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WPO now says farewell to our good friend Bob Clark, who retired from his post as editor-in-chief at the Washington State University Press in January. For the past two years, Bob has been extraordinarily helpful in shaping the final look and layout of WPO. Before that he was WPO editor. We will miss his thoughtfulness, good humor, and insights. We wish him godspeed in all of his retirement adventures. — Clay Jenkinson

Covers
Front: A portrait of Gary Moulton at home in Lincoln, Nebraska, taken for WPO by Beth Anderzhon, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Back: The Astoria-Megler Bridge on the Columbia River at sunset, just one of the great moments of the 2018 Annual Meeting at Astoria. Photo by Rob Heacock.

We Proceeded On welcomes submissions of articles, proposals, inquiries, and letters. Writer’s guidelines are available by request and can be found on our website, lewisandclark.org. Submissions should be sent to Clay S. Jenkinson, 1324 Golden Eagle Lane, Bismarck, North Dakota 58503, or by email to Clayjenkinson2010@gmail.com. 701-202-6751.
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As Keepers of the Story—Stewards of the Trail, the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., provides national leadership in maintaining the integrity of the Trail and its story through stewardship, scholarship, education, partnership, and cultural inclusiveness.

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The 2018 Annual Meeting in the town of Astoria, Oregon, was a smashing success. We got to experience the vagaries of coastal weather in which two days facing fog and rain were balanced by two of brilliant sunshine and blue skies. The Corps of Discovery would no doubt have been jealous.

The Chinook Nation and Clatsop/Nahalem Tribe welcomed us warmly, fed us extremely well and entertained us at a special night at the Clatsop County fairgrounds. Superintendent Mark Weekley and several of his staff members at the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail traveled from Omaha to lend their expertise and join in the fun. Superintendent Jon Burpee and his staff at the Lewis and Clark National Historical Park in Washington and Oregon hosted talks and demonstrations that included the rare opportunity of allowing our members to spend a night in the reconstructed Fort Clatsop. Next time we gather, ask those who slept in the cabins about their experience and watch their eyes light up.

We extend thanks to Larry McClure and his crew for all they did to make this first year’s meeting of our three-year LCTHF 50th Anniversary celebration so enjoyable. Just over 200 attendees were treated to four days of wonderful activities, informative presentations, and the warm fellowship our meetings always engender. A boat ride on the lower Columbia in which we were treated to talks by a Columbia bar river pilot and the helicopter pilot who often transported him to the ocean-going ships was especially memorable. A lucky few also witnessed a spectacular sunset that made the Megler Bridge appear to be on fire.

If you have not attended an Annual Meeting, please consider coming to St. Louis in late September 2019, Charlottesville in early August 2020 and Missoula in 2021. You will be welcomed as an old friend and will not regret attending.

Another highlight of the Astoria meeting was a panel discussion about a few of the early LCTHF leaders with Oregon connections. The panel brought to life Dr. Eldon “Frenchy” and Fritzi Chuinard, Robert “Bob” Lange, Irv “Andy” Anderson and William P. “Bill” Sherman. You can read about these and other LCTHF pioneers by visiting lewisandclark.org/about/obituaries.php. Among the panelists was a giant of our own times, a man known to all Lewis and Clark aficionados, Dr. Gary Moulton, the editor of the definitive edition of the journals and the subject of an article in this issue of We Proceeded On.

One of the delights of attending an annual meeting is the opportunity to interact with Gary, who usually is accompanied by his better half, wife Faye. Besides his extensive knowledge of all things Lewis and Clark, Gary possesses a wonderful sense of humor, an infectious laugh, and an ever-present twinkle in his eye. Faye provides an unassuming touch of class to any room she graces. One would have a hard time encountering a friendlier and more gracious couple anywhere.

Unlike so many in the audience, Gary admitted in Astoria that he now goes days without thinking of Lewis and Clark, but he is nevertheless willing to entertain questions and is generous with interlocutors who would like to know more. He is also extremely accommodating with requests for autographs and photos. In tribute to Gary’s landmark work, LCTHF has instituted the Moulton Lecture Series, an annual event inaugurated this past May with a talk by one of Gary’s doctoral students, former LCTHF president Dr. Jay Buckley, who delivered the address in Omaha recapped in these pages. The 2019 Moulton Lecture will be held in conjunction with the Annual Meeting in St. Louis, providing yet another reason to attend. Plan to be there. If you wish to contribute to support the lecture series, visit lewisandclark.org/join/index.php and click the donate tab. Thank you for your consideration in honoring Gary and his work.

On another note, over 300 members, about 30%, participated in our recent survey, which further highlights the devotion of our members to LCTHF. Thanks very much for taking part.
A Message from the President

in lending your opinions and special thanks go to member Bob Pawloski, who spent a great deal of time and energy creating the online survey and making the results comprehensible. The board of directors is working to incorporate the best of your suggestions and ideas into our strategic plan. Full survey results may be accessed at: surveymonkey.com/results/SM-SK9CJBYL using the password leth2018. Demographic information provided by respondents showed an average age of about 71.5 with an average length of membership of 14 years. Two-thirds are retired and the two most populous age groups were 70-79 and 80 and older. Clearly, we must attempt to attract younger members to the fold by reexamining our message and how we convey it.

As part of that effort, we will be updating our website over the coming months. Just as we freshened the look of WPO recently, so will we revamp our face to the world while also modernizing the plumbing behind the scenes. The new website will be more attractive and easier to update. Keep an eye out for these exciting changes by visiting lewiscandlark.org often. And don’t forget to visit the Discovering Lewis and Clark website at lewis-clark.org to see the tremendous improvements implemented by our stellar webmaster, Kris Townsend. These two resources are accessible worldwide and make it possible for anyone at any time to find out about Lewis and Clark and our fine organization.

Thank you for being a member of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. The good work we accomplish would not be possible without your support. I look forward to seeing you out on the trail as we proceed on together.

Lou Ritten
President
Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

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Lewis and Clark: Alive and Well at Monticello

by Jack Robertson
Librarian, the Thomas Jefferson Library

January 18, 2003, was a bitterly cold day at Thomas Jefferson’s home, Monticello, in Charlottesville, Virginia. More than 3,500 people, including representatives from 40 American Indian tribes, gathered at Monticello and the University of Virginia to launch the Bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The great James Ronda delivered the keynote address on the west portico, calling the expedition “America’s first great road show.”

The event marked the two-hundredth anniversary of Jefferson’s confidential letter to Congress requesting funds for an expedition to explore the western reaches of North America. From the moment the expedition returned to St. Louis in September 1806, accounts of this “Voyage of Discovery,” along with diversified scholarly interpretations and creative arts programs, have perpetuated enthusiasm for this uniquely “American” adventure. Monticello’s Jefferson Library has worked hard to collect, curate, and interpret as much Lewis and Clark discourse as possible.

In addition to hosting the Bicentennial launch, Monticello has sponsored exhibitions, publications, and educational outreach for going on two decades. We commissioned American Indian artisans in North Dakota to re-create many of the artifacts that Lewis and Clark collected during their first year of travel—shields, bows and arrows, lances, pipes, and tomahawks. They have been displayed in Monticello’s entrance hall ever since, what Jefferson called his “Indian Hall,” where visitors got their first impression of the range and depth of Jefferson’s intellectual curiosity. These extraordinary artifacts have served, as they did in his day, as a marvelous “teaching-aid” for innumerable visitors.

The Jefferson Library at Monticello opened less than a year before the Bicentennial launch. We continue to vigorously collect material related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition as well as spin out topics such as the Louisiana Purchase, other exploratory journeys, and Jefferson’s vision of the American West. Our collections have been mightily enhanced by two major acquisitions from Lewis and Clark collectors.

First, Ron Laycock of Benson, Minnesota, donated over 1,500 items, beginning shortly after his participation at the Bicentennial launch on the west lawn. In addition to many of the canonical modern Lewis and Clark titles, Ron also had a very discerning eye for more unusual materials: out-of-the-ordinary, ephemeral, small print run items. Just the types of stuff that bring great joy to my librarian’s heart!
We Proceeded On

Most of the Ron Laycock Lewis and Clark Expedition items may be perused in the Thomas Jefferson Portal online catalog at https://tjportal.on.worldcat.org/discovery. Simply search for “gift from Ron Laycock.”

Mr. Allen began to be interested in collecting Lewis and Clark publications in the 1970s. Through the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation he became acquainted with Gary E. Moulton and other Lewis and Clark scholars and luminaries. His special acuity for acquiring rare and valuable books is demonstrated the variety and richness of the collection.

The second, more recent, major acquisition is the “H. Guthrie Allen, Jr. Lewis and Clark Collection” in 2018. Allen’s widow, Marguerite, and their two daughters, Sarah and Ann, were able to fulfill his wish to donate the collection to Monticello. Included in the two hundred volumes, are several dozen remarkable rare titles.

In September of 2018 Mrs. Allen and her daughters attended several events at Monticello marking the opening of the H. Guthrie Allen, Jr. Collection for use in the Jefferson Library. A dinner was held in Jefferson’s Indian Hall at Monticello prior to which Jack Robertson, Monticello’s Fiske and Marie Kimball Librarian, and humanities scholar Clay Jenkinson discussed a few of the interesting and exciting titles in Jefferson’s “cabinet,” the private suite of rooms that included TJ’s library, his so-called “Book Room.”

Jenkinson lectured that evening in the “Indian Hall,” tracing the post-expedition history of the artifacts Lewis gathered for President Jefferson and either sent to him from Fort Mandan or delivered in person at the close of the expedition. Gracing the hall over the dinner guests were a magnificent set of elkhorns, the only authenticated Lewis and Clark artifact at Monticello.
Experience jaw-dropping vistas in every bend of the trail and relive the dramatic story of Lewis and Clark as you follow in the footsteps of these explorers from Great Falls, Montana to the Pacific Coast. As part of Stephen Ambrose’s research for his book, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West*, he traveled the Lewis and Clark Trail on foot, canoe and horseback. The authenticity of this Lewis and Clark Tour is unrivaled.
On the Historian’s Trail: 
Gary E. Moulton’s Lewis and Clark Odyssey
By Jay H. Buckley

Editor’s Note: The first Gary E. Moulton Lecture was delivered on May 12, 2018, at the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail headquarters in Omaha, Nebraska. Dr. Moulton’s former graduate student Jay Buckley gave the lecture. He chose as his topic the “journey” of Gary Moulton through the journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Dr. Moulton and his wife Faye were in the audience. The next Moulton Lecture will be given by John Logan Allen at the LCTHF’s 51st Annual Meeting in St. Louis in September 2019.

In this inaugural Gary E. Moulton Lecture, I invite you on a journey along a historian’s trail to trace Gary Moulton’s Lewis and Clark odyssey. We will compare his experiences in editing the journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with similar events from the Corps of Discovery and share new insights, laughter, and appreciation for this scholar whom we honor today. I will employ literary license to include some overt connections to my Lewis and Clark audience.

Before Meriwether Lewis and William Clark embarked on their voyage of Northwest Discovery, their principal concern (beyond gathering geographic and scientific data) was to establish friendly relations with the native nations whose homelands they traversed. In that same spirit of peace and friendship, I acknowledge and thank the Otoe-Missouri, Omaha, and Iowa nations whose ancestral homelands are the site of today’s lecture. These also represent the first tribal nations to council with Lewis and Clark a few miles from here along the Missouri River near Council Bluffs. It is especially fitting that we meet here in Omaha at the headquarters of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT), because it was at the 1980 Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation (LCTHF) annual meeting in Omaha that Donald Jackson introduced Dr. Gary E. Moulton as the new editor of The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Part I: Preparing for the Journey

Our Moulton odyssey begins on the Great Plains, in the village of Tulsa, Oklahoma, now the second largest city in the former Indian Territory of William Clark’s day. Oklahomans are a hardy people, as necessitated by the severe weather and challenging geography of the region. Two of those hardy folks were William Virgil (Bill) and Cleo Collins Moulton. By all accounts, Cleo was a very sweet woman who never had a bad word to say about anyone. She married her sweetheart in 1936. They welcomed their firstborn, William Moulton, Jr., into their home in 1939. Three years later, on February 21, 1942, not far from the north bank of the Arkansas River at the foothills of the Ozark Mountains, Bill and Cleo welcomed their second son whom they named Gary Evan. Soon, a daughter Nancy Kay joined their family.

I had considered entitling my talk “Gary Moulton’s Lewis and Clark Odyssey Day by Day,” like his new book The Lewis and Clark Expedition Day by Day, but my talk had to be less than an hour in duration. We will have to be satisfied with a few salient glimpses into his life. Gary became
a Cub Scout, certainly a program Lewis and Clark would have promoted had it been around in their time, especially with the motto “Be Prepared” and a slogan to “Do a Good Turn Daily.”

Gary’s Presbyterian Pastor Mike Loudon confessed to me that after one of their “Men’s Breakfasts” where Gary had cooked up some of his famous pancakes, Gary “shared with the group that when he went to college right after high school, he had a great time his first semester and flunked out. When he came home for Christmas break, he knew there would be hell to pay. When his father saw Gary’s semester report card, Gary had a quick answer, saying ‘Dad, I’ve already joined the Army.’”

Like Lewis and Clark, Moulton entered military service. From 1961 to 1964, he served his country in the US Army Security Agency (ASA), which was the US Army’s electronic intelligence branch with the motto “Vigilant Always.” That motto, in many ways, has become a lifelong Moulton motto. Unfortunately, the precise details of what Gary did in Vietnam and Thailand may still be classified—or they may be part of his missing journals. We can be assured that, unlike Lewis, Gary was never brought before a court martial nor did he receive any cat-of-nine-tails well laid on as some of Lewis and Clark’s enlisted men did for falling asleep on guard duty or dipping into the barrel of spirits.

Upon returning from Southeast Asia, Gary enrolled at Northeastern Oklahoma State College (which became Northeastern Oklahoma State University in 1974), the oldest public institution of higher learning in Oklahoma and one of the oldest universities west of the Mississippi River. Moulton applied himself well and earned a Bachelor of Arts degree in history.

Now that Gary was officially a “Bachelor,” it was high time to find a co-commander for the Moulton expedition. He was enamored of a beautiful young woman named Faye Whitaker Doss. His marriage proposal to her was eerily similar to the Lewis’ letter to Clark on June 19, 1803. Gary wrote to Faye, inviting her to join him with equal pay and rank. “Thus my friend [Faye] you have a summary view of the plan, the means and the objects of this expedition. If therefore there is anything under those circumstances, in this enterprise, which would induce you to participate with me in its fatigues, its dangers and its honors, believe me there is no [wo]man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them with as yourself.”

Such as I have long anticipated and am much pleased with—... I will cheerfully join you in an ‘official Charrector’ as mentioned in your letter, and partake of the dangers, difficulties, and fatigues, and I anticipate the honors & rewards of the result of Such an enterprise.... This is an undertaking fraught with many difficulties, but My friend I do assure you that no man lives with whom I would prefer to under take Such a Trip &c. as your self.”

Thus, on June 2, 1969, began one of the great partnerships and marriages in history. With his co-commander in place, it was time for Gary to receive advanced training for their journey, just as Lewis had received by going to Philadelphia. Gary left Tahlequah, the capital of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, to enroll in a Masters and then a PhD program at Oklahoma State University in Stillwater, where Moulton’s research interests in American Indian and western history took shape. Moulton’s mentor, LeRoy H. Fischer, had been trained by the eminent historian James G. Randall, who, in turn, was a protégé of Andrew C. McLaughlin. McLaughlin (1861-1947), the son of Scottish immigrants, received his degrees from the University of Michigan and then taught there until he was recruited to the University of Chicago. His magnum opus, A Constitutional History of the United States (1935), won the 1936 Pulitzer Prize for History. McLaughlin trained James G. Randall (1881-1953), an American historian specializing in Abraham Lincoln and the era of the American Civil War. He taught at the University of Illinois (1920–1950). His multi-volume biography of Abraham Lincoln remains a major resource for scholars and his The Civil War and Reconstruction (1937) is an important history of that era.

LeRoy H. Fischer, Randall’s protégé, studied at Illinois and then taught history at Oklahoma State University from 1946 to 1984. He was Oppenheim Professor from 1969 to
1984. His research specialty was the American Civil War, for which he won two special literary prizes. It was Fischer whom Moulton credits with setting him on the historian’s trail. Moulton recounted, “I entered American Indian and western history, and finally historical editing, by the back door. In a graduate seminar in Oklahoma history, I was assigned the topic ‘Chief John Ross during the Civil War’ and discovered that there was no biography of the man from which to ‘glean’ the necessary information. From that effort, I went on to develop a full-scale biography of Ross. In another seminar I did some work editing Will Rogers’ daily telegrams and discovered the field of historical editing. . . . Having found a trove of Ross’s letters and personal papers, I merged my two new interests and was able to persuade the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) to fund a project to edit Ross’s papers.”

“The discipline of historical editing,” Moulton continued, “is as old as or older than the craft of history itself, but only in recent times has it taken a separate and individual identity. Previously viewed as a stepchild of the larger profession, historical editing has emerged since the 1950s as an important endeavor and field of study in its own right. Its ‘renaissance’ can be attributed partly to the large inflow of public and private funds and to the professionalization of its practitioners. . . . Historical editors, now more than ever, have much to teach documentary users about their sources, especially in terms of searching for, organizing, selecting, and transcribing those items. Moreover, editors’ annotation and explication of documents has pointed writers toward new areas of research.”

Several important events transpired during Gary’s education in the 1960s to advance the Lewis and Clark story. In 1962, Donald Jackson published the *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (1962; 2nd ed. 1978). Five years later, in 1967, at a gathering of the Missouri Historical Society, he called for a new definitive edition of the Lewis and Clark journals. In 1964, the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission formed to identify and mark the Lewis and Clark Trail, increase public awareness of the significance of the expedition, and formulate conservation and outdoor recreation objectives along the expedition route.

The National Trails System Act, P.L. 90-543, became law October 2, 1968. That law—and its subsequent amendments—authorized a national system of trails and defined four categories of national trails: National Scenic Trails (NST); National Historic Trails (NHT) that follow travel routes of national historic significance; National Recreation Trails (NRT); and Connecting or Side Trails that provide access to or among the other classes of trails.

The following year, 1969, proved to be one of the most important in the history of the Lewis and Clark Trail. The Lewis and Clark Trail Commission issued its final report with a number of far-reaching objectives, including the establishment of one or more groups “to further the broad program developed by the Commission.” In March of that same year, Missouri’s commission members chartered the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc., as a 501(c)3 nonprofit in Missouri. The state entity became national by adding individuals who had served on the commission or on state committees. Meanwhile, President Sherry R. Fisher delivered the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission’s “Lewis and Clark Trail Final Report” in October 1969 to the President of the United States and to Congress. The work of both of these groups contributed to the subsequent approval of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail in 1978.

Part II: He Proceeded On

Moulton had taken the vital preparatory steps necessary for success. First, he had chosen wisely in a co-commander, and together they brought three new recruits into the world: Kim (Reynolds), Russell, and Luanne (Harms). Second, he had taken graduate school seriously, and worked quickly and effectively, receiving his Masters in May 1970 and his PhD in July 1973. From 1974 to 1979, he taught as an Assistant Professor of History at Southwestern Oklahoma State University (SWOSU) in Weatherford. Moreover, he honed his skills in historical editing. Recently, Moulton recalled, “From there I went on to write his [Ross’s] biography . . . and edit his [Ross’s] papers for the NHPRC, which brought me into the world of documentary editing—the rest is history.”

His publications received high marks from reviewers. Francis Paul Prucha reviewed Moulton’s *John Ross, Cherokee Chief.* “Moulton’s thorough documentation
attests to both his zeal and his care, and although Ross's political career is his primary concern, domestic affairs and financial enterprises are not neglected. The approach is sympathetic without being uncritical. . . . What Moulton has provided is a brief but balanced factual account of Ross's life, which is valuable because of its thorough research and prudent judgments.”

Moulton's editing of the Papers of Chief John Ross (2 vols., 1978) also received high praise. Reviewer John R. Wunder wrote, “Throughout these two volumes Moulton presents the documents without interfering with their originality. Each entry includes information on where the document can presently be located, and most include geographical information or clarifying explanations immediately below the text. Each volume has a comprehensive index.” Reviewer W. David Baird commented, “Moulton's editorial skills are admirable. . . . by any measure this is a remarkable work of scholarship that will renew interest in and reshape our perception of the history of John Ross, the Cherokees, and Native Americans in general. Moulton . . . can take pride in this major contribution to the historical record.”

David E. Wright, a colleague hired by the Social Sciences Department at SWOSU at the same time as Gary, recounted how the “short-sightedness of a stingy Oklaho-
ma legislature ended Gary’s stay at SWOSU by line-item vetoing his research and position. Alas, Oklahoma’s loss was Nebraska’s gain.” He commented further, “Gary has always had a tremendous partner, his wife Faye. . . . Together, the Moultons are the dynamic duo, each contributing to the other’s endeavors. There has been a lifelong commitment to each other.”

One day Faye read an advertisement in the Chronicle of Higher Education and called it to Gary’s attention: “the University of Nebraska was seeking someone to edit the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition.” Dr. Moulton applied for the position. John Logan Allen recalled: “During the later stages of editing my book, Passage Through the Garden, Don [Jackson] and I had several lengthy phone conversations about the need for a new edition of the Lewis and Clark journals. Enough new material—much of it unearthed by Don, by Paul Cutright, and even some by me—had come to light since the Thwaites edition of the early 20th century that a new edition was, in our eyes, necessary. There was only one fly in the ointment: Don was insistent that I serve as the editor. In more lengthy phone conversations and a long visit to Don’s home, I tried my best to convince him that I had no experience in documentary editing, no particular taste for taking on such a task, didn’t want to move to the University of Nebraska where the project would be housed, and couldn’t we please find someone better? ‘Fine,’ was his grudging response: ‘Come up with some names.’ I did and in one of the happiest moments of serendipity, one of the names was that of Gary Moulton.” Allen continued, “I had had the opportunity of reading Gary’s work on the papers of John Ross and was incredibly impressed. Based on what I knew of Gary’s work (we had never met at that point) I told Don that, besides Gary, the only other two persons that I thought could do the work satisfactorily were Don himself and the British documentary historian David Beers Quinn. Don didn’t feel up to the task and David had recently embarked on a massive editing project involving early Atlantic exploration. Gary therefore emerged as the clear front-runner from among the list of other candidates. Gary and Don visited and Gary was named as editor of the new edition of The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. It was one of the happiest choices for those of us interested in Lewis and Clark; it was one of the happiest choices for those interested in the editing of historical documents; and it was absolutely the best choice for documentary editing in specific and American history, geography, botany, anthropology (among other fields) in general.”

As Gary recounted, the goal was “to ‘[make] every word of Lewis and Clark accessible to the public.’ As Lewis and Clark were, in the words of Dr. [Donald] Jackson, ‘the writingest explorers of their time,’ editing the journals of two captains, three sergeants, and a private was no small undertaking.” Gary noted, “I found that I could continue my editing endeavors and study of western history in a project just begun at the University of Nebraska to publish the journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.”

Gary and Faye piled their family into the car and drove to their new home in Lincoln, Nebraska. Fortunately, Faye soon became an ombudsman at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln (UNL), a public advocate, an official charged with representing the interests of the public by investigating and addressing complaints of maladministration or a violation of rights. We can bet Meriwether Lewis wished he had had an ombudsman when he served as the territorial governor of Upper Missouri.

UNL’s history department granted Moulton tenure and advanced him to the rank of Associate Professor of History for his work on John Ross. He moved into his office in 631 Oldfather Hall, which he occupied from 1979 to 2004. He also had the good fortune to procure a room, 434, at Love Library, where all of his Lewis and Clark editorial magic happened.

Gary’s connection with the Center for Great Plains Studies was a principal factor that made his Lewis and Clark editing
odyssey feasible. The mission of the Center is to foster study of the people and the environment of the Great Plains. The Center operates the Great Plains Art Museum, the Plains Humanities Alliance, undergraduate and graduate programs, various scholarly projects, and outreach programs; publishes *Great Plains Quarterly* and *Great Plains Research*; and presents public lectures and interdisciplinary symposia. Much of the Center's work is accomplished by its fellows and associate fellows.

Moulton did receive help. Just as Jefferson sent Lewis to receive “graduate school” instruction from experts in Pennsylvania, and numerous native peoples repeatedly aided the Lewis and Clark Expedition and helped the captains complete their journey, Moulton frequently mentions that the project would have been impossible without the help of others. He tapped the expertise of more than one hundred scholars during his editing of *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. Many of those individuals were fellows or affiliates of the Center for Great Plains Studies.28

This massive project, under Gary’s editorial direction, was sponsored by the Center from its inception in 1979 until its completion in 2001. The thirteen-volume edition of the journals published by the University of Nebraska Press consists of an atlas of maps, a book of botanical specimens, and the diaries of Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and four enlisted men. During the life of the project, the Center cooperated with the American Philosophical Society (which holds most of the expedition journals) and received financial support from the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).29

These were days never to be forgotten. Just the year before in 1978, Congress had amended the 1968 National Trails System Act law with the National Parks and Recreation Act to provide for a new category of trails—National Historic Trails—one of which was to be the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (LCNHT).10 The LCNHT is a transcontinental route commemorating the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1804 to 1806. It extends for some 3,700 miles from Wood River, Illinois, to the mouth of the Columbia River in Oregon, although legislation is currently under consideration to extend the Eastern Legacy of the trail. The trail is administered by the National Park Service, but sites along the trail are managed by federal, state, local, tribal, and private organizations and agencies. The trail is the second longest of the 30 National Scenic and Historic Trails.31

Just like Lewis and Clark, who did not fully appreciate exactly what they were getting into in ascending the Missouri River to its source, Moulton felt their same exhilaration...
and trepidation. He recalled periods of great joy alternating with stark terror at being hired to edit the Lewis and Clark journals when he knew virtually nothing about Lewis and Clark. Little did he realize at the time that he needed to master scientific descriptions, complicated native relations, botany, zoology, anthropology, history, English, geography, geology, etc. Moreover, Professor Moulton felt the pressure and uncertainty of trying to raise funds to match government grants. Historians typically do not travel in wealthy circles. He often wondered, “How do you just walk up to someone and ask for money?” Gradually, he figured it out, and there were some gratifying moments: the generosity of the LCTHF in supporting the work; surprise at having a few persons come forward to offer money without even being asked; the magic of being on the second floor in Independence Hall, sipping wine with lovers of Lewis and Clark, and receiving a generous donation from one of them.

Asking the rich and famous was one end of the spectrum; being accepted by the Lewis and Clark enthusiasts and experts was another. Early on, one astute gentleman told Gary that there was a whole group of Lewis and Clarkies out there who know a lot about Lewis and Clark. “When they start talking about the Lolo trail,” he said, “you’d better know what they’re talking about.” Gary nodded, knowingly, and privately thought, “What on earth is the Lolo trail?”

The Moultons rented a van and headed out to camp on the Lewis and Clark Trail. It rained every night but one. However, Gary did learn about the Lolo Trail, one of the most scenic portions of the trail. He experienced the thrill and wonder of camping at the same places along the Missouri where the Corps of Discovery camped. Nevertheless, he also had some sleepless nights, not from the troublesome mosquitoes that Lewis and Clark experienced, but rather from feeling the pressure to get something out, which took a little longer than he expected. The acclaim his edition of the journals received after publication made it worth the effort.

One of Gary’s first tasks was getting the lay of the land—literally and figuratively, because the Atlas was the first planned volume. He began gathering maps at the Library of Congress, the Missouri Historical Society, the National Archives, the Beinecke Library at Yale University, and the Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha. Historian and archaeologist Ray Wood remembered meeting Moulton in 1979 and loved the lunches Gary and he had together “discussing the maps that were to appear in the separate map atlases we were preparing…and the protocols of documentary editing.”

Finally, nearly eighty years after Reuben G. Thwaites 1904 edition of The Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was published, a new definitive edition of the journals appeared in print. In 1983, editor Steve Cox and the University of Nebraska Press, along with the Center for Great Plains Studies, and the support of the American Philosophical Society and the NEH, proudly published a beautiful folio edition of Gary E. Moulton’s The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Vol. 1: Atlas of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Admirably edited and documented, the atlas included 129 maps associated with the expedition, most of them drawn by William Clark, and reproduced in their original size. Forty-two of the maps had not been published before. Moulton also marked campsites, located Indian villages, and described major topographical features with extensive notations.

Reviewer R. David Edmunds called the atlas “a comprehensive cartographic record of the Lewis and Clark expedition.” James P. Ronda went even further in his praise: “Gary Moulton has done a superb job with maps that have had a complex history. He has found new maps and clarified the provenance of others. This Atlas is nothing less than the face of western American revealed.” The National Cowboy Hall of Fame awarded Moulton’s Atlas the Wrangler Award, recognizing it as the Best Western Nonfiction Book in 1984.

Building upon his tremendous success with the atlas, Gary was already hard at work transcribing microfilm and typing it into his IBM Selectric typewriter before eventually keying it into a computer. Then he would print out transcriptions and go to Philadelphia to compare the transcript with the original journals curated at the American Philosophical Society. Moulton reveled in the thrill and felt a certain reverence when picking up one of those red leather journals for the first time. He marveled that William Clark spelled S-I-O-X 27 different ways, but, then again, so did he when he edited their journals!

The journals of Lewis and Clark and the four enlisted men (John Ordway, Charles Floyd, Patrick Gass, and Joseph Whitehouse) totaled over a million words. If Lewis and Clark were, indeed, the “writingest explorers” ever, then that makes Moulton the writingest explorers’ editor ever. Volumes 2 through 10 of the Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition were published between the years 1986 and 1997. “Our goal,” Moulton said, “was to get every word of Lewis and Clark accessible to the public. We couldn’t slight a particular place because we weren’t interested in it.” Moulton explicated the text by locating campsites and including commentary on the weather, peoples, animals, plants, and geography. He has compiled nearly every known journal, map, and field note related to Lewis and Clark into a complete and authoritative account of what the explorers wrote. The
Although Lewis and Clark must have felt relief upon returning to St. Louis, in many ways, that was when the hard work really began—trying to complete and find a publisher for the journals. Moulton must have had similar thoughts after Volume 12 as he was charged with another task—compile a comprehensive index? “Oh, how horriable the day!” With courage undaunted, he started on this massive project in its own right—a cumulative, comprehensive index, completed in 2001. The arduous Lewis and Clark Expedition covered thousands of miles and was approximately 863 days in duration—2.5 years. Moulton completed his Lewis and Clark magnum opus after traveling thousands of miles and laboring for over 20 years!

Then, because he could not get rid of the Lewis and Clark fever, he set about editing a one-volume condensation, the first one not based on the 1904 Thwaite’s edition.^{42} Meanwhile, the accolades continued to roll in. The American Historical Association awarded him the J. Franklin Jameson Prize for Outstanding Editorial Achievement (1990). He also received the University of Nebraska’s Outstanding Research and Creative Activity Award (2001), the institution’s highest research award.

The University of Nebraska had advanced Dr. Moulton to the rank of full professor in 1988. Moulton was named to the Thomas C. Sorensen Professor of American History endowed chair in 1999. He has been a scholar-in-residence at Fort Clatsop National Memorial, Astoria, Oregon (1999, 2015), the Lewis and Clark Interpretive Center, Great Falls, Montana (2000), the Missouri River Basin Lewis and Clark Center, Nebraska City, Nebraska (2003–4), and Lewis and Clark College, Portland, Oregon (2010), and a resident fellow at Jefferson’s Monticello, Charlottesville, Virginia (2001).

I enrolled as a graduate student at UNL in 1996 and remember my first meeting with Dr. Moulton in 434 Love Library. Gary was hard at work editing the final volumes of The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. I had the good fortune to enroll in his documentary editing course that fall and I worked on Robert Campbell’s Rocky Mountain fur trade journal. Then, I enrolled in Moulton’s history seminar Exploring the American West. I really enjoyed Moulton’s teaching style, storytelling ability, and demand for scholastic excellence in questioning and writing. Gary’s courses were both challenging and fair. He encouraged his students to think analytically, write cogently, and speak coherently. When I told Gary that I had found William Clark’s Indian superintendence journals at the Kansas State Historical Society, he encouraged me to write something up and editor Jim Merritt published it in We Proceeded On, one of my first publications.^{43}

Later, during my six hours of comprehensive exams about the American West, I was gratified to receive Dr. Moulton’s “satisfactory” mark. I also remember that day Gary popped by my Great Plains Research editorial office on the 12th floor of Oldfather Hall at the Center for Great Plains Studies. He asked me what my dissertation topic would be. After patiently listening to several of my suggestions, he intimated that I should consider writing about some facet of William Clark’s life, possibly his role in Indian relations. I appreciate his wonderful mentoring in helping shape my award-winning dissertation on William Clark as Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis. That, in turn, eventually led to the publication of my award-winning William Clark: Indian Diplomat (University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), the publication that earned me tenure and the rank of Associate Professor at BYU.

Part III: The Journey Continues

Professor Moulton retired from the University of Nebraska in 2004, two hundred years after Lewis and Clark passed by Omaha on their journey to the Pacific. Now an Emeritus Professor of History, rather than slowing down, he has actually sped up. He chaired a Center for Great Plains Symposium, “The Nature of Lewis and Clark on the Great Plains,” and served as a consultant for a number of Lewis and Clark projects, including Ken Burns’ film, Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery, the United States Mint’s design of the one-dollar Sacagawea coin, National Geographic’s Lewis and Clark IMAX film, and Maya Lin’s Confluence Project on the Columbia River. To inaugurate the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, President and Mrs. George W. Bush invited him to give a presentation at the White House in July 2002. He was a consultant to the NEH on a variety of projects and served as senior advisor to the Maximilian Journals Project, Joslyn Art Museum in Omaha, Nebraska. In 2007, he received the Julian P. Boyd Award from the Association for Documentary Editing, the association’s highest award. Gary also served another stint on the Board of Directors of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation.^{44}

Along with Moulton’s many scholarly publications and accolades, perhaps his greatest achievement has been how many lives he has touched and how many people he has influenced. Thank you, Gary and Faye, for allowing us to accompany you on your Lewis and Clark odyssey. Members of the National Park Service remember the father of the National Park Service Stephen Mather with a saying that can also be applied to Gary: “There will never come an end
On the Historian’s Trail
to the good he has done.”

Jay Buckley is an associate professor of history at Brigham Young University in Provo, UT. He is a past president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, and a frequent contributor to WPO. He is the author of William Clark: Indian Diplomat.

Notes
1. I appreciate Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Superintendent Mark Weekley and his staff who hosted the inaugural Moulton Lecture at the headquarters of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. LCTHF President Philippa Newfield and the Moulton Lecture Committee members James Knox and Steve Lee (as well as the Mouth of the Platte Chapter) helped with logistical arrangements. I appreciate the assistance of Don Peterson and, especially, Faye Moulton for her subterfuge in helping me gather images and information about her husband. Jerry Garrett and Philippa Newfield provided helpful editorial suggestions.

2. Later on, Cleo served as a nursery care worker before passing away on 21 January 2010, age 92, in Broken Arrow, OK. Cleo Mae Moulton Obituary. Website www.okgenweb.net/~oktulsa/family/Moulton.docx.


6. Website: http://www.nasaa-home.org

7. Website: www.nsuok.edu


10. Website: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_G._Randall

11. Website: http://www.ohehs.org/hof/leroyfischer.html


18. Gary E. Moulton, personal correspondence with the author regarding his historical line of authority.


28. Website: https://www.unl.edu/plains/about/staff.shtml

29. Discovering Lewis and Clark: www.lewis-clark.org; Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation: lewisandclarkjournal.unl.edu


31. Website: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis_and_Clark_National_Historic_Trail#cite_note-1


33. Personal communication with the author.

34. Website: https://www.unl.edu/plains/publications/lewis.shtml


44. I am especially grateful for the stand Gary took in 2011 at the LCTHF meeting in Omaha, Nebraska. A few months later, the organization faced a potentially fatal implosion when the LCTHF president and executive committee resigned. With finances tight, the membership disgruntled, chapters struggling, no WPO editor, no executive director, and no president, things looked bleak. Having Gary Moulton on the LCTHF Board of Directors gave me the courage to be president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation in 2011-2012.
We thank you for your continued support through tribute donations and apologize for the sorting mix up in states in the November issue. Please see the corrected November Tributes below. Chris Mallet and I also developed an improved tracking system. *Lindy Hatcher*

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**In Honor of Gary Moulton**
- Ken Jutzi

**In Memory of Joe Mussulman**
- Ken Jutzi

**In Honor of Philippa Newfield's service as LCTHF President**
- Lindy Hatcher

**In Memory of James “Jim” Peterson**
- Chuck and Bonny Schroyer

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**In Honor of Gary Moulton**
- David & Barbara Arunski
- Jerry Garrett
- Jane & James Knox, Jr
- Allen & Barbara Lane
- Marcia & A Bliss McCrum, Jr

**In Memory of Kira Gale**
- Mary Jo Havlicek

**In Memory of Mil Jenkinson**
- Clay Jenkinson
- Lindy Hatcher
- Philippa Newfield

**In Memory of Catherine Lynn**
- Mary Langhorst

**In Memory of Barbara Fifer**
- Susanne Bjorner
- Barb & Rennie Kubik
- Phyllis Lefohn
- Thomas Rackley

**In Honor of Hal Stearns**
- Jerry Whitfield

**In Memory of Jim Peterson**
- Dwight Birkley
- Larry Campbell
- Lynn & Doug Davis
- Jerry Garrett
- Beverly Hinds
- Bradley Holder
- Ronald Johnson
- Phil Knerl
- Jan Koehn
- Mary Langhorst
- Ronald & Ione Laycock
- Beverly Lewis
- Don & Kathryn Meisner
- John Montague
- Philippa Newfield
- Pete Peterson & M Jill Karolevitz
- A Kent Scribner
- Jay & Elizabeth Vogt
- Mark Wetmore
- Richard & Cheryl Williams

**In Memory of Dr. Robert E. Gatten, Jr.**
- Thomas & Marcia Benninger
- Beverly Hinds
- Jane & James Knox, Jr
- Ronald & Ione Laycock
- Clifford Smith & Linda Baranowski

**In Memory of Philippa Newfield**
- Nelson Weller

**In Memory of Joe Mussulman**
- Kris Townsend

**In Memory of Ralph McMurry**
- Ralph McMurry Bequest

**In Honor of Don Peterson**
- Joe & Fran Brunn
- Jimmy Mohler

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Donations to the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation to honor individuals, activities, or the memory of a friend, family member, or colleague are deeply appreciated, and may be designated for the foundation’s general fund or earmarked for a particular purpose.

*Photograph of Trapper Peak, Bitterroot Mountains, Montana, courtesy of Steve Lee.*
James Wilkinson—a general who never won a battle or lost a court-martial—served as the ranking military leader of the United States while moonlighting as secret agent #13 on imperial Spain’s payroll. A traitor to his country, the vainglorious general repeatedly revealed American military secrets to the Spanish from the 1790s to the early decades of the nineteenth century in exchange for silver dollars and land grants. Astonishingly, Wilkinson’s full range of espionage did not surface until after his death because Wilkinson instructed his Spanish contacts never to reveal any of his written communications to others.

During the winter of 1803-04, William Clark oversaw the construction of their winter quarters at Camp Dubois while Lewis helped prepare for a spring ascent of the Missouri River. On October 3, 1803, Lewis wrote to President Thomas Jefferson and suggested that instead of spending the winter in St. Louis, he (Lewis) might “make a tour this winter on horseback … up the Canceze [Kansas] River and towards Santafee.” Lewis decided not to go on that foolhardy errand when he received Jefferson’s November 16, 1803, reply instructing him, “you must not undertake the winter excursion which you propose[d] in yours of Oct. 3.”

Nevertheless, Wilkinson must have learned of Lewis’s inquiries about Santa Fe. He sent instructions to Spanish officials around March 1, 1804, advising them to apprehend Captain Lewis and his party, who are on the Missouri River, and force them to retire or take them prisoners.

Spain’s defense of its northern borderlands proved a difficult—if not impossible—task. The Spanish borderlands stretched from Alta California’s Pacific Coast to Florida’s Atlantic Coast. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the immense Trans-Mississippi West appeared on most North American maps as His Catholic Majesty’s territory. French military veteran Antione Pierre Soulard, who left France as an émigré in 1794 and moved to St. Louis, had been appointed Surveyor-General of Spanish Louisiana by Governor Zenon Trudeau. Soulard drafted an important map depicting the Missouri River basin of the Great Plains in 1795, indicating that the Missouri River made a big arc and possibly originated from the southwest.

Cartography suggesting that the upper Missouri River emanated from the southwest increased Spanish officials’ apprehension. According to historian Warren L. Cook, “Their concern was that foreigners might find easy access to the interior provinces’ weakly defended northern perimeter and endanger the silver mines of Chihuahua and Sonora.” The Spanish believed that it was their “duty to prevent ruin and destruction of the Provincias Internas.” Thus, they
concerned that the only course of action was “to arrest Captain Merry Weather and his party.”

In August 1804, Dehault Delassus, the former Spanish Governor of Upper Louisiana in St. Louis, reported, “within a short time, one will see descending the Missouri, instead of furs, silver from the Mexican mines [which will] arrive in this post in abundance. It is also said that the voyage of Captain Lewis (of which I have informed Your Excellency at the time) is directing itself towards New Mexico; that his plan to discover the Pacific Ocean was no more than a pretext.”

No country knew the actual boundaries of land included in the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. Article One of the treaty provided a vague description of the transferred land: “the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain and that it had when France possessed it.” President Jefferson believed “the boundaries of interior Louisiana are the high lands inclosing all the waters which run into the Mississippi or Missouri directly or indirectly, with a greater breadth on the gulph [sic] of Mexico.” In contrast, Spanish boundary commissioners recommended a much smaller definition of the Louisiana Territory, limiting it to lands beginning 120 miles west of St. Louis and thence a line south from there (now the middle of the State of Missouri) through what is now central Arkansas, Natchitoches, Louisiana, and south to the Gulf of Mexico. Spanish officers felt it fully in their right to arrest American explorers because the purchase boundary had never sufficiently been defined. Moreover, Spanish Ambassador to the United States Casa Irujo turned down Jefferson’s December 1802 request for a passport for Lewis. On March 12, 1805, the United States Casa Irujo turned down Jefferson’s December 1802 request for a passport for Lewis. On March 12, 1805, the Spanish complained to Secretary of State James Madison that the Lewis and Clark Expedition was in violation of the status quo in the disputed territory, “since its true boundaries had yet to be established.”

The Spanish–American tensions had not yet escalated to an act of war, but tensions and tempers flared. Following the 1783 Treaty of Paris ending the Revolutionary War, the flood of American settlers across the Appalachian Mountains upset the Spanish. To help stem the tide, the Spanish pressed north and east along the Mississippi. According to John Bakeless, King Carlos (Charles) III “looked askance at the settlement of these brash Americans anywhere upon the great river that he hoped soon to make exclusively his own.” The ongoing boundary controversy intensified as Americans settled along the Mississippi and in Spanish-claimed West Florida, East Florida, and Texas.

On October 27, 1802, the acting fiscal officer of Spanish Louisiana, Juan Ventura Morales, abruptly closed the right of deposit—a three-year trading privilege of the 1795 Pinckney Treaty of San Lorenzo that granted Americans permission to sell their goods at the port of New Orleans. The Spanish had renewed the provision in 1798 but allowed it to lapse in 1802. Morales gave no explanation, but was apparently under secret orders from Madrid. News of the closing of New Orleans to American shipping was seen as an affront to the United States and created an uproar from Americans living in the trans-Appalachian West, who circumvented the ban by smuggling goods through the Mississippi River corridor.

The Spanish also needed to maintain good relations with the numerous native nations living in the borderlands. These tribes usually wanted access to trade goods such as guns or copper kettles while maintaining their sovereignty free from foreign interference. Spanish expeditions traded among Plains nations in order to foster alliances. They encouraged their native friends to help discourage American explorers from traveling west.

**Spanish Attempts to Stop Lewis and Clark**

Santa Fe, New Mexico—the Spanish capital of New Mexico since 1609—remained a relatively small village, “a collection of dusty adobe homes and huts with a population of roughly 5,000.” Although it was located some 850 miles from its closest point to the Missouri River, Spanish officials presumed Santa Fe a suitable launching point for expeditions tasked with apprehending American exploratory groups such as Lewis and Clark.

Sebastián Nicolás de Bari Calvo de la Puerta y O’Farrill, 1st Marquess of Casa Calvo, the new boundary commissioner, had served as Governor of Spanish Louisiana from 1799 to 1801. Casa Calvo began a correspondence with Commandant General of the Interior Provinces Nemesio de Salcedo in Chihuahua, informing him of Wilkinson’s recommendation to intercept and imprison Lewis and Clark’s expedition. Salcedo forwarded the directive on May 3, 1804, via the El Camino Real de Tierra Adentro (King’s Highway), roughly 600 miles from Chihuahua north to New Mexico Governor Fernando Chacón in Santa Fe. Chacón received Salcedo’s order on May 14, 1804, the same day Lewis and Clark embarked up the Missouri from St. Charles, Missouri. Salcedo wrote, “nothing would be more useful than the apprehension of Merry, and even though I realize it is not an easy undertaking, chance might proportion things in such a way that it might be successful, for which reason it will not be superfluous for Your Excellency to give notice of this matter to the Indians, interesting their friendship and notions of generosity, telling them that they will be well compensated.”
Spanish Attempts to Apprehend Lewis and Clark

Spain’s Expeditions to Stop Lewis and Clark

Expeditions
1. Vial at Pawnees 1804, September 6
2. Vial and Loup or Skiri Pawnees, Fight, 1805, November 6
3. Vial - Estimated Site of Deserions 1806, early May
4. Melgares at Pawnees 1806, September 1

Map by Dan Sturdevant, Kathy Murphy and Mark Sullivan

Base Map ESRI Online Maps and Portland State University, Institute of Portland Metropolitan Studies: Teaching American History Project (tahpdx.edu, Portland State University)
Pierre (Spanish called him Pedro) Vial proved the obvious choice to lead this intercept expedition. Vial perhaps knew more about the geography and indigenous nations of the Spanish Borderlands of the Great Plains than any other European. He had “traveled the wilderness around Santa Fe, San Antonio, Natchitoches, and St. Louis, seemingly at will. It was something of a feat to journey safely among Apaches, Utes, Kiowas, Comanches, Kansas, Osages, Otos, Missouris, Iowas, Sioux, Arapahos, Pawnee and other tribes known to be indefatigable gatherers of scalps—and not lose one’s own hair.”

First Expedition

Planning the initial expedition to intercept Lewis and Clark took Governor Chacón, Pedro Vial, and his traveling companion José Jarvet ten weeks to complete. Vial and Jarvet embarked with 32 men on August 1, 1804, and were joined by 20 more a few days later. Traveling rapidly, the party followed the Purgatoire River to the Arkansas River. Vial and Jarvet arrived at a Pawnee village in today’s south central Nebraska, about 150 miles west of the Missouri River, on September 6. This marked the eastern terminus of this expedition. “A great many of their [Native American] captains came to meet us,” Vial recorded. “They gave us a great reception...I learned how the Americans had taken over the government ... that numerous parties of [Euro-Americans] were coming very loaded with articles for all the nations of the Misury.... In every village they [the Americans] pass, large gifts are made to all chiefs and principal men and said chiefs are induced to surrender medals and patents in their possessions, given by the Spanish government. [I told the Pawnee they] still do not know the Americans but in the future they will.”

Vial was unable to determine among these various trading parties which one Lewis and Clark might have been. In truth, Lewis and Clark had already ascended the Missouri to present-day South Dakota. Unable to ascertain Lewis and Clark’s particular location or determine when they had passed, Vial did not think it prudent to continue on to the Missouri River itself. Convincing some Pawnees and Otos to travel with him, Vial’s party returned to Santa Fe two weeks later.

Second Expedition

After the Vial expedition returned to Santa Fe, Governor Chacón was replaced (reportedly for health reasons) by Joaquín del Real Alencaster. A Spanish Royal Order dated June 5, 1805, required the continuation of the mission to capture Lewis and Clark. Salcedo sent that instruction in September to Santa Fe to “Arrest Merry” and to encourage natives to assist Spanish troops in that effort. Salcedo encouraged New Mexico Governor Real Alencaster to infuse the natives “with a horror [of Americans]...in the awareness that they can expect nothing but ejection from their lands... [so that] when Captain Merri’s expedition returns...they [native nations] will intercept it, apprehending its members.” He continued that “if by this means we could acquire them, considerable advantages would result without our having to use the alternative of stationing troops in spots where the expedition might pass, since perhaps that would cause resentment and agitation among the Indians.” At the same time, Salcedo was realistic when he wrote in October 1805 to the Mexico City Spanish Viceroy to warn that “it will be impossible to counter all of them, since that [American] government at all appearances is directing a large portion of its attention to these domains [Spain’s Provincias Internas].”

Vial’s second expedition left Santa Fe on October 14, 1805, with approximately 106 people. At that time, the Lewis and Clark Expedition was at the other end of the continent, descending the Columbia River, about three weeks east of the river’s mouth at the Pacific Ocean. Heading north from Santa Fe about 310 miles, Vial’s party arrived near the junction of the rivers Purgatoire and Arkansas on November 5, 1805. Vial’s diary noted how fearful they were of an enemy [i.e., Native American] ambush. Apparently this fear was well placed, for around midnight on November 5, a group of Pawnees “attacked us in three bands, one [going] for the horses and two for the encampment.... They got possession of our supply of goods...we rushed them until we threw them into the river, where they burst out in outcries, because of which it is considered some harm was done to them...they had no arrows, but all had firearms.” Without sufficient supplies, Vial had no choice but to return to Santa Fe. King Carlos would not be pleased.

Meanwhile, Governor Alencaster had been awaiting a visit from a Pawnee delegation sometime in the fall of 1805. When the delegation did not come, and he learned of the Pawnee skirmish with Vial’s men, Alencaster interpreted these incidents as evidence that the Pawnees were “in complete agreement and commerce with the Americans.”

Third Expedition

The news that the first two attempts to apprehend the American trespassers (Lewis and Clark) had failed did not sit well with the king. On February 12, 1806, Salcedo received a communication chastising him for the failures.
“His Majesty orders me to tell you [Commandant General Salcedo] that he is surprised that you have not kept him informed of progress of the said expeditions; likewise His Majesty desires to know how the said expedition has been permitted in territory of his domains.”

When the Spanish king reprimands you, you had better try harder, since falling out of favor with the royals is often a career killer. So Salcedo and New Mexico Governor Alencaster in Santa Fe planned a third expedition. Vial’s third expedition left Santa Fe on April 24, 1806, with about 300 men. Unfortunately, the information on this expedition is scanty at best. Loomis and Nasatir write, “With no diary at hand, it appears from the evidence after the fact that Vial’s men deserted, and the expedition was another failure.” Later, Salcedo wrote back to Alencaster that he understood from Alencaster’s report that “disobeying the sergeants and corporals in charge of Vial’s … expedition, the militia and the Indians named for their escort abandoned it.” With this disaster, the unfortunate Pedro Vial vanishes from the Spanish records.

**Fourth Expedition**

Salcedo wrote an order from Chihuahua on April 12, 1806, directing another Spanish expedition leader, Lieutenant Facundo Melgares in Chihuahua, to leave for Santa Fe to lead a new party of 60 men to reconnoiter the “[Red] and Arkansas [Rivers] to watch the [Freeman-Custis] expedition, drive it back, or capture it and take it to Santa Fe.” By May 30, New Mexico Governor Alencaster and expedition leader Melgares took authority to expand upon Salcedo’s April 12 order, writing that Melgares was to travel “down the Red River…and then go northward to the Arkansas [River] and [north to] the land of the Pawnee, Lobo, and Oto.”

Melgares left Santa Fe around June 15, 1806, with around 600 people, including 100 soldiers, 100 natives (likely Comanches), and 400 militia, and about 2,000 horses and mules. Much of what we know of Facundo Melgares’ expedition—the fourth and final Spanish attempt to arrest Lewis and Clark—comes from American explorer Zebulon Pike because Melgares’ diary has been lost. Fortunately, Pike recorded in his diary information regarding his communications and interactions with Melgares.

General James Wilkinson had instructed Lieutenant Pike and his command to travel to the headwaters of the Arkansas and Red Rivers in 1806. The Spanish captured Pike and his men in southern Colorado and sent them to Santa Fe before they were escorted on to Chihuahua. Pike wrote that Melgares possessed “none of the haughty Castilian pride, but much of the urbanity of a Frenchman; … he was one of the few officers or citizens whom I found, who was loyal to their king, felt indignant at the degraded state of the Spanish monarchy.”

Melgares’ large force traveled southeast down the Red River but did not meet the Dunbar expedition, so his force turned north. When asked where Melgares was taking them, he reportedly told his men, “wherever his horse led him.” Melgares’ men threatened to desert, but he circumvented the proposed mutiny by threatening to hang their leader, which apparently worked.

Melgares arrived at the Pawnee villages on the Republican River, southwest of present-day Guide Rock, Nebraska (this location remains disputed), arriving about September 1, 1806. Melgares met the Pawnees there and held council, presenting them with Spanish flags and medals. Melgares did not head east from this location, although he was only 140 miles west of the Missouri River. Chief Characterish later told Pike that he had persuaded Melgares not to travel to the Missouri. The chief declared “that it was the intention of the Spanish troops to have proceeded further towards the Mississippi, but, that he objected to it, and they listened to him and returned.”

Pike wrote that Melgares “did not proceed on to the execution of his mission with the … Mahaws and Kans [who lived closer to the Missouri River],
as he represented to me, from the poverty of their horses, and the discontent of his own men.”  

Pike perceived that great suspicion and discontent “began to arise between the Spaniards and the Indians.”

By the middle of September 1806, Melgares turned around and headed home. At that time, the Lewis and Clark Expedition was in northwest Missouri, closing in on St. Louis. Coming upriver were traders. John Ordway wrote, “Mr. McLanen informed us that the people in general in the United States were concerned about us as they had heard that we were all killed then again they heard that the Spaniards had us in the mines &c.”

But Spain did not have the Lewis and Clark men working their silver mines in Chihuahua or anywhere else. And Lewis and Clark had not learned of any Spanish intercept efforts during their journey.

Weeks after Melgares retreated from the Pawnees, Pike’s expedition arrived at the same Pawnee village, which was flying the Spanish flag. At the council with 400 Pawnee warriors, Pike (who had approximately 20 men in his party) demanded that the United States flag be hoisted in place of the Spanish flag. The Pawnee resisted, “perceiving that every face in the [Pawnee] council was clouded with sorrow, as if some great national calamity was about to befall them.”

The American flag was raised, but the Pawnees kept the Spanish flag in case the Spanish returned.

While at the Pawnee village on October 4, 1806, Pike wrote, “two French traders arrived at the village.... They gave us information that captains Lewis and Clark, with all their people had descended the river to St. Louis; this diffused general joy through our party.”

The Pawnees tried to prevent Pike from proceeding west, too. Pike would not be deterred. Fortunately, he avoided a potential fight and continued on toward the Mexican Mountains (the Sangre de Cristo Mountains) where the Spanish eventually arrested him at the Americans’ hastily-constructed winter fortification.

**Conclusion**

The Spanish made repeated attempts to defend their borderlands and maintain a claim within Louisiana’s disputed boundary. Ultimately, they failed to prevent American expansion and acquisition of the central and southern plains. Summarizing the four Spanish attempts to stop Lewis and Clark, historian Warren Cook wrote, “defending that area by overland sallies from New Mexico was an impossibility.... Even so, it is surprising how close the Spanish came to intercepting Lewis and Clark, in 1804, and again in 1806. A matter of several days’ march, in the first and fourth Spanish expeditions, prevented an encounter that could have resulted in a major incident between the two nations.”

Cook may have overstated the chances of these Spanish expeditions. Neither Vial nor Melgares knew nor could accurately determine where Lewis and Clark were. The Santa Fe Governors’ ongoing problem with trying to apprehend the Lewis and Clark Expedition was never knowing where the expedition was at any given point in time. Salcedo resolved this timing problem in part by asking Vial to persuade the Native Americans on or near the Missouri River to stop Lewis and Clark. The Spanish, for instance, had a notion that the Americans would be coming down the Missouri in the spring of 1806. The Spanish knew this because Corporal Warfington and a small crew left Fort Mandan and returned the keelboat to St. Louis by May 20, 1805, with information that Lewis and Clark were proceeding on to the Missouri’s headwaters and thence to the Pacific Ocean via the Columbia River, hoping to return the following year. This was reported in New Orleans. However, no tribe appears to have been willing to set up camp on the Missouri River to wait for Lewis and Clark, who did not descend the Missouri, east of the Pawnee villages, until the fall of 1806.

On the other hand, it was logical for Vial in 1804 to make a decision to march straight north about 160 miles to the Missouri River and hope that Lewis and Clark would still be coming upriver. In 1806, Melgares could have marched straight east about 140 miles to the Missouri River, hoping the Americans would be coming downriver. Given
the time and distance, in fact, each one of those strategies might have worked. But how can you blame either Spaniard when neither knew anything about the Americans’ location? Eventually, the western and southern boundary dispute between Spain and the United States was settled by John Quincy Adams and Luis de Onís y Gonzalez-Vara in what is known as the Adams-Onís treaty of 1819, a transcontinental treaty that established the southern boundary of the Louisiana Territory at the Red River.

Dan Sturdevant has served the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation as a board member and president. He is currently chair of the Missouri-Kansas Riverbend chapter. Dan continues to practice law and perform music as a vocalist/pianist. He is married to Mary Lee Sturdevant.

Jay Buckley is an associate professor of history at Brigham Young University in Provo, UT. He is the author of numerous books and articles about the exploration of the American West. He delivered the first Gary E. Moulton Lecture at Omaha, Nebraska, in May 2018.

Table 1: Spain’s Four Expeditions to Apprehend the Lewis and Clark Expedition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Start Date from Santa Fe, New Mexico</th>
<th>Number of Men</th>
<th>Leaders</th>
<th>Closest Approach to the Missouri River</th>
<th>Start Date of Return to Santa Fe, NM</th>
<th>Date Returned to Santa Fe, NM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIRST EXPEDITION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>August 1, 1804</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Salcedo (Chihuahua) – Chacón (Santa Fe); Pedro Vial led the men</td>
<td>Sept. 6 - Pawnee Village on the Platte River about 150 miles west of the Missouri River; 37 days from Santa Fe to arrive in today’s Nebraska</td>
<td>Sept. 20</td>
<td>Nov. 5 - 45 days to return to Santa Fe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SECOND EXPEDITION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Oct. 14, 1805</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>Salcedo (Chihuahua) - Alencaster (Santa Fe); Pedro Vial led the men</td>
<td>Indian attack Nov. 5–6, about 310 miles N.E. of Santa Fe; Near Purgatoire and Arkansas Rivers (in S.E. Colorado near present-day Las Animas) “They attacked us in three bands”</td>
<td>Nov. 6</td>
<td>Not stated; Returned safely</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>THIRD EXPEDITION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>April 24, 1806</td>
<td>About 300</td>
<td>Salcedo (Chihuahua) – Alencaster (Santa Fe); Pedro Vial led the men</td>
<td>Desertions Distance not known</td>
<td>Soon after leaving Santa Fe</td>
<td>By May 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FOURTH EXPEDITION</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>June 15, 1806</td>
<td>About 605; but 240 left on Arkansas River. About 300 at Pawnee villages.</td>
<td>Salcedo (Chihuahua) – Alencaster (Santa Fe); Melgares led the men</td>
<td>Pawnee village in Nebraska about September 1, about 140 miles west of the Missouri River between today’s Red Cloud and Guide Rock Nebraska; south bank, Republican River</td>
<td>About Sept. 10</td>
<td>Middle-latter part of October</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes
1. We thank Megan Kean for her unwavering assistance and support. We thank Kathy Murphy and Mark Sullivan for their excellent map. We also thank Jerry Garrett for his helpful recommendations on the essay.


19. Royal Order June 5, 1805, NmSRC (Span. Arch. 1841a); as cited in Cook, *Flood Tide of Empire*, 460.


23. Real Alencaster to Commandant General Salcedo, Santa Fe, January 4, 1806, NmSRC – State Record Center and Archives, Santa Fe New Mexico (Span. Arch. 1942). Trans. in Loomis and Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe*, 442.


27. “Freeman –Custis” shown in brackets replaces Salcedo’s original “Dunbar.” The 1806 American expedition Salcedo wrote about was later named “Freeman-Custis.” Dunbar’s name is given to an 1804 expedition in the southwest.


30. Recruiting 400 men out of Santa Fe area must have comprised the majority of the male population. “The only thing furnished by the government (to the male population recruits) is ammunition.” Jackson, *The Journals of Zebulon Pike*, 2:57-58.


42. A Melgares march starting on September 2 from Guide Rock, Nebraska, and straight east to the Missouri River would have taken about 6 or 7 days. This march hypothetically puts Melgares and his men on the Missouri River, near today’s Rulo, Nebraska, south of where Lewis and Clark actually were.
Our meeting will be held during the 213th anniversary of the return of the expedition party to St. Louis. We will commemorate the incorporation of the LCTHF, examine how the telling of the Lewis and Clark story has changed over time, discuss current scholarship within the field, learn about legacy projects, and participate in activities and panels about what it means to be the “Keepers of the Story and Stewards of the Trail.”

Registrants will visit the new museum exhibits at the Gateway Arch and learn about the background research from the curator and historian. Conference attendees will have a behind-the-scenes experience with Lewis and Clark artifacts at the Missouri Historical Society. We will revisit “Lewis and Clark Through Indian Eyes” with Indigenous scholars more than a decade after its groundbreaking publication. An exclusive chartered river cruise will take participants to the confluence of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers, passing through the massive Mississippi lock system on this fascinating opportunity to understand changes to the river system since the time of Lewis and Clark.

The final afternoon, attendees will choose one of three special tours: 1) an historical tour of Bellefontaine and Calvary Cemeteries that will include visits to William Clark's grave and the Nez Perce Warriors monument; 2) a visit to historic St. Charles (celebrating its 250th anniversary in 2019 with fiberglass replicas of Newfoundland sheep throughout the city) and the Lewis and Clark Boat and Nature Center; or 3) a tour of Illinois Lewis and Clark sites including Campsite #1, the museum, and the Lewis and Clark Confluence Tower (completed in 2010).

We will be honoring individuals and organizations, past and present, that have worked together to make the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation what it is today.

Optional pre- and post- tours will include visiting historic sites in Illinois from the period and a visit to the recently designated Ste. Genevieve National Historic Park, where vernacular French architecture with vertical log walls and wrap around porches (similar to the St. Louis homes during the time of the Lewis and Clark expedition) are preserved.
We proceeded on to St. Louis, which is the highest point on the Mississippi River. We arrived there about 12 o’clock. We suffered the party to fire off their pieces as a salute to the town. We were met by all the village and received a hearty welcome from its inhabitants &c.

WILLIAM CLARK
September 23, 1806
It was the 4th of July in Omaha, NE, and we were enjoying some aficionado-level barbecue with our Park Ranger friends from the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail headquarters. We were feeling much like Meriwether Lewis on the same date in 1805, in that we had no just cause to covet the sumptuous feasts of our countrymen on this day, because the ribs were excellent. The chef, our friend, fellow trail foundation member and geographer Ryan Cooper, told us of the upcoming Annual Meeting of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation in Astoria, Oregon, and suggested we investigate the possibility of coming to provide some Lewis and Clark-themed entertainment. Given that my husband and I live in southern Oregon, this seemed like a perfect opportunity to meet new people who share our passion for Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery. We promptly joined the Oregon Chapter, and introduced ourselves to Mark Johnson, the long-time Oregon Chapter president. This led to the generous offer of three opportunities to present our project and play our music during the LCTHF meeting in Astoria.

Up to this point we had played for many adults and kids, but never for a gathering of so many serious Lewis and Clark enthusiasts. We were excited, and slightly nervous. As it turned out, we were met with open arms, extraordinary kindness, and enthusiastic encouragement. It was truly one of the most heart-warming and humbling experiences I can recall having. We have played this music for five years, traveled over 50,000 miles, and never have we felt more welcomed, appreciated, and excited by the possibilities of future collaborations. It was an honor to be received so graciously.
We were thrilled to have the opportunity to learn from all the wise and wonderful presenters in Astoria. We had the pleasure of meeting and learning from, among others, Dick and Roberta Basch, Ron Craig, Clay Jenkinson, Tony Johnson, Melissa Darby, David Nicandri, and many more. The presentations, drawn from intensive research, dedicated scholarship, personal experience, family history, and oral tradition, contained pictures, stories, food and dance, and all these ingredients combined to bring us to a deeper understanding of the expedition, the cultures it encountered, and the landscapes through which it traveled. We were most grateful to hear the voices and stories of our Clatsop and Chinook colleagues, as it is clear to us that the history of the Lewis and Clark trail can only benefit from striving to better represent and interweave the histories of the Native people into the mainstream storylines.

Several people at Astoria asked the same question. How did you end up starting a Lewis and Clark-themed band?

After leaving my work in academia as a psychology instructor at Southern Oregon University, I had a vision of a life in which I had joined forces with my husband and two dear friends, Mysha and Nell, to undertake an unusual project. We had created a Lewis and Clark-themed band and in doing so, plotted a grand adventure that would have a positive and healing impact on people all over the country. After relaying this unlikely vision to my husband and friends, I was surprised and delighted that they were all willing to trust in my vision, and embark on this journey together.

By harnessing our energy and imagination to the story of Lewis and Clark, I saw it might be possible to create an extraordinary parallel adventure for ourselves. It would not be literal (like a Lewis and Clark re-enactment) or linear (from St. Louis to Astoria). Instead, the adventure would be long-term and multi-layered. Some of the journey would unfold in the form of road trips with a green Suburban serving as our keelboat. Some of the satisfaction would be based on the people we would meet along the way, and the friendships we would form. Some of the adventure lived inside the journals, as we explored the various challenges, personalities, emotions and motivations of the Corps’ writers. All of the music, artwork and videography we created throughout the years was most certainly an adventure in and of itself. We all took on the task of learning new skills to support the project, from learning to play new instruments to mastering the tedious art of stop-action animation. When, during the third year of our project, we played for our first gymnasium full of 200 fourth graders, we could feel a whole new world revealing itself to us, which has led to the development of curriculum, residencies in schools, and the potential for new and exciting collaborations.

We are now five years and over 50,000 miles into this adventure. We have played on the Lewis and Clark Trail and far beyond, sharing our multi-media show with humans from Iowa to Alaska. We have made life-long friends and connections, explored scenes of visionary enchantment, and we still feel this adventure has only just begun. The Meriwethers, as a band, are not historians. We are a group of friends that have diverse backgrounds and differing sets of skills; some overlapping, and many complementary. Collectively we are artists, musicians, writers, producers, actors and educators. Junebug, our long-haired dachshund and fifth bandmate, specializes in patiently comforting school children and sniffing for squirrels. Her musical skills are minimal, though she will happily sleep onstage inside our guitar case.

We all share a great respect for the history of the Corps. The text of the journals is instrumental in informing our song-writing and storytelling. Our first paperback of Gary Moulton’s abridged journals has traveled every mile with us, and the thirteen definitive volumes fill our shelves at home. We broadened our understanding of the relevant history by reading nearly every book we could find on the subject. It took us a year to create a one-hour show for adults. It was two years before we began playing for children. In our third year together, we gained a sponsor and began making multiple trips into fourth grade classrooms. Each year has brought new songs, new adventures, new problems to be solved. As educators, representing the history respectfully and accurately is of great importance to us. Primarily though, at the heart of our project, we are artists attempting to give our audiences the opportunity to encounter history in ways that allow for the deep feeling and expression of emotions. We create experiences that engage the imagination, and challenge people to search for the present-day lessons and calls-to-action embedded within the stories. We believe children have a greater chance of developing into responsible and compassionate citizens when they can first feel a personal connection to the great diversity of stories that interweave to form our collective history.

In 2017 we were fortunate to gain the sponsorship of Britt Education and Engagement, the outreach arm of the Britt Festival, a prominent arts organization in Jacksonville, Oregon. Under the spirited direction of Kay Hilton, Britt
sponsored The Meriwethers in a seven-week residency with Sunny Wolf Charter School, a Title One school in Wolf Creek, Oregon. As a stop for wagon trains on the Applegate branch of the Oregon Trail, Wolf Creek is rich in history, yet has also suffered greatly in recent years as a result of the recession, the methamphetamine epidemic and the opioid crisis. Sunny Wolf Charter School is full of dedicated and talented teachers and administrators working exhaustively to help mainly low-income children, some living in impossibly difficult life situations. In the winter and spring of 2018, in collaboration with their fourth grade teacher Kari O’Brien, we developed and implemented seven weeks of art-and-music-enriched Lewis and Clark fourth grade curriculum.

We shape our journey in the fourth grade classroom by making space for the students to engage in imagination and new forms of self-expression. From my perspective as an educator, the greatest gift we can give children is to help them develop a strong sense of self-efficacy for learning new skills, and an expanding awareness of the world that lies beyond their present circumstances. The story of the Corps of Discovery provides teachers with endless opportunities for creating cooperative learning experiences and exploring new skill sets. Every member of the Corps had different strengths and weaknesses. Their success was not due to everyone being good at everything, but rather a result of everyone joining together with their varied skill sets with a willingness to both cooperatively exercise their strengths and to learn new skills to adapt to the ever-changing challenges of the journey. To illustrate this to the students, we created a reward system of “intelligence badges” based on Howard Gardner’s theory of multiple intelligences. Gardner believed that intelligence comes in many different forms, including Visual/Spatial, Mathematical, Verbal/Linguistic, Kinesthetic, Musical, Inter-personal, Intra-personal, Existential, and Naturalistic. By honoring the unique strengths and intelligences of each student, the students we worked with were able to recognize the intrinsic value of their own contributions even as they were different.

Once students are given an opportunity to identify their own strengths and contributions to the group, they are often more willing to take risks and try new things in the spirit of furthering their group’s collective progress. Each week, we offered students a variety of activities that helped them explore and improve their skill sets. Each activity was classified into one or more of the intelligences. Through their good-natured participation in activities, students earned intelligence badges. For example, when students learned to tie knots that were used on the keelboat, they earned badges for both Kinesthetic intelligence and Visual/Spatial intelligence. Students earned Naturalistic intelligence badges as they learned to navigate with a compass and worked to identify and illustrate the local flora and fauna of Wolf Creek. When students wrote songs about the winter at Fort Mandan, they were rewarded with Verbal/Linguistic and Musical intelligence badges. When they calculated how many total pounds of meat the entire Corps would likely eat in one day, they were rewarded with Logical/Mathematical badges.

We spent four hours a week with the Sunny Wolf Charter School fourth graders. Each week began with a short performance by The Meriwethers that included videos, storytelling and original music. This was followed by a variety of opportunities for the students to explore and express themselves. Each child received a Meriwethers Songbook, a journal, a friendship medal, a compass, magnifying glass, and a set of colored pencils.
We also provided students with an abridged fourth grade-friendly version of the journals so they had immediate access to the words of the Corps. During our time together, we wrote Captains’ logs detailing our progress up the Missouri. We worked together to make an annotated and illustrated timeline that stretched across an entire wall of the classroom. We created illustrated journals and maps, explored the nearby creek and forest, wrote songs and poems, and created a stop-action animated music video for our song, “The Only Prairie Dog in Washington.” We painted portraits of Sacagawea gazing toward her homeland on July 28, 1805, standing on the very spot where she was taken by the Hidatsa as a child. We used this as an opportunity to allow students to imagine her internal world and emotions during this extraordinary moment. Slowly but surely, we learned to sing as a group, we practiced our hands and feet at percussion, and by the end of the residency, we recorded a song together. Their teacher, Mrs. O’Brien, went far beyond the call of duty, and for the duration of the seven-week residency, she translated all of their daily curriculum according to themes reflecting the Corps of Discovery and the Indigenous Nations of the time. The students were so eager to report their daily progress to us that we began to write letters, and regularly exchanged correspondence during the days we were not present in the classroom. Each week I wrote a letter to the whole class, and every other week I included individual letters for each child. Nell, who lives and works in Los Angeles, California, was able to fly in and join us in person for the first and seventh weeks of the residency. Throughout the weeks in-between, she filmed video diaries for the students about her life as a writer in LA, and the students wrote her letters in return.

As the classroom followed Lewis and Clark’s journey and witnessed the Corps’ formation of friendships, unlikely reunions, encounters with the Native Americans, and moments of extraordinary insight and compassion on the trail, we encouraged the students to make connections to similar situations in their own life experiences. They quickly picked up the concept. For example, when we asked the class if anyone had experienced a major disappointment similar to when Lewis’ excited anticipation of discovering the Northwest Passage suddenly dissolved into the cold reality of traversing the Rocky Mountains, nearly every student raised their hand. By the fourth grade, many of these students have already experienced homelessness, food shortage, and devastating losses. They have no trouble identifying with the Corps of Discovery’s hardships. Luckily, many students can also identify times in their lives when they have received critical help from compassionate people, similar to the Corps staggering out of the Rockies only to be generously assisted by the Nez Perce.

As their final assignment, students were asked to write about the person (or animal) in the story with whom they felt the strongest personal connection. The results were as follows: Out of 23 students, four identified with Lewis, four with Clark, four with Sacagawea, five with York, five with Seaman, and one with Pomp. Below are excerpts from their written responses.

Denz wrote, “I am like both of the Captains because they were brave and they knew which way to go. They took care of the Corps of Discovery like it is their family. I take care of my family and friends too. I could lead a group like Lewis and Clark did.”

Charissalynn wrote, “I identify with Meriwether Lewis because he had a partner named William Clark to help him. Lewis was the real Captain, but they both were Captains because William Clark could help Meriwether Lewis if he needed help and when he didn’t know how or what to do. Clark tried to do whatever he could to help. It makes me feel like I need to help people and be kind to them, too. I have a
close friend too that helps me. My friend helps me think and I help her in situations.”

Veronica wrote, “I can identify with York because I can imagine he was often underestimated no matter how many times he proved himself.”

Verity wrote, “I am curious like Seaman and I love to go on adventures and wander from home like Seaman. I also like to get lost a lot like Seaman.”

Jasmine wrote, “I identify with Sacagawea. She is a strong and confident woman. I am Indian, too. Yurok, Blackfoot, and Shoshone Indian. I am brave and confident too. I would be calm like Sacagawea if the boat tipped over.”

Brooklyn wrote, “I can identify with Sacagawea because she is a great help to everybody. She probably feels like everybody thinks she can’t do stuff like swimming until they actually see it and she was brave enough to go into the water with her baby on her back. Sometimes I feel like people don’t know I can do stuff until they see it.”

Marlea wrote, “I identify with Sacagawea because she went through a lot of stuff like getting kidnapped and having a kid. And she is adventurous. I am adventurous and I went through a lot of stuff too, like I have to cut wood to keep my house warm. Then I have to keep care of my little brother. She had to keep care of Pomp, too.”

At the end of our residency, the fourth graders helped us put on a show for their school and parents. In addition to joining us up on stage and singing several songs, the students’ artwork was showcased as their portraits of Sacagawea and their prairie dog animations played on a screen alongside our songs. It was a proud moment for the students. For many it was the first performance they had taken part in, and the first time their art had been publicly showcased.

The letters from the students at the end of our time together were especially revealing as to the potential for student growth:

Dear Meriwethers,

I just want to thank you for coming to our school. I hope that you can come next year so that the next fourth graders can meet you so that they can learn about the Corps of Discovery and discover the secrets of the expedition. Maybe you can go to every class and teach the students about Lewis and Clark and sing songs to them and put on a performance with new songs and more art and teach more about Lewis and Clark so when we are older we can teach schools that don’t know about Lewis and Clark so they can learn more.... We will never forget about Lewis and Clark. I hope you have fun with other classes. It was fun knowing you guys. My favorite song was all of them.

From, Denz

Dear Meriwethers Band,

Thank you so much for coming every Monday. I love the songbook and every song in it. Especially The Heart, The Engine. Mysha, thank you for teaching us Rhythm. And Nell, thank you for sending us all those videos you made for us. I really like the wild turkey call. Ezra thank you for inspiring us. And Mandy, thank you for making all this time, the eight weeks you were here, so joyful. I never wanted to miss a Monday! Also, thank you for teaching us to tie knots. My favorite is the half-hitch knot. I love how you send us videos and messages when you are on a trip and you think about us. I enjoyed learning about Sacagawea with you guys. I also liked making songs with random words and some words that express Sacagawea, Lewis, Clark and York’s feelings and what they were going through. I also liked hearing your stories that were similar to their situations. I hope you can come and visit us very soon.

Love, Brooklyn

In 2019, The Meriwethers are blessed with new opportunities to continue our efforts to bring history to life for students near and far. With the continued sponsorship of Britt Education and Engagement, we will be returning to Sunny Wolf Charter School, meeting a new class of fourth grade students, and reuniting with our beloved fifth graders. With the help of Mrs. O’Brien and her students, we will continue to create and refine our art-enriched social studies curriculum, record new music, and film a music video. This year, students will be painting portraits of York. They will learn to sing our song, “York’s Eight Islands,” and we will create a music video that features their portraits and their voices. We will continue our visits into schools in the Northwest and beyond, and continue to seek grants and sponsorships that will allow us to offer our curriculum at little or no cost to schools. In our future work, The Meriwethers
are committed to becoming increasingly informed and enlightened about the history of the land and its inhabitants, past and present. We are excited by the prospect of artistic collaboration with Native artists and writers in order to create a historically accurate, culturally diverse, and artistically enriched Lewis and Clark curriculum.

With art and music often missing from the budgets of many schools, students are in desperate need of scholastic enrichment and access to healthy mediums for self-expression. This need inspires us to move ever forward, continue to develop our curriculum and find ways to make it accessible to students and teachers nationwide. Through the arts, we contact the emotional center of the brain; we can kindle imagination, nurture the capacity for empathy, and enliven a spirit of adventure. Music connects us to the most salient memories within our own hero’s journey, while it allows us to feel the inter-connectivity that binds the past and present, the land and its people, and our responsibilities to guide and nurture future generations.

After talking with our new friends in Astoria, we understand clearly that LCTHF is faced with a complex task of recruiting a new generation of Lewis and Clark enthusiasts to inherit the legacy of the story. There are no easy answers to this challenge, and the solution will likely include a multitude of strategies, a willingness to forge new paths and form new relationships. We would be honored if you would consider The Meriwethers as an ally in your efforts. We are humbled by the challenge, passionate about the history, and available to cooperatively and enthusiastically offer our skill sets and perspectives in the spirit of proceeding on.

Manda Severin is the principal singer and songwriter for The Meriwethers. She is a visual artist and musician with a strong academic background as a former psychology instructor. She is currently developing a series of neuroscience videos for children, as part of an international program that brings self-regulating techniques to K-5 classrooms through yoga, mindfulness, movement, and increased awareness of the nervous system. She lives in the countryside in southern Oregon with her husband Ezra, their miniature dachshund Juniper, four chickens and a cat.
A Grand Experiment: The National Trails System at 50

By Steve Elkinton
Charleston, South Carolina: Palmetto Publishing Group, 2018, 260 pp., color photographs, captions, tables, endnotes, and index.
Softcover
Reviewed by Lauren Danner

For author Steve Elkinton, a trail is a “portal to the past” that “tells us how we got where we are.” As the National Park Service’s program chief for the National Trails System for 25 years—half of its existence—Elkinton possesses an on-the-ground perspective that informs this exhaustive history.

When Congress created the National Trails System in 1968, it was responding to the postwar population boom by expanding access to federal recreation land. Passed easily with bipartisan support, the National Trails System Act designated the Appalachian and Pacific Crest National Scenic Trails and launched a framework for establishing other national scenic, recreational, and side-and-connecting trails.

This hopeful start was tempered by a decade of inaction, as attention shifted to the Vietnam War and a bleak economy, and by the cumbersome requirements for adding new trails. First, Congress must pass a law requesting a feasibility study and one of several federal land management agencies, usually the National Park Service, Forest Service, or Bureau of Land Management, must conduct that study. Once the study is completed, Congress must pass another law establishing the trail, and finally the managing agency must formulate a comprehensive plan for the new trail.

Further, the Act requires government agencies to work cooperatively with local governments and citizens’ groups to oversee the trails. Innovative for the time, this model resulted in the explosion of volunteer groups devoted to trail maintenance and promotion, such as the American Hiking Society (founded 1976), but also in slowdowns caused by the difficulties in coordinating diverse stakeholders.

With substantial legislative and bureaucratic hurdles to surmount, it is hardly surprising it takes an average of thirteen years to add a new trail to the system.

These challenges notwithstanding, the growth of the National Trails System has largely responded to the popularity of outdoor recreation, especially hiking and backpacking. As more people engaged in these pursuits, they demanded more trails. The system’s storied long-distance scenic trails—the Appalachian, the Pacific Crest, and Continental Divide—provide “an intense exposure to a world that would otherwise be accessible only in history books and atlases,” Elkinton writes.

The system got a needed boost in 1978 when Congress added National Historic Trails as a category. Historic routes, Elkinton suggests, do not make good recreation trails because they were formed to move people and goods from point A to point B, not for their scenic values. These routes have often evolved into paved roads and highways that traverse developed areas, essentially obliterating many tangible remnants of history. Advocates realized the potential for historic trails to interpret the past and offer roadside recreation, such as visitor centers and overlooks, and convinced Congress that emphasizing marked motor routes over foot trails was a logical way to make the National Trails System accessible to more people.

The new national historic trails included the Oregon, Mormon Pioneer, Iditarod, and Lewis and Clark trails. Indeed, Lewis and Clark aficionados will be interested to learn the role of the Lewis and Clark Trail in developing enthusiasm for a National Trails System in the first place. Elkinton provides more detail about the Lewis and Clark Trail and its supporting organizations throughout the book, and lauds the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial commemoration as an “outstanding example of interagency collaboration” centered on trails.

During the 1970s and 1980s, more trails were proposed even while federal funding and oversight diminished. In response, volunteers and local governments took on more of the work of maintaining the national system, but this piecemeal approach lacked a national vision and was worsened by bureaucratic turf battles that highlighted agencies’ unwillingness or inability to effectively partner with local groups.

Finding money for trail completion and maintenance has bedeviled the system. Although the first national scenic trails received funding from the Land and Water Conservation Fund (LWCF), established by Congress in 1964 using revenues from federal land sales and, later, oil and gas leases, subsequent trails faced more uncertainty.
In 1983, Congress amended the Trails Act to allow the federal government to purchase private land from “willing sellers,” potentially creating more leverage to complete trails. And in 1991, Congress passed the first federal transportation law that included funding specifically for trails. Begun in 1993 and widespread today, “Hike the Hill” lobbying events target state and federal legislators to plead for more and stable trail funding.

Today, trails face troubling new challenges. Suburban sprawl and energy projects, including wind and solar farms and gas and oil pipelines, pose threats to trails’ integrity as scenic, recreational, and historic spaces. Trail organizations, on the whole, are losing membership as demographics change and Americans become more urban and removed from nature. Local government officials do not always see the public value of trails, and local laws offer varying degrees of protection for trails. Federal funding remains uncertain at best, as evidenced by the expiration of the LWCF this year; its prospects for renewal are uncertain as of this writing. And despite the strides made toward cooperative management and public-private partnerships, not one of the ten national scenic and historic trails added to the national system since 1993 is fully marked or protected. Clearly, much remains to be done.

Yet, as Elkinton points out, the establishment of a national trails system was a huge step in the right direction, and many people engage with trails, whether by foot, bike, car, or boat. It is perhaps predictable that the form and function of the system will continue to evolve along with Americans’ relationship to trails. Presented in chronological order, this account of the National Trails System makes liberal use of full-color photographs and features profiles of important players in national trail history at the end of each relatively short chapter. It relies heavily on long quoted excerpts from oral histories, federal reports, and personal interviews. Each chapter ends with a list of footnotes, but a full bibliography of sources is absent. Overall, this book provides a thoroughly detailed history of the National Trails System.


Journey On
The Meriwethers
CD, nine songs
Grants Pass, OR, 2018
https://themeriwethers.org/
merchandise
$8.99
Reviewed by Dan Bartley
The musical group The Meriwethers of Grants Pass, Oregon, provide lovers of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with a new way to understand the journey. The traditional approach is to simply learn this story by reading the narrative of a historian or by reading the actual journals themselves. The Meriwethers do exactly none of that, and for good reason. Their approach requires some of those same exercises to be sure, but they are simply a means to an even greater end. Manda Severin and her cohorts read the journals not just to understand them, but to feel them. They want to know not the facts of a particular moment, how many elk were killed, or what day of the week it was, but rather what emotions were being experienced by the members of the expedition.

The Meriwethers want to know the men (and one woman) of the Corps of Discovery, to let them run through their minds and their hearts. Their songs flow out of this process as naturally as the Missouri does from its headwaters. So there they are in that moment, standing beside McNeal as he bestrides the heretofore deemed endless Missouri, and thanks his God. . . . Their songs are meant to put their listeners into an emotional state, to help them feel the members of the expedition, to come to know them, not simply know about them. Their album Journey On is an exercise in empathy. Whether lovers of Lewis and Clark know it or not, they are in every moment empathizing with some member of the Corps. They are using their imaginations to do so, to stand beside each member, and to share in those moments of pure joy or deep despair. The Meriwethers’ music is meant not only to enrich the story but to deepen its meaning as it resonates inside each of us, for those personal reasons that only we can know.

How accurate are the songs?
The lyrics of their songs are not meant to tell the story in the traditional narrative way. The intent of their music is to bring people to this story through the emotions that were felt and lived on any given day of the
The songs come primarily from those moments when the emotions of the Corps are most vulnerable. From the deep recesses of Lewis’s 31st birthday meditation (August 18, 1805), to the pinnacle of the moment when Clark declared, “O’cin in view! O! the joy,” with such satisfaction and relief. The music of The Meriwethers is an invitation to listeners to share in the common experiences of the Corps, and ultimately of the human condition. The songs must be listened to with the heart and not simply felt by the ears. That may seem obvious, but we all need the reminder that if we expect to experience the story through a different medium, then we have to be willing to be different in our approach. The album brings listeners along on their own journey of discovery and the realization that it is alike for no two people. Just as Lewis and Clark went on the same expedition but discovered two very different things, so will listeners who give themselves to it.

Connecting to the Lewis and Clark World

The Meriwethers have just begun their great journey into the Lewis and Clark world. They are exploring a variety of options of how to make these connections. The beauty of their project is that music is universal and accessible to all ages. The feelings their songs inspire are those that can be felt by the youngest child to the oldest listener. They tell the story of the development of the Corps, from infancy to adolescence, and from adolescence to adulthood. The music captures the essence of that youthful need to leave the safety of home and discover the world through its dangers and uncertainty. Their lyrics address the feelings that individual members of the Corps are experiencing, Lewis, Floyd, Sacagawea and York, to name a few. Their songs are an acknowledgement that the story of Lewis and Clark is much bigger than the sum total of the thirty-three permanent members of the expedition; it is the American Epic.

They have taken their musical talents into elementary schools, performing educational programs for 4th graders who are learning about Lewis and Clark for the first time in their formal education. They have sought to expand their ability to contribute in this way by collaborating with those who are responsible for the educational curriculum. They also became members of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and attended their first Annual Meeting this year in Astoria. They performed multiple times for Foundation members including at dinner one evening and on the Portland Spirit while cruising the Columbia River.

Their performances were well received by LCTHF members and the only regret expressed by the members was that they did not have more opportunities to hear their music. The songs could generally be described as having a folk sound, and their performances are truly a collaborative effort of creativity, and the harmonizing is an expression of love between true friends. Preceding each song there was a brief explanation of the motivations and inspirations behind them, and how they can speak to the things inside of each one of us, and let us identify with the Lewis and Clark story in our own way. They conveyed to the members that they were there as representatives of the next generation of the Trail Heritage Foundation, and gladly took their charge to carry the story forward. Their performances were also a great reminder to everyone that music is another way for us to experience the journey, and that music was very much a part of the expedition, whether it was Cruzatte’s fiddle playing or the music of the native peoples.

People have always depended on music to help them tell stories and to express the feelings of those in the story. It only makes sense that music could illuminate the story of Lewis and Clark in ways that no other method can. The Meriwethers have given all of themselves to their effort to accomplish this. The close listener can hear the emotional exhaustion that closes certain songs, and the conceptual layers at odds in others. Their work gives life to the story and to the possibilities that future generations can bring to the work of the LCTHF. One can only hope that whatever those are, they can be as inclusive and considerate of all peoples as the music of The Meriwethers is.

A Few Scattered Song Notes

“Blackbird”—Brings Lewis to mind as he is contemplating that nature is in league against him, the magic genie. The song raises the question of how man and nature come together in the natural world, and whether the creatures who see man understand what is going on inside of him. Do other creatures have a natural sense that is beyond man’s five senses? The blackbird is typically a symbol of knowledge and intelligence.

“Sgt. Floyd”—This song captures the essence of all the young men who were looking for their way in life. The expedition gave them the opportunity of a lifetime, and most had to realize that if successful, it would change their lives forever, spiritually, emotionally, and financially. The song captures the
innocence of young men going into the true wilderness as completely vulnerable adults, and is an acknowledgment to their parents of the journey as their coming of age story. The underlying sadness of the title, knowing that Sgt. Floyd would never get to cast his stone into the ocean as the song says. And that the letter he asked Clark to write his mother would have to convey the end of his hope.

“Sacagawea’s Song”—The feeling of Sacagawea on the day she was kidnapped. The realization that she had to resign herself to her fate to stay alive. Knowing that she was now always going to be a stranger wherever she went as she had been taken from the home she knew. The desire for all those that she lost, and the home, her native soil. The understanding that her existence had become a contingency to the man who owned her and the purposes that she could serve him. The process of the Corps becoming her now “family,” and the acceptance that she had to allow that to happen. The symbolism of her being known as bird woman.

“Hang on Tight”—Lewis knowing he needed Clark’s help, and Clark knowing he needed to help Lewis. The relationship that developed in the Army becoming a lifelong friendship of the deepest kind. Clark satisfying the paternal need inside himself, Lewis finding the paternal figure he needed to help fill the void left by his father’s death when he was just a boy. Young men just can’t recover from that, especially when it happens at the developmental stages of life. The need for Lewis to continue to hang on to Clark, even when the time had come for Lewis to let go and for Clark to let him go. Clark can only be a “father” to one family at a time, first his own (George Rogers), then to Lewis, then to Jean-Baptiste, then to his own children.

“Wilderness Inside”—The nightmare of falling with physical paralysis but mental awareness. The fantasy he is always chasing, can it ever come true? The sorrows and pains that men experience on the journey and the effects after the journey. Lewis could not face the wilderness inside him, he could stand down all the dangers the natural and human world could present to him, but could never face down those inside himself. The weight of his mind overcoming him. Lewis ending his life, not to kill himself, but to end his pain.

Needless to say, a written analysis cannot do justice to the music of The Meriwethers. You have to listen to their art and decide for yourself if you like their approach. If they deepen our sense of the heart of the story and entertain us at the same time, their work is a great addition to traditional Lewis and Clark discourse. If they help bring in a new generation of Lewis and Clark lovers, they deserve our highest respect and gratitude.

Dan Bartley joined the LCTHF in 2012, and has traveled much of the L&C trail. He annually explores the portion of the trail that leads from the White Cliffs of the Missouri, across the Bitterroot Mountains, to the Columbia River watershed. He is an independent scholar currently working on a series of essays about the good fortune of Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery. He lives in Michigan.
LCTHF Holds White Cliffs Canoe Trip

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Portage Route Chapter, and Montana River Outfitters (MRO) are offering a Missouri River Canoe Trip experience through the White Cliffs along the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. **Join us July 15 to 17, 2019, for a fun, historic, “glamping” trip.** Trip cost is $1,500 and includes nightly tent set up and breakdown, cot with air mattress, and three delicious meals prepared for you while you and friends old and new paddle, hike, explore, read the journals around the campfire, and enjoy pristine vistas as seen by Lewis and Clark. A $500 Deposit due with RSVP and remaining $1,000 due by June 15, 2019.

On Thursday, July 18, we will spend a half day at the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center in Great Falls, followed by lunch, and then a trip to the First Peoples Buffalo Jump. On Friday, July 19, we meet Larry Epstein at the Fight Site for a narrated tour you won’t want to miss! You will receive a donation receipt for $500 from the LCTHF. For more information on the trip, email lindyh@lewisandclark.org or call the office 888-701-3434. Don’t forget to bring your Golden Age Pass. *Top photo by Lee Ebeling. Bottom photo by Ethan Glaubiger.*

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Cultural Tours with Clay Jenkinson

**Coming in October 2019:**
October 17-26 Thomas Jefferson’s France, including a float on the Canal du Midi

**Coming in 2020:**
Two Winter Humanities Retreats at Lochsa Lodge
West of Missoula:
- The Imagination of Charles Dickens
- Exploring the Apollo Space Program (and Beyond!)
Each one will be four days of discussion, laughter, adventure, and festivity

**Coming in July 2020:**
The twentieth annual Lewis and Clark Summer Tour on the Missouri River west of Fort Benton, MT, and up on the Lolo Trail — four nights of camping, four nights at historic lodges. Music, talk, performance, and hiking in the footsteps of Lewis and Clark.

For more information
[www.jeffersonhour.com/tours](http://www.jeffersonhour.com/tours)

This is a paid advertisement
Dear Editor,

In his November 2018 WPO article on bighorn sheep, *Ovis canadensis*, Brett Bannor implies that my statement, “Meriwether Lewis was the first to provide detailed information on bighorn sheep…to the fledgling American community” was inaccurate. I had made that assertion in my February 2008 WPO article, “Big Horned Animals With Circular Horns.” I would point out that reliable biological information implies more than just a physical description of a particular species. This can entail life history information ranging from behavioral characteristics to habitat niches occupied by a particular species, such as bighorn sheep.

Granted, early publications prior to the Lewis and Clark Expedition provided the public with information on the existence of bighorn sheep, including physical descriptions, but reliable ecological life history information on bighorns, especially from uncharted regions of the West, would remain on the back burner for a number of years.

It was naturalist Meriwether Lewis, with his inherent objective, systematic, and philosophical approach to understanding the natural world, who opened the door of discovery to a pioneering species that has the genetic plasticity and remarkable adaptability to travel from a glacial mountainous terrain to a prairie ecosystem where it successfully adapts and thrives. Our first baseline biological life history information on bighorn sheep in the American West comes from Lewis, who established the proper basement fabric for future researchers who would, in future years, pave the way, step by step, for an accumulation of new knowledge and stirring discoveries in America’s natural history.

I would refer Bannor to Lewis’ May 25, 1805, detailed, 783-word journal entry describing a bighorn kill in the Missouri River Breaks country. His recording serves as a prime example of his meticulous attention to detail and accuracy. Among his salient anatomical and ecological notes, Lewis provides:

- A description of essential structural components of the Missouri River Breaks habitat, and its spatial geographic location.
- Information on bighorn forage utilized for food: grasses and herbs.
- A detailed description of bighorn hooves for navigating precipitous slopes.
- The sheep’s behavioral capability of using rocky, inaccessible cliffs to escape predators.
- Ewe birthing dates in the Missouri River Breaks.
- A description of the utilization of bighorn horns by Native Americans.
- Partial dental inspection and recording of lower jaw dentition.
- Anatomical description of a ram’s horns with distinct waxy rings (annuli) encircling horns.
- A description of differences between the horns of rams and ewes.
- Weight data recorded from a bighorn head and horns.
- A concise physical description of bighorn anatomy.

From the 39 journal entries mentioning the bighorn sheep, we gain information on bighorn geographic distribution locations, relative abundance, and harvest kills. Wildlife biologists, in later years, would identify ten subspecies of bighorn sheep in fourteen western states, and two Canadian provinces. Lewis’ documentation of bighorn sheep in western North Dakota and eastern Montana were subsequently classified as *Ovis canadensis auduboni*, and in later years correctly changed to *Ovis canadensis canadensis*.

Meriwether Lewis, with observant eye and active pen, provided the nation’s biological archives with an introductory biological life history framework of bighorn sheep in his western travels, previously not documented. One cannot emphasize enough the explorer’s unselfish dedication in gathering a diversity of biological information, and in some situations under extraordinary conditions.

Ken Walcheck, Bozeman, Montana
In publishing Jay Buckley’s lecture on the journey of Gary Moulton, WPO decided to celebrate Dr. Moulton’s extraordinary achievements by commissioning a photographic portrait of him for the cover of the February issue. The cover photograph was taken on January 3, 2019, in Gary’s home in Lincoln, Nebraska.

If, as the late Donald Jackson declared, Lewis and Clark were the “writingest explorers in American history,” now, thanks to the University of Nebraska’s 13-volume edition of *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, we finally, for the first time, have every journal entry by every expedition journal keeper under one splendid roof. Dr. Moulton has, as they say in editorial circles, “established the text” for the twenty-first century, gathered the relevant maps, carefully introduced the series and each subsequent volume, provided such illustrations as can be gleaned from the extant journals, and annotated everything in the journals that needed scholarly explanation. No previous edition of the journals came close to that achievement, not even Reuben Gold Thwaites excellent 1904-05 edition of *The Original Journals of Lewis and Clark*.

The fruits of Gary’s remarkable labors are already evident. Now every article or book written about Lewis and Clark has a standard common text from which to draw quotations from the journals. It used to be that one never knew whether a quotation came from DeVoto, Thwaites, Coues, Bakeless, or Biddle for that matter, each one employing a different editorial procedure. In some previous editions spelling and punctuation were “corrected” or “regularized” by well-meaning editors; in others excisions and interpolations altered the text without alerting the reader. Until Dr. Moulton brought all of the known journals together using the best editorial practices of our time, students of the expedition had to scramble to determine what the lesser journal keepers had to say about some incident in the journey, and they could never be sure they were reading precisely what Lewis, Clark, Gass, Ordway, Floyd, or Whitehouse wrote.

Thus Gary Moulton laid the foundation for all future Lewis and Clark studies. For many years the historian James Ronda has argued that Lewis and Clark scholars must stop retelling the baseline story of the expedition over and over again, and begin to do close readings of key journal entries. That enterprise required a common, authoritative text. Now that that text has been established, you can see its effect on new Lewis and Clark scholarship. Thomas Slaughter, David Nicandri, Patricia Stroud, and many others have begun to produce those close readings, finding significance in what the journal keepers say—and don’t say—and teasing out subtleties that were glossed over in previous generations when the journal texts were more basic, more simply narrative.

Moreover, all students and scholars of the expedition now routinely begin to make sense of whatever is not immediately clear and recognizable in the journals by consulting Dr. Moulton’s masterful footnotes. Think of what this required of Dr. Moulton and his assistants. Every creek must be identified, every known campsite located. Native American names and terms that Lewis and Clark did their best to record, but inevitably garbled, must be footnoted with the most accurate information now available. Native peoples were speaking in non-Indo-European languages, using a voice palate that Mr. Jefferson’s Anglo-Americans could barely register, much less render into the severely tight boundaries of the Roman alphabet.

Other scholars have the luxury of choosing a portion of the story or a segment of the Lewis and Clark Trail to master. The editor of the whole body of journals must become a scholar of the entire journey, stretching thousands of miles along three major river systems, innumerable tributaries, major and minor mountain chains, more than fifty Native tribes representing half a dozen basic language groups, and confluences and distinctive land features in at least five major ecosystems. It would be a significant achievement to write about the birds of South Dakota or the wildflowers of the Bitterroot Mountains or the grasses of eastern Montana, but the editor of the
Lewis and Clark journals must master all of these themes, or lean on others who have done that work.

Meanwhile, across the continent, in almost every discrete segment of the trail, dwell local experts and historians who know that segment with loving intimacy. They are eager to share their knowledge, to take the editor to places they regard as significant or sacred; but some of them might also become critics if an edition embracing 7,689 miles of travel does not “do justice” to what they know of their own home stretch of the trail. In the hands of an aloof or ungenerous editor, the Lewis and Clark Trail could be a minefield. Gary Moulton’s unwavering graciousness, good humor, humility, and generosity of spirit have given him unique access to all of this scattered expertise from Monticello to Astoria.

Just one more thing to ponder and appreciate. Much of what Dr. Moulton did was accomplished with what now would seem to be virtually medieval technologies: the IBM Selectric typewriter, the stamp-and-envelope US Postal System, photocopiers that produced smeary, shimmery copies that rolled up if you did not flatten them with a book or thick file. The Internet did not make its appearance until 1995, email between 1995-2000, and by then Gary was nearly finished. Information searches that take minutes or even seconds today required days or weeks (occasionally months) of hard sleuthing work in library reference rooms back then. Dr. Johnson said, “The greatest part of a writer’s time is spent in reading, in order to write; a man will turn over half a library to make one book.” Think of what Dr. Moulton had to read in order to explain things to the rest of us.

After Gary was finished with his Herculean labors, just when he might well have declared Nunc Dimittis, he chose to provide still further service to the world of Lewis and Clark studies. First, he published his one-volume distillation of the journals, An American Epic of Discovery: The Lewis and Clark Journals (2003). And in 2018 he published his concise narrative summary, The Lewis and Clark Expedition Day by Day.

It would now be impossible to imagine the Lewis and Clark world without the University of Nebraska’s authoritative edition of the journals. And it would be impossible to imagine that accomplishment without Gary Moulton at the center of the whole scholarly enterprise.

Clay Jenkinson

Photos of Gary Moulton taken for WPO by Beth Anderzhon, Lincoln, Nebraska.