WET-CURING IN BRINE

On April 3, 1804, while preparing for the expedition at Camp Dubois, in Illinois, Clark wrote that the men were busy making “porkie packed in barrels.” Two weeks later, on April 17, he noted, “Completed packing fifty Kegs of Pork & rolled & filled them with brine.” This tells us that the explorers cured pork by soaking it in salt water, perhaps adding natural flavorings to render it more palatable. Curing meat in brine is preferable to letting it stand in dry salt, which, as noted by Mary Randolph, the author of an 1824 domestic guide entitled *The Virginia Housewife*, “will certainly draw off the juices, and harden it.”⁸

The brine used for curing pork might have been similar to the one Mrs. Randolph describes for beef: into a clean 30-gallon cask mix “one pound of salt-petre, powdered, fifteen quarts of salt and fifteen gallons of cold

water,” stirring thoroughly until the salt is dissolved.⁹ This is about the amount of brine needed for six to eight kegs of pork, or about one pound of salt for 10 pounds of pork. Bruce Aidells, a contemporary sausage maker, expands on the idea further: “Brine, also called wet cure or pickle, is a solution of salt, water, sugar, and often curing salts. Meat placed in a brine is preserved by reducing the moisture content and replacing the moisture by salt. Spices and other seasonings can be added to the brine for more flavor.”¹⁰ We don’t know for sure whether Lewis and Clark added sugar or spices to their brine, but we can assume they probably did not—they don’t mention it in the journals, and Americans at the time were generally opposed to overspicing, a method used by Europeans for centuries to mask the taste of spoiled food. Also, spices were expensive (especially in the quantities needed for 50 kegs of pork), and were listed on Lewis’s inventory as pharmaceuticals rather than flavorings.

Salt-petre (either sodium nitrite or potassium nitrite) was a standard remedy for preventing meat from spoiling. Mary Randolph observed, “The generally received opinion that salt-petre hardens meat, is entirely erroneous:—it tends greatly to prevent putrefaction, but will not make it hard.”¹¹ Today, the U.S. Department of Agriculture no longer recommends potassium as a curing agent, but sodium nitrate is still sold in combination with sugar,

salt, or other ingredients as “curing salts.”¹²

In whatever fashion Clark and his men brined their pork, it was mostly successful. On May 3, 1804, a full month after the first “porkie” went into the kegs, he records, “Majr. Rumsey was polite enough to examine all my provisions Several Kegs of Pork he Condemed.”¹³ Considering the quantity of meat involved (3,705 pounds) and the volatility of bacterial fermentation, losing only a few hundredweight of product was not bad.

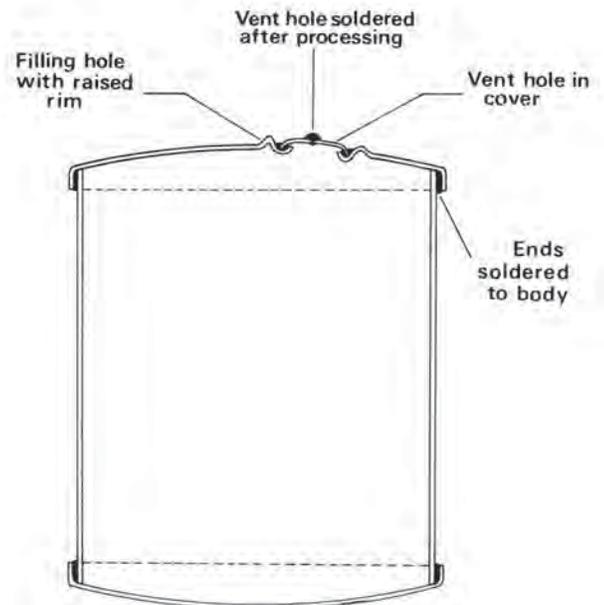
Dry-curing in salt was another common way to preserve meat and fish, but there is no evidence in the journals that Lewis and Clark used it. The explorers never had a lot of salt in their possession, especially on the trail, and even when they made it by boiling sea water on the Pacific they acquired at most three or four bushels in several months of effort.¹⁴ The principal, and perhaps only, purpose of the salt made during their stay at Fort Clatsop may have been for flavoring—“our fare,” wrote Lewis on January 29, 1806, “is the flesh of lean elk boiled with pure water, and a little salt.” Dry-curing, which involves meticulously rubbing the salt into thin slices of meat, may have been more trouble than it was worth, although it’s possible that it was done in conjunction with smoking the meat as an added measure of preservation.

JERKING

Jerking, or air drying, was the method for curing meat preferred by Plains Indians and also, apparently, by the Corps of Discovery. It is best accomplished when the sun is high and the weather hot (but preferably not humid). It can also be used if conditions are cold and windy, so long as they are dry. Jerking can be supplemented by smoking if the air is humid.

The word “jerky,” or jerk, comes from the Spanish *charqui*, which itself derives from a word in Quechua, the Indian language of the Peruvian highlands. It describes the end product of cutting meat into thin strips, then air-drying them until they come to resemble hardened shoe leather.¹⁵ It may have tasted like shoe leather, too. Lewis, with his gourmet palate refined at the table of Thomas Jefferson’s White House, may have been suffering a bit at Fort Clatsop when, on January 9, 1806, he wrote, “I have been living for two days past on poor dried Elk, *or jurk* as the hunters term it.” He would have preferred “some marrow bones and a little fresh meat.”

Jerking was so routine that the journals are blasé about describing it. Of the many occasions when the captains noted jerking in progress, only once, on the return trip, do they even hint at how it was actually done. On April 8,



1806, Lewis noted, “[we] exposed our dried meat to the sun and the smoke of small fires.” David McKeehan, who edited the journal of Patrick Gass, amplified on the method: “Jirk is meat cut into small pieces and dried in the sun or by a fire. The Indians cure and preserve their meat in this way without Salt.”¹⁶

Jerking was probably the single most efficient means of preserving the abundant game the corps encountered while on the high, dry plains of Montana, but the explorers were employing it early in the journey as well. On June 5, 1804, while in the vicinity of present-day Jefferson City, Missouri, Clark recorded that they “jurked” the excess meat from seven deer shot the day before. As Lewis observed six days later, it was a “Constant Practice to have all the fresh meat not used, Dried in this way.”

SMOKING

At soggy Fort Clatsop, air-drying would not have been practical, and we have to assume that meat not eaten immediately was preserved by smoking. On February 8, 1806, the men brought in “the flesh of five Elk,” according to Clark, but one of the carcasses had already “become tainted and unfit for use.” When hunters returned with four more carcasses, the party “Dined and Suped on Elks tongues and marrowbones, a great Luxury for Fort Clatsop.” The next day, “Fearing that our meat would Spoil we Set Six men to jurking it to day, which they are obliged to perform in a house under shelter from the repeated rains.”



Far left: Diagram of an early tin can. Russian explorer Otto von Kotzbuë carried tinned food on an Arctic expedition in 1815, a decade after Lewis and Clark went to the Pacific.

Right: Front and back views of a can of roasted veal taken by British explorer Captain W. E. Parry to the Arctic in 1824. When the can was opened 115 years later, in 1939, the veal was still in good condition.

FROM STUART THORNE, *THE HISTORY OF FOOD PRESERVATION* (1988)

Clark talks of “jurking” the meat, so it’s possible the men attempted to air-dry it in their makeshift shelter. But given what must have been the near-100-percent humidity, this could not have been effective—if the air is saturated, evaporation can’t occur fast enough to prevent the growth of bacteria. Probably Clark used “jurking” generically to denote either air-drying, fire-drying, or smoking. As it was, the quantity of meat was such that it still took four days to preserve it all.

Smoking would have dried the meat and also chemically cured it, while giving it a distinctive flavor. According to food scientist Harold McGee, smoke has some 200 ingredients—alcohols, acids, phenolics (a family of organic compounds, including carbolic acid, an antiseptic), and various other toxic and sometimes carcinogenic substances—which inhibit the growth of microbes and keep fat from oxidizing and turning rancid.¹⁷ Under most conditions, smoking cures meat faster than air-drying—a consideration for a group on the move. As noted earlier, a combination of sun-drying and smoking was used on April 8, 1806, when the returning explorers were ascending the Columbia.

Whether preserved by air-drying or smoking, meat was first cut into thin strips to maximize the amount of exposed surface. Native Americans and whites had different preferences for doing this. According to the *Cambridge World History of Food*, Indian women cut bison meat into strips *across* the grain to maintain alternating layers of lean and fat.¹⁸ The fat added to the meat’s caloric

value and improved its taste—think of a slice of bacon rich in marbled fat. Lewis and Clark’s men probably cut their meat *with* the grain, eliminating as much of the fat as possible—think of a slice of Canadian bacon, which has no visible fat. One pioneer recipe for jerked buffalo meat called for cutting it “along the grain” into strips 1/8 inch thick, 1/2 inch wide and 2 to 3 inches long.¹⁹ Minimizing the fat in meat intended for jerking or smoking reduced the risk of spoilage and guaranteed a cleaner pouch.

FAT AS AN ANAEROBIC PRESERVATIVE

Yet if properly treated, fat can also act as a preservative. It was a principal ingredient of pemmican, a kind of Native-American Power Bar that fueled Indians, fur-trappers, and explorers throughout the long history of the frontier. Typically, pemmican was made up in large quantities, enough to last for days or weeks on the trail. The word itself is a phonic equivalent of the Cree term, *pimikan*, meaning “manufactured grease.”²⁰

The basic recipe was simple. Meat was jerked, then pulverized (pounded into a powder) and placed in a bowl. Pounded dried berries were sometimes added for flavor. Next, bone marrow, a substance rich in fat, was melted over a fire. The heat from the fire purified the fat, which was mixed in with the pulverized meat. The liquid fat displaced air, in effect creating an internal anaerobic seal that kept oxygen out of the mix. The concoction was allowed to cool into a stiff paste, then packed inside a rawhide sack and sealed tight. In extolling the virtues of pemmican, his-

Food preservation: selected journal entries

Jurked the Venison killed yesterday.

—Clark, June 5, 1804 (near Jefferson City, Missouri)

Drewyer killed two Bear in the Prarie, they were not fat. We had the meat Jurked and also the Venison, which is a Constant Practice to have all the fresh meant not used, Dried in this way.

—Clark, June 11, 1804

my object is ... to lay in a large stock of dried meat.

—Lewis, June 20, 1805 (Falls of the Missouri)

some hunters were sent out to kill buffaloe in order to make pemecon to take with us.

—Lewis, July 3, 1805

I made the men dry the balance of the freshe meet which we had abot the camp amounting to about 200 lbs.

—Lewis, July 12, 1805

we have now a considerable stock of dryed meat and grease [rendered fat].

—Lewis, July 15, 1805

this evening we finished curing the meat ... we have plenty of Elk beef for the present and a little salt.

—Lewis, January 16, 1806 (Fort Clatsop)

Capt L had the flesh of the 4 Elk which was killed on the 1st inst. Dried.

—Clark, April 3, 1806 (ascending the Columbia)

Sent a party of Six men with Shannon who had killed the Elk to bring in the Elk, and formed a Camp, near which we had a Scaffold made ready to dry the meat as Soon as it Should arrive.

—Clark, April 6, 1806

This morning we had the dryed meat secured in skins and the canoes loaded.

—Lewis, April 6, 1806

we employ the party in drying the met today which we completed by the evening, and we had it secured in dryed Elksins and put on board [the canoes] in readiness for an early departure.

—Lewis, April 7, 1806

we had the dried meat which was cured at our last encampment below exposed to the sun.

—Lewis, April 8, 1806

torian Bernard DeVoto noted, “It could be eaten uncooked or fried, roasted, or boiled, by itself or in combination with anything you had on hand.”²¹ Clark, at least, appears to have been indifferent to the taste. Sharing a meal with the Teton Sioux on September 26, 1804, he noted only, “I Saw & eat *Pemitigon*.”

Lewis and Clark encountered a variation on anaerobic sealing when they observed Tillamooks preserving whale blubber. These coastal Indians relished fresh blubber, boiled, and the explorers ate it that way in January 1806 while at Fort Clatsop. But for the sake of provisioning and future consumption, wrote Clark, the Indians also filleted the blubber into “flickes” or “flitches” (thin strips), which were partially rendered, then dried and stored.²² As the pores shrank and closed, the very nature of the oily meat created its own seal. Later it could be reconstituted by flame-roasting or boiling, either of which would unseal the closed cells and allow the blubber to plump up and become tender.²³ The Lebanese still use this process to preserve cooked lamb tails. (They are quite meaty, and are not docked, or shortened, as they are in the U.S.)

AIR-DRYING OF GRAINS

The Corps of Discovery lived mostly on meat, supplemented with fish and occasional wild plants and berries and, in the Missouri drainage, by flour and parched corn, which were part of the original provisions and were cached for use on the return trip. Both flour and dried corn were purchased. Corn kernels were browned over a fire to make parched corn, a standard fare in frontier America. The parched kernels were then ground; as noted by Clark at Camp Dubois on March 26, 1804, “I had Corn parched to make parched meal.” Because the corn is already dry, parching doesn’t preserve it per se, but softens the starches and glutens to make them easier to digest.²⁴

On the rainy morning of May 14, 1804, the day the explorers departed Camp Dubois to begin their ascent of the Missouri, Clark noted that “Some provisions on examination is found to be wet.” Moisture from rain or river, of course, could nurture microbes or reactivate dormant enzymes in flour or meal. Keeping dry goods dry became a pressing concern for the captains, who were scrupulous about drying wet foodstuffs at the earliest opportunity, even if it delayed a departure.

SUGAR PRESERVING

As the name “preserves” suggests, sugar can be used to stabilize fruits. When combined with vinegar, sugar is also used to preserve vegetables (sweet pickles and pickle rel-

ish being two examples). Sugaring works by killing any microbes harbored by the fruit. It does this by dehydrating them—the sugar displaces water in the microbial cells. Sugar curing wasn't used on the expedition, but the captains surely encountered sugar-cured fruits on social visits to St. Louis during the winter at Camp Dubois. In his journal Lewis listed apples, peaches, gooseberries, and three types of cherries growing in the area. Combined with sugar, all these fruits were potential ingredients for butters, jams, and compotes.²⁵ Combining sugar with vinegar for curing vegetables is illustrated by a period recipe for “English Chop Pickle” which uses four pounds of brown sugar and three quarts of vinegar to prepare about two gallons of tomato, cucumber, cabbage, and pepper relish.²⁶

As the members of the Corps of Discovery hunted and ate their way across the continent, they experienced the fullness of the American pantry in all its primal glory. Even though modern items would have made for an easier journey, we can be thankful they lacked the technology that would have allowed them to load their pirogues with canned soup or Meals, Ready-to-Eat.

Food historian and Foundation member Leandra Holland lives in Mesa, Arizona, and Emigrant, Montana. She is writing a book entitled Feasting and Fasting in the American Wilderness: A Food History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

NOTES

¹Appert, who was also a pickler and brewer, developed canning (actually bottling) in response to a contest sponsored by Napoleon; the emperor, who famously observed that an army travels on its stomach, was looking for better ways to keep his troops provisioned while on campaigns. See James Trager, *The Food Chronology: A Food Lover's Compendium of Events and Anecdotes from Prehistory to the Present* (Ontario: Henry Holt, 1995), pp. 189 and 199.

²*The Lady's Companion*, as quoted in *We Proceeded On*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (November 1983), p. 11.

³Margaret Visser, “Soup of the Evening, Beautiful Soup,” *Wine, Food & the Arts: Works Gathered by The American Institute of Wine & Food*, Vol. 2 (American Institute of Wine & Food, 1997), p. 23.

⁴Helen Bullock, *The Williamsburg Cookbook* (Colonial Williamsburg, 1938; distributed by Holt, Reinhart, 1951), pp. 6-7, which quotes William Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line* (1729).

⁵E. G. Chuinard, *Only One Man Died* (Bozeman, Mont.: Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, 1979; reprint, Fairfield, Wash.: Ye Galleon Press, 1997) pp. 160-161. Chuinard attributes this recipe to Edward Cutbush, *Observations on the Means of Preserving the Health of Soldiers and Sailors* (Philadelphia: Fry

and Kannerer, 1808). However, the identical recipe appears much earlier in Ann Shackleford, *The Modern Art of Cooking Improved: Or Elegant, Cheap, and Easy Methods, of Preparing Most Dishes Now in Vogue* (circa 1767). The matching of the Shackleford recipe with the Chuinard/Cutbush recipe was made by Ken Walcheck of Great Falls, Montana, in research for “Lewis's Portable Soup” (unpublished, 1999).

⁶Donald Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2 vols., 1962), Vol. 1, p. 81.

⁷Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition*, (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Vols. 2-13, 1986-99), Vol. 9, p. 225. All quotations or references to journal entries in the ensuing text are from Moulton, Vols. 2-8, by date, unless otherwise indicated.

⁸Mary Randolph, *The Virginia Housewife* (Washington, D.C.: Davis and Force, 1824); the author's source is a facsimile of the first 1824 edition, with material from the 1825 and 1828 editions and with historical commentary by Karen Hess, published by the University of South Carolina Press (Columbia, S.C.) in 1984, p. 19.

⁹Randolph, p. 13.

¹⁰Bruce Aidells and Denis Kelly, *Hot Links and Country Flavors: Sausages in American Regional Cooking* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1990), pp. 343-344.

¹¹Randolph, p. 19.

¹²Aidells Kelly, p. 343, notes, “If you decide to air-dry or cold smoke, curing salts must be used to prevent any possibility of botulism. During cold smoking and air drying the temperatures are ideal for the growth of bacteria, so the protection offered by curing salts is necessary for safety.”

¹³Nathan Rumsey was the agent for an army contractor in the St. Louis area. Moulton, Vol. 2, p. 156 (note).

¹⁴Moulton, Vol. 6, p. 140 (note).

¹⁵John F. Mariani, *The Dictionary of American Food and Drink* (New Haven: Ticknor and Fields, 1983), p. 215.

¹⁶Moulton, Vol. 10, p. 16, note 2.

¹⁷Harold McGee, *On Food and Cooking: The Science and Lore of the Kitchen* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), p. 104.

¹⁸Kenneth F. Kiple and Kriemhild C. Ornelas, eds., *The Cambridge World History of Food*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Vol. 1, p. 451.

¹⁹*Trail Boss's Cowboy Cookbook* (Denver: Society for Range Management, 1984), p. 196.

²⁰Moulton, Vol. 3, p.120, note 10.

²¹Bernard DeVoto, *Across the Wide Missouri* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1947), p. 164.

²²Moulton, Vol. 6, p. 183.

²³Sonia Bleeker, *The Sea Hunters: Indians of the Northwest Coast* (New York: William Morrow, 1951), p. 103.

²⁴Michael J. Caduto and Joseph Bruchac, *Native American Gardens* (Golden, Colo.: Fulcrum Publishing, 1996), p. 125.

²⁵McGee, pp. 170-71.

²⁶Bullock, pp. 134-35.

GETTING OUT THE WORD

New evidence suggests it was Patrick Gass who carried William Clark's letter reporting on the expedition's return

by JAMES J. HOLMBERG

While recently conducting research in the Draper Manuscripts (an absolute treasure-trove for anyone interested in the early West and those who settled it), I came across two letters of Lewis and Clark Expedition veteran Patrick Gass.¹ Gass sources do not mention these letters, and they apparently have not been previously cited in historical articles.

Dictated to his son James W. Gass in December 1866 and January 1867, just a few years before his death, at age 98, the letters were Gass's response to queries by historian-collector Lyman Draper. Draper, who commonly composed a list of questions he wished a person to answer, preferred to interview his subjects in person, but if he couldn't do so he sent them queries. In Gass's case, his primary purpose was to gather information on George Rogers Clark and Daniel Boone, major focuses of Draper's research, but he asked the old explorer about other people and events as well.

In answering the questions, Gass provided interesting and important information that at times appears to contradict other documents, including a biography of Gass



A portrait of Patrick Gass in his 90s, the period when he corresponded with Lyman Draper.

written with his cooperation a decade before. Some of what he told Draper is recorded elsewhere and can be found in published accounts. But some of the information has never been published, and one piece of it bears directly on a question related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition: Who carried the letters of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark reporting the return of the expedition?

The expedition had arrived in St. Louis on September 23, 1806. Except for a report sent from Fort Mandan, on the upper Missouri, where Lewis and Clark spent the winter of 1804-05, the outside world knew nothing of what the Corps of Discovery had

seen and accomplished since its departure from St. Louis 28 months before. It was important to publicize their return as quickly as possible, so the captains immediately got to work on letters. The two they wrote were virtually identical, one drafted by Lewis and the other by Clark and Lewis. Lewis's letter was addressed to President Thomas Jefferson. Clark's letter, although apparently delivered to his brother George Rogers Clark, was addressed to his brother Jonathan Clark, who was living near Lou-

COURTESY EUGENE GASS PAINTER



FROM VICTOR COLLOTT'S *JOURNEY IN NORTH AMERICA*
COURTESY THE FILSON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Falls of the Ohio, ca. 1795, as seen from Clark's Point, on the Indiana shore. Below: map of the country between St. Louis and Louisville.

isville. The letter was intended for publication in one of the local newspapers, with the understanding that other papers would then reprint it.

Historians have long assumed that the letters went by regular post.² In his journal entry for September 23, William Clark recorded that Lewis on that day had sent a note to postmaster John Hay at Cahokia, the settlement in Indiana Territory across the Mississippi from St. Louis, requesting him to delay the departure of the eastbound mail until noon of the following day. On the 24th, Clark noted that George Drouillard, the corps's civilian hunter and interpreter, had been dispatched to Cahokia to give their letters to the waiting post.³ According to a plausible scenario inferred from the Draper documents, the letters were then carried from Cahokia by Gass, who proceeded with them post haste to Louisville. In his 1866 letter to Draper he recalled, "I carried a letter from Capt. Clark ... which I delivered to [George Rogers Clark] at the falls of the Ohio, and which he published."⁴ At the time, the arrangement of a special courier for important mail was not unusual; in effect, for this temporary duty the captains would have entrusted their letters to one of

their own. The courier may also have carried other mail intended for Louisville and points farther east.⁵

Did Gass indeed serve, as he claimed, as the courier for Clark's letter (and, one would assume, Lewis's letter as far as Louisville), or was he embellishing the facts as he looked back on events 60 years in his past? Both Lewis's and Clark's letters survive, but unfortunately they lack their address leaves, whose postmark or other notation may have indicated whether they went by regular mail or special courier.⁶ Despite the lack of such conclusive evidence, a close examination of the record and some informed speculation suggest that the letters indeed went by special courier and that Gass, one of the corps's three sergeants, was recruited for this important mission.

WHICH CLARK BROTHER?

Before discussing this further, we need to clear up confusion about which of William Clark's brothers—Jonathan Clark or George Rogers Clark—was the intended recipient of his letter. Even though Gass reported delivering the letter to George Rogers Clark, we know, in fact, that it was intended for Jonathan Clark.



The evidence for this comes from another letter, discovered in 1988, that William wrote on September 24, 1806, in which he specifically mentions Jonathan as the addressee of his letter of the 23rd.⁷ The confusion on this matter goes back to the Reuben Gold Thwaites edition of the expedition journals, published in 1904-05, in which Thwaites reprinted Clark's September 23rd letter reporting on the expedition's return and identified George Rogers Clark as the addressee—a statement seemingly, but erroneously, confirmed by Gass's correspondence with Draper. Thwaites's problem was that *The Palladium*, a Frankfort, Kentucky, newspaper that published the letter on October 9, reported receiving it from "gen. Clark," without giving his first name.⁸ Both George Rogers Clark and Jonathan Clark were generals, and Thwaites appears to have assumed that William's letter was intended for the former.⁹

It would seem that Gass compounded this error in his correspondence with Draper, but his apparent lapse should not be judged too quickly. The Clark brothers were settled on either side of the Falls of the Ohio—George Rogers at Clarksville, on the north bank, and Jonathan southeast of Louisville, on the south bank. Gass could have encountered George Rogers Clark in either Clarksville or Louisville and given him William's letter in certain expectation that the general would have passed it on to his brother.¹⁰ Gass can easily be excused for apparently remembering to whom he delivered the letter 60 years before but not to whom it was addressed. This seems especially likely given that Draper's request was for information about George Rogers Clark, not Jonathan Clark.

A MISSED RENDEZVOUS

At the end of October—a month after Gass's departure with the letters—Lewis and Clark with an entourage that included other members of the Corps of Discovery and two Indians delegates bound for Washington, D.C., left St. Louis for points east.

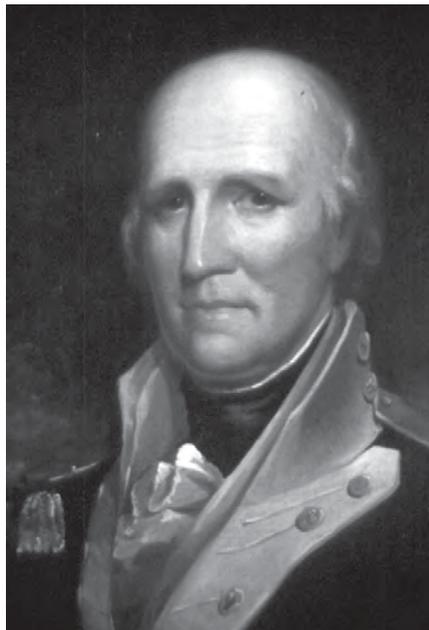
In the 1850s, Gass told his biographer J.G. Jacob that he traveled overland from St. Louis to Vincennes, where he waited for the captains and their party. When he learned

that the captains had taken an alternate route well south of Vincennes and had already arrived in Louisville, he returned to join them there.¹¹ We know that William Clark's letter to brother Jonathan was published in Frankfort on October 9, so if Gass was its courier he must have arrived in Louisville some days before that date. Yet Jacob appears to place Gass in Vincennes in late October or even early November, awaiting Lewis and Clark's arrival. This seeming contradiction can be explained. I believe that Gass passed through Vincennes en route to Louisville, where he arrived within the first few days of October; then, later in the month, he returned to Vincennes to wait for the captains. At the time, it was common for

one party awaiting the arrival of another to venture forth to meet it in advance of the designated rendezvous point. William Clark had considered doing this in 1802 while awaiting the arrival of his brother Jonathan and family from Virginia, and Clark's father-in-law, George Hancock, did so in November 1809 when Clark and his wife, Julia, visited her Virginia homestead.¹²

Although recorded many decades after the fact, Gass's recollections for both Jacob and Draper are probably sound, and chances are that the confusion arising from Jacob's account rests with the biographer, not his subject. Frontiersmen of Gass's caliber rarely forgot the places they visited and could remember with remarkable clarity events of the distant

past. (To cite a relevant example, Gass recalled to Draper that Clark's letter, whose contents he hadn't seen for 60 years, included an account of "heavy snow in the mountains"—an obstacle to the Corps of Discovery which Clark indeed mentioned several times early in his letter; of course, Gass's firsthand knowledge of the bitter trek through those snows may have reinforced his memory.) It seems unlikely that Gass would have reported to Jacob that he went only as far as Vincennes and less than 10 years later report to Draper that he went to Louisville to deliver Clark's letter. Gass could have sent the letter by regular post from Vincennes, but the more responsible action—and Gass was certainly responsible—would have been to take it to Louisville for personal delivery.



George Rogers Clark was the recipient of brother Williams's letter from St. Louis, although it was addressed to Jonathan Clark.

PAINTING BY MATTHEW H. JOWETT, COURTESY THE FILSON HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Patrick Gass's letters to Lyman Draper

Patrick Gass's two letters to Lyman Draper are printed here in their entirety. Being of an advanced age and nearly blind, in responding to Draper Gass enlisted the assistance of his son James W. Gass, who is listed as the amanuensis.

Wellsburg, W. Va.
Dec. 1st 1866

Lyman C. Draper, Esqr.

My Dear Sir:

Your favor of Nove. 16th is before me, and with pleasure I will endeavor to reply, but will state here that the information which you seek, will, I fear, be very limited from this quarter.

It is true I have seen all of these characters mentioned except the two women named walker, whom I know nothing of. I seen Genl. George R. Clark in 1790 [1793], believe it was after he had taken fort Charters, again in 1806. I carried a letter from Capt. Clark (his Brother) which I delivered to him (the Genl.) at the falls of the Ohio, and which he published. it contained an account of the heavy snows on the mountains. At that time he [George Rogers Clark] lived at the falls.

In 1793 I seen Col. Dan Boone at Lewisville Ky. and again in 1806 at Boonsboro on the Mo. [Missouri River] but I did not learn anything concerning the early services or adventures of any of those men except that which I have read. in 1790 or thereabouts I seen Lewis Witzell & Capt. Saml. Brady though I have frequently seen the latter I never learned much concerning them but what I have read, I left Druyer at Kaskaskia in 1806 I know nothing of him since. You wished to know my age you shall have it with pleasure. I was born at falling springs, Cumberland Co., Pa. near what is now Chambersburg, Franklin County, in 1775 my Father moved the family over the South mountain into Maryland and in 1782 moved to the west of the Allegheny mountains, and located near uniontown, then called Besontown the next year we moved to catfish Camp where Washington now stands.

I was 95 years old on the 12th of June last. My general health continues good, but am troubled considerably with rheumatics, and weakness in the limbs. I walk but little and that is confined to my room. my eyesight is very much impaired, having lost the use of one eye in the service of Government, the other is allmost blind. I wish you success in your enterprise, and am sorry I could give you no useful information.

I am &c.

Yours Respectfully
Patrick Gass

per Jas. W. Gass

The second letter includes a middle initial for Gass, which standard biographical sources do not. What the "M" in Patrick M. Gass stood for is unknown, although it may be for McLene, his mother's maiden name.¹

Wellsburg West Virginia
Jan. 11th 1867

Mr. Lyman C. Draper

Dear Sir

Your favor of Dec. 10th '66 is before me. I beg pardon for delaying a reply to it.

You seem to think that I can give you some information. but I can not promise much. for many years have passed by since I have seen your proposed heroes.

I think it was in 1793 that I saw Genl. Clarke. believe he was at that time in the army. I saw him at Lowisville Ky. think he was dressed in uniform I was going to N Orleans on a flat boat we merely landed there for a short time and the "Genl" came on board But did not remain long. In 1806 at the same place I delivered to him his Brother's letter but did not converse with him think he was still connected with the army and retained both his legs. appearance much the same as in 1793.

Col Boone in the spring of 1793 had been out on the Kentucky river among the Indians. In 1806 he had removed his family to Boonsboro on the northern Bank of the Mo [Missouri] above Jefferson City, if I mistake not. We were anxious to get home and did not stop long to converse with him. I can not describe his dress.

Capt. Saml Brady & Lew Wetzell I believe were at Wheeling in 1792. they were Spies. dressed in britchclouts & leggins. dont remember any of their conversation

Druyer was a half Indian about 5 ft. 10 in height was an excellent hunter we left him at St Louis in 1806 I knew Robert McClellan he was born near where I was in canicogig[?] valley Pa. he was a little older than myself. as we were coming home we met him going west, got some whiskey from him, a good fellow I know not what became of him You mention other names but I have no knowledge of them.

I would be glad to impart all the information you desire but my memory seems trecherous. I was born in 1771. thought I stated it so in my last letter but posibly I did not.

With great respect

I am

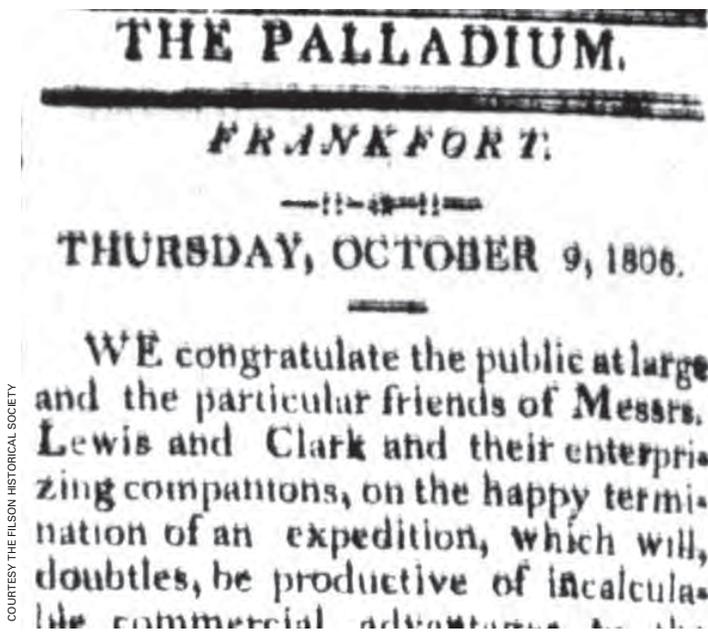
Yours &c.

P. M. Gass

per Jas. W. Gass

NOTES

¹Earle R. Forrest, *Patrick Gass: Lewis and Clark's Last Man* (Independence, Penn., 1950), unpagged (approx. p. 2).



The Palladium, a newspaper in Frankfort, Kentucky, published William Clark's letter to his brother Jonathan on October 9, 1806, less than three weeks after the expedition's return and two weeks before Thomas Jefferson received official word in the form of Lewis's letter. *The Palladium's* story was the first full account of the expedition to appear in the press.

DID KENTUCKIANS ACCOMPANY GASS?

Jacob noted that when Gass returned to Louisville from Vincennes he had with him "a couple of companions." This reference suggests that other members of the Corps of Discovery who may have been Kentuckians traveled with Gass when he left Cahokia. The sergeant's fellow travelers could have included Joseph and Reubin Field, Nathaniel Pryor, George Gibson, John Shields, William Bratton, George Shannon, or others.¹³ Had they, as anticipated, rendezvoused with Lewis and Clark's party in Vincennes, they would have been part of the captains' triumphal entry into Louisville—an event the homegrown heroes would have particularly savored.

If the Field brothers and perhaps others did arrive in Kentucky with Gass in October 1806, some of them were back in St. Louis by the following spring. A petition drawn up at that time by Frederick Bates, the territorial secretary, regarding the location of congressional land grants for service on the expedition included among its eight signers the Field brothers, Gibson, and Willard.¹⁴

Gass himself was also a signer of the petition, which definitely places him in St. Louis sometime after March 3, 1807, the date of the land-grant proclamation. Although the petition was undated, historian Donald Jackson deduces that it was probably signed in mid-April, assuming that news of the proclamation would have taken at least a month to arrive from Washington. The person who carried the proclamation, along with other documents and letters, from Washington to St. Louis may well have been Robert Frazer. We know that Frazer wrote a letter to Tho-

mas Jefferson from Henderson County, Kentucky, on April 16,¹⁵ which would put him in St. Louis about a week later, around April 23. The petition could have been signed as late as May 1, assuming it would have taken a week for Gass and the others to enlist Bates's help and complete its drafting.¹⁶

As for the peripatetic sergeant's itinerary between his departure from Louisville and his return to St. Louis, we can only speculate. We know that Gass visited his family in Wellsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), on the upper Ohio, and that while there he met with David McKeehan, who would subsequently publish Gass's expedition journal. His return trip might have been relatively direct (a descent of the Ohio), or more circuitous—perhaps linking up with Frazer in Washington or vicinity to accompany him through Virginia and Kentucky. A roundtrip journey of several thousand miles must have seemed of little consequence to this veteran traveler.

Patrick Gass called his memory "trecherous," but there is no reason to believe it failed him when responding to Lyman Draper's queries.¹⁷ Nor is it likely that he fabricated the story for the sake of glory, for no special fame was attached to delivering Clark's letter. But in answering his historical inquisitor, the Corps of Discovery's last surviving member provided the answer to one of the little mysteries of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Foundation member James Holmberg is the curator of special collections of The Filson Historical Society, in Louisville, Kentucky.

NOTES

¹Patrick Gass to Lyman Draper, December 1, 1866, Draper Manuscripts, 34J61, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin (microfilm edition *The Filson Historical Society collection*); Gass to Draper, January 11, 1867, Draper Manuscripts, 34J62.

²Donald Jackson, ed., *The Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*. Second edition, 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), Vol. 1, pp. 324 and 329.

³Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982-2000), Vol. 8, pp. 371-72.

⁴Gass to Draper, December 1, 1866; 34J61. In his 1867 letter Gass states virtually the same thing: “in 1806 at that same place [Louisville] I delivered to him [George Rogers Clark] his Brother’s [William’s] letter.”

⁵We can only speculate why, if Gass agreed to take the letters to Louisville, the captains sent Drouillard to deliver them to Cahokia. It is possible that Gass carried Lewis’s note of the 23rd to Hays—Clark does not identify the carrier of the note—asking him to delay the departure of mail on the 24th and that he remained in Cahokia to await the letters delivered by Drouillard.

As one of the expedition’s most trusted members, Drouillard himself might have been designated the special courier, but available evidence suggests he remained in the St. Louis area. Gass, in both of his letters to Draper, places him in either St. Louis or Kaskaskia at the time. Also, on September 29, Private Joseph Whitehouse recorded the sale of his anticipated expedition land warrant to Drouillard (Jackson, Vol. 2, pp. 343-45). If we assume this transaction occurred on the 29th or within the previous few days, that would place Drouillard in St. Louis after September 24. If, on the other hand, Drouillard went downriver to Kaskaskia and then returned to St. Louis, that too would take him out of consideration as the Louisville-bound courier.

⁶William Clark to Dear Brother [Jonathan Clark], September 23, 1806, Clark Family Papers, The Filson Historical Society, Louisville, Ky.; Check of original letter of Meriwether Lewis to Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., by Bruce Kirby of LC staff, March 10, 2000. Jefferson received Lewis’s letter in Washington on October 24, exactly a month after Lewis dispatched it.

⁷William Clark to Jonathan Clark, September 24, 1806, Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodley Collection, The Filson Historical Society.

⁸*The Palladium*, Frankfort, Ky., October 9, 1806. The paper stated that “the general” had been “prevailed upon” to permit the letter’s publication to gratify the “impatient wishes of his countrymen.” Jackson, Vol. 2, p. 330.

⁹Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 8 vols. (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1904-05), Vol. 7, pp. 338-42. It is possible that Thwaites jumped to this conclusion because George Rogers Clark was by far the more famous of the two Clark generals. Or perhaps he read Gass’s letters in the Draper Manuscripts, which he had access

to, and logically concluded that the Hannibal of the West was the addressee because Gass stated so. Lacking sufficient evidence to change the recipient from George to Jonathan, but speculating that it may have been the latter, Jackson (Vol. 1, p. 325) retained George Rogers as the questionable recipient.

¹⁰Gass told his biographer that his route east took him overland to Vincennes, in Indiana Territory. J.G. Jacob, *The Life and Times of Patrick Gass* (Wellsburg, Va. [West Va.]: Jacob & Smith, 1859), pp. 108-09.

¹¹Jacob, pp. 108-09. It is worth noting that there are a number of errors in the Gass biography. Many of them regard facts that seem unlikely for Gass to have forgotten or reported in error. It is much more plausible that Jacob failed to get or remember the details and consequently, here and elsewhere, recorded a sometimes vague or misleading narrative of events.

¹²William Clark to Jonathan Clark, March 2, 1802, and November 26, 1809, Jonathan Clark Papers-Temple Bodley Collection.

¹³Lewis and Clark did not list these men as returning east, but the captains were often vague or inconsistent about such matters. It is known that Reubin Field, Gibson, Shields, and Alexander Willard had returned to Kentucky by 1807 or 1808, and it is possible that they, along with Pryor, Bratton, Shannon, and Joseph Field, were back by late 1806. In the settlement of enlisted men’s accounts at the time of their discharge, Lewis reduced their temporary subsistence allowance, which might have spurred departures home. Each man was also granted an allowance to offset travel expenses. See Jackson, Vol. 2, pp. 426-27.

Another bit of evidence for a return in late 1806 may concern Reubin Field. On October 15, 1806, an account appears in the ledger for Fitzhugh and Rose, a Louisville store, for one Reubin Field, and there is another entry for him on January 19, 1807. That same day, the account was paid in full (Fitzhugh and Rose Ledger, 1806-1807, vol. 2, pp. 26-27; Fitzhugh and Rose Account Books, The Filson Historical Society). Was this the Reubin Field of the expedition? The name, often misspelled, is here spelled correctly, and the time frame fits. The couriers coming from St. Louis with the captains’ letters had reached Louisville by mid-October. By January, when additional purchases were made and the account settled, some of the “Young Men from Kentucky” may have been preparing to return to St. Louis. It may never be known if this is the Reubin Field of the expedition, however, because there was another Reubin Field in Jefferson County, and this account might have been his. The account is cross-referenced with one for a Samuel McClarty, whose name also appears elsewhere in the ledger, but on these other dates Field’s name is absent. No other entries for Field—or other expedition members other than Clark and York—appear in the Fitzhugh and Rose accounts for this period.

¹⁴Jackson, Vol. 2, pp. 378-80

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 409-10.

¹⁶Whatever the specific date of Gass’s return to St. Louis, we know that by later in 1807 he was serving as assistant commissary at Fort Kaskaskia. See Earle R. Forrest, *Patrick Gass: Lewis and Clark’s Last Man* (Independence, Pa.: Mrs. A.M. Painter, 1950), unpaginated, but approximately p. 12.

¹⁷Patrick Gass to Lyman Draper, January 11, 1867.

Artwork by M



COMPANY

And what they tell us about

by Bob

Some of the most important—and underutilized—sources of information on the military men who joined the Lewis and Clark Expedition are army company books. Few Lewis and Clark scholars know, for example, that two company books (one in the National Archives in Washington, D.C., and the other in the Missouri Historical Society Archives, in St. Louis)¹ record the hair and eye color, age, height, place of birth, and other vital statistics for 10 of the enlisted men of the Corps of Discovery.² Unfortunately, we don't know the whereabouts for two other company books—those of Captain Daniel Bissell and his brother, Captain Russell Bissell, who commanded two companies of the 1st U.S. Infantry whose ranks furnished several expedition members (including John Ordway, Patrick Gass, and Joseph Whitehouse). Finding one or both of these company books, if they still exist, would add a great deal to our knowledge of the men who accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific.

THE ARMY OF 1800-1810

In the regular U.S. Army of the Lewis and Clark period there were just two regiments of infantry and one of artillery. A full-strength infantry regiment of the period included roughly 800 officers and men, divided into 10 companies of about 80 men each. The single artillery regiment was actually about the same size as the two infantry regi-

ments combined, because it was composed of about 1,600 officers and men divided into 20 companies of about 80 men each. Privates, corporals, and sergeants enlisted for terms of five years.³

A colonel commanded each infantry regiment, was assisted by a lieutenant colonel, a major, an adjutant, a sergeant major, and two teachers of music. Each of the 20 infantry companies, which were spread thinly among frontier outposts and forts in the West, was commanded by a captain (whose pay was \$40 per month). Each captain was assisted by a first lieutenant (who made \$30 per month), a second lieutenant (\$25 per month), four sergeants (\$8 per month), four corporals (\$7 per month), four musicians (\$6 per month), and 64 privates (\$5 per month).⁴

The army's single artillery regiment was composed of a colonel, a lieutenant colonel, four majors, an adjutant, and 20 companies. Once again, each company was headed by a captain, assisted by a first and second lieutenant, whose pay was the same as for their counterparts in the infantry. In addition, the artillery had two cadets per company, who were paid \$10 per month. The four sergeants, four corporals, and four musicians received the same pay as noncommissioned officers of infantry; in addition, each company had eight artificers (paid \$10 per month), and 56 privates (paid the same as those in the infantry).⁵ The artillery companies were spread even more widely than

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Y BOOKS

out the Corps of Discovery

Moore

those of the infantry, manning coastal fortifications along the Atlantic seaboard such as Fort Independence, in Boston, and Fort McHenry, in Baltimore; border posts like Fort Niagara and Michilimackinac; and frontier posts like those along the Mississippi River at Fort Kaskaskia and Fort Adams.

A company's importance was greatly enhanced because the army was spread so thinly. At the end of 1803, General James Wilkinson, the army's top-ranking officer, noted that New Orleans was occupied by 276 officers and men, while 42 manned a fortification called Fort St. Philip to the south of the Crescent City, at Plaquemines. Other posts along the Mississippi Valley included Fort Kaskaskia, with 117 officers and men, Fort Massac (on the Ohio), with 78, Fort Pickering, with 39, and Fort Adams, with 54.⁶ A year later, in December 1804, Wilkinson's troops were diluted even further, since posts formerly held by the Spanish had to be absorbed and maintained by U.S. forces following the transfer of the Louisiana Territory to the United States. In 1804, Wilkinson listed just 61 officers and men at Fort Massac, 80 at Kaskaskia, 57 at St. Louis, 16 at New Madrid, 16 at Arkansas Post, 19 at Ouachita, 14 at Attakapas, 47 at Opelousas, 75 at Natchitoches, 375 at New Orleans, 67 at Fort St. Philip, 4 at Fort Adams, and 16 at Fort Pickering.⁷

Of course, at least 35 more officers and men were at



Fort Mandan, in modern North Dakota, under the command of Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. These statistics point up the fact that although the Corps of Discovery was small, it was not a good deal smaller than the entire complement of many isolated frontier outposts, and was even larger than some. In effect, each company commander of the Lewis and Clark era had tremendous power and autonomy because he was in charge of a small group of men patrolling a large region.

WHAT COMPANY BOOKS REVEAL

A company book was one of two ledger books kept by the adjutant (usually a junior lieutenant) or company commander. The other book, an orderly or order book, usually recounted the general orders applicable to the army as a whole and the regimental and company orders, which applied to a soldier's unit. Orderly books also recorded all court-martial proceedings and punishments within a company. Company books listed every soldier in a unit, his enlistment dates, a physical description (useful if he deserted), his place of birth, and other information important for a commanding officer to know. Company books also contained tables of information about supplies, arms, and clothing issued to the unit.

Above, left: Michael Haynes's portrait of a typical U.S. infantryman in Lewis and Clark's day. **Right:** A member of the Corps of Artillery.

The company books of several army units kept during the Lewis and Clark period help us understand the type of men who served in the army. Most soldiers were native-born Americans, the only exceptions being a scattering of men born in England, Ireland, Scotland, or Germany. Each region of the country was well represented. States of origin included Virginia, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, North Carolina, South Carolina, Maryland, New Hampshire, and Kentucky. Maine, not yet a state, was also listed as a place of birth.

After 1805, company books began to show more diversity in places of origin, influenced by the polyglot populations of the new Louisiana Territory. For instance, a "Descriptive Roll of a detachment of the 2nd ... Infantry" stationed at St. Louis in 1805 listed six men. Their places "of Nativity" were England, North Western Territory, France, Spain, Massachusetts, and Havana, Cuba; their surnames were Finch, Reeves, Printon, Caro, Baxter, and Decrosso.⁸ The average age of the era's soldiers was about 26, although some soldiers were as young as 17 or as old as 44. Heights ranged between 5'5" and 6'4". Professions prior to enlistment included farmer, tailor, doctor, shoemaker, coppersmith, hatter, blacksmith, carpenter, cooper, tobacconist, gardener, miller, printer, clothier, musician, distiller, harness maker, cordwainer, saddler, barber, weaver, tanner, currier, merchant, chair maker, cabinet maker, hosier, baker, and laborer. Many listed no profession. Several men reenlisted for more than one hitch, making them, in effect, professional soldiers. In short, the enlisted ranks of the military seem to have represented a cross section of the American working class of the early 19th century.⁹

AMOS STODDARD'S BOOKS

Perusing the original company books of Robert Purdy's Company of the 2nd U.S. Infantry and Amos Stoddard's Company of the U.S. Artillery reveals new information about several members of the Corps of Discovery. Amos Stoddard's company book shows that Alexander Hamilton Willard was a blacksmith in civilian life and one of just seven "artificers" in his company.¹⁰ Small units of men called artificers had been attached to the Corps of Artillery since the American Revolution, the first organized unit of which was commanded by Colonel Benjamin Flower from 1777 until his death in 1781. Artillery artificers, who performed functions similar to those of modern ordnance specialists, were expert blacksmiths, armorers, carpenters, coopers, farriers, tinsmiths, harness mak-

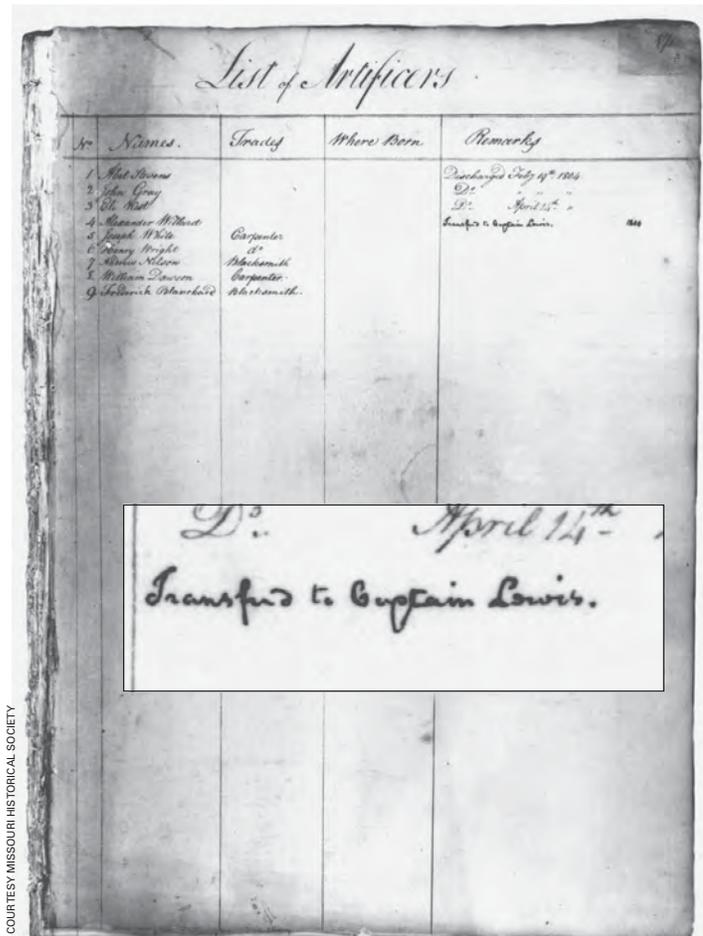
ers, wheelwrights, and "laboratory workers," who mixed and packed explosives. In 1803, the entire U.S. Army included a total of 128 artificers.¹¹ They earned \$10 per month, more than even a sergeant.

In Amos Stoddard's company book, Willard is listed as an artificer, not as a private, and he is included on an extra page (17) devoted to the artificers alone. It notes that Willard was "Transferred to Captain Lewis. 1804." After he joined the expedition, Willard made only \$5 per month, the pay of a private, which means his salary was cut in half. It is not known why Willard decided to accompany the expedition. There is no evidence in the company book of disciplinary problems with Willard, so the possibility that he was sent with Lewis and Clark as punishment seems unlikely. He may have been ordered to do so by Stoddard. Lewis, who had the authority to take whoever he needed, may have wanted him for his blacksmithing ability, or Willard himself may have been eager to volunteer for the adventure of a lifetime, despite the cut in pay.¹²

Willard's falling asleep on guard duty on July 12, 1804, may be more understandable in light of the fact that he was not at all used to the ordinary routine of a private soldier. He almost certainly did not stand a regular rotation of guard duty while serving with Stoddard's artillery as an artificer. His court martial and sentence to 100 lashes by the captains must have been a rude awakening to the realities of life in the Corps of Discovery.¹³

Another overlooked aspect of the expedition involves a soldier from Stoddard's company named John Robinson. For some reason, Robinson is always listed in rosters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition as "John Robertson." This is an obvious misspelling by the captains, men who spelled Drouillard as "Drewyer," Bratton as "Bratten," Werner as "Warner," Warfington as "Worthington" and consistently referred to the Field brothers as the "Fields brothers." William Clark, notorious for his poor spelling, was the person who wrote Robinson's name in each case. In Stoddard's company book, Robinson's name and vital statistics were recorded by Stephen Worrell, the junior lieutenant of the unit who acted as adjutant for Stoddard. Throughout the company book, which includes lengthy copies of general orders and courts martial, there are virtually no misspellings, a testimony to Worrell's ability with the pen and obviously fine education.

Robinson was with Stoddard's company for over a year before he joined the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with which he served only until the Mandan winter; he may be the man who left the expedition on June 12, 1804. According to Joseph Whitehouse, the expedition "Met with



COURTESY, MISSOURI HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The artificer's page from Amos Stoddard's company book shows entry (inset) transferring Alexander Willard to the Corps of Discovery.

7 peirogues. Loaded with peltry for Capt'n Chatto [Chouteau] in St Louis" on that day. "Our men of Each Craft Exchangd. Blankets for Buffalow Robes & Mockisons Sent One of Our Men Belonging to the white pierouge back that Belongd. to Capt'n Stodders Company of Artillery"¹⁴ Gary Moulton, the editor of the modern edition of Lewis and Clark's journals, speculates that this man was Robinson.¹⁵

For some reason Charles G. Clarke, the author of a book about the expedition members published in 1970, noted the discrepancy in spelling between Robinson and Robertson, then glossed over it to continue to refer to the man as Robertson, speculating that he was a John G. Robertson who served as a fur trader with Antoine Robidoux in the 1830s.¹⁶ Having examined the original company book, I find it hard to imagine that John Robinson was later known as John G. Robertson, or that there is any obvious connection between the two men. The spelling of the man's name was obviously Robinson, not Robertson, and he should be known and listed as such.

John B. Thompson was a member of the expedition usually listed as coming from an unknown, but probably

military, background. Yet Stoddard's company book lists a John Thompson as a private, recruited on February 20, 1799. The company book also notes that Thompson's five-year enlistment ended on February 19, 1804, and that he was discharged on that day.¹⁷ Unfortunately, John Thompson is one of the few soldiers in Stoddard's company book for whom no vital statistics are listed, making it very difficult to know whether or not he is the same John B. Thompson who accompanied the expedition.¹⁸

There is no compelling reason to believe that this was not the same man, however. John Thompson could easily have been detailed to Lewis and Clark by Amos Stoddard in December 1803 along with the five other men from his company, Robinson, Tuttle, Dame, Willard, and White. When Thompson's enlistment expired in February, he merely continued as a volunteer for the duration of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, being paid as a private. If the John Thompson in Stoddard's company book is indeed the same John B. Thompson of the expedition, he would be a second man detailed to Lewis and Clark from the artillery who made the entire trek to the Pacific and back (the only other artilleryman to travel the entire route was Alexander Willard).

ROBERT PURDY'S BOOK

The book of the 2nd U.S. Infantry kept at South West Point, Tennessee, between 1803 and 1807 tells us more about Lewis and Clark's men. In late 1803, Lewis and Clark expected to meet a small detachment of men from South West Point at Fort Massac. When these men did not arrive at Massac before Lewis and his party continued downstream toward the Mississippi, George Drouillard, the corps's recently hired hunter and interpreter, was sent to fetch them. On December 16, Drouillard arrived in Cahokia, Illinois Territory, where Lewis had made his temporary headquarters, with eight men. We know this from a letter written by Lewis to William Clark the next day. Lewis was apparently disappointed with the new men, lamenting that they were "not possessed of more of the requisite qualifications; there is not a hunter among them." He added, however, that "Among the party from Tennessee is a blacksmith and House-joiner. These may be of service in our present situation."¹⁹ When Drouillard arrived at Camp River Dubois with the eight men from Tennessee on December 22, Clark noted in his journal that "those men are not such I was told was in readiness at Tennessee for this Comd."²⁰

It is known that only four men from the 2nd Infantry joined the expedition. One of them, Corporal Richard

Lewis and Clark men: Company book records

A listing of the information from the two company books for each of the 10 expedition members is presented below. In each case, the ages given were the ages of the men when they enlisted, not when they joined the Corps of Discovery. None of the men had any identifying marks or scars, so I have not included a separate category for this. It is hoped that other documents may still be in existence that will further add to our knowledge of individual expedition members. — **B.M.**

From the Company Book of Captains John Campbell and Robert Purdy, 2nd Regiment, U.S. Infantry, 1803-07, Record Unit 98, Vol. 2, No. 104, National Archives and Records Administration, Washington, D.C.:

Soldier # 22: HUGH HALL

Born	Residence:			
	State	County	Town	
America	Pennsylvania	Cumberland	Carlisle	
Enlistment				
Date	Where	Term	Age	Height
Dec. 13, 1798	B. Canton	5 years	26	5' 8 ³ / ₄ "
Rank	Hair	Complexion	Eyes	Occupation
Private	Fair	Sandy	Gray	Not listed

Soldier # 25: THOMAS PROCTOR HOWARD

Born	Residence:			
	State	County	Town	
America	Massachusetts	Worcester	Brimfield	
Enlistment				
Date	Where	Term	Age	Height
Sept. 1, 1801	Hartford	5 years	22	Not given
Rank	Hair	Complexion	Eyes	Occupation
Private	Fair	Fair	Blue	Not listed

Soldier # 38: JOHN POTTS

Born	Residence:			
	State	County	Town	
Germany			"Dilaburgh" [Dillenburgh]	
Enlistment				
Date	Where	Term	Age	Height
July 22, 1800	Winchester	5 years	24	Not given
Rank	Hair	Complexion	Eyes	Occupation
Private	Black	Fair	Black	Miller

Soldier # 50: RICHARD WARFINGTON

Born	Residence:			
	State	County	Town	
America	North Carolina	Franklin	Louisburg	
Enlistment				
Date	Where	Term	Age	Height
	Lexington	5 years	22	5' 10"
Rank	Hair	Complexion	Eyes	Occupation
Corporal	Brown	Fair	Black	Not listed

From the Company Book of Amos Stoddard's Artillery Company, Louisiana Territory Collection, Military Command Records, Adjutant's Records, 1803-1805, Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis, Missouri:

Soldier # 6: JOHN ROBINSON

Born	Residence:			
	State	County	Town	
America	New Hampshire		Streatham	
Residence:				
State	County	Town		
America	New Hampshire	Kennabeck		
Enlistment				
Date	Where	Term	Age	Height
Oct. 1, 1803	Kaskaskia	5 years	24	5' 9"
Rank	Hair	Complexion	Eyes	Occupation
Corporal	Light	Light	Blue	Shoemaker

Soldier # 13: ALEXANDER WILLARD

Born:	State	County	Town	
America	New Hampshire		Charleston	
Residence:				
State	County	Town		
New Hampshire		Charleston		
Enlistment				
Date	Where	Term	Age	Height
June 9, 1800	Oxford	5 years	21	5' 10"
Rank	Hair	Complexion	Eyes	Occupation
Artificer	Brown	Dark	Dark	Blacksmith

Soldier # 21: JOHN DAME

Born:	State	County	Town	
America	New Hampshire		Pallingham	

Residence: State County Town
New Hampshire Newington

Enlistment
Date Where Term Age Height
Aug. 20, 1801 Portsmouth 5 years 17 5' 9"

Rank Hair Complexion Eyes Occupation
Private Fair Fair Blue Laborer

Soldier # 33: JOHN THOMPSON

Born: State County Town

Residence: State County Town
Northampton

Enlistment
Date Where Term Age Height
Feb. 20, 1799 5 years

Rank Hair Complexion Eyes Occupation
Private Fair Fair Blue Laborer

Soldier # 35: EBENEZER TUTTLE

Born: State County Town
America Connecticut New Haven

Residence: State County Town
Connecticut New Haven

Enlistment
Date Where Term Age Height
Jan. 1, 1803 Pittsburgh 5 years 29 5' 7"

Rank Hair Complexion Eyes Occupation
Private Brown Fair Blue Farmer

Soldier # 36: ISAAC WHITE

Born: State County Town
America Massachusetts Holiston

Residence: State County Town
America Massachusetts Boston

Enlistment
Date Where Term Age Height
Feb. 13, 1801 Boston 5 years 26 5'7 1/2"

Rank Hair Complexion Eyes Occupation
Private Sandy Light Blue Laborer

Warfington, led the return party from Fort Mandan in the spring of 1805. Three others—John Potts, Hugh Hall, and Thomas Proctor Howard—traveled with the Corps of Discovery to the Pacific and back. Many historians have speculated that all eight men who arrived with Drouillard at Camp River Dubois on December 22 were from the ranks of the 2nd Infantry and that four were eventually rejected and sent back. Information in the company book of the 2nd Infantry refutes this theory. In the book, every man of the company has a separate page on which information is recorded about the clothing, arms, and accoutrements issued to him. On each of the four pages for Warfington, Potts, Hall, and Howard an identical note appears, "On Command with Capt. Merriwether Lewis 24th. Novr. 1803." This notation does not appear on the pages for any other man in the unit; it is fairly obvious from the way in which it is written that it was not added later on, but probably on the day the men left the camp. For many years, men known as being dismissed from the corps, like Willard Leakins, who was discharged for theft at Camp River Dubois on February 4, 1804, were thought to be from the 2nd Infantry.²¹ The company book also dispels this myth. It is not known who the four men were who accompanied Drouillard, Warfington, Potts, Hall, and Howard into Camp River Dubois in December 1803, but they were not from the 2nd Infantry, at least not from Robert Purdy's Company.

Unfortunately, the clue provided by Lewis about the qualifications of two of the men as a blacksmith and a house joiner cannot be proven or disproven by the 2nd Infantry's book, for the civilian professions of Warfington, Hall, and Howard were not recorded; of the four, only Potts, who was a miller, had his profession listed.

One last note on the 2nd Infantry's Company Book involves a discrepancy in the biographical information about Hugh Hall included in Appendix A of the latest (Moulton) edition of the Lewis and Clark journals. The editor lists Hall as being born in Massachusetts, while Charles G. Clarke, in *The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, says he was born in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. The 2nd Infantry's Company Book definitely lists Hall's place of birth as Carlisle.²²

Bob Moore is the historian at the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial, in St. Louis. His article on the hats of the Lewis and Clark Expedition appeared in the last issue of WPO.

NOTES

¹Company Book of Captains John Campbell and Robert Purdy,

No.	Names	Rank	Years	Months	Feet	Inches	Eyes	Hair	Complexion	Town	County	State	Occupation
1	Henry H. Mullin	Sergeant	24	"	5	8	high brown	Dark			Stap	Virginia	Printer
2	Jeremiah Groff	d ^o	24	"	5	11	blue dark	dark			Chester	N. Hampshire	Hoaster
3	Samuel Sizer	d ^o	28	"	5	0	dark brown	dark		Borwick		3 ^o	Clothier
4	Nathaniel Nason	Corporal	21	"	5	8	gray light	light		Borwick		Massachusetts	Taylor
5	William Hayden	d ^o	35	"	5	8 1/2	dark d ^o	d ^o		Boston		d ^o	Shoemaker
6	John Robertson	d ^o	24	"	5	0	blue light	light		Stratham		N. Hampshire	d ^o
7	Samuel Stevens	Musician	12	"	4	5	high d ^o	d ^o		Baltimore		Maryland	Musician
8	Jehiel Goff	d ^o	18	"	5	10	dark brown	Light		Greenbury		Connecticut	Labourer
9	Isaac Tubbs	d ^o	18	"	5	8 1/2	blue light	Light		Pembroke		Massachusetts	Blacksmith
10	Abel Stevens	Artificer											
11	John Gray	d ^o											
12	Eli West	d ^o											
13	Alexander Willard	d ^o	21	"	5	10	dark brown	Dark		Charleston		N. Hampshire	Blacksmith
14	Joseph White	d ^o	23	"	5	8 1/2	blue light	Light		Torrey			

Detail from Amos Stoddard's roster of artillerymen includes two future members of the Corps of Discovery: John Robinson (No. 6, listed by Lewis and Clark as "Robertson") and Alexander Willard (No. 13).

1803-07, 2nd U.S. Infantry, in the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), Record Unit 98, No. 2, Vol. 104; and Amos Stoddard's Company Book, in the Louisiana Territory Collection, Military Command Records, Adjutant's Records, 1803-1805, Missouri Historical Society Archives, St. Louis, Missouri.

²Charles G. Clarke, *The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1970) includes this information, but it isn't footnoted.

³Record Unit 98, NARA, No. 10, Records of the Garrison at Fort Independence, Boston Harbor, 1803-1815, p. 66. It should be noted that General Orders, no matter where they were recorded, applied to the entire army nationwide.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵*Ibid.* In reference to pay, see "A Memorial to Congress by Thomas Hunt and Other Army Officers," dated November 8, 1805, which states that "the pay of the officers of the Army hath not been augmented or increased since the 5th of March 1792," and complains of the effects of inflation. This memorial is reprinted in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter, Vol. XIII, *The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1948, p. 267.

⁶See the letter, James Wilkinson to Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, December 21, 1803, in *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, edited by Clarence E. Carter, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, Vol. IX, p. 139.

⁷*American State Papers: Military Affairs*, Washington, D.C., 1832, Vol. I, pp. 176-177.

⁸See "Descriptive Roll of a detachment of the 2nd United States Regiment of Infantry ordered to St. Louis" in the Daniel Bissell Papers, oversize folder, Missouri Historical Society Archives.

⁹For specific examples of orderly books contemporary with Lewis and Clark which contain data on the ages, places of birth, heights, and other statistics on soldiers and musicians, see NARA, Record Unit 98, No. 2, Vol. 104, Company Book, Capts. John Campbell and Robert Purdy, 1803-07; Vol. 105, Company Book, Capts. John Campbell and John R. Lockett, 1807-1813; Vol. 106, Company Book, Capts. John Brahan and Reuben Chamberlain, 1807-1813; Vol. 110, Company Book, William R.

Boote, 2nd Inf. 1805-1810; Vol. 112, Company Book, Capt. Richard Sparks, 2nd Inf. 1802-1805; Vol. 177, Company Book, Capt. James House, 1st Art. 1806-1811; No. 128, Company Book, Capts. John Symmes and Eli B. Clemson, 1807-1815; and No. 144, Company Book, William R. Boote, 1805-1810. See also Amos Stoddard's Company Book, Missouri Historical Society Archives, pp. 20-22.

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¹⁰Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska

Press, Vols. 2-11, 1986-97), Vol. 3, p. 267; note for the entry of December 27, 1804. See also Company Book, Amos Stoddard's Company of Artillery, 1803-1805, pp. 17 and 20. Willard had the rank of artificer rather than private. He was one of only seven artificers in the 60-man company.

¹¹See James T. Jones and John R. Elting, "The Regiment of Artillery Artificers (Flower's Artillery Regiment), 1777-1783" in *Military Collector and Historian*, Summer, 1975, pp. 82-84; see also Company Book, Amos Stoddard's Company of Artillery, 1803-1805, pp. 17, 20, and 260.

¹²Donald Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783-1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2 vols., 1962), Vol. 2, p. 378, lists the extra pay due to the men, doubling the amounts they had already earned through their regular rate of pay while on the expedition as a sergeant, private or corporal. Willard is listed as a private, making \$5 per month, for the entire period of the expedition as defined on this list, January 1, 1804 to September 23, 1806.

¹³Moulton, Vol. 2, pp. 369-370.

¹⁴Moulton, Vol. 11, pp. 22. Robinson/Robertson arrived at Camp River Dubois as a corporal, but after watching and not attempting to break up a fist fight between William Werner and John Potts on January 4, 1804, it is Moulton's speculation that he was broken to private. See Moulton, Vol. 2, pp. 150-151. This coincides with the Robinson record in Stoddard's Company Book, for Robinson was listed as a corporal.

¹⁵Moulton, Vol. 11, p. 23.

¹⁶Clarke, pp. 61-62.

¹⁷Amos Stoddard's Company Book, Missouri Historical Society Archives, "Discharged soldiers," p. 49; "John Thompson, private, February 19, 1804, Reason: Time Expired."

¹⁸Statistics were not filled in for a few of the men, like Thompson, whose enlistments expired in 1804 and thus would not be carried on the rolls of the regiment any longer.

¹⁹Jackson, Vol. 1, pp. 144-145.

²⁰Moulton, Vol. 2, p. 139.

²¹Moulton, Vol. 2, p. 173.

²²Moulton, Vol. 2, Appendix A, p. 518; Clarke, p. 50.

MERIWETHER LEWIS'S GEORGIA BOYHOOD

*His brief sojourn in the Deep South was
the future explorer's first wilderness experience*

by JAMES P. HENDRIX, JR.

Nestled deep in a stand of pulpwood trees in northeastern Georgia, a pile of chimney and foundation stones marks all that remains of Meriwether Lewis's boyhood home of the mid-1780s. Now owned by a timber company, the site in Lewis's day was, in the words of a local historian, a wilderness of "hardwoods and deciduous trees—walnut, poplar, white oak, ash, pine, hickory, chestnut, birch, and beech—with carpets of wild grasses, pea vines, shrubs, and reed canes along the streams."¹ It was frontier and a much wilder place than his native Albermarle County, Virginia.

Standard biographical treatments of Lewis invariably mention his Georgia years. While usually short on details, they tend to refer to this period as formative for the future explorer. According to generally cited stories, Lewis honed a variety of skills during his time in Georgia that would serve him well 20 years later, when he was leading



The author kneels by the stone marker noting the homesite in northeast Georgia of John Marks, stepfather of young Meriwether Lewis.

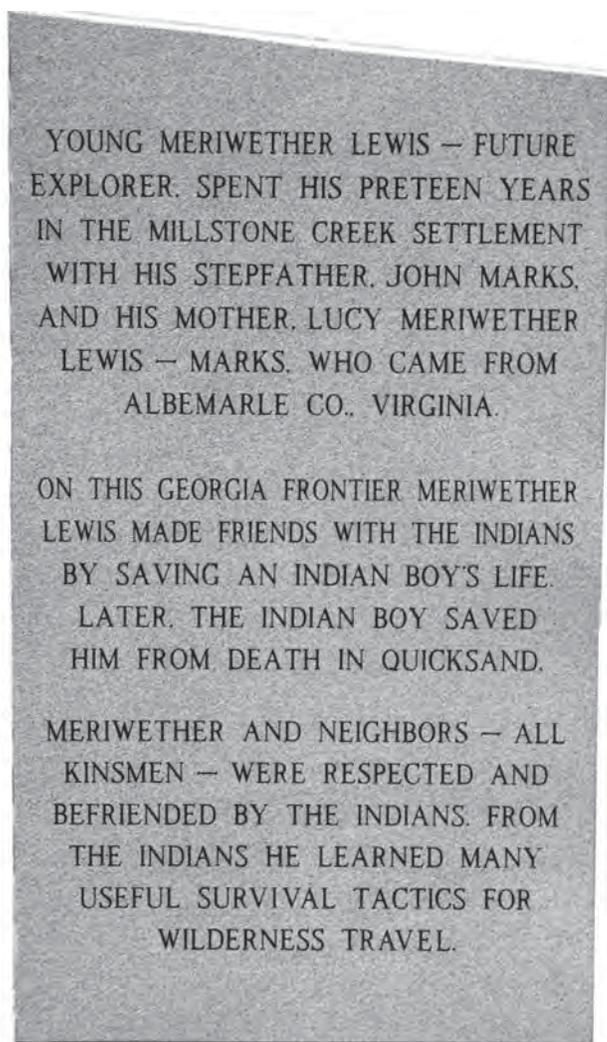
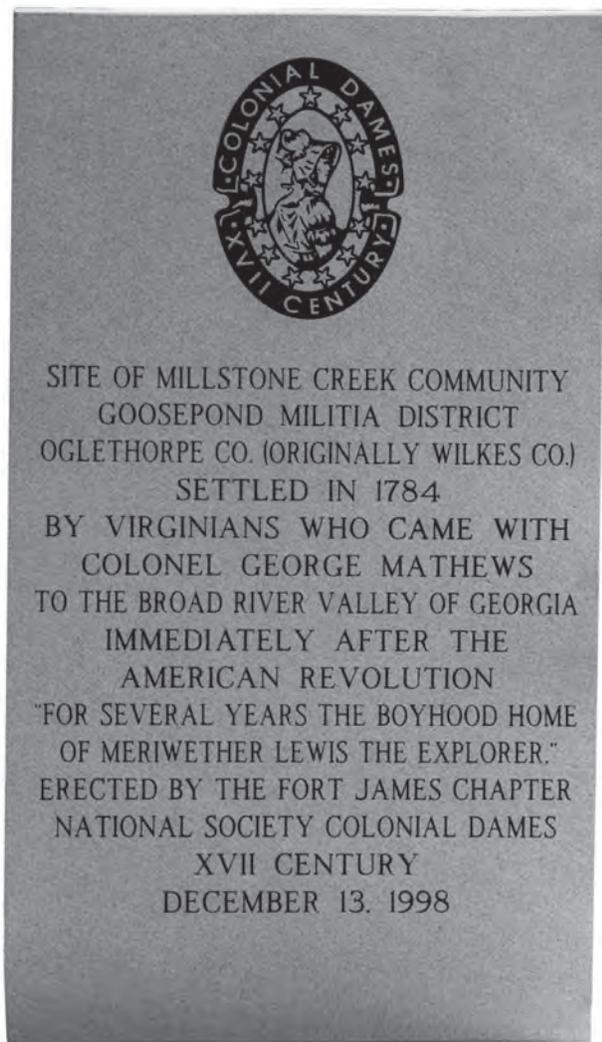
COURTESY JAMES P. HENDRIX, JR.

the Corps of Discovery across the continent. His mother taught him to gather wild foods and herbs for medicinal purposes. He learned to navigate wilderness, to deal with Indians, and to hunt and shoot—in one bit of lore, he dropped a bull that charged him and a companion as they were returning from a hunt.²

Perhaps the most dramatic of commonly cited incidents occurred in the midst

of ongoing trouble between the Georgia settlements and indigenous Cherokee Indians. According to legend, a group of families was forced one evening to flee to the woods to escape marauding bands. One of the group, exercising poor judgment for someone seeking to hide, started a cooking fire. When a shot rang out and the alarm of "Indians" sounded, it is said to have been young Meriwether Lewis who doused the fire, thus protecting the party from detection.³

Another story tells of Lewis's saving the life of an In-



PHOTOS BY JAMES P. HENDRIX, JR.

Historical markers near the site of Lewis's Georgia home. The story about rescuing an Indian boy is probably apochryphal.

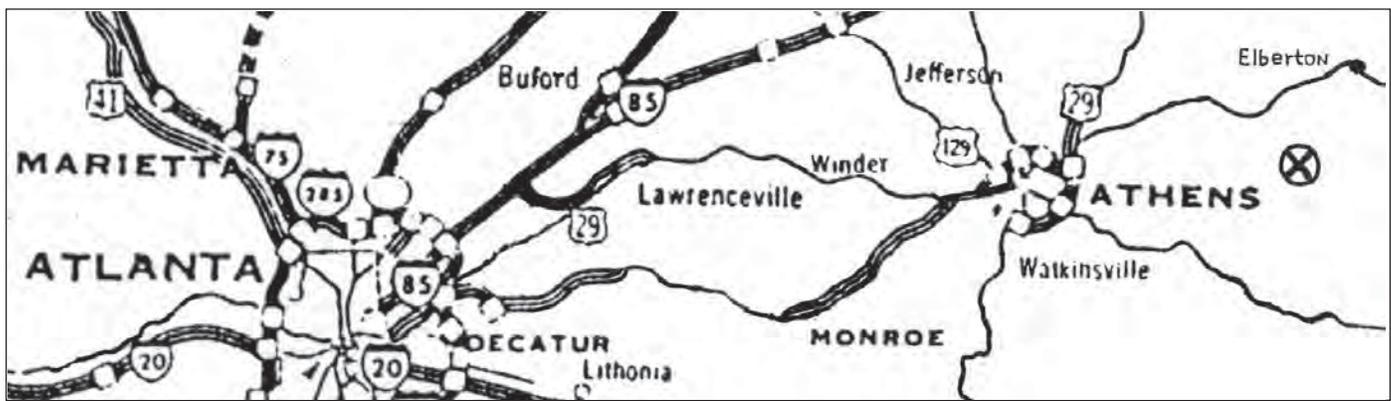
dian boy, who then reciprocated by rescuing Lewis from quicksand. This tale is briefly related in the text of a historical marker [above right] placed by the Colonial Dames in 1998. Although the story may be true, it cannot be documented and apparently derives from a young person's book about Lewis published in 1946.⁴

Lewis came to Georgia from Virginia sometime in the early 1780s. His father had died in November 1779, when young Meriwether was only five years old. His mother, Lucy Meriwether Lewis, as was common at the time, remarried fairly quickly. The groom was Captain John Marks, and the ceremony took place in May 1780.

After several years in Virginia, Marks and his wife and stepchildren were among the Virginia families recruited by General George Mathews to join him in establishing a settlement in Georgia. Mathews had become enamored of Georgia while serving there during the Revolution. The Georgia legislature granted him 200,000 acres in the north-

eastern part of the state on the condition that he recruit at least 200 settlers to occupy the land.⁵

It is impossible to ascertain precisely when Captain Marks and his extended family—Lucy, his three stepchildren, and various uncles and cousins of young Meriwether—made the overland trek to what became known as the Goosepond Community, in the Broad River Valley, of what was then Wilkes County, Georgia. Various accounts suggest they arrived in 1783 or 1784. We know that Mathews did not return to Georgia and take title to the land until 1784. Unfortunately, a search of the Wilkes county land-grant records for the period 1783-85 does not turn up any record of the grants to Captain Marks, Francis or Thomas Meriwether (Lucy's brothers), or other known members of the party. A record does exist, however, of the purchase of 300 acres of land by Thomas Meriwether from Nathan and Lucy Barnett in October 1785. Assuming this purchase was for land in addition to



The site of Lewis's home (X) is about 20 miles east of Athens, in Oglethorpe County, on land owned by the Champion Paper Company.

that of the original land grant received by Thomas Meriwether, one can infer that Meriwether and his family settled in Georgia no earlier than 1784 and no later than 1785, but most likely in 1784.⁶

Whatever the precise year of his family's resettlement, it must have been a great adventure for young Meriwether. As historian Stephen E. Ambrose has noted, "Few details of this trek into the wilderness survive, but it is easy enough to imagine a wide-eyed boy on the march with horses, cattle, oxen, pigs, dogs, wagons, slaves, other children, adults—making camp every night—hunting for deer, turkey, and possum; fishing in the streams running across the route of march; watching and perhaps helping with the cooking; packing up each morning and striking out again; crossing through the Carolinas along the eastern edge of the mountains; getting a sense of the vastness of the country, and growing comfortable with life in the wilderness."⁷

Meriwether Lewis's stay in the Goosepond settlement proved brief. At some point in the spring of 1787, when he was 12, he returned to Virginia to pursue his education and to watch over Locust Hill, the modest estate he had inherited from his father. We know from a letter he wrote in March 1788 to his younger brother, Reuben, who was still in Georgia, that he missed the hunting, fishing, and other outdoor activities he had enjoyed there. He was able to visit Georgia in the summer of 1789, when he turned 15, but that fall found him back in Virginia for his schooling.⁸

Captain Marks's death, in the summer of 1791, left his widow on the Georgia land with 14-year-old Reuben and two children by Marks: a six-year-old son, John Hastings (also spelled Haistens) Marks, and a three-year-old daughter, Mary Garland Marks. When Lucy asked her eldest son to come to Georgia and assist the family in moving back to Virginia, Meriwether wrote to her in October that

he would gladly do so but could not arrange the trip for another 18 to 24 months. The following April he wrote again. He knew from his sister, Jane, that Lucy was anxious to return home that spring. Lewis said he planned to quit school early to come down to help her and had arranged with artisans at nearby Monticello to build a carriage; he intended to set out in mid-May. Details of this journey have not survived, but by the fall of 1792 he had returned to Virginia with his mother, Rueben, and two half-siblings.⁹

Lucy Marks made brief visits to the Broad River region in 1797 and 1806 to collect monies owed to her, sell off the remaining family land, and reclaim several slaves who had been hired out to other settlers and return them to Virginia.¹⁰ During her 1797 visit she sold the land originally granted to John Marks in 1784; although the original land grant has not survived, the record of this sale allows us to place with precision the location of Lewis's Georgia home on 293 acres at the confluence of Millstone Creek and the Broad River.¹¹

Meriwether Lewis's Georgia days may have been brief, but as his biographers have noted, they likely had a formative influence on him. Given the developmental years they encompass—roughly age 10 through 12, with at least two extended visits at ages 15 and 18—it seems reasonable to assign them considerable significance, even if they are based largely on family or local lore recorded many years after the fact.

Foundation member James P. Hendrix, Jr., is headmaster of The Lovett School, in Atlanta, Georgia.

NOTES

¹The site, in present-day Oglethorpe County, is 2.3 miles from Georgia Highway 77, traveling northwest via County Road 208. It is located on land owned by the Champion Paper Company,

and no direct access is available from public roads. The leading local historian of this area, whose publication precisely identifies the location, asserts that the area of Lewis's childhood home is one of the few in Georgia where today's farm roads follow their original beds. See J. Russell Slaton, *Vanishing Sites of Old Wilkes* (Milledgeville, Ga.: Boyd Publishing Co., 1996), preface and pp. 23-25. Wilkes County, located on land obtained from Creek and Cherokee Indians by a 1773 treaty, was one of the original eight counties created by the first Georgia constitution of 1777. Oglethorpe County, one of four counties eventually created from the original Wilkes, was chartered in 1793, several years after Lewis returned to Virginia. See E. Merton Coulter, *Old Petersburg and the Broad River Valley of Georgia: Their Rise and Decline* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1965), pp. 2, 6, and 8. The description of the original hardwood forest is from Coulter, p. 6.

²Rochonne Abrams, "The Colonial Childhood of Meriwether Lewis," *Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society*, July 1978, pp. 224-25; Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), pp. 22-25; John Bakeless, *Lewis and Clark: Partners in Discovery* (New York: William Morrow and Co., 1947), pp. 13-17; Richard Dillon, *Meriwether Lewis: A Biography* (New York: Coward McCann, 1965), pp. 13-16. Ambrose, p. 24, mentions the bull incident as taking place in Georgia, but Abrams, p. 224, (Ambrose's citation) and Dillon, p. 11, place it in Virginia, before Lewis's relocation to Georgia. None offers primary documentation, and the incident, apocryphal or not, is more significant for its "hero building" role than for its location. On Lewis and Clark as mythic heroes, see Bob Moore, "The Mythic Lewis and Clark," *We Proceeded On*, February 2000, pp. 35-36.

³Ambrose, p. 25; Bakeless, p. 14; Dillon, pp. 13-14. The authors derive this legend from George R. Gilmer's 1855 history of early Georgia. See Gilmer, *Sketches of Some of the First Settlers of Upper Georgia, of the Cherokees, and the Author* (reprint, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1965), pp. 82-83.

⁴The book is Charlotta M. Bebenroth, *Meriwether Lewis: Boy Explorer* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1962), pp. 137-44 (originally published in 1946). It tells of Lewis coming upon an Indian boy suspended in a deer snare. Lewis rescues the boy and in the process becomes entrapped in quicksand, causing rescued and rescuer to switch roles. According to Dr. Sophia Boyd Bamford of Tignall, Georgia, who coordinated the selection and placement of the Colonial Dames marker, the story was related by a descendant of Lewis, who evidently acquired it from Bebenroth's book.

⁵Gilmer, pp. 8-9, 82-83; Robert M. Willingham, Jr., *We Have This Heritage: Beginnings to 1860* (Washington, Ga.: Wilkes Publishing Co., 1969), p. 47; Coulter, p. 8; Ambrose, p. 24; Dillon, pp. 13-14. Gilmer asserts the land had a disputed title and that Mathews purchased it "for a very small consideration," while Willingham and Coulter say it was obtained via a grant. See Gilmer, p. 9; Willingham, p. 47; and Coulter, p. 8. However, given that numerous land-grant records exist for this general area in 1784 as opposed to deeds of sale, it appears that Coulter and Willingham draw the more logical conclusion. The Digest of Laws for early Georgia records a legislative act of February 1784 creating Washington and Franklin counties out of Wilkes County. This act also mentions the receipt, on February 13, 1783,

of "petitions from sundry inhabitants of the State of Virginia" and that "two hundred thousand acres of land be reserved for the use of the said petitioners." While the act states that the grant was intended to apply to the newly created Counties of Washington and Franklin, it provided much flexibility as to the location of the land, provided the Virginians laid claim to it within 15 months: "They are hereby authorized to fix on the county and place they would settle." No names of "petitioners" are given, but it seems likely that this is the 200,000-acre grant that was used by General Mathews, Captain Marks, et al. See Robert and George Watkins, *A Digest of the Laws of the State of Georgia: From Its First Establishment As a British Province Down to the Year 1798* (Philadelphia: R. Aitkin Co., 1800), p. 292. Many of the land grants from the 200,000-acre block are recorded in the *Index of Land Grants, 1784-1839*, and in *Wilkes County Land Grants Book E, 1783-84*, both in the Wilkes County Courthouse, Washington, Georgia. Ambrose and Dillon refer to a "General John Matthews." The correct name is George Mathews, spelled with one "t."

⁶The Meriwether/Barnett land transaction is recorded in the *Wilkes County Deed Record, Book A, 1784-86*, Wilkes County Courthouse, Washington, Georgia. Three hundred acres is consistent with increments for "headright" grants. Logic would suggest that the Barnetts received this grant from the Mathews allotment, then sold it to Thomas Meriwether.

⁷Ambrose, p. 24.

⁸Ambrose, p. 27, cites the 1788 letter and the summer 1789 visit.

⁹Ambrose, pp. 27-8.

¹⁰Coulter, p. 13.

¹¹The original of this land transaction, dated September 10, 1797, is in the *Index of Deeds, Book B*, pp. 185-86, Oglethorpe County Courthouse, Lexington, Georgia. It records the sale between Francis Meriwether (Lewis's uncle) of Oglethorpe County, Georgia, and John H. Marks (Lewis's half-brother, to whom it had been bequeathed) of Albemarle County, Virginia. Technically, the transaction was illegal, since Marks was not yet of legal age. One would assume that the sale was directed by his mother, and that such legal technicalities were of little consequence on the early Georgia frontier. We know that Francis Meriwether's original land grant was just the other side of Millstone Creek from the Marks property. Thus it would have made sense for him to have bought this adjoining tract, especially since his sister, Lucy, had apparently decided to end her ties to the area; see map in Gilmer, p. 9. The precise size of the holding was 283 1/3rd acres—a puzzling figure that is inconsistent with headright grants. The original grant was likely for 250 or 300 acres, but a new survey at the time of the 1797 transaction may have come up with this more precise figure. The relevant portion of Marks's will, signed by him on March 29, 1791, and probated October 30, 1791, bequeaths "to son John Haistens Marks the land where I live, to be sold if thought best to purchase land elsewhere." See Grace Gillam Davidson, *Early Records of Georgia, I, Wilkes Country* (Macon, Ga.: I. W. Burke Co., 1932), pp. 48-9. Two additional land sales by John H. Marks, in 1810 for 400 acres and in 1806 for 186 acres, both in the Goosepond/Broad River Valley area, are recorded in the Oglethorpe County records. These two transactions appear to have closed out land ownership by Captain Marks's heirs in that area.

Forest Service seeks to minimize tourist impact on Lemhi Pass

On May 22, as puffy, snow-white clouds whisked overhead of us, more than two dozen “ologists,” Forest Service supervisors, and assorted trail lovers stood at Lemhi Pass imagining a steady tramp of bicentennial visitors.

Reality quickly replaced imagination. Heading back to the pass and rounding the last bend from the future Westward View visitor site, we were greeted by a busload of tourists on the way to Sacajawea Memorial Camp.

“It looks like we’ve lost our lunch spot,” said Janette Kaiser, forest supervisor on the Beaverhead-Deer Lodge National Forest.

Kaiser led us on a tour of the pass designed to illustrate the possibilities for visitor-service changes that, hopefully, will allow a growing number of tourists a chance to imagine what Lewis and Clark found 200 years ago.

The scene at Lemhi Pass was in marked contrast from last August, when the Foundation’s tour of the pass and other trail sites was obscured by the smoke of the region’s many forest fires. Unfortunately, a second consecutive winter of well-below-average snowfall may have set the stage for another serious fire season.

Our day started under brilliant, cool skies, but we ended up seeking shade during the late afternoon as we talked about bicentennial visitation and what needs to happen to accommodate visitors and retain the sense of place and wonder that is Lemhi Pass.

As sometimes happens at a decision-making meeting, Kaiser decided not to decide. Instead, Forest Service historians, archaeologist, paleontologists, engineers, and managers recorded concerns and comments, designed another possible “preferred alternative,” and called on the area’s earlier residents, members of the Shoshone-Bannock

Tribe, for their thoughts. With the bicentennial’s kickoff less than two years away, time is running short if the Forest Service is going to build new visitor-service projects at Lemhi Pass. But Kaiser is to be commended for waiting to consult with the tribes.

Under current plans, the present road configuration at Lemhi Pass will be retained. The Continental Divide Road south of the pass on the Idaho side will stay. The existing interpretation area will be improved with new

and relocating it as a loop trail in the vicinity of Lemhi Pass and Most Distant Fountain Spring.

One of the new projects will be the Westward View area, on the Idaho side of the pass. Parking for up to 10 vehicles and a toilet will be developed adjacent to Warm Springs Wood Road, about 8/10ths of a mile north of the pass. A new interpretive sign will tell the First Waters of the Columbia story, and a trail will lead to an overlook 3/10ths of a mile away. From there,

visitors will be able to view the westward route of the Lewis and Clark Trail.

The Forest Service also plans high-quality interpretive programming at the pass during the three-year bicentennial, and a Forest Service ranger will likely be on hand during the busiest months. Off-site visitor education areas will emphasize on-site stewardship of the pass. Guide services, educational institutions, and a possible concession will be authorized to manage the site, provide stewardship, and help with interpretation.

We can expect that visitor numbers will be controlled by available parking, monitoring by Forest Service personnel, and restrictions on vehicle length, all in cooperation with state and local governments. Actual traffic controls will be instituted on the pass roads between Bar TT Ranch in Montana and Tendoy, Idaho. There will be some upgrade to gravel roads leading to the pass from the Montana side but no additional paved roads.

—Jeffrey Olson
Trail Coordinator

Learn more about trail stewardship and share information about chapter projects by contacting Jeffrey Olson at trail@lewisandclark.org (P.O. Box 2376, Bismarck, ND 58502; Tel: 701-258-1809 or 701-258-1960).



Forest Service officer Steve Matz explains proposed plans for Lemhi Pass.

surfacing and signs. A mine cut just north of the pass on the Montana side will likely become a parking area for cars and tour busses. There will be toilets at this site. The mine cut itself will hide the parking and restrooms from the view of visitors standing at the pass.

The rocky road to Sacajawea Memorial Camp will be upgraded and turnouts will be added, and the road will be extended to a parking area 500 feet past the Most Distant Fountain Spring. The object is to discourage motorists from parking along the roadway and encourage them instead to move along to the parking area, where they will find picnic tables and toilets and a path leading to the spring.

Under this proposal, and for at least the period of the bicentennial, Sacajawea Memorial Camp will be closed to overnight camping. Plans call for reconstructing the wildflower trail

Looking west and into the future from Monticello

Jefferson's West: A Journey with Lewis and Clark

James P. Ronda

Thomas Jefferson Foundation
80 pages / \$8.95 paper

The concerns that occupied Thomas Jefferson as he looked west from Monticello have the astonishingly familiar ring of contemporary great-power politics. Jefferson's calculations as he warily pondered the ambitions of England, France, and Spain bring to mind the space race with the Soviet Union and the jockeying for power around the Pacific Rim.

Fortunately, Jefferson was determined to buttress his young republic's democratic ethos with a realm of continental power, an "empire for liberty." James P. Ronda explores Jefferson's vision of the West as a vast agricultural domain where democratic values would flourish along with grain and livestock. Ronda's focus makes his slim volume *Jefferson's West: A Journey with Lewis and Clark* a noteworthy addition to the literature.

Ronda opens his central theme with an aerial glimpse of an expansive checkerboard of fence lines and cultivated fields in the trans-Mississippi region. He points out that Fort Mandan introduced a new, angular quality to the landscape, a contrast with tipi rings and round earth lodges. He indicates that Jefferson, while fascinated by Indians, did not perceive their physical occupation of the land, or their philosophy of it, as important obstacles to the imposition of a Euro-American template on the West.

Kevin Locke, a Lakota flutist, recalls that when the Lakotas first encountered people of European ancestry they described them as *oblatonpi*, "people who make everything square." Locke maintains that the hoop, a metaphor for the native worldview, and the square are both legitimate. But to many Native

Americans the intruding white way, often didactic and unyielding, had sharp corners in more ways than one.

Jefferson's West illuminates Jefferson's tendency to expect the facts to conform conveniently to his vision. The West as a "region in Jefferson's mind" was not quite the West that existed on the ground. Lewis and Clark were to demonstrate that the ideal of a fertile redemptive American "garden" for



settlement would have to confront some suspect terrain. Jefferson's vision has died hard, crumbling with the soil during the Dust Bowl but never quite disappearing from American consciousness. Any portrayal of the region today as an oasis of American innocence, however, must contend with Ruby Ridge, Waco, and the Oklahoma City bombing.

Ronda's assessment is certain to prompt serious thinking about what endures of Jefferson's dream of a West filled with freedom-loving yeoman farmers, in his words "the chosen people of God." The stark truth is that the cultivated fields remain, but most of the tenants have moved on. Farmers were approximately 40 percent of the U.S. population in 1900 and 23 percent by 1940. By 1992, the last year that the Department of Agriculture kept count, they were 1.9 percent.

In *Mapping the Farm*, John Hildebrand observes that the state seal of

Minnesota depicts a farmer plowing while an Indian rides off into the sunset, his nomadic ways obviously passé. An updated state seal, Hildebrand suggests, would depict the farmer riding off on his tractor to make way for a new Wal-Mart.

There are those who still champion Jefferson's belief in an agrarian culture as an ennobling foundation for society, who see cities as places of alienation leading to a dystopian future. Richard Critchfield (*The Villagers, Trees Why Do You Wait?*), for one, laments the disassociation of most Americans from the land and the cycle of planting and harvest. Cities, in his view, have not proven the equal of rural environments as incubators of national character.

Ronda presents a clear picture of how Jefferson's image of a "garden West" offering fertile ground for American farmers inevitably played into the Jeffersonian paradox. Even empires for liberty require large budgets, bureaucracies, and standing armies, all at odds with Jefferson's belief in limited government. Jefferson would be thunderstruck by the power exercised by the federal government today. But given the resilience of American democracy and the nation's superpower status, perhaps his imperial aim was not so wide of the mark.

If Jefferson was shortsighted on some particulars, as *Jefferson's West* illustrates, we might remember Joseph H. Ellis's point (*American Sphinx*) that he was a man of his times. We should not forget too that his epitaph celebrates not the Louisiana Purchase but his authorship of the Declaration of Independence. The Sage of Monticello might have seen the American future through a glass darkly, but his reputation is likely to rest comfortably on those words for another 225 years.

—Dennis M. O'Connell

Jefferson's West can be purchased at the Monticello gift shop (online: www.monticello.org; phone: 800-243-0743).

Paddling and packing on the Trail

Discovering Home: A Sojourn on the Lewis & Clark Trail by Paddle and Mule

Mark Hamilton

Robert McConnell Productions
Video / \$29.95

Several years ago, I decided to walk the footsteps of 30-year-old Meriwether Lewis in Beaverhead County, Montana. Good intentions notwithstanding, I've not done it yet. Mark Hamilton, an English professor, poet, philosopher, and 20 years the senior of the trekking Lewis, has not only traveled this portion, he has paddled or walked every other mile of the entire Lewis and Clark Trail—the only person in the last century to travel under his own power on their timetable. The return segment of his journey from the Pacific to St. Louis has been recorded in the video production *Discovering Home: A Sojourn on the Lewis & Clark Trail by Paddle and Pack Mule*.

This video account has a broad appeal to many audiences, including educators, travelers, adventurers, and environmental historians. For those of us who want to experience the path of our famed explorers first-hand, this production provides the incentive. Travelers who have already coursed the highways that parallel the Lewis and Clark Trail can vicariously walk seldom-seen sections inaccessible to the public, such as portions of the undeveloped Touchet River in eastern Washington, the snowfields and deadfall of the Bitterroot Range, and the stark Missouri River landscapes of the Dakotas.

While following Hamilton and his companion pack mule, Joe, “a mountain mule, a truly fine animal,” we experience the bond between the two travelers and the trail—the trail being more than the actual path trodden by our heroic adventurers of 200 years ago; in fact it was a turnpike of history, commerce, war, and food gathering for untold generations of Native Americans

in the centuries before Lewis and Clark.

This video's weakness is also its strength. Because the use of hand-held and tripod-mounted footage gives it an amateurish feel quite different from glossy commercial productions, the viewer knows and feels much of Hamilton's struggles, delights, weariness, and emotions as he rediscovers home and his roots as a voyager on this earth and as an American immersed in our collective history. Like some members of the Corps of Discovery arriving at St. Louis, Hamilton, too, reveals ambivalence about returning to civilization: “It wasn't easy to leave this world of space and quietude.” He experienced growth and transformation rare for modern man.

Like Albert Furtwangler in *Acts of Discovery*, Hamilton unlocks the prose and poetry of the journals of Lewis and Clark. He finds the poetry of the land and water and sky. Just as Furtwangler wrote of Lewis's and Clark's understanding of the “Rhythms of the Rivers,” Hamilton lets us feel the pulse of the rivers on which he paddles in his kayak, both upstream and down, while learning the rhythms of time. High in the Bitterroot Mountains he notes, “The trees grow so tall they sway just to reassure one another.” Downstream on the Yellowstone River he observes, “The kayak scoots through the arid land passing in whispers. Occasionally the clear rushing mountain snows heap into standing waves four to five feet tall. Clark had the men lash a buffalo hide between the poles to keep out the water.”

This video is not a single-viewing travelog experience. The intellectual ingredients remind us to probe the deeper aspects of the Lewis and Clark Trail. It is a remarkable journey.

—Ron Loge

Discovering Home: A Sojourn on the Lewis & Clark Trail by Paddle and Pack Mule, is available from Robert McConnell Productions, 800-532-4017.

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9237 membership@lewisandclark.org.



ESTATE PLANNING: SHARING A LEGACY

THANK YOU, LORNA!

A few years ago, the Foundation received a very wonderful surprise from the estate of a former member—a \$10,000 check in the mail!

Lorna, like most of us who belong to the LCTHF, had been intrigued and inspired by the Corps of Discovery and its courageous story. She knew that she wanted to be a Keeper of the Story and a Steward of the Trail. Her way to carry out that wish was to make a bequest to the LCTHF in her will.

The bequest is a form of giving that is uncomplicated and simple to do, either with an existing will or as part of a new one. During her lifetime, Lorna's assets remained totally in her control and unencumbered. Only after her death, when all her needs had been met, was her generous gift delivered to this very grateful organization!

Just as it was for Lorna, could an estate gift to the LCTHF be right for you? Do you have questions about a bequest or other future gift to the LCTHF? Please write Executive Director Cari Karns at the Foundation's headquarters (P.O. Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403) or call her at 888-701-3434.

(Please note that all wills need routine reexamination. When you meet with your legal adviser for this important personal planning, we hope you will consider joining Lorna by including a gift from your estate to the LCTHF.)

L&C Roundup

Kareem honors York at "Cowboy Oscars"

York, the lone African-American member of the Corps of Discovery, was inducted into the Hall of Great Westerners in ceremonies held April 21 at the National Cowboy and Western Heritage Museum, in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. On behalf of the LCTHF, York historian Jim Holmberg accepted the award, which was presented by former NBA star Kareem Abdul-Jabbar. Holmberg tells us that attending the "Cowboy Oscars" was a wonderful experience, and that the award is another example of the growing national recognition of York for his contributions to the success of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

York's plaque [below] joins those of two other newly inducted honorees, U.S. Supreme Court Justice and native Arizonan Sandra Day O'Connor and Spencer Penrose, the founder of the Broadmoor Hotel in Colorado Springs, Colorado.



MEDICAL CONFERENCE

Montana State University's WWAMI Medical Education Program and Museum of the Rockies will cosponsor a conference, entitled "Medicine and the Lewis and Clark Expedition," on October 24 in Bozeman, Montana. The daylong event includes discussions of the explorers' medical methods, infectious diseases, trichinosis, and appendicitis. Among the presenters are Gary Moulton, editor of the Lewis and Clark journals, and physician-historians Todd Savitt, Reimbert Ravenholt, and Ron Loge. The conference is open to the public and free of charge, although pre-registration is required. Contact: Dr. Stephen J. Guggenheim, 308 Leon

Johnson Hall, MSU, Bozeman, MT 59717-3080 (406-9994-4411).

TRAIL MARKERS

With help from a \$10,000 grant from the National Park Service, the Washington State Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution has placed the last of four historical markers along the Snake and Columbia river portions of the Lewis and Clark Trail. Located in Fort Canby State Park, the marker sits at the foot of McKenzie Head at the mouth of the Columbia, where the Corps of Discovery camped on November 18, 1805. The other markers are in Clarkston, Stevenson, and Hood Park, near Pasco.



L&C ENCYCLOPEDIA

Participants in the Foundation's annual meeting this month in Pierre, South Dakota, can engage in an "encounter session" with scholars Stephanie Ambrose Tubbs and Clay Jenkinson, who are seeking suggestions about a Lewis and Clark encyclopedia they are developing for the publishing firm of Henry Holt. "We intend this to be primarily a reference work, but written with the idea that some at least will read it through as a topical narrative of the expedition," says Tubbs. Written suggestions can be sent to her at 900 University Street, Helena, MT 59601 (atinc@mt.net).

SCHOOL GRANT

The U.S. Department of Education has awarded a \$690,000 grant to the school districts of Frazer and Glasgow, Montana, for the study of Lewis and Clark. The grant will support after-school programs and exchanges between schools. The goal of the three-year pro-

gram, which is based on a curriculum guide developed by the LCTHF, is to increase reading, math, and science skills while fostering cross-cultural understanding between whites and Native Americans. Glasgow, a farming and ranching community in northeastern Montana, is 35 miles from Frazer, a town on the Fort Peck Indian Reservation, home of the Canoe Paddler and Red Bottom bands of Assiniboine and the Sisson/Wahpeton, Yantonai, and Teton Hunkpapa divisions of Sioux.

FOR THE RECORD

Due to an editing error, the item "Big Apple Captains" in the May L&C Roundup incorrectly reported that two of the statues atop New York's American Museum of Natural History were of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. We were right on the first but wrong on the second—the statue is that of George Rogers Clark, William's elder brother.



Rodney Willard points out that an article on Lewis and Clark gravesites in the May 2000 WPO states that Danner, Oregon, where Jean Baptiste Charbonneau lies buried, is three miles north of Interstate 95. The highway is actually U.S. 95. (Interstate 95 is an East Coast route, while U.S. 95 is a West Coast route running from Mexico to Canada.)

PASSAGE

Erskine B. Wood, a lawyer and conservationist who helped save Beacon Rock, a L&C landmark on the lower Columbia River, died on May 15 in Portland, Oregon, at age 89. Wood's grandfather, mining engineer Henry Biddle, purchased Beacon Rock in 1920 to keep it from being quarried, and it was Wood who eventually arranged for his family to donate the historic monolith to Washington State.

ON THE WEB

The Lewis and Clark Exploratory Center of Virginia has launched a new Website (www.lewisandclarkeast.org). The site, which interprets the journey and simulates some of the experiences of the Corps of Discovery, pays particular attention to the roles of Thomas Jefferson and his fellow Virginian Meriwether Lewis in planning the expedition. The center is also hosting a festival to be held in Charlottesville on October 31 (see Website for details).

Speaking of Jefferson, the Website for Monticello (www.monticello.org) now features several pages on the third president's role in the expedition, including the texts of his letters to Congress and instructions to Lewis.

Additions to the Website Discovering Lewis & Clark (www.lewis-clark.org/index.htm) include "Music on the Trail," a photo of one of the eight Piegans Lewis met on the Two Medicine River, a bike tour of the L&C Trail, and a taped lecture on the Freeman-Custis Expedition of 1806.



CHAPTER NEWS

Earlier this year, the Grand Canyon Chapter visited the Zelma Basha Salmeri Galley, in Chandler, Arizona, whose 600-plus works of western and Native American art and artifacts include 41 paintings by the late John Clymer. Shown above are gallery owner Eddie Basha (center), flanked by Bill Jenkins and David Aungst, the chapter's current and immediate past presidents. Behind them are Clymer's *Lewis and Clark in the Bitterroots* and *Up the Jefferson*. Other Clymer works on display are the oft-reproduced *Sacagawea and the Big Water*, *Gangue of Buffalo*, and *The Salt Makers*, the painting on this WPO's cover. ■

CLASSIFIEDS

MISSOURI HEADWATERS. Float the Jefferson River to the headwaters of the Missouri. Using the journals and maps of Lewis and Clark, we follow the river routes and observe the landscape and wildlife that the Corps of Discovery experienced. This non-whitewater float is suitable for all ages and tailored to your interests. Led by a professional interpretive guide, we focus on natural and cultural history. Yellowstone Safari Company, POB 42, Bozeman, MT 59771. 406-586-1155. E-mail: info@beyondyellowstone.com. Our Website is www.beyondyellowstone.com.

TOURS of the Lewis & Clark Trail. Via motorcoach, plane, train, cruise ship, keelboat, canoe, raft, horse, hiking and more. Can customize for individuals or groups. Three motorcoach tours this summer: 8-Day in June, 18-Day in July, 14-Day in August including historians Joe Mussulman and Hal Stearns. 14-day tour starts in Pierre, SD on August 9th just after the annual meeting of the LCTHF and travels thru SD, ND, MT, ID, WA, OR to the Pacific Ocean. Includes boat tours on the Missouri and Columbia rivers. For a unique experience that you'll never forget contact: Rocky Mountain Discovery Tours in Missoula 1-888-400-0048. Website: www.rmdt.com.

FOR SALE: Mint-condition set of Alpha Industries, Lewis and Clark decanters. The set was created by artist Gary Schildt in the 1970s and consists of 12-inch figures of Lewis, Clark, Sacagawea, Charbonneau, and York. Price \$500. Clete Daily, POB 223, Helena, MT 59624. Tel: 406-449-2566.

WANTED: Copy of film *The Far Horizons*. Prefer original in video sleeve, but video copy OK. Will pay reasonable price for film and postage. Dennis O'Connell, 301-474-3287, dmo4457@erols.com.

CLASSIFIED RATES: 50 cents per word for Foundation members; 75 cents for nonmembers; \$10 minimum. Address counts as one word. Payment must accompany ads. Goods and services offered must relate to L&C. Send ads with payment (checks only, please) to Jim Merritt, Editor, WPO, 51 N. Main St., Pennington, NJ 08534.

GINA FLOYD

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From the Library

Foundation seeks new librarian

This spring we said goodbye to librarian Jeremy Skinner, who has returned to Portland, Oregon, to start graduate school and pursue other opportunities. Jeremy accomplished a tremendous amount in his short tenure at the library, including starting the Friends of the Library program, and he is already sorely missed. We are now seeking a replacement to join the Foundation staff. If you or someone you know might be interested in this opportunity, please read on.

The position is responsible for accessioning, arranging, describing, and cataloguing collections; maintaining computer databases; creating finding aids; supervising volunteers; coordinating the Friends of the Library group; cataloguing a major slide collection; maintaining a newsletter; updating a web page; maintaining OCLC; and assisting researchers and staff in the development of exhibitions and printed and on-line publications.

A bachelor's degree in history or library science is required (and an advanced degree highly desirable) with demonstrated experience with historical collections; excellent research, writing, database, computer skills, and personal skills; with a minimum of one year working in a library/archival setting. Fund-raising experience is desirable. Knowledge of the Lewis and Clark Expedition is preferred.

The library is located in the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center in Great Falls, Montana. The position is part-time with potential for full-time. Open until filled. The anticipated starting date is in late August or early September. Send letter, résumé, and a minimum of two references to:

Executive Director – Librarian Position
Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation
P.O. Box 3434
Great Falls, MT 59403

—Kari Karns
Executive Director, LCTHF

Symphony

Soundings continued from page 36

a million words devoted to many diverse subjects. But it is a story based on simple orders: find the source of the Missouri and the best way across the continent—and chronicle everything.

The two dynamic notes of the beginning of Beethoven's Third could be the two ideas that coalesced in Jefferson's mind in the summer of 1802, when he read Alexander Mackenzie's book about his successful crossing, in 1793, of the Canadian Rockies—an account that ends with a detailed prescription for British control of the Oregon country. Jefferson realized that: (1) something had to be done to thwart British designs on the Northwest; and (2) after three aborted attempts, as

Beethoven was three months younger than Clark and four years older than Lewis. Like Lewis, he suffered from depression.

President he was at last in a position to mount a successful expedition that would beat the British to Oregon. In Beethoven's Third, the soft music following the dynamic opening is Jefferson's mind weighing the possibilities, while the increasing tempo of the forceful beat represents the planning and preparing for the expedition.

The music does not strictly follow the expedition's progress, but it does highlight the emotions that Lewis and everyone involved must have felt. The symphony contains slow, dark passages that suggest the delays with the iron boat at Harpers Ferry, the loitering of the keelboat builder at Elizabeth, Pennsylvania, and the explorers' troubles with the Teton Sioux and Blackfeet. There is light, airy music suggestive of the gay dances and parties in Washington, Philadelphia, and St. Louis, the Fourth of July celebration with Jefferson, the rendezvous with Clark at Louisville, and the exhilarating run down

the Columbia. The quieter themes recall Lewis at his desk, writing letters to his old friend Clark inviting him on the mission and to his mother, Lucy, bidding her goodbye. The struggling, forceful beats bring to mind the endless push against the current up the Missouri and the battering waves on the north shore of the Columbia, while happy passages reflect on the explorers' camaraderie and the ties of friendship forged with the Native Americans who helped them along the way.

A triumphal march is heard several times. It is a march of returning heroes, the confident step of men who have accomplished a long and difficult mission. One can hear it in the background of author Stephen Ambrose's word-picture of the last month of the voyage and in Clark's journal entry of September 20, 1806, on the lower Missouri, "The party being extremely anxious to get down ply their ores very well."¹⁰ It starts in La Charette, gains force in St. Charles, and continues through St. Louis, Louisville, Washington, and down the ages to us.

Foundation member Skip Jackson, well known for his portrayal of Meriwether Lewis at LCTHF meetings, lives in Cincinnati, Ohio.

NOTES

¹Maynard Solomon, *Beethoven* (New York: Simon & Schuster Macmillan, 1998), pp. 171-73.

²Frida Knight, *Beethoven and the Age of Revolution* (United Kingdom: International Publishers, 1973), p. 49.

³Solomon, p. 152.

⁴Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 12 volumes, 1984-99), Vol. 6, p. 163.

⁵Knight, p. 51.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 53. For Adams's and Jefferson's anticlericalism, see Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1987), pp. 493-99.

⁷Solomon, p. 141.

⁸Knight, p. 67.

⁹Moulton, Vol. 5, p. 118.

¹⁰Moulton, Vol. 8, p. 367.

ADVANCED
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A Lewis & Clark Symphony?

Beethoven's Third resonates with the sounds of the Corps of Discovery

BY SKIP JACKSON

We have Lewis and Clark candy bars, tote bags, coffee cups, and key chains, so here is a candidate for a Lewis and Clark symphony. It was written in 1803, when the expedition began. It is dedicated to heroes. It is long and complicated but based on a simple theme. It is Ludwig von Beethoven's Third Symphony in E flat major.

Beethoven was a republican and a revolutionary. He originally dedicated the symphony to Napoleon Bonaparte, but when the composer received word that Napoleon was going to declare himself Emperor, he scratched out his name and retitled it *Eroica*, "The Heroic Symphony."¹ The great composer was a believer in human liberty and would have felt perfectly at ease in Monticello with Lewis's mentor, Thomas Jefferson.

Born in Bonn, Germany, on December 16, 1770, Beethoven was three months younger than William Clark and four years older than Meriwether Lewis. Like Lewis, he became responsible for his family's well being at a young age. After Beethoven's mother died when he was 17, he assumed the finances because of his father's chronic alcoholism. Lewis and Beethoven were both unlucky in love. The composer made at least three formal marriage proposals, all rejected. His letter to his "Immortal Beloved" has been the source of much study and even a movie, but he never married. "If possible I will defy my fate," he wrote, "though there will be moments in my life when I shall be the unhappiest of God's creatures."²

Like Lewis, Beethoven suffered from depression. His hearing problems and stomach troubles and his inability to obtain a long-term female relationship "drove me to desperation, [and] little more was needed for me to end my life—it was only my art, that alone, that held me back, as it seemed impossible to me to leave the world before I had brought forth everything I felt within me."³

At Fort Clatsop, Lewis wrote "of the necessity of taking time by the forelock" to acquire food for his company.⁴



F.A. VON KLOEBER

Beethoven: he and Lewis shared much in common.

Beethoven wrote, "I will seize fate by the throat; it shall not overcome me."⁵ Both men thought of time and fate as personifications of Greek or Roman gods.

Beethoven's republicanism led him, like Jefferson and John Adams, to be strongly anticlerical. He wrote, "I have more than once been disgusted at the contrast between the real earnestness of the poor people at their prayers ... and the open unconcealed laughter of the priests at the altar."⁶

Sometime around his 30th birthday, Beethoven told a friend, the violinist Wenzel Krumpholtz, "I am only a little satisfied with my previous works. From today on I will take a new path."⁷ This is not a bad synopsis of Lewis's 31st-birthday journal entry, made near Lemhi Pass on the

Continental Divide, in which he vowed "in future, to live for *mankind*, as I have heretofore lived for *myself*."⁸

Being a man at home in European courts, Beethoven would have known about the ceding of Louisiana to France from Spain and its sale to the United States. He probably would not have known about Lewis and Clark, at least until well after the Third Symphony was written. He started the symphony in May 1803 and completed it in April 1804. It was first performed in February 1805 in Vienna, in a concert organized by a group of bankers who took over the financing of its performance from aristocrats: a dangerous republican concept at that time.

President Jefferson knew the value to future generations of the information gathered by the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In a parallel vein, when told that his public did not understand the Third Symphony, Beethoven replied that it was "not for [them], but for a later age!"⁹

The Third Symphony was the longest and most complex symphony yet composed. Lewis's coast-to-coast journey was one of history's longest explorations (three and a half years from his departure from Washington, D.C., to his return). The explorers' journals tell a complex story, with more than

Soundings continues on page 35