



HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND

SURVEY OF
HISTORIC SITES
& BUILDINGS

SUGGESTED
READING

NOTES

CREDITS

LEWIS AND CLARK



Historic Places Commemorating Their Transcontinental Exploration (1804-06)



Charles M. Russell's painting "Captain Lewis Meeting the Shoshonies" captures one of the most dramatic moments of the entire exploration. Without the aid of the tribe, the expedition would probably have been thwarted. *(Anonymous private collection. Color transparency furnished by James H. Maroney, Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc.; color separations, by the Eastern National Park and Monument Association.)*

NEXT



http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/lewisandclark/index.htm
Last Updated: 22-Feb-2004



**HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND**

**SURVEY OF
HISTORIC SITES
& BUILDINGS**

**SUGGESTED
READING**

NOTES

CREDITS

LEWIS AND CLARK



Historical Background

THE Lewis and Clark Expedition was one of the most dramatic and significant episodes in the history of the United States. In 1804-6 it carried the destiny as well as the flag of our young Nation westward from the Mississippi across thousands of miles of mostly unknown land—up the Missouri, over the Rocky Mountains, and on to the Pacific. This epic feat not only sparked national pride, but it also fired the imagination of the American people and made them feel for the first time the full sweep of the continent on which they lived. Equally as important, the political and economic ramifications of the trek vitally affected the subsequent course and growth of the Nation.

In its scope and achievements, the expedition towers among the major explorations of the North American Continent and the world. Its members included the first U.S. citizens to cross the continent; the first individuals to traverse it within the area of the present United States; and the first white men to explore the Upper Missouri area and a large part of the Columbia Basin as well as to pass over the Continental Divide within the drainage area of the two rivers. [1]

Before Lewis and Clark, the trans-Mississippi West was largely a virgin land. British, Spanish, and French explorers and traders had barely penetrated it. Apart from a tiny fringe of French-American settlement in the St. Louis area and elsewhere along the Mississippi and small Spanish colonies in the Rio Grande Valley of New Mexico and in California, the region was virtually uninhabited by whites. For the most part enveloped in rumor, fantasy, and mystery, it was almost as strange as outer space would be to the later generation that was first to orbit the earth and put a man on the moon.

The men of the expedition made their way through this vast land, living mainly off its resources and superbly adapting themselves to the new conditions it imposed. They encountered alien tribes and menacing animals. On foot, on horseback, and by boat, they pushed over jagged mountain ranges, across seemingly endless plains, through tangled forests, against powerful currents and raging waters. Under two determined captains and three hardy sergeants, the explorers met danger as a matter of course and suffered hunger, fatigue, privation, and sickness.

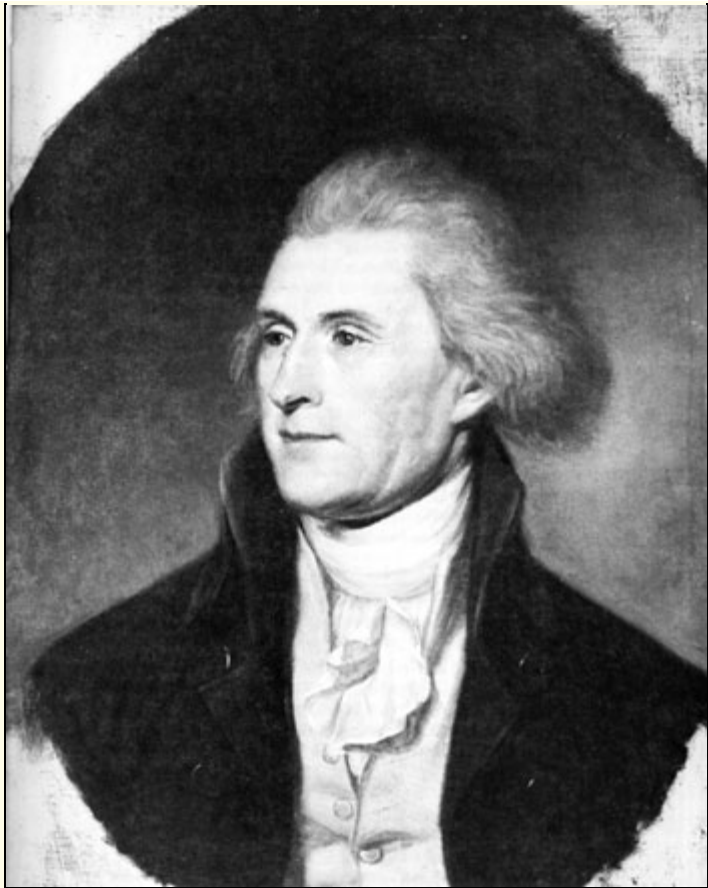
Despite all these obstacles, the project was brilliantly managed and

executed. Few, if any, comparable explorations have been so free of blunders, miscalculations, and tragedy. Its leaders were masters of every situation. Only one individual lost his life, but of a disease that could not have been cured in the best hospitals of the day. Clashes with the Indians were limited to two unavoidable instances—with the Teton Sioux and a small party of Blackfeet—but in both cases Lewis and Clark triumphed and their firmness won the respect of the natives.

Considering the frequent stress and their close association over a long period of time, relations between the two captains were remarkably harmonious. This was also true of their party, which when fully assembled consisted of a mixture of white, black, and Indian from various sections of the country and Canada.

Not many explorers in the history of the world have provided such exhaustive and accurate information on the regions they probed. Assigning high priority to the quest for knowledge, Lewis and Clark laboriously recorded in their journals and notebooks observations about the characteristics, inhabitants, and resources of the country through which they passed. All told, they amassed far more reliable data on the West than had ever been acquired before.

The expedition was as astutely conceived as it was efficiently conducted. President Thomas Jefferson organized it in 1802 because he foresaw the continental destiny of the Nation. At that time, the United States had been independent from Britain for only 19 years and depended to a large extent for its very survival on the conflicts generated by imperial rivalry among Britain, Spain, and France. Furthermore, the Union consisted of only 16 States, the Original Thirteen plus Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Although some settlers had reached the Mississippi, most parts of the western portion of the national domain were not settled at all and most of the remainder was but sparsely populated. In 1803 Ohio came into the Union, and the United States purchased from France the Louisiana Territory, a huge and ill-defined block of territory west of the Mississippi.



President Thomas Jefferson, progenitor of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and architect of U.S. westward expansion. *(Copy of the original oil (1791) by Charles Willson Peale. Independence National Historical Park (Pa.) Collection.)*

The purchase represented the replacement of French interests by those of the United States in the eastern part of the trans-Mississippi West, all of which had long been a sort of international no-man's land by virtue of the undulating fortunes of global politics. The power of Spain was waning there, but she as well as Britain still claimed parts of the territory beyond the purchase. Jefferson recognized the need to explore and affirm U.S. control of the Louisiana Territory, and the purchase spurred his earlier determination to enter the struggle for the empire to its west and lay the basis for a claim.

In a broad sense, too, Jefferson was continuing the centuries-long search for a Northwest Passage to the riches of the Orient—an all water or nearly all-water route from the Atlantic to the Pacific through or around northern North America that would obviate the need for U.S. and European ships to make the long voyages around South America and Africa. In 1778 the English explorer Capt. James Cook had made an inconclusive search for the passage along the Pacific coast of the continent, but in 1792-94 the Vancouver Expedition had demonstrated that for all practical purposes an all-water route through the continent did not exist. Jefferson hoped that the Lewis and Clark Expedition might still find a nearly all-water passage, but it made no such discovery. [2] As a matter of fact, the pathway it charted was not even economically feasible because of the long portages required and serious navigational problems.

		 http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/lewisandclark/intro.htm Last Updated: 22-Feb-2004	
--	--	--	--



**HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND**

**SURVEY OF
HISTORIC SITES
& BUILDINGS**

**SUGGESTED
READING**

NOTES

CREDITS

LEWIS AND CLARK



Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

THE passage of some 170 years and the emergence of an industrial technological America have wrought vast changes along the route of Lewis and Clark—changes they could never possibly have envisioned. Although not even the most enthusiastic preservationist would expect the land to remain totally unchanged, the scarcity of sites associated with the expedition is astonishing.

That the rampaging Missouri River Lewis and Clark knew would be tamed, that many of their campsites would be submerged, that most of the native trails they traversed would disappear from the plains and mountains, that the majestic Great Falls of the Missouri would be reduced to a trickle—all would seem unbelievable to the two captains. That the vast herds of buffalo, elk, and antelope, as well as the numerous grizzly, would be all but extinct, except where sanctuary exists, would seem equally as preposterous. The disappearance of the great falls of the Columbia would be beyond comprehension.

Yet, all this has come to pass—and more. As a matter of fact, were Lewis and Clark alive today, they would be unable to recognize many parts of their route and the raw wilderness they encountered. Where once were swirling and dangerous rapids, in many places today water skiers glide over glassy waters; where once salmon and other fish swarmed in the crystal-clear rivers or wildlife thrived along their banks, are often polluted streams and semibarren land; where once powerful currents lashed at riverbanks, are frequently huge levees; where once were dense forests and fertile soil, are sometimes scarred, depleted, and eroded areas.

THE greatest alteration to the Lewis and Clark route—primarily a watercourse along the Missouri and Columbia River drainages—has been made by the dams constructed by the Army Corps of Engineers, the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation, and



private power companies. In the process of remaking the river systems, they have provided industry with energy, brought payrolls, furnished irrigation water and electricity to farmers and ranchers, controlled floods and erosion, and enhanced recreational facilities. Regrettably, losses have occurred from the archeological and historical points of view.

Official emblem of the Lewis and Clark Trail Commission. This symbol, slightly modified, highlights the trail throughout the West. (*Bureau of Outdoor Recreation.*)

Only relatively short stretches of the Missouri and the Columbia remain in an unharnessed state, and in other places the worst bends have been sliced away to improve navigation and reduce erosion. The Middle Missouri has been transformed. Beginning at a point just above Yankton, on the South Dakota-Nebraska border, six Corps of Engineers dams have converted the once-rugged stream into a string of placid lakes—sometimes known as the "Great Lakes of the Missouri." Extending from Nebraska across both Dakotas and into Montana, in order upriver these dams (reservoirs in parentheses) are: Gavins Point (Lewis and Clark Lake), Fort Randall (Lake Francis Case), Big Bend (Lake Sharpe), Oahe (Oahe Reservoir), Garrison (Lake Sakakawea), and Fort Peck (Fort Peck Reservoir).

The tail waters of each of these reservoirs practically laps at the face of the next. They have impounded thousands of square miles of water, inundated thousands of acres of river valley, and obliterated many prehistoric and historic places—not only those related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, but also those of Indian villages and hunting grounds, fur trading posts, missions, battlefields, and emigrant routes.

Oahe Reservoir covers the Corson County, S. Dak., sites of the three Arikara villages that the expedition visited in 1804 and 1806 and that of Fort Manuel, the apparent location of Sacagawea's death and possibly that of her grave. Point of Reunion (Mountrail County), N. Dak., where the two Lewis and Clark elements reunited on the return trip after separating at Travelers Rest, Mont., lies beneath Lake Sakakawea.

Fortunately, just before the dam construction occurred, in 1946, the

Missouri Basin Project, part of the River Basin Surveys of the Inter-Agency Archeological Salvage Program, began to investigate sites scheduled for inundation by the Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation. Within rigid budgetary and time limitations and using both governmental and private funds, the National Park Service, Smithsonian Institution, and various universities and historical societies surveyed, investigated, excavated, and researched scores of paleontological, prehistoric, and historic sites. Photographs were taken, artifacts collected, data recorded, and many of the results published.

Farther upriver, at the Great Falls of the Missouri extensive hydroelectric development has been carried out by the Montana Power Company along a 9-mile stretch of the Missouri near the city of Great Falls. Five dams utilize the power generated by the several falls.

Beginning another 84 miles upstream are the Montana Power Company's Holter (Holter Lake) and Hauser (Hauser Lake and Lake Helena) Dams, as well as the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation's Canyon Ferry Dam and Reservoir, which extends as far as Townsend, Mont. The river is submerged at one place in the area to a depth of nearly 100 feet. Included is the spectacular gash in the 1,200-foot granite heights known to Lewis and Clark as the "Gates of the Rocky Mountains." But the sheer rock walls still tower above the gorge so overpoweringly that the only perceptible difference is the still water that has replaced the once-powerful current.



Modern America has left its mark along the Lewis and Clark route. Pictured here are grain elevators at Wallula Gap, Wash. Lewis and Clark met the Walla Walla Indians in this area. (*Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (Blair, 1964).*)

The U.S. Bureau of Reclamation's Clark Canyon Dam (Hap Hawkins Lake), on the Upper Beaverhead River, has eradicated a major Lewis and Clark site, Camp Fortunate (Beaverhead County), Mont. It was the scene of many key events, especially on the westbound journey.

From Clarkston, Wash., and Lewiston, Idaho, at the mouth of the Clearwater, a chain of reservoirs on the Snake and Columbia reaches 320 river miles to Bonneville Dam, only 145 miles from the Pacific, and have immeasurably changed the streams. Dams on the Snake

include (east to west) Little Goose, Lower Monumental, and Ice Harbor, all operated by the Corps of Engineers.

Various Corps of Engineer dams are located on the Lower Columbia: McNary, John Day, The Dalles, and Bonneville. The latter two have inundated Celilo Falls, The Dalles (including the Short Narrows), Long Narrows of the Lower Dalles, and the Cascades (Grand Rapids)—a 55-mile stretch of treacherous falls, rapids, narrows, and chutes that were a severe problem to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Now they all lie quiet and unseen beneath huge artificial lakes; churning white water and leaping salmon can no longer be seen.



Celilo Falls at some unknown date prior to construction of The Dalles Dam, which covered the great falls. To the men of the expedition, they were not only a major obstacle, but also provided a breathtaking view. (*U.S. Army Corps of Engineers.*)

IF man has destroyed and defaced many Lewis and Clark locales, so too has nature. The rivers themselves have capriciously meandered in places and swept away or altered sites. Because of a gross change in the Mississippi channel near St. Louis, the site of Camp Wood, once on the south bank of the Wood River in Illinois, is now on the Missouri side of the Mississippi. Another example is the Council Bluffs, Nebr., location, where the two captains held their first council with the Indians. Now, instead of being at stream's edge, it is 3 miles away from the river, which is not even visible from the spot. The wandering of the Missouri has obscured the site of Fort Mandan, N. Dak., the 1804-5 winter camp, and marred the nearby environment of the Mandan-Minitari-Amahami villages.

Nature has also altered the landscape. In some areas, major changes in vegetation have occurred. For example, above the mouth of the Platte, the hills and bluffs along the Missouri were for the most part bare of trees and shrubs in 1804-6. Today, the growth is so dense that one cannot see the river from the crests. The paintings and drawings of such artists as George Catlin and Karl Bodmer in the 1830's clearly show the difference.



		http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/lewisandclark/site.htm Last Updated: 22-Feb-2004	
--	--	--	--



HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND

SURVEY OF
HISTORIC SITES
& BUILDINGS

SUGGESTED
READING

NOTES

CREDITS

LEWIS AND CLARK



Suggested Reading

ALLEN, PAUL, ed., see BIDDLE, NICHOLAS

BAKELESS, JOHN. *Lewis and Clark: Partners in Discovery*. New York: William Morrow, 1947. A popularized joint biography, including coverage of the expedition. Separate, definitive biographies of the two men have not yet been written.

[BIDDLE, NICHOLAS]. *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark . . .*, ed. by Paul Allen. 2 vols., Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814; various domestic reprints and foreign translations. The first account of the exploration to be published based on its two leaders' journals. Biddle also studied those of John Ordway and Patrick Gass, and enjoyed the personal assistance of Clark and George Shannon. Excludes most of the natural history and other scientific data. Thomas Jefferson's special introduction is entitled "Life of Captain Lewis."

COUES, ELLIOTT, ed. *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Lewis and Clark . . . A New Edition . . .* 4 vols., New York: Francis P. Harper, 1893; reprint, 3 vols., New York: Dover, 1965. A rewrite-editing of BIDDLE, but the author also utilized the Lewis and Clark journals. The principal value of this work lies in its lengthy notes, which are enriched by Coues' travel over a large portion of the route and his extensive knowledge of the natural history of the Missouri Valley. Includes meteorological and natural history data.

CUTRIGHT, PAUL R. *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969. The most recent and comprehensive study dealing with natural history aspects of the expedition. The author is a well-known botanist, who has surveyed much of the trail. Analyzes basic source materials, and discusses condition and present locations of surviving zoological-botanical specimens brought back by Lewis and Clark.

DEVOTO, BERNARD. *The Course of Empire*. Boston: Houghton Muffin, 1952. The last two chapters, "Westward the Course of Empire" and "The Passage to India," ably summarize the experiences and accomplishments of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The rest of the book provides useful background data.

DEVOTO, BERNARD, ed. *The Journals of Lewis and Clark*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953. An excellent, one-volume abridgement of the Lewis and Clark journals (see THWAITES), but also incorporates some passages from BIDDLE; from the Whitehouse, Ordway, and Floyd journals; and from McKeehan's rendition of that of Gass (see GASS). The introduction and notes are contributions in their own right.

EIDE, INGVAR H. *American Odyssey: The Journey of Lewis and Clark*. Chicago, New York, and San Francisco: Rand McNally, 1969. This photographic collection presents many fine modern views of sites, among which are interspersed quotations from the journals.

GASS, PATRICK. *A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, Under the Command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke*. . . . Pittsburgh: David McKeehan, 1807; various domestic reprints and foreign translations. Consists of McKeehan's rewriting of the journal of Gass in formal English, a capability the latter never possessed.

JACKSON, DONALD, ed. *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1962. Next to the various journals, this work is probably the most important source on the expedition—especially on such matters as its genesis, diplomatic and other background, personages involved, and financial and logistical arrangements. More than half of the 428 letters and documents reproduced have never previously appeared in print. Most of the others have been scattered in assorted publications, and have not always been reprinted without errors in transcription. The annotations and bibliography are valuable, and the index is outstanding.

McKEEHAN, DAVID, see GASS, PATRICK NASATIR, A. P., ed. *Before Lewis and Clark: Documents Illustrating the History of the Missouri, 1785-1804*. 2 vols., St. Louis: St. Louis Historical Documents Foundation, 1952. Essentially a collection and translation of French and Spanish documents from the archives of Mexico, Spain, Canada, and France, though some are from U.S. repositories and a handful are in English. Clarifies the history of Upper Louisiana and the Missouri River Basin.

MOULTON, GARY E., ed. *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. 13 vols., University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001. Latest release of the journals, fully indexed and annotated. A superb presentation of the journals of Lewis and Clark, as well as those of Ordway, Floyd, Gass, and Whitehouse. Additionally presents herbarium of the expedition, an atlas of the expedition maps, and an index.

OSGOOD, ERNEST S., ed. *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803-1805* (Vol. V, Yale Western Americana Series). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964. This thoroughly annotated book, which features an excellent introduction, provides a major addition to the basic sources. Consists of the text and reproduction of

Clark's rough field notes for the period December 13, 1803, the day after arrival at the site of Camp Wood, to April 3, 1805, or 4 days before leaving Fort Mandan, N. Dak. Clark utilized the May 14, 1804 to April 3, 1805 segment of these notes, others of which may still be extant for the remainder of the journey, to prepare his formal notebook journals (see THWAITES). Before the discovery of the field notes in a St. Paul attic in 1953, described by Osgood, little was known about day-to-day activities at Camp Wood. Thus, publication of these notes represented the last link in a reasonably complete account of the expedition from the time Lewis left Pittsburgh until the return to St. Louis. The original field notes are now in the Western Americana Collection at Yale University.

QUAIFE, MILO M., ed. *The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway, Kept on the Expedition of Western Exploration, 1803-1806* (Vol. XXII, Wisconsin Historical Society Collections). Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1916; reprint, 1965. Along with the THWAITES volumes, this is a key source. Prior to the discovery of Lewis' Ohio River Journal in late 1913 or early 1914 and its publication in this book, there was virtually no knowledge of the trip down that river and up the Mississippi to Camp Wood. Ordway's journal, like the Ohio River journal, was found in the Biddle family papers; quite complete chronologically, it is second in value as a source only to the journals of Lewis and Clark themselves and provides data not found in any other place. Both documents are now at the American Philosophical Society.

THWAITES, REUBEN G., ed. *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*. 8 vols., New York: Dodd, Mead, 1904-5; reprint, limited edition, New York: Antiquarian Press, Ltd., 1959. The basic published source on the expedition, this monumental work contains the extant formal notebook journals of Lewis and Clark (as compared to the field notes; see OSGOOD), as well as those of Floyd and Whitehouse. Also presents scientific data, an atlas of the expedition maps, and various appendices. The introduction, bibliographical analysis, and extensive annotations are highly useful.

WHEELER, OLIN D. *The Trail of Lewis and Clark, 1804-1904*. 2 vols., New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904; 2d ed., 1926. Although this book is outdated and contains some inaccurate site data, it is still worthwhile. At the beginning of the present century, when large parts of the trail were still little changed, the author traveled on horseback over many sections.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

[Lewis & Clark Archives](#)



		Last Updated: 2-Apr-2004	
--	--	--------------------------	--



HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND

SURVEY OF
HISTORIC SITES
& BUILDINGS

SUGGESTED
READING

NOTES

CREDITS

LEWIS AND CLARK



Notes

1. Except where otherwise indicated, documentation for this volume, including quotations, is provided by the works cited and annotated in Suggested Reading. Sources indicated in the notes by authors' names in all capital letters are fully identified in Suggested Reading. For the reader's convenience, throughout this book modern names of geographical features, Indian tribes, and animal species are usually employed.
2. The Northwest Passage was not discovered, through remote and rarely passable Arctic waters, until the mid-19th century by British explorers; it was not navigated until 1903-6, by Norwegian explorer Roald Amundsen.
3. Lewis and Clark did not discover any of the mineral resources that were later to spur the westward movement even more than the furs did originally. The two explorers did make limited observations and brought back a few specimens, but they had neither the time nor the equipment for a meaningful mineralogical survey.
4. Because Lewis' projected history of the expedition never saw the light of day, Nicholas Biddle's work in 1814 (see BIDDLE) omitted most of the natural history data, and the Lewis and Clark journals were not published until 1904-5 (see THWAITES), the two captains were late in receiving full credit for their scientific contributions.
5. See Carl I. Wheat, *Mapping the Trans-Mississippi West, 1540-1861* (5 vols., San Francisco: Institute of Historical Cartography, 1957-63), II, 1958 (From Lewis and Clark to Fremont, 1804-1845), pp. 1-15, 31-68; and Herman R. Friis, "Cartographic and Geographical Activities of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," in the *Journal of the Washington [D.C.] Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 44, No. 11 (Nov. 1954), pp. 338-351.
6. The first of these maps was sent back to the War Department from the Mandan villages, in present North Dakota, in April 1805; cartographer Nicholas King prepared versions of it in 1805 and 1806 [see Note 85]. The second Clark map was brought back by Lewis to Washington, D.C., late in 1806, and King utilized it or Lewis and Clark notes to prepare a third map (1806); the present whereabouts of the former map is unknown and the latter is preserved in the

Boston Athenaeum. The third Clark map (ca. 1809), today in the Western Americana Collection of Yale University, was one he prepared in St. Louis. In addition to recording the expedition's trek, it includes data later brought back to St. Louis by trappers and others. In 1810 Clark sent this map or a copy of it to Nicholas Biddle in Philadelphia for use in his account of the exploration, which came off the press in 1814 (see ALLEN). The published rendition of the map was copied by Samuel Lewis and engraved by Samuel Harrison.

7. Most of the separate detail maps are presently in the Western Americana Collection of Yale University. The others are found in the Lewis and Clark journals, held by the American Philosophical Society. All were reproduced in THWAITES.

8. These specimens found their way to Jefferson's collection at Monticello, to Clark's assemblage at St. Louis, and to Charles Willson Peale's museum at Philadelphia. Most of the items that survive today were in Peale's museum. When its collections were dispersed in 1848, about half of those originating with Lewis and Clark went to showman P. T. Barnum. This part perished in 1865 when fire destroyed his American Museum at New York City. Moses Kimball, a friend of Barnum's who ran his own museum in Boston, acquired the other half of the Lewis and Clark specimens from Peale. Kimball ultimately donated them to the Peabody Museum of Harvard University, where they remain today. Included are a decorated Mandan buffalo robe; and, from various tribes, items of women's apparel, an otterskin tobacco pouch, an elk antler bow, and an ornamental device of raven skins. Now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Philadelphia are fragments of two Mandan pots. For the shipment and disposition of ethnological specimens sent back from Fort Mandan, see Note 82.

9. CUTRIGHT provides the latest and best treatment of the natural history aspects of the expedition. Earlier works on the subject were prepared by Velva E. Rudd and Raymond D. Burroughs. See Rudd's "Botanical Contributions of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," *Journal of the Washington [D.C.] Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 44, No. 11 (Nov. 1954), pp. 351-356; and Burroughs, ad., *The Natural History of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (East Lansing, Mich.: Michigan State University Press, 1961). The latter work, based on the journals, confines itself to zoological topics.

10. More botanical specimens survive than of any other kind procured by the expedition. The major existing collection of these, more than 200 in number, is at the Lewis and Clark Herbarium of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Most of the zoological specimens have been lost, including some that Jefferson personally retained. He sent the bulk of the remainder to Charles Willson Peale for his museum in Philadelphia. In 1848 P. T. Barnum bought Peale's specimens from his heirs for his New York museum, but fire destroyed it in 1865. A few bird specimens are still extant at the Smithsonian Institution's Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C., Vassar College, and the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

11. Ironically enough, Tarleton was the brother of Frederick, who some years later in St. Louis was to become a bitter enemy of Lewis and cause him extreme anguish. Tarleton had also received from Jefferson for delivery with the Lewis letter one for Gen. James Wilkinson, commanding general of the U.S. Army, that requested Lewis' release. But Wilkinson had returned to Washington, so Bates forwarded the letter to him.

12. Most biographies of Lewis, as well as Clark, including the most recent ones, leave much to be desired; none are definitive. For biographies of Lewis, see BAKELESS and Richard H. Dillon, *Meriwether Lewis* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1965).

13. The best source on Ledyard's career is Helen Augur, *Passage to Glory: John Ledyard's America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1946).

14. John Ledyard, *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage: to the Pacific Ocean, and in Quest of a North-West Passage Between Asia and America; Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778 and 1779* (Hartford: Nathaniel Patten, 1783).

15. No direct evidence exists that Jefferson knew of this highly secret Army plan, but because of his high position in the Government he likely did.

16. For a biography of George Rogers Clark, see John Bakeless, *Background to Glory: the Life of George Rogers Clark* (New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1957).

17. On this subject, see NASATIR.

18. Mackay, a Scotsman, had earlier been a trader in Canada and in 1787 had visited the Mandans. Evans was a Welshman who had come to America in 1792 on what proved to be a futile search for the legendary "Welsh Indians," thought by many to be the Mandans.

19. To expedite congressional approval, the estimate was probably kept as low as possible. In any event, the \$2,500 was far below actual costs. Because of major variables, these cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy, but are probably in the \$35,000-50,000 range. The figure \$38,722.25, based on the drafts Lewis submitted to the War Department, is often quoted. It does, however, include a few costs only indirectly associated with the expedition and those incurred in sending some Indian delegates to Washington, D.C.; and excludes the sum of \$71,000 appropriated by Congress for double pay and an estimated \$26,880 (based on \$2 an acre) for land allotments for the expedition's personnel after their return, as well as the approximate \$10,000 cost involved in sending Mandan Chief Sheheke back to his people. On the other hand, as an example of some of the major variables, the \$38,722.25 figure could be substantially reduced by eliminating the salaries and other costs associated with all the soldiers who would have needed to be paid and supported by their old organizations anyway and therefore did

not really represent an additional expense to the Government.

20. Jefferson apparently originally intended to include his request for a special appropriation in his regular message to Congress on December 15, 1802, but did not do so on the recommendation of Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin. He suggested confidentiality because the exploration was "out of our territory."

21. This short, .54 calibre weapon, though modified several times in the following years, was long the Army's official rifle.

22. Like a B-B gun, this weapon operated by air pressure, but it discharged larger shots with more power. It is not known whether the gun carried on the expedition was the bell- or recessed-chamber type. On this weapon, see Eldon G. Wolff, *Air Guns* (Milwaukee: Milwaukee Public Museum, 1958).

23. These medals were known as the Washington Indian Peace and Season Medal (1796) and the Jefferson Peace and Friendship Medal (1801). For full information on this subject, see Bauman L. Belden, *Indian Peace Medals Issued in the United States* (New Milford, Conn.: N. Flayderman, 1966); and Francis P. Prucha, *Indian Peace Medals in American History* (Madison Wisconsin Historical Society, 1971). Several of the Jefferson medals, probably issued by Lewis and Clark, have been discovered in the West, two recently by archeologists at Indian sites. One of these, apparently originally given to a Sioux chief, is in the possession of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, Calif. Another, found at a Nez Perce site, is now owned by Washington State University, Pullman, Wash. A third is at the American Museum of Natural History, in New York City.

24. Some doubt exists about who first suggested Clark for the position and when the decision to recruit him occurred, though Lewis and Jefferson had undoubtedly discussed it earlier. Writing about the matter a decade later, Jefferson stated that Lewis had suggested Clark. But, in a letter dated December 12, 1802, George Rogers Clark, writing to Jefferson from the Falls of the Ohio, had suggested to him that he hire William in some capacity. Possibly Jefferson casually suggested the selection of Clark to Lewis, who later made it a definite proposal.

25. No evidence exists that the cipher, now in the Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress, was ever employed. Lewis' copy of the letter of credit, dated July 4, 1803, is in the Missouri Historical Society.

26. Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, Through the Continent of North America* . . . (2 vols., London: various publishers, 1801), Toronto 1911 edition, II, pp. 281-282.

27. Jefferson and Lewis, on the basis of dispatches from the U.S. diplomats involved, probably knew informally of the action by late June. Representatives of the two countries signed the treaty, dated April 30, on May 2, 1803. Early newspaper reports of the purchase

included those of the *Boston Chronicle*, June 30, and the *National Intelligencer* (Washington, D.C.), July 4. On July 14 Jefferson received a copy of the treaty. The next day, by letter, he so advised Lewis at Pittsburgh; Lewis received the communication on July 22. The Senate ratified the treaty on October 20; 5 days later, the House approved it.

28. This was the area known as Western Louisiana. Eastern Louisiana, a large block of land just east of the Mississippi, had been ceded by France to England in 1763, at the end of the French and Indian War. The United States acquired this territory two decades later, at the conclusion of the War for Independence.

29. The complex boundary question was only to be settled over the course of time by a series of treaties and conventions concluded among Spain, England, Russia, and the United States.

30. On July 26 Lewis wrote Jefferson requesting approval of the proposal. Secretary of War Henry Dearborn approved the assignment on August 3.

31. On July 24 Clark also wrote to Jefferson expressing appreciation for the opportunity to join the expedition.

32. On this subject, see Leland D. Baldwin, *The Keelboat Age on Western Waters* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1941).

33. The exact nature and features of the boat at the time of construction, as contrasted with modifications that were to be made at Camp Wood, cannot be determined from the sources.

34. Although the correct date is undoubtedly August 31, a slight question exists as to whether it was August 30, August 31, or September 1. Lewis' journal, started at Pittsburgh on August 30, contains no entry for the 31st, so he likely meant the last day of the month. Also, in later letters to Jefferson and Clark he gives the date as August 31. On the other hand, Lieutenant Hooke, in a letter dated September 2 at Pittsburgh, said that Lewis had departed the previous day.

35. The sources only refer to use of the keelboat sail, but the builder supplied oars and poles, and they were undoubtedly available for the pirogues and canoes.

36. The keelboat that was to be used to ascend the Missouri was undoubtedly the one constructed in Pittsburgh. After the purchase of the second pirogue, Lewis referred to all the boats except the keelboat as "canoes." This may mean that the pirogues were comparatively small ones; this type of vessel ranged in size from one-man types to large six to eight men craft. It is possible the two pirogues are those later referred to at Camp Wood as the "red" and "white" pirogues which were to be used on the Missouri. The Upper Ohio was the center of pirogue, as well as keelboat, construction at the time, though of course used pirogues could be purchased at other places.

37. For some unexplained reason, Lewis did not keep his journal, or it has not survived, for the 54-day period from September 19 to November 10, 1803 (from about 235 miles west of Pittsburgh to Fort Massac, in present Illinois), including the two important stops at Cincinnati and Clarksville. The only sort of illumination on this period is provided by a few extant letters and items in Kentucky newspapers.

38. If Shannon had not come on board at Pittsburgh, he undoubtedly had done so by the time of arrival at Cincinnati. He was a native of Pennsylvania, but in 1800 his family moved to Belmont County, Ohio.

39. The specimens were lost en route. Later, in 1807, on Jefferson's instructions, Clark, on his way from Washington to St. Louis to assume his duties as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, employed a crew of men to excavate the site and provided Jefferson with specimens and a lengthy report.

40. For a description of the falls, see Edmund Flagg, *The Far West* (2 vols., New York: Harper, 1838), I, Appendix, pp. 255—257.

41. *Kentucky Gazette* (Lexington), Nov. 1, 1803.

42. Possibly, as they did on their return trip in 1806, Lewis and Clark visited the latter's sister Lucy, who was married to Maj. William Croghan and lived at Locust Grove estate, about 5 miles northeast of Louisville. A call may also have been made on Gen. Jonathan Clark or the other brothers.

43. The site, which has not been identified, is in the southwestern corner of Caroline County near the Spotsylvania County line. See Marshall Wingfield, *A History of Caroline County, Virginia* (Richmond: Trevett Christian, 1924), pp. 177-179. For a biography of Clark, see BAKELESS.

44. These individuals are known in the Lewis and Clark literature as the "nine young men from Kentucky" on the basis of Nicholas Biddle's use of the term in his 1814 history of the expedition (see BIDDLE). He did not name the men. If his basis of reference to Kentucky is as the place where the men were recruited, it is relatively accurate, for enlistment occurred in the Louisville area, though likely in Clarksville, Indiana Territory. On the other hand, if Biddle's reference is to the residence of the men, his term is a misnomer. Two of them at least, Colter and Shannon, were not residents of Kentucky.

45. Of the group, Floyd and the Field brothers were probably the first that Clark recruited. On July 24 he wrote Lewis saying he had engaged some men. These may have been the three above-named individuals. Although they were not officially inducted into the Army by Lewis until his arrival at Clarksville, in a later document their date of enlistment is given as August 1, 1803. The date specified for Colter is October 15, the same day apparently that

Lewis arrived at Clarksville. The enlistment dates for the other five of the "nine young men from Kentucky" are either October 19 or 20.

46. Photostatic copy of Gen. Jonathan Clark's manuscript diary, p. 716, in the possession of the Filson Club, Louisville.

47. "Interpreter" was a special rank and those who held it earned \$25, considerably more than enlisted men in the infantry and artillery (sergeants \$8, corporals \$7, and privates \$5) but somewhat less than most officers (captains \$40, first lieutenants \$30, and second lieutenants \$25) The other official interpreter on the expedition was to be Charbonneau, who was officially hired at the Mandan villages on April 7, 1805, though he had served in that capacity there since the previous November. Although Pierre Cruzatte and Francois Labiche were also occasionally to perform the function of interpreters, they only held the rank of privates.

48. In the various sources, wide variations occur in the spelling of some names. In no case is this more true than for Drouillard, though he is most often referred to as "Drewyer." For the reader's convenience, in this volume all name spellings are standardized.

49. Pierre, at one time a captain in the British service at Detroit, specialized in relations with the Indians and exercised great influence over them.

50. South West Point, founded in 1794, was about 250 air miles southeast of Fort Massac along the Tennessee River at the site of the city of Kingston, Tenn.

51. Noel M. Loomis and Abraham P. Nasatir, *Pedro Vial and the Roads to Santa Fe* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), pp. 197-199, 210 ff., 427-440.

52. Because of subsequent changes in the channel of the Mississippi, this site is now on its west side, in Missouri instead of Illinois. Since 1803 the mouth of the Missouri has also shifted considerably and is presently some miles farther to the south.

53. Bratton, Colter, the Field brothers, Floyd, Gibson, Pryor, Shannon, and Shields.

54. The company of origin cannot be determined for all of the 32 enlisted men assigned to the party at Camp Wood. Included in the eight from Campbell's company were Cpl. Richard Warfington and Pvts. Hugh Hall, Thomas P. Howard, and John Potts; the other unidentified four men were to be rejected. From Daniel Bissell's company were: Pvts. John Newman and Joseph Whitehouse; from Russell Bissell's: Sgt. John Ordway, Pvt. Patrick Gass, and likely Pvt. John Boley; and probably from Stoddard's: Pvts. John Dame, John G. Robertson, Ebenezer Tuttle, Isaac White, and Alexander H. Willard. The nine men from Clarksville were newly inducted into the Army and thus had never been assigned to units. Not ascertainable are the organizations, if indeed they had previously belonged to any, of the remaining nine soldiers: Pvts. John Collins, Robert Frazer,

Silas Goodrich, Hugh McNeal, Moses B. Reed, John B. Thompson, William Werner, Richard Windsor, and Peter M. Wiser.

55. In a later document, Drouillard's date of appointment is listed as January 1, 1804.

56. The only indication of the size of the cannon is Sergeant Ordway's statement on September 20, 1804, that it was loaded with 16 musket balls.

57. Evans had died in 1799, but Mackay lived in the St. Charles area and Lewis possibly received the journals directly from him.

58. Based on his relatively reliable data for the Lower Missouri, Clark estimated the distance to the Mandan villages at 1,500 miles; it turned out to be 1,600. His estimate of the total distance to the Pacific was 3,050 miles, about 1,000 miles short of the actual mileage traveled on the westward leg (3,958). Considering the great bends in the Missouri and the failure of the expedition to take the shortcut recommended by the Minitari Indians between the Great Falls of the Missouri and Travelers Rest, neither of which Clark could have foreseen at Camp Wood, his estimate was relatively accurate.

59. Lower Louisiana had been formally transferred from France to the United States by Spanish authorities at New Orleans on December 20, 1803. Earlier, on November 30, a French official had accepted the formal transfer of jurisdiction of that region from Spain to France in accordance with the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800).

60. Carl P. Russell, *Firearms, Traps, and Tools of the Mountain Men* (New York: Knopf, 1967), pp. 34-51, provides an excellent discussion of the expedition's arms.

61. It is possible that some of the French boatmen temporarily assigned to the party carried "fusees," lightweight muskets often used by their group. This same type of weapon was also to be carried by a few of the permanent party that set out westward from the Mandan villages.

62. The commission was effective March 26, 1804. On January 31, 1806, Clark was to be promoted to first lieutenant.

63. For a discussion of the number of French boatmen in the party from Camp Wood to the Mandan villages, see the following note.

64. Because of innumerable discrepancies in the various sources, the precise total number and names of all personnel assigned to the expedition between Camp Wood and the Mandan villages cannot be ascertained. [For an exact list of the complement departing from the Mandan villages, in April 1805, see Note 92.] There is almost no question about the makeup of the permanent party leaving Camp Wood; the major problems concern Cpl. Richard Warfington's detachment and especially the party of French boatmen, both of which returned from the Mandan villages.

The journals of Floyd, Ordway, Gass, and Whitehouse all state that three sergeants and 38 "working hands" set out from Camp Wood with Clark, but do not specify whether or not the latter figure includes Clark's servant York, who did depart from the camp but may not have been counted as a "working hand," and Drouillard. Drouillard was away on an errand at the time and did not rejoin the main body until it arrived at St. Charles. Thus, if it is assumed that the total figure of 41 (three sergeants plus 38 "working hands") is correct and does not incorporate York and Drouillard, the number departing from Camp Wood with Clark would likely be 42, including York. The other 41 personnel would consist of three sergeants and 22 privates of the permanent party, Warfington and six privates in his special detachment, and nine French boatmen.

Of the 42, the permanent party undoubtedly numbered 26 and included York; three sergeants: Floyd, Ordway, and Pryor; and 22 privates: Bratton, Collins, Colter, the Field brothers, Gass, Gibson, Goodrich, Hall, Howard, McNeal, Newman, Potts, Reed, Shannon, Shields, Thompson, Werner, Whitehouse, Willard, Windsor, and Wiser.

Some doubt exists about the members of Warfington's detachment, but the following six privates apparently were assigned to it when it left Camp Wood: Boley, Dame, Frazer, Robertson, Tuttle, and White.

It is impossible to determine with any degree of accuracy the number or names of all the French boatmen at any point en route to or returning from the Mandan villages. The leader, or patroon, was clearly Baptiste Deschamps, but any list of his crew must be highly speculative. Various sources list the following men, one or more of whom probably did not join the party until St. Charles: Joseph Collin, Charles Hebert, La Liberté (Joseph Barter), Baptiste La Jeunesse, Etienne Malboeuf, Peter Pinaut (or Pineau), Paul Primaut (or Primeau), François Rivet, Pierre Roi, Charles Cougee, "Rokey" [Rocque?], and others. Complicating the whole matter, expedition members compiling journals experienced difficulty anglicizing French names and spelled them in a variety of ways.

If 42 men left Camp Wood with Clark, probably nine of them were French boatmen. Exactly who the eight were of those listed above, in addition to Deschamps, cannot be established. If the nine figure is accepted, one nameless boat man, or possibly more, joined the main group later, probably at St. Charles [see Note 66].

The most useful of the sources cited in the Bibliography concerning personnel are JACKSON and OSGOOD. A recent volume on the subject is Charles G. Clarke, *The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition: A Biographical Roster of the Fifty-one Members and a Composite Diary of Their Activities From All Known Sources* (Vol. XIV, Western Frontiersmen Series) (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1970).

65. On the boatmen, see Notes 64 and 66.

66. For the reasons indicated in Note 64, the exact number and names of all personnel leaving St. Charles cannot be determined accurately any more than at any other point between Camp Wood and the Mandan villages. If it is speculated that only one temporary French boatman joined the expedition at St. Charles and it is assumed that the group aggregated 10, the total complement, in addition to Lewis and Clark, was 46 men (the 42 that set out from Camp Wood plus Drouillard, new privates Cruzatte and Labiche, and the boatman). More than one boatman, however, may have come on board at St. Charles.

As from Camp Wood, the number and names of the permanent party departing from St. Charles are quite firm. Totaling 29, in addition to the leaders, it consisted of York; Sergeants Floyd, Ordway, and Pryor; and the 22 privates—all of whom had come up from Camp Wood [Note 64]—plus Labiche, Cruzatte, and Drouillard. No change apparently occurred in Warfington's detachment at St. Charles.

67. The site of this village, located near present Marthasville, Mo., has long since been inundated by the Missouri River.

68. The only source for this fact is Whitehouse's journal, which does not make it clear whether the man departed of his own volition or was discharged. He may have been recruited initially from Captain Stoddard's artillery company.

69. Setting poles, as long as 20 feet, usually contained knobs at the upper end that fitted the hollow of the shoulder. When one man, pushing a pole, reached the stern he would recover it and return to the bow, where he started again. Except for a reference by Lewis in a letter dated September 28, 1803, to Clark from Cincinnati about being provided by the Pittsburgh boatbuilder with poles (and oars) and a mention in the journals to the use of a setting pole by the sergeant assigned to the bow, who helped the bowsman and probably used the pole to fend off objects in the water, none of the sources discuss the use of setting poles. Nevertheless, they might have been employed on the way up the Missouri and would have been helpful not only in locomotion, but also in pushing off from sandbars and warding away obstructions in the water. The cat walks, or *passe-avants*, provided by the tops of the lockers, offered a place for polers to stand and walk. On the other hand, it is possible that the keelboat was too large for the use of poles to be very effective going up the Missouri, in contrast to the Ohio, where the poles were available and probably used. Also, French boatmen, such as those on the expedition, did not originally employ them, for their use originated in the Eastern United States.

70. This site, on the Nebraska side of the Missouri, should not be confused with the present city of Council Bluffs, about 15 miles to the south on the Iowa side.

71. On October 8, 1804, Robert Frazer was to be shifted from Warfington's detachment to the permanent party to replace Reed.

72. Unlike Privates Reed and Newman, discharged for disciplinary reasons en route to the Mandan villages, Gass was never replaced as a private.

73. Despite the friendliness of the Arikaras to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, for some reason they were exceedingly hostile to later Americans. At least part of this hostility can be attributed to the death at Washington, D.C., in April 1806, of one of their chiefs, named Ankedoucharo, who had returned from the Mandan villages to St. Louis with Corporal Warfington in the spring of 1805. They treated Joseph Gravelines badly when he brought news of the death of their chief in the spring of 1807. That September, they stopped Ens. Nathaniel H. Pryor's party, escorting Sheheke ("Big White"), a Mandan chief returning home from his visit to St. Louis and Washington, D.C., and inflicted 13 casualties. In September 1809 a group under Pierre Chouteau, who threatened the Arikaras with reprisal unless they cooperated, managed to pass the Arikara villages with Sheheke. The Arikaras were also hostile to U.S. fur traders, and in 1823 turned back an Army expedition from Fort Atkinson, Nebr., led by Col. Henry Leavenworth, that sought to avenge an Arikara attack on William H. Ashley's fur brigade.

74. Baptiste Lepage was to be recruited on November 3, 1804, at the Mandan villages to replace Newman.

75. One of the gifts to the Mandans was an iron corn mill. Their use of it was a far cry from its intended purpose. Two years later, the Canadian trader Alexander Henry found that the "foolish" Mandans had made arrow points of part of the mill and the remainder, the largest part that they could not break up, was fixed to a wooden handle and used to pound marrow bone to make grease. The other iron corn mill, carried along as trade goods, had earlier been given to the Arikaras. A third mill, reserved for the expedition's use, was later to be cached at the mouth of the Marias.

76. When Charbonneau joined, he became the oldest man in the party.

77. One of these boatmen, La Liberté, had deserted at the Oto villages. The exact names and number of all persons in this category cannot be determined at any point, as indicated in Note 64.

78. The sources disagree widely on the number who departed and stayed.

79. Charbonneau also had a third wife. Sacagawea is a Minitari name meaning "Bird Woman." Alternate spellings include "Sacajawea" and "Sakakawen."

80. Apparently another violinist in the group was George Gibson, but none of the sources mention his playing.

81. This was the only major en route shipment made to Jefferson. Lewis carried with him, all the way to Washington, the collection of artifacts and specimens obtained from Fort Mandan to the Pacific

and on the return to St. Louis.

82. In August 1805 Jefferson received most of this shipment, repacked en route, via Captain Stoddard at St. Louis and the Collectors of the Ports of New Orleans and Baltimore, and thence overland to Washington, D.C. Jefferson retained some of the specimens and material, even personally experimentally planting some of the corn. He distributed the rest of the shipment to Charles Willson Peale for his museum in Independence Hall, Philadelphia; the American Philosophical Society; and to various scholars and specialists. Of the live animals, only the prairie dog and one of the four magpies survived the trip to Washington; the two creatures were subsequently displayed at Peale's museum. One of the decorated Mandan robes, once in Peale's museum in Philadelphia, is now at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. Most of the botanical specimens sent back from Fort Mandan are located today at the Lewis and Clark Herbarium in the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

83. These were all apparently received on July 13, 1805.

84. This table today is in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, in Philadelphia. President Jefferson codified and tabulated its data into a section of his Message to Congress (February 19, 1806) entitled "A statistical view of the Indian nations inhabiting the Territory of Louisiana and the countries adjacent to its northern and western boundaries."

85. The original of this map has never been found. Jefferson, who likely received it from Secretary of War Henry Dearborn in July 1805, turned it over to his friend the cartographer Nicholas King, surveyor for the city of Washington, D.C. He used it in drawing up maps of the present western United States and southern Canada he prepared in 1805 and 1806. It cannot be determined under whose auspices, if any, the 1805 map was produced; the copy that the State Department retained for a number of years has been lost, but a photostatic copy is retained by the Geography and Map Division of the Library of Congress. The 1806 map was done for the War Department; the Cartographic Records Branch of the National Archives possesses a copy.

86. By this time, Warfington's detachment apparently consisted of two less men than when it had departed from Camp Wood. Robert Frazer had joined the permanent party on October 8, 1804, to replace Moses B. Reed, who was discharged from the expedition. As indicated in the text and Note 68, John G. Robertson had apparently gone back to St. Louis on June 12, 1804, with the Loisel party.

87. See Note 64.

88. All sources disagree widely as to the number of French or French-Canadians on the keelboat.

89. These chiefs, as well as Ankedoucharo, joined others from the Middle West who were being assembled by Pierre Chouteau in St.

Louis. Suffering from the heat, dysentery, and homesickness, they spent a troubled summer there and some returned to their tribes. In October 1805 the rest went East, visited President Jefferson, traveled to various Eastern cities, and came back to St. Louis in the spring of 1806. Unfortunately, Ankedoucharo died in Washington, D.C., in April 1806.

90. On the other hand, Lewis was relatively accurate in his prediction to Jefferson in the letter, as well as in one to his mother, that he would arrive back in Virginia during September 1806. He actually reached there in December. Clark was somewhat more optimistic than Lewis. In a letter from Fort Mandan to his brother-in-law in Kentucky, he stated that he hoped to return "not sooner" than about June or July 1806.

91. This is the first point in the expedition where scholars have been able to determine the precise number of personnel and their names. From this point on, until the return to St. Louis, the exact complement is known.

92. Bratton, Collins, Colter, Cruzatte (boatman-interpreter), Joseph Field, Reuben Field, Frazer, Gibson, Goodrich, Hall, Howard, Labiche (boatman-interpreter), Lepage, McNeal, Potts, Shannon, Shields, Thompson, Werner, Whitehouse, Willard, Windsor, and Wiser. Twenty-four privates had left St. Charles, consisting of the 22 from Camp Wood plus Labiche and Cruzatte [see Note 66]. Frazer from Corporal Warfington's detachment replaced Reed, and at the Mandan villages new recruit Lepage filled Newman's position. But because Private Gass took Floyd's place as sergeant and no one filled his position as private, the privates numbered one less than on the departure from St. Charles.

93. The only two men with Lewis who can be identified are Ordway and Joseph Field.

94. The skin, horns, and bones of a bighorn shipped in April 1805 from Fort Mandan to President Jefferson must have been obtained from the Mandans or Minitaris.

95. According to Jean Baptiste Truteau, French fur trader-explorer, the three individuals were a man named Menard, on several occasions prior to 1796; and Charles Le Raye and one Pardo, in 1802-3. See NASATIR, I, p. 110; II, pp. 376-385. See also "The Journal of Charles LeRaye," in *South Dakota Historical Collections*, IV, pp. 150-180. Some authorities question the authenticity of Le Raye's journal.

96. The American Fur Company was to found [Fort Union](#) there in 1829.

97. The journals contain few references to moose. On June 2, 1806, Lewis mentioned that the Nez Perce Indians informed him they were common on the Salmon River. On July 7, the same year, in present Montana, he recorded that Reuben Field wounded one. Because the

journals do not mention killing any of the species, the antlers displayed today in the entrance hall at Monticello, Va., Jefferson's home, and attributed to the expedition must have been obtained from some other source.

98. It is possible also that Lewis' complete journal, if he kept one, for the upriver journey from the time of his departure from St. Louis in May 1804 until March 1805 was lost at this time. The principal existing record for this phase is Clark's journal, supplemented by occasional Lewis entries, but the former hints that Lewis was keeping his own full journal. Ordway's journal provides good coverage for this part of the trip.

99. They were possibly viewing today's Bear Paws to the north and the Highwoods to the southwest. Some ranges Clark had reported viewing on May 19 were perhaps the Little Rockies and the Judith Mountains.

100. "Blackfeet" is the modern designation for the tribe Lewis and Clark knew by its Shoshoni name, "Minnetarees of Fort de Prairie" (variously spelled in the journals). In historical literature, the tribe is sometimes referred to as "Minitari of the North" to distinguish it from the Minitari of the South" (the Hidatsas or Gros Ventres—Big Bellies—of the Missouri), who resided along the Knife River. All the Blackfeet the expedition encountered or saw traces of likely were Piegans, the southernmost of three subtribes, the others being the Bloods and Northern Blackfeet. The three subtribes ranged over the area running from the North Saskatchewan River in Canada to southern Montana and west-east in the present United States from the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains in western Montana over as far as the eastern part of the State. The Blackfeet proper are to be distinguished from a Sioux subtribe called the "Blackfeet Sioux." See John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1952), pp. 395-398; and John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northwestern Plains* (Vol. 49, Civilization of the American Indian Series) (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958).

101. The complement consisted of Cruzatte, Drouillard, Lepage, Pryor, Shields, and Windsor.

102. In Clark's group were Gass, the Field brothers, Shannon, and York.

103. Including the original keelboat cannon, which had likely been mounted on one of the pirogues since Fort Mandan. On the return trip, in the summer of 1806 it was to be recovered and subsequently presented as a gift to the Mandans on arrival at their villages. Canadian fur traders later stated that they saw the Indians cut it up for its metal.

104. The only men in this group who can be identified are Colter and Willard.

105. The Gallatin flows into the Jefferson-Madison about one-half mile northeast of the point where the Madison joins the Jefferson.

106. In 1810 a party under Col. Pierre Menard, representative of trader Manuel Lisa and the St. Louis Missouri Fur Company, was to establish a post at the Three Forks, but Blackfeet hostility forced its abandonment that same year.

107. Modern authorities contend that the source of the Missouri is the head of the Red Rock River rather than the Horse Prairie Creek drainage.

108. Other Shoshoni groups farther south had made contact with the Spanish.

109. Sacagawea subsequently learned that all her family was dead except for two brothers, one of whom was absent, and a young son of her eldest sister, whom she immediately "adopted."

110. It is also known as the Nez Perce Buffalo Road. Although Lewis and Clark usually referred to it only as "the road," for the reader's convenience the term "Lolo Trail" will henceforth be employed in this volume. The Lolo Trail was actually the main branch of the Nez Perce Buffalo Road; east of Travelers Rest, various subbranches led into present Montana.

111. Including Sergeants Gass and Pryor and Privates Collins, Colter, Cruzatte, Shannon, and Windsor. The remaining four men cannot be identified.

112. Apparently by this time the village had moved 3 miles upstream, or south, from where it was located when Lewis had first visited it, on August 13. It had definitely moved by the time Lewis later visited it, on August 26.

113. Clark later also applied the Lewis name to the lower stretch of the Snake [see Note 121].

114. Lewis noted that the village, which he said consisted of 32 brush lodges, was still located on the east bank but 3 miles south, or upstream, from its site when he had first visited it.

115. Most sources disagree as to the exact number of horses and mules at this point.

116. Most sources disagree as to the exact number of horses and mules at this point.

117. In modern terms, this route runs from Lolo Creek 10 miles north along the Bitterroot River to the junction of the Missoula River; eastward along the Missoula, Hellgate, and Blackfoot Rivers; and then across the Continental Divide via the Lewis Range by any one of several passes (Rogers and Mullan Passes, the best known today, as well as Cadotte's and Lewis and Clark Passes) to the headwaters of the Dearborn River, which empties into the Missouri

about 20 air miles north of the Gates of the Mountains. A variant in the eastern part of this route, not mentioned by Old Toby, that Lewis and part of the expedition was to follow on their eastward journey from the Pacific involved use of, instead of the Dearborn River, the more northerly Sun, which entered the Missouri just upstream, or west, of the Great Falls, or a short distance downstream from the expedition's White Bear Islands, or upper portage, camp.

Although use of the shortcut would have saved the explorers some 49 days in time, had they done so they would not have encountered the Shoshonis. Without the help of this tribe in the form of horses, food, and a guide, the crossing of the Lolo Trail over the Bitterroot Mountains would probably have been impossible.

118. The length of the Lolo Trail can only be estimated because its course cannot always be delineated precisely. Westbound, when Lewis and Clark made a needless detour of roughly 7 miles, they estimated the distance at 170 miles. Eastbound, following a direct route, they calculated it at 156.

119. The Lewis and Clark journals do not mention these cairns, which were undoubtedly there at the time.

120. The branding iron, made by one of the blacksmiths, probably Shields, and carrying the marking "U.S. Capt. M. Lewis" was found in 1892 on an island in the Columbia River 3-1/2 miles above The Dalles, Oreg. One of the few authenticated original objects associated with the Lewis and Clark Expedition known to survive, it is now in the museum of the Oregon Historical Society, at Portland. See also Note 150.

121. The Salmon merged with the Snake about 50 miles above the mouth of the Clearwater. According to Indian information, on which Clark based his deductions at this time, the Snake upstream from its junction with the Salmon was a smaller stream than the latter. Clark thus assumed that the upstream Snake was another river, or tributary, of the one he had named the Lewis River (Salmon-Snake). On the eastbound journey, the two captains were to learn from an Indian the true status of the streams and their relationship.

122. Clark also reported hearing the sound of breakers on the ocean shore. This was conceivable during the heavy storm prevailing at the time.

The late Burnby M. Bell, once park historian at Fort Clatsop National Memorial, Oreg., and an expert in Lewis and Clark site locations and history on the Lower Columbia and the Pacific Ocean, rendered valuable help in the preparation of this volume.

123. Had bad weather not obscured the view, the men could have seen this panorama from high ground in the vicinity of their Point Ellice campsite (November 10-15).

124. Sergeants Ordway and Pryor; Privates Bratton, Colter, Joseph and Reuben Field, Labiche, Shannon, and Wiser; and Charbonneau

and York.

125. All the 11 men cannot be identified, but they apparently included Sergeant Pryor and Privates Frazer, McNeal, and Werner. Clark was to leave Werner at the salt camp and take Bratton along.

126. See Note 117.

127. When Captain Hill in the *Lydia* arrived back at the Columbia's mouth in the spring of 1806, the Indians gave him one of the notices. He apparently carried it to Canton, where he presented it to a friend, who sent it to someone in Philadelphia with a letter dated January 1807—months after the expedition had already returned to St. Louis.

128. For several years thereafter, he apparently occupied it during the autumn-winter hunting season.

129. This was the same number of canoes as on arrival at Fort Clatsop, but at that time they consisted of one small and four large ones that had been built at Canoe Camp on the Clearwater. During the winter, some of these had been damaged beyond repair or lost while hunting or in the tide. Lewis and Clark definitely procured two canoes from the Indians at the mouth of the Columbia for the return trip. Three of the five used then may have been the same ones employed on the outbound trip.

130. Between April 17, when the first four horses were purchased, and April 30, by which time the herd definitely numbered 23, the exact number on hand at any one time cannot be determined precisely. Some escaped and Indians stole others. Apparently, too, all purchases were not recorded in the journals because the totals listed at various points do not correlate with individual purchases specified.

131. The following route of the expedition in the Clearwater River country, from May 5-14, 1806, in addition to the journals, is based on articles by Ralph S. Space, dated December 29, 1963, and January 5, 1964, in the Lewiston (Idaho) *Morning Tribune*. Space, a native of Weippe, Idaho, and now a resident of Orofino, was formerly supervisor of Clearwater National Forest. Intimately acquainted with the terrain, he has carefully studied the Lewis and Clark route in the Clearwater River country.

132. These apparently included all 38 of the mounts that had been left with the Nez Percés the previous year except for the two taken by Old Toby and his son, as well as those brought to the Nez Percé villages and gifts received after arriving there.

133. The mountain was probably the one known locally today as Willow Mountain.

134. These stone cairns, or piles, may have had some religious significance or marked spots along the trail for specific Indian purposes. For example, at this point parties traveling the trail often went down to the Lochsa River to fish. Several of the cairns still remain along the Lolo Trail. Probably the best known, because they

are adjacent to the Forest Service truck trail, are the two at what is today called Indian Post Office. Neither of these, however, is likely the one referred to by Lewis and Clark in their journals of June 27, 1806. Ralph S. Space, an expert on the Lewis and Clark route along the Lolo Trail, believes the cairn they mentioned is the one that still stands on the mountaintop about a mile south of Indian Grave Peak, some 9 air miles southwest of Indian Post Office. Letter, Space to Appleman March 3, 1964.

135. For some reason, one of the Nez Perce guides had left at Travelers Rest.

136. Privates Frazer, Goodrich, McNeal, Thompson, and Werner.

137. Many historians have attributed subsequent Blackfeet hostility toward American trappers and traders to Lewis' encounter with the tribe, but it is more likely traceable in part to the participation of American trappers, particularly John Colter, in a major battle they had in 1808 with the Crows and Flatheads; and more broadly to Blackfeet resentment at the furnishing of arms to their enemies by American and Canadian traders. See Hiram M. Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (2 vols., New York: Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1935), II, pp. 705-711; and Richard E. Oglesby, *Manuel Lisa and the Opening of the Missouri Fur Trade* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), pp. 56-58.

138. This party totaled 14 men: five (Privates Frazer, Goodrich, McNeal, Thompson, and Werner) from the Lewis contingent and nine (Sergeant Ordway and Privates Collins, Colter, Cruzatte, Howard, Lepage, Potts, Whitehouse, and Wiser) from the Clark group. Traveling separately with the horses were Sergeant Gass, from the Lewis party, and Willard from the Clark.

139. Sergeant Pryor and three men, detached from Clark's group and trying to catch up with it, had arrived there earlier. They figured Lewis had already passed by, and removed Clark's note to Lewis from the pole.

140. Sergeants Ordway and Pryor and Privates Bratton, Collins, Colter, Cruzatte, Gibson, Hall, Howard, Labiche, Lepage, Potts, Shannon, Shields, Whitehouse, Willard, Windsor, and Wiser.

141. The camp that night, July 6, was near the spot where in 1877 the non-treaty Nez Percés, following their retreat from Idaho over the Lolo Trail and through Gibbons Pass—the same route utilized by Clark—were to fight the Battle of the Big Hole with Army troops.

142. Earlier that day, the Clark group, in following Grasshopper Creek (Clark named it Willard's Creek) for a while, passed near the place where in 1862 gold was to be discovered and the town of Bannack, Mont., founded. Bannack was later the Territorial capital.

143. Privates Collins, Colter, Cruzatte, Howard, Lepage, Potts, Whitehouse, Willard, and Wiser.

144. Bratton, Gibson, Hall, Labiche, Shannon, Shields, and Windsor.
145. Accompanying Clark were York; Charbonneau and Sacagawea and their son; and Privates Bratton, Gibson, Labiche, and Shields.
146. At this point, except for the loss of Colter and the three members of the Charbonneau family, the personnel was the same as at the time of departure from Fort Mandan in April 1805 [see Note 92].
147. Because of the secrecy surrounding the expedition, public knowledge about it and its schedule was probably quite limited, particularly in the East.
148. Washington (D.C.) *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 14, 1806.
149. Including the official discharge of Private Colter, who had been released at the Mandan villages. The other discharges consisted of Sergeants Gass, Ordway, and Pryor; and Privates Bratton, Collins, Cruzatte, Joseph and Reuben Field, Frazer, Gibson, Goodrich, Hall, Howard, Labiche, Lepage, McNeal, Potts, Shannon, Shields, Thompson, Werner, Whitehouse, Willard, Windsor, and Wiser. On the same date, October 10, Clark, apparently still piqued at not receiving the promised captaincy, submitted his resignation to Secretary of War Dearborn. It was not acted on until February 27, 1807, when it became effective.
150. This scattering of the weapons and paraphernalia of the expedition explains why so few of them have survived. The Missouri Historical Society possesses various objects once used by Lewis and Clark, including a silver watch and English telescope that the former likely carried with him on the expedition. A compass and leather carrying case probably used by Clark on the epic journey is in the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. See also Note 120.
151. Labiche served as Lewis' interpreter, and Ordway was en route to New Hampshire to visit his family. Frazer was in Virginia and the District of Columbia area early in 1807 and may have accompanied Lewis there, though this cannot be documented.
152. Gen. Jonathan Clark Diary (photostatic copy), entry for Nov. 5, 1806, in the Filson Club, Louisville.
153. Gen. Jonathan Clark Diary, entry for Nov. 8, 1806. From the spring of 1809 until his death in 1818, George Rogers Clark resided at Locust Grove.
154. John G. Jacobs, *The Life and Times of Patrick Gass* (Wellsburg, Va.: Jacob G. Smith, 1859), pp. 108-109.
155. Undoubtedly including Gass. From Washington he returned to Wellsburg, Va. (present W. Va.). It is not clear at what point Labiche, Ordway, and Frazer (if he was in the party) left Lewis, but it was probably at Washington.

156. *National Intelligencer*, Dec. 31, 1806.

157. For other activities of the Indians in Washington, D.C., and coverage of their subsequent visits to other eastern cities, see Katherine C. Turner, *Red Men Calling on the Great White Father* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1951).

158. *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 16, 1807.

159. *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 9, 21, 1807.

160. Originally exempted from the scope of Clark's superintendency of Indian affairs were the Great and Little Osage Indians, who had previously been entrusted to Pierre Chouteau.

161. On February 28, 1807, Jefferson had sent the nomination to the Senate; on March 4, the same date Lewis' resignation from the Army became official, the *National Intelligencer* announced his appointment as Governor.

162. Enlisted men who had definitely written journals were Sergeants Floyd, Gass, and Ordway; and Privates Frazer and Whitehouse. Others, especially Sergeant Pryor and possibly two other privates, likely also kept them, though none has ever been found. In April 1805 Lewis stated in his journal that seven men other than Clark and himself were maintaining journals. On other occasions he reported all the sergeants were doing so, as they had been directed, and stated that all the privates had been encouraged to do the same.

After utilizing the Lewis and Clark journals for his 1814 history of the expedition (see BIDDLE), in 1818 Biddle turned them over to the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. They lay in the files of that institution until 1892-93, when Elliott Coues received permission to use them at his home in preparing his history of the expedition; in the process, he marred them. Since that time, except for certain portions held by the Missouri Historical Society, they have remained at the American Philosophical Society, though in 1904-5 they were published in THWAITES. That they were not printed until that time, a century after the expedition, is one of the great inexplicable disappointments of the entire project.

The Floyd and Whitehouse journals were also not printed until 1904-5, in the same work. The Floyd document is now in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Apparently in the fall of 1806 or later, Whitehouse expanded and revised his journal, which is today in the possession of the Newberry Library, Chicago. The revised version has recently been discovered and is now also in the hands of the library, which apparently plans to publish it. The Gass journal was published in an extensively rewritten form in 1807 (see GASS). Biddle also used the Gass journal, later lost. Lewis and Clark, apparently in 1806 or 1807, purchased that of Ordway for \$300, dividing the cost equally between them. Biddle utilized it; it was found in his family papers when the Library of Congress acquired them in 1913; it was printed 3 years later in QUAIFE; and is held

today by the American Philosophical Society. The original Frazer journal has never come to light.

163. *National Intelligencer*, Mar. 18, Mar. 23, Mar. 27, Mar. 30, Apr. 1, 1807.

164. While in Philadelphia, Lewis sat for a portrait by Charles Willson Peale. Earlier, while Sheheke and his wife were visiting the city, artist C. B. J. Fevret de St. Mémin, apparently on the basis of a commission mailed him by Lewis from Washington, made paintings of them for Lewis' proposed book.

165. One of these protested drafts, as well as a list of all those protested, is now held by the Montana Historical Society.

166. The best account of Lewis' death and the controversy surrounding it is Dawson A. Phelps, "The Tragic Death of Meriwether Lewis," in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. XIII, No. 3 (July 1956), pp. 305-318.

167. For Louisiana Territory, while also holding the rank of brigadier general in the militia, 1807-13; for Missouri Territory, created out of Louisiana Territory, in an *ex-officio* capacity while serving as Governor, 1813-21; and, "for the northern and western tribes," under Presidential appointment, 1822-38.

168. Apparently Clark had almost no dealings with the "factories," or Government-Indian trading posts, in his area. They were abolished in 1822. The factors obtained trade goods and scheduled shipments of Indian furs with the Office of Indian Affairs, under the Secretary of War.

169. During the 6-year period June 1807-June 1813, Clark was absent from his post in St. Louis at least 30 months.

170. Four sons and a daughter; the daughter (Mary Margaret) and two sons (William Preston and John Julius) died in childhood. The eldest surviving son was named Meriwether Lewis (d. 1881); the other, George Rogers (d. 1858).

171. Jefferson K. (d. 1902) and Edmund, the latter dying as an infant.

172. Clark described this trip in a memorandum book, which is now in the Breckinridge Collection at the State Historical Society of Missouri. Besides the detailed route and methods of transportation employed, the volume provides some interesting sidelights on travel in the early 19th century. The memorandum book is summarized in Donald Jackson, "A Footnote to the Lewis and Clark Expedition," in *Manuscripts*, Vol. 24 (1972), pp. 3-21.

173. On this visit to Philadelphia, Clark sat for a portrait by Charles Willson Peale.

174. Uncaptioned article, dated Sept. 3, in the *St. Louis Missouri*

Argus, Sept. 6, 1838.

175. Uncaptioned article, dated Sept. 4, in the *St. Louis Missouri Argus*, Sept. 6, 1838.

176. Personnel awarded double pay and land allocations, based on Lewis' recommendations, were: Sergeants Ordway, Floyd (heirs), Gass, and Pryor (the latter three parttime as privates); interpreters Charbonneau and Drouillard; Corporal Warfington; and Privates Bratton, Collins, Colter, Cruzatte, Joseph Field, Reuben Field, Frazer, Gibson, Goodrich, Hall, Howard, Labiche, Lepage, McNeal, Newman, Potts, Shannon, Shields, Thompson, Werner, Willard, Whitehouse, Windsor, and Wiser. Lewis felt that both Newman, who was discharged for insubordination but who later made amends, and Warfington, who had remained with the expedition after his term expired and commanded the keelboat on its return from Fort Mandan to St. Louis, in the spring of 1805, deserved the extra compensation. Lewis and Clark each also received double pay and land allotments of 1,600 acres.

177. Drouillard, Potts, and Wiser accompanied Manuel Lisa from St. Louis in 1807 when he led an expedition numbering about 50 men, in two keelboats, up the Missouri and Yellowstone. Colter, who had earlier separated from Dickson and Hancock and was on his way toward St. Louis alone, joined and turned back to the wilderness with the Lisa party near the mouth of the Platte.

178. For biographies of Colter, see Stallo Vinton, *John Colter, Discoverer of Yellowstone National Park* (New York: E. Eberstadt, 1926) and Burton Harris, *John Colter: His Years in the Rocky Mountains* (New York: Scribner's, 1952).

179. The dearth of extant historical data on Drouillard has precluded the preparation of a suitable biography. M. O. Skarsten, *George Drouillard . . .* (Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1964) presents some material.

180. Later, Clark served as Lizette's guardian and had a hand in raising her. Clark also helped educate and rear Toussaint, a third child of Charbonneau by his other Shoshoni wife.

181. Most of the historical evidence refutes the theory that Sacagawea died in 1884, nearly 100 years old, at the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming.

182. Ann W. Hafen, "Jean Baptiste Charbonneau," in Leroy R. Hafen, ed., *The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West* (10 vols., Glendale, Calif.: Arthur H. Clark, 1965-72), I (1965), pp. 205-224.

Although Baptiste, as well as Gass and Willard, lived after the discovery of photography, the only photographs known to exist of any members of the expedition are one of Willard with his wife, Eleanor, and one or possibly more of Gass.

183. In addition to the sources listed in the Bibliography of this volume, the files of the Historic Sites Survey, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., contain extensive documentation for all the sites described herein.



http://www.cr.nps.gov/history/online_books/lewisandclark/notes.htm
Last Updated: 22-Feb-2004



HISTORICAL
BACKGROUND

SURVEY OF
HISTORIC SITES
& BUILDINGS

SUGGESTED
READING

NOTES

CREDITS

LEWIS AND CLARK



Credits

Lewis and Clark: Historic Places Associated with Their Transcontinental Exploration (1804-06) was produced by the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service in 1975. This material was part of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings, Volume XIII and was designed to document the historic places commemorating the Lewis and Clark Expedition. It was written by Roy E. Appleman; the Series Editor for the volumes produced by the National Park Service was Robert G. Ferris. Portions of the 1975 document have been omitted and only minor revisions have been made to the original text, however the reader should note that some of the information contained herein *may* not reflect current conditions. Current color photos of historic sites are courtesy of current land management agency.

Additional historical site and background information can be obtained by visiting

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

[NPS Historical Themes: Exploration](#)
[Lewis & Clark National Register Travel](#)
[Itinerary](#)
[Lewis & Clark Teaching with Historic Places](#)
[Lesson Plan](#)
[The Lewis & Clark Journey of Discovery](#)
[Journals Lewis & Clark Expedition](#)

Information Regarding Published Edition

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, PROFESSIONAL SERVICES
Ernest Allen Connally

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR, ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC
PRESERVATION

A. Russell Mortensen

DIVISION OF HISTORIC AND ARCHITECTURAL
SURVEYS

Cornelius W. Heine, *Chief*

HISTORIC SITES SURVEY

Horace J. Sheely, Jr., *Chief*

This volume was prepared by:

Roy E. Appleman

with the Collaboration of the Series Editor and the research assistance of James
H. Charleton

Assistant Editor: Richard E. Morris

(Original) Designer: Gary Gore

Incorporated in this book are Survey and evaluation reports prepared by the following National Park Service historians and archeologists: Roy E. Appleman, Paul L. Beaubien, Chester L. Brooks, Daniel F. Burroughs, William C. Everhart, John A. Hussey, Alfred C. Kuehl, Andrew M. Loveless, Merrill J. Mattes, Ray H. Mattison, Frank B. Sarles, Jr., Charles W. Snell, and Erwin N. Thompson. These reports were reviewed by the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments and the Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. Current members of these groups are listed in the Acknowledgments.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
United States.
National Park Service.

Lewis and Clark: historic places associated with
their transcontinental exploration (1804-06)

(The national survey of historic sites and buildings,
v. 13)

Bibliography: p.

1. Lewis and Clark Expedition. 2. Lewis,
Meriwether, 1774-1809. 3. Clark, William, 1770-
1838. 4. Historic sites—The West. I. Title. II.
Series.

F592.7.U56 1975 917.8'04'20922 [B] 73-20144

Foreword

Lewis and Clark were heralds of national destiny. In their

tracks trod the pioneers who fulfilled that destiny. Over the course of time, they and their heirs drastically reshaped the face of the land.

Today, Americans are concerned about the vanishing wilderness. They are joining together to save and protect remaining natural areas. Aiding them in their efforts are the various bureaus of the Department of the Interior and other governmental and private agencies engaged in conservation and preservation activities.

Numerous organizations and individuals have expended commendable efforts in marking the expedition's route and preserving associated sites. I recommend this book to all those who wish to follow the Lewis and Clark Trail and learn more about one of the most fascinating expeditions in our history.

ROGERS C. B. MORTON
Secretary of the Interior

Preface

I hope that this book will encourage preservation of sites related to the Lewis and Clark Expedition that have not already been lost or destroyed by the ravages of time, nature, and man. With the aid of this guidebook, many Americans will be able to visit the surviving sites. In so doing, they will probably recognize the critical need to safeguard them for posterity.

Credit for the preparation of this volume is shared widely by persons both in and out of the National Park Service. The historic preservation activities of the Service have particularly benefited from the assistance of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States, cosponsor of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings. The Survey is authorized by the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

GARY EVERHARDT
*Director
National Park Service*

Acknowledgments

*Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings,
and Monuments*

E. Y. Berry, *Rapid City, S. Dak.*
Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson, *Stonewall, Tex.*
Laurence W. Lane, Jr., *Menlo Park, Calif.*
A. Starker Leopold, *University of California, Berkeley.*
Peter C. Murphy, Jr., *Springfield, Oreg.*
Melvin M. Payne, *National Geographic Society.*
Linden C. Pettys, *Ludington, Mich.*

Steven Rose, *Arcadia, Calif.*
Walter M. Schirra, Jr., *Englewood, Colo.*
Douglas W. Schwartz, *School of American Research.*
William G. Shade, *Lehigh University.*

Consulting Committee for the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings

James Biddle, *National Trust for Historic Preservation.*
John O. Brew, *Harvard University.*
Walter L. Creese, *University of Illinois.*
Richard H. Howland, *Smithsonian Institution.*
John W. Huston, *U.S. Naval Academy.*
Herbert E. Kahler, *Alexandria, Va.*
Charles E. Lee, *South Carolina Department of Archives and History.*
Henry A. Millon, *Massachusetts Institute of Technology.*
Frederick D. Nichols, *University of Virginia.*
Dorothy B. Porter, *Moorland Foundation, Howard University.*

National Park Service

Edwin C. Bearss, *Historian, Historic Preservation Project (East), Denver Service Center.*
Burnby M. Bell (deceased), *former Historian, Fort Clatsop National Memorial, Oreg.*
Frederick R. Bell, *Picture Librarian, Office of Information.*
John A. Burns, *Architect, Historic American Buildings Survey, Division of Historic and Architectural Surveys.*
Paul Goeldner, *Architect, Historic Sites Survey, Division of Historic and Architectural Surveys.*
David K. Hansen, *Historian, Historic Sites Survey, Division of Historic and Architectural Surveys.*
Herbert E. Kahler, *Chief (retired), Division of History and Archeology.*
Warren A. McCullough, *Public Affairs Specialist, Independence National Historical Park, Pa.*
John D. McDermott, *Assistant Executive Secretary, Advisory Council on Historic Preservation.*
R. Alan Mebane, *Chief Naturalist, Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.- Mont -Idaho.*
Christine L. St. Lawrence, *Writer-Editor, Historic American Buildings Survey, Division of Historic and Architectural Surveys.*
Charles W. Snell, *Historian, Historic Preservation Project (East), Denver Service Center.*
Hilda E. Staubs, *Museum Technician, Harpers Ferry National Historical Park, Md.-W. Va.*
Robert M. Utley, *Assistant Director, Park Historic Preservation.*

Other Individuals

Carey S. Bliss, *Curator of Rare Books, Henry E. Huntington*

Library and Art Gallery.
Beatrice Boone, *Visual Information Specialist, Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, U.S. Department of the Interior.*
Helen Clark, *Head, Photograph Sales, The National Gallery of Canada.*
Paul R. Cutright, *Jenkintown, Pa.*
Josephine M. D'Orsi, *Division of Photography, American Museum of Natural History.*
Mrs. John G. Dotzman, *Missouri Historical Society.*
Richard H. Engeman, *Photographs and Maps Librarian, Oregon Historical Society.*
John C. Ewers, *Senior Ethnologist, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution.*
Larry Gill, *Great Falls, Mont.*
Mildred Goosman, *Curator, Western Collection, Joslyn Art Museum.*
Gail Guidry, *Curator of Pictorial History, Missouri Historical Society.*
Aubrey L. Haines, *Bozeman, Mont.*
Gertrude D. Hess, *Associate Librarian, American Philosophical Society Library.*
Donald D. Jackson, *Professor of History, University of Virginia.*
Michael S. Kennedy, *former Director, Montana Historical Society.*
Howard L. Levin, *Bettmann Archive, Inc.*
R. J. McCaig, *Montana Power Company, Great Falls.*
James H. Maroney, *Head of American Painting, Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc.*
Charles S. Marshall, *Executive Secretary, Eastern National Park and Monument Association.*
Lory J. Morrow, *Photo Archivist, Montana Historical Society.*
Ralph S. Space, *Orofino, Idaho.*
Frances H. Stadler, *Archivist, Missouri Historical Society.*
Keith M. Thompson, *Forest Supervisor, Clearwater National Forest, Idaho.*
Helen B. West, *Archives Assistant, Museum of the Plains Indian.*
Oliver Willcox, *Staff Photographer, Thomas Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art.*

Art and Picture Credits

The National Park Service gratefully acknowledges the assistance of agencies and individuals furnishing illustrations and granting permission to reproduce them. Where available, names of photographers and dates of photographs are indicated in parentheses following credits.

