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9/16/59
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United States
Department of the Interior
National Park Service

THE NATIONAL SURVEY OF HISTORIC SITES AND BUILDINGS

Theme XI
The Advance of the Frontier: 1763-1830

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION
(sub-theme)

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December 1958

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FOREWORD

This study represents the work of the National Park Service field staff assigned to The National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. In the process of evaluating the sites treated in the several themes, the Consulting Committee for the Survey and the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments have screened the findings of the field staff. Some sites recommended by the field staff for classification of exceptional value have been eliminated, and in a few cases sites and buildings have been added to the lists of exceptionally valuable sites.

The sites and buildings associated with this subtheme study, "The Lewis and Clark Expedition," recommended for classification of exceptional value by the Advisory Board are as follows:

1. Three Forks of the Missouri, Montana
2. Lemhi Pass, Montana-Idaho
3. Travelers Rest, Montana
4. Lolo Trail, Idaho
5. Sergeant Floyd Grave Site and Monument, Iowa, (added).

Canoe Camp and Nez Perce Village Site, treated in the study, was not included in the list of exceptionally valuable sites.

Sergeant Floyd's Grave Site and Monument was added to the list of sites recommended for exceptional value.

When the studies are published for wider distribution, they will reflect these changes.

Conrad L. Wirth
Director

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PREFACE

This study of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with emphasis on sites associated with it, was undertaken as a part of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Survey has been divided into a number of themes for convenience in considering broad fields of American history and is associated together within the respective themes, events, and movements of related interest. This method allows for comparative analysis of sites involved in a given subject and helps to establish for each its relative importance.

It became apparent very early in a consideration of the Lewis and Clark expedition that because of the background of its inception and authorization, the point in time of its execution, its scope and accomplishments, and its importance, that it merited and would have to be accorded special treatment. This study, therefore, is a special one as a sub-theme under the general theme of Westward Expansion.

It was necessary that those undertaking the study become familiar with the literature of the subject, particularly the detailed journals of Lewis and Clark and the several other members of the expedition who kept diaries or journals. And it was also necessary that first-hand knowledge be acquired of the expedition's route of travel and the present condition of the more important sites along that route.

One or more of the writers of this report made personal visits to, and examination of, the more important sites during the summer of 1958. In many instances the sites were studied with the Journals of Lewis and Clark in hand and the pages turned to those passages dealing with the particular scene.

In that part of the route from the headwaters of the Missouri River across the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass and the subsequent passage of the Bitterroot Mountains to headwaters of the Columbia River, it was surprising to find how often the place and scene had changed but little in the interval of more than a century and a half since the passage of Lewis and Clark. And it was surprising, and also pleasant, to note how accurately the two leaders of the Corps of Discovery had described the land they traversed in that long ago beginning of our knowledge of the Far West.

In retracing the steps of Lewis and Clark and searching for the significant and memorable spots of their pathbreaking journey, one could expect that only in the mountains would landmarks be essentially the same today as they were one hundred and fifty years ago. But even there this would depend upon whether the builder of roads and dams had stayed his hand or had been repulsed by the hostility of the terrain. Of the more than four thousand miles of the Lewis and Clark route (one way) perhaps only the part now known as the Lolo Trail will remain permanently the primitive and majestic wilderness that Lewis and Clark found in their passage of the continent.

CRITERIA

Classification of Sites and Buildings by Period or Theme into Those Possessing "Exceptional Value as Commemorating or Illustrating the History of the United States" and Those not Possessing Such Value. Historic sites or buildings are considered to possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States and therefore to be nationally significant in the following instances:

a. Structures or sites in which the broad cultural political, economic, military, or social history of the Nation is best exemplified, and from which the visitor may grasp the larger patterns of our American heritage. Such sites are naturally the points or bases from which the broad aspects of prehistoric and historic American life can best be presented.

b. Structures or sites associated importantly with the lives of outstanding historic personages.

c. Structures or sites associated with important events which are symbolic of some great idea or ideal of the American people.

d. Structures which embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen, exceptionally valuable for a study of a period style or method of construction; or a notable work of a master builder, designer, or architect whose individual genius reflected his age.

e. Archeological sites which have produced information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have produced or which may reasonably be expected to produce data which have affected theories, concepts, and ideas to a major degree.

f. All historical and archeological sites and structures in order to meet the standards of exceptional importance should have integrity, that is, there should not be doubts as to whether it is the original site or building, original material, or workmanship, and original location. Intangible elements of feeling and association, although difficult to describe, also may be factors in weighing the integrity of a site or structure.

g. Structures of sites of recent historical importance, relating to events or persons within 50 years, will not, as a rule, be eligible for consideration.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

The Lewis and Clark Expedition travelled from the mouth of the Missouri River, near St. Louis, in 1804 and 1805, to the Pacific Ocean at the mouth of the Columbia River. In 1806 it re-crossed the country eastward. Captain Meriwether Lewis and 2nd Lt. William Clark were its leaders. It had a formal military organization. It was an official expedition sent out by President Thomas Jefferson and the United States Government. In its membership were regular soldiers, frontiersmen enlisted for the duration of the journey as soldiers, rivermen, hunters, interpreters, a negro slave who accompanied Clark, and for most of the trip, an Indian girl and her newly born child.

It is not easy to set forth briefly all the significant aspects of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Some things are obvious. Others fade into the realm of the intangible. They slip from grasp and elude sharp definition. Yet they are real. The effects of the expedition touch upon geographical knowledge, scientific knowledge of the continent in the fields of botany, wildlife, geology, and suitability of the land for human use. It disclosed much about the distribution of the native Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi in the northern plains and on to the coast. In the realm of politics, national and international, much can be said with certainty about the direct as well as the indirect effects of the expedition.

But much more can only be conjectured and surmised, and believed, if one has the zeal and industry to immerse himself in the history of the North American continent of that time and to take the long range, geopolitical view. If one were able to do this he would have reached a condition in which he might be able to feel the impulses, approximately, that motivated Thomas Jefferson, the father of the expedition, in sending it forth. This view almost certainly contemplated the establishment eventually of an ocean to ocean nation including the most direct and easiest line of communication to the western sea and the portals of the then rich China trade.

As for the obvious, the expedition was tremendous in exploration. It was herculean in overcoming the obstacles and harshness of nature. Constant ingenuity and vigilant intelligence surmounted ever-present dangers of wild nature and primitive man. In the expedition were the first white men to cross the continent of North America, north of Spanish Mexico, and south of Alberta, Canada. They were the first citizens of the United States to see and tread this princely western domain. They were the first to reach the Continental Divide within the drainage area of the Missouri and Columbia River basins. The expedition brought back information that resulted in establishing the American fur trade, the first means of exploiting the resources of this virgin land. And it established favorable relations with most of the wild tribes it encountered, resulting in beneficial effects for Americans reaching far into the future.

Of the hundreds of specimens of animal, bird, and plant life that Lewis and Clark collected on the trip and sent to President Jefferson, many of them never before seen by people of the eastern states, only a few remnants remain. About 200 herbarium specimens are located at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. No one knows what percentage this is of the original collection. Nearly one-half of these represent species then new to science. Of the zoological specimens collected, none ever reached St. Louis alive so far as we know. The collection of skins and stuffed animals and birds was not kept intact even at first. Jefferson retained some of them at Monticello and sent the rest to Peale's museum in Philadelphia. Barnum eventually bought the latter group and fires subsequently destroyed them. A few bird specimens are in the Museum of Comparative Zoology of the National Museum in Washington, a few more are at Vassar College, and some are at the Academy of Natural Science in Philadelphia. These specimens were meant to illustrate the wild life and vegetation of vast tracts of the North American Continent never before seen by white men. Lewis and Clark described them in much detail in the journals. Among the new animals seen and described by Lewis and Clark were the antelope, prairie dog, grizzly bear, mountain goat, and mountain sheep.[1]

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1 Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences, Vol. 44, No. 11, Nov. 1954, Velva E. Rudd, "Botanical Contributions of the Lewis and Clark Expedition", (351-356), and Henry W. Setzer, "Zoological Contributions of the Lewis and Clark Expedition." (356-357).

The Lewis and Clark Expedition made available for the first time reliable information about the Indians of the Missouri River country and the Rocky Mountains westward. Members of the expedition had extended stays with the Mandans, Minnetarees, Shoshones, Nez Perce, and Clatsop tribes, and reported in some details ethnological data about them. They also had considerable contact with the Yankton and Teton Sioux, the Flatheads, Walla-Wallas, and other Columbia River Indians. Lewis and Clark made the first report on the West and its Indian tribes. They introduced reality into a subject where before there had been little more than phantasy. In general, Lewis and Clark reported the Plains Indians as aggressive, the Rocky Mountain and Plateau tribes as friendly and helpful, the northwest coast Indians as difficult and unpleasant. The latter had already been debauched by the coastal fur trade. Lewis and Clark won the Shoshone, Flatheads, and Nez Perce tribes permanently to the United States even though at the time these Indians had to be considered as being under the sovereignty of Spain. Except for the Blackfeet, Lewis and Clark created a deep reservoir of prestige and good will among the tribes. This made relatively easy the early establishment of the American fur trade among them, and was a significant factor in American traders winning this part of the trade over British traders operating southward from Canada.

The most immediately useful product of the expedition was the map prepared by William Clark. His finished map, "Map of Lewis and Clark's Track Across the Western Portion of North America from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean," was not published until 1814.

But thereafter it was the best available for the next thirty years. A recent student of mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, Carl I. Wheat, has called it "a map of towering significance." He says of it, "Seldom in the history of discovery or of map making has a single document borne more immediate fruit, or exerted more widespread influence."[1]

Referring to this map, Harrison Clifford Dale has said of it:

> A glance at this map,...shows to how great an extent Lewis and Clark were actual discoverers. In the first place, they learned that the continent was much wider than had been supposed...The Columbia, instead of being merely a Pacific Coast stream, was found to drain a vast interior valley or series of valleys between the Cordilleras and the Coast Range. Instead of one mountain system lying between the headwaters of the Missouri and the Pacific, they found two, separated from each other by four hundred miles and more of intervening valleys...The Missouri they found to head in the northwest and not in the southwest...The network of ridges that characterizes the Rocky Mountain System along the forty-fifth parallel they also sighted for the first time."[2]

Lewis and Clark bestowed many place names on physical features of our landscape - names that remain ineradicable cultural factors in our history. Some of the better known of these are the Gallatin, Madison, and Jefferson Rivers whose confluence at the Three Forks makes the Missouri; the Milk, Martha, Marias, Judith, Salmon, and Clark's

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1 Carl I. Wheat, Mapping the Transmississippi West, II, (From Lewis and Clark to Fremont), 15, 59.

2 Harrison Clifford Dale, The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific, 1822-1829 (Cleveland, 1918), 25-26.

Fork Rivers; and the Yellowstone River, originally called the Roche Jaune because the French boatmen with the party wanted it so called. Unfortunately, the name "Lewis River", given to the great tributary of the Columbia known as the Snake now, did not survive. Examples of local place names not so widely known are Shoshone Cove, Beaverhead Rock, Rattlesnake Cliff, White Bear Island, York Canyon, Baptiste Creek, and Pompey's Pillar. The twin cities of Lewiston, Idaho, and Clarkston, Washington, which a later generation named in honor of the two Captains, helps to mark the map with symbols of their having passed that way. And then there is the Lolo Trail, that path through the high, rooflike Bitterroot Range, and in a wilderness still as majestic, silent, and awe-inspiring as when Lewis and Clark and their men struggled through it. According to the most plausible explanation the name "Lolo" derives from a Shoshone corruption of Lewis, which Old Toby, the expedition's guide across the mountains, could never pronounce.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition must be considered as an element in the fiercely contested struggle for possession of the Trans-Mississippi West. At the time of the trip, this vast domain, although claimed by Spain and coveted by England, was in reality a no-man's land, unoccupied by the nationals of any white civilization except for the tiny French fringe around St. Louis and the isolated Spanish far to the south in the valley of the Rio del Norte (the Rio Grande). At first the prize was thought of as the Pacific Northwest where rich fur trade centered and sea-going vessels carried cargoes of furs to

far-off China where they were traded for oriental commodities and wealth. Those engaged in this trade searched for a short road across the continent and hence to the Orient. Spain, France, England, Russia, and lastly the United States, contested for the prize. Enduring unspeakable hardships for the glory of company and country a handful of men explored and exploited, seeking ready land and water passages to coastal and interior trade.

In a real sense it was a struggle for empire. Always the exploitation of some natural resource has been the bed rock on which durable extention of a national interest has rested. Among the men, some known and many unknown, who took part in this great enterprize, representing many nations, were Lewis and Clark. They were pioneers. They were the first to see, to explore, to map, and to report upon a vast region rich in the resource being sought. Their contribution must be considered as an enormously important first step. Behind them, following in their pathways, came the procession of trappers, hunters, missionaries, farmers, and artisans who in the end civilized the wilderness and extended the domain of the United States to the Pacific. There is no dissent from the thesis that the Lewis and Clark expedition constitutes perhaps the foremost feat of exploration in all United States history, and is likewise one of the foremost in all of North American exploration. As a magnificent example of an exploration astutely conceived and brilliantly executed it stands as a great milestone in the history of the West.

Although there may be some areas of controversy among students of the Lewis and Clark expedition and its effect on American history, there is none on one major point. The prevailing opinion, and one held by President Jefferson when he sent the expedition westward, was that the Missouri River flowed through a passage in the Rocky Mountains, its headwaters reaching to within about 100 miles of the Pacific coast. He held the "single portage" idea -- the notion that a portage of about one half day's time from the eastern flowing waters of the Missouri would bring one to the westward flowing waters of a river, called "the Oregon", flowing into the Pacific. This would be the long sought Northwest Passage, the trade route to the Pacific and hence to Cathay. The Lewis and Clark exploration shattered this long held idea irretrievably. One fact can be stated with certainty. The return of the Lewis and Clark expedition constitutes a huge monolithic milestone in the unfolding story of North American geography. It marked the point at which the status of the Upper Missouri, the Northern Rockies, and a large part of the Columbia basin changed from unknown to known. Events of magnitude would naturally follow from this knowledge.

The late Bernard DeVoto spent the better part of a lifetime in a study of the West and produced enduring and sometimes brilliant interpretation of its history. In his opinion, the major result of the expedition was the demonstration that a commercially feasible

cross-continent water route to the Pacific did not exist.[1] Another modern scholar, John Bartlett Brebner, agreed with him. Lewis and Clark journied through the last part of the continent that might contain a water route to the Pacific. Elsewhere exploration had proved it did not exist.

North America, standing in the same latitude as Europe and China, had long been a barrier to direct communication with the Orient. The coasts of Africa and South America had been explored and no way found through or across these continents. The only routes by water were the long passages around Cape Horn and the Cape of Good Hope. The vision of a Northwest Passage through North America had persisted. But at last the vision was proved a mirage. Lewis and Clark offered unshakable proof that the Rocky Mountains were a barrier to easy water communication with the Pacific. But if their discoveries yielded this great disappointment, they found a natural pathway across the continent that was used by the fur traders until a barrier of hostile Blackfeet turned the traffic farther south to a passage that in time became known as the Oregon Trail.

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1 Bernard DeVoto, ed., The Journals of Lewis and Clark (Boston, 1953) and The Course of Empire (Boston, 1952); John Bartlett Brebner, The Explorers of North America, 1492-1806 (New York, 1933).

The first to profit from the explorations were the fur traders. They were stirred to immediate action by the news Lewis and Clark brought that the Upper Missouri was rich in beaver. The historian of the fur trade, Hiram Martin Chittenden, declares that the American fur trade begins with the return of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.[1] In 1807, the year after the Lewis and Clark Expedition returned, Manuel Lisa of St. Louis led a party of 50 trappers, including three veterans of the expedition, Drouillard, Potts, and Wiser (and later a fourth, John Colter), to engage with him in the fur trade. His first Missouri River journey was the real beginning of the American fur trade. Acting on the recommendations of Lewis and Clark his expedition headed for the Three Forks of the Missouri and the Yellowstone, where the two captains had said the greatest treasury of beaver on the continent was to be found. John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company and his Pacific Fur Company were organized to exploit the resources that Lewis and Clark had reported. In the words of DeVoto, "Astoria followed from the expedition of Lewis and Clark as the flight of an arrow follows the release of the bowstring."[2]

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1 Hiram Martin Chittenden, The American Fur Trade of the Far West (3 vols., New York, 1902) I, vii.

2 DeVoto, The Course of Empire, 539.

That Lewis considered of paramount importance the information obtained concerning opportunities in the fur trade is revealed in his report to Jefferson written the day the expedition arrived in St. Louis. In this summary of the expedition he devoted more space to the fur trade than to any other subject, reporting that the Missouri and its tributaries were "richer in beaver and Otter than any country on earth."[1] The National Intelligencer for October 27, 1806, published a widely printed report within a week of the expedition's return, saying that Lewis "Speaks of the whole country furnishing valuable furs."[2]

Within a year more than 100 traders at St. Louis were licensed to trade with the Indians along the Missouri and perhaps that many more were doing so illegally. In 1808 Manuel Lisa returned from his first trip to the Upper Missouri and Rockies with a wealth in furs. This was the signal for others to brave the dangers of the wilderness and try to tap the western treasure trove.

The reports of Lewis and Clark are credited with John Jacob Astor's entrance into the western fur trade, the man destined to dominate it. He dispatched his "Overland Astorians" by the route of Lewis and Clark, and five years almost to the day that the Corps of Discovery left Fort Clatsop, Astor's supply ship, the

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1 Reuben Gold Thwaites, Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark 1804-1806 (8 vols., New York, 1904-05), VII, 335. Volume 8 is an Atlas containing the maps prepared by the expedition. Hereafter cited as Thwaites.

2 Ibid, VII, 348-349.

Tonquin, crossed the Columbia River bar and founded Astoria.

The historian of Mr. Astor's great enterprise, Washington Irving, has told the story well. He has related that Astor studied the reports of Lewis and Clark, and:

> It was then that the idea presented itself to the mind of Mr. Astor, of grasping with his individual hand this great enterprise, which for years had been dubiously yet desirously contemplated by powerful associations and maternal governments. For some time he revolved the idea in his mind, gradually extending and maturing his plans as his means of executing them augmented. The main feature of his scheme was to establish a line of trading posts along the Missouri and the Columbia, to the mouth of the latter, where was to be founded the chief trading house or mart. Inferior posts would be established in the interior, and on all the tributary streams of the Columbia, to trade with the Indians; these posts would draw their supplies from the main establishment, and bring to it the peltries they collected. Coasting craft would be built and fitted out, also at the mouth of the Columbia, to trade, at favorable seasons, all along the northwest coast, and return, with the proceeds of their voyages, to this place of deposit. Thus all the Indian trade, both of the interior and the coast, would converge to this point, and thence derive its sustenance.
>
> A ship was to be sent annually from New York to this main establishment with reinforcements and supplies, and with merchandise suited to the trade. It would take on board the furs collected during the preceding year, carry them to Canton, invest the proceeds in the rich merchandise of China, and return thus freighted to New York.[1]

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1 Washington Irving, Astoria or Anecdotes of an Enterprise Beyond the Rocky Mountains, (New York, 1884), 34-35.

Jefferson gave every possible support to Mr. Astor's plan. He mentioned him to Lewis as "a most excellent man", and he pledged to Astor "every reasonable patronage and facility in the power of the executive."[1] Jefferson saw in Astor the agency that might secure to the United States exclusive possession of the Indian trade in the Northwest. And less than a seer could foresee that with that accomplished would come a strong claim to the land it dominated.

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1 DeVoto, The Course of Empire, 538, quoting letter Jefferson to Lewis.

ANALYTICAL STATEMENT OF SUB-THEME

Selected Chronology

1763 France cedes Louisiana to Spain.

1778 John Ledyard on Captain Cook's third voyage visits Northwest Coast of North America.

1783 Jefferson known to be interested in exploring Missouri River.

1786 Ledyard talks with Jefferson about Northwest Coast.

1780's British Fur Traders reach Mandan villages on Missouri River.

1793 Spanish grant trade monopoly on Upper Missouri to Missouri Fur Company.

1793 Jefferson supports Andre Michaux proposal to explore West.

1793 Alexander MacKenzie of the Northwest Company crosses North America from Hudson's Bay region to Pacific Coast near Vancouver Island.

1802 Jefferson approaches Yrujo, Spanish Ambassador to the United States, on sending an expedition by the Missouri River to the Pacific Coast.

1803

Jan. 18	Jefferson sends confidential message to Congress on an expedition to the Pacific.
Apr. 30	Louisiana Treaty Purchase papers signed in Paris (actually signed May 2, but back dated).
Jun. 19	Lewis offers joint command of expedition to William Clark.
Jun. 20	Jefferson signs instructions for the expedition.
Jul. 4	Lewis leaves Washington and starts west.
Jul. 14	First copy of Louisiana Treaty reaches United States.
Jul. 16	Clark accepts joint command of expedition.
Aug. 30	Lewis starts west from Pittsburgh on Ohio River.
Oct. 15	John Colter joins Lewis at Maysville, Ky.
Oct. 19	Congress ratifies Louisiana Purchase Treaty.
Oct. 26	Lewis and Clark leave Louisville, Ky.
Nov. ?	George Drouillard joins expedition near mouth of Ohio River at Fort Massac, Ill.
Dec. 10	Lewis and Clark arrive at St. Louis.
Dec. 12	Lewis and Clark arrive at mouth of Wood River, Ill.

1804

Mar. 8	Lewis present at Government House, St. Louis at ceremonies transferring Upper Louisiana to the United States.
May 14	Clark and expedition leave Camp Wood and enter Missouri River.
May 21	Lewis and Clark leave St. Charles - expedition is on its way.
Jun. 12	Expedition meets Pierre Dorion and he accompanies it as interpreter for Sioux.
Jul. 21	Reach mouth of Platte River.
Aug. 3	Council with Oto and Missouri Indians at Council Bluff.
Aug. 20	Sergeant Charles Floyd dies.
Aug. 30	Council with Yankton Sioux at Calumet Bluff.
Sept. 25	Council with Teton Sioux.
Oct. 8	Arrive at Arikara villages.
Oct. 26	Arrive at Mandan villages.
Nov. 20	Move into Fort Mandan.

1805

Apr. 17	Keelboat and party start from Fort Mandan for St. Louis.
Apr. 17	Lewis and Clark leave Mandan villages on Missouri River, westbound.
Apr. 26	Arrive at mouth of Yellowstone River.
May 26	Lewis first sees Rocky Mountains.
Jun. 1	Arrive at mouth of Marias River.
Jun. 13	Lewis arrives at Great Falls of the Missouri.

1805 (cont'd)

Jun. 16. Clark and main party arrive at the Great Falls.

Jul. 15 Portage around the Great Falls completed.

Jul. 22 Sacajawea recognizes country.

Jul. 25 Clark arrives at the Three Forks of the Missouri.

Jul. 27 Lewis and main party arrive at the Three Forks.

Jul. 30 Expedition leaves the Three Forks.

Aug. 8 Sacajawea identifies Beaverhead Rock.

Aug. 9 Lewis and three men leave main party to search for Shoshones.

Aug. 11 Lewis sees first Shoshone.

Aug. 12 Lewis crosses Lemhi Pass and the Continental Divide.

Aug. 13 Lewis meets the Shoshones.

Aug. 17 Lewis and the Shoshones meet Clark and the main party at mouth of Horse Prairie Creek.

Aug. 26 Lewis and main party cross Lemhi Pass with pack horses.

Aug. 29 Clark rejoins Lewis after exploring Salmon River Canyon and finding it impassable.

Aug. 30 Lewis and Clark leave Shoshone village to start overland crossing of mountains.

Sept. 4 Meet Flatheads in Ross' Hole.

Sept. 6 Enter Bitterroot Valley.

Sept. 9 Arrive at Travellers Rest.

Sept. 11 Leave Travellers Rest on Lolo Trail.

Sept. 20 Clark arrives at Weippe Prairie and Nez Perce village.

Sept. 22 Lewis and main party arrive at Weippe and join Clark.

1805 (cont'd)

Sept. 26	Establish Canoe Camp on Clearwater River.
Oct. 7	Leave Canoe Camp - down Clearwater.
Oct. 11	Enter Snake River.
Oct. 16	Enter Columbia River.
Nov. 10	Arrive at Point Ellice - see Pacific Ocean.
Nov. 25	Cross Columbia River to south side.
Dec. 8	Expedition moves to site of Fort Clatsop.
Dec. 10	Begin building winter quarters at Fort Clatsop.
Dec. 14	Buildings roofed.

1806

Mar. 22	Hunters leave Fort Clatsop in advance of main party.
Mar. 23	Expedition leaves Fort Clatsop starting return journey.
Apr. 30	Leave Walla Walla Indian villages
May 3	Arrive at Clearwater River.
May 8	Arrive at Twisted Hair's Nez Perce village.
May 13	Establish Camp Chopunnish.
Jun. 10	Move to Weippe Prairie.
Jun. 14	First start on return trip over Lolo Trail.
Jun. 17	Turn back.
Jun. 24	Start over Lolo Trail again - with Nez Perce guides.
Jun. 30	Arrive at Travellers Rest.

1806 (cont'd)

Jul. 3	Party splits into two groups - leave Travellers Rest.
Jul. 8	Clark arrives at caches on Beaverhead River.
Jul. 19	Ordway brings boats to the Great Falls of the Missouri.
Jul. 25	Clark arrives at Pompey's Pillar on Yellowstone River.
Jul. 7	Lewis crosses Continental Divide at Lewis and Clark Pass.
Jul. 13	Lewis arrives at the Great Falls of the Missouri.
Jul. 16	Lewis and three men start to explore Marias River.
Jul. 22	Lewis at farthest point on Marias.
Jul. 26	Lewis meets eight Blackfeet.
Jul. 27	Lewis and party kill two Blackfeet.
Jul. 28	Lewis meets Ordway at Missouri River.
Aug. 11	Lewis shot and wounded by Cruzatte (accidentally).
Aug. 12	Lewis and Clark rejoin.
Aug. 14	Arrive at Mandan villages.
Aug. 14	John Colter given permission to leave expedition and join two free trappers.
Aug. 17	Leave Mandan villages.
Sept.13	Arrive at St. Louis.

Prelude

President Jefferson's dispatching the Lewis and Clark expedition into the unknown Far West was not a sudden whim on his part. Like nearly all great events in history, it was the result of long thought and desire and the outgrowth of previous abortive attempts to accomplish the same thing.

By the time the Lewis and Clark party set out on its way up the Missouri in the spring of 1804 that river was pretty well known as far as the mouth of the Platte, about 600 miles. For almost a century, French traders and adventurers had been penetrating the land west of the Mississippi. An authority on the French advances into this part of the country demonstrates that by the time France ceded Louisiana to Spain in 1763 her nationals had gained a first-hand knowledge of the Missouri from its mouth as far as the Mandan villages (about 60 miles west of present day Bismarck, N.D.), with the exception of that stretch of the river between the Platte and the White or Cheyenne Rivers.[1]

The Spaniards made virtually no advances up the Missouri River during the first two decades of their domination of Louisiana. By the middle 1780's, however, aggressive British traders were

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1 A. P. Nasatir, Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804 (2 vols., St. Louis, 1952), I, 1-65.

pushing westward and southward from their bases on both Canadian and American soil. This had brought to the Spaniards a realization that either they must take action to control the fur trade on the Upper Missouri or they would lose it permanently. In 1793 the Spanish granted a trade monopoly on the Upper Missouri to the Missouri Company (not to be confused with the Missouri Fur Company organized in 1809 under United States control of Louisiana). It and its successors operated on the river until the transfer of Louisiana to the United States in 1803. In 1794 it sent out Jean Baptiste Truteau's abortive expedition which reached the Arikara villages the next year. The Company sent out James MacKay with a trading party of thirty-three men in 1795. When John Evans, a member of the party, tried to reach the Mandan villages overland from a point near the mouth of the Platte River, Sioux Indians turned him back. The next year Evans started out again with secret orders from the Spanish authorities to go to the Pacific. This time he reached the Mandan villages on September 23 and found British Traders already established there (they had been there since 1785, coming down from the Assiniboine River). He took possession of their fort and hoisted over it the Spanish flag. The Mandans gave their assent to the Spanish claims of sovereignty advanced by Evans.[1]

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1 Ibid, I, 86-102.

The push into the Upper Mississippi and Missouri River regions by the rival British Hudson's Bay and Northwest Companies had begun about the end of the American Revolution. Farther north they were also advancing toward the Pacific Ocean. The great Alexander Mackenzie of the Northwest Company was the first white man to cross the continent north of the Spanish settlements of Mexico.

This feat was in 1793. It grew out of a proposal that Alexander Henry made to the Royal Society for an exploration to discover a water route to the Pacific Ocean in high latitudes. He and his partner in the Northwest Company, Peter Pond, a great geo-politician of his day, assigned Mackenzie to accomplish the project. In 1789 Mackenzie followed a course that he thought might bring success. But the great waterway he followed, which now bears his name, emptied into the Arctic rather than the Pacific. Four years later, in 1793, he did get through the Canadian wilderness after a journey of constant danger and enormous difficulties. He travelled by way of the Peace River, part of the Frazer River which eventually became impassable to him, the Blackwater River, and a long land passage to the Bella Coola River which emptied into the sea north of Vancouver Island. This route was commercially impracticable because of tremendous river gorges and the high Rocky Mountains along its course. Before he had to leave the Fraser River, which at that time

was called the Tacouche Tesse, Indians told him that it emptied into the Pacific. Mackenzie never saw the mouth of the Fraser where it empties into the western sea near the 49th Parallel. When he heard of Gray's discovery of the Columbia River he thought it was the Tacouche Tesse that he had tried to travel to the ocean. Not only did Mackenzie think this, so did almost everyone else who was interested in the matter until Lewis and Clark proved the facts to be otherwise.[1]

It is hard to know just when Jefferson's interest in the western part of North America began to form. We can be sure that it had taken definite form by 1783 because in that year he wrote to George Rogers Clark suggesting to the latter an exploration of the Trans-Mississippi country. Very likely his interest was first excited in an important way by conversations with John Ledyard while he was Minister to France. Ledyard of Connecticut was one of two American sailors in Captain Cook's crew when that great explorer visited the northwest coast in 1778. It was in this, his third voyage, that Cook proved there was no river or strait north of Nootka Sound that could be the western end of the Northwest Passage. Ledyard told Jefferson of the great profit of the fur trade from that coast with China.

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1 DeVoto, The Course of Empire, 420-421 and note 38, 609, and The Journals of Lewis and Clark, Intro. xxx-xxxix. DeVoto cites extensively from Mackenzie's book, Voyages from Montreal, published in 1801. Also see Gordon Charles Davidson, The North West Company, (University of California Publications in History, vol. VII, Berkley 1918), 61.

Then in 1793 Jefferson, in an address before the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, outlined the project the Society was sponsoring for Andre Michaux, a French botanist and explorer who for some years had been living in the United States, to follow the largest stream (the Missouri) or its tributaries so as to reach the Pacific by the shortest way and along the lowest latitudes. Michaux did start on this enterprise, but for reasons we cannot go into here he never got across the Mississippi River.[1] It is noteworthy that Meriwether Lewis then only 18 years old, asked Jefferson to accompany the expedition.

After Jefferson became President the idea of carrying out his long desired exploration to the west was never far from the forefront of his mind. There is every reason to believe that when he appointed Meriwether Lewis his private Secretary in 1801 he really wanted him to lead a western expedition. In 1802 Jefferson began preparing the way for the exploration by broaching the subject with the Marques de Casa Yrujo, the Spanish Ambassador to the United States. This was before the negotiations leading to the Louisiana Purchase and at a time when Jefferson could not have foreseen that a large part of the great Trans-Mississippi region would become United States soil. Nevertheless, he was looking to the

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1 Thwaites, VII, 202-205 (from Ford, VI, 158-161), gives Jefferson's instructions to Michaux; Elliot Coues, History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark (4 vols., New York, 1893) I, xviii-xxiii, also gives the instructions.

future.

In response to Jefferson's query as to what the attitude of the Spanish government would be to a small expedition exploring the Missouri, Yrujo replied, "I persuaded myself that an expedition of this nature could not fail to give umbrage to our Government." Jefferson recurred to the subject again, however, and told Yrujo that Spain should have no fear as the purpose would not be other than "to observe the territories which are found between 40 and 60 from the mouth of the Missouri to the Pacific Ocean, and unite the discoveries these men would make with those which the celebrated Makensi [Mackenzie] made in 1793, and be sure if it were possible in that district to establish a continual communication, or little interrupted, by water as far as the South Sea."[1] But Yrujo was not impressed. He replied that there was no need to inquire further into this subject because the French, Spanish, British, and Canadians had demonstrated that the long sought Northwest Passage did not exist. It was clear that the Spanish authorities would not look with favor upon an American expedition westward beyond the Mississippi.

But Jefferson was not to be deflected by that. In January 1803 he sent a confidential message to the Congress in connection

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1 DeVoto, ed., The Lewis and Clark Journals, Intro., xv-xvi, quoting Jefferson and Yrujo.

with the act establishing trade within the Indian tribes, asking that the system be extended to the Indians on the Missouri River. At the same time he proposed sending an expedition up that river to its source and across the mountains and hence down westward flowing watercourses to the Pacific. He asked for $2,500 to carry out this proposal. Congress approved it. Jefferson in his message to the Congress seemed to accept the theory of a "single portage" from the western ocean. Robert Rogers had advanced this view in 1772 that about twenty miles separated the navigable waters of the Missouri from what he called "the Oregon." Such a view left no room for the Rocky Mountains.

The general view held in St. Louis at the time was that about 100 miles separated the two waterways. This view is well expressed in a letter from General Victor Collot to Talleyrand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, November 6, 1801, urging that the French Government at once take steps to watch closely and control events in Upper Louisiana. A significant passage reads:

> Moreover, it is from a point in Illinois, in Upper Louisiana, where the immense communication with the South Sea -- should be opened, by following the noble course of the Missouri, whose sources, according to all information which I obtained from the places on my last trip, interrupted by the loss of my aide-de-camp, should be separated - from the waters which flow into the Bay of Don Juan de Fuca and from there into the South Sea - only by a portage which I estimate to be at most thirty leagues. It is believed that it will be of the greatest service that the government have this voyage continued.[1]

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1 Nasatir, op cit, II, 668-669.

Louisiana was again French in law, although not yet by administrative control, by reason of Napoleon's recent compulsion of the Spanish Government to recede it to him. It is clear that had Louisiana been retained by France the French would have lost little time in accomplishing what was to be the everlasting glory of Lewis and Clark.

Preparations for the Journey

In February 1801, Capt. Meriwether Lewis, Paymaster of the United States 1st Infantry Regiment, stationed on the Ohio and Michigan frontier, received an invitation from newly elected President Jefferson to be his private Secretary. This was a month before Jefferson's inauguration. Lewis accepted, and as soon as the army administrative machinery allowed, he left Pittsburgh for Washington, travelling over what soon was to be called the National Road. Lewis had entered the army in 1794 during the Whiskey Rebellion when he volunteered in a unit being raised by Revolutionary General Daniel Morgan. Lewis liked the army and remained in it, travelling about a great deal between Pittsburgh and Detroit and frontier posts in that part of the country. For a few months during 1795 or 1796, he was an ensign in a company commanded by Capt. William Clark. Clark had been in the army longer than Lewis and had seen service with General Mad Anthony Wayne in the Indian campaign that led to Fallen

Timbers and the subjugation of the Ohio Indians. While Lewis stayed in the army, Clark resigned his commission in 1796. Both Lewis and Clark had spent much time in the open and were well versed in frontier lore. William Clark was the younger brother of the famous George Rogers Clark, conqueror of the Northwest during the Revolution.

After Congress acted favorably on President Jefferson's confidential message of January 18, Lewis accelerated greatly his preparations for the anticipated journey. He went to Lancaster and Philadelphia where he received instructions in making scientific observations and in accumulating those instruments and medicines he was certain to need on the trip. Presumably, he studied botany under Dr. B. S. Barton at the University of Pennsylvania. He also went to Harpers Ferry and Pittsburgh to advance the project. At the Government arsenal at Harpers Ferry he made arrangements to get the new rifle just adopted by the army, and he also arranged to have an iron framework made in two parts for a boat that could be assembled later. This craft he called Experiment. The metal sections weighed less than 100 pounds, but it was calculated that when loaded it would carry 1,770 pounds.

Jefferson left the choice of a principal associate to Lewis. The latter decided on his former commander in the army, former Capt. William Clark. Lewis wrote to him on June 19, 1803, explaining the projected expedition and offering him the position; it was to be

co-equal with his own and was expected to carry a captain's rank in the army. Clark received the letter at Louisville, Kentucky, on July 16, and accepted the next day. Both Lewis and Clark were disappointed when army bureaucracy resulted in Clark receiving only a 2nd Lieutenancy in the Artillery, but Clark swallowed his pride at this petty action. He always signed his name while on the expedition as Captain of an Exploring Expedition and Lewis did in fact treat him as co-leader. The rank of his commission in the army was not known to anyone in the expedition except Lewis. The two men were always known to their men as the two Captains, and so they will be known to history.[1]

At the time he invited Clark to join him in the expedition, Lewis asked him to help find "some good hunters, stout, healthy, unmarried young men, accustomed to the woods, and capable of bearing bodily fatigue to a pretty considerable degree."[2]

As a result of this request some of the best men of the expedition were frontiersmen recruited in Kentucky.

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1 The above summary of Lewis and Clark is based on John E. Bakeless, Lewis and Clark; Partners in Discovery (New York, 1947), 1-99. This exchange of correspondence is reproduced in Thwaites, VII, Appendices.

2 Thwaites, VII, 226-230.

Lewis proceeded from Washington to Pittsburgh where his supplies were brought by wagon from various points in Virginia and Pennsylvania. From the Schuylkill Arsenal in Philadelphia came most of the military equipment, the new Harpers Ferry rifles, blunderbusses, ammunition, tomahawks, knives, swivel guns, and an air gun. His Indian trade goods, to give only a partial list, included fifteen dozen pewter looking glasses, 73 bunches of beads, and apparently three pounds more of loose beads, a number of small bells, earrings, 130 rolls of tobacco, 1,152 rolls "mockerson" owls, 500 broaches, 2,800 fish hooks, 432 curtain rings, 144 iron combs, 4,600 needles, vermilion, striped calico shirts, 70 yards of red cloth, and medals carrying Jefferson likeness.[1] At Pittsburgh, Lewis had a keelboat such as were commonly used on the Ohio River. When he left Pittsburgh on July 31, Lewis had with him seven soldiers, a river pilot, and three young men on trial.[2] He also had a Newfoundland dog, named Scannon, which he had just bought.

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1 Thwaites, VII, 231-246, gives list of Indian presents, trade goods, and equipment taken by expedition.

2 Milo M. Quaife, The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway (Publ. Wisconsin State Historical Society Coll., Vol. XXII), 31, Lewis Jnl. for Aug. 30, 1803.

At Maysville, Kentucky, on October 15, 1803, a young man joined Lewis who was destined to leave his name in American history and folklore -- John Colter. It appears that he had come all the way from his farm home near Staunton, Virginia, to intercept Lewis on his way down the Ohio and join the expedition. For some unexplained reason Lewis did not make entries in his diary from September 18 to November 11, 1803, and accordingly there is no detail on his meeting with Colter.[1] Brothers Reuben and Joseph Fields, Kentucky frontiersmen and mountaineers, joined apparently before Colter since they head the roster of civilian recruits. They, too, were to become noted members of the expedition.

Down the Ohio a way (opposite Paducah, where Metropolis, Illinois, now is situated), Lewis stopped at Fort Massac. There he employed on November 11 a young half-breed, a son of a French father and a Shawnee mother, who was to serve as Indian interpreter and hunter. He was expert in the ways of Indians, a dead shot, a perfect woodsman, and versed in Indian sign language. His name was George Drouillard. Lewis and Clark, and apparently no one else on the expedition, ever learned either to pronounce or spell his name. In the journals it is generally Drewyer. Some writers have spelled the

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1 Burton Harris, John Colter: His Years in the Rockies, (New York and London, 1952), 13-14.

name Drouilliard. Both Cones and Thwaites accept Drouillard as the correct spelling, and Drouillard it will be here. His father, Pierre Drouillard, an interpreter for the British at Detroit in the latter part of the 18th century, is reputed to have saved the famous Simon Kenton from the stake in 1779 (See Thwaites, I, 222). George Drouillard is a name to be reckoned with in the history of American frontier annals. If there was an indispensable man on the expedition other than the two leaders, it was this Shawnee half-breed. He belongs in the forefront of the American frontiersman - woodsman - plainsman - scout - hunter Hall of Fame. He and Colter were destined to go down in legend and folklore associated with the Three Forks of the Missouri. Colter almost left his bones there. Drouillard did.[1]

In the latter part of October 1803, Lewis arrived at Louisville, and on the 26th of that month he and Clark, who joined him there, departed downstream on their way west. They turned up the Mississippi when they arrived at that stream and arrived at St. Louis on December 10. Clark set up a base camp at Riviere du Bois, Wood River, on the Illinois shore, where it emptied into the Father of Waters, during the month. This was on American soil without question; across the Mississippi was Louisiana, and although it had just been purchased from Napoleon, France had not even taken over from the Spanish in her regained ownership and the Spanish still controlled the west bank pending a formal transfer of Upper Louisiana

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1 Quaife, op cit 47; Drouillard so signed his name in ltr. to his sister, May 23, 1809. See Olin D. Wheeler, The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904 (New York 1904) I, 107-111.

to the United States.

Clark took over general charge at Camp Wood of the preparations for the trip up the Missouri, leaving Lewis free for numerous trips he had to make and dealing with the Spanish authorities in nearby St. Louis. Lewis made trips in mid-winter to Kaskaskia and Cahokia to obtain some choice soldiers for the expedition. One of them was Sergeant John Ordway (from New Hampshire) of the 1st Infantry, and another was Patrick Gass, a soldier of long experience on the frontier who had known Daniel Boone. Gass was only five feet, seven inches in height, but he was strong and enduring. Their company commander refused to let these two men go, but armed with Presidential authority, Lewis took them anyway. At Cahokia, George Drouillard rejoined Lewis from his trip into Tennessee to recruit men for the party. He brought eight men, one of them Shields, the blacksmith.

In March 1804, Lewis witnessed in St. Louis transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States. A few soldiers from Lewis' old regiment, the 1st Infantry, crossed the Mississippi on March 8 and marched to Government House for the ceremonies. Lewis was with them. So, as it turned out, Upper Louisiana was formally United States land before the Lewis and Clark expedition set out on its long journey from Camp Wood in May.

As finally composed, the party enlisted by the two Captains for the expedition numbered forty-three men besides themselves. They included nine young men from Kentucky, 14 United States soldiers, two French boatmen, the interpreter and hunter Drouillard, and Clark's negro slave, York. The rest comprised a corporal and six other soldiers and nine boatmen who were to go as far as the Mandan villages and help defend the party if needed against Indian attack. John Shields was the general handy-man of the expedition and skilled in working either metal or wood. Gass was a good carpenter and repair-man. Peter Cruzatte, a French-Canadian, was the chief waterman. He carried his violin all the way across the continent and played for innumerable dances. Assuredly, his fiddle was the first of that noble instrument to sound in the wilds of the Rocky Mountains. The party was placed under military discipline and was organized into three squads under the commands of Sergeants Charles Floyd, John Ordway, and Nathaniel Pryor.[1]

In addition to Lewis and Clark, five others - Gass, Floyd, Ordway, Whitehouse, and Frazer - kept journals or diaries during the expedition. Frazer's has been lost. Gass' diary has survived in a

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1 The figures are Coues. See Coues, op cit, I, 2-3; Thwaites, I, 11-14; Charles G. Clarke, "The roster of the Expedition of Lewis and Clark," The Oregon Historical Quarterly, XLV (December, 1944), 289-305. (gives the number as 45 in addition to the leaders).

much edited form and in that form was the first of all to be published; the original is lost.

The Journey

In this section no attempt will be made to tell a full story of the expedition. Only enough of it will be sketched to relate the more important sites along its course with the journey as a whole in relation to time and place. For any whose interest desires more detail and the full story, there are the numerous editions of the Lewis and Clark journals, and of the others who kept diaries and made notes. The complete Lewis and Clark journals of 1,500,000 words are printed with many explanatory notes in the eight-volume work edited by Reuben G. Thwaites. There are other shorter, abridged versions of the journals, such as the two-volume work of James Kendall Hosmer and the recent one-volume compilation edited by the late Bernard DeVoto, and there is the first two-volume history by Biddle. In general, only extended quotations from the journals have been documented in the footnotes. Unless otherwise indicated, the facts and narrative are based on the Thwaites edition of the journals, and verification can be obtained by turning to the journal entries for the period indicated.

During the winter of 1803-04, Clark stayed with the men at Camp Wood, above St. Louis, and directly opposite the mouth of the Missouri River. He supervised building boats and the many things that had to be done in preparation for the long journey ahead. His main task, perhaps, was to establish military discipline in the little command. This was not easy, and there were several instances during the winter when military punishment had to be used. The very safety of the little group, for every man of it, it could be foreseen, would depend on immediate acceptance of orders and constant vigilance day on end, and perhaps year on end, if they were to succeed in their great venture and return alive. Laxness in guard duty, slowness in response to an order, and insubordination could not be tolerated. Clark, it was, who assumed the principal task of whipping the new recruits into shape. Even so exemplary a man as Colter came in for some punishment during this time.

While Clark stayed at Camp Wood, Lewis spent a large part of his time that winter in St. Louis and in numerous errands to military posts in the Illinois country to obtain men and supplies for the journey. Lewis found constant hostility among the Spanish authorities in St. Louis to the expedition.

It may be well at this point to look at the instructions Jefferson gave Lewis concerning the objectives of the expedition.

A year before, in April 1803, President Jefferson had sent Lewis a draft of his contemplated instructions for the expedition. On June 20 he signed them and they became the official instructions for the trip, supplemented, no doubt, by many long conversations, and perhaps secret instructions. In the signed instructions, Jefferson's key passages read as follows:

> The object of your mission is to explore the Missouri River, & such principal stream of it, as, by its course & communication with the waters of the Pacific Ocean, may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent, for the purposes of commerce....
>
> The interesting points of the portage between the heads of the Missouri & the water offering the best communication with the Pacific Ocean should also be fixed by observation, & the course of that water to the ocean, in the same manner as that of the Missouri.
>
> Your observations are to be taken with great pains & accuracy, to be entered distinctly, & intelligibly for others as well as yourself, to comprehend all the elements necessary, with the aid of the usual tables, to fix the latitude and longitude of the places at which they were taken, & are to be rendered to the war-office....
>
> The commerce which may be carried on with the people inhabiting the line you will pursue, renders a knowledge of these people important. You will therefore endeavor to make yourself acquainted, as far as a diligent pursuit of your journey shall admit, with the names of the nations and their numbers;....
>
> In all your intercourse with the natives treat them in the most friendly & conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit;...confer with them on the points most convenient as mutual emporiums,....

> to your own discretion therefore must be left the degree of danger you may risk, & the point at which you should decline, only saying we wish you to err on the side of your safety, & to bring back your party safe, even if it be with less information....
>
> Should you reach the Pacific ocean [one full line scratched out, indecipherable - Ed.] inform yourself of the circumstances which may decide whether the furs of those parts may not be collected as advantageously at the head of the Missouri (convenient as is supposed to the waters of the Colorado & Oregon or Columbia) as at Nootka sound or any other point of that coast; & that trade be consequently conducted through the Missouri & more beneficially than by the circumnavigation now practised. [1]

At the time Jefferson sent the instructions to Lewis he did not know of the Louisiana purchase agreed upon by his ministers in Paris and the French authorities. The first news of that came to him eleven days later, on July 1, and the first copy of the treaty reached the United States on July 14. The news made no difference in the expedition except that within the boundary of the Purchase, to the Continental Divide, Lewis and Clark informed the natives that the Great White Father was now Mr. Jefferson in Washington, instead of the Spanish Crown, and that the American flag was the emblem of that change in sovereignty. For the rest, France had never resumed actual control of Louisiana from Spain following Napoleon's gun-point

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1 Thwaites, VII, 247-252. These instructions are reproduced in practically every major work dealing with the expedition, and in the Jefferson Papers.

deal, and it was the Spanish authorities with whom Lewis and Clark had to deal at St. Louis who resented the whole thing. St. Louis was the beachhead for the expedition.

Putting his carpentry skill to good use, Sergeant Gass supervised completing the 55-foot keelboat. It had a draught of three feet, 10-foot decks, two cabins, and lockers on the sides of the boat whose lids could be raised to form a breastwork four feet high which would turn Indian arrows. A large square sail and 22 oars provided the motive power. Two pirogues, boats with a shallow draft that could carry heavy cargo and have room for several men, were built under Gass' direction. They were between 40 and 50 feet long, about 12 feet wide, and pointed at both ends. The larger one was painted red, the other white. They were powered by seven and six oars, respectively. Soldiers of the permanent party were on the keelboat; French boatmen took the red pirogue; and soldiers not expected to be part of the permanent group, but to return from the Mandan villages the next spring, took the white pirogue.

On these three boats the Captains and their men loaded during the second week of May 1804, seven bales of clothing, tools, medical supplies, and six tons of food. Then they put aboard the fourteen bales of trade goods for use in dealing with the Indians. On the west coast they were to find that what they needed most was blue beads, but they had only a few of them, although plenty of red and white.

From Camp Wood to the Mandan Villages

Clark sent a message on May 14 to Lewis who was in St. Louis that the expedition was ready to start, and at 4 o'clock that afternoon the boats swung out into the Mississippi current and crossed that stream to enter the mouth of the Missouri. That first day they made four miles and camped on a little island. At St. Charles the party waited several days for Lewis to come up from St. Louis. Finally, on May 21, the Corps of Discovery set out in earnest on its tedious ascent of the Missouri River. Four days later it passed the little French hamlet of La Charette, the last outpost of civilization on the Missouri. A famous American frontiersman of an earlier day, Daniel Boone, lived there and he must have watched with moist eyes and a yearning heart as the little band of his countrymen passed out of sight upstream.

On June 12 the expedition encountered two rafts coming downstream and met old Pierre Dorion, a squaw man who had spent twenty years among the Sioux Indians. Lewis and Clark prevailed upon him to accompany them as far as the Sioux to serve as interpreter.

Five weeks later, on July 21, sixty-nine days out, the party reached the mouth of the Platte River, considered the dividing point between the Lower and the Upper Missouri. Clark figured it 600 miles from their starting point; it is now reckoned 611 miles. The two

Captains decided to halt in the vicinity and to hold a council with the Oto Tribe. While they sent couriers to bring in the Indians, the party ascended the Missouri about fifty miles farther and selected a likely place they called Council Bluff (not the present day Council Bluff, Iowa). There, on August 3, on a smooth stretch of bottom land on the south side of the river, Lewis and Clark had their first council with western Indians (Plate 1). The meeting opened with an Indian parade. Lewis and Clark then made speeches telling the Indians about the change in government from Spain to the United States, promising them protection, and giving advice on how they should conduct themselves. To the chiefs they gave medals, a flag, some articles of clothing, and sundry other gifts. Some presents were distributed to the others.[1] This general pattern of council was followed many times later with Indian tribes encountered subsequently. Lewis and Clark noted in their journals that Council Bluffs would make a good place for a Platte River post to deal with the Indians of that vicinity.

On August 4 the party put out into the river again. Serious matters involving military discipline and the integrity of the party now arose. Two men deserted - Reed, a soldier, and a boatman called La Liberte. It was thought they might be found in the Indian villages. Drouillard and three men were sent on the 7th to find

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1 Thwaites, I, 97-98.

the deserters and bring them back. Drouillard was authorized to bring Reed back dead if necessary. He captured both men, but La Liberte escaped on the way back. Reed was brought in, and as partial punishment on the 18th he was made to run the gauntlet four times between the assembled men of the party while they flogged his bare back with switches in the presence of horrified Indians. Reed was read out of the expedition, and would be carried along on sufferance until he could be sent back. The Captains did not intend to jeopardize the expedition by allowing any kind of insubordination to take root. On several occasions in the shakedown part of the expedition, up to the Mandan villages during the summer and fall of 1804, they dealt immediately and severely with any that showed its head.

After leaving Council Bluffs and before Drouillard caught up with the expedition with his prisoner, Lewis and Clark reached and visited the grave of the notorious Omaha Chief Blackbird, on a high bluff near present day Macy, Nebraska. This chief had given serious trouble to St. Louis traders. He had died in the 1802 smallpox epidemic that had decimated his tribe. Before his death Blackbird had asked his followers to bury him, sitting erect on a horse, on the top of a high hill overlooking the Missouri so that he might watch the traders as they ascended the river.

The day after Reed's flogging, on the 19th, Sergeant Charles Floyd suddenly became very ill. He lay in the bottom of the boat, vomiting. Nothing the two Captains could do for him seemed to help. Floyd had been ill earlier but his trouble seemed to have disappeared. Three weeks before in his diary he had written, "I am verry Sick and Has ben for Sometime but have Recovered my helth again." On August 20 it was clear that Floyd was near death. The expedition pulled to shore and there on a sandbar Floyd died, whispering to the Captains, "I am going away." Lewis and Clark buried him on a high hill overlooking the Missouri River with the honors of war. Over his grave they placed a red cedar post carved with his name and the date (Plate 2).[1] He was the first United States soldier to die west of the Mississippi River. And he was the only member of the expedition to lose his life during the journey to the Pacific and back. Floyd's burial was at present-day Sioux City, Iowa.

By a vote of the men Patrick Gass was elected Sergeant to replace Floyd.

Near present-day Yankton, South Dakota, the expedition met the first of the Sioux bands. These were in a peaceful mood and there

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1 Thwaites, I, 114-115 and VIII, 22 (Floyd's Journal); Ordway's Journal, 112-113, in Milo M. Quaife, editor, The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, Kept on the Expedition 1803-1806 (Madison, 1916).

was no trouble in arranging a meeting with them. The place of council on August 30-31 was at Calumet Bluff, near the site of present Gavins Point Dam. Following the council which followed the pattern already set with the Otoes and Missouri farther downstream, Lewis and Clark prevailed upon Dorion to remain with the Yankton Sioux and try to establish peace between them and other tribes and, if possible, to arrange for a deputation of them to visit the President in Washington.

The party then continued on and above the mouth of the Niobrara met the Poncas. A decade earlier traders had considered this tribe, along with the Omahas, as among the worst on the river. But smallpox had reduced it to a remnant of its former strength. In their reduced strength the Poncas gave the expedition no trouble.

The expedition met no large parties of Indians as it continued on and approached the site of present-day Pierre, South Dakota. They passed the remains of Truteau's winter house, dating from nearly a decade earlier, below present Fort Randall Dam.

Shannon, a boy of only 17 years and the youngest member of the party, got lost during this period while ashore one day to take the expedition's two horses along the bank. He was missing from August 26 to September 11. On that date, the party saw a white man on horseback ride down to the river. He proved to be Shannon, who had

nearly starved. At the same time, John Colter had been ashore looking for him and had killed a plethora of game. It was about this time that Colter's skill as a hunter and woodsman became known and proved, and from then on he served the expedition as a hunter and not as an oarsman in one of the boats. Drouillard, the Fields brothers, and Colter were the hunters, scouts, and plainsmen of the expedition, with Drouillard, of course, holding first place.[1]

In their council with the Yankton Sioux the latter had told them that the Teton Sioux were on Bad River. Now in arriving at that point they met this powerful and aggressive tribe - and trouble. The two Captains made camp on September 24 just above Bad River, which they renamed Teton River, at a spot opposite present Pierre, South Dakota. They had learned the day before that 160 lodges of the Tetons were camped in that vicinity. On the 25th the council with the Teton Sioux got under way. Lewis and Clark needed old Dorion badly because no one else with the expedition could speak the language well. Chiefs Black Buffalo and The Partisan were the principal Teton leaders, the latter a notorious trouble maker and dangerous. After the customary speeches Lewis and Clark passed out presents and invited the chiefs to the keelboat to see the air gun and other curiosities. The Indians were not satisfied with their gifts and forthwith began threatening if they did not get more. They said the white men would have to leave them one of the pirogues. After one quarter of a glass of whiskey,

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1 Bakeless 130-131; Harris, John Colter, 18-19.

The Partisan pretended to be drunk and started to get ugly. Clark with three men took the chiefs to shore in one of the pirogues. At the river bank three young Sioux warriors grabbed the towrope. The Partisan pushed into Clark and said the presents were cheap and that the boats could go no farther. Clark pulled his sword and Sioux on the bank put arrows to bows already strung. The situation was touch and go. Clark and his three men were surrounded.

Lewis, watching from the keelboat, ordered the three swivel guns manned and pointed at the Indians. He ordered others to get their rifles. The test had come. Black Buffalo saw that these men meant business. He ordered the warriors holding the towrope to let go and himself helped free it. Clark immediately took the pirogue back to the keelboat under the protection of the covering swivel guns and rifles. At once he returned to shore with twelve well armed men and outfaced the Sioux. They backed off. Then Black Buffalo and three others asked to be taken on board the boat to spend the night. This was allowed. But that night everyone slept on the boats with a heavy guard posted.

The next day relations improved somewhat, but Lewis and Clark and their men were on the alert. The party moved up to the Sioux village and there they were entertained by the Indians. There was a dog feast, and then a scalp dance. The Tetons displayed

65 scalps and also 25 women and children prisoners they had recently taken in a raid on the Omahas. Some of the Omaha prisoners found a chance to warn the expedition that the Teton Sioux display of friendship on this second day was phony and that actually the Tetons were plotting their destruction.

Only vigilance, good judgment, and bold determination not to be intimidated by the Tetons got the expedition safely past these Indians. There were several incidents fraught with danger before the expedition set out up stream on September 28. Two hundred armed warriors patrolled the banks. The Chiefs said the expedition could not go on. Young warriors grabbed the rope holding the boat. Lewis was ready to cut it with his sword. Clark took the port gun from the gunner and was ready to fire a load of scrap iron point blank into the crowd of savages. The Sioux had had enough. The boats swung out into the river and headed up stream.[1]

This series of episodes with the Teton Sioux was of importance. The tribe was just becoming established as the most powerful on the Upper Missouri, and it was they who appeared most likely to turn back Lewis and Clark. Against weaker men they might have succeeded. As it was, the two Captains established American authority, for the time being at least, on this stretch of the Missouri. The news swept

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1 Thwaites, I, 164-174; DeVoto, Westward the Course of Empire, 446-448.

rapidly up and down the river. When the party arrived a little later at the Arikara, Mandan, and Minnataree villages its prestige was already established.

Ten days after the party left the Teton Sioux villages, on October 8, it arrived at the first of the Arikara villages. Most of the Arikara lived in three villages above the mouth of Grand River. They already had had considerable contact with white traders and were afflicted with venereal disease. Their sex customs were uninhibited. Most of the members of the expedition made the most of this. It was with the Arikara that the giant York first made his reputation with the Indian women. As one student of the Lewis and Clark literature has said, York must have been a very tired negro when the party started on upstream. The Arikara was an agricultural tribe living in earthlodge houses. During their stay with the Arikara, two traders there, operating out of St. Louis, under Spanish licenses, served as interpreters for Lewis and Clark.

At the Arikara villages another case of insubordination resulted in the court martial of John Newman. He received 75 lashes and was discharged from the army. Until he could be sent back down river, he was assigned to the red pirogue as a laborer. An Arikara chief wept as the lashes were applied.

It was almost mid-October when the party left the Arikara for the Mandan villages. One of the Arikara chiefs accompanied the expedition to the Mandans, with whom the Arikara were at war, in the hope of arranging a peace. Near the mouth of the Cannonball River the party met two French trappers descending the river in a pirogue. They reported that the Mandans had robbed them of their traps. After consultations with Lewis and Clark, the trappers consented to turn back and accompany the expedition in the hope that they would obtain redress from the Mandans. Above and below present-day Bismarck, North Dakota, the expedition passed a number of deserted Mandan villages. Smallpox had already wiped out large numbers of this tribe.

Winter at Fort Mandan, 1804-1805

On October 26, the Lewis and Clark expedition reached the Mandan villages, near which it was to spend the winter of 1804-05 (Plates 3,4,5). The Mandan villages were five separate communities. This cluster of Indian villages was at the mouth of Knife River, about sixty miles upstream from present-day Bismarck. In reality, the Mandans occupied only two of the five villages. They were on the Missouri. The Minnetaree, also known as the Hidatsa and Gros Ventre of the Missouri, lived in two, and the Amahani, related to and absorbed by the Minnetaree, lived in the other. The Minnetaree were

about a mile up the Knife River from its confluence with the Missouri. All three groups were agricultural and lived in rounded earth lodges (see Plates 3 & 4). They were rather well armed with white man's weapons and had ammunition. They still were able to hold their own against the Teton Sioux, but the latter had pressed far enough up river at this time to harass them constantly and pretty well to dominate the Arikaras to the east. The Mandans and Minnetarees raised large quantities of corn, beans, squash, tobacco, and sunflowers.

Immediately upon arriving at the Mandan villages Lewis and Clark set about establishing good relations with these tribes. They found already well established there British traders from Canadian posts on the Assiniboin River. These traders were from both the Northwest and the Hudson's Bay Companies. During the winter the two Captains warned these traders against giving British flags and medals to the Indians but did not try to prevent them from trading. On October 29, the leaders of the expedition held the grandest council they had yet staged, and relations with the Mandans and Minnetaree got off to an auspicious start.

Lewis and Clark had by now decided that they would make their winter camp with the Mandans. After some reconnaissance, Clark, on November 2, selected a spot on the north bank of the river sheltered by rimrock from the high winds. Nearby was a supply of cottonwood trees. The men set to work with axes and soon a triangular-shaped

enclosure began to take form. Two rows of four log huts each were set at an angle to each other. The huts were fourteen feet square. The open end of the angle was closed with a stockade. The buildings were given a shed-like roof which sloped up to a height of 18 feet at the outer face. The men moved into these quarters on November 20. They called the palisaded and enclosed structure Fort Mandan. It was about three miles downstream from the Indian villages. By Christmas it had been completed and was considered strong enough to hold off a war party.

Even though relations with the Mandans and Minnetarees appeared to be good, Lewis and Clark did not fully trust the latter. Even though agricultural to a degree, they were still warlike and sent war parties ranging far to the west, some of them penetrating the Rocky Mountains themselves. The two Captains refused Indians admittance to Fort Mandan after dark and kept a sentry on duty at all time, even in the terribly cold weather of mid-winter when the temperature reached 30 degrees below zero. In that weather a sentry had to be relieved every half hour. But there was much social intercourse between the men at the fort and the villages. York was as popular among the Mandans and Minnetarees as he had been with the Arikara. He was also an object of curiosity and astonishment to the natives. They had never before seen a black man. One of the chiefs

tried to rub off the "black paint" and was only partially convinced when he could not. Cruzatte with his violin was also a great favorite. There was much dancing during the winter by everyone. The Teton Sioux made some raids during the winter and rumors continued to come to Lewis and Clark that the Tetons were determined to wipe out the white party when spring came. On one occasion Lewis led a pursuing party against a party of raiders, but never caught up with them.

Because the Minnetarees had for years ranged far to the west in their hunting and war expeditions, they knew the country of the Upper Missouri pretty well all the way to the Three Forks, and even beyond. It was from them that Lewis and Clark collected a great mass of information by interview during the winter. The Minnetaree drew little pictures in the dirt or with charcoal on skims of stream courses, and heaped up dirt to show the main mountain masses. On the basis of this information, Lewis and Clark sent back in the spring a map that showed the Missouri as far as the Rockies as they interpreted the Indian information. Nicholas King drew a map for the War Department in 1806 from these sketches. Events were to prove that Lewis and Clark had misunderstood some of the information. But the information the Indians had tried to give them was essentially accurate, even to details, as they learned later. It

was the Minnetarees who told them that they would come to a three forks of the river and that in that vicinity they would find a tribe of Indians who had horses, that the high mountains were just beyond this place, and that north and west flowing rivers were in a valley on the other side of the mountains. Some of them had been that far. They were in fact describing the Shoshone and Flathead Indians and the Lemhi and Bitterroot Rivers on the west side of the Continental Divide. Beyond those points they had never travelled and they could give no further information. But what they gave was much, and it was encouraging.

Immediately upon their arrival at the villages, Lewis and Clark employed a Rene Jennaume, a Northwest Company trader who was living with the Mandans, as an interpreter. A day later "a Mr. Chabonie" came to the Captains and applied for a job as interpreter with the Minnetarees. He had been living and trading with them for about five years. This man was Toussaint Charbonneau, a half-breed son of a French Canadian father and a Sioux mother. The British of the Northwest Company had known him since 1793, so he must have been in this Indian country for at least ten years. Lewis employed Charbonneau and he was an important link with the Minnetarees. Soon, on November 11, a young, pregnant Indian squaw came to Fort Mandan. She was Sacajawea, a Shoshone girl about 16 or 17 years old. She was one of two slave

Shoshone wives the 44 year old Charbonneau had bought or won in a gambling game from some Minnetarees. They had captured her in a raid on her people near the Three Forks of the Missouri nearly five years earlier, and the girl had passed from hand to hand until Charbonneau got her. Sacajawea was destined to accompany the expedition across the "Stoney Mountains" to the western sea, and to take her place in history as the "Bird Woman" of the memorable journey. Lewis and Clark developed an interest in her as soon as they learned she was a Shoshone from the Rocky Mountains. They saw in her an interpreter for them with the Shoshones, her people, and possibly an important factor in the success of the expedition. They assented to Charbonneau's request that she accompany him. And go along she did, carrying on her back a newly born papoose (born February 11, 1805, and named Baptiste).[1]

As the winter wore on Lewis set his blacksmith to work making iron battle axes, arrow points, and scrapers that he could trade to the Indians for corn. He had to have a large supply of it before departing in the spring. The leaders also decided that they would have to have lighter craft than the keelboat to go up the Missouri very far from where they were, and they began the building of light canoes. By the end of March, the canoes were ready.

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1 The spelling and pronunciation of Sacajawea are controversial. Sacajawea is the spelling authorized by the United States Board of Geographical Place names. The spelling adopted in North Dakota is Sakakawea. In Minnetaree this means "Bird Woman."

Lewis and Clark loaded the keelboat with a cargo of plant and animal specimens, skeletons, articles of Indian apparel, and several cages of live animals. The river now at last free of ice, the keelboat, on April 7, headed downstream for St. Louis. Among the men on board were Reed and Newman.

When the expedition made ready to leave the Mandan villages in the spring of 1805 only tested and true men remained in the Corps of Discovery. The shakedown period was over. The unreliable had been weeded out. Those who remained were seasoned, disciplined, and tough. On the same day that the keelboat headed back for St. Louis, the Corps of Discovery started upstream in the two pirogues and six small canoes. It was April 7, 1805. The real journey of the Corps of Discovery may be said to have begun at the Mandan villages on that day. From here on they were going into the uncharted wilderness.

From the Mandan Villages to the Three Forks

On April 8, Meriwether Lewis wrote in his journal, "Entertaining as I do the most confident hope of succeeding in a voyage which has formed a darling project of mine for the last ten years, I could but esteem this moment of my departure as among the most happy of my life."[1] The party was smaller now than when it started

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1 DeVoto, The Course of Empire, 473-474.

up the Missouri the preceding year. Lewis and Clark, however, had not sent back to St. Louis all the men they had intended to. Their experiences had taught them that for safety they would need a larger party than originally planned. Now there were 31 men and the Indian girl, Sacajawea, with her infant son, Baptiste - a total of 33 souls. The 31 men consisted of the two captains, three sergeants, 23 privates (28 army men), Drouillard, York, and Charbonneau. The last three were not under army discipline.

The immediate objective of the party was the Shoshone Indians somewhere near the Three Forks and the Continental Divide. There they hoped to obtain horses and Indian guides for the passage across the mountains to the Columbia River where they could resume a water route to the Pacific. Before it could reach the Shoshone country the expedition would have to pass through 1,100 miles of unknown, and possibly hostile, country. In the river itself they would encounter numerous shoals, cascades, and treacherous currents which, in a moment's time, could overturn their canoes and sweep away their precious instruments and belongings if the men became careless and were caught unaware. On the upper reaches of the river, they were to find numerous rattlesnakes and large numbers of the still to them unknown grizzly bear. The Minnetarees had told them of the grizzly bear but they had brushed aside the stories of the animal's strength and ferocity as being grossly exaggerated. They thought that

their new Harpers Ferry rifles would take care of the grizzly if they met any.

The trip from Fort Mandan to the mouth of the Musselshell was relatively uneventful. Game was abundant. The rolling and treeless plains of the Dakotas and eastern Montana gave way as they approached the Musselshell to more rugged hills on either side of the Missouri, which gradually began to be covered with pine and cedar. The river became narrower and crooked and its current more rapid. All of this made for more difficult navigation. Some supplies, including a large quantity of medicines, was lost in this part of the trip when a sudden squall of wind overturned one of the canoes.

On April 23, not far from the mouth of the Yellowstone, the Newfoundland dog, Scannon, killed an antelope swimming in the Missouri, and such was his strength that he swam ashore with it. Beaver abounded and almost every night Drouillard and others set traps for the animals. Frequently the party feasted on beaver tails and livers. Dead buffalo lined the river banks, apparently having broken through the ice and drowned during the late winter months. When the party arrived at the mouth of the Yellowstone on April 26, there was great celebration and an evening of singing, dancing, and general hilarity. They were the first white men to see the Yellowstone.

During May, the party ascended even higher up the Missouri. On the 29th Clark named a big river flowing in from the south Judith River in honor of Judy Hancock back in Fincastle, Virginia. Judy was then a girl of thirteen, but one day she would be Mrs. William Clark. Three days later, on June 1, the party came to a big river flowing in from the north. This stream was running full from the spring runoff of melting snow higher up. The information the two Captains had from the Indians during the winter, much of which they had misinterpreted, now caused them to be puzzled. That information did not place a big river at this point. Which of the two streams, therefore, was the true Missouri? The river from the north was muddy, like the Missouri had been thus far. The stream from the southwest was clear. The leaders had to decide, and decide correctly, which was the Missouri. For if they ascended the wrong stream they might lose so much time that they could not retrace their steps and get across the Stoney Mountains before the heavy snows of winter set in. That would mean the failure of the expedition.

Clark with a party of men undertook a reconnaissance of the southwestern stream; Lewis of the northwestern one. Both were convinced by observations they made in the course of three days that the north fork was a plains river and the southern fork was a mountain river. Also, Lewis decided the fork he was following bore too much north to lead to the divide near the Columbia. That meant that the

Missouri was the southern fork. All the men of the expedition save the two leaders thought the northern fork was the Missouri. Here was the first great test of intelligence in making the right decision. Lewis named the northern fork the Marias after Maria Wood, a cousin in Virginia, and much on his mind. Had the expedition gone up the Marias, thinking it the Missouri, they almost certainly would have encountered the hostile Blackfeet with results that can only be conjectured, but might have been calamitous to it.

But up the real Missouri they went. Some few days before reaching the split in the river which caused them so much concern, on May 26, Lewis had climbed to a high point along the river bank and from it had seen at a great distance the snowy crests of the Rocky Mountains. By now, rattlesnakes had become a real danger and several men had close calls with them. Also the grizzly bear appeared in great numbers. These great beasts up to now had never encountered man or animal of whom they had to be afraid. In any encounter with Indians the bear usually killed the man. Almost at the cost of their lives, both Lewis and Clark, and many others of the expedition, learned to accord this great, strange beast, that varied in color from yellow brown to white tipped hair, the respect that it deserved. Gone was their opinion of a month or two earlier. Lewis confessed that he did not like the animal and would rather fight two Indians than one

grizzly. On all sides now, also, were great herds of buffalo. Choice meat was easy to obtain.

Lewis, Drouillard, and three other men went overland ahead of the boats while Clark and the others cached some supplies and hid the red pirogue at the mouth of the Marias. Lewis and his men reached the Great Falls of the Missouri, about which they had heard so much, just before noon on June 13. Some authorities consider these falls the real beginning of the Rocky Mountain country. The river in a series of five cascades drops 400 feet. Later Clark measured the highest fall as 87 feet. The noise was like thunder and could be heard for a great distance. White spray leaped high into the air and likewise could be seen long before the falls themselves came into view.

The day Lewis arrived at the falls he had his fill of wild life adventure. He was alone at the time and was contemplating a buffalo he had just shot.

He was daydreaming for a moment and had not reloaded his rifle. Looking up he saw a grizzly quietly walking toward him twenty paces away. Lewis thought the best course was to walk nonchalantly toward the river and perhaps the bear would not charge. As he moved away he glanced over his shoulder. The bear was charging, its great jaws open and fangs flashing. Lewis sprinted the 80 yards to the river bank, ran into the water up to his armpits, and turned to face the bear. For some strange reason it stopped, turned, and ran across the prairie. A little later he saw a "tiger" kind of animal, apparently a cougar, about to spring on him. This time his gun was

loaded and he shot it. The next morning, upon waking, he found a large coiled rattlesnake on a tree trunk just above where he had been sleeping. It had 17 rattles.

Clark and the main party did not reach the falls until the 16th. At this time Sacajawea was very ill and almost died. The Great Falls obviously was a major barrier for them to pass with boats. Clark made a reconnaissance of the best portage route around the falls and found that it measured 18¼ miles. The party established a camp at the upper end of this portage opposite a small island which they called *White Bear Island*. *This* name came from the large number of silver tip grizzlies there. At the lower end of the portage the boats were drawn up a little creek and preparations begun to move them around the falls. The white pirogue they would have to leave. The canoes and supplies they would try to move on an improvised wagon. After a search, the men found just one cottonwood tree large enough to supply cross-cut disks that would serve as wheels. The soft wood was not good, but it was all there was.

Bears, rattlesnakes, mosquitoes, and buffalo were all in greater number about the Great Falls area than at any place they had yet been. The labor of pulling the crude wagon with the boats and supplies the 18 miles around the falls in the intense high plains heat of early July was prodigious. The men worked naked from the waist up.

The crude wagon repeatedly broke down. Near the end of June (the 28th) while the men were working in a staggering heat, a great storm came up quickly. Torrents of rain fell, and a lot of hail. The ice particles were huge, some weighing three ounces and measuring seven inches around. They fell with great velocity, some bouncing ten or 12 feet in the air. One man was felled three times by them. This same storm caught Clark, Charbonneau, Sacajawea and her baby in a gulley where they had taken shelter. They barely escaped up the steep slope ahead of a great wall of water that roared down on them. With a tremendous current it filled the dry gulch where they had been a moment before with 15 feet of water. Lewis lost his knapsack and the only large compass the expedition had in this narrow escape as he pushed Sacajawea up the slope ahead of him, but the compass was recovered later.

Now was the time to use the Experiment, the iron boat Lewis had had made for the upper waters of the Missouri. They put it together and then found they had no suitable material with which to cover it. They tried Elk skins, but the skins dried and shrank to such an extent that the needle holes in them grew so large the water came in. A water proofing mixture of charcoal, beeswax, and buffalo tallow promised at first to make the boat watertight, but soon this mixture flaked off. The party abandoned the iron boat, the one great failure in logistical planning of the expedition.

The expedition spent a month of immense labor getting around the Great Falls of the Missouri. Not until July 15 were the canoes and dugouts loaded and ready above the falls. The white pirogue was pulled ashore at Portage Camp below the falls and hidden. Other supplies were cached there because now with their smaller craft they could carry less goods.

The loss of time was causing concern to the two Captains. It was already the middle of July; they had been out from the Mandan villages three months, and they were not yet to the Rocky Mountains. They must find the Shoshones soon and cross the mountains or they would be caught in the early high mountain winters of that latitude. So it was with increasing concern that the party set out once more up the river. Clark finally travelled overland with a few companions while the main party in the boats struggled harder than ever to pole and pull the craft up the increasingly swift, and in places shallow, current. From the Great Falls area onward there had been great quantities of cactus whose thorns penetrated and lacerated the thin moccasins all the men were now wearing. The shoes had worn out. It was not uncommon for a man to extract a dozen thorns from his feet at the end of the day. Clark was suffering from feet injured by this and other causes. Some of the thorn cuts became infected and great boils developed.

In the morning of July 25, Clark and his footsore companions reached the Three Forks of the Missouri, the first white men ever to set foot there. While the others, too exhausted to continue, rested in a camp they made there, Clark moved on to the northernmost fork and followed it upstream for twenty miles, then he travelled cross-country for 12 more miles and climbed a peak to look over the lay of the land. He was convinced from what he now saw and had seen that the stream he had followed was the Missouri. But he cut across to the middle stream to make sure and then turned down it to the camp. He was exhausted physically. Lewis came up with the main party in the boats on the 27th.

Lewis administered to the exhausted and ill Clark, and then sent a patrol up the southeast stream. When it returned, the leaders compared the information it brought back with what Clark had gained of the other two streams during his reconnaissance. They agreed that only the one farthest west could lead anywhere near the headwaters of the Columbia. The others slanted in the wrong direction.

Here, as at the mouth of the Marias, the two Captains faced a critical problem, and if they had decided wrongly the success of the expedition might very well have been irretrievably compromised. The three streams that came together at the Three Forks discharged an almost equal amount of water. The southeast fork (the Gallatin) was more rapid but not as wide nor as deep as the other two. After

making celestial observations, the leaders decided that the southwestern fork appeared to have its origin in the snow-clad mountains to the west and southwest (Plates 7,8,9). Again they made the right deductions from the evidence they assembled. Had they taken either of the other two streams (the Gallatin and the Madison) they would have found themselves eventually in the vicinity of what is now Yellowstone National Park, to the southeast of Three Forks. With winter approaching they might not have had time to turn back and cross the Rockies before deep snow and sub-zero weather made it impossible. Such an eventuality would have meant failure of the expedition at best and possibly the death of most of the members.

From the Three Forks to the Shoshones

When the party moved out, poling its way up the chosen stream on July 30, it was following what they had named the Jefferson. The two Captains decided to name the three streams at the forks the Gallatin, the Madison, and the Jefferson in honor of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of State, and the President. These names have remained with these rivers ever since. It is appropriate that they mark this key point in North American geography.

The expedition was now rapidly getting into a desperate situation. In fact it was lost. They did not know how they were

going to get across the mountains and they had not yet met any Indians. Not one Indian had the expedition met since it had left the Mandan villages in April. Some signs of Indians had been seen along the banks, and on July 20 smoke signals had been sighted. Lewis and Clark interpreted this to mean that Indians had seen them, but if this was so they never put in an appearance. At the noon stopping on July 22 Sacajawea told the Captains that she recognized the country -- that they would soon be at the Three Forks. But when they arrived there she could not tell them which of the three streams was the one they should take to reach the mountains. She was no help in solving this problem. When the party went into camp half a mile up the Jefferson from its junction with the Madison she identified it as the place where her village was encamped five years before when the Minnetarees suddenly appeared and attacked.

They were only two camps up the Jefferson when Clark on August 1 had his 35th birthday. At that, he was probably the oldest man in the expedition. His lacerated and torn feet were still very bad and on one ankle he had a huge boil. Now that Clark was confined to the canoes, Lewis had to take over the task of scouting ahead by land. It was one that he enjoyed. On August 3 Clark found a fresh Indian moccasin print near their camp. The tracks led to a point overlooking the camp. Undoubtedly a lone scout had watched them.

Lewis ranged ahead with a few men and searched for the Shoshone but found none. At present-day Twin Bridge, Montana, Lewis came to a fork in the Jefferson and turned up the western one (now called the Big Hole River). He turned back before long, realizing that it was the wrong stream. Regaining the main stream he followed the other fork, the Beaverhead River. Lewis and his companions now waited for the boats. Everyone was worn out, many were sick, and nearly all were despondent.

Some good news came to them on August 8. Sacajawea suddenly recognized a landmark (Plate 10). Let Lewis' journal entry for that day tell the story:

> the Indian woman recognized the point of a high plain to our right which she informed us was not very distant from the summer retreat of her nation on a river beyond the mountains which run to the west. this hill she says her nation calls the beaver's head from a conceived re /se/mblance of it's figure to the head of that animal. she assures us that we shall either find her people on this river or on the river immediately west of it's source; which from it's present size cannot be very distant. as it is now all important with us to meet with those people as soon as possible I determined to proceed tomorrow with a small party to the source of the principal stream of this river and pass the mountains to the Columbia; and down that river untill I found the Indians; in short it is my resolusion to find them or some others, who have horses if it should cause me a trip of one month. for without horses we shall be obliged to leave a great part of our stores, of which, it appears to me that we have a stock already sufficiently small for the length of the voyage ahead of us.[1]

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1 Thwaites, II, 321-322.

The place where Lewis made his decision to strike out from the main party and go ahead until he found the Indians is about six land miles, and fourteen by river, up the Beaverhead from the mouth of Ruby River. This would place it about twenty miles north of present-day Dillon, Montana.

The next day, 9 August 1805, Lewis selected three men to go with him. There was, of course, the scout and interpreter Drouillard. The other two were Shields and McNeal. He allowed each man only one blanket and their weapons. The remainder of their packs were loaded down with Indian trade goods. The next day the small group came upon a clearly marked Indian trail which they followed upstream. It led past a high rock cliff that was swarming with rattlesnakes and which Lewis named Rattlesnake Cliff (Plate 11). A short distance farther Lewis came to another fork in the now small stream. One fork (modern Horse Prairie Creek) led off to the right toward the mountains. The Indian path also forked at this point, a path going up each stream. After some reconnoitering Lewis turned to the right after leaving a note for Clark to stop at this point and wait for his return. Soon the Indian trail disappeared.

Lewis sent Drouillard and Shields to either side of him with instructions to watch for the trail as they advanced toward a pass the party had seen to the west. They went along like this for five miles when Lewis "discovered an Indian on horseback about two miles distant coming down the plain towards us." On examining him with the glass,

Lewis saw that he was of a different nation from any Indians he had hitherto met; "his arms were a bow and quiver of arrows and was mounted on an eligant horse without a saddle, and a small string which was attatched to the under jaw of the horse which answered for a bridle. I was overjoyed at the sight of this stranger..."[1]

This was their first Shoshone. Lewis states that he was full of anxiety to convince the Indian as they approached that he was a white man, and that his party were not the dreaded Blackfeet or Minnetarees who frequented this part of the country at that time of year to prey upon the Shoshones. At a distance of a mile the Indian suddenly saw Lewis and stopped. Lewis immediately did likewise and spread his blanket in Indian sign language in token of friendship. The Indian watched Lewis and Drouillard and Shields, the latter two still advancing on the flanks. Lewis laid down his gun and advanced with gifts in his hands. Lewis called out the words "tabba bone" which he mistakenly thought meant white man in Shoshone. Lewis signaled to his companions to stop. Drouillard halted, but Shields did not see the signal and kept on advancing. To the lone mounted Indian it probably looked like a trap. When Lewis was within one hundred paces of him, he suddenly turned his horse, laid whip to it, and disappeared in the willow bushes (Plate 13). He was gone.

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1 Thwaites, II, 329 (Lewis journal for 11 Aug. 1805).

Disheartened to have failed when success seemed so near, Lewis led his small party on toward the pass, after fixing a small United States flag to a small pole. The next morning Drouillard tracked the lone horseman westward into the mountains where the horse tracks at last disappeared. Lewis upon getting this report decided to circle the cove where they had spent the night, hoping that he might intercept an Indian road at some point. They saw signs that some people had been digging for roots. After four miles they struck a large, plain Indian road that came in from the northeast and ran southwest along the base of the mountains. Lewis and his party eagerly followed this road for several miles. Then suddenly it turned abruptly to the west toward the high mountains. After travelling two miles in that direction along the road, McNeale bestrode the small stream the road followed and thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri. About three miles farther they came to what they took to be the remotest waters of the Missouri. Let us again turn to Lewis' journal:

> the road took us to the most distant mountain of the waters of the Mighty Missouri in surch of which we have spent so many toilsome days and wristless nights. thus far I had accompanied one of those great objects on which my mind has been unalterably fixed for many years, judge then of the pleasure I felt in all /a/ ying my thirst with this pure and ice-cold water which issues from the base of a low mountain or hill of a gentle ascent for 1/2 a mile. The mountains are high on either hand leave this gap at the head of this rivulet through which the road passes. here I halted a few minutes and rested myself. two miles below McNeal had exultingly stood with a foot on each side of this rivulet and thanked his god that he had lived to bestride the mighty & heretofore deemed endless Missouri. after refreshing ourselves we proceeded on to the top of the

> dividing ridge from which I discovered immence ranges of high mountains still to the West of us with their tops partially covered with snow. I now descended the mountain about 3/4 of a mile which I found much steeper than on the opposite side, to a handsome kold runing Creek of cold Clear water. here I first tasted the water of the great Columbia river.[1]

Lewis stood at Lemhi Pass (Plates 14 & 15). It was the Continental Divide. The waters of the Columbia drainage lay directly before him.

Some miles down the western slope the party camped for the night. The next morning, 13 August, they saw two women, a man, and some dogs a mile ahead of them. These Indians watched the approaching party but disappeared before Lewis came up to them. The road they were following was now dusty and showed evidence of recent use. Another mile and the party came suddenly upon three Indian women. Numerous folds of ground had prevented either party from seeing the other until now at thirty paces they suddenly faced each other. Lewis wrote in his journal that one of the three:

> ...a young woman immediately took to flight, an Elderly woman and a girl of about 12 years old remained. I instantly laid by my gun and advanced towards them. they appeared much allarmed but saw that we were to near for them to escape by flight. they therefore seated themselves on the ground, holding down their heads as if reconciled to die which the/y/ expected no doubt would be their fate.[2]

Lewis immediately put down his rifle, walked up to the

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1 Thwaites, II, 335 (Lewis journal for August 12, 1805).

2 Ibid, II, 338-339.

two, took the woman by the hand and raised her up. He repeated the words "tabba bone," and raised his shirt sleeve to show white skin. Drouillard and Shields came up, and after giving the woman some presents, Lewis asked Drouillard to have the older woman call back the young woman who was watching from a distance. Drouillard transmitted this request by sign language and the woman signalled the young woman to come back, which she did. Lewis gave her presents, and then painted the cheeks of all three women with vermillion, a practice Sacajawea had said the Shoshones employed to signify peace. Drouillard then in sign language translated that Lewis wanted them to lead him to their village to see their chief. They readily assented and led the party down the road along the river (Plate 16). This meeting place with the three Indian women apparently was in Lemhi River Valley at or near the base of the Beaverhead Mountains at the exit from Lemhi Pass. Now let us turn to Lewis' journal again:

> we had marched about 2 miles when we met a party of about 60 warriors mounted on excellent horses who came in nearly full speed, when they arrived I advanced towards them with the flag leaving my gun with the party about 50 paces behi/n/d me. the chief and two others who were a little in advance of the main body spoke to the women, and they informed them who we were and exultingly shewed the presents which had been given them. three men then advanced and embrased me very affectionately in their way which is by putting their left arm over you/r/ wright sholder clasping your back, while they apply their cheek to yours and frequently vociforate the word ah-hi-e, ah-hi-e that is, I am much pleased, I am much rejoiced. 1

1 Thwaites II, 339-340.

This was one of the high moments of the entire trip. At last the expedition had established contact with the long-sought Shoshone, for it was this tribe in fact that Lewis had met.

After a short exchange of greetings and smoking a pipe at the place where they met during which Lewis learned that the Chief's name was Cameahwait, the entire group turned about and went about four miles northward to the Shoshone village. There Lewis and his men were made comfortable in a skin tepee. That evening Lewis received a piece of Salmon from one of the Indians and was convinced now that he was on waters flowing into the Columbia.

Lewis exerted himself to have Cameahwait take his Shoshones with horses back across the pass to the Beaverhead River where he expected to find Clark and the boats. He found this very difficult of accomplishing for the Shoshones were deathly afraid of meeting the Minnetarees. Only that spring a war party of these Indians (from the very villages where Lewis and Clark had wintered) had attacked them and killed or captured twenty of their men and destroyed all their tepees except the one Lewis stayed in. The party of sixty warriors Lewis had met in Lemhi Valley were on their way to meet his party of five which scouts had reported as being from their dread enemies. But at last Lewis persuaded Cameahwait to make the crossing, and eventually a party set out. The Shoshones were almost starving, living on roots and berries with occasional fish and deer.

On August 16, on the way across Lemhi Pass, Drouillard had the good fortune to kill three deer. Lewis and his companions saw the famished Indians eat raw the intestines and all internal parts stripped from the carcasses, and even the soft parts of the hoofs. The whole party arrived that evening at the place where Lewis expected to meet Clark, but the latter had not yet arrived there (Plate 12). Cameahwait and the fifteen Indians with him were disappointed and it was all Lewis could do to keep them there overnight. A great deal depended on Clark coming up the next morning. Lewis wrote a note and dispatched Drouillard with it to Clark to make all haste.

Drouillard set out early on the morning of the 17th. Two hours later a Shoshone who had strayed a little distance from the camp ran in to say that the white men were coming with the boats - he had seen them. That morning Clark, Charbonneau, and Sacajawea had set out on foot. Sacajawea was in the lead. Suddenly Clark saw her stop, dance with joy, turn around, signal to him, and start sucking her fingers - a sign that the approaching figures were her own people. Drouillard and a few mounted Shoshones came up. The party turned around and with Clark's group proceeded to where Lewis and the Indians waited. As they approached the camp a young Indian woman ran out and embraced Sacajawea. She, too, had been captured by the Minnetarees five years before but had escaped, and now recognized her childhood friend. Clark greeted Cameahwait and preparations were made for a

council. When all was ready Sacajawea was brought in to interpret:

> She came into the tent, sat down, and was beginning to interpret, when in the person of Cameahwait she recognized her own brother; she instantly jumped up and ran and embraced him, throwing over him her blanket and weeping profusely; the chief was himself moved, but not to the same degree.[1]

In the council she translated from Shoshone into Minnetaree, Charbonneau translated from that into French, and Habuish, one of the Frenchmen, translated into English. Lewis and Clark started their parts of the conclave in English with the translations following the same pattern in reverse.

It was arranged between the two Captains that Lewis would stay with the boats, cache part of the supplies, sink the canoes so they could be hidden and later raised, buy horses, and prepare for packing over the mountains. Clark would go on ahead with part of the men and Sacajawea to the Indian village in the Lemhi Valley. There Sacajawea and Charbonneau would try to hurry the Indians back to Lewis with horses. Clark with a picked party would then go on and try to find a navigable route to the Columbia River. Cameahwait had already told Lewis that the west flowing rivers from his camp were not navigable and that they could not travel far on them. Lewis lost no time in learning from the Indians what alternate course there was. His journal for August 20 is worth quoting at this point for it records a valuable conversation in which the Indians gave what proved to be remarkably accurate information on which the party acted.

> I now asked Cameahwait by what route the Pierced nosed Indians, who he informed me inhabited this river below the mountains, came over to the Missouri; this he informed me was to the north, but added that the road was a very bad

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1 Nicholas Biddle, Lewis and Clark Journals, vol. 2 (New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. 1904)

> one as he had been informed by them and that they had suffered excessively with hunger on the rout being obliged to subsist for many days on berries alone as there was no game in that part of the mountains which were broken rockey and so thickly covered with timber that they could scarcely pass. however knowing that Indians had passed, and did pass, at this season on that side of this river to the same below the mountains, my rout was instantly settled in my own mind, p/r/ovided the account of this river should prove true on an investigation of it, which I was determined should be made before we would undertake the rout by land in any direction.[1]

Clark, with Colter, Gass, and a few others left the Shoshone village and travelled north down it to its juncture with a river he named the Salmon because of the fish of that name he found in it. Soon the Salmon turned abruptly to the west and it was not long before Clark discovered that everything the Indians said about the stream was true. Boats could not be taken down its rapids and gorges, and the canyon walls were so steep that men could not travel down its banks. Clark sent Colter back to Lewis with a message on the impassability of the Salmon (even today this stretch of the Salmon is known locally as the "River of No Return").

Meanwhile Lewis had obtained a few horses and with these and Indian porters he and his men struggled over the divide on August 26. Previously they had sunk their canoes loaded with rocks to keep them hidden and had cached some of their supplies. On August 29 Clark and his party rejoined Lewis in the Shoshone village. The two Captains agreed that they would go across the mountains overland to the Columbia.

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1 Thwaites, II, 382.

The Shoshones gave Lewis and Clark assurances of their friendship and said they would anxiously await establishment of the trading posts the latter promised would soon be established for them. The Shoshones particularly wanted to get guns. Then they could meet the Blackfeet and Minnetarees on equal terms. The Shoshones told Lewis that "to avoid their enemies who were eternally harassing them that they were obliged to remain in the interior of these mountains at least two thirds of the year where they suffered great hardships for the want of food sometimes living for weeks without meat and only a little fish and berries.[1] Lewis gave Cameahwait a few dried squash he had brought from the Mandans. The Indian boiled them and declared them to be "the best thing he had ever tasted except sugar, a small lump of which it seems his sister, Sah-cah-gar Wea had given him."[2]

With 29 horses Lewis and Clark started northward down the Lemhi Valley on 30 August with an Indian whom Clark called Old Toby and his four sons as guides. Old Toby had told them of the Nez Perce buffalo road across the mountains far to the north and had agreed to lead them to it. At the last moment Sacajawea decided that she would not stay with her people but would accompany the expedition. Before long three of Toby's sons turned back. Toby led the expedition northward along the north fork of the Salmon River, climbed a high spur of

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1 DeVoto, Journals of Lewis and Clark, 214.

2 Ibid, 220.

the Bitterroot Range and crossed it at Lost Trail Pass, and then descended to the headwaters of what we know today as the Bitterroot River. At the base of the mountain they encountered a village of Flathead Indians in a beautiful cove that in a later day was named Ross' Hole. Charles M. Russell has immortalized this meeting of Lewis and Clark with the Flatheads in a great painting that is mounted in the wall back of the Speaker's desk in the Montana State Capitol at Helena.

Clark made this entry in his journal September 4 concerning the Flatheads:

> we met a part/y/ of the Tushepau /Flathead/ nation, of 33 Lodges about 80 men 400 Total and at least 500 horses, those people rec/ei/ved us friendly, threw white robes over our Sholders & Smoked in the pipes of peace, we Encamped with them & found them friendly...The Chief harangued untill late at night, Smoked in our pipe and appeared Satisfied. I was the first white man who ever wer on the waters of this river /Bitterroot/.[1]

The party camped with the Flatheads two days and during that time traded for eleven horses and exchanged seven which were badly worn in coming over the mountains. Clark admired their horses, confiding to his diary, "those people possess ellegant horses." They were probably of the breed now known as the Appaloosa. The Nez Perce across the mountains had long made a practice of selective breeding of the Spanish Arabian strain that came into their possession, and these

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1 Thwaites, III, 52-54.

horses were recognized far and wide as the finest possessed by any North American Indians. They were mostly white or gray with brown or reddish brown and black flecks and spots on their bodies. Their hind quarters were characteristically marked liberally with these spots. On September 6, Flatheads and the expedition together moved north down what the Captains called the Flathead River, but known today as the Bitterroot. This north-south mountain valley is one of the most beautiful in all the Rockies. On its west side the sawtooth Bitterroot range dominates the landscape.

On September 9 the party reached a point 10 miles south of present day Missoula. There they halted and camped on a large creek which came in from the west. Lewis wrote in his journal: "As our guide informed me that we should leave the river at this place and the weather appearing settled and fair I determined to halt the next day rest our horses and take some celestial Observations. We called this Creek Travellers Rest"[1] (Plates 17, 18).

At Travellers Rest, the expedition encountered another village of Flatheads and from them learned considerable about the country. They were informed that five day's march east from there would bring one to the Missouri River. Old Toby and the Flatheads described the route. It descended the Bitterroot another ten miles, then turned

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1 Ibid, III, 58.

east along a stream now known as The Hellgate, to the Blackfoot River, and then across the divide (Mullan's Pass). The Minnetarees had told Lewis and Clark of this route the previous winter but they had misunderstood. From the Gates of the Mountains on the Missouri to Travellers Rest had taken them fifty-three days. Now they were told they could cover the land between the two points in five days!

Travellers Rest and over the Lolo Trail

For several days members of the expedition had eyed the lofty Bitterroots to the west of them, and they knew from the Indian accounts that it was an ordeal to cross this backbone of the continent over the only trail in that region, the Nez Perce Buffalo Road. Ahead of them before they could reach the Pierced Nose Indians were 150 miles of mountain, gorge, and tangled forest.

The party set out on this most difficult part of the entire journey on September 11, 1805. Their way led up Travellers Rest Creek, now called Lolo Creek. Two days later they crossed Lolo Pass and camped for the night in a fine forest glade that Lewis and Clark named Packer Meadow (Plate 19). For some reason Old Toby lost or strayed from the main trail the next day and led the party down to a river gorge. The Captains named this river the Koos koos kee (Plates 20,21). It is now the Lochsa. That night the party camped opposite an island in the river at the site of present Powell Ranger Station in Lolo National

Forest. Their food all but gone, the expedition killed one of their colts that night for supper. The next morning they followed the Koos koos kee three miles downstream and then started north from it up a steep spur ridge that is today called Wendover Ridge (Plate 22). They reached the crest that evening and once again were back on the Nez Perce Trail (Plate 23). This trail followed high ridges across the mountains.

The next day, September 16, was one of their worst. They passed the landmark we today call Indian Post Office at the highest point of the Lolo Trail, elevation 7,036 feet, and in a snowstorm almost froze their feet (Plates 24,25,26). The hunters found no game. That night the party killed another colt for supper. The next day they made ten miles more along the high ridge. A jumble of mountains lay in all directions as far as the eye could see. That night, still without game, they killed a third colt for their supper.

The two Captains conferred on their plight and decided that they would have to separate temporarily to get the expedition out of the mountains. Accompanied by six men, Clark went ahead in search of game. He plodded onward for about twenty miles, and from a mountain top that the best authorities today think was Sherman Peak he got a view of an extensive plain, bounded by mountains, to the west and southwest.[1]

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1 Elers Koch, "Lewis and Clark Route Retraced Across the Bitterroots," The Oregon Historical Quarterly, XLI (June 1940), 160-174. Koch, long an employee of the Forest Service and a resident of Missoula, Montana, knew the Lolo Trail as well perhaps as anyone of his generation. His father, Peter Koch, before him had been a student of it.

Clark and his party pressed on through the mountains and finally on September 20 he came out onto a beautiful open plain, partially covered with pine. This was Weippe Prairie (Plate 27). There he found the first of the Nez Perce Indians. He purchased some food - dried salmon, camas roots, and berries - from the Nez Perce and sent them back along the trail to Lewis and the main party. It staggered down off the mountains and joined Clark on the 22nd at Chief Twisted Hair's village on an island in the Clearwater River, several miles southeast of present-day Orofino, Idaho. The next day there was a big council with the Nez Perce and the giving of medals and presents. On the 24th the party, most of them ill and still exhausted from their ordeal, started moving downstream looking for a place to camp and build canoes in which they could resume their journey. On the 26th the expedition arrived at the place, several miles northwest of present Orofino, that Clark had chosen on the Clearwater where they would have some large pine trees close at hand. This place they called Canoe Camp (Plates 28,29). There they began making dugouts by the expedient the Nez Perce demonstrated of burning out the centers of the logs rather than of hewing them out.

From 26 September to 7 October the Corps remained at Canoe Camp. Weakened by the hardships of passing over the Lolo Trail, many of the men were still ill. Their diet had changed from scanty rations of horseflesh to roots and dried fish. The latter probably

had bacteria in it and may have been the principal factor in bringing on the acute diarrhea and dysentery that afflicted nearly the entire party, including Lewis and Clark. The able-bodied men worked on the boats, however, and within ten days had them completed. Lewis branded the expedition's thirty-eight horses (see Plate 29) and arranged with Chief Twisted Hair to care for them until the party's return. Lewis and Clark cached their saddles and part of their supply of powder and balls.

From the Nez Perce Villages to the Pacific

Down the Clearwater River the party set out on 7 October in their newly made dugouts, at last on their way to the Pacific on westward flowing waters. Their course was beset with many shoals and rapids. On the second day from Canoe Camp one of the boats struck a rock in a rapids and sank. The men were able to recover it with the merchandise it carried, however, and put it in repair. But Old Toby and his son, had had enough. They disappeared. Some Nez Perce reported they saw them running back up the river. They took two of the horses Lewis had left with Chief Twisted Hair and apparently headed back over the Lolo Trail for their own country. By that time deep snows covered the Bitterroots. What happened to them is unknown. Lewis and Clark regretted that they did not have a chance to pay the Shoshone guides before they "left for home."

Four days out from Canoe Camp the expedition entered a big stream, which Clark named Lewis River in honor of the party's leader. Unfortunately it has come down to our time as the Snake River. Many Indians lived along this stream and from them the party bought dogs occasionally to supplement their diet of salmon and roots. The river was difficult to navigate, having treacherous currents frequently and a narrow channel filled with large boulders. The Indians were friendly.

On 16 October the Corps entered the broad Columbia itself. Like the Snake, the Columbia River was in places full of dangerous rapids and shoals. Frequently the men were compelled to portage around falls to prevent the destruction of their boats and loss of supplies in cascades and waterfalls. In some places they lowered the dugouts over falls by ropes. In early November the Corps passed the last of the rapids and were at the upper reaches of tidewater. Passing from barren, semi-desert country, they now entered a region covered with pine, spruce, ash, and alder. The river current was smooth. They were able to kill waterfowl now and add them to their diet. As they approached the sea, heavy fogs, mists, and rain prevailed.

The expedition found a change in the Indians of this region. They had had some contact with white men. They wore items of clothing and carried weapons they had obtained from either American or British

traders, and possibly from some Spaniards, who had come to the Northwest Coast. The first American ships had sailed around the Horn and put in along the coast there in the winter of 1788-1789. These Indians had been corrupted by white contact. They proved to be thieves and to constitute a general nuisance.

In a typical coastal storm of persistent rain and fog the expedition arrived at Point Ellice, on the north side of the Columbia River, on 10 November (Plate 30). From there they sighted the Pacific for the first time. Their joy in arriving at their destination was effectively suppressed by their misery at the time. They were all soaked to the skin, their luggage wet, and there was no place to camp that night except on a mass of drift logs. For several days their condition remained bad while they were forced to remain there. Ordway wrote in his journal on 14 November, "the Storm continues, and obleges us to Stay in the disagreeable harbour with nothing but pounded Sammon to eat."[1] At last, the weather cleared the next day and the expedition loaded the dugouts. At low tide they paddled around the Point a distance of five miles to a good beach where they camped on the edge of the Pacific near an Indian village (Plate 31). The Corps of Discovery had reached its goal.

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1 Milo M. Quaife, The Journals of Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, 311.

Winter at Fort Clatsop, 1805-1806

The expedition stayed in its camp by the Pacific for ten days while various members explored the region about. Principally, Lewis and Clark were looking for a suitable winter quarters, for it was obvious they could not return over the mountains until the following spring. The information they were able to collect indicated that a better food supply of elk meat and a root that resembled in taste the potato could be had on the south side of the Columbia. The elk skins could be used to make clothes and moccasins. Also, the south side might be somewhat better for sighting any trading vessel that should enter the Columbia. The two Captains put to a vote of the entire party on the 24th whether they would stay on the north side or try to find a suitable place on the south side. The vote was for the south side.

An attempt to cross at the broad mouth of the river was defeated by high waves. The party worked its way some miles upstream along the north bank on 25 November until a place was found where a crossing could be made. With five men and a canoe Lewis, on 29 November went exploring. Six days later he returned with the news that he had found a place for their winter quarters. The entire party on 8 December moved to the chosen site, a little knoll and the first high ground on the west side of a little river, now called the Lewis and Clark

River, three miles upstream from where it emptied into the Columbia (Plate 32).

On 10 December the men began building their winter quarters, which they called Fort Clatsop after the nearby Clatsop Indians. It rained constantly, but the men worked on. According to Clark's sketch of the structure, the stockade was 50 feet square. On one side was a long building of three rooms. Each room seems to have had a centrally located fireplace. On the opposite side of the stockade was a structure of four cabins, two of which had centrally located fireplaces and one an outside chimney. Between the two structures was a parade ground 48 feet long by 20 feet wide. At either end of the parade ground the two parallel structures were joined by palisades with a gate at the south end. The buildings were roofed on 24 December and on Christmas Day the party celebrated the occasion in the best way their circumstances would permit. The fort was completed at the end of December.

The expedition spent a miserable winter on the Oregon coast. The weather was much milder than it had been at the Mandan villages the year before, but the continual rains, fog drenched landscape, and murky skies depressed everyone. At one point Clark wrote, "O! how Tremendious is the day." The elk meat spoiled. The Clatsop Indians and other coastal tribes pestered the life out of them, and

always they had to watch closely against thievery to protect what little they had left.

When most of the party had set to work to build the quarters, Clark had taken a few men and made his way through forest and swamp to the seacoast about five miles away overland to make salt for curing meat. The party built a salt cairn for boiling down sea water on the coast at present-day Seaside, Oregon (Plate 33). Three men kept busy there during most of the winter. They could make about three quarts of salt a day.

By mid-March 1806 the party was reduced to a bad situation. The elk had abandoned the vicinity and it was becoming very difficult to find any game. Only Drouillard was consistently successful - he the woodsman par excellence and the infallible shot. All winter the men had looked for a trading vessel from which to get help and replenish their needs, and possibly to return to the eastern seaboard on it as allowed by Jefferson's instructions. Ironically, a vessel out of Boston, the Lydia, captained by Samuel Hill, did enter the Columbia in November and its crew saw some of the medals Lewis and Clark had given the Indians. The Indians told Hill about Lewis and Clark but they said the white men had left and Hill apparently did not search for them. For their part, Lewis and Clark knew nothing of the Lydia's presence.[1] It remained off the coast until August.

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1 Bakeless, 292.

Lewis and Clark spent much of the time in the dreary winter months at Clatsop studying their journals and map sketches and thinking about the geography of the continent they had just crossed. They now realized that it was much different from what they had thought on the way westward. Clark labored over his maps, and these fortified that view. They could see that a much shorter route would cross from Travellers Rest to the Missouri in the vicinity of the Gates of the Mountains, as the Flatheads, Old Toby, and the Nez Perce had told them, and as, indeed, the Minnetarees had told them the winter before. They knew they would have to trace out that route on the way back.

The two Captains had planned to leave the damp coast about April 1, but their unfavorable situation caused them to advance the date. Colter and others had made and packed away 338 pairs of elkskin moccasins by this time, and they all thought they would not lack footwear. On 22 March the hunters started ahead of the main body. Next, the canoes were loaded and at 1 o'clock in the afternoon the expedition pushed out into the Lewis and Clark River, paddled downstream the few miles to the broad Columbia, and then turned upstream. It was 23 March, and they were headed eastward. Before leaving, Lewis had written a number of copies of a statement of the expedition's crossing of the continent and had given several copies to the local Indian chiefs, and he had nailed copies to the interior walls of

Fort Clatsop. The Indians gave Captain Hill of the Lydia a copy and he brought it home to Boston, but Lewis and Clark had already returned to civilization.

Return Crossing to Travellers Rest

Taking stock of their provisions for the return trip, Lewis had written in his journal:

> two handkerchiefs would now contain all the small articles of merchandize which we possess; the balance of the stock consists of 6 blue robes one scarlet d° one uniform artillerist's coat and hat, five robes made of our large flag, and a few old cloaths trimed with ribbon. on this stock we have wholy to depend for the purchase of horses and such portion of our subsistence from the Indians as it will be in our powers to obtain. a scant dependence indeed, for a tour of the distance of that before us.[1]

The expedition's ascent of the Columbia was relatively uneventful, although the Indians were more ill-disposed than they had been during the descent the previous autumn. The labor of portaging around the numerous cascades and the relative cheapness of horses caused the party to abandon the canoes toward the end of April in favor of packing on horses. At this time the party reached the Walla Walla Indians and were among friends again. Their chief, Yellept, offered "a very eligant white horse" for a kettle, but as there were no spare kettles, Clark eventually gave the chief his sword for the horse. This apparently was the sword found in 1904 between two

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1 Thwaites IV, 173

graves at Cathlamet, Oregon. The horse undoubtedly was a choice Appalossa. From the Walla Walla Indians the party obtained all the horses they needed. They set out for the Nez Perce villages on the Clearwater following a trail pointed out to them by the Walla Wallas. They reached the villages on 3 May after four days travelling.

On the 8th they were at Chief Twisted Hair's village where they had left their horses. At first, Lewis and Clark could not find out what happened to their horses. Twisted Hair and other chiefs engaged in a violent quarrel in their presence, and Twisted Hair was cool toward the two Captains. Drouillard came in from a successful hunt and went to smoke with the Nez Perce chief. He brought him around to a good mood, and soon Twisted Hair was cooperating once again with the leaders of the expedition. He produced the next day 21 of the 38 horses, and later all but 2 of the horses were returned to Lewis; those two had been taken by Old Toby and his son the previous autumn when they started back over the Bitterroots. The Nez Perce chief also told the leaders that their cache had been badly made, had fallen in, and the contents exposed, but that he had saved half the saddles and the ammunition and reburied them in a new cache. He took the men to the cache and they recovered these valuable supplies. Lewis and Clark now had 60 horses and were well prepared to pack over the trail eastward.

In the Nez Perce villages Drouillard's sign language was just as useful as it had been among the Shoshones, before Sacajawea came up, and with the Flatheads. Sacajawea could not understand the Nez Perce language and was no help there. Here again good translation of speeches in the several councils held was obtained by a multi-part series of translations. Lewis and Clark spoke in English to Labuish (Labishe); he translated in French to Charbonneau, who translated into Minnetaree to Sacajawea; she translated into Shoshone to a Shoshone prisoner who had lived with the Nez Perce long enough to learn their language, and he gave the utterances to the assembled Nez Perce in their own language.

The expedition moved on 13 May to what the leaders called Camp Chopunnish, near present day Kamiah, Idaho, and remained there nearly a month, until 10 June. They then moved to Weippe Prairie where they prepared for their return trip over the Lolo Trail. During this time at the Nez Perce villages Clark established a great reputation with the natives as a doctor, administering with great success to their many ills.

On 14 June, with supplies gathered and everything in readiness, Lewis and Clark led their men out to the Lolo Trail. They had no guides. The Indians had told them they could not cross the snow covered mountains before July 1. For three days the party struggled across swollen mountain streams and into increasingly deep snow at

higher levels. In places the snow was from 10 to 15 feet deep, generally hard packed sufficiently to hold up the horses. Drouillard warned that he was not sure he could find the way through the tumble of mountains. There was nothing for the horses to eat. They must get through quickly to grass or the horses would perish. The leaders decided they must turn back or face disaster. The party cached their supplies and headed back. In going back down they lost several horses, and several of the men had near-fatal mishaps. Finally, the expedition stumbled back onto Weippe Prairie.

They now bent their efforts to getting guides for the Trail. Drouillard went to the villages and came back with three men who said they would guide the party for two rifles. The offer was accepted and on June 24th the party set out again. On the 26th the expedition reached the place where it had cached its supplies several days earlier, and after two hours of hard, quick work had the packs on the horses, and were again on their way. The guides told them they would have to hurry over the mountains to grass before the horses became exhausted. The next day, the 27th, the party reached Indian Post Office, where Nez Perce practice required members of that tribe to halt and smoke, as that spot had special meaning to the tribe.

Even in the deep snow the guides never strayed from the trail. On the 28th the party reached a southern exposure where there

was grass for the horses, just as the guides had said there would be. The 29th was spent coming out of the mountains and the next day, June 30, the party arrived at Travellers Rest, making the crossing of 150 miles in seven days, an average of 21 miles a day. On this passage of the Bitterroots the Nez Perce guides from Indian Post Office led the party along the main trail along the high ridges and did not descend to the Koos koos kee (Lochsa) River.

From Travellers Rest to St. Louis

The Corps of Discovery stayed at Travellers Rest until 3 July. There it divided into separate parts for the first time (and the only time) since it had begun its memorable journey. This partition of the group dampened the spirits of everyone because each man realized that in fewer numbers there was increasing danger. But back at Clatsop, Lewis and Clark in poring over their journal entries and the maps that Clark drew came to a realization they would have to explore the country west and northwest of Travellers Rest to the Great Falls of the Missouri in order to carry back the geographical information the President's instructions required of them. And then, too, Lewis wanted to explore the Marias River to find out if it had its source far enough north to provide the easy passage to the known water routes of the Sackatchewan River system the Northwest Company

employed in exploiting the fur trade of the region north of the Missouri drainage.

So it was decided that Lewis, picking the best horses and taking 9 men, would proceed directly to the Great Falls of the Missouri by the route described by the Indians. There three of the men would take the supplies from the cache and prepare for a resumption of water transportation down the Missouri. Lewis in the meantime would go up the Marias River with six men. With Lewis would go Drouillard, Gass, the two Fields brothers, and five others. Clark was to take the remainder up the Bitterroot Valley, cross a pass their Shoshone guides had pointed out to them the year before, and strike for the head of the Beaverhead River where the expedition had cached a large part of its supplies and hidden the canoes the year before when they crossed Lemhi Pass with the Shoshone horses. Clark crossed over what is now known as Gibbon's Pass from the Bitterroot Valley to the Big Hole River Valley. Sacajawea recognized this country and acted as guide. In crossing to the head of the Beaverhead, Clark's party passed along what is now known as Grasshopper Creek and the site of Bannack, Montana, where rich gold was lying in the streambed to be picked up for the taking. But they were too intent on getting to the cache where they would once more obtain tobacco to think of gold. On 8 July the party reached the caches on the

Beaverhead. After digging out the caches and raising the canoes, Clark's party travelled downstream to Three Forks; Sergeant Ordway and a few men brought the horses to that point.

Here Clark divided his party. Ordway with some of the men took the boats down the Missouri to meet Lewis' party at the Great Falls portage. He reached that point with the boats on July 19. Clark with the others, Charbonneau, Sacajawea, and her eighteen months old baby was to strike overland from the Three Forks for the Yellowstone River, riding and driving the 49 horses still left to the expedition.

Clark journeyed up the Gallatin Valley and then over what we now know as Bozeman Pass to the Yellowstone. When he found trees large enough, Clark built canoes and floated down that stream while Sergeant Pryor with a few men brought the horses along the stream. As it turned out, Indians (Crows apparently) stole all the horses, but the men reached the Missouri River safely after a journey of great interest through the Yellowstone country and with varied adventures. On the way down the Yellowstone, Clark on 25 July stopped at a large stone pillar of stone standing on the south bank and carved his name and date on it. He called it Pompey's Pillar after "Little Pomp," Sacajawea's baby boy.

The most dangerous part of the undertakings decided upon when the party split at Travellers Rest was the one Lewis was to lead.

He would be going through unknown country and into the area where hostile Blackfeet might be encountered at any moment. His party was too small to give assurance of safety from attack and its size might be the very factor that would lead to hostile action.

Five Nez Perce Indians travelled with Lewis for two days, and then their fears of meeting with Blackfeet were so great that they turned back. The guides received the two rifles and ammunition promised them. This was somewhere east of present-day Missoula near Hellgate and the Blackfoot River's junction with Clark's Fork. Lewis saw signs of a war party's presence in the area and was alert for a possible meeting with hostile Indians. But he encountered none and crossed over from the Blackfoot River and the headwaters of the Dearborn River to Sun River and travelled down it to the Missouri. Drouillard suggested that the pass over which they crossed the Continental Divide be called the Lewis and Clark Pass. And it is so called today, although Clark never saw it. Lewis crossed the Continental Divide on 7 July and was then back in the United States. Lewis and his party reached the Great Falls on 13 July.

Buffalo were about in great numbers and the bellowing of the bulls made a deafening roar. Lewis estimated there were 10,000 of the animals within a two-mile circle of White Bear Island at the upper end of the portage around the falls. Lewis had come from Travellers

Rest to the Great Falls in nine days. The Nez Perce guides had told him it took five days. Possibly he could have made it in that time if he had not detoured a bit to find and hunt buffalo. In this trip Lewis learned that the stories told at the Mandan villages were true, and now he had confirmation of the short road from the Missouri across the mountains to the Columbia.

With horses at hand Sergeant Gass and five men set to work transporting the material in the caches to a point below the falls where they would set out once again by water, and to get out the white pirogue from its hiding place. Lewis could not take as many men with him up the Marias as he had planned because Indians stole seven of his best horses.

On 16 July Lewis with Drouillard and Joseph and Reuben Fields with six horses started out for the Marias River. They reached it two days later and travelled north up its course, keeping it always in sight. Lewis soon began to fear that the river was not going to penetrate as far north as he hoped; it turned more and more westward. Finally on 22 July he was convinced that it came from the mountains westward and would not lead to a portage near the Saskatchewan River. All this time they had been in Blackfeet country. The four men stayed here three days, hunting and trying to take observations but were prevented by bad weather. At a point near present-day Browning, Montana, a marker shaft now rises at the spot believed to be their farthest

penetration of this then remote wilderness (Plate 34). On the 26th they started back toward the Missouri River.

During their first day on the back trail, July 26, Lewis discovered eight Indians watching Drouillard who had gone out to hunt. They had not yet seen Lewis and his two companions. Lewis thought the best thing in the circumstances was to approach the Indians boldly and somehow try to get Drouillard back. He openly advanced and met the eight Blackfeet, later known to be Piegans.[1] Each party viewed the other with great distrust, but each gave outward signs of friendship. By sign language the Blackfeet indicated to Lewis that a large party of their tribe was half a day away.

That night the eight Indians and the four white men camped together. Lewis stood the first watch, and then others took their turn. At dawn, when Joseph Fields was on guard he momentarily left his rifle at the head of his sleeping brother. This was the moment the Blackfeet had waited for all night. One of them grabbed the rifle and at the same time, another was slipping Drouillard's gun from his arm when Drouillard awoke, let out a yell, grappled with the Indian and wrenched the gun from his grasp. Drouillard's yell awoke Lewis who found that his gun had been stolen. With drawn pistol he chased the Indian who had it and recovered it. Meanwhile Reuben Fields awoke in a flash and overtook the Indian who had his gun and stabbed him to death. Lewis now discovered that some of

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1 Conversation Appleman with John C. Ewers, 18 Dec. 58. Ewers, an authority on the history of the Blackfeet, says they were Piegans. The Blackfeet formed three tribes, the Bloods and Piegans of Canada and the Blackfeet of the United States. Also see John C. Ewers, The Blackfeet Indians, Raiders of the Northwestern Plains (Norman, 1958).

the Indians were trying to drive off the horses. He chased two who had taken his horse. One of them jumped behind a rock and shouted to the other who turned and faced Lewis at 100 feet distance. Lewis shot this Indian who fell to his knees and returned the fire. He missed narrowly; Lewis felt the whistle of air on his cheek. With two Blackfeet dead, and the others running away over the prairie, the prospect of pursuit by a large band spurred the four men to get away as quickly as possible.

This fight took place at dawn of 27 July. Lewis and his three companions hastily selected four of the best Blackfeet horses which were better than their own, packed their effects, and started riding hard toward the Missouri, 120 miles away. They had not only themselves to think of but also Gass and his men who might be intercepted by any large band of Blackfeet, who, if they took up the chase, might make directly for the Missouri River. The four men rode until 3 o'clock that afternoon, halted briefly to eat a little, and then pushed on to dark. They killed a buffalo for their supper, and then rode until 2 o'clock in the morning. They had made 100 miles. They slept until dawn and then rode on towards the Missouri. While approaching the river, they heard rifle shots. Upon riding up to the northern bank well above the mouth of the Marias, they saw Sergeant Ordway's party coming downstream.

It was a fortunate meeting and a striking coincidence. The four weary horsemen quickly threw their effects into the boats and turned the horses loose. At the mouth of the Marias where Lewis had arranged to meet Gass he found the latter and his men. The reunited three parties now floated down the Missouri to meet Clark at the appointed place at the mouth of the Yellowstone.[1]

When Lewis arrived at the mouth of the Yellowstone he found evidence that Clark had already been there and had gone on downstream. He hastened on in an effort to catch up with him. Before accomplishing that, however, Lewis was painfully wounded in the thigh on August 11 when the half-blind Cruzatte shot him one day in a thicket when the two of them were hunting. When the little flotilla of the white pirogue and five canoes came up to Clark's camp the next day, Clark was dismayed to find Lewis lying in the bottom of one of the boats in a painful condition.

Two days later, on 14 August, the expedition reached the Minnetaree and Mandan villages. Here the party stopped for a few days. The Captains paid Charbonneau $533 on the 16th for his services with the expedition and he with Sacajawea and their little Baptiste remained with the Minnetarees. John Colter asked for and was given

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1 Thwaites, V, 218-228. Lewis' journal entries for 26-28 July, 1806, tells this exciting story in some detail.

permission to join two free trappers, Dixon and Handcock, who planned to go to the Yellowstone country to trap beaver. He was the first, but not the last, of the expedition to turn mountain man and risk his neck in the western wilderness for the "Black gold" and a life of solitary adventure.

Much had happened at the Mandan villages since their departure a little more than a year before. The Sioux had raided them and killed several of their men, they had fought with the Arikaras, they had sent off a war party to the Shoshones just as soon as Lewis and Clark had left which had defeated a village of that tribe (although this cannot be demonstrated, this probably was the encounter Cameahwait spoke of to Lewis and Clark), and internal quarrels had beset the Mandans.

The party set out on 17 August from the Mandan villages for the last homeward stretch to St. Louis. They took with them a Mandan Chief, Big White, who was to visit the Great White Father in Washington. A few miles below the villages the party stopped to visit their winter quarters at Fort Mandan. Only one cabin and a few pickets remained standing. Everything else had burned to the ground, apparently by a prairie fire.

On 30 August the party encountered Teton Sioux who appeared on the banks of the Missouri. But the two Captains kept the river

between them and the Tetons and would have nothing to do with them. Otherwise the voyage downstream was uneventful. In the lower reaches of the Missouri they encountered some white men who told them that most of the people of the United States had given them up for lost and dead. At last, on 23 September 1806, the expedition floated out of the Missouri into the Mississippi "and down that river to St. Louis, (at which place we arrived about 12 o'clock)."[1]

That night the men of the Lewis and Clark party were treated to a great feast. Most of them ate their fill of pancakes which they had not tasted for well over a year. It is said that Potts ate 52 of them that evening.

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1 Thwaites, V, 394.

EPILOGUE

A word about the reward received by the heroes who returned from the Pacific When they had departed, the pay of Lewis and Clark was fixed at $80 a month the sergeants at $8, the privates at $3, and the interpreters at $25. A grateful President recommended to Congress, and it approved, that each member of the expedition receive double pay for the 28 months they had spent on the journey and five new uniforms, that Lewis and Clark each receive 1,500 acres of land, and that the enlisted men each receive 320 acres of land. Many of the men immediately sold their land to others. Only a few settled on their land. Sergeant Charles Floyd's parents received 320 acres of rich bottom land in the Louisiana Territory.

The small appropriation provided by the Congress in 1803 did not, of course, cover the expenses of the expedition. Just how much the Army absorbed in providing certain supplies in the Illinois area during the winter of 1803-1804 is not known. One who has studied the records states the cost of the expedition, including pay, up to December 1805, was $22,393.75. The cost after that must have been almost entirely pay.[1]

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1 Grace Lewis, "Financial Records, Expedition to the Pacific Ocean," Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society, Vol. X, (July 1954), 465-489. It appears that the total cost came to about $39,000.

The two Captains seemed destined to play leading roles in the future history of the western country they had just explored. Jefferson appointed Lewis Governor of Louisiana Territory in 1806. St. Louis was torn by factional feuds in the early years of American control and the Governor's task was not an easy one. In 1809 Lewis was travelling to Washington by way of the Natchez Trace on official business and stopped for the night at a backwoods cabin in the wilderness called Grinder's Inn near present-day Hohenwald in central Tennessee. The next morning, October 11, Lewis was found dead from a gunshot wound, apparently self-inflicted in suicide.[1]

William Clark had a happier fate. In 1807 Jefferson appointed him Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the country west of the Mississippi River and made him a Brigadier General of Louisiana militia. Six years later he became Governor of Missouri Territory and held that post until Missouri became a state in 1820. Then he resumed his post as Superintendent of Indian Affairs. No man in the United States had the influence with western Indians during his lifetime that Clark had. He understood them and sympathized with them. They trusted the "red-headed Father." Clark died at St. Louis on September 1, 1838, following a career full of honors and accomplishments after his return from the great expedition.

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1 Dawson O. Phelps, "The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis," William and Mary Quarterly, XIII (July 1956), 305-318. Phelps' analysis of the evidence in the matter makes it reasonably clear that Lewis committed suicide. That is what Jefferson believed had happened.

John Colter lived a fabulous career of four years in the wilderness after he turned back with the two trappers at the Mandan villages in 1806. He returned to civilization in 1810. Colter married and settled on some land on the south bank of the Missouri River near present Dundee, Franklin County, Missouri. He died in November 1813 of jaundice. He was buried in a graveyard on top of what is now called Tunnel Hill. This promontory along the Missouri received that name in 1850 when the Missouri Pacific Railroad dug a tunnel through the hill. Ironically, the railroad in 1926 in double tracking the line discarded the tunnel for a great cut and steam-shovels loaded the graves on top into flatcars which carried the earth to other points for fill along the track bed. The operators of the shovels did this in ignorance of the old and all but forgotten graveyard. So today, no one knows precisely where the ashes of John Colter lie. But passengers riding the Missouri Pacific westward out of St. Louis pass over them.

As for the others in the expedition, their futures were varied. Some lived only a few years. Potts, in 1808, and Drouillard, in 1810, met violent deaths at the Three Forks. Shannon, the youngest of the members, helped Nicholas Biddle bring out the first history of the expedition, and eventually became a circuit court judge in Missouri. Ordway married and became a farmer in Missouri. Bratton fought in the War of 1812 and eventually fathered ten children. He

died in Indiana. Paddy Gass, like Bratton, fought in the War of 1812, was wounded, married in 1831 at the age of 58, and fathered seven children. He died at Wellsburg, West Virginia, in 1870 at the age of 99, the last survivor of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Many of the members of the expedition dropped from sight and their later years have been lost to history.

A word about the Shoshone girl, Sacajawea. There is still controversy about her later years. A large book has been written to prove that she lived to advanced age, 90 or more years old, and died in 1884 on the Shoshone Reservation near Fort Washakie, Wyoming. A visitor to the old Indian cemetery there today will find the largest stone dedicated to the memory of the "bird woman" of the Lewis and Clark expedition. But there is reason to doubt this version. While this is not the place to examine all the evidence in the matter, there is good reason to believe that Sacajawea died on December 20, 1812, at Lisa's Fort on the Missouri River. There is in existence a manuscript, apparently written by William Clark in 1825, which lists the members of the expedition. After Sacajawea's name the entry "dead" had been written.[1]

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1 Grace Hebard, Sacajawea: A guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (Glendale, 1952); Bernard DeVoto, The Course of Empire, Note 16, Chap. XI, 618-620, has an interesting comment on Miss Hebard's book; Bakeless, Lewis and Clark: Partners in Discovery, 455-456 has a brief discussion of the subject. The Clark MS referred to above is in private ownership and further identification of it would not be appropriate here without the owner's permission, which has not been obtained. R.E.A.

Charbonneau lived to an old age, somewhere in his 80's, and was long a familiar figure on the Missouri. He was still living in 1839. His and Sacajawea's son, Baptiste, was also well known in the western country. The boy was educated in Europe but returned to the land of his parents. He is believed to have died near Fort Washakie in 1885.

Only a few of the members of the expedition achieved distinction in later life. But to have been a member of the Corps of Discovery was distinction enough in the eyes of later generations who have read their American history.

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Publication of the Lewis and Clark Journals

Many years passed after the expedition's return in 1806 before the journals of Lewis and Clark were published in any form. Gass' journal was the first to be printed. The Irish sergeant had had only a few weeks of formal schooling and he found it necessary to turn over his manuscript to David McKeehan, a Pennsylvania schoolteacher, for editing. What a delight it would be to read Gass' original manuscript, but that is not likely ever to be possible for it has disappeared. McKeehan's version of Gass' journal was published in 1807. One critic has described McKeehan's product as "horribly literary." The Gass journal has been reprinted many times.

Both Lewis and Clark intended to publish their own journals. Soon after their return from the journey, however, each received important Federal appointments from Jefferson and their public duties in these offices required all their time. Each deferred getting his journal arranged in a form suitable for printing. Lewis' death in 1809 caused a further delay in publication. Jefferson prodded Clark, however, and the latter finally found an editor, Nicholas Biddle of Philadelphia, who undertook to get the journals of the two Captains ready for publication. Biddle set to work in 1810 and assisted by George Shannon, who had been a member of the expedition, he prepared a manuscript based on the journals of Lewis and Clark. He also used

the Gass and Ordway diaries, and the expedition's maps and notebooks. Shannon must have supplemented all this data with information of his own at times. By the middle of 1811 Biddle's manuscript was ready for publication. But for several years it went unpublished.

Finally, arrangements for its printing were made in 1813. Unable to give it the attention he believed it deserved, Biddle engaged Paul Allen, a newspaper writer to supervise publication of the history. The two-volume Biddle edition was printed in February 1814. At this time unfortunately, however, the publishers were in bankruptcy and apparently only 2,000 copies were printed. Of this number almost 600 sets were lost in some manner. By 1816 even William Clark himself was unable to obtain a copy. The Biddle history condensed to 370,000 words the 1,500,000 of the original journals.

Jefferson's correspondence discloses that he was much disappointed and vexed at the long delay in publication. He had intended that both Lewis and Clark should reap whatever financial benefit there might be in the publication of the journals, and he thought that incentive would also provide the means of obtaining their earliest publication. Baron von Humboldt wrote to Jefferson asking about the delay and Jefferson on December 13, 1813, replied that no one could be more disturbed than he and that it had been beyond his power to secure their publication.

After the tardy publication of Biddle's history in 1814 it seems there was no attention given to collecting the manuscripts and depositing them for safe keeping as government documents until Jefferson in 1816 busied himself in the matter after it came to his attention that no one knew where they were. After two years of effort, during which time Jefferson used the power of the War Department whose property he said the original manuscripts were, he finally obtained from Mr. Biddle and the publisher most of the material used in preparing Biddle's history. It is interesting to note that Clark, contrary to his commitment to Jefferson, retained five of his original journals and nearly all the maps he had drawn and other miscellaneous documents. But Biddle on April 8, 1818, deposited with the American Philosophical Society of Philadelphia 18 notebooks and 12 parcels of loose sheets. Without Mr. Jefferson's personal intervention it is almost certain that these invaluable journals would have become dispersed and perhaps lost.[1]

In the American Philosophical Society the journals remained virtually untouched for almost 75 years. In 1892, Dr. Elliott Coues used this manuscript material in preparing his four-volume work on the expedition which appeared in 1893. But it was not until 1905 that

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1 T. Thwaites, I, XLVI-XLVIII.

the complete journals of Lewis and Clark, together with those of Sergeant Floyd and Whitehouse, were published under the editorship of Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites. This was a monumental work and remains the basic published source on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Dr. Milo Quaife published the long lost Ordway journal in 1916. Frazier's journal has never been found.

Most of the separate manuscript maps of the expedition (Clark's) are in the Coe Collection, Yale University Library. The Missouri Historical Society has several.

It may be of interest to mention here that in 1953 a bundle of Lewis and Clark manuscript material was found in a cabinet in an attic in St. Paul, Minnesota. There were 67 separate documents. They were mostly Clark's field notes, with an occasional entry by Lewis, the dates ranging from December 13, 1803, to April 3, 1805. This would cover part of the period at Camp Wood, up the Missouri to the Mandan villages and the winter there. Final custody of these papers is still in litigation.

SITES RECOMMENDED AS HAVING EXCEPTIONAL VALUE

The preceding sections of this study have attempted to provide a background against which sites associated with the Lewis and Clark expedition can be evaluated. Those considered to have exceptional value will be listed in this section. They are sites that are believed to have had a significance in the broad view of success or failure of the expedition and that are the locale of critical action and/or decisions taken by Lewis and Clark. Because of these associations with the enduring consequences of the expedition, they lend themselves to use as points where the over-all story of the expedition, or large and important segments of it, can be told. These sites must have integrity, and because of that integrity they will go far toward illustrating important aspects of the expedition story and providing the strong elements of feeling and associations such sites should evoke in the human mind and heart.

In considering which sites might meet these requirements, it appears that nothing of great consequence occurred before the Corps of Discovery arrived at the Mandan villages in the autumn of 1804. If St. Louis was the beachhead of the expedition, certainly the Mandan villages must be considered the jump-off point for the critical and decisive phases of it. From that point the expedition was stepping into relatively unknown country; thereafter would come the tests to

decide its fate. It is in this part of the expedition's history that one must look for those crucial events and decisions that determined the outcome of the great venture.

Of the incidents, many interesting indeed and one sad and tragic, that occurred on the up-river trip from Camp Wood to the Mandans, perhaps the most important was the meeting with the Teton Sioux. Even though there was trouble there and the threat of a clash, the two Captains and their men met it firmly and it was no more than they must have expected. It can hardly be argued successfully that this incident was one of the turning points or crucial aspects of the expedition. After all, white men - traders for the most part - had been going up the Missouri for some years as far as the Mandans and trouble of this kind with one or another tribe of Indians had been routine. Nor can the tragic death of Sergeant Charles Floyd be considered to have had any important consequence on the expedition. It in no way affected its outcome. That Floyd was the only man to be lost in the course of the expedition and was the first American soldier to die in the newly acquired Louisiana Territory and on land west of the Mississippi River is a novel fact and worthy of note. But of significance it had little.

Six sites have been selected as having sufficient significance to be listed and noted in this section. They are listed in order of

their geographical occurrence from east to west on the course taken in the westward crossing of the continent, without reference to their relative importance.

1. Three Forks of the Missouri
2. Lemhi Pass
3. Travellers Rest
4. Lolo Trail
5. Nez Perce Villages and Canoe Camp
6. Fort Clatsop

Three Forks of the Missouri, Montana

Meriwether Lewis called the Three Forks an "essential point in the geography of this western part of the Continent." So it is. The two Captains decided that here the Missouri River ended. To the three forks that joined here they gave new names -- the Gallatin, the Madison, and the Jefferson. The latter they named "in honor of that illustrious personage" who was "the author of our enterprise." Of all the geographical place names bestowed by Lewis and Clark during their journey none have more significance than these for the three mountain streams that make the mighty Missouri. The first two have their origin in Yellowstone National Park; the third rises in the Beaverhead Mountains westward. They all come from the backbone of the continent. In the geography of the West and in the history of the unfolding of that geography to Americans there can hardly be another site that ranks with this spot (Plates 7,8,9).

At the Three Forks the two Captains had to make an important decision. They must choose correctly the right one of the three forks to take. If they followed the wrong one they might lose so much time in retracing their steps that autumn and early winter with heavy snows and sub-zero weather in the mountains would make a crossing of the Rockies impossible.

Clark with a few men reached the Three Forks on 25 July in advance of Lewis and the main party. When Lewis arrived there on 27 July 1805 he found a note Clark had left for him. Lewis wrote in his journal on that date:

> at the junction of the S. W. and Middle forks [Jefferson and Madison respectively] I found a note which had been left by Capt. Clark informing me of his intended rout, and that he would rejoin me at this place provided he did not fall in with any fresh sign of Indians, in which case he intended to pursue untill he overtook them calculating on my taking the S. W. fork, which I most certainly prefer as it's direction is much more promising than any other. believing this to be an essential point in the geography of this western part of the Continent I determined to remain at all events untill I obtained the necessary data for fixing it's latitude Longitude &c.[1]

After finding Clark's note Lewis ascended "the S. W. fork [Jefferson] 1 3/4 miles and encamped at a Lard [left] bend in a handsome, level, smooth plain just below a bayou having passed the entrance to the middle fork 1/2 a mile."[2]

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1 Thwaites, II, 277-278

2 Ibid, II, 278

There he awaited Clark's return. The entire party stayed four days, until July 30, when it set out up the Jefferson in a continuation of its search for the Shoshone, horses, and a route over the mountains.

In Lewis' journal for July 27 there is a graphic description of the country at the Three Forks and the surrounding great mountain-rimmed basin. Upon reaching the first fork, the Gallatin, Lewis walked up its course for half a mile and climbed a limestone cliff to the north. This limestone cliff is still there untouched by the hand of man and one can still obtain the same view Lewis had in 1805. The scene is still essentially primitive and wild. True, the Northern Pacific Railroad crosses the Gallatin Valley and passes westward, and railroad tracks from subordinate lines pass up both sides of the Missouri River from the town of Three Forks which lies hidden in the green delta of trees five miles away. And there is a secondary road bridge over the Gallatin River just short of its junction with the main stream. But in the vastness of rolling plain and distant mountains these few evidences of white man's development of the continent since the time of Lewis and Clark go all but unseen. One cannot do better than to borrow Lewis' words in describing the scene he admired from the limestone cliff at the mouth of the Gallatin.

I halted the party on the Lar^{d} shore for breakfast and walked up the S. E. fork about 1/2 mile and ascended the point of a high limestone cliff from whence I commanded a most perfect view of the neighboring country. From this point I could see the S. E. fork at about 7 miles. it is rapid and about 70 yards wide. Throughout the distance I saw it, it passes through a smooth, extensive green meadow of fine grass in it's course meandering in several streams, the largest of which passes near the Lar^{d} hills, of which, the one I stand on is the extremity in this direction. a high, wide and extensive dam succeeds the meadow and extends back several miles from the river on the star^{d} side and with the range of mountains up the Lar^{d} side of the middle fork...from E. to S. between the S. E. and middle forks a distant range of mountains ran their snow-clad tops above the irregular and broken mountains which lie adjacent to this beautiful spot. the extreme point to which I could see the S. E. fork boar S. 65° E. distant 7 Mi. as before observed. between the middle and S. E. forks near their junction with the S. W. fork there is a handsome site for a fortification. it consists of a limestone rock of an oblong form; its sides perpendicular and about 25 feet high except at the extremity towards the middle fork where it ascends gradually and like the top is covered with a fine terf of greensward. The top is level and contains about 2 Acres...the extreme point to which I can see the bottom and meandering of the Middle fork bears S. 15 E. distant about 14 Miles. Here it turns to the right around a point of a high plain and disappears to my view. its bottoms are several miles in width and like that of the S. E. fork form one smooth and beautiful green meadow. it also divides into several streams. between this and the S. W. fork there is an extensive plain which appears to extend up both sides of those rivers many miles and back to the mountains. the extreme point to which I can see the S. W. fork bears S. 30 W distant about 12 Miles...a range of high mountains at a considerable distance appear to reach from South to West and are partially covered with snow. the country to the right of the S. W. fork like that to the left of the S. E. fork is high broken and mountainous, as is that also down the Missouri behind us, through which, these rivers after assembling their united force at this point seem to have forced a passage.[1]

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1 Thwaites II, 276-277.

It is of interest to note that the campsite selected by Lewis one half mile up the Jefferson from its confluence with the Madison was identified by Sacajawea as the precise spot where her Shoshone village was encamped five years before, in 1800, when the Minnetarees of Knife River came in sight. The Shoshone retreated three miles up the Jefferson with the Minnetarees in pursuit. Most of the Shoshone warriors escaped on their horses in the course of a fight, losing four men, a number of boys, and four women were killed. The Minnetarees made prisoners of four boys and all the women who had not been killed. Sacajawea herself had been run down in a shoal of the river while trying to cross it. She was then about twelve years old.[1]

Also in view at Three Forks is the scene where John Colter had his historic encounter with the Blackfeet in 1808, three years after white men first passed this way. His escape is an incredible story and has passed into the realm of American folklore. There are two versions, both coming apparently from Colter's own lips. They vary somewhat in detail, due no doubt to the author's difference in memory, perhaps some variation in Colter's description, and the literary propensity of the two authors. But they agree in essentials.

During the return of the expedition, Colter had received permission to leave it at the Mandan villages and there to join two free trappers, Dixon and Handcock, who proposed to go to the Yellowstone

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1 Thwaites, II, 282-283 (Journal Entry for 28 July 1805), Ordway's Journal, (Wisconsin Historical Publ. Collections, vol. XXII), 255, states, "She tells us that she was taken in the middle of the river as she was crossing at a shoal place to make her escape."

and Upper Missouri to trap beaver. In 1808 Colter was at Manuel Lisa's post at the mouth of the Big Horn River. That summer he was wounded in a great fight in the Gallatin Valley near the Three Forks between hundreds of Blackfeet and a large party of Crows and Flatheads he was leading to the post. Colter had no choice but to fight with the Crows and Flathead, who for once defeated and turned back the Blackfeet. He had no sooner recovered from this wound than he and Potts, also of Lewis and Clark fame, set out on a trapping expedition. They were on a creek flowing into the Jefferson River a short distance from the Three Forks when a large band of Blackfeet surprised them. The two trappers were ordered to bring their canoes to shore. Colter complied; Potts was killed when he refused, but not before he had shot and killed one of the Blackfeet.

The infuriated Indians now conferred on how to kill Colter. The Chief decided to give his young men the sport of running Colter down on the cactus studded plain. Colter was stripped of his clothing and moccasins and given a hundred yards or so start on the plain. Absolutely naked he ran across the thorn-strewn ground with scores of the fleetest young Blackfeet warriors in chase. The Madison fork lay about five miles directly in front of him. He made for it. About halfway there, with blood streaming from his nostrils because of his tremendous exertion, he felt himself growing weak and knew that one Indian with poised spear was gaining on him and would soon sink the

weapon in his back. The others he had out-distanced. Colter now suddenly halted and faced the Blackfoot, seized the head of the spear, and wrestled the Indian to the ground. The spear shaft broke, leaving the blade in Colter's hands. He pinned the Indian to the ground with it and, now with renewed hope, sped on toward the Three Forks.

The Blackfeet closest in pursuit stopped momentarily to examine their dead warrior, and then with a great howl took up the chase. But Colter made the willows along the bank of the Madison. Upon reaching the river bank he saw a great pile of drift logs lodged against the upper end of an island a little below him. He dived into the water and swam to the drift logs, dived under them, and after several efforts found a place where he could keep his head above water, yet be thoroughly screened from view by several feet of lighter driftwood piled above the larger tree trunks. Through the chinks he watched the Indians search for him, and on several occasions, walk over the driftwood searching for him there.

After dark Colter swam downstream a distance, crept to the bank, and started overland for Manuel Lisa's post at the confluence of the Big Horn and the Yellowstone, a distance of about 200 miles to the northeast. Exhausted and almost starved he made it in eleven days.[1]

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1 Burton Harris, John Colter, 124-131, quotes the two versions of this feat as related in John Bradbury, Travels in the Interior of America (London, 1817), 18-21, and Thomas James, Three Years Among the Indians and Mexicans (St. Louis, 1916, ed. by W. B. Douglas), 58-62. James was in company with Colter in 1810 at the site of his race for life and received details of it from him then.

Colter went back to the Three Forks that winter to redeem his traps which he had dropped in the water when the Blackfeet had appeared. Once again he almost lost his life, this time on the Gallatin Fork, when Blackfeet almost surprised him in his camp one night. But once more by a herculean effort he escaped to Lisa's post.

Then in 1810 he was at the Three Forks for the last time. A party of thirty-two French and American trappers set out from Lisa's post, probably in March, to go to the Three Forks and establish a post and trap the surrounding country. Colter and Drouillard were among the group. On April 3, 1810, the party reached the Three Forks of the Missouri and began erecting a log stockade. Col. Pierre Menard was in command of this detachment.

There is evidence to indicate that Menard's palisaded fort of 1810 at the Three Forks was on an elevated rock-capped area of about two acres extent, lying between the Gallatin and Madison Rivers near their junction with the Jefferson. This is the spot Lewis mentioned in his journal entry of 27 July 1805 as being a good place for a fort. It is said that remains of the log fort could be seen at that site as late as 1870.[1]

On the 9th, Menard sent a group of eighteen men to trap along the Jefferson. Colter was among them. On 12 April the party

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1 Thwaites, II, 276, note citing Montana Historical Transactions, ii.

was scattered from their base camp in their trapping activities when Blackfeet found it. They killed two men there and three more were never found. Presumably they were captured, tortured, and killed later. The scattered trappers learned of their danger and escaped back to the Three Forks and Menard's stockade.

After this episode, Colter decided that he had had enough of the Three Forks and the Blackfeet, that his luck had just about run out, and that he had better leave the country. He so announced and on 22 April he set out eastward with two others. Blackfeet attacked them, but Colter's skill enabled the party to escape. He made it back to St. Louis and never returned to the mountains.

Colter had been in the wilderness for six years. In that time he had discovered Yellowstone National Park. Had he been able to commit his adventures to writing, what a book it would have made! [1]

Another saga of its kind was enacted at Three Forks. It happened only a few days after Colter said good-by to that country. This time the story turns to George Drouillard. The Blackfeet had all but driven Menard's trappers out of the country. It was not safe to step outside the stockade. In defiance, the trappers ran a Blackfoot scalp-lock up on the flagpole. Menard gave instructions that small groups should not leave the stockade to hunt. Drouillard twice ignored this

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1 Harris, John Colter, 158-165.

warning and went out alone on successful hunts. He went out a third time. Later a company from the post found his body two miles up the Jefferson, together with that of his horse and two Shawnee Indians who had accompanied him. The ground about told the story. Blackfeet had jumped the party. Drouillard had made a desperate fight, maneuvering to keep his horse between him and the circling Blackfeet until one had succeeded in shooting him from behind. Drouillard was horribly mutilated. He was decapitated, and other parts of his body severed and slashed.[1] So died this great scout, woodsman, and plainsman - the one who was always in the vanguard in the greatest Lewis and Clark crossing of the continent. His bones rest in the earth in an unmarked and unknown spot at the Three Forks, but even if that spot cannot be known precisely and marked, the eye takes it in in scanning the landscape from Lewis' limestone cliff at the mouth of the Gallatin.

Between them, the menaces of the ferocious grizzlies that roamed the Three Forks country in great numbers and the deadly Blackfeet who lay in wait forced the Menard party to abandon its little post. Menard led part of the force back to the Yellowstone River. His second in command, Col. Andrew Henry, took part of the trappers and

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1 Ibid, 148-150. Harris cites Alexander Henry, a Northwest Company trader, to indicate that the Blackfeet who killed Drouillard appeared at a Northwest Company post in Canada with some of Drouillard's possessions and the story that he had killed two of their number.

crossed the mountains to a point outside the range of the Blackfeet. There he erected a small post on what is now called the Henry Fork of the Snake River, in Idaho. It was the first American fur trading establishment on the western side of the Continental Divide.[1]

To the informed, Three Forks is a pregnant spot, saturated with history and the deeds of those first daring Americans who pointed the way west. The parade of notable names here is impressive: Lewis and Clark and all their party, Sacajawea and her Shoshones, Colter, Potts, Drouillard, Menard, and Henry. Potts and Drouillard died there. The Three Forks was the meeting ground - the no-man's land - where the Blackfeet and the Minnetarees raided the Shoshones and Flatheads when the latter ventured over the mountains to hunt buffalo. And since those early days, paths of commerce and communication have passed through this "essential point."

A few words should be said about the present appearance of the Three Forks site. The Madison flows into the Jefferson about half a mile west of the point where the Gallatin joins the other two. The Three Forks area has something of a delta appearance, with most of the green, swamp ground at the mouth of the Madison. Viewed from a height, a large green oasis marks the confluence of the three rivers. Distant rolling plains and a large, semi-level bowl close-in surround the

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1 Ibid, 150-151.

headquarters area, with mountain ranges in the far distance. Even yet today, it is a scene of wild and majestic beauty. The town of Three Forks, about five miles west of the junction of the rivers, is not obtrusive because it is situated amidst the trees of the delta area.

At the present time, about 21 acres of land at the Gallatin confluence with the main stream is owned, we understand, by the State of Montana. The project of public ownership of the Three Forks was initiated by the Founders Club of Anaconda, Montana, about 1950. A series of celebrations were held there in connection with the projected 150th Anniversary of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. On July 21, 1951, then Governor John W. Bonner spoke at one of these festivities and gave the area its present title. He called it "Headwaters of the Missouri River State Monument."

In this park there is a small building operated by Mr. and Mrs. Clark M. Maudlin who gave the acreage there to the State. Both the Maudlins are enthusiasts for the site. A number of signs and markers, apparently erected by the State, and a few picnic tables have been provided at several places in the area. A small part of the State area, 1.8 acres, is north of the bridge over the Gallatin River; the remainder is south of the Gallatin River. There is a move afoot to acquire 200 more acres to extend the holding half a mile west to include the confluence of the Madison with the Jefferson. The Three Forks State

Park area at the mouth of the Gallatin is about three miles west of United States Highway 10, and north of the town of Three Forks. A paved secondary road leads to it.

Site Identification

Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, II, 269-286. The geography of this site is common knowledge and there are innumerable secondary works which treat of the history of the area.

Lemhi Pass, Montana-Idaho

Probably no other site along the route of the Lewis and Clark Expedition is associated with so many events crucial to the success of the expedition as Lemhi Pass (Plates 12,13,14,15,&16). A mere catalogue of these incidents and facts is impressive.

1. At Lemhi Pass the expedition crossed the Continental Divide.

2. At the pass it left the United States as represented by the boundary of newly acquired Louisiana. There it entered Spanish territory, or if the claims of some be admitted (which requires a lot of devious reasoning) at best a no-man's land.

3. Across Lemhi Pass ran the Shoshone road which led from the Shoshone's mountain retreat in the Lemhi Valley to the headwaters of the Missouri on the east side and the buffalo area of the Three Forks country.

4. In following this trail Lewis found the long-sought Shoshones. He saw the first of them, a lone, mounted warrior in what is now called Shoshone Cove on the east side of the pass.

5. At Fortunate Camp on the east side of the pass, Sacajawea met her brother, Cameahwait, Chief of the Shoshone village, Lewis had found, and cemented a cooperative attitude by the Shoshones with his expedition.

6. In the vicinity of the pass, Lewis and Clark obtained horses. Most of their supplies were transported over the pass by Shoshone horses in the first leg of their overland journey to the navigable waters of the Columbia.

7. The Shoshone village (Cameahwait's) lay in the Lemhi Valley at the western base of the pass.

8. Within a few miles on either side of the crest of Lemhi Pass occurred the series of incidents and events that enabled Lewis and Clark to establish friendly relations with the very Indians they had made an objective of their trip all the way from the Mandan villages, and with whom success or failure of the expedition rested in supplying horses, food, and guides for a continuation of the journey and a crossing of the mountains.

Olin D. Wheeler has pointed out that Lemhi Pass is the only pass in the main range of the Rockies that both Lewis and Clark saw and used although they crossed the Rockies seven times at six different places, three in the main range and three at other places.[1]

On 27 July, the day he arrived at the Three Forks and found Captain Clark's note at the mouth of the Madison, Lewis confided to his diary the following:

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1 Thwaites, III, 335, note 2, citing studies of O.D. Wheeler.

> We begin to feel considerable anxiety with rispect to the Snakes [Shoshone] Indians. if we do not find them or some other nation who have horses I fear the successfull issue of our voyage will be very doubtfull or at all events much more difficult in its accomplishment. we are now several hundred miles within the bosom of this wild and mountainous country, where game may rationally be expected shortly to become scarce and subsistence precarious without any information with rispect to the country not knowing how far these mountains continue, or wher to direct our course to pass them to advantage or intersept a navigable branch of the Columbia or even were we on such an one the probability is that we should not find any timber within these mountains large enough for canoes if we judge from the portion of them through which we have passed. however I still hope for the best, and intend taking a tramp myself in a few days to find these yellow gentlemen if possible.[1]

Lemhi Pass is situated in a remote section of the Beaverhead Range. A century and a half since the crossing of Lewis and Clark have changed it little. From its summit the same wild and majestic scenes still meet the eye both to east and west that were seen by Lewis and Clark. (See Plates 14,15 & 16) The only noticeable change is that instead of the Indian Trail Lewis followed over the pass, a narrow dirt, jeep track now crosses. At the pass itself, grassy, rolling slopes predominate, but in all directions there are deep valleys and heavily timbered uplands. In the distance to the west and northwest, even in July, snow covered peaks glisten in the sky.

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1 Thwaites, II, 279.

Lemhi Pass is at an elevation of 8,000 feet and as part of the Continental Divide it is on the boundary between Montana and Idaho. It is also on the dividing line between the Beaverhead and Salmon National Forests which lie in those two states respectively. The pass is in Federal ownership as part of these national forests.

From the east, Lemhi Pass is reached from Armstead, Montana (on U. S. 91). From Armstead a gravel road runs nearly due west for 21.8 miles to Trail Creek at a ranch shown as Brenner on the map. There a dirt road turns right to Lemhi Pass, 11.7 miles distant. In rainy weather this track would be impassable. From the west side of Lemhi Pass a similar dirt track leaves State 28 just south of Tendoy and climbs twelve miles to the top of the pass. The crest is almost equally distant by dirt road from improved roads on either side, although a hard surfaced road is much closer on the west side in the Lemhi and Salmon River Valleys.

Few people visit Lemhi Pass. It is all but unknown except to Forest Service people, prospectors, and an occasional Lewis and Clark student who takes the time to search it out. A kind Providence, it would seem, has preserved this historic spot almost in its pristine condition. Passes to the north and south of it have improved roads passing over them and are accordingly much changed by the hand of man. Not so Lemhi Pass.

Site Identification

Thwaites, op cit, II, 333-336; Olin D. Wheeler, The Trail of Lewis and Clark; DeVoto, The Course of Empire, 496.

Travellers Rest, Montana

Travellers Rest is the camp site where the Lewis and Clark expedition halted for two days on September 9 to 11, 1805 (17,18). The party stopped here for the better part of two days because their guides told them that here they would leave the Bitterroot Valley and start into and over the mountains by the Nez Perce Buffalo Road, a clearly defined trail the journals said was "plain and good," that came down to the Bitterroot Valley at this point. The party stopped to get their packs in order, collect food, and make terrestrial observations. The camp site was on the south side of Travellers Rest Creek near its junction with the Bitterroot River. A Flathead Indian, Colter brought in, said that the passage of the mountains could be made in five days. From Travellers Rest at 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 11th, the Lewis and Clark Expedition began its passage of the Lolo Trail over the Bitterroot Mountains, its worst experience of the entire journey.

On its return from the Pacific Coast in 1806, the expedition reached Travellers Rest on 30 June. It remained there until 3 July when the party divided into two parts, Clark leading the main group back to the Beaverhead where boats and supplies had been cached the year before, and Lewis taking a chosen few to explore the country east and northeast. The two Captains had decided in poring over their notes and maps at Fort Clatsop during the winter that it was essential for them

to explore the country between Travellers Rest and the Great Falls of the Missouri if they were to meet the President's instructions about finding the shortest and most feasible route between the Missouri and the Columbia Rivers. Herein lies the real significance of Travellers Rest as an historic site, over and above its being the eastern terminal of the Lolo Trail.

Lewis with Drouillard and a few others traversed the Indian trail down the Bitterroot ten miles to that stream's confluence with what is now called Clark's Fork of the Columbia (at Missoula), turned up it through Hellgate to the junction of the Blackfoot River, turned up that stream and later cut across the headwaters of the Dearborn River to Sun River, and hence passed down the latter to the Missouri at the Great Falls. They did not follow the direct route through Deer Lodge Prairie. In this dangerous trip Lewis confirmed the report given him and Clark by the Minnetarees during the winter of 1804-05 and later repeated by the Shoshones, Flatheads, and Nez Perce of this route between the two great east and west flowing drainages. Today the Northern Pacific passes through Missoula after having followed this ancient Indian road from Deer Lodge Prairie down the Clark Fork. In the country around Hellgate the Blackfeet laid many ambushes for the Flatheads and that spot was considered one of the most dangerous in all the West. To the north and east of it was Blackfoot country.

Travellers Rest is eleven miles southwest of Missoula and immediately adjacent to U. S. Highway 93. A paved secondary road leads from this highway at Travellers Rest up Lolo Creek and across Lolo Pass to the Powell Ranger Station on the Lochsa River.

The site of Travellers Rest camp is today farm land in the Bitterroot Valley. Aside from the highway that runs north-south along the Bitterroot River and the secondary road that runs up Lolo Creek, the countryside at this point is unspoiled and probably much like it was at the time of Lewis and Clark.(See Plates 17 &18).

Clark's journal entry for June 30, 1806, on the occasion of the expedition's return to Travellers Rest provides a rather close identification of the actual camp site. It reads "a little before Sunset we arrived at our old encampment on the S. side of the Creek [Travellers Rest or Lolo] a little above its entrance into Clark's [Bitterroot] river."[1]

Site Identification

Thwaites, III, 57-62 and V, 174-183; Wheeler, op cit; DeVoto, The Course of Empire, 503-504.

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1 Thwaites, V, 174.

The Lolo Trail, Montana-Idaho

The Lolo Trail is the 150-odd miles of the Nez Perce Indian Trail that crossed from the Nez Perce home country along the Clearwater River in central Idaho over the Bitterroot Range to the Bitterroot River in western Montana (Plates 17-26). This trail continued on to the fabulous buffalo grounds of Deer Lodge Prairie between present day Missoula and Butte and a branch of it northeast toward the Sun River. This Nez Perce buffalo road is the trail that Old Toby, the Shoshone (more properly the Bannack) guide, led Lewis and Clark to for the mountain crossing. It was the most difficult part of the entire 4,000 mile route to the Pacific. It was the place where the expedition most nearly met disaster.

This trail followed the high ridges of the Bitterroot Range, and not any stream courses, such as the Lochsa. The reason is clear enough. The river gorges were impassable for canoes by reason of the cascades and rapids of the stream, and the steep rock walls of the gorges prevented establishing a practicable foot trail along their sides. In general, the Lolo Trail travelled the high backbone of the mountain mass north of the Lochsa River, the Koos koos kee of the Lewis and Clark journals. This was wilderness country then and it is so today.

If one wants to read the details of the terrible ordeal of the passage of the Bitterroots by the Lewis and Clark party in mid-September 1805 and their first effort in 1806, he should turn to the journals themselves. Only that will do justice to the story. It is enough to say here that it was a tremendous ordeal and taxed the physical endurance of both man and beast to the utmost. After eleven days in the mountains, the men came out on Weippe Prairie in an almost starved and utterly exhausted condition. And these were hardened men.

A few passages from the journals will give the impressions of Lewis and Clark. On 15 September, 1805, Clark spoke of the scene from the vicinity of Indian Post Office, "From this mountain I could observe high rugged mountains in every direction as far as I could see." The next day he wrote, "I have been wet and as cold in every part as I ever was in my life, indeed I was at one time fearfull my feet would freeze in the thin Mockirsons which I wore."[1]

Great difficulty was encountered in the dense underbrush and heavy falls of timber. Rain turned into sleet and finally into snow, eight inches one day on top of four inches of crust. Horses lost their footing and tumbled down steep slopes. Gass wrote, "the most terrible mountains I ever beheld." Horses gave out and had to be left behind. Three colts were killed for food.

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1 Thwaites, III, 68-69.

The next year the party crossed the Bitterroots eastbound in the latter part of June and found snow ten and twelve feet deep, but on the second trip with Nez Perce guides they never lost the trail and made the crossing in little more than half the time taken on the westbound trip. In the midst of this return crossing Lewis' journal entry for 27 June contains an interesting item about what we believe is Indian Post Office, the highest point of the Lolo Trail (7,036 feet). This is a spot of unusual interest because of its importance to the Nez Perce.

> [Friday 27 June 1806] We collected our horses early and set out. the road is still continued on the height of the same dividing ridge on which we traveled yesterday for nine miles on to our encampment of the (17th) of September last. about one mile short of this encampment on an elivated point we halted by the request of the Indians a few minutes and smoked a pipe. On this eminence the natives have raised a conic mound of stones of 6 or eight feet high and on it's summit erected a pine pole of 15 feet long. from hence they informed us that when passing over with their famil[i]es some of the men were usually sent on foot by the fisheries at the entrance of Colt Creek in order to take fish and again me[e]t the main party at the Quawmash glade on the head of the Kooskooske river. from this place we had an extensive view of these stupendous mountains principally covered with snow like that on which we stood; we were entirely surrounded by those mountains from which one unacquainted with them it would have seemed impossible ever to have escaped; in short without the assistance of our guides I doubt much whether we who had once passed them could find our way to Travellers Rest in their present situation for the marked trees on which we had placed considerable reliance are much fewer and more difficult to find than we had apprehended. there fellows are most admirable pilots; we find the road wherever the snow has disappeared though it be only for a few hundred paces.[1]

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1 Thwaites, V, 164-165. Wheeler (II,284) seems to think this particular rock cairn was not at Indian Post Office but at a place known as Castle Butte. This point might require further study.
R.E.A.

Lewis and Clark on this return crossing made it in 156 miles from the Weippe Prairie to Travellers Rest.

The Nez Perce stone cairns are still standing at Indian Post Office. No doubt Forest Service employees have relaid fallen stones from time to time (See Plate 24).

Although it has no direct relation to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, mention should be made of another famous crossing of the Lolo Trail. This occurred in 1877 during the Nez Perce war. After the time of Lewis and Clark the Nez Perce maintained friendly relations with the Americans until they were finally driven to desperation by the breaking of treaties and being driven gradually from their beloved homeland. In 1877 under the leadership of Chief Joseph they resisted, and in the ensuing war with the United States Army they undertook to cross the mountains eastward and escape into Canada. They took the Lolo Trail, pursued by General Oliver O. Howard and the United States 2nd Cavalry.

In a report Howard sent to the Secretary of War the General said of this trail, "I am convinced that the Lolo Trail must be the most terrible trail on all the continent of North America. In describing his entry on to the Lolo Trail on July 26, 1877, from the Camas Prairies in pursuit of the Nez Perce, General Howard said, "Over the Lolo Trail the first day we made but six miles. A rougher country one could hardly imagine."[1] In another place he describes why the Lolo

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1 Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard, My Life and Experiences Among Our Hostile Indians (Hartford, 1907), 291.

Trail was so forbidding:

> It does not appear far to the next peak. It is not so on a straight course, but such a course is impossible. 'Keep to the hog-back!' That means there is usually a crooked connecting ridge between two neighboring mountain-heights, and you must keep on it. The necessity of doing so often made the distance three times greater than by straight lines; but the ground was stoney, too steep, the canyon too deep, to attempt the shorter course. Conceive this climbing ridge after ridge, in the wildest kind of wilderness, with the only possible pathway filled with timber, small and large, crossed and crisscrossed; and now, while the horses and mules are feeding on innutritious wiregrass you will not wonder at 'only sixteen miles a day'. [1]

Most of the high ridge part of the Lolo Trail is in Lolo National Forest, Idaho. Few people ever see it. The Forest Service estimates that possibly 500 people a year venture up the steep, narrow, twisting, dirt jeep trails to the vicinity of the Trail. These Forest Service jeep trails climb from the Powell Ranger Station on the Lochsa River at an elevation of 3,000 feet to the original Lolo Trail which has an elevation of between 6,500 and 7,000 feet at this point. The United States Geological Survey quadrangle gives Indian Post Office an elevation of 7,036 feet, the highest point on the Trail. At this point the Lolo Trail is 4,000 feet above the gorge of the Lochsa River, which is south of it.

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1 Maj. Gen. Oliver O. Howard, Nez Perce Joseph: An Account of His Ancestors, His Lands, His Confederates, His Enemies, His Murders, His War, His Pursuit and Capture (Boston, 1881), 179.

As it is known today, the Lolo Trail is a stretch of approximately 150 miles of road and trail that extends from the mouth of Lolo Creek near Missoula, Montana, to Pierce, Idaho. The modern road follows generally the course of Lewis and Clark from the mouth of Lolo Creek to Lolo Pass. There Old Toby apparently mistook a side trail that led off to a fishing place on the Lochsa River near the present Powell Ranger Station and did not get back on the main Lolo Trail until the party climbed back up from the Lochsa (the Koos koos kee) by way of presently named Wendover Ridge.

A Forest Service trail follows the approximate route of the Lolo Trail from above Powell's Ranger Station past Indian Post Office to Sherman Saddle. Snow normally blocks this road throughout the year except for parts of July and during August. The Forest Service has placed attractive markers at several of the Lewis and Clark camp sites that could be identified. Near Cayuse Junction, a short distance east of Indian Post Office, a section of the old Nez Perce Buffalo road is marked. It is a path wide enough for horse or man and follows the crest of the ridge amidst the trees.

Although several people have devoted much effort to locating and identifying the original Lolo Trail, that has not been possible for its entire route. Forest Service personnel have made important contributions to this undertaking. When one penetrates this jumble of mountain, ravines, and gorges, it is easy even today to understand why

the detailed descriptions in the Lewis and Clark journals do not allow identification of all parts of the trail. The Lolo Trail fell into disuse after the Nez Perce War and gradually tended to lose its identification.

The eastern and highest part of the Lolo Trail is in Lolo National Forest; the western part is in the Clearwater Forest. A part of the trail follows the northern boundary of the Selway Bitterroot Wilderness Area, probably the largest primitive area in the United States. Some logging under Forest Service supervision has taken place in the valleys and along some of the lower slopes. The timber in the high "divide" country which the trail follows has never been cut. It is virgin. Large sections of forest along the western part of the trail area were burned over by forest fires in 1910 and 1919.

The Governor of Idaho has announced recently that agreement has been reached on the construction of a paved road along the Lochsa River, to be completed in 1961. This road, when finished, will be the only paved route crossing central Idaho between United States Highway 10 on the north and United States Highway 30 on the south, a wilderness interval of 300 miles. It will complete the "Lewis and Clark Highway" (State 9). This new road will parallel the Lolo Trail at a distance of about 10 miles south of it. The road is now paved from Travellers Rest to Powell's Ranger Station.

Site Identification

Thwaites; Wheeler, op cit; Elers Koch, "Lewis and Clark Route Retraced Across the Bitterroots," Oregon Historical Quarterly, XLI (June 1940), 160-174.

The Nez Perce Villages and Canoe Camp

The Nez Perce villages at Weippe and Kamiah Prairies on the Clearwater River in Idaho at the western base of the Bitterroot Range have a certain importance in the Lewis and Clark expedition (Plates 27-28) It was there that the members of the expedition recovered from their exhausting crossing of the mountains and, among friendly Indians, prepared for their water journey on to the Pacific, their ultimate objective. Near the Nez Perce villages, Lewis and Clark established Canoe Camp where they built the dugout canoes they used from there to the Pacific. This camp was near present-day Orofino, Idaho. The expedition remained there from September 26 to October 7, 1805.

The next year the Lewis and Clark party returned to the Nez Perce villages. There it waited for more than a month for the snows to melt and the weather to moderate in the Bitterroots. Except for the two winter camps, this was the longest period of time the expedition remained in any one area. During these two periods of stay with the Nez Perce the Lewis and Clark party established friendly relations with these Indians that remained unbroken for almost 75 years, until at last extreme provocations caused the Nez Perce under Chief Joseph to resort to arms.

Canoe Camp was situated on the south bank of the Clearwater River opposite the point where the north fork joins the main stream "in a handsome small bottom." Work on the canoes was begun the next day, September 27, even though most of the men were still invalids and confined to their blankets. Drouillard was the only man completely well, and he hunted far and wide to bring in meat for the others. On October 5 the first two of the new canoes were finished. Two days later three more canoes had been completed. The men, now much recovered, set out on the Clearwater on a water journey they believed would ultimately bring them to the Columbia. It did.

The site of Canoe Camp, six miles west of Orofino, is preserved by the State of Idaho as a roadside camp area (See Plate 28). State Highway 9 passes near it. This site is presently being threatened with partial destruction by a proposed relocation of the highway.

Site Identification

Thwaites; Wheeler, op cit.

Fort Clatsop

Fort Clatsop derives its importance in the history of the expedition from having been the winter quarters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in 1805-1806 (Plate 32). It was only a few miles from the Pacific and the successful termination of the cross continent journey.

The members of the expedition lived here from December 8, 1805, to March 23, 1806, when the Lewis and Clark party started its return trip eastward.

Fort Clatsop was a log structure fifty feet square. Two sides were made by a solid row of parallel buildings separated by a 20-foot wide parade ground. The two ends of the parade ground were enclosed by a stockade. There was a gate in the south end. Lewis and Clark each had a room in one of the parallel structures with a meathouse and a storeroom filling out the rest of the building space on that side. The other parallel building on the opposite side of the parade ground had three rooms, each about 16 feet square. In them lived the enlisted men of the expedition.

Lewis and Clark and their men spent a miserable three and a half months at Fort Clatsop. The site was on a little knoll about three miles up what is now called the Lewis and Clark River, a small stream that empties into the Columbia from the south just above where the latter discharges into the Pacific Ocean. Dense fir trees of a size never seen by any of the expedition in their home country covered the ground everywhere - the great rain forests of the northwest. And rain it did that winter, hardly ever letting up.

The last remnants of the log fort disappeared about the middle of the last century. When National Park Service archeologists excavated the area a few years ago they found no evidence whatever

of the fort. They may have missed the exact site, or the construction of several houses on the site during the 19th Century may have obliterated any trace that had remained. Even so, the palisades which were sunk into the ground at either end of the fort should have left clear archeological evidence.

A reconstructed Fort Clatsop stands on the alleged site of the original. It was erected in 1955 by the Clatsop County Historical Society as a part of the 150th Anniversary of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

In 1958 the Congress authorized the establishment of the Fort Clatsop site as a National Memorial.

Site Identification.

Thwaites, Wheeler, op cit; John A. Hussey, "Suggested Historical Area Report, Fort Clatsop Site, Oregon." National Park Service, San Francisco, 1957.

OTHER SITES CONSIDERED IN THE SURVEY

There are many sites associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition that have strong local interest, and in some cases more than local interest, yet these do not have an importance sufficient to justify their inclusion in a listing of those having outstanding significance. Sites believed to have this secondary importance are listed in this section of the study. In certain cases, such as Camp Wood and Fort Mandan, the loss of a site to river action and the total or almost total lack of site integrity has been a principal factor in placing a site in this category rather than in that of outstanding significance. The sites are listed in the order the expedition encountered them in its journey to the Pacific and return.

Camp Wood (Dubois), Illinois: Here the members of the expedition spent the winter of 1803-04 preparing for the up-river journey. It was the starting point for the Corps of Discovery. The site of this camp was at the mouth of Wood River where it flowed into the Mississippi opposite the mouth of the Missouri River, some miles north of St. Louis. It was not far from the present town of Wood River, Illinois. In the time since the expedition departed from there on May 14, 1804, the Wood, Missouri, and Mississippi Rivers have changed their courses and the

site of Camp Wood is now believed to be lost in the Mississippi River. The State of Illinois has placed a marker near the site of the 1803-04 winter camp.

Council Bluff, Nebraska: Lewis and Clark held their first of many conferences with Indian tribes here on August 3, 1804 (Plate 1). The Indians were the Oto and the Missouri. There were the usual speeches on both sides and the distribution of presents by Lewis and Clark. Upon reaching the Platte River the two Captains agreed that a post somewhere in the vicinity would be needed to deal with the Indians of that part of the Missouri, and they proceeded to look for a likely spot. They found one about fifty miles upstream on the left (west) side of the river. A river bluff dominated a fine level plain on the river bank, and to this place messengers brought the Oto and Missouri Indians for a council.

The two Captains thought the spot a good one for a Platte River post, and this judgment proved correct. Several were built in its vicinity in subsequent years. This site should not be confused with Council Bluffs, Iowa, which is several miles downstream, opposite Omaha, and on the east side of the river. Fort Atkinson was built on or near the council site in 1820. The Nebraska State Historical Society as a result of recent studies believes the sites of the two are synonymous.

Yet it is not certain that the Council Bluff camp site still exists. The Missouri River has changed greatly at this point and the Council Bluff is no longer the important landmark it once was on the river. The channel of the Missouri in the 1840's shifted about three miles eastward at this point and time has brought other changes. The face of the bluff has grown up in trees, a road cuts into the south part of the bluff, a farmhouse stands on top, and farmland has replaced the open plains. There is no longer available from the top the fine view of the countryside and the sweep up and down the river.

Sergeant Floyd's Grave, Iowa: Sergeant Charles Floyd was the only member of the Lewis and Clark expedition to lose his life during its journey to the Pacific and return. Ironically, he died of an illness that has been diagnosed in the light of modern medical knowledge as probably having been appedicitis - a ruptured appendix. So far as is known, Floyd was the first American soldier to die west of the Mississippi River. Because of these facts a strong emotional and sentimental feeling has always attached to Floyd's gravesite. His death had no important effect on the expedition and in no way influenced its outcome.

Floyd, a Kentuckian and a kinsman of Captain Clark, became ill at the end of July but seemed to be recovering. His own journal mentions on July 31 that he had been very sick. On August 19 several

members of the expedition mention in their journals that Sergeant Floyd had been taken very ill that morning with a "collick." The two Captains gave him every attention but were unable to improve his condition. Shortly after noon on August 20 the party stopped for a midday lunch. Floyd died at that time. The party went up the river about a mile to a point where high bluffs came close to the stream on the north side. On top the bluff the party buried Floyd with the honors of war and placed a red cedar post with his name and the date of his death carved in it (Plate 2). The journal entries of 20 August 1804 describe the event in some detail.

The members of the expedition visited Floyd's grave on their return down the river in 1806. The journal entries for 4 September tell that the men climbed the bluff and found the grave had been opened by natives and left partially open. Lewis and Clark covered the grave before they proceeded on down stream.

In the years that followed, many people travelling up and down the Missouri visited Floyd's grave - Henry Brackenridge in 1811; George Catlin in 1832 (he drew a picture of what the bluff looked like at that time); Maximilian, Prince of Wied in 1833; and John Audubon in 1843. During the 1850's the Missouri encroached on the bluff and in a flood in the spring of 1857 carried away a large portion of it. According to local tradition a young man noticed bones protruding from

the face of the bluff and a committee of citizens of Sioux City organized to rescue the remains. One member was lowered over the face of the bluff and retrieved the remaining bones. In May of 1857 Sergeant Floyd's remains were reinterred with impressive ceremonies about 200 yards back from the face of the bluff. But the new grave went unmarked and cattle and horses grazed over the site.

Other changes took place. In 1867 a railroad was built into Sioux City and ran along the base of the bluff. Dirt from the construction was dumped near the grave site. Gradually the exact location of the grave site was forgotten. In 1895 the Sioux City Journal agitated for an identification of the grave site. As many people as possible who had witnessed the 1857 reburial were assembled. Upon looking over the general area they suggested that a spot where some yellow earth showed with black, in contrast to the uniform black elsewhere, be examined. After excavating several feet deep there a coffin was found with a skull and some bones.

A formal Floyd Memorial Association was formed and plans made to observe the 91st Anniversary of Floyd's death on 20 August next. On that occasion Floyd's bones were removed from the casket, placed in an urn, and reburied with ceremony. At the same time a movement to erect a suitable monument to Floyd was under way and eventually the Association was able to secure that objective. In May 1899 the

Association purchased a tract of land comprising a little more than 22 acres, including the grave site bluff, and subsequently deeding this land to the city of Sioux City. Concurrently, funds had been raised to construct the monument. The Federal Government appropriated $5,000; the State of Iowa, $5,000; and the city of Sioux City, Woodbury County, and popular subscription provided $10,000 more.

The United States Corps of Engineers drew plans for the monument and construction began in 1899. Subsequently, Col. Hiram M. Chittenden was placed in charge of the project. On August 20, 1900, Floyd's remains were placed in the concrete foundation and the cornerstone of the monument laid. On May 30, 1901, the 100-foot obelisk was dedicated. Lightning damaged the monument in 1956, but it has been repaired, cleaned, and the stones repointed. The stone was found to be in good condition.

The site of Sergeant Floyd's original burial is gone, and the vicinity has changed in countless ways since that day in 1804 when he was buried in a virgin country that knew only a few roaming Indians and wild animals. In addition to some of the changes already mentioned, perhaps one should add that United States Highway 75 cuts through the area and the Missouri River has shifted about one quarter of a mile westward.

Calumet Bluff - Meeting with Yankton Sioux, South Dakota: Lewis and Clark met the Yankton Sioux here in council on August 30-31, 1804. With the help of Pierre Dorion, an interpreter who understood the Sioux language, friendly relations were established with the tribe. The Yankton Sioux was one of the few Sioux tribes to remain friendly to Americans throughout the 19th Century. Calumet Bluff is several miles above Yankton, South Dakota, and now serves as one of the anchors for the Gavins Point Dam. The reservoir and a part of the dam itself probably cover the site of the council meeting with the Yanktons.

Meeting with the Teton Sioux, South Dakota: This site is in the vicinity of Marion Island opposite Pierre, South Dakota. The exact site of the meeting with the Tetons on September 25-27, 1804, has never been identified. Serious trouble with these Indians was only narrowly averted by the firm and skillful handling of the situation by Lewis and Clark.

Arikara Villages, South Dakota: The sites of the two Arikara villages at the mouth of Grand River, the scene of the council with the "Rees" on October 10-12, 1804, have been identified. The impounding of waters from the construction of Oahe Dam, however, will soon inundate these sites. The South Dakota State Historical Society has erected a suitable monument on a hill overlooking the site.

Slant Indian Village, North Dakota: The site of this village, mentioned in Lewis and Clark journals for 20 October 1804, is in Fort Abraham Lincoln State Park, near Mandan, North Dakota (Plate 4). This old Mandan village is believed to have been abandoned about 1764. The North Dakota State Historical Society has reconstructed several earth-lodges of the village.

Fort Mandan, North Dakota: Fort Mandan's significance derives from its having been the winter quarters of the expedition during the first winter out from St. Louis. This was for the period November 1804 to 7 April 1805, a period of more than five months. Considered with Fort Mandan are the five villages of the Mandans. Only two of these, as has been noted, were in fact Mandan; the other three were two Minnetaree or Hidatsa and one a related tribe (Plates 3,4,5). The State Historical Society has identified the sites of these villages. They are situated on both sides of the Missouri River, near Stanton, North Dakota. As yet there has not been intensive archeological investigation of the sites.

At Fort Mandan, a log palisaded structure built three miles downstream from the Mandan villages and near present Fort Clark, the expedition laid the foundation for its continuation of the trip the following spring. It was going into country unknown generally to white men, and specifically so with regard to its members. Lewis and Clark

spent a great amount of time interviewing various Indians, particularly the Minnetaree who knew most about the country to the west, in an effort to fill in to as great an extent as possible all the geographical information these Indians possessed. At Fort Mandan Lewis and Clark summarized what they had been able to learn and sent back a report to President Jefferson that advanced the state of geographical knowledge of the west over what it had been before. To be sure, they made serious errors in interpreting some of the Indian information. And this misinterpretation stayed with them until their own experience and observation brought them to a correct interpretation of it.

And it was at Fort Mandan that Lewis and Clark made arrangements for Sacajawea, the Shoshone girl, to accompany them westward. They had learned that the Shoshone tribe held the mountain passes between the headwaters of the Missouri and the westward flowing waters beyond the Divide. It was the Shoshone that Lewis and Clark would seek at the upper extremities of the Missouri. Sacajawea knew their language. She had been one of them. Her future value to the expedition certainly would be great if the party succeeded in reaching the Rocky Mountains.

When Lewis and Clark in their 1806 return trip reached the point where Fort Mandan had stood, they found it had been destroyed by a prairie fire - burned to the ground except for one cabin and a line

of pickets on the water side of the triangular-shaped enclosure. When Maximilian visited Fort Clark during the winter of 1833-34, the site had been swept into the Missouri River. For more than one hundred and twenty years the site of this first winter encampment of Lewis and Clark has ceased to exist. The State of North Dakota has acquired a tract of some 35 acres overlooking the site of Fort Mandan and has named it Fort Mandan State Park. A small commemorative marker overlooks the Missouri.

Mouth of the Marias River, Montana: Here one of the great tests of intelligence was imposed on the two Captains. Their information, which they had improperly interpreted, caused them to be perplexed by this large river (in near-flood stage from melting snows) coming in from the north where they expected none. Their problem was to decide which was the true Missouri, this one or the other, the southwest fork. After several days of reconnaissance, both Lewis and Clark decided that the southwest fork was the Missouri, and they took it. All their men thought the Marias was the Missouri. At the mouth of the Marias the party left one of its pirogues and cached part of its supplies. An interesting speculation that can be introduced here is this: had the expedition gone up the Marias, mistakenly thinking it the Missouri, they very likely would have encountered the powerful and hostile Blackfeet whose country it traversed. This might have resulted in clashes with

the Blackfeet that could have crippled the expedition and turned it back.

Great Falls of the Missouri, Montana: The Great Falls is a significant landmark on the Missouri River. It caused the expedition a month's delay in 1805 in portaging around the series of five falls. The expedition cached part of its supplies here and left the second pirogue at the lower end of the falls. The falls have been used for industrial purposes and the site bears little resemblance to the wild and beautiful aspect it had when Lewis and Clark saw it.

Beaverhead Rock, Montana: Beaverhead Rock is the landmark Sacajawea recognized as the party ascended the Beaverhead River (Plate 10). She then told them they were close to the homeland of her people and where they might be found. Captain Lewis set out in advance of the main party from near this point and found the Shoshones. Beaverhead Rock is on the left (west) bank of the Beaverhead River, about fourteen miles northeast of Dillon, Montana.

Fortunate Camp, Montana: This important point is located near the town of Armstead at the junction of Red Rock River and Horse Prairie Creek, which form the Beaverhead River (Plate 12). It was the farthest point travelled by water in the westward passage short of the Rocky Mountains.

Here the party cached a considerable part of their supplies, weighted their canoes with stones and sank them, and transferred to pack horse for transportation across the mountains. It was here that Lewis brought the Shoshones and waited for Clark and the main party. On August 17, 1805, they arrived and this was the occasion when Sacajawea recognized the Shoshone Chief, Cameahwait, as her brother. Clark, with part of the expedition returned to this spot on the return trip in 1806 from Travellers Rest to reclaim the canoes and supplies. He then turned downstream to the Three Forks. There his party split, one part continuing on down the river with the canoes while the other, which he led, crossed overland to the Yellowstone Valley and followed it down to the Missouri. A monument marks the Fortunate Camp site. This site is closely associated with Lemhi Pass and the other places concerned with the meeting of the expedition with the Shoshones.

Camp Chopunnish, Idaho: According to Olin D. Wheeler who studied the subject intensively, the site of this camp is on the south fork of the Clearwater River, about two miles below Kamiah, Idaho. This camp has more than unusual importance because it was here that the expedition camped for nearly a month from 13 May to 10 June in 1806, while they waited for the snow to melt in the Bitterroots before attempting a return crossing of these mountains. If Wheeler's identification of the site is correct, a lumber mill now stands on the camp site.

Salt Cairn, Oregon: The alleged site of the salt cairn where members of the expedition boiled sea water to make salt in the winter of 1805-06 is in Seaside, Oregon (Plate 33). The site is owned by the Oregon Historical Society and preserved as a public park. This small reservation is identified by a suitable marker. The cairn itself is surrounded by an iron fence, and only a few yards back from high tide mark on the beach.

Point Ellice, Washington: Point Ellice is the headland on the north bank of the Columbia River opposite Astoria, Oregon, around which the party moved to reach the Pacific Ocean (Plate 30). Near it the expedition stayed in two camp sites from 10 to 25 November 1805, while searching for a suitable winter quarters. This period of the expedition's history is closely associated with Fort Clatsop on the south side of the river where Lewis and Clark finally established their winter camp.

Pompey's Pillar, Montana: This flat-topped stone monolith rises out of the Yellowstone River flood plain, on the south bank, and is a well-known landmark of the Yellowstone Valley (Plate 35). Clark stopped at the pillar and climbed it on 25 August 1806. He carved his name and the date on its face about two-thirds toward the top. The rock already had many Indian carvings on it. Clark examined these with interest. It is probable that a Frenchman named Laroque, who was in the

Yellowstone the year before, had visited the rock pillar. He may have been the first white man to visit it. In 1875 a stonecutter with Forsythe's troops, who passed the pillar, noticed that Clark's name was weathering and he deepened the signature with a chisel. The signature, still legible, is now protected by an iron grating that protects it from vandalism. This is the only known surviving marking left by any member of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Clark named the stone landmark for Sacajawea's baby boy, Baptiste, whom he always called "Pomp." It is said to be a Shoshone word meaning "first born." Pompey's Pillar is just east of Nibbe, Montana, and about thirty-five miles east of Billings.

Point of Reunion, North Dakota: This is the spot where Lewis and Clark and their respective parties reunited on 12 August 1806 after having been separated a little more than five weeks. This site is believed to be about six miles south of the former town of Sanish, North Dakota, and is now probably inundated by the Garrison Reservoir.

ANNEX I

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

Because there is coincidental relationship between the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the Louisiana Purchase it may be well to set forth here in brief summary the main facts about the Purchase. The Louisiana Purchase did not affect the Lewis and Clark Expedition except that after the Purchase was accomplished, Lewis and Clark informed the various Indian tribes they encountered east of the Continental Divide that they were no longer subjects of Spain, but of the United States.

The purchase of Louisiana is a big subject in itself, and here only a few facts will be mentioned dealing with the time phase of the purchase in relation to the planning, authorization, and start of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1800 Napoleon forced Spain to cede Louisiana back to France (Spain had held it since 1763). However, Napoleon was in a difficult situation. War with England seemed imminent and a resumption of the war on the continent was probable. With his army in San Domingo almost destroyed by tropical fevers and Negro insurrectionists, Napoleon decided to sell Louisiana to the United States. When his ministers began negotiations with the French Government in Paris for a tract of land,

the Isle of Orleans, at the mouth of the Mississippi River, Jefferson had no thought of acquiring all of Louisiana. On April 11, 1803, in discussing the sale of the Isle of Orleans, Talleyrand in Paris asked Livingston what he would give for all of Louisiana. The outcome was contained in three different documents, all executed and back dated 30 April 1803. Together they effected the purchase of Louisiana.

The treaty of cession provided that the United States would receive Louisiana with the same rights the French had acquired in the Treaty of San Ildefonso. A translation of the language in that treaty, by which Spain ceded Louisiana to France, reads:

> 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; and such as it would be after the treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other states.[1]

The limits of the tract were vague on its western boundary. The boundaries turned on an interpretation, ultimately, of what France considered Louisiana to have been in 1763 when it ceded it to Spain. The eastern boundary of Louisiana was the Mississippi River from its source to the 31st parallel, from there to Iberville and down that river to Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain and to the Gulf of Mexico. The boundary on the west was the Rio Bravo (Rio Grande) from its mouth to the 30th parallel. (The Rio Grande, however, did not become the boundary). From that point it was undefined. On the north it extended to British America. Between the 30th parallel and British America,

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1 Edward Channing, A History of the United States (New York, 1935), IV, 320-321.

an unknown region, it was considered to extend to the water-parting of the Rocky Mountains. Not until 30 November 1803 did the Spanish authorities at New Orleans hand over Louisiana to the French. Twenty days later the French in ceremonies at New Orleans transferred Louisiana to the United States. We have noted in an earlier section that Meriwether Lewis himself attended the ceremony in St. Louis in April 1804, just before the expedition set out up the Missouri, in which Upper Louisiana was relinquished by Spanish authorities to the United States.

So, it should be understood that Jefferson planned and Congress appropriated the funds for the Lewis and Clark Expedition prior to the Louisiana Purchase and Jefferson had issued his instructions to Lewis before he had news from Paris of the purchase. The Lewis and Clark Expedition would have gone ahead even if there had been no Louisiana Purchase.[1]

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1 Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (New York, 1936), gives a good digest of the Louisiana Purchase. Henry Adams, History of the United States (9 vols. 1889-91), is reliable and excellent.

ANNEX II

THE CLAIMS TO OREGON

There is a widespread belief that the Lewis and Clark Expedition constituted an important direct United States claim to Oregon. This notion is not well founded, as a consideration of the following facts will disclose. It is true that the United States always included reference to the expedition in support of its claim, but that was only natural in assembling all the possible events and factors that might buttress the claim. The claims of various nations to the northwest coast of North America may be summarized as follows:

Spain established the first claim to the Pacific coast, dating from the middle of the 16th Century. Some years later Sir Francis Drake visited the coast and established a claim for Great Britain. Russia's claim dates from 1741. The Spanish claim was the oldest and by far the best of all. In the Nootka Sound Convention of 1790, however, growing out of a trade war involving the fur trade on the northwest coast, Spain acknowledged British rights to trade on the coast.

The first Americans on the northwest coast were two American sailors with Captain Cook of the British Navy in 1778. One of them was John Ledyard. He spread the news of the rich fur trade there,

centering on Nootka Sound. Two Boston Ships in 1788-89 were the first American ships to visit the coast. One of them was the Lady Washington, with Robert Gray, Captain. They saw the seizure of British ships by the Spanish in 1789 at Nootka.

In 1791 Captain Gray sailed back to the northwest coast, and on May 11, 1792, he crossed the bar of the Columbia River, the first white man to do so. Many British and Spanish ships had sailed up and down the coast past the river but never suspected that it was there. It is to be noted that the Columbia, Gray's ship, was a privately owned, commercial vessel. There is no indication that Gray claimed the Oregon country for the United States. His ship had no official connection with the United States Government. That same month, Captain Vancouver of the British Navy sent a boat into the river, verifying what he had heard of Captain Gray's discovery. His boat went sixty miles or more up the river past the point where the Columbia had anchored.

In the next few years several British explorers crossed overland to the Pacific Northwest from the Hudson's Bay region of Canada. The first was Alexander MacKenzie in 1793.

Then in the autumn of 1805, Lewis and Clark reach the Pacific Ocean and winter at Fort Clatsop.

Following hard upon Lewis and Clark, David Thompson of the British Northwest Company sent two men to cut a horse trail across the Canadian Rockies. In 1807 they reached the Columbia River, beginning a permanent occupation. They did not recognize this river at the point

they came upon it, however, as the Columbia, and called it the Kootanae. The next year, in 1808, Thompson moved south of the 49th parallel into what is now Idaho. And in 1809 he penetrated to the site of Missoula, Montana. Strangely, it was not until 1811 that Thompson followed the Columbia River down to the sea. And when he arrived he found that an American fur company had just established a post there, having come around Cape Horn from New York.

It should be noted that Lewis and Clark had not penetrated any land north of the Columbia River, as Captain Vancouver had done in Puget Sound, nor any east of the Columbia and north of the Snake and Clearwater Rivers, as Thompson had done.

Now let us turn for a moment to the American fur trading post Thompson found established at the mouth of the Columbia. John Jacob Astor of New York had sent out in 1810 the expedition (the Pacific Fur Company) that founded Astoria in the spring of 1811. The War of 1812 left Astor's little fur trading post defenceless in an area of British dominance, so he sold it in 1812 to the British Northwest Company before it was seized by the British of 12 December 1813. Under the terms of the Treaty of Ghent in 1818 Astoria would have been restored to Astor but he could not claim it because he had sold it. The British remained in possession at Astoria and held a monopoly of the fur trade in the region. In 1821 the Hudson's Bay Company absorbed the Northwest Company

and combined the fur trading activities in the northwest under one management. Fort Vancouver became the great fur trading establishment in the Oregon country.

The 1818 settlement left Oregon as a region where both Britain and the United States had equal rights of trade and occupation for ten years. This was not really joint occupation as often claimed. What it meant was that any area claimed by either country was to be free and open to citizens and subjects of the other for ten years. The Hudson's Bay Company was unchallenged in the Pacific Northwest after this for two decades. Congress hesitated for a long time to assert any claims in that remote region where it was impotent to act.

In the meantime, by the Treaty of 1819 with Spain, the United States received from that country all her claims to the Pacific Coast north of the 42nd parallel north latitude. In 1824 and 1825, in separate treaties with England and the United States, Russia agreed to claim no land south of 54 degrees 40 minutes north latitude. This left only two contenders - the United States and Great Britain. The United States tried to strengthen its claim by alleging that England had lost its rights, whatever they might have been under the Nootka Convention of 1790 with Spain, by the outbreak of war between those two countries in 1796.

In the 1830's the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest began to decline, weakening the British control in the area. At the same time overland migration and missionary expeditions to the Oregon country began to set in from the United States. This migration grew progressively greater in succeeding years at the same time the British fur trade declined.

In 1828 England and the United States renewed the terms of the agreement of 1818 covering the Oregon country. After 1842 both England and the United States wanted to settle the Oregon question. England wanted the boundary to be at the Columbia River; United States wanted it at the 49th parallel. Secretary of State Calhoun saw that with American migration to Oregon increasing, a policy of inactivity would work to American interests, and he refused to arbitrate. In 1843 more than 800 Americans entered the Willamette Valley of Oregon. The western states at the same time made protection of these immigrants a political issue. The Hudson's Bay Company now moved from Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River to Vancouver Island, largely because the fur resources had been exhausted in the Columbia region. On April 26, 1846, in a joint resolution to the Congress, President Polk gave the one year notice of termination of the existing treaty on Oregon as required in the treaty. As it chanced, the United States and Great Britain signed a treaty on June 15, 1846, which settled the

Oregon question with the northern boundary at the 49th parallel.

There can be little doubt that Great Britain had the better claim to the Pacific Northwest north of the Columbia River by reason of discovery and permanent settlement and exploitation. The strongest legal claim possessed by the United States was that inherited from Spain in the Spanish Treaty of 1818. Actually, the deciding factor was the heavy American settlement in Oregon in the late 1830's and the early 1840's when there was no comparable movement of British subjects into the area. And this American movement came from land that was contiguous with Oregon along the same lines of latitude.

The Lewis and Clark Expedition, in itself, was a negligible factor in the United States eventually obtaining the Oregon country. But its indirect effects in influencing the rapid spread of American fur trade activities into remote regions of the West and the resulting further exploration of that western country by the Mountain Men, followed in turn by a gradually spreading western settlement, may have been very great indeed.[1]

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1 Samuel Flagg Bemis, A Diplomatic History of the United States (New York, 1936), 269-283; Edward Channing, A History of the United States (New York, 1935), IV, 503-504; and Bernard DeVoto, ed., Journals of Lewis and Clark, Introduction, xxxiii-xxxiv, have good summaries of pertinent facts concerning the Oregon question.