The Corps

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Introduction

The Corps

by the late Irving W. Anderson (1920-1999)

Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and 31 other persons comprised the “Permanent Party” of the 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark Expedition. Although many individuals were associated with the military cadre during its 1803-1804 initial stages of travel from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to Fort Mandan, North Dakota, only those 33 members who journeyed from Fort Mandan to Fort

Clatsop, Oregon, and returned comprised the Permanent Party. In addition, there was a 34th member — Seaman, Captain Lewis' "dogg of the Newfoundland breed."

The party of 33 included 29 individuals who were active participants in the Corps' organizational development, recruitment and training at its 1803-1804 winter staging area at Camp Dubois, Illinois Territory; its journey up the Missouri River; and its stay at Fort Mandan, the expedition's 1804-1805 winter headquarters. Two members originally recruited for the Pacific bound party, Privates Moses Reed and John Newman, were dismissed before the explorers reached Fort Mandan. Reed was convicted for desertion, and Newman for "mutinous acts." Stiff sentences, including "100 lashes on [Newman's] bear back" were imposed through trials by court martial proceedings. Due to the remote, wilderness places of their crimes, both remained with the party over the Fort Mandan winter, doing hard labor. They were sent downriver aboard the keelboat in the spring of 1806.

Two French-Canadian fur traders, Jean Baptiste LePage and Toussaint Charbonneau, were enlisted at Fort Mandan to replace Newman and Reed. LePage held the rank of private, and Charbonneau, together with his Shoshone Indian wife, Sacagawea, who would be burdened with their infant boy, Jean Baptiste, were recruited as interpreters. The Fort Mandan-to-Fort Clatsop personnel were of white, black, and red racial origins, plus mixtures of the three. The oldest among the men was Charbonneau, who was 47 years old. Sacagawea was a teenager thought to be approximately 17. Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, whom Captain Clark affectionately nicknamed "Pomp" and "Pompy" for his "little dancing boy" antics, was only 55 days old when the explorers departed Fort Mandan on April 7, 1805, bound for the Pacific Ocean.

The following are biographical vignettes of each of the 33 permanent party members. All the men were hand-picked; the two officers for their leadership abilities, and their detachment for frontier, hunting, woodcutting, specialized craftsmanship, and interpreting skills. Those who distinguished themselves during the mission for their more than routine contributions, or were unique members, are treated individually. A total of 12 who made no special mark are listed collectively, with their individual activities noted in appropriate journal entries.

Lewis, on January 15, 1807, in transmitting to the Secretary of War his roll of the men who accompanied him on his exploring mission "through the continent of North America," gave praise and gratitude collectively to the members of the

Corps of Discovery:

> "With rispect to all those persons whose names are entered on this roll, I feel a peculiar pleasure in declaring, that the Ample support which they gave me under every difficulty; the manly firmness which they evinced on every necessary occasion; and the patience and fortitude with which they submited to, and bore, the fatigues and painful sufferings incident to my late tour to the Pacific Ocean, entitles them to my warmest approbation and thanks; nor will I suppress the expression of a hope, that the recollection of services thus faithfully performed will meet a just reward in an ample remuneration on the party of our Government." – Meriwether Lewis, Captain 1st U.S. Regt. Infty.

All the articles composed for this section of the website were researched and written by Irving W. Anderson. Mr. Anderson was a past president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, a graduate of the University of Washington, and a former faculty member of The Heritage Institute, Antioch University, Seattle.

Irving W. Anderson, a native of Seattle, Washington, was internationally renowned for his research on Sacagawea and the Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803-1806. Anderson received a degree in geography from the University of Washington and served in the U.S. Army Signal Corps during World War II. From 1949 until his retirement in 1977, he worked in various areas of land management, including the U.S. Bureau of Land Management and the International Cooperation Administration in Egypt. Formerly the secretary and later president of the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Anderson was also active as a conservationist, helping the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation lobby for national protection of lands traveled by Lewis and Clark such as Montana's Missouri Breaks Scenic Area.

Anderson's great interest in the Lewis and Clark Expedition and its members, particularly Sacagawea, her husband Toussaint Charbonneau, and their son, Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau, combined with his attention to detail and determination to seek out the true story of the Expedition, made him a well-trusted scholar. He wrote numerous articles and other researchers sought him out for knowledge. He was a faculty member of Antioch University and the Heritage Institute, an adjunct professor of history at Lewis & Clark College, and a consultant to television documentaries.

Anderson died at the age of 79 at his home in Portland, Oregon, the city in which he lived for over forty years.

Captains

Captain Meriwether Lewis

Meriwether Lewis was born in Albemarle County, Virginia, on August 18, 1774, the second child and first son of William and Lucy Meriwether Lewis. His father, who had served as a lieutenant in the Continental Army, died in November 1779 after his horse fell into an icy stream while he was homeward bound. His widowed mother married another Army officer, Captain John Marks, six months later. The two raised Meriwether and his two siblings while managing a 1,000-acre plantation about 10 miles from Monticello (Jefferson's home). The young Lewis was said to have an eye for plants, which was encouraged by his mother Lucy, a noted herb doctor.

Lewis joined the U.S. Army in 1794, serving six years in the Frontier Army and rising to the rank of captain in 1800, then serving as paymaster of the First Infantry Regiment of the U.S. Army. In early 1801, Lewis was appointed by President Jefferson to be his personal secretary. Lewis was a childhood protege of Jefferson's, and they renewed their bond years later while Lewis was on army duty in Charlottesville, Virginia. There is no doubt that part of Jefferson's reason for appointing Lewis to this position was political; like Jefferson, Lewis was a firm Republican. Later, Jefferson would write that "[Lewis] was brave, prudent, habituated to the woods & familiar with Indian manners and character." At Jefferson's direction, Lewis planned an exploration of a route west to the Pacific coast of North America, whose stated "aim would be to make friends and allies of the far Western Indians while at the same time diverting valuable pelts from the rugged northern routes used by another nation [Britain]. . . and bringing the harvest down the Missouri to the Mississippi and thence eastward by a variety of routes." During the journey, the expedition would also gain much-valued knowledge of continental geography and wildlife. In early 1803, Congress approved the expedition, which would be the first in series of military explorations launched by the U.S. government.

Lewis possessed many intellectual and physical qualities, which were refined during additional training prior to the start of the expedition. Physically, he was in superb condition, over six feet tall with a lean frame. Given his army conditioning, he was fiercely loyal, disciplined, and flexible, yet was also prone to being moody, speculative, and melancholic. His keen sense of observation and

knack for writing detailed naturalistic and ethnographic accounts would prove to be invaluable for a man who would lead this strategically important expedition. Lewis had an especially sharp eye for the details of flora and fauna, which is reflected in his journals. Immediately after Congress' approval, Lewis began preparing himself and defining requirements in terms of supplies and men who would be recruited to accompany him. Lewis learned the theories and practices of navigation first from Jefferson, then later from trained astronomers and cartographers in Philadelphia. He took in all the data known about the Western frontier at the time, including distances, topography, and potential enemies, much of which his expedition would end up revising.

After the Louisiana Purchase was completed on April 30, 1803, it became more clear that the expedition was not simply charged with scientific inquiry, geographic mapping, and clearing the way for commerce. The mission was to be more diplomatic, in that it would require the explorers to communicate the transfer of sovereignty to every Indian tribe and foreign interest occupying the lands within the Missouri watershed. This increase in importance warranted a need for a second-in-command to be named to assist Lewis on the journey. Both Jefferson and Lewis thought of William Clark, under whom Lewis had served briefly during his army career. On June 19, Lewis penned a letter to Clark expressing his desire that Clark share the command of the expedition with him, and seeking Clark's help in populating the expedition with able-bodied and qualified men. Lewis and the President offered him a permanent commission as captain (jumping him up a full rank), with equal rank to Lewis should he accept the command. This offer was made to eliminate any tension that would result from the fact that Clark had been Lewis' commanding officer in the rifle company at Fort Greenville. Lewis asked that Clark respond to him in Pittsburgh, where he would be readying boats and supplies for the journey. On July 29, Lewis received Clark's response: "My friend I assure you no man lives with whome I would perfur to undertake Such a Trip &c; as your self."

In mid-October, the two met in Clarksville, Indiana Territory, near the Falls of the Ohio, to make final preparations for the journey and assemble what would later be named the Corps of Discovery. During this time, Lewis transferred some of his recently acquired knowledge about surveying to Clark, who immediately began conducting measurements of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. The two easily determined how their labors would initially be divided. Given Lewis' more extensive social and political training under the President Jefferson, he would be in charge of finding men who could provide knowledge of the Upper Missouri, its Native Americans, and secure safe and expeditious routes for American commerce. Lewis would also serve as the party's naturalist, collecting plant,

animal, and mineral specimens to be taken back to Monticello and the East for examination and study. Their assignments were not fixed, though, and they would both be required to exchange places often during the journey to come.

As part of his diplomatic position, Lewis was often the leader in conducting speeches and granted "certificates" to the various Native American tribes. Even before leaving St. Louis, dozens of Native American representatives were visiting the town, hoping to discover more about the plans the white man had for the future. Stoddard, the military governor of Missouri, assisted Lewis in telling the natives, "You will be protected and sustained by your new father, the head chief of the United States" (meaning Jefferson). The speeches communicated that other European nations were no longer their "Great Father," but that the leader of the 17 nations (the seventeen states) of America was now in that role. They were advised to live in peace and cooperate with the traders who would be traveling in their midst. If they did so, the natives would have access to goods brought into the interior by the White Man. In order to prove the value of their cooperation, Lewis invited the natives to come to the lodge of their Great Father in Washington to see for themselves the great cities and the sources of the gifts that they bore. By giving these speeches, Lewis was an effective agent of American imperialism, even as the Corps passed out of the recently-acquired Louisiana Territory into the Western lands of the Columbia River Basin.

As the Corps approached the headwaters of the Upper Missouri, Lewis and Clark decided that the keelboat would be difficult to transport and sent it downstream with specimens they had collected, maps, and detailed reports they had been working on since their departure. They organized the geographic materials into two documents. The first, drafted by Lewis, was a discourse entitled "A Summary View of Rivers of Creeks," which described all the waterways that discharged into the Missouri, including "their length, navigability, sources, and the appearance of the lands through which they flowed." The second, drafted by Clark, was a supplemental collection of four arithmetic tables entitled "A Summary View of Rivers, Creeks, and Remarkable Places [meaning deserted and occupied Indian villages]," which gave "the distances from one stream mouth to the next one upstream, an estimate of each tributary's length, and a record of latitudes taken here and there by the captains during the upriver journey."

"Lewis' First Glimpse of the Rockies"
by Olaf Seltzer

During the journey of the Corps of Discovery, Lewis was able to use the discipline and team leadership skills he developed while serving in the army. In

February 1804, while Lewis was in St. Louis attending ceremonies that transferred Upper Louisiana to the United States, there had been some insubordination among the members of the Corps stationed for the winter back at Camp Dubois in the Illinois Territory. Colter, along with John Boley and John Robertson (both members of the Corps for a very short time), and Peter Wiser had defied orders given by Sergeant Ordway by visiting a local grog shop. Upon returning to Camp Dubois, Lewis confined Colter and the other offenders to the camp area for ten days, warning that "on such occasions the directives of duly appointed sergeants had the same authority as the captains." Later, as the Corps reached the headwaters of the Missouri, decisions had to be made about which routes would correctly lead them furthest west towards the Continental Divide and the headwaters of the Columbia River. During many of these critical decisions, information obtained from Native Americans and previously-developed maps had to be combined with Lewis' and Clark's knowledge of natural history and geographic properties. Even though the captains were in positions of authority, they often considered the opinions of their enlisted men, many of whom had developed extensive knowledge and intuition about the wilderness. Once, at the end of the Great Portage around the Falls of the Missouri, Lewis became the cook of the Corps' White Bear Islands Camp. After cutting his own wood and hauling water for the fire, he prepared a feast for the men of roasted buffalo meat, and even "made each man a large suet dumpling by way of a treat."

Lewis' strength, stamina, and overall health was put to the test on a number of occasions during the journey of the Corps of Discovery. Just after beginning the trek up the Missouri, Lewis and Clark stopped at a place called Tavern Cave, where sandstone cliffs three hundred feet high rose along the southern side of the river. While he and Clark were climbing to the top to engrave their names into a register inside the tremendous cavern, Lewis slipped and fell about twenty feet. "He saved himself by the assistance of his knife," wrote Clark, presumably driving it into a crevice to break his fall. Later, just after the close of the Oto Council, Lewis accidentally poisoned himself while conducting some experimental tastes of ore found in a bluff. He was able to relieve his symptoms by purging himself with "salts," which he used throughout the journey for the occasional intestinal flare-ups that resulted from extreme changes in diet and other factors. In August 1806, during an elk hunting trip, Pierre Cruzatte accidentally shot Lewis in the "thye," an incident that caused Lewis to believe that Blackfeet were in their midst. Later, after the Corps found no evidence of the Indians' presence, Cruzatte admitted his fault. Lewis graciously let the matter go, and got on with a very painful healing process.

Upon arriving safely in St. Louis in September 1806, Lewis drafted the first few letters which served as a preliminary report to President Jefferson. These letters were delivered by the dependable George Drouillard to the Cahokia postmaster, John Hay, who them saw them safely into the U.S. Mail. In one of these letters, Lewis wrote, "In obedience to your orders we have penetrated the continent of North America to the Pacific Ocean, and sufficiently explored the interior of the country to affirm with confidence that we have discovered the most practicable rout which does exist across the continent by means of the navigable branches of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers."

He went on to describe the route as modified during his return over Lewis and Clark Pass (located in today's Montana). First, they would travel by boat 2,575 miles up the Missouri past steep, eroding riverbanks and difficult snags to the rapids just below the Great Falls of the Missouri. Then, they would portage over 18 miles across land, then travel 200 more river miles, followed by 140 miles across the Bitterroots, "[T]remendous mountains which for 60 miles are covered with eternal snow." Finally, travel downstream on the Snake, Clearwater, and Columbia Rivers for 640 boat miles to the Pacific Ocean. Although Lewis' letter described a more involved and difficult passage between the two rivers, it did assure Jefferson of how plentiful the game was, and therefore, how profitable the fur trade could be in the frontier. This fact, in addition to the knowledge that Lewis and Clark had gathered about foreign interests in the Western lands, spurred the U.S. toward further negotiations and claims of sovereignty over the territories bordering Louisiana.

Months later, Lewis returned home to Ivy Creek in Albemarle County, Virginia, where he spent Christmas with his mother. Shortly thereafter, he went to Washington to receive his rewards for successfully completing the expedition: double pay while on service with the Corps (amounting to $1,228), a warrant for 1,600 acres of land, and a naming as Governor of the Territory of Upper Louisiana, which was put into effect in early March 1807. Shortly thereafter, Lewis traveled to Philadelphia to seek out editors and publishers for his and Clark's journals. At the same time, other efforts to publish the accounts of Sergeant Gass and Private Frazer discouraged Lewis, and he never followed through with providing the publishers with the manuscript. The following summer, a couple of attempts at marrying were unsuccessful, and his alcohol consumption became more prevalent. His relationship with Jefferson became problematic, due to his drinking and his delay in returning to St. Louis to take up his duties as governor. It was March 1808 before Lewis made it to St. Louis, one full year after his appointment. By that time, the city was awash with opportunists, land speculators, eager traders, and Native Americans, who were

becoming increasingly restless in anticipation of the changes that were to come.

In September 1809, after much difficulty in trying to mediate between the Natives and commercial interests, Lewis fled St. Louis for Washington to plead his case before the new administration. He caught a riverboat to Memphis, during which his feelings of melancholy were enhanced by his continued drinking, and he twice attempted to take his own life. Later, while staying in a roadhouse along the Natchez Trace, Lewis took his own life by shooting himself first in the forehead then in the breast. He was buried next to the tavern, and today the site is marked by a monument that was erected in his honor in 1846.

Captain William Clark

Captain William Clark, the red-haired co-captain of the Corps of Discovery, was born on August 1, 1770, the sixth son and ninth child from a family of 10 children. Originally from the same area of Virginia that was home to both Jefferson and Lewis, Clark's parents relocated their family near the Rappahannock River, where William was born. All of Clark's brothers were Revolutionary War veterans, including the famed George Rogers Clark, who commanded Virginia's troops in the Kentucky region during Jefferson's term as Virginia governor. After the War was over, the Clark family migrated across the Allegheny Mountains and down the Ohio River to Mulberry Hill, near Louisville. Clark learned about wilderness skills and natural history from his older brother, George.

Clark began his military career at age 19 when he joined the Kentucky Militia. He later joined the regular army and was promoted to lieutenant. During this strenuous time, Clark "learned how to build forts, draw maps, lead pack trains through enemy country, and fight the Indians on their ground." On two occasions, Clark was sent to spy on the Spanish, who at the time were exploring and building forts high up the east bank of the Mississippi. By 1795, he had received successive promotions to leadership positions, eventually attaining the rank of Captain. Ensign Meriwether Lewis was among men assigned to Clark. The two struck up a lasting friendship that would lead to their co-commanding the Corps of Discovery.

William Clark possessed many physical and mental qualities that were beneficial as a leader of the Corps. Clark was over six feet tall and had a strong and muscular physical frame. The only major exception to his physical health was an obscure digestive ailment from which he suffered. He was quite proficient at eliciting information from native tribes during the expedition, which he recorded in his journal-writing and sketches. With less formal educational training than

Lewis, Clark filled his journals with frequent grammatical and spelling errors, and long and confusing language.

Once the terms of the Louisiana Purchase were agreed upon on April 30, 1803, it became clear that the expedition's mission was not simply driven by scientific inquiry, geographic mapping, and commercial development of the unexplored territory. The mission was to be concurrently a diplomatic one. The transfer of sovereignty from the French/Spanish administration to United States hands would need to be communicated to every Indian tribe and foreign interest occupying the lands within the Missouri River watershed.

The increased importance of the exploration warranted an additional commander to assist Lewis, President Jefferson's first choice to lead the journey. Lewis wanted William Clark. On June 19, 1803, Lewis penned a letter to Clark, who was then out of the army, expressing his desire that Clark share command of the expedition and help recruit able-bodied, qualified men to enlist in the Corps. Lewis, with the President's concurrence, offered Clark a permanent commission as Captain. Responding to Lewis in Pittsburgh on July 29, where he was readying boats and supplies for the journey, Clark wrote, "My friend I assure you no man lives with whome I would perfur to undertake Such a Trip &c as your self."

Lewis, with a "party of eleven hands" and his Newfoundland dog, Seaman, departed Pittsburgh in a specially designed keelboat, accompanied by a pirogue (small riverboat), August 30, 1803. Navigating down the Ohio River during a period of low water, Lewis experienced several instances of grounding in the shallow water that required hiring teams of horses to refloat the keelboat. To lighten the cargo, Lewis purchased a second pirogue at Wheeling (West Virginia). The two pirogues would, during the course of the expedition, be navigated up the Missouri, nearly 2,500 miles, to the Great Falls of the Missouri (Montana).

In mid-October, Clark joined Lewis at Clarksville, Indiana Territory, opposite Louisville. Here, after making interim preparations for the journey and enlisting several recruits, Clark, together with his black manservant, York (who had been willed to Clark by his father), boarded the keelboat. Considered an equal among members of the expedition, York was allowed to vote and participate in many of same activities as the others.

Proceeding on, the embryonic Corps of Discovery reached St. Louis in mid-December, 1803. The Spanish commandant at St. Louis denied the explorers entry to Louisiana Territory due to their lack of a Spanish passport.

Consequently, they established their camp on the east side of the Mississippi, at River Dubois, Illinois Territory, opposite the confluence of the Missouri River with the Mississippi. Clark, the more rugged frontiersman, would supervise the building of their 1803-1804 winter camp.

Over the winter the men were disciplined in army regimen, and trained for the rugged conditions that they would encounter. Supplies and equipment for the journey that came in from the east were packed and sorted for the three vessels that would take them upriver.

On May 7, 1804, Clark, to the agonizing disappointment of both leaders, received his commission. It was for the rank of Second Lieutenant in the Corps of Artillerists. Clark had been addressed as "Captain" by both Lewis and the men, continuously, since Clark had boarded the keelboat, October 26, 1803, and he would remain "Captain" throughout the journey. To legitimize the pseudo rank, an organizational unit designation to which Clark would be attached was necessary when he signed official documents, such as detachment orders, court martial proceedings, "Indian Certificates," and similar formal records.

The captains, accordingly, conceived the title: "Corps of Volunteers on an Expedition of North Western Discovery." Clark's signature, and rank of captain, appears in the journals with that organizational designation, usually abbreviated to: "Wm Clark Capt on E. N. W. D." (See p. 170, Vol. 3, Moulton Edition) This arrangement, which confirms Lewis' promise to Clark in offering him a co-captaincy, "...your situation if joined with me in this mission will in all respects be precisely such as my own." Clark's pseudo-captaincy was never revealed to the men throughout the mission.

The short version of the organizational designation, "Corps of Discovery," is not found in any of the explorers' original longhand manuscript journals. Sergeant Patrick Gass is credited with popularizing that term, which appears on the title page of his 1807 published journal.

The expedition broke camp at River Dubois on May l4, 1804. Clark wrote in his journal: "...set out at 4oClock P.M, and proceeded on under a jentle brease up the Missouri." At the end of October, the explorers reached the villages of the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians, near modern Bismarck, North Dakota. Here, they built their 1804-1805 winter quarters, which they named Fort Mandan, in honor of the local inhabitants. The explorers spent five months at Fort Mandan, hunting and obtaining information from the Indians and French-Canadian traders who lived nearby. The blacksmiths set up a forge and made tools and implements,

which were traded for the Indians' garden crops of corn, melons and beans.

A French-Canadian named Toussaint Charbonneau visited the captains with his young, pregnant Shoshone Indian "wife," Sacagawea. The captains knew that there would be high mountains to cross on the westward journey. The two Charbonneaus were enlisted as an interpreter team for the purpose of negotiating for horses, in the event the explorers encountered her Shoshoni tribe, who lived near the Continental Divide of the Rockies. On April 7, 1805, as the Corps prepared to proceed westward with the two pirogues and six dugout canoes, the keelboat was sent downstream with collected specimens, maps, and detailed reports they had compiled since their departure.

Of the two captains, Clark was the expedition's cartographer. The first significant map he drafted was completed during the Corps' stay at Fort Mandan during the winter of 1804-05. Though highly conjectural, this map contained all the new information and corrections from their explorations and conversations with traders and Indians. The map focused on the areas between the upper Mississippi and the Missouri, and the major tributaries of the lower and middle Missouri, with less detail provided for the upper Missouri and the Continental Divide, which had yet to be explored by the Corps. There were several inaccuracies in the map, mostly due to miscommunication and cultural differences in describing geography between the American and Indians. Even so, this updated map was a valuable reference.

As the Corps proceeded on to the Pacific, Clark continued to keep careful compass records, measure distances and produce detailed strip maps for areas between major landmarks. One of the more detailed mappings was done on the Great Falls of the Missouri, where Clark led a surveying team to measure the chasm's length, the elevation of the Falls, and the total drop of the cascade. The maps included notes on native botanical and zoological specimens and on potential mineral deposits. These strip maps were incorporated into the larger map drafted at Fort Mandan. This map would be of critical importance to U.S. expansionist forces in years to come.

In late October 1806, after completing the expedition and returning to St. Louis, Lewis and Clark led a cavalcade eastward that included Mandan and Osage Indian representatives. The packtrain was loaded with whatever "plants, seeds, bird skins, animal skeletons, and furs [that] had not been ruined in water-soaked caches," in addition to their journals and Clark's large map of the American West. Clark and York stopped in Louisville to meet Clark's family and visit with Julia "Judy" Hancock, Clark's future wife.

In mid-January 1807, Clark visited Washington to receive his rewards for having successfully completed the expedition: double pay while on service with the Corps (amounting to $1,228); a warrant for 1,600 acres of land; and a double appointment as Brigadier General of Militia and Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Territory of Upper Louisiana, which was put into effect in early March 1807.

William Clark

On January 5, 1808, Clark married Julia Hancock in Fincastle, Virginia. Julia would later bear Clark a son, whom they would name Meriwether Lewis Clark in honor of his father's closest partner. That summer, Clark became a business partner in the newly-formed Missouri Fur Company, which planned to send militia units, hunters, and boatsmen up the Missouri to develop the American fur trading industry.

In Louisville, on October 11, 1809, the Clark family was told of Lewis' death. Upon hearing the news, Clark traveled to Washington to visit the grieving Jefferson and Lewis family members. He would later go to Philadelphia to arrange for the rewriting of their journals, which were finally published in 1814 with Clark's map as a supplement.

Clark's final years were the opposite of Lewis'. In 1813, Clark was named Governor of the Missouri Territory until the state of Missouri was created in 1820. Although he was defeated in the first election for state governor, Clark continued enjoy his Brigadier General rank, and to serve as the Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Throughout the remainder of his life, he garnered the respect of Native Americans, traders and trappers alike. They brought new information to him regularly, which he was able to use to update his master map of the American West, a map that reflected the fast-changing face of a nation that now stretched from coast to coast. Clark died of natural causes in St. Louis, September 1, 1838.

Sergeants

Sergeant Charles Floyd

Sergeant Charles Floyd was born in Kentucky, and was among the first to volunteer for service in the Corps, joining on August 1, 1803. Among those included as one of the "Nine young men from Kentucky," Floyd was a cousin of the expedition's Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor. Considered a "man of much merit" by

Captain Clark, he kept an uninterrupted daily record from May 14, 1804, until August 18, two days prior to his untimely death on August 20. Floyd's death was the only fatality among expedition members during the two years, four months and nine days of their transcontinental odyssey.

Floyd's published journal reproduces verbatim his inspired spelling and fractured grammar, characteristics found also in the journals of the two captains and the four enlisted men who kept journals. Floyd's journal has been published jointly with that of Corps member, Sergeant John Ordway, as Volume 9, The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, Gary E. Moulton, Editor, 11 volumes to date (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1995).

Floyd's entries are laconic but factual. In the spirit of President Jefferson's instructions and perhaps drawing from an agrarian background, Floyd judged land quality, including soil conditions, enroute up the Missouri. Contributing his personal assessments of what he observed, Floyd, on May 25, 1804, wrote, "[T]he land is Good & handsom the Soil Rich;" June 4, "[A] Butifull a peas of Land as ever I saw." On June 7, he recorded his own interpretations of Indian pictographs as "pictures of the Devil and other things." Floyd's August 7 entry is the only detailed description of Private Moses Reed's "Desarte [desertion] from us with out aney Jest Case [just cause]."

Unfortunately, Floyd's contributions to the journey, together with his journal, ended with his premature death. As "Diagnosed" by the captains, Floyd's illness was considered to be a "bilious cholic." They could not be faulted for preventing his death, which medical historians have concluded was from a ruptured appendix.

Captain Clark's journal entry for August 20, reads: "Sergeant Floyd much weaker and no better...Floyd as bad as he can be no pulse & nothing will stay a moment on his Stomach or bowels. Floyd Died with a great deal of Composure, before his death he Said to me, 'I am going away I want you to write me a letter.' We buried him on the top of the bluff. 1/2 Mile below [is] a Small river to which we Gave his name, He was buried with the Honors of War much lamented, a Seeder post with the Name Sergt. C. Floyd died here 20th of august 1804 was fixed at the head of his grave. This Man at all times gave us proofs of his firmness and Determined resolution to doe Service to his Countrey and honor to himself. after paying all the honor to our Decesed brother we camped in the Mouth of floyds River about 30 yards wide, a butiful evening"

Today, Floyd enjoys the honor of having had erected at his gravesite in present

Sioux City, Iowa, the most prestigious memorial of the explorers. A 100 foot high sandstone masonry obelisk, second in size only to that of the Washington Monument, was dedicated in fitting ceremonies on Memorial Day 1901. Dedication speaker for the occasion was Dr. Elliott Coues, editor of the 1893 annotated reprint of the 1814 Biddle Allen edition of the journals. Coues spoke eloquently of the exploring enterprise:

"I must confess that I am what my friends call me – 'a Lewis and Clark enthusiast.' But I do not think that anyone can read that 'national epic of exploration' without sharing my enthusiasm. It is one of the grandest episodes in the history of our country. Every American can be proud of it. Every person in Missouri, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, South and North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Oregon and Washington – for the expedition passed through all these states – has an interest in the immortal achievements of these dauntless pioneers. For every Iowan this interest focuses about the saddest incident of the whole journey – the death of Charles Floyd."

Sergeant Patrick Gass

A member of the Expedition treed by a grizzly bear from William Gass, Journal of Voyages and Travels of Corps of Discovery, 1810

Of Irish ancestry, Sergeant Patrick Gass was born in Pennsylvania, June 12, 1771. He joined the army in 1789, and by 1803 was serving under Captain Russell Bissell's command at Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory. The Secretary of War instructed Captain Bissell to furnish Lewis and Clark "with one Sergeant & Eight good men." Gass was determined to join the exploring mission, but Bissell denied his transfer, wishing to retain Gass for his craftsmanship skills.

Lewis interceded, and enlisted Gass on January 3, 1804, after Gass had made a personal appeal to him. Gass was not among the original three sergeants appointed at Camp Dubois. He was elected to fill the rank of sergeant by the vote of the men upon the death of Sergeant Charles Floyd on August 20, 1804.

Gass provides in his December 24 and 25, 1804, journal entries, a poignant reflection of the spirit of the holiday season at Fort Mandan, on the remote frontier of the northern plains. On Christmas Eve, Gass described the holiday observance: "This evening we finished our fortification. Flour, dried apples, pepper and other articles were distributed in the different messes to enable them to celebrate Christmas in a proper and social manner." On Christmas Day, he wrote: "Captain Clark then presented to each man a glass of brandy, and we

hoisted the American flag in the garrison, and its first waving in fort Mandan was celebrated with another glass. The men cleared out one of the rooms and commenced dancing, which was continued in a jovial manner till 8 at night."

Lewis and Clark in parley with group of Indians, from William Gass, Journal of Voyages and Travels of Corps of Discovery, 1810

Gass's 1807 journal is a paraphrase version of his original field notes, which apparently were destroyed upon publication of the narrative. Acknowledging that he "never learned to read, write, and cipher till he had come of age," Gass, upon his return, formed a partnership with David McKeehan, a Pittsburgh book and stationery store proprietor, for purposes of editing and publishing his journal. Gary E. Moulton, editor of the ongoing University of Nebraska Press publication of the Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, relates that McKeehan conceded "I have arranged and transcribed it for the press, supplying such geographical notes and other observations as I supposed would render it more useful and satisfactory to the reader." To Moulton, "McKeehan's elegant style was probably very different from that of a rough-and-ready frontier sergeant . . . but there is no reason to think that the bookseller substantially altered the facts as Gass presented them . . . The work agrees well with the captains' journals."

Sergeant Gass was a competent carpenter, a skill with which he served the expedition invaluably in the construction of its three winter quarters: Camp Dubois (Illinois), 1803-1804; Fort Mandan (North Dakota), 1804-1805; and Fort Clatsop (Oregon), 1805-1806. He also applied his talents toward the hewing of dugout canoes at Mandan, near White Bear Island (Montana), and Canoe Camp (Idaho), together with the fashioning of wagons to portage the canoes 18 miles overland around the series of falls of the Missouri (Montana). Gass and two others were chosen by Lewis to assemble Lewis' "experiment," his iron boat frame that failed due to lack of proper materials to seal the seams of its elk and buffalo hide hull covering.

On July 3, 1806, during the return trip from the Pacific, Lewis and Clark divided the Corps into three separate commands. With three men, Lewis traveled north to determine the source of the Maria's River for the purpose of establishing the northern extent of the Louisiana Purchase Territory. Clark led a detachment that explored the Yellowstone River from near its source to its confluence with the Missouri. Gass was entrusted with the command of the remainder of the men to make the 18 mile overland return portage around the Missouri River waterfalls.

All three parties were rejoined near the mouth of the Yellowstone on August 12, 1806. Proceeding on to the Hidatsa and Mandan Indian villages, Private John Colter, at his own request, was discharged to join a fur trapping party. On August 17, Toussaint Charbonneau, his wife, Sacagawea, and their son, Jean Baptiste were mustered out of the Corps. Gass, the only journalist to report it, states that as a parting gift to Toussaint, "the Commanding Officers gave him the blacksmith's tools supposing they might be useful."

As his most lasting literary legacy, Gass holds claim to popularizing the explorers' proudly coined "Corps of Discovery" name, featured boldly on the title page of his 1807 published journal. Patrick Gass died April 2, 1870, at age 99 in Wellsburg, West Virginia.

Sergeant John Ordway

One of ten children, Sergeant John Ordway was a young soldier from Hebron, New Hampshire. A major contributor to the expedition's success, Ordway was one of the few well-educated men recruited for the expedition. His many responsibilities included issuing provisions, appointing guard duties, keeping all registers and records, and commanding the group during absences of Lewis and Clark. He was also instructed to keep a journal, and his descriptions about the Native American life provide a valuable historical account.

Many violations of orderly conduct (refusing to obey orders, stealing, and rebelliousness) occurred while Sergeant Ordway was in command. One problem occurred in February 1804, while Captain Lewis was in St. Louis attending ceremonies for the transference of the Louisiana Territory from France to the United States. With Ordway in charge of the men back at Camp Wood, several men had visited a local tavern and gotten drunk, in defiance of Ordway's orders. When Lewis returned, he confined the offenders to the camp area for 10 days, and told them that "the Commanding officer feels himself mortifyed and disappointed at the disorderly conduct . . . A moment's reflection must convince every man of our party" that the captains would sometimes be absent and that "on such occasions the directives of duly appointed sergeants had the same authority as the captains."

However, after four months at Wood River, the men continued to be restless. On March 29, there were fights among the men. Both Privates John Shields and John Colter disobeyed orders and threatened Sergeant Ordway's life. Both were put on trial for mutiny where they "asked the forgivness &c & promised to doe better in the future." Two days later both men were welcomed into the permanent party.

As the Corps was about to begin the journey, Ordway wrote to his parents about the purpose and determination of the expedition: “We are to ascend the Missouri River with a boat as far as it is navigable and then go by land, to the western ocean, if nothing prevents, &c. This party consists of 25 picked Men of the armey & country and I am So happy as to be one of them pick’d Men....We are to start in ten days up the Missouri River....We expect to be gone 18 months or two years....If we make Great Discoveries as we expect, the united States, has promised to make us Great Rewards more than we are promised, &c.”

On the return trip from the Pacific Ocean, Ordway was given the task of leading a party of 10 men to the head of the Jefferson River, where the Corps had left its canoes before crossing the mountains. After repairing the canoes, Ordway would lead the men down the Jefferson to the Great Falls of the Missouri, portage around the falls, and then proceed to the mouth of the river to reunite with the groups led by Lewis and Clark. This was done successfully and without incident.

After the expedition, Lewis and Clark had the task of preparing a work of their journey. They agreed to buy Ordway’s journals and incorporate his writings in their book, and paid him $300 for the journals. Ordway returned to New Hampshire, married, and later moved to Missouri to farm the 320 acres of land that he was awarded for his service in the Corps. He also received double pay, on Lewis’ recommendation, as did most of the men in the Corps. Ordway lived the remainder of his life as a successful landowner.

Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor

Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor was born in Virginia in 1772. He moved to Kentucky with his parents in 1783, where he lived until joining the expedition 20 years later. Pryor had taken a wife in 1798, and thus was an exception to the captains’ recruiting stipulation that only unmarried men would be enlisted. Nevertheless, Captain William Clark enlisted him on October 20, 1803, together with eight others, at Clarksville, Indiana Territory, across the Ohio River from Louisville. The new recruits became known as the “Nine young men from Kentucky.” All would be selected as members of the expedition’s “Permanent Party,” the cadre that would journey to the Pacific and return. Two, Pryor and Charles Floyd, who were cousins, would become sergeants. Floyd would be the only member who would die during the mission. Upon his death, the captains would give Pryor Floyd’s personal effects.

Considered “a man of character and ability,” Pryor often was assigned responsibilities of army administration, such as appointment as “Presiding” authority at the June 29, 1804, court marshal of Privates John Collins and Hugh

Hall, both charged with getting drunk while on duty. The penalties were severe. Collins was sentenced to "receive one hundred Lashes on his bear Back," and Hall 50 lashes.

Pryor appears in Lewis's "Ohio River Journal" soon after his enlistment. On November 22, 1803, he became lost while hunting. Lewis "had several guns fired to bring him too, and the [sounding] horn freequently blown but without effect." The following day, Pryor was still missing; Lewis again had guns fired and the horn blown, but apparently would not be delayed any further. After waiting "untill half after 7 OC.," Lewis set out without him. Finally, on November 24, Pryor "hailed, we passed the river and took him in. he was much fatiequed with his wandering and somewhat indisposed."

The explorers were assembled, trained and disciplined at their l803-1804 Camp Dubois (Illinois) winter staging area, situated opposite the mouth of the Missouri River. On April l, 1804, by authority of a Detachment Order, the commanding officers selected the "Detachment destined for the Expedition through the interior of the Continent of North America...the persons herein after mentioned, are those which are to Constitute the Perminent Detachment." Nathaniel Pryor, Charles Floyd and John Ordway were formally "appointed sergeants, with equal Power (unless when otherwise specially ordered)."

Sergeant Pryor was selected Squad Leader of the 1st Squad, comprising six privates. On March 30, Clark recorded that "Priors is verry Sick. I sent out R. Fields to kill a squirel to make him Suip." On April 6th, he still was sick. The captains directed that "During the indisposition of Sergeant Pryor, George Shannon is appointed (protempor) to discharge his the Said Pryor's duty in his Squad."

By departure date, May 14, 1804, crews had been assigned to each of the three vessels. The keelboat, sometimes referred to as the "Batteaux" by the captains, would be manned primarily by members of the permanent party, with each sergeant in charge of his squad assigned specific duties while underway, viz, steersman, bowman, rowers, etc. Both pirogues were manned by French watermen, "extra personnel" who would go only to Fort Mandan, where they would winter, then return downriver on the keelboat the following spring.

On July 8, 1804, the captains issued another Detachment Order governing the "several messes" of the keelboat crew. The officers appointed persons to "receive, cook and take charge of their respective messes...These Superintendants of Provision, are held immediately responsible to the commanding Officers for a

judicious consumption of the provision which they receive; they are to cook...in such manner as is most wholesome and best calculated to afford the greatest proportion of nutriment...no man at any time to take or consume any part of the mess provisions without the privity, knowledge and consent of the Superintendant. In consideration of the duties imposed by this order the Superintendents in future will be exempt from guard duty, tho' they will still be held on the royster for that duty...which shall be performed by someone from their mess; they are exempted also from pitching the tents of the mess, collecting firewood, and forks poles &c for the cooking and drying such fresh meat as may be furnished them; those duties are to be also performed by the other members of the mess."

On August 28, Pryor and "Mr. Durioin the Souis interpreter were sent to the Souis Camp with derections to invite the Principal Chiefs to councel with us a Bluff above Called the Calumet." On the 29th, Clark wrote that he was "much engaged writeing a Speech" that he would give at the council. Upon his return, Pryor reported that the Indians camp, composed of teepee lodges, "[W]as handsum made of Buffalow Skins Painted different Colour, all compat & handSomly arranged, their Caps formed of a Conic form Containing about 12 to 15 persons each and 40 in number."

On September 21, Clark reported that "the Sand bar on which we Camped began to give way, which allarmed [Pryor], the Serjt on guard...the Sand was giving away both above & below and would Swallow our Perogues in a few minits, ordered all hands on board and pushed off before part of our camp fel into the river." The party was camped near the Big Bend of the Missouri. Clark wrote that "the Distance of this bend around is 30 miles, and 1 1/4 miles thro'."

On June 2, 1805 the party reached a major fork in the Missouri River. They established a base camp from which the two forks would be explored. to determine which was the true Missouri. Clark took a party up the south fork; Lewis with six men, including Pryor, hiked up the north fork 60 miles. Here, Lewis concluded, "I now became well convinced that this branch of the Missouri had its direction too much to the North for our rout to the Pacific, and therefor determined to return."

Clark's reconnaissance up the south fork was similarly fruitless. Nevertheless, both leaders were convinced it was the true Missouri. Their intuition proved correct, when Lewis, who was ahead of his "little party" of four companions, heard "a roaring too tremendious to be mistaken for an cause short of the great falls of the Missouri." He hurried on "to gaze on this sublimely grand specticle."

To the north fork, Lewis gave the name Maria's River, "for that lovely fair one."

The explorers cached the two pirogues below the falls and spent three weeks portaging the heavy dugout canoes, supplies and equipment 18 miles around the falls. On July 2, Lewis reported "Sergts. Pryor and Gass at work on the waystrips" assisting "all the other hands engaged in puting the boat together." This was Lewis's "experiment," an iron boat frame that Lewis had designed that would be covered with elk and buffalo hides to form the hull. There were no pitch-bearing trees in the vicinity to seal the seams, and as a result, the boat sank. To compound matters, Clark, reported on July 12 that "Serjt. Pryors Sholder was put out place yesterday Carrying Meat and is painful today." The party proceeded on. On July 9, Clark wrote that they "passed a butifull Creek on the Std. [starboard] side this eveng which meanders thro` a butifull Vallie of great extent, I call after Sgt Pryor, who is a steady valuable and usefull member of our party."

On November 18, 1805, Clark, accompanied by Pryor and seven others, hiked downriver from their "Station Camp," situated on the north (Washington State) shore of the Columbia River estuary at today's Chinook Point, to see the "main ocean." The others, Clark explained, "being well Contented with what part of the Ocean & its curiosities which Could be Seen from the vicinity of our Camp." The group, after walking the shoreline 19 miles by Clark's calculations, reached the uplands of Cape Disappointment, where Clark reported finding "Capt Lewis name on a tree. I also engraved my name & by land the day of the month and year." The men, Clark recorded, "appear much Satisfied with their trip beholding with estonisment the high waves dashing against the rocks & this emence ocian." The exploring party had traveled 554 days and 4,132 miles since leaving Camp Dubois, reaching President Jefferson's mandate: "The object of your mission is singular – the Pacific Ocean."

Due to the absence of game and their unprotected exposure to fierce storms, the party elected to cross the Columbia to today's Oregon, where the local Indians informed them deer and elk were plentiful. An actual vote of the members was recorded, which included the vote of a woman, Sacagawea, and that of York, a black man.

Upon reaching the Oregon shore, the explorers built Fort Clatsop, their 1805-1806 winter quarters, five miles south of modern Astoria. On December 10, during its construction, Clark wrote that "Serjt. Pryor unwell from haveing his Shoulder out of place." (This orthopedic affliction would plague Pryor throughout his life.) By December 19, he had recovered sufficiently enough to carry out certain duties. Clark wrote, "we dispatched Sjt. Pryor with 8 men in 2

Canoes across Meriwethers Bay, (today's Youngs Bay) for boards of an old Indian house which is vacant...the load of old boards was found to be verry indifferent."

On January 8, 1806, Pryor and 11 others (including Sacagawea and her husband, Toussaint), accompanied Clark on a mission to trade for oil and blubber that Indians had salvaged from a beached whale, 25 miles south of Fort Clatsop.

One of the detachment, Private Hugh McNeal, had sneaked off during the night with an Indian man, ostensibly seeking female companionship. Instead, as Clark wrote, it "was a Plot laid to kill McNeal for his Blanket & Clothes." An altercation ensued that caused an Indian woman to alarm the explorers. A number of the men, led by Pryor, broke up the fight, a rare instance of a serious interchange between the Americans and Indians throughout the journey.

During this assignment, the detachment visited the salt makers camp (at present-day Seaside, Oregon), both enroute to the whale site and return. For a period of nearly three months, alternating crews of men were assigned salt-making duties, of which Clark wrote, "[B]y the means of boiling the Salt water...a very tegious opperation...the kittles are kept boiling day and night. we Calculate on three bushels lasting us from hiere to our deposit of that article on the Missouri."

On March 11, Lewis recorded another in Pryor's diverse assignments, which points up the friendly relationships the explorers had with their Indian neighbors. "Sergt. Pryor arrived with a small canoe loaded with fish which he had obtained from the Cathlahmah's for a very small part of the articles he had taken with him. The dogs at the Cathlahmahs had bitten the trong [thong] asunder which confined his canoe and she had gone a dreft. he borrowed a canoe from the Indians in which he has returned. he found his canoe on the way and secured her, untill we return the Indians their canoe, when [the winds permit] she can be brought back."

December 29, 1805, Clark, while enjoying the warmth of the fireplace within the officers' comfortable quarters of newly completed Fort Clatsop, was documenting certain ethnological information concerning the Indians of the lower Columbia River. Among the host of details that the captians would compile over the winter, he recorded in his journal, "The nations...in this neighborhood pass altogether by water, they have no roads or pathes through the Countrey which we have observed, except across portages from one Creek to another."

On March 17, Clark explained the value placed on canoes by the Indians. In

returning the borrowed Indian canoe "Sergt. Pryor...had also purchased a canoe from those people. for this canoe he gave Captn. Lewis's uniform laced coat and nearly half a Carrot of tobacco. it Seams that nothing except this Coat would induce them to dispose of a Canoe which in their mode of traffic is an article of the greatest value except a wife, with whome it is nearly equal, and is generally given in exchange to the father for his Daughter."

On March 20, 1806, three days before the explorers' homeward bound departure from Fort Clatsop, Clark commented on their indispensable firearms. "The guns of Drewyer (Drouillard) and Sergt. Pryor were both out of order. the first was repared with a new lock, the old one having become unfit for uce; the second had the cock screw broken which was replaced by a duplicate which had been prepared for the lock at Harpers ferry where she was manufactured. but for the precaution taken in bringing on those extra locks, and parts of locks in addition to the ingenuity of John Shields, most of our guns would at this moment been untirely unfit for use; but fortunately for us I have it in my power to record that they are all in good order."

Returning up the Columbia, on April l, the party had reached their "Quicksand River," (now Sandy River), above Portland, Oregon. Both during the outbound trip and return, the explorers were navigating along the Washington State shoreline. In both instances, due to low lying islands that obscured the mouth of the Indians' Multnomah (today's Willamette) River, they mistakenly thought that their Quicksand River drained the vast Willamette River Valley they could see from their canoes. As a consequence, the captains "dispatched Sergt. Pryar with two men in a small canoe up quicksand river with orders to proceed as far as they could and return this evening." Upon his return, Pryor and his men "reported that they had ascended the river six miles . . . [where] the river hence appeared to bend to the East" toward Mount Hood.

Continuing eastward, the explorers encountered the turbulent, non-navigable whitewater rapids of the Cascades of the Columbia, the source for the name of the Cascade Mountain Range. Here, on April 10, Lewis wrote that the men drew the canoes upstream with cords. They directed Pryor to remain with his canoe "untill Private Gibson arrived and assist him with his crews in geting the canoe up the rapid... in hawling the perogue arround this point the bow unfortunately took the current at too great a distance from the rock, she turned her side to the stream and the utmost exertions of all the party were unable to resist the forse with which she was driven by current, they were compelled to let lose the cord and of course both perogue and cord went a drift with the stream."

Arriving at Celilo Falls, the "Great Falls of the Columbia," now inundated by the The Dalles Dam, the captains expected to trade their canoes for Indian horses. Optimistically, Lewis, on April 20, "set Sergts. Gass and Pryor with some others at work to make a parsel of packsaddles. twelve horses will be sufficient to transport our baggage and some pounded fish which we intend taking with us as a reserved store for the rocky mountains...and rid us of the trouble and dificulty of takeing our Canoes further."

On July 3, the party separated into three groups; Lewis headed north to explore the upper reaches of the Marias River; Sergeant Gass would head a group who would portage the canoes that had been cached westbound, around the Great Falls; and Clark, with a party twenty four persons, including Pryor, and fifty horses headed for the Yellowstone River. New canoe would be made, that Clark and the main party would use to descend the Yellowstone to its confluence with the Missouri.

Pryor, with three men assisting, was directed to drive the horses overland and rejoin all of the separated parties at Mandan. During the night of July 22, Indians stole 24 of the party's horses, and the remainder of them while the four men slept enroute to Mandan. Determined to find their way back to rejoin the Corps, the men walked to Pompy's Tower, a rock formation that Clark had named for Sacagawea's son. There, they killed some buffalo and stretched the skins over a willow framework to make two circular Mandan-type bull boats, each about 7 feet in diameter. All rode in one boat and towed the second boat in the event the first one sank. Pryor and his three men were reunited with the combined parties, and all proceeded on to Mandan.

On August 16, preparing for the final leg of the journey to St. Louis, Clark "Sent Sergt. Pryor for Some Corn which the Mandans offered to give us. he informed me that they had more Corn collected for us than our Canoes Could Carry, Six load of which he brought down. I thanked the Chief for his kindness."

After the expedition, Nathaniel Pryor lived and traded among the Osage Indians, especially the Clermont band, in present-day northeast Oklahoma. He married one of them and began a family. He represented the tribe in negotiations with nearby military Forts Smith and Gibson. In 1830, Clark appointed Pryor sub-agent for the Clermont band, but Pryor died the following year on June 10, 1831.

Privates

Private William Bratton

Private William Bratton was enlisted as a member of the expedition by Captain William Clark, October 20, 1803, at Clarksville, Indiana Territory. He was born July 27, 1778, in Augusta County, Virginia, of Irish parentage.

Bratton's family migrated to Kentucky about 1790, qualifying him as one of the "Nine young men from Kentucky." Bratton, considered by Clark to be one of "the best young woodsmen & Hunters in this part of the Countrey," was apprenticed as a blacksmith at an early age. He also became an excellent gunsmith. All of these qualities made him a very useful man in the Corps.

In early August 1804, Bratton was named to a search party assigned with locating Moses Reed and La Liberte, both of whom had deserted the Corps while en route to hold council with the Oto tribe. Bratton and the other members of the search party were successful at bringing Reed back to the Corps, along with nine mounted Oto Indians, including Little Thief and Big Horse, who were intent on making peace.

During the winter of 1804 at Fort Mandan, near modern Bismarck, North Dakota, Bratton's blacksmithing skills came to good use. In order to trade with the Mandans for corn and dried vegetables, the members of the Corps agreed to repair and sharpen metal objects that the Mandan and Hidatsa Indians had collected from British traders (including hoes, skinning knives, kettles, and firearms). Bratton and Alexander Willard, the two members of the Corps trained in blacksmithing and gunsmithing, were crucial to this effort. They set up a forge and bellows that had, until that time, been little used on the journey.

Bratton was involved in a dangerous animal encounter that occurred on May 11, 1805, in what is now northeastern Montana. While walking along the shore, seeking relief from painful boils, he came into close contact with a grizzly bear. Bratton shot the bear dead center. Though wounded, the powerful bear chased Bratton more than half a mile before he was able to hail other Corps members, who were rowing up river. The party was able to trace the bear's steps by following a trail of blood, whereupon they killed it, preserving its hide and salvaging its meat for rendering into grease for cooking.

Upon reaching the Pacific in November 1805, Bratton was one of 10 men to accompany Captain William Clark on a trek from their "Station Camp" at the Columbia River's Chinook Point to Cape Disappointment and northward nine miles along the coastline, in what is now Washington state.

Shortly after Christmas 1805, while the Corps was camped at Fort Clatsop near

the mouth of the Columbia, Bratton, Joseph Field and Gibson were directed to establish a salt works at the nearest suitable coastal area. The salt was used to preserve elk and deer meat and for cooking and table use. The salt works was established at a protected beach site, 15 miles south of the fort. In late February, they completed their work, having produced 20 gallons of salt, 12 gallons of which were packed in two ironbound kegs for use during the return journey.

Bratton's health began to deteriorate during the Corps' stay at Fort Clatsop from December 1805 through March 1806. Aside from surviving outbreaks of influenza and the maddening presence of fleas, Bratton suffered extreme lower back pains, which stayed with him for the remainder of the journey home. By the time the Corps reached the Great Falls of the Columbia, near modern The Dalles, Oregon, in April, 1806, Bratton was semi-paralyzed. He was the only member to ride horseback while all the others walked, leading pack horses. When the Corps reached the Nez Perce tribal lands in May 1806, Bratton was treated in a sweat house. There, he received a sweat bath treatment similar to the kind used by most tribes in North America at that time. Inside, water was poured over heated rocks to produce steam, and Bratton was given copious amounts of strong mint tea to drink. Later, he was removed twice from the sweat house to be dunked in cold water. This treatment was most effective in easing Bratton's suffering. He walked with little pain afterwards.

Private John Collins

Private John Collins was born in Frederick County, Maryland. He was entered on the expedition's muster roll, January 1, 1804, transferring from an unlisted army unit. Collins was one of five chief hunters in the Corps, along with Colter, Drouillard, and the Field brothers. Hunting was no small job, as appetites were huge. Lewis would write, "[I]t requires 4 deer, an Elk and a deer, or one buffaloe, to supply us plentifully for 24 hours." But beyond that, hides were required for clothing and shelter, and specimens needed to be captured or killed to scientifically document the Western wildlife.

In late June 1804, after the Corps had traveled nearly 400 miles up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Kansas River, Collins was the subject of one of the first disciplinary trials held by Captain Clark. One evening, while on guard duty, Collins tapped a whiskey barrel and proceeded to get drunk with Private Hall. At dawn, they were placed under arrest and tried later that morning. Collins pleaded not guilty to the charge of "getting drunk on his post this morning out of whiskey put under his Charge as a Sentinel and for Suffering Hugh Hall to draw whiskey out of the Said Barrel intended for the party." He was found guilty and sentenced to one hundred lashes on his bare back, which was carried out later that

afternoon. Even so, Collins did not lose his service in the Corps; that afternoon he was back rowing the oars, suffering much pain for his misconduct.

Private John Colter

Private John Colter was born about 1774, near Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia. When he was about five years old, his parents moved to Maysville, Kentucky. He was 5 feet 10 inches tall, rather shy, had blue eyes, was quick minded, courageous and a fine hunter. He was recruited by Captain Lewis at Maysville on October l5, 1803, one of the "Nine young men from Kentucky" and a permanent member of the expedition.

In February 1804, while Lewis was in St. Louis attending ceremonies transferring Upper Louisiana to the United States, Colter, along with three other Corps members stationed at Camp Dubois, defied Sergeant Ordway's orders not to visit a local grog shop. Upon returning, Lewis punished their insubordination by confining them to the camp area for 10 days, warning that "on such occasions the directives of duly appointed sergeants had the same authority as the captains."

In August 1805, Colter accompanied Captain Clark in an attempt to scout out a way through the Rockies. Clark, who was exploring the navigability of the north fork of the Salmon River (Idaho), chose Colter to deliver a message and a horse to Lewis, who was following with the main party. Clark's note described the impassability of the Salmon River route and suggested that the explorers follow the recommendation of their Shoshone guide Old Toby to ascend the steep, mountainous, inter-tribal route leading to Lost Trail Pass -- which they did, with great difficulty.

Upon reaching the Pacific in November of 1805, Colter was one of 10 men to accompany Captain Clark on a trek to "the main ocean" from the expedition's "Station Camp" at Chinook Point, on the Columbia River estuary. The party hiked 10 miles to Cape Disappointment and northward another nine miles, following the coastline of what is now Washington state.

In mid-August 1806, Colter was granted an early discharge from the Corps to become a fur trapper in partnership with two Illinois trappers, Forest Hancock and Joseph Dickson. The two men had followed the explorers as they drifted the Missouri downstream back to the Hidatsa and Mandan villages. Lewis and Clark agreed to let Colter leave the party as long as the other Corps members agreed to continue to St. Louis to be discharged. The men agreed, and Colter respectfully parted from the Corps.

He and his partners returned to the Three Forks region of the upper Missouri, a trapping enterprise that lasted only six weeks due to a falling out between Colter and the two others. Colter pursued his itinerant life as a trapper; in 1807. he joined a venture led by Manuel Lisa on the Big Horn River, and in 1809, he and former expedition member John Potts accompanied the Andrew Henry outfit, and were assigned to trap in Blackfeet country. It was during this period that he barely escaped being killed by "outrunning the Blackfeet, who had stripped him stark naked, in a race that became an American legend." His partner, John Potts, did not survive the encounter.

During this same period, William Clark was putting the finishing touches on his map of the Northwest to accompany the long delayed publication of the 1814 edition of the journals. Colter supplied Clark with many new details gleaned from his travels into the Yellowstone, Wind River and other mountain country not known to Clark. Colter is credited with being the first white man to enter what is now Yellowstone National Park. In describing the geysers and other geothermal phenomena, it became known as "Colter's Hell." He eventually became a heroic figure among the trappers, traders, and mountain men who settled the American West.

Private Pierre Cruzatte

Private Pierre Cruzatte was of French and Omaha Indian extraction. He enlisted with Lewis and Clark on May 16, 1804, at St. Charles (Missouri). Before enlisting, Cruzatte had formerly been a trader on the Missouri for the Chouteau fur interests. He could speak the Omaha language and was skilled in sign language, so was of valuable assistance to the captains at the Indian councils and encounters with the tribes on the lower Missouri. He was a small man, wiry, and had but one eye.. Like the other enlisted men, he was awarded extra pay and a 320 acre land warrant after the expedition's return.

In addition to possessing geographical knowledge, Cruzatte had spent several winters trading up the Missouri as far as the Platte River. An expert riverman, he was assigned to the crucial position of bowman in the keelboat for his ability to spot the slack water eddies that would assist in advancing the boats upstream.

Even with his skills, Cruzatte's vision problems were cause for a near fatal accident during the Corps' return journey, in August 1806. While elk hunting among shoreline willows, Cruzatte accidentally shot Lewis in the "left thye," a harrowing event that caused the captain to believe Blackfeet Indians were in their midst. Later, after the Corps found no evidence of the Indians' presence, Cruzatte

admitted his fault. Lewis graciously let the matter be. Clark treated and dressed the wounds with medicines that they carried. Lewis was made comfortable in the bottom of the white perogue, but he discontinued writing until reaching St. Louis, suffering a very painful healing process.

Cruzatte often entertained the explorers with his exuberant fiddle-playing, keeping spirits high during non-work periods.. In the winter of 1804-1805, while the Corps was camped at Fort Mandan, Cruzatte's fiddle warmed their simple holiday celebrations. On New Year's Day 1805, Cruzatte and 17 other Corps members carried "a fiddle & a Tambereen & a Sounden Horn" [tin, with a brass reed] across the river to the Mandan village, entertaining the villagers with their singing, dancing and frolicing. This scene was repeated often along the way to the Pacific.

In early June 1805, Cruzatte was one of six men selected to accompany Lewis on an exploration of the north fork of the Missouri River. The crew was to examine the course of the river in an attempt to learn if it was the main branch of the Missouri. Lewis, on June 6, 1805, after ascending the river 60 miles, wrote in his journal: "I now became well convinced that this branch of the Missouri had it's direction too much to the North for our rout to the Pacific," confirming that it was not the true Missouri or the correct path to follow westward. This previously uncharted stream was named cryptically by Lewis Maria's River, in honor of "that lovely fair one." Editor Elliott Coues researched Lewis's geneology and concluded that the lady was Lewis' cousin, Maria Wood.

Because of his frontier language skills, Cruzatte often played key roles in communications with the various Indian tribes that the Corps encountered. In late July 1804, just north of the confluence of the Platte River with the Missouri, Cruzatte and Drouillard were sent by the captains to scout out the villages of the Oto and the Missouri Indians, with whom Lewis and Clark sought to hold council. In September 1804, Cruzatte and Labiche served as interpreters during talks with the Bois Brule Teton Sioux to gain access to the upper Missouri. This was especially critical when the Sioux captured one of the Corps' pirogues, demanding that the Americans either trade with them exclusively or surrender the pirogue as tribute. Cruzatte's translations, along with donations of useful gifts, were key in helping the Americans recover the pirogue and gain peaceful entry to the upper Missouri.

Privates Joseph & Reuben Field

Private Reuben Field was born about 1772, and his brother, Private Joseph Field, about 1774, both in Culpepper County, Virginia. The brothers may have been

known to Captain Lewis before their enlistment with him on August 1, 1803, two of the earliest enlists of the expedition. Raised in Kentucky, both were among the notable "Nine young men from Kentucky."

Both served the expedition as two of its most valuable men. They were excellent woodsmen and hunters, and usually accompanied one or the other of the captains in every duty of advance scouting requiring trust and dependability. Joseph was chosen to lead a small detachment during Clark's Yellowstone River exploration (which occurred on the Corps' return journey). Clark wrote on December 24, 1805, that Joseph, working on the construction of Fort Clatsop (Oregon), built writing desks for the captains out of rough-hewn boards. It was during long winter days at Fort Clatsop that the captains, on these rough, primitive desks, finalized much of documentation and cartography of the outbound journey.

The Field brothers, together with Drouillard, were with Captain Lewis' side-exploration of the Marias River during the return journey in July 1806. They traveled north from the Great Falls of the Missouri to the Marias, then upstream northwesterly towards the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, within today's Blackfeet Indian Reservation. It was on this excursion that the most northerly point of the entire mission was reached at what Lewis called "Camp Disappointment." The next day, a skirmish took place with a party of Blackfeet Indians in which two Indians perished, the only Indian fatalities of the entire 8,000 mile round trip. The place of the confrontation is now known as the "Two Medicine River Fight Site." Both Camp Disappointment and the Fight Site are near present day Cut Bank, Montana.

Upon completion of the mission, Lewis, in summarizing the worth of his exploring companions, wrote that Joseph and Reuben Field were: "Two of the most active and enterprising young men who accompanied us. It was their peculiar fate to have been engaged in all the most dangerous and difficult scenes of the voyage, in which they uniformly acquited themselves with much honor." Both were discharged on October 10, 1806.

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Private Robert Frazer

Born in Augusta County, Virginia, Robert Frazer's enlistment date is unknown. During the winter of 1803-1804, while at Camp Dubois, he was listed continuously as a member of the "extra party." Clark entered in the Orderly Book, a "Detachment Order, Camp River Dubois april 1st 1804. The Commanding officers did yesterday proceed to take the necessary inlistments and select the Detachment destined for the Expedition through the interior of the Continent of North America; and have accordingly selected the persons herein after mentioned, as those which are to Constitute their Perminent Detachment [men listed]."

"The Commanding officers do also retain in their service untill further orders, The following Persons...[list includes Robert Frazer]...and are to be treated in all

respects as those men who form the permonant detachment, except with reguard to an advance of Pay, and the distribution of Arms and Accoutrements intended for the expedition." The latter men were designated under a preliminary plan that would have sent them back from some point up the Missouri with dispatches, but who eventually wintered at Fort Mandan and returned on the keelboat in the spring of 1806.

The captains on October 8, 1804 transferred Frazer to the "Permanent Party." Clark entered the appointment into the Orderly Book: "Orders: Robert Frazer being regularly inlisted and haveing become on the Corps of Vollenteers for North Western Discovery, he is therefore to be viewed & respected accordingly; and will be anexed to Sergent Gass's mess." Frazer replaced Private Moses Reed, who was dismissed for attempted desertion.

A glimpse into the mark of character commanded by certain of the expediton members is revealed during the Fort Mandan winter. On February 15, 1805, George Drouillard, Robert Frazer and John Newman were dispatched to bring in loads of dressed buffalo and elk meat that was cached by a hunting party 24 miles down the frozen Missouri. The three men, leading three sleigh-drawing horses, were abruptly intercepted. According to Sergeant Ordway's journal, over 100 Sioux Indians "emediately Seized the horses cut off the collars [harness]...then they jumped on two of them and rode off uppon the run, our men with much difficulty kept the Gray mare which had a coalt at the Fort."

During the return journey near the end of May 1806, private Frazer and an unnamed Nez Perce Indian woman struck a trade bargain. As recorded in the journal of Sergeants John Ordway and Patrick Gass, the exchange took place near the junction of today's Salmon and Snake Rivers in northwestern Idaho. Frazer offered the Indian woman "an old razor" in return for two Spanish dollars.

According to "The Ethnohistory of a Common Object" by Dr. James P. Ronda, this incident "tells us much about the ethnohistory history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the native peoples encountered . . . The coins, the razor, and the observations recorded about their exchange give us a tantalizing glimpse into the differing cultural values of Private Frazer and the Nez Perce woman."

"When Private Frazer and his Nez Perce trade partner struck their bargain, the Indian woman probably left the exchange sure she had gotten the best of a gullible stranger. Those Spanish dollars were worthless to her in her daily round of domestic duties. On the other hand, a metal razor was a very valuable instrument. Without question she could have found dozens of uses for the sharp

tool. It is equally easy to picture Private Frazer chuckling to himself after the encounter. He had exchanged an old and perhaps broken straight razor for two good Spanish dollars. While there are surely more spectacular cases of culture value differences recorded in the Lewis and Clark journals, few illustrate the point more simply and more directly."

Frazer kept a journal and received special permission from the captains to publish it, but the publication never took place and journal is apparently lost. Frazer did publish a prospective, which reads in part: "An accurate description of the Missouri and its several branches; of the mountains separating the Eastern from the Western waters; of Columbia river and the Bay it forms on the Pacific Ocean; of the face of the Country in general; of the several Tribes of Indians on the Missouri and Columbia Rivers; of the vegetable, animal and mineral productions discovered in those Extensive region. This work will be contained in about four Hundred pages Octavo and will be put to the press so soon as there shall be sufficient subscriptions to defray the expenses. Price to subscribers three dollars."

Frazer died in Franklin County, Missouri, in 1837.

Private George Gibson

George Gibson was born in Pennsylvania, but no record of his date of birth is known to exist. At the time of his enlistment by Captain William Clark at Clarksville, Indiana Territory, October 26, 1803, he was listed among the "Nine young men from Kentucky." He was an experienced woodsman and a good hunter. On January 1, 1804, Clark wrote that "Several men Come from the Countrey to See us & Shoot with the men...I put up a Dollar to be Shot for, the two best Shots to. win...Gibson best." Gibson was one of two fiddle players among the explorers. He had some sign language skills, which were of value in his mission searching for a deserter, La Liberte, who was thought to be among the Oto Indians. Gibson died of unknown causes in St. Louis in 1809.

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private Silas Goodrich

Goodrich is listed in the journals as having been born in Massachusetts, but no information has been found that records his date of birth or life prior to his enlistment in the Corps on January 4, 1804, at Camp Dubois, Illinois Territory. Apart from his reputation as one of the expedition's best fishermen, his assignments during the course of the mission were generally routine. Clark recorded him as deceased in his "List of Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip," noted

on the cover of his 1825-1828 account book.

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private Hugh Hall

Hugh Hall was born in Massachusetts in about 1772. He was a regular army veteran, having originally enlisted in 1798. He had penchant for spirituous liquor, which together with other army infractions resulted in court marshal penalties that were not of sufficient severity to dismiss him from the party. Clark apparently lost contact with him in later years, as he is not recorded on Clark's 1825-1828 “List of Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip.”

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private Thomas Proctor Howard

Howard was born in Massachusetts about 1779. He had enlisted in the army in 180l, and entered on the rolls of the expedition at Camp Dubois, January 1, 1804. Although Clark noted that “Howard never drinks water,” there is no record of his abusing the enlisted mens’ liquor allotment privileges. Howard was, however, court marshaled for scaling the Fort Mandan stockade wall when returning after hours from a visit to the Mandan Indian village. He is another among the missing in Clark’s 1825-1828 “List of Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip.”

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private Francois LaBiche

The date and place of birth of Private Francois Labiche are unknown. He, together with Private Pierre Cruzatte, apparently were encounted by the captains upon reaching Kaskaskia, Illinois Territory, November 28, 1803. The officers, however, apparently did not learn until later that the two men were experienced boatmen, and frontier traders, and that both knew several lower Missouri Indian languages. Labiche also was conversant in both English and French, which would prove to be vital in an involved chain of interpreters later needed to communicate with the Shoshone Indians. Captain Clark enlisted the two men to the “permanent party” on May 16, 1805, at St. Charles, Missouri, where they had intercepted the explorers in their desire to join the Pacific bound expedition.

In a Detachment Order dated May 26, 1804, both men were given assignments as boatmen. As Lewis wrote, “Labuche and Crusat will man the larboard bow oar alternately, and one not engaged at the oar will attend as the Bows-man, and

when the attention of both these persons is necessary at the bow, their oar is to be maned by an idle hand on board."

On August 6, 1804, Labiche was called upon to interpret during a council with the Oto Indians. Chief Petieit Villelu LittleThief, who apparently had known Labiche during his former trading days, said, "I want ...Mr. La bieche to make a piece with the Panis Loups [Skiri Pawnees]...he can Speake english & will doe well." On August 7, Labiche and four others were assigned by Clark to bring Moses Reed, a deserter, back into camp "with the order if he did not give up Peaceibly to [put him to] Death." Reed confessed that had deserted, and the captains "only Sentenced him to run the Gantlet four times througbn the Party & that each man with 9 switches Should punish him and for him not to be considered in future as one of the Party."

Because of his language skills, Labiche often played key roles in establishing relations with the various Indian tribes that the Corps encountered. In September 1804, Labiche and Cruzatte served as interpreters during talks with the Bois Brule Teton Sioux to gain access to the upper Missouri. This was especially critical when the Sioux captured one of the Corps' pirogues, demanding that the Americans either trade with them exclusively or surrender the pirogue as tribute. Cruzatte's translations, along with donations of useful gifts, were key in helping the Americans recover the pirogue and gain peaceful entry to the upper Missouri. Upon arrival at the friendly Shoshone villages that were home to Sacagawea in August 1805, Labiche again played a critical role in translating between Indian and American tongues. One of the captains would speak to him in English. He would then translate their remarks into French for Charbonneau, who would then pass them to Sacagawea in Hidatsa. Finally, Sacagawea would translate from Hidatsa into Shoshone. Later, on the expedition's return home from the Pacific in September 1806, Labiche's and Cruzatte's translations would again prove invaluable in helping the Corps pass through Sioux territory.

In late November 1805, while the Corps was attempting to decide on a suitable winter camp location, Lewis, accompanied by Labiche, Drouillard, Colter, Reuben Field, and Shannon, explored the coast of what is now Young's Bay. It was during this trek that the crew discovered an inlet to the Neteul River (now the Lewis and Clark River). After the survey of the river's inland was complete, they determined that the area, with its abundant wild life and vegetation, would be a good place to set up camp. Within the next week-and-a-half, the entire Corps returned, building what would become Fort Clatsop, their winter camp among the Clatsop Indians.

In October 1806, after returning to St. Louis, Labiche and Sergeant Ordway were placed in charge of a pack train that was bound for the East and loaded with whatever "plants, seeds, bird skins, animal skeletons, and furs [that] had not been ruined in water-soaked caches." The Washington-bound party included Lewis and Clark, Mandan Indians, and Osage Indians.

Private Jean Baptiste LePage

Jean Baptiste LePage was a French-Canadian fur trader who was living among the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians (near present Bismarck, North Dakota) when the explorers arrived there, October 27, 1804. Lewis, by his January 15, 1807 letter to the Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, transmitted a "Roll of the men who accompanyed Captains Lewis and Clark on their late tour to the Pacific Ocean...with some remarks on their rispective merits and services." Here, LePage is rated as "Entitled to no peculiar merit. Was enlisted at Fort Mandan, on the 2d of November 1804 in order to supply the deficiency in my permanent party occasioned b the discharge of John Newman. He performed the tour to the Pacific Ocean and returned to St. Louis, where he was discharged in common with others, on the 10th of November last. As he did not perform the labors incident to the summer of 1804, it would be proper to give him the gratuity only of two-thirds as much as is given to others of his rank."

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private Hugh McNeal

Born and reared in Pennsylvania, no record has been found of Hugh McNeal's life before the expedition. Although his enlistment date in the army is unknown, he was entered on the roll of the Permanent Party on April 1, 1804. He is listed among the deceased on Clark's 1825-1828 "List of Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip."

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private John Potts

Potts was a German immigrant and a miller by trade. He joined the U.S. Army in 1800 and was serving in Tennessee when ordered to join the exploring party in November 1803. After the expedition, he became a member of Manuel Lisa's fur trading venture in the upper Missouri River country. He was killed by Blackfeet Indians near the Three Forks in the same ambush that John Colter narrowly managed to escape.

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private George Shannon

George Shannon was born in Pennsylvania in 1787, of Irish-Protestant ancestry. One of the "Nine young men from Kentucky" Captain William Clark enlisted Shannon at Louisville on October 19, 1803, he was a relative of Governor Shannon of Kentucky, and at age 18, was considered mature for his years. Shannon was perhaps the one man on the expedition who either of the captains would have been most likely to meet at home on terms of social equality.

In his early teens, George was sent to live with his mother's family while he was attending school. This arrangement was to be short lived, for during a visit to Pittsburgh he met Captain Meriwether Lewis, who was awaiting the completion of the keelboat to be used on the western expedition.

Shannon was the youngest member of the expedition. Despite his youth, while training at the Corps Camp Dubois (Illinois) staging area, the captains selected Shannon for the "Expedition through the interior of the Continent of North America..." as one of "those which are to Constitute the Perminent Detachment." Shannon was to serve in the "1st Squad, under the derection of Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor." The captains'order, moreover, directed that "Dureing the indisposition of Sergeant Pryor, George Shannon is appointed (protempor) to discharge his the Said Pryor's duty in his Squad."

On May 14, 1804, the expedition departed from Camp Dubois. As Captain Clark wrote in his journal: "[S]et out at 4 oClock P.M...and proceeded on under a jentle brease up the Missouri." the party traveled in their 55 foot long keelboat and two smaller river boats called "pirogues." Through the long, hot summer the men laboriously worked their way upriver on the first leg of their Pacific bound mission.

Enroute, Shannon, the "tenderfoot" of the expedition, showed a talent for getting lost. On August 26, 1804, the party was nearing modern Yankton, South Dakota. Shannon was detailed to search for the expedition's two accompanying pack horses, which had strayed during the night. Shannon recaptured the horses, but upon returning to the river, he proceeded up upstream, expecting to join his comrades at one of their night camps.

Shannon, who actually had been ahead of the boats for more than two weeks, finally rejoined the party on September 11. Clark wrote that that Shannon "nearly Starved to Death, he had been 12 [of the 16] days without any thing to eate but

Grapes & one Rabit, which he Killed by shooting a piece of hard Stick in place of a ball . . . the man had like to have Starved to death in a land of plenty for the want of Bullitts or something to kill his meat."

On October 13, 1804, Shannon was selected by the captains to serve on a court martial with nine of his peers, which surely must have been a sobering experience for the young soldier. The court martial was convened for the trial of Private John Newman, charged with "having uttered repeated expressions of a highly criminal and mutinous nature." Newman was sentenced under "the articles of war, to receive seventy five lashes on his bear back and to be henceforth discarded from the perminent party engaged for North Western discovery."

Newman would be returned downriver in the spring. Considering the expedition's then current location, 1,500 miles removed "from the settlements" within the Great Plains of the upper Missouri, the captains permitted Newman to remain over the winter with the party. John Newman would "be deprived of his arms and accoutrements [and] [that] he shall be exposed to such drudgeries as they may think proper to direct from time to time with a view to the general relief of the detachment."

At the end of October, the explorers reached the Hidatsa and Mandan Indian villages situated near present Bismarck, North Dakota. Here, they built Fort Mandan, their 1804-1805 winter quarters, where they would spend the next five months preparing for the westward continuation of their Pacific bound mission. As the winter waned and the frozen Missouri River commenced to thaw, Shannon was among the men, who on February 28, 1805, were assigned to hewing nearby cottonwood trees into six dugout canoes. The primitive craft would replace the keelboat, which required deeper water than the shallowing river channel that lay ahead. On March 6, Clark wrote in his journal that "one man Shannon Cut his foot with the ads [adz] working at a perogue [dugout]."

On April 7, the keelboat, manned by members of the "extra party" and carrying two dismissed enlisted men, was sent downriver to St. Louis. With it, as Captain Lewis recorded, went "our dispatches to the government, letters to our private friends, and a number of articles to the President of the United States." Upriver went the two perogues and six dugouts, carrying the now permanent party of 33 and Captain Lewis's dog, Seaman. Four of the 33 were new additions: One was Private Jean Baptiste LePage, a French Canadian fur trader who was enlisted to replace the dismissed John Newman. The remaining three comprised interpreters French-Canadian fur trader Toussaint Charbonneau, his Shoshone Indian wife, Sacagawea and their 55 day-old son, Jean Baptiste. During the course of the

expedition, Clark would nickname the boy "Pomp" for his pompous "little dancing boy" antics.

During the next seventeen months of the explorers' travels to the Pacific and return, Shannon is mentioned frequently, generally with detachments of men commanded by Captain Clark. During the period August 6-9, 1805, when the party was proceeding up the Jefferson River (the westward extension of the Missouri), the novice explorer became lost again. Clark had assigned him to reconnoiter the Wisdom River, a major tributary of the Jefferson, that at first was thought to be the preferred route to take. Shannon on his own, after hiking nearly 25 miles up the Wisdom, determined that the stream was non-navigable for the canoes, and rejoined the party.

On November 7, 1806, upon reaching tidewater on the Columbia River, Clark wrote: "Great joy in camp we are in View of the Ocean, this great Pacific Octean which we been so long anxious to See." Joy soon turned to dismay. They actually were 25 miles from the ocean, buffeted by the storm-lashed waves of the river's broad estuary. Savage winds, rain, hail, and huge waves stranded them in unprotected camps just above the tide, at the base of cliffs, on the north (Washington State) side of the river.

Shannon and Private Alexander Willard, who had been dispatched around "Point Distress," today's Point Ellice, had been joined by five Indians, who during the night had stolen the mens' rifles. Taking advantage of a lull in the storm, the main party rounded Point Distress, and encountered Shannon and Willard. Clark wrote, "[Our] arival was at a timely moment and alarmed the Indians So that they instantly produced the Guns." On November 18, Shannon -- together with several others accompanied Clark -- hiking 10 miles to the "main ocean." Clark recorded that the "men appear much Satisfied with their trip beholding with estonishment the high waves dashing against the rocks & this emence ocean."

Due to the absence of game and exposure to fierce winter storms on the north shore, the party voted on November 24 to determine where the party would winter. An actual "election" was held that included the vote of a woman, Sacagawea, and a black man, York. The explorers favored crossing the river to the south side (Oregon), where Indians had informed them, elk and deer were plentiful. Shannon accompanied Lewis and three others to reconnoiter tidewater inlets, searching for a suitable place to winter. They settled upon an elevated site above the Netul (present Lewis and Clark) River, where they built Fort Clatsop. Here, the explorers spent a wet, dismal winter, consolidating the information recorded, geographic features mapped, and mileage tabulated west bound,

together with gaining geographical and ethnological knowledge from local Indians; hunting, making clothing, and preparing for the long return journey that lay ahead.

March 23, 1806, the explorers departed Fort Clatsop, homeward bound. The captains recorded: "Altho' we have not fared sumptuously this winter and spring at Fort Clatsop, we have lived quite as comfortably as we had any reason to expect." Eastward, Shannon was honored through creation of a geographic legacy. when a tributary to the Yellowstone River (Montana) was named "Shannon's Creek" by Captain Clark.

Private John Shields

Private John Shields was born in 1769 near Harrisonberg, Augusta County, Virginia. Despite the Captains' rule that they would only consider unmarried men for the exploring enterprise, they recruited Shields. Shields had married in about 1790, while living in Kentucky. He and his wife Nancy had a daughter, Janette.

John Shields was another of the "Nine young men from Kentucky." He was enlisted into the expedition by Captain Clark at Louisville on October 19, 1803. Shields was most often referred to in the journals as the blacksmith, gunsmith, or general mechanic of the expedition's personnel. He was praised by the Captains for how he improvised, using what little metallic products they carried with them to make hide scrapers and arrow points for the Indians. He kept the firearms in good working order, and made rifle balls by melting down the waterproof lead canisters in which their gun powder was packed.

In addition to Shields, both William Bratton and Alexander Willard were blacksmiths. Captain Clark's journal, kept during the winter at Fort Mandan provides this information:

The blacksmiths take a considerable quantity of corn today in payment for their labor. They have proved a happy reso[r]ce to us in our present situation as I believe it would have been difficult to have devised any other methods to have procured corn from the natives I permitted the blacksmith to dispose of part of a sheet iron callaboos (camboose, stove) which been nearly birnt out on our passage up the river, and for each piece about four inches square he obtained from seven to eight gallons of corn from the natives who appeared extreemly pleased with the exchange.

Lewis's journal entry for May 20, 1805, credits Shields with the discovery of a "[B]ould spring or fountain issueing from the foot of the Lard. [larboard] hill

about five miles below the entrance of the Yellowstone River." Lewis commented further, that this was a significant discovery, since most of the springs they had encountered in this region "without exception are impregnated with the salts [minerals] which abound in this country."

Private Shields a was central figure in William Bratton's recovery from a prolonged illness that began in February 1806, while he was working as one of the saltmakers at the expedition's "Salt Works." The facility was located close to the beach in present Seaside, Oregon, 18 miles south of Fort Clatsop, the expedition's 1805-1806 winter establishment. Men detailed to the site evaporated sea water continuously for nearly three months, during the period December to March. Lewis described Bratton's sufferings in his journal entry for March 21, 1806: "Bratton is now so much reduced that I am somewhat uneasy with rispect to his recovery; the pain of which he complains most seems to be seated in the small of his back and remains obstinate. I believe that it is the rheumatism."

In fact, his sickness was so acute that when the exploring party departed Fort Clatsop on March 23, 1806, for the return journey, Bratton was unable to walk and traveled in one of the canoes. When the party reached the "Great Falls" of the Columbia River near today's city of The Dalles, Oregon, and gave up the use of canoes in favor of horses obtained from local Indians, Bratton, still incapacitated, was the only man who rode horse back. All others were afoot because of the scarcity of horses. Lewis states: "I found that I should get no more horses and therefore resolved to proceed tomorrow morning for this purpose I had a load made up for seven horses, the eigth Bratton was compelled to ride as he was yet unable to walk."

Thirty days later, the expedition reached the villages of the Nez Perce Indians, who they called the "Chopunnish Nation." Here, in the vicinity of present day Kamiah, Idaho, they established a temporary campsite named "Camp Chopunnish." During a delay of nearly a month waiting for the snow to melt along the Lolo Trail in the higher elevations of the Bitterroots, Shields suggested a "sweat house" treatment that would prove to cure the still ailing Private Bratton. As described by Lewis:

Shields sunk a circular hole of 3 feet diamiter and four feet deep in the earth. He kindled a fire in the hole and heated well, after which the fire was taken out [and] a seat placed in the center of the hole for the patient with a board at the bottom of his feet to rest on; some hoops of willow poles were bent in an arch crossing each other over the hole, on these several Blankets were thrown forming a secure and thick orning [awning] of about 3 feet high. The patient [Bratton] being stripped

naked was seated under the orning in the hole and blankets well secured on every side. the patient was furnished with a vessell of water which he sprinkles on the bottom and sides of the hole and by that means creates as much steam or vapor as he could possibly bear.

During the treatment, Bratton was given "copius draughts" of strong tea horse mint tea, which intensified the patient's perspiration. After about 20 minutes, Bratton was taken out of the pit and plunged into the icy water of today's Clearwater River. The treatment was repeated, the patient wrapped in several blankets and allowed to cool gradually. To everyone's delight, and as Lewis's journal entry testifies, certainly to Shields' credit, "This experiment was made yesterday; Bratton feels himself much better and is walking about today and says he is nearly free from pain."

The Captains named two streams for John Shields. One, a branch of the Missouri which flows from the south into the Missouri a few miles below the Great Falls, is known today as Highwood creek. The second stream is a tributary of the Yellowstone River. Shields was with Captain Clark's party during the return journey, exploring the upper Yellowstone to its confluence with the Missouri. Captain Clark gave the name of Shields River to a tributary which flows out of the Crazy Horse Mountains, east of Bozeman Pass. The name, "Shields River," is shown on modern maps, preserving the legacy of America's epic transcontinental exploration.

Captain Lewis praised John Shields' contributions to the success of the exploring enterprise in his evaluation of the men who accompanied him on the expedition, which he forwarded to the Secretary of War, Henry Dearborn, on January 15, 1807. Lewis wrote: "John Sheilds (sic) has received the pay only of a private. Nothing was more peculiarly useful to us, in various situations, than the skill and ingenuity of this man as an artist, in repairing our guns, accoutrements, &c.; and should it be thought proper to allow him something as a artificer, he has well deserved it."

No record has been found that discloses whether favorable action was taken by Secretary Dearborn on Captain Lewis's request.

Private John B. Thompson

John B. Thompson's date and place of birth are unknown. He is believed to have lived in Indiana Territory, and apparently had some surveying experience prior to joining the expedition. During the mission, Clark praised him as "a valuable member of our party." He is recorded as "killed" on Clark's 1825-1828 "List of

Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip."

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private Peter M. Weiser

Weiser was born in 1781 in Pennsylvania, where he apparently was reared. He was one of the army men recruited for the expedition from Captain Russell Bissell's command at Kaskaskia in November 1803. He was active in the fur trade after the mission, during which he allegedly ranged widely across the northwest, beyond the Continental Divide. Clark, on his 1810 manuscript map prepared to accompany the 1814 Biddle-Allen edition of the journals, shows a Weiser River, a tributary of the Snake River in western Idaho, that is believed to have been named for him. He is one of those noted as "killed" in Clark's 1825-1828 "List of Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip."

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private William Werner

Werner's birth date is unknown, but he is conjectured to have been born in Kentucky. Records of any army service prior to the expedition are absent. He first appears at Camp Dubois during the winter of 1803-1804, disciplined for fighting with John Potts. He was convicted of being absent without leave during the waterborne party's layover at St. Charles, Missouri, when the Corps awaited Lewis' return from some final government business in St. Louis. Werner avoided further infractions, and serving satisfactorily but without distinction throughout the expedition.

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private Joseph Whitehouse

Private Joseph Whitehouse was born in Fairfax County, Virginia, in about 1775. At age 9, he moved with his family to Kentucky. He enlisted in the regular army in 1798, and was serving a second "hitch" in Captain Russell Bissell's company of the First Infantry at Kaskaskia (Illinois) when he was recruited by Captain Lewis in November 1803. With respect to his army service, Whitehouse commented, "I was led at an early period of my life to enter into the Army of the United States, by views I had to acquire military knowledge, & to be acquainted with the Country in which I was born."

Whitehouse kept a journal which was published in fragramentary form in 1905. It

has now been reissued, supplemented with newly found paraphrase text, as Volume 11, of the Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, Gary E. Moulton, Editor (University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1997). Here, it is recorded that during his service at Kaskaskia he conversed with traders doing business with the Missouri River tribes and began thinking ""that there might be a practicability of penetrating across the Continent of North America, to the Pacific Ocean by way of the Missouri River." He thought that he was "fortunate in being chosen" as one of the party, "which contributed much to quicken the execution of my favorite project, and of satisfying my own ambition."

On December 26, 1803, Clark refers to him as "Corpl. White house." During April 1804, Whitehouse was one of the expedition members expelled for misconduct at Camp Dubois (Illinois), the party's 1803-1804 winter staging area. It may be that he was "busted" in rank at that time, as he does not appear as a corporal subsequently. He and the other expelled members were allowed to return to the party after repenting. Chosen as one of the "permanent party," Whitehouse's journal commences with the Corps' Camp Dubois embarkation date of May 14, 1804, and runs to November 6, 1805. The newly published paraphrased version extends the diary to April 2, 1806.

Whitehouse, by and large, reported scenes and events found in the officers journals in his own vernacular. In several instances, however, Whitehouse does provide additional information concerning certain important matters that clarifies that of his superiors. For example, on May 8, 1805, Lewis had written, "[F]rom the colour of it's water we called it Milk river. we think it possible that this may be the river called by the Minitares the river which scoalds at all others or [blank space in M.S.]"

Whitehouse clarifies the meaning of the strange word "scoalds" by giving his understanding of what the color of the river was. His May 8 entry reads, "Our officers gave this River the name, Scalding Milk River."

Private Alexander Hamilton Willard

Alexander Willard and His Wife Eleanor

Alexander Hamilton Willard was born in New Hampshire in 1778. He was living in Kentucky when he enlisted in the regular army in 1800. Enroute up the Missouri, on July 12, 1804, he was tried and convicted of sleeping on sentry duty. In the Corps, that offense was punishable by death, but he was instead given the lesser penalty of 100 lashes. Blacksmithing was a trade he had apparently had learned prior to his enlistment, a craft that served him well during

the journey as an assistant to John Shields. Willard married in 1807, which resulted in a family of twelve children. In 1852 they emigrated to California, where he died and was buried in 1865, near Sacramento.

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Private Richard Windsor

Nothing is known of Richard Windsor's date or place of birth, but apparently he was one of the men recruited at Kaskaskia in 1803, joining the party at Camp Dubois, January 1, 1804. His was an experienced woodsman and a productive hunter throughout the mission. He is recorded on Clark's 1825-1828 list of "Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip" as living on the Sangamon River in Illinois.

See also The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps.

Non-Military Members

Toussaint Charbonneau

Born near Montreal around 1759, Toussaint Charbonneau was a French Canadian fur trader who had lived among the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians since 1796. In October, 1804, when the Lewis and Clark expedition arrived at the upper Missouri villages, Charbonneau worked as an independent "free" trader living among the Hidatsa near present-day Bismarck, North Dakota.

Charbonneau had two captive Shoshone Indian "wives". Both had been captured by a Hidatsa war party about 1800, and sold as slaves to Toussaint. One wife was Sacagawea, approximately 16 years old in 1804. The other was unnamed in the journals, and similarly, her age remains a mystery.

Lewis and Clark settled in Fort Mandan in the fall of 1804. The two captains hoped to acquire useful information from the Indians and to harden their fellow explorers to living in Indian country. What the expedition needed most were Indian interpreters, especially any who were familiar with the western terrain. The 45-year-old Charbonneau applied to be a Hidatsa interpreter. Clark wrote on November 4, a "french man by Name Chabonah...visit us, he wished to hire & informed us his 2 squars were Snake [Shoshone] Indians."

Having been told that Sacagawea's Shoshone tribe lived at the headwaters of the Missouri and were well-equipped with horses, Lewis and Clark foresaw that Charbonneau and Sacagawea's interpreting skills would be instrumental when the expedition reached the mountains. March 11, 1805, Clark wrote that

Toussaint was to be enlisted “as an interpreter through his wife,” notwithstanding that Sacagawea was six months pregnant at the time.

Sacagawea spoke both Shoshone and Hidatsa; Toussaint spoke both Hidatsa and French. The captains, however, did not speak French. To solve this dilemma, the officers called upon Private Francois Labiche, who spoke both French and English. This interpreter chain would require the captains to speak to Labiche in English; he to Toussaint in French; he to Sacagawea in Hidatsa, and she to speak in Shoshone to her tribal people.

Charbonneau knew how critical Sacagawea would be to Lewis and Clark when dealing with the Shoshone, so he attempted to dictate the terms of his employment. When the captains told him he would have to perform the duties of enlisted men and stand regular guard, Charbonneau flatly rejected their offer. As Lewis recorded, Charbonneau’s replied, “[L]et our Situation be what it may he will not agree to work or Stand a guard....[In addition] If miffed with any man he wishes to return when he pleases, also have the disposial of as much provisions as he Chuses to Carry.” The captains’ response: “In admissable.” They told Charbonneau to move out of the fort with his family, and then promptly hired Joseph Gravelines as an interpreter.

Four days later, for whatever reason, Charbonneau offered his apologies and the captains signed him on. He was one of only five people on the expedition (York, Drouillard, Charbonneau, Sacagawea, Jean Baptiste) who were not in the military. Charbonneau and Drouillard were the only two official interpreters of the expedition.

Lewis described Charbonneau, who could not swim, as “perhaps the most timid waterman in the world” and “a man of no peculiar merit;” useful as an interpreter only, in which capacity he discharged his duties in good faith. Lewis did praise Charbonneau for his cooking abilities. His specialty was called boudin blanc (white pudding of chopped buffalo meat and kidneys stuffed into an intestine).

In fact, Charbonneau’s lack of boating skills created two near disasters on the River. On April 13, just a few days after leaving Fort Mandan, Charbonneau was at the helm of one of the pirogues. When a sudden wind hit and rocked the boat, the French Canadian panicked and instead of bringing the boat into the wind, he laid her broadside to it, almost “overseting the perogue as it was possible to have missed.” Drouillard had to take the helm to correct the situation. Despite this near-disaster, only a month later, as the Corps moved upriver from the Yellowstone, Charbonneau was again temporarily relieving Drouillard at the

helm of the white pirogue. The boat contained papers, books, instruments, medicines, and many of the trade goods -- "almost every article indispensably necessary to further the views, or insure the success of our enterprise," according to Lewis.

Again, a sudden squall hit the boat obliquely and turned it. Charbonneau swung the rudder around so as to bring the full force of the wind against the square sail. The sail rope flew out of the hand of the person holding it, the pirogue turned over on its side, and the water began pouring in. By the time the crew took in the sail and righted the boat, it was filled with water to within an inch of the gunnels and articles had begun to float away. Cruzatte, a shipmate, threatened to shoot Charbonneau immediately if he did not take up the rudder and regain control. Sacagawea, who was in the back of the boat, remained calm and recovered most of the light articles as they floated past. The next two days were spent unpacking, drying and repacking the soaked supplies, papers, and medicine. Losses included some medicine, gunpowder, garden seeds and culinary articles. Afterward, Lewis did not overly fault Charbonneau's inept steersmanship, writing: "...the waves [were] so high that a perogue could scarely live in any situation."

On August 14, 1806, the Corps arrived back at the Mandan villages. Charbonneau was given a voucher in the sum of $500.33, his payment for his interpreter duties and "public services," plus the price of a horse and lodge. Charbonneau resided among the Hidatsa and Mandans from 1806 until late fall of 1809. Then, he, Sacagawea and Pomp boarded a Missouri Fur Company barge and traveled to St. Louis, where he cashed in his voucher, and he, together with all of the enlisted men, were granted land warrants for a total of 320 acres each. Both captains were given 1,600 acres.

Toussaint was not suited to tilling the soil, and, moreover, both he and Sacagawea longed to return to their former lives on the upper Missouri. Selling his land to Clark for $100. Charbonneau ended his visit the spring of 1811. Charbonneau, took employment with the Missouri Fur Company. He and Sacagawea departed up the river, again aboard a company barge, leaving his son Baptiste in the care of Clark, who would see to the boy's education. Charbonneau was stationed at Fort Manuel (South Dakota), a company trading post, where Sacagawea would die, December 20, 1812 after the birth of a daughter, Lisette. The two Charbonneau children, Jean Baptiste and Lisette, were formally entrusted to Clark's care under a guardianship appointment by a St. Louis Orphan's Court proceeding, August 11, 1813.

Outliving Sacagawea by about 28 years, Charbonneau's "principal place of

residence" was among the Mandans and Hidatsa. Clark, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, employed him as an interpreter for government officials, explorers, artists, and visiting dignitaries. In 1833-1834 Charbonneau provided interpreter services for Prince Maximilian of Wied, Germany, who wintered on the upper Missouri.

In 1839, the year after Clark's death, Charbonneau visited St. Louis to collect back pay owed to him. The next year, at age 80, he vanished from recorded history, probably enroute to his upper Missouri home. His estate was settled in 1843 by his son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau.

Toussaint was a product of the rough and tumble life of a fur trader. He has been maligned by virtually every writer of the expedition, in both fiction and non-fiction alike.. Considering the context of time, place, and social values under which he lived, his unseemly traits have been accentuated and embellished in those writings, influenced by behavioral standards socially enlightened two centuries after the expedition.

Sacagawea

Sacagawea Statue (Bismarck, ND)

In 1800, when she was about 12 years old, Sacagawea was kidnapped by a war party of Hidatsa Indians — enemies of her people, the Shoshones. She was taken from her Rocky Mountain homeland, located in today's Idaho, to the Hidatsa-Mandan villages near modern Bismarck, North Dakota. There, she was later sold as a slave to Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian fur trader who claimed Sacagawea and another Shoshone woman as his "wives." In November 1804, the Corps of Discovery arrived at the Hidatsa-Mandan villages and soon built a fort nearby. In the American Fort Mandan on February 11, 1805, Sacagawea gave birth to her son Jean-Baptiste Charbonneau, who would soon become America's youngest explorer.

Captain Clark wrote that the "great object was to make every letter sound" in recording Indian words in their journals. The pronunciation of Sacagawea's name in years since the expedition as "Sacajawea" does not match "Sah-cah' gah-we-ah," the way that the captains recorded the young Shoshone woman's name. In fact, her name — made by joining the Hidatsa words for bird ("sacaga") and woman ("wea") — was written 17 times by the explorers in their journals and on their maps, and each time it was spelled with a "g" in the third syllable.

The Shoshones possessed horses that the expedition needed to cross the

Bitterroot Mountains. The captains felt that because of her Shoshone heritage, Sacagawea could be important in trading for horses when the Corps reached the western mountains and the Shoshones. While Sacagawea did not speak English, she spoke Shoshone and Hidatsa. Her husband Charbonneau spoke Hidatsa and French. In effect, Sacagawea and Charbonneau would become an interpreter team. As Clark explained in his journals, Charbonneau was hired "as an interpreter through his wife." If and when the expedition met the Shoshones, Sacagawea would talk with them, then translate to Hidatsa for Charbonneau, who would translate to French. The Corps' Francois Labiche spoke French and English, and would make the final translation so that the two English-speaking captains would understand.

Sacagawea, with the infant Jean Baptiste, was the only woman to accompany the 33 members of the permanent party to the Pacific Ocean and back. Baptiste, who Captain Clark affectionately named "Pomp" or "Pompy" for his "little dancing boy" frolicking, rode with Sacagawea in the boats and on her back when they traveled on horseback. Her activities as a member of the Corps included digging for roots, collecting edible plants and picking berries; all of these were used as food and sometimes, as medicine. On May 14, 1805, the boat Sacagawea was riding in was hit by a high wind and nearly capsized. She recovered many important papers and supplies that would otherwise have been lost, and her calmness under duress earned the compliments of the captains.

On August 12, 1805, Captain Lewis and three men scouted 75 miles ahead of the expedition's main party, crossing the Continental Divide at today's Lemhi Pass. The next day, they found a group of Shoshones. Not only did they prove to be Sacagawea's band, but their leader, Chief Cameahwait, turned out to be none other than her brother. On August 17, after five years of separation, Sacagawea and Cameahwait had an emotional reunion. Then, through their interpreting chain of the captains, Labiche, Charbonneau, and Sacagawea, the expedition was able to purchase the horses it needed.

Sacagawea turned out to be incredibly valuable to the Corps as it traveled westward, through the territories of many new tribes. Some of these Indians, prepared to defend their lands, had never seen white men before. As Clark noted on October 19, 1805, the Indians were inclined to believe that the whites were friendly when they saw Sacagawea. A war party never traveled with a woman — especially a woman with a baby. During council meetings between Indian chiefs and the Corps where Shoshone was spoke, Sacagawea was used and valued as an interpreter.

On November 24, 1805, when the expedition reached the place where the Columbia River emptied into the Pacific Ocean, the captains held a vote among all the members to decide where to settle for the winter. Sacagawea's vote, as well as the vote of the Clark's manservant York, were counted equally with those of the captains and the men. As a result of the election, the Corps stayed at a site near present-day Astoria, Oregon, in Fort Clatsop, which they constructed and inhabited during the winter of 1805-1806.

While at Fort Clatsop, local Indians told the expedition of a whale that had been stranded on a beach some miles to the south. Clark assembled a group of men to find the whale and possibly obtain some whale oil and blubber, which could be used to feed the Corps. Sacagawea had yet to see the ocean, and after willfully asking Clark, she was allowed to accompany the group to the sea. As Captain Lewis wrote on January 6, 1806, "[T]he Indian woman was very impo[r]tunate to be permited to go, and was therefore indulged; she observed that she had traveled a long way with us to see the great waters, and that now that monstrous fish was also to be seen, she thought it very hard she could not be permitted to see either."

During the expedition's return journey, as they passed through her homeland, Sacagawea proved a valuable guide. She remembered Shoshone trails from her childhood, and Clark praised her as his "pilot." The most important trail she recalled, which Clark described as "a large road passing through a gap in the mountain," led to the Yellowstone River. (Today, it is known as Bozeman Pass, Montana.) The Corps returned to the Hidatsa-Mandan villages on August 14, 1806, marking the end of the trip for Sacagawea, Charbonneau and their boy, Jean Baptiste. When the trip was over, Sacagawea received nothing, but Charbonneau was given $500.33 and 320 acres of land.

Six years after the expedition, Sacagawea gave birth to a daughter, Lisette. On December 22, 1812, the Shoshone woman died at age 25 due to what later medical researchers believed was a serious illness she had suffered most of her adult life. Her condition may have been aggravated by Lisette's birth. At the time of her death, Sacagawea was with her husband at Fort Manuel, a Missouri Fur Company trading post in present-day South Dakota. Eight months after her death, Clark legally adopted Sacagawea's two children, Jean Baptiste and Lisette. Baptiste was educated by Clark in St. Lous, and then, at age 18, was sent to Europe with a German prince. It is not known whether Lisette survived past infancy.

During most of the 20th century, several generations of Americans have believed a theory that originated in 1907 by Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Librarian,

University of Wyoming. According to Dr. Hebard's theory, a person who lived to age 100 on the Wind River Indian Reservation (Wyoming) was the Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Alleged to have been "Sacajawea," which was interpreted to mean "boat launcher," that woman died and was buried on the reservation on April 9, 1884. Dr. Hebard formalized her theory in her 1932 book, Sacagawea: A Guide and Intepreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

The only written documents that have been found positively identifying that elderly woman are the listing of her name on a November 1, 1877 census roll of the Wind River Shoshone and Bannock Indians, and the woman's April 9, 1884 death certificate. Both of these official documents clearly record her name as "Bazil's Mother." At age 100 in 1884, Bazil's Mother would have been born in 1784, making her 21 years old in 1805 — the year Sacagawea set out with Lewis and Clark. Most 20th century books, encyclopedias, and movies have perpetuated this theory, creating the mistaken identity of the Wind River woman.

Jean Baptiste Charbonneau

Born Feb. 11, 1805, at Fort Mandan, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau was the son of French Canadian interpreter, Touissant Charbonneau, and his Shoshone wife, Sacagawea.

Lewis and Clark arrived in the Hidatsa-Mandan territory in October 1804 and hired the elder Charbonneau and Sacagawea as an interpreter team. The captains had learned that the Shoshones had a large herd of horses. They were eager to have Sacagawea, who spoke Shoshone, to accompany them to negotiate for horses needed to cross the western mountains, despite that she was six months pregnant at the time.

While the expedition wintered at Fort Mandan, Lewis, on February 11, 1805, recorded the birth of Jean Baptiste as follows: "About five Oclock this evening one of the wives of Charbonneau was delivered of a fine boy. It is worthy of remark that this was the first child this woman had boarn, and as common in such cases her labour was tedious and the pain violent." Relying on her to act as a translator with the Shoshone, Lewis was concerned about her giving birth safely. In an effort to help her deliver the child, he counseled with others and then administered a small mixture of water and the crushed rings of a rattlesnake to help induce birth. Although Lewis was skeptical of this treatment, his journal indicates that she gave birth shortly after consuming the rattlesnake potion: "Whether this medicine was truly the cause or not I shall not undertake to determine, but...she had not taken it more than ten minutes before she brought forth."

The newest member of the 33-member expedition, Jean Baptiste was a healthy and active boy, a great favorite of Clark, who nicknamed him “Pomp and Pompy,” for his pompous “little dancing boy” antics. On April 7, 1805, riding in a pirogue (river boat) with his mother, the 55 day-old Jean Baptiste joined the expedition as the Corps left Fort Mandan to continue their journey toward the Rocky Mountains and Sacagawea’s people.

Susceptible to childhood maladies, Baptiste experienced a serious illness during the return journey in the spring of 1806. While the Corps was delayed by deep snow that covered the Lolo Trail through the Bitterroot Mountains, the boy contracted a high fever and a swollen neck and throat, indications of perhaps the mumps or tonsillitis (and perhaps teething). The captains applied to his neck, “poultices of wild onions and a plaster of sarve (salve) made of the rozen of the long leaf pine, Beaswax and bears oil mixed,” resulting in his recovery within two and a half weeks.

Clark, leading a small detachment that included the Charbonneau family, explored the Yellowstone River during the return trip. On July 25, 1806, they came upon an unusual, free standing sandstone formation on the south shore of the river that Captain Clark named “Pompy’s Tower” after the one-and-a-half year-old Jean Baptiste. Called today, “Pompeys Pillar,” Clark, under a protected, natural over-hang, etched his own name and the July 25 date, his birthday. Clark’s etching, now preserved under an unbreakable glass shield, is considered the only lasting physical evidence that the Corps left on the landscape during the journey. In addition to the pillar, Clark named a nearby stream “Baptiests Creek” in honor of the boy.

The youngster struck a compelling fondness in the heart of Clark. On August 17, when the Corps arrived back in the Hidatsa-Mandan villages and were saying goodbye to the Charbonneau family, Clark offered to raise the child as his own son. However, because Jean Baptiste was not yet weaned, it was decided that the boy’s parents would bring him to Clark at a later date. In a letter to Touissant Charbonneau, then discharged from the Corps, Clark wrote:

“As to your little Son (my boy Pomp) you well know my fondness for him and my anxiety to take and raise him as my own child. I once more tell you if you will bring your son Baptiest to me I will educate him and treat him as my own child--I do not forget the promis which I made to you and Shall now repeet them that you may be certain--Charbono, if you wish to live with the white people, and will come to me, I will give you a piece of land and furnish you with horses,

cows, & hogs...Wishing you and your family great suckcess & with anxious expectations of seeing my little dancing boy Baptiest I shall remain your friend."

In 1809, Touissant Charbonneau and Sacagawea traveled down the Missouri to St. Louis with Jean Baptiste. Toussaint, together with all of the expedition's enlisted men, each received land warrants in the amount of 320 acres. This, plus the voucher for $533.33, his pay for his interpreter services (Sacagawea got nothing), was indeed a fortune to a man of such limited economic resources. Toussaint was not of a temperament to till the soil, however, and on March 26, 1811, he transferred his land title to Clark for $100.00. In April, he and Sacagawea boarded a Missouri Fur Company barge bound for the upper Missouri country, leaving Baptiste in Clark's charge so that the boy could commence his education.

Upon completing his schooling in St. Louis, Baptiste returned to frontier life. In 1823 at age 18, while living in a traders' village at the mouth of the Kansas River, he met Prince Paul Wilhelm of Wuertemberg, Germany, who was on a scientific mission to America. Baptiste's unusual combination of frontier skills and cultural attainment intrigued the prince, who took him under his patronage. The young man accompanied Paul to Europe, where he was exposed to the sophisticated, aristocratic environment of a German court. Baptiste enjoyed the royal lifestyle for six years, becoming fluent in four languages, and gaining a background that later would mark him as a cultural anomaly on the western frontier.

Returning to America in 1829, he set aside his cultivated manners and fell into the rough and tumble existence of the mountain man. He ranged the length and breadth of the American West, hunting trapping, guiding and exploring. In 1846-1847, he scouted the way west from New Mexico to California for the Mormon Battalion. Discharged in 1847, he was appointed Alcalde of San Luis Rey Mission, an office comparable to that of a magistrate.

Troubled by the abuse of landowners toward certain Indians (who were treated as virtual slaves), he resigned his official duties and entered the frantic stampede of the California gold rush. He evidently did not strike it rich, as he was recorded as a hotel clerk in Auburn, California, in 1861. In 1866, he left Auburn with two companions and headed toward new gold discoveries in Montana. Enroute, Jean Baptiste, at the age of 61, died of pneumonia and was buried in a remote, primitive cemetery in the tiny Jordan Valley hamlet of Danner, Oregon. On March 14, 1973, his gravesite was entered into the National Register of Historic Places.

Baptiste Deschamps

Little is known about the French boatman Baptiste Deschamps. He apparently was recruited at Kaskaskia and accompanied the Corps from Camp Dubois to Fort Mandan. Deschamps was not a member of the "permanent party" that traveled to the Pacific and back. On May 14, 1804, he was appointed "patron" of the French watermen on the expedition. He commanded nine oarsmen in the red pirogue, companion vessel of the smaller white pirogue, in the three boat flotilla that was led by the captains' flagship, the keelboat. He was among the men who, on April 7, 1805, navigated the keelboat downriver to St. Louis.

Pierre Dorion

Pierre Dorion, a talented trapper and interpreter, was engaged by the captains as an interpreter in July 1804 just prior to an August confrontation with the Teton Sioux Indians. Considered "a shrewd, hard-twisted, semiliterate half-breed," Dorion had lived intermittently with the Yankton Sioux Indians for 20 years prior to the arrival of the explorers. In dire need of a Sioux interpreter, the Americans paid Dorion not only an interpreter's salary, but also purchased from him 300 pounds of buffalo grease, "which we use to repel insects."

The captains called the Sioux to counsel at Calumet Bluff on August 30, 1804. Dorion, whose son resided with the Yankton Sioux, was integral in these political communications. He translated Meriwether Lewis' "children" speech and helped with the "making chiefs" and other rituals. Dorion also helped the explorers document ethnographic data about the Yankton Sioux culture, and urged the Yankton to make peace their neighboring tribes.

In September 1804, when the Corps was negotiating passage into the upper Missouri with the Bois Brule Teton Sioux, Dorion's skills would again prove valuable. In order to help ease relations between the warring Omaha and Bois Brule Indian tribes, Clark persuaded the Bois Brule to release 48 prisoners of war by turning them over to Dorion, who resided downstream with the Yanktons. The Bois Brule agreed, and Dorion helped the captives find their relatives.

As the Corps progressed up the Missouri River, Dorion was commissioned to collect and transport selected chiefs from the Yankton Sioux, Omaha, Oto, and Missouri tribes downstream to visit St. Louis and Washington. These visits were critical in helping President Thomas Jefferson cement and formalize relations with the tribes.

George Drouillard

George Drouillard, the 28-year-old son of a French Canadian father and Shawnee Indian mother, was recruited by Captain Meriwether Lewis upon reaching Fort Massac in November 1803. Captain Daniel Bissell, who had been ordered by the War Department to recruit volunteers for the Corps of Discovery, recommended Drouillard as an excellent hunter with a good knowledge of the Indians' character and sign language.

In his job as civilian interpreter, Drouillard was offered a stipend of $25 a month. He also received a $30 advance from Lewis for transporting eight volunteers from South West Point, Tennessee, to Fort Massac to join the Corps. Drouillard and York, the slave, were the only non-military members of the Corps to complete the expedition from camp Dubois to the Pacific and back. Drouillard generally accompanied Lewis on scouting missions. He was superior in situations of danger, where nerve, endurance and cool judgment were needed. Lewis praised him highly as the most skilled hunter among the men.

Because of his sign language skills, Drouillard often played a key role in establishing relations with the various Indian tribes that the Corps encountered. In late July 1804, just north of the Platte River's entrance into the Missouri River, Drouillard and Private Pierre Cruzatte were sent by the captains to scout out the villages of the Oto and the Missouri Indians. They found the principal Oto village and fresh tracks but no people, as the villagers were off on an annual buffalo hunt. Days later, Drouillard came into contact with one Missouri and two Oto Indians, with whom Lewis and Clark sought to have council.

In early August 1804, Drouillard was one of four men named to a search party charged with locating Moses Reed and La Liberte, both of whom had deserted the Corps while en route to council with the Oto tribe. Drouillard and the other members of the search party succeeded in bringing Reed back to the Corps. Intent on making peace, nine Oto Indians, including Little Thief and Big Horse, returned with the Americans.

During the winter of 1804-05, Drouillard's interpretive and hunting skills were integral to establishing friendly relations with the Mandan Indians, with whom the Corps survived a incredibly cold winter. He was often assigned to small hunting groups, who would be charged with collecting meat to feed the Corps and to trade with the Mandans for other foodstuffs. In November 1804, Drouillard and six other unnamed men traveled upstream in a pirogue, navigating a freezing, ice-coated river to deliver the dressed carcasses of 32 deer, 11 elk, and five buffalo to Fort Mandan.

In February 1805, after recovering from having been bled and purged for pleurisy, Drouillard and three other men were assigned to transport some buffalo meat that had been cached downriver. The team headed down the river on the ice with two sleighs, three horses and a colt to where the hunting party had stored the meat in log cribs, safe from predators. One evening during this trip, the team was attacked by over 100 Sioux Indians, who stole the two sleigh horses and some of the team's weapons. At Drouillard's advice, the team wisely held their fire. It was enough that the Indians could claim to have stolen two horses from the powerful white men. The Americans, although short of needed supplies, were safe, and arrived back at Fort Mandan without the needed meat, which was later retrieved.

After departing Fort Mandan on April 7,1805, the Corps reached the mouth of the Yellowstone River. Lewis and Clark decided to examine and map the river's coordinates for transcribing onto Clark's strip maps. Lewis led a team that included Drouillard, climbing to the top of the Missouri's southern bluffs. They were amazed at the amount and variety of wildlife. Lewis recorded "immense herds of Buffalo, Elk, deer and Antelope [were] feeding in one common and boundless pasture."

June 11, 1805, Drouillard accompanied Lewis, Joseph Field, Gibson, and Goodrich, up the south fork, eager to locate the Great Falls and therefore prove once and for all that the south fork was the true Missouri. On June 13, Lewis, upon sighting the falls, declared them "this sublimely grand specticle."

Drouillard provided vital interpreter services to Lewis when the captain and an advance party were scouting for the Shoshones. Comenting on Drouillard's sign language skills, Lewis, on August 14, 1805, wrote: "The means I had of communicating with these people was by way of Drewyer [Drouillard] who understood perfectly the common language of jesticulation or signs which seems to be universally understood by all the Nations we have yet seen. It is true that this language is imperfect and liable to error but is much less so than would be expected. The strong parts of the ideas are seldom mistaken."

In early July 1806, Lewis and Clark divided the Corps into two groups at Traveler's Rest, near present Missoula, Montana. Lewis would head northward to determine the upper limit of the Maria's River; in turn, his exploration would help determine the northern extent of the Louisiana Purchase Territory. Clark would lead a detachment to explore the Yellowstone. Drouillard and Joseph and Reuben Field accompanied Lewis into the northern country, where they skirmished with some roving Piegans, a band of the Blackfeet tribe. Attempting to steal the weapons and horses of the white men, two Piegans perished. Lewis

was nearly shot by one of the Indians. Writing later, Lewis explained: "He overshot me, being bearheaded, I felt the wind of his bullet very distinctly." The explorers escaped, managing to reclaim their horses, together with taking several of the Indians' horses. This incident would allegedly spark the Blackfeet's desire to avenge the two Indians' deaths during later U.S. trading expeditions.

When the Corps safely reached St. Louis on September 23, 1806, Lewis entrusted Drouillard with the delivery of the first letters containing reports of the expedition to the postmaster in Cahokia. These letters were then sent on to President Jefferson. Later, after the Corps was disbanded, Drouillard returned to the Three Forks region of the upper Missouri as a member of Manuel Lisa's 1810 fur trading party. It was there that Indians killed Drouillard, horribly mutilating him.

York

York, Captain William Clark's black "manservant," accompanied the Lewis and Clark expedition to the Pacific Ocean and back to the East (1803-1806). William Clark's life-long slave companion, York and William were roughly the same age. He had been bequeathed to William by his father, John Clark, in a will dated July 24, 1799. In 1803, the two lived together in Clarksville, Indiana Territory, opposite Louisville. On October 29, he and Clark, who would become co-commander of the expedition, joined Lewis and "Nine young men from Kentucky" when they stepped aboard the Corps' keelboat and set off on a journey into history.

York's alleged first name, "Ben," cannot be found in the Lewis and Clark journals, nor any other primary source contemporary with his life. Its first known appearance was in the magazine National Geographic, November 1965. The reference for its origin is cited in Charles G. Clarke's The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (Arthur H Clark Co., Glendale, CA, 1970, p. 38). There, it is explained that National Geographic based the name on information given by a Mr. Jack E. Hodge of Fort Worth, Texas. No records were found to support Mr. Hodge's opinion. Alternatively, he was alleged to have "made it on his own authority."

York is virtually unknown to almost all blacks and whites alike. Yet as the journals of the expedition testify, this first black man to cross the continent north of Mexico played a meaningful role in our young nation's first exploration of the American West. He faithfully performed his share of the duties required of every member in order for the expedition to reach the Pacific and return. His unique features and great strength were viewed with astonishment and awe by Native

Americans encountered across the continent. His presence was considered a remarkable phenomenon that enhanced the prestige of the white strangers, who never had been seen previously by the isolated Indian populations.

Journal references of York are sparse the first winter at Camp Dubois (Illinois), the explorers' staging area for the "Corps of Discovery." Over the five month period, December 12, 1803, to May 14, 1804, York is mentioned only three times. On December 26, Clark observed, "Corps. White house & York Commce sawing with the Whip Saws," indicating York was involved with work assignments with the men, and not serving Clark full time as a servant.

York is not mentioned again until April 7, 1804, when he accompanied the captains to St. Louis. Clark noted, "Set out at 7oclock in a Canoo with Cap Lewis my servant & one man at 1/2 past 10 arrived at St. Louis." Lastly, in a roster of the party prepared before departure from Camp Dubois, May 14, Clark lists "2 of us & york," which has been interpreted to mean that Lewis, Clark and York were a single unit in terms of boat travel and living arrangements.

Little vignettes of York's attributes began to appear as the expedition was ascending the Missouri River. On June 5, he swam to a "Sand bar to geather Greens for our Dinner," revealing that he was involved in preparing the captains' meals, and that he could swim, which several of the men could not do.

Sergeant Charles Floyd, who died August 20 of an apparent ruptured appendix, was first reported gravely ill on August 19. Clark wrote, "[E]very man attentive to him, york prlly [principally]." This brief entry is not expanded upon, but it suggests that York assisted in easing the young soldier's last hours. Floyd was the only expedition member to die during the mission.

On September 9, Clark "Derected My Servent York with me to kill a Buffalow." This points to the inseparable lifetime relationship between Clark and York, who had grown up together in the woodlands of Kentucky. Slaves had been prohibited by statute to handle firearms except if they lived on the frontier and had been issued a license by a justice of the peace, which was applied for by their masters. Whatever the case, York appears regularly in the journals as a hunter.

August 25, the captains, together with nine men, including York, hiked nearly 20 miles to examine "Spirit Mound," a place of "little people" feared by superstitious Indians. The outing, made on a hot, muggy day, was commented upon by Clark in an entry that is totally at odds with York's traditional image of having been a giant of superb physique and stamina. Clark wrote, "[W]e returned

to the boat at Sunset, my servent nearly exosted with heat thurst and fatigue, he being fat and unaccustomed to walk as fast as I went was the cause."

The original journals of the expedition do not mention York even once in terms of sexual activities. It was not until 1814, when a narrative edition of the journals was published, that certain of Clark's discussions of the subject he had with the editor were embellished. This has resulted in a lasting impression of York's assumed sexual prowess, perpetuated by writers of fiction and nonfiction alike, who have greatly magnified the importance of the embellished 1814 version.

An added dimension to York's personality was his play-acting, which often took the form of dramatic practical jokes. On October 10, while among the Arikaras, Clark recorded a grotesque scene, describing York's antics before the Arikaras. The Arikaras "were much astonished at my Black Servent, who made him self more turrible in thier view than I wished him to Doe, telling them that before I caught him he was wild & lived upon people, young children was verry good eating." That York's performance was intended as a joke is borne out by Clark's comment, "he carried on the joke," implying he went too far.

That York had sincere concern for the safety of the expedition members, particularly Clark, is illustrated in an episode involving Clark, Sacgawea, her son, and her husband, Toussaint. The four were nearly washed into the Missouri when they were caught in a flash flood. Believing the four had become lost, York disregarded his own safety during the height of the storm and searched for them. Clark wrote that they reached the rim of the canyon "safe where I found my servent in serch of us greatly agitated, for our wellfar."

On July 7, York became ill. Clark wrote, "[M]y man York sick, I give him a dosh of Tarter" (to induce vomiting) Lewis later commented, "[H]e was much better in the evening." There are numerous instances of the members being sick, including Clark, Sacagawea and also her infant. York appears to have enjoyed good health during most of the expedition's 28 months.

In Clark's tabulations of "Creeks and Rivers," listed independently of the narrative journals, is the entry, "Yorks 8 Islands," and under remarks is "W.C. on land York tired." The captains followed the practice of naming geographic features after prominent persons who somehow had been connected with the expediton, including President Jefferson and his attributes, viz Philanthropy, Philosphy, and Wisdom Rivers; his cabinet; and as far as can be determined, every Corps member, including Seaman, Lewis's Newfoundland dog.

In August, Lewis and a three man party scouted ahead of Clark and the others, who were following in the canoes. Lewis had found the Shoshones, from whom the Corps desperately needed to obtain horses and a guide for the high mountain country that lay ahead. Some of the Indians were skeptical of the strange white men's motives, fearful they "were in league with the Pakees," their word for enemy. Lewis kept stalling them, waiting for Clark and the others to arrive. Lewis related in his journal, "[S]ome of the party [with him] told the Indians that we had a man with us who was black and had short curling hair, this had excited their curiossity very much, and they seemed quite as anxious to see this monster as they were the merchandize which we had to barter for their horses."

When Clark arrived, Lewis wrote, "[T]o the Indians, every article about us appeared to excite astonishment in ther minds; the appearance of the men, their arms, the canoes, our manner of working them. the black man york and the sagacity of my dog were equally objects of admiration." Through the circumstance that Sacagawea was one of their own -- she was the sister of the chief -- and the captains' fair treatment in the trading, the party obtained sufficent horses to pack their equipment, and a few for riding. When they reached the Flathead Indians, the expedition traded with them and obtained horses for all of the members. York was among those walking until his "feet became so sore that he had to ride on horseback."

York is not mentioned during the 11-day period the explorers spent struggling to survive while passing through the Bitterroot Mountains along the ancient Lolo trail. They encountered fallen timber, bone-chilling cold, and slippery, hazardous travel during an early season snowstorm. Game was virtually nonexistent in the high mountain country. The explorers resorted to eating three colts they had purchased for that contingency. These, together with a supply of "portable soup" -- a common emergency ration during Colonial times -- were not very tasty, but they kept them going. Reaching the villages of the Nez Perce Indians, they were treated to a feast of salmon, roots, and berries. To their dismay, the new diet made them extremely ill.

York is not mentioned again until the party reached the tidal waters of the Columbia River. Here he is found "shooting two geese and brant" near a temporary base camp they established on the north (Washington State) shore of the river. Then, joining Clark and several others, he walked 19 miles to see the "main ocean." Standing on beach, he became the first black man to have crossed the continent north of Mexico.

Finding little game and exposed to the fierce winter storms blowing in from the

ocean on the north shore, the party elected to cross the river, where local Indians advised that deer and elk were plentiful. An actual vote of the members was recorded; it included the vote of a woman, Sacagawea, and a black man, York.

Reaching the south (Oregon) shore, the men commenced building their 1805-1806 winter quarters, which they named Fort Clatsop for their neighbors, the Clatsop Indians. Clark wrote that York helped construct the fort, "[M]y boy york verry unwell from violent colds & strains carrying in meet and lifting logs on the huts to build them." Clark reported York sick three time in December, as were several of the other men.

The journals are silent on how York spent the winter at the fort, during which Clark mentioned the explorers, when not occupied, "were snug in their rooms." York no doubt joined the hunters in providing food for the table, and as did all the others, probably spent many hours making moccasins and buckskin clothing for the return journey. When the time for departure was nearing, the captains drafted a notice that explained they were Americans sent out by the government to explore the interior of the continent. The names of all the members were listed, including "York, a black man of Captain Clark's." One was posted on the fort and copies were given to local Indians, one of which was passed to a ship's captain, who carried it around the world.

York is not mentioned again until the party returned to the villages of the Nez Perce Indians along today's Clearwater River, Idaho. Here, the captains, to prevent duplicating the terrible westbound experience in the Bitteroots, had York cross the river with others, entrusting them with trade goods to barter for staple food items. Lewis was pleased with their eventual purchases: "[I]n the evening they returned with about 3 bushels of roots and some bread having made a succesful voyage, not much less pleasing to us than the return of a good cargo to an East India Merchant."

As a member of Clark's return detachment exploring the Yellowstone River, York is mentioned on five different occasions. In addition, Clark named a small tributary stream "York's Dry River," making it the second geographic feature named for his manservant. The last mention of York in any of the diarists' journals is Clark's August 3 entry. Upon reaching the confluence of the Yellowstone with the Missouri, Clark reported that he had floated down the river 636 miles "in 2 Small Canoes lashed together in which I had the following Person. John Shields, George Gibson, William Bratten, W. Labeech, Tous' Shabono his wife & child & my man York."

Arriving at St. Louis about noon, September 23, 1806, Clark noted, "[W]e Suffered the party to fire off their pieces as a Salute to the Town. we were met by all the village and received a harty welcom from it's inhabitant &c.;" York publically shared in the warm welcome. By one account, "Even the negro York, who was the body servant of Clark, despite his ebony complexion, was looked upon with decided partiality, and received his share of adulation."

But when York returned to daily life, he again became a slave. He asked Clark for his freedom, or to be hired out near Louisville to be closer to his wife, who had a different owner. At first, Clark refused, but in 1809, he sent York to Kentucky.

Eventually, at least 10 years after the expedition, Clark granted York his freedom. York went into the freighting business in Kentucky and Tennessee, and purportedly died of cholera sometime before 1832.

Non-Human Members

Seaman

In preparing for the expedition, Lewis visited President Jefferson's scientific friends in Philadelphia for instructions in natural sciences, astronomical navigation and field medicine. It is believed that it was during this period that Lewis, for "20$" purchased Seaman, his "dogg of the newfoundland breed" to accompany him to the Pacific.

Although Lewis left unsaid his reason for selecting a Newfoundland, he may have been impressed with the breed of dog first publicized in British Quadrupeds, a 1790 work authored by Sir Thomas Bewick. Honoring its place of origin, the breed was appropriately named Newfoundland. Lewis may have been influenced in selecting Seaman by the breed's reputation of size, strength and swimming abilities, together with Bewick's mention of "the great sagacity of this new member of the dog world." Bewick accompanied his commentary with an engraving that represented the breed as black and white, later to be known as a Landseer.

The dog is mentioned frequently in the journals, including Lewis's praise of the "sagacity" of Seaman, but nowhere in any of the explorers' original manuscript journals is the color of Lewis's dog given. Nevertheless, scholarly and fictional post-expedition literature alike mention the dog unequivocally as "black." It is uncertain when today's preferred solid colors of Newfoundlands were developed.

In 1916, the dog's name, Seaman, through historian error in deciphering the journalists' poorly formed words in their longhand manuscript journals, resulted in the popular but erroneous name, Scannon. It was not until 1987 when the late Donald Jackson, a leading research historian, published his documentary findings in his Among the Sleeping Giants that the dog's name was proved rightly to be Seaman. This matter is treated in detail under Captain Lewis's journal entry for July 5, 1806, below.

The dog appears in Captain Meriwether Lewis's journal virtually from the outset of the explorer's departure from Pittsburgh, August 30, 1803. Navigating down the Ohio River, Lewis, wrote on September 11, "[T]he squirrell appears in great abundance on either side of the river. I made my dog take as many each day as I had occasion for, they wer fat and I thought them when fryed a pleasent food." On November 16, near the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, Lewis mentioned that an encampment of Shawnee and Delaware Indians were encountered. "[O]ne of the Shawnees a respectable looking Indian offered me three beverskins for my dog with which he appeared much pleased...I prised much for his docility and qualifications generally for my journey and of course there was no bargain."

The dog is not listed in the roster of the party that embarked up the Missouri River from its 1803-1804 winter staging area at Camp Dubois, May 14, 1804. The only documentary clue that he was present at the time is contained in an existing scrap of an interleaf page, preceding the May 14, 1804 ,first entry in Sergeant Charles Floyd's tattered longhand journal. The note states cryptically, "[O]ur dog"

Seaman next appears in Captain Clark's journal entry dated August 25, 1804, "Capt Lewis & my Self Concluded to go and See the Mound which was viewed with Such turrow [terror] by all the different Nations in this quarter...which the Indians Call Mountain of little people or Spirits . . . at six miles our Dog was So Heeted & fatigued we was obliged Send him back to the Creek."

The dog was not mentioned during the Fort Mandan winter. He next enters the scenario on April 22, 1805, during the continuation of the Pacific bound explorers. Lewis recorded: "[W]alking on shore this evening I met with a buffaloe calf which attached itself to me and continued to follow close at my heels untill I embarked [board a boat] and left it. it appeared allarmed at my dog which was probably the cause of it's so readily attaching itself to me." April 25, Lewis expressed his attachment to Seaman. "We set out at an early hour. the water friezed on the oars this morning as the men rowed...my dog had been

absent during the last night, and I was fearfull we had lost him altogether, however, much to my satisfaction he joined us at 8 Oclock this morning."

On May 19, Lewis had more cause for concern over his dog: "One of the party wounded a beaver, and my dog as usual swam in to catch it; the beaver bit him through the hind leg and cut the artery; it was with great difficulty that I could stop the blood; I fear it will yet prove fatal to him."

Fortunately, Seaman regained his vigor rapidly. Ten days later, on May 29, he was performing guard duty. Clark wrote: "In the last night we were alarmed by a Buffalow which Swam from the opposit Shore landed [by] the Perogue [next to the tipi] in which Capt Lewis & my Self were [sleeping]...and Crossed the perogue...our Dog flew out & he changed his course & passed without doeing more damage than bend a rifle & brakeing hir Stock and injureying one of the blunder busts in the perogue as he passed through."

On June 27, while the explorers were portaging 18 miles overland around the Great Falls of the Missouri, Lewis wrote that "a bear came within thirty yards of our camp last night and eat up about thirty weight of buffaloe suit [suet] which was hanging on a pole. my dog seems to be in a constant state of alarm with these bear and keeps barking all night."

On July 15, beyond the falls, Seaman's strength as a swimmer was demonstrated. Lewis recorded that "Dreywer [Drouillard] wounded a deer which ran into the river. my dog pursued caught it drowned it and brought it to shore at our camp." On July 26, Lewis wrote that the party encountered a "...species of grass, the dry seeds of which are armed with a barb [that] penetrate our mockersins and leather legings and give us great pain untill they are removed. my poor dog suffers with them excessively, he is constantly binting and scratching himself in a rack of pain."

By August 17, the explorers had reached the Missouri system's upper limit of navigation on a tributary they named "Jefferson's River, in honor of that illustrious personage, Thomas Jefferson, the author of our enterprise." Lewis, with three of his men, had crossed the Continental Divide at modern Lemhi Pass, and made contact with Sacagawea's people, identified today as the Lemhi Shoshoni. At a site they named "Camp Fortunate," they assembled the Indians, and opened discussions to trade for horses and obtain a guide to pass through the Rocky and Bitterroot Mountains. Lewis remarked, "[E]very article about us appeared to excite astonishment in ther minds; the apperance of the men, their arms, the canoes, our manner of working them, the black man york and the

segacity of my dog."

Between August 17, 1805, and July 5, 1806, the journals are silent as to the activities of Seaman, even over the 1805-1806 Fort Clatsop winter. During the return journey, Lewis, enroute to the Great Falls of the Missouri, explored a shortcut that the captains had learned about from Indians. Lewis' route would extend from near modern Missoula, Montana, east through the Continental Divide of the Rockies at present Lewis and Clark pass, then on to the falls. On July 5 he "saw two swan in this beautiful Creek..." and proceeded on "3 miles to the entrance of a large creek 20 yds. wide [which I] Called Seamans' Creek."

In discovering this spelling of the dog's name, Dr. Jackson, commenting in his book, Among the Sleeping Giants, wrote: "No person named Seaman is known to have been associated with the lives of either captain, and as a common term the word seems strangely nautical in view of its location. When it became necessary for Lewis and Clark to name a creek, river, or other geographical feature, they were predictably direct and simple in their choices...They usually went straight to the heart of the matter and chose a sound, reasonable name for the simplest of reasons: to commemorate a member or sponsor of the expedition."

"It occurred to me that the name might be a garbled version of Scannon's Creek, in honor of the faithful dog. The dog had been with Lewis on that side trip, and no geographical feature had yet been named for him during the entire expedition. I consulted microcopies of the journals held by the American Philosophical Society, half suspecting I would find that Seaman's Creek was actually Scannon's Creek. What I learned instead was mildly startling. The stream was named Seaman's Creek because the dog's name was Seaman." Today, the stream is named Monture Creek.

Proceeding on to the Great Falls, Lewis remarked on July 7, "Reubin Fields wounded a moos deer this morning near our camp. my dog much worried." On July 15, Lewis recorded the last words to be found the journals concerning Seaman. "[T]he musquetoes continue to infest us in such manner that we can scarcely exist; for my own part I am confined by them to my bier at least 3/4 th of the time. my dog even howls with the torture he experiences from them." It is unclear whether Seaman traveled the last leg of the journey down the Missouri River to St. Louis. No post-expedition primary documentation has been found linking a Newfoundland dog to the exploring enterprise.

Others

The Lesser-Known Members of the Corps

On April 1, 1804, Clark issued a Detachment Order listing the permanent party "for the Expedition through the interior of the Continent of North America." The following journal excerpts document representative experiences of George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Thomas Proctor Howard, Jean Baptiste LePage, Hugh McNeal, John Potts, John B. Thompson, Peter M. Weiser, William Werner, Alexander Hamilton Willard, and Richard Windsor, the 12 lesser-known members of the Corps of Discovery.

On May 14, 1804, Clark, commanding all of the members of the Permanent Party, departed Camp Dubois, "and proceeded on under a jentle brease up the Missouri." The party traveled in a 55-foot-long keelboat and two smaller boats called "pirogues," manned by a complement of "French Watermen" At St. Charles (Missouri), the waterborne group awaited the arrival of Captain Lewis, who would travel overland from St. Louis, where he had been detained finalizing last minute government business.

During this layover, on May 17, 1804, Privates William Werner, Hugh Hall, and John Collins were tried by court martial and convicted of being absent without leave. Werner and Hall received penalties of 25 lashes "on their bear backs" each, and Collins one hundred lashes for additional offenses. Two of the miscreants, Collins and Hall apparently learning nothing from that experience, were both tried again on June 29 for being drunk. With Private John Potts acting as "Judge advocate," Colllins, who was on sentry duty, received 100 lashes, and Hall, the lesser penalty of 50 lashes.

October 13, 1804, Hugh Hall, William Werner, Peter Weiser, and Silas Goodrich among others, were members of a court martial that tried Private John Newman for mutiny. Newman was "sentenced to seventy-five lashes on his bear back, discarded from the perminent party, and ordered to perform hard labor" until he could be returned downriver.

Lewis, at Fort Mandan, February 9, 1805, reported that "this evening a man by the name of Howard whom I had given permission to go to the Mandane vilage returned after the gate was shut and rether than call to the guard to have it opened scaled the works. an indian who was looking on shortly after followed his example. I told the Indian of the impropryety of his conduct, and explained to him the riske he had run of being severely treated, the fellow appeared much allarmed, I gave him a smll piece of tobacco and sent him away., Howard I had comitted to the care of the guard with a determination to have him tryed by a

courtmartial for this offence this man is an old soldier which still hightens this offince."

February 15, 1805, while Goodrich was detailed with three others to bring in meat that was cached 25 miles down the frozen Missouri River from Fort Mandan, about 100 Sioux Indians "Cut their horses from the Slays...and ran off with 2 of the mens knives." On May 25, 1805, while proceeding westward on the Missouri, the Captains named "Goodrich's Island" for him in the present State of Montana. May 26, Lewis recorded that the expedition "passed another creek...on the Stard. 30 yds in width which also had running water bed rockey...we called it Windsor Cr." Two hundred miles west of Fort Mandan, the captains named "Hall's Strand Lake & Creek" on the Starboard side of the Missouri.

June 7, Windsor, who was returning with Lewis from his disappointing exploration of the north fork of the Missouri [Marias River], slipped while crossing the face of a bluff. Lewis found he had fallen to a narrow ledge, and was lying prostrate "on his belley, with his wright hand arm and leg over the precipice...altho' much allarmed at his situation I disguised my feelings...and spoke to him calmly...to take his knife out of his belt and dig a hole with it in the face of the bank to receive his wright foot which he did and raised himself to his knees...this he happily effected and escaped."

June 10, 1805, George Gibson, George Druillard, Reuben Fields and Silas Goodrich were chosen by Captain Lewis to scout ahead of the main party in search of the Great Falls of the Missouri. Thus the four men, upon Lewis's sighting of "this sublimely grand specticle," would share with Lewis, their "first impressions of the mind...[filled] with such pleasure and astonishment." June l5, "Goodrich who was our principal fisherman, caught about two douzen [trout] and several small cat[fish] of a yellow color which would weight about 4 lbs."

On June 22, 1805, Goodrich and three others were detailed to "take Care of the baggage left in camp," while Clark and the main party were engaged in portaging the canoes and equipment around the Great Falls of the Missouri. Clark reported that the men, carrying heavy loads on their backs, reached "Camp much fatigued at dark...we deturmine to employ every man Cooks & all on the portage after to day." On June 26, the captains named Howard's Creek after Thomas P. Howard, one of the party.

On July 4, 1805, Lewis "permitted Sergt. Gass, McNeal and several others who had not yet seen the falls [of the Missouri] to visit them." Then, on July 15, Lewis comments on excess baggage carried by some of the men: "We find it

extreemly difficult to keep the baggage of many of our men within reasonable bounds; they will be adding bulky articles of but little use or value to them....in order to lighten the burthen of the canoes I continued my walk all the evening and took our only invallids Potts and LaPage with me." On July 20, Lewis wrote, "through the valley which we entered early this morning a large creek flows from the mountains and discharges itself into the river behind an island on Stard. side...this we called Pott's Creek after John Potts one of our party."

On August 9, 1805, just after breakfast, Lewis "slung [his] pack and set out accompanyed by Drewsyer Shields and McNeal who had been previously directed to hold themselves in readiness for this service." On August 10, Lewis named "McNeal's Creek," which enters today's Beaverhead River at Dillon, Montana.

On August 11, Lewis, "We set out early this morning. I kept McNeal with me... I [soon saw] an Indian on horse back about two miles distant...with my glass I discovered from his dress that he was of a different nation from any that we had yet seen, and was satisfyed of his being a Sosone [Shoshoni]. I was overjoyed at the sight of this stranger and had no doubt of obtaining a friendly introduction to his nation provided I could get near enough to him to convince him of our being whitemen...when I had arrived within about a mile he made a halt which I did also..."

"I haistened to take out of my sack som beads a looking glas and a few trinkets which I had brought with. me for this purpose and leaving my gun and pouch with McNeal advanced unarmed towards him...I now called to him in as loud a voice as I could command repeating the word tab-ba-bone, which in their language signifyes white man. I got nearer than about 100 paces when he suddonly turned his horse about, gave him the whip leaped the creek and disapeared...with him vanished all my hopes of obtaining horses for the present...after meeting with the Indian today I fixed a small flag of the U' S. to a pole which I made McNeal carry."

On August 12, Lewis wrote, "I now determined to pursue the base of the mountains which form this cove [Shoshone Cove]...the road was still plain, I therefore did not dispair of shortly finding a passage over the mountains and of taisting the waters of the great Columbia this evening...at the distance of 4 miles further the road took us to the most distant fountain of the waters of the mighty Missouri in surch of which we have spent so many toilsome days and wristless nights. thus far I had accomplished one of those great objects on which my mind has been unalterably fixed for many years, judge then of the pleasure I felt in

allying my thirst with this pure and ice cold water...two miles below McNeal had exultingly stood with a foot on each side of this little rivulet and thanked his god that he had lived to bestride the mighty & heretofore deemed endless Missouri."

"[W]e proceeded on to the top of the dividing ridge [Lemhi Pass, on the crest of the Continental Divide of the Rockies] from which I discovered immence ranges of high mountains still to the West of us with their tops partially covered with snow. I now decended the mountain about 3/4 of a mile which I found much steeper than on the opposite side, to a handsome bold running Creek of cold Clear water. here I first tasted the water of the great Columbia river."

Immediately west of the Continental Divide, Lewis came upon two Shoshone women and a girl who were digging edible roots. Lewis gave them presents, and soon they were joined by a large number of Shoshone men on horseback, including their chief, Cameahwait. Lewis and his men, together the Indians, proceeded o their Shoshone camp on today's Lemhi River, a tributary to the Salmon River.

On August 15, Lewis wrote, "I found on enquiry of McNeal that we had only about two punds of flour remaining. this I directed him to divide into two equal parts...and cook a kind of pudding with burries...on this new fashoned pudding four of us breakfasted, giving a pretty good allowance alsos to the Chief who declard it the best thing he had taisted for a long time." On August 16, Lewis, his men and the Indians, while backtracking to the Jefferson River, Drouillard killed a deer. Lewis "directed McNeal to skin the deer ar reserved a quarter, the ballance I gave the Chief to be divided among his people; they devoured thw whole of it nearly without cooking." Upon reaching the Jefferson River, Lewis established what would be named Camp Fortunate. Here, the group awaited the arrival of Clark and the main party, who were slowly advancing upriver.

Lewis wrote on August 25, that, Windsor, while accompanying Clark during his scouting of the navigation suitability of the Salmon River (Idaho), "was taken very sick today and detained Capt C. very much on his march."

October 2, while among the Nez Perce Indians, Clark "Despatched 2 men Frasure & S. Guterich back to the village with l Indian & 6 horsed to purchase dried fish, roots &c.; we have nothing to eate but roots, which give the men violent pains in their bowels...Provisions all out which Compells us to kill one of our horses to eate and make Suep for the Sick men."

On October 9, Clark recorded that the day before, serious damage was sustained

to a canoe while passing through some bad rapids in the mid-Columbia River, during which Private Thompson "was a little hurt." Sergeants Pryor and Gass, together with Joseph Field and George Gibson, repaired the cracked, leaking canoe, by "putting Knees and Strong peces to her sides and bottom..." made the canoe once again "fit for Service." Proceeding downstream, on October 19, while encamped for the night, Indians living nearby came and "...two of our Party, Peter Crusat & Gibson played on the violin which delighted them greatly."

On November 7, Clark wrote, "Great joy in camp we are in View of the Ocian, this great Pacific Octean which we been sos long anxious to See." They were still 25 miles upstream, and what they actually saw were huge waves driven into the broad estuary of the Columbia. Clark continued, "The Swells weere So high and the Canoes roled in Such a manner as to cause Several to be Verry Sick. Reuben fields, Wiser, McNeal & Squar wer of the number."

Clark, on November 12, reported that while the party was stranded by a fierce storm on the estuary of the Columbia, "Three men, Bratten Gibson and Willard..."attempted to round Point Distress (today's Point Ellice), "where they were obliged to return, the waves tossing them about at will."

During the construction of Fort Clatsop, their 1805-1806 winter quarters, a number of the men were incapacitated with various ailments. Clark wrote that "Gibson had disentary, & Werner with a Strained Knee." On December 22, illness among the men continued. "Gibson sick with biles and bruses of different kinds."

On January 6, Clark, with Charbonneau, Sacagawea, Pryor, Frazer, McNeal, and Werner departed Fort Clatsop for a site 25 miles distant, where a whale had beached. Enroute Weiser, Colter, LePage, R. Fields, and Potts, who were assigned duties at the Salt Works, together with an Indian guide, joined Clark's party. Hoping to purchase blubber and oil from Indians, the group camped on the tidal shore of Ecola [whale] Creek, opposite the village where Tillamook Indians were processing the whale.

The night of January 8, Clark "herd a hollowing on the opposit Side of the river...I Suspected perhaps Some of my party was over after the Squars, by exemening found that McNeal was not in Camp...my guide told me Some body throat was Cut. I emediately Sent Serjt Pryor & 2 men across for McNeal, they Soon returned...McNeal Said that a man envited him to go across and get Some fish, locked arms of which he Contd [continued] to hold...the woman of the lodge puled his blanket, & Sent out a Squar to hollow (holler) across which allarmed

McNeal...a plot was laid to kill McNeal for his Blanket & Clothes." The Tillamook Indian woman's action in sounding the alarm with her hollering very likely saved McNeal from serious injury, if not death.

On January 27, 1806, Lewis reported that "Goodrich has recovered from the Louis veneri (syphilis) which he contracted from an amorous contact with a Chinnook damsel. I cured him as I did Gibson last winter by the uce of murcury." December 25, 1805. Clark, in his Christmas Day journal entry commenting on the festivities, mentioned "I rcved a present of a Small Indian basket of Guterich."

On January 23, 1806, Lewis "dispatched Howard and Werner to the Camp of the Saltmakers for a supply of salt. The men of the garison are still busily employed in dressing Elk's skins for cloathing, they find great difficulty for the want of branes [brains]; we have not soap to supply the deficiency nor can we procure ashes to make the lye; none of the pines which we use for fuel affords any ashes." On January 28, Lewis wrote, "about noon Werner and Howard returned with a supply of salt; the badness of the weather and the difficulty of road had caused their delay." On January 31, he reported, "discovered that McNeal had the pox, gave him medecine."

On February 27, Clark reported that "Willard still continues very unwell the other sick men have nearly recovered. Gutridge and McNeal who have the pox are recovering fast, the former nearly well. LePage complaining." Six months later, Goodrich and McNeal were exhibiting symptoms of the secondary stage of the disease. March 6, "Hall had his foot and ankle much injured yesterday by the fall of a large stick of timber; the bones were fortunately not broken and I expect he will be able to walk again shortly."

March 8, Lewis wrote "that McNeal and Goodrich having recovered from the Louis veneri I directed them to desist from the uce of Mercury." April 10, while the party was ascending the turbulent rapids of the Cascades of the Columbia, "Collins and Gibson came over...with the large toe roap...which we were obliged to employ in getting our Canoes the greater part of the way we could only take them one at a time which retarded our progress very much."

April 18, upon reaching the Indian fishing camps near today's The Dalles, Oregon, Clark gave Drouillard, Werner, Shannon & Goodrich Articles of Merchendize "to attempt trading for horses, without trading a single horse." He then returned downriver to their Rockfort Camp and "Cut up two of our Canoes for fire wood verry much to the Sagreen [chagrin] of the nativs, not with standing

they would give us nothing for them." Clark "dispatched Crusat, Willard & McNeal and Peter Wiser to Capt Lewis...with a note informing him of my ill Suckcess in precureing horses."

May 15, the party having returned to the Nez Perce Indian villages, Lewis reported that "Howard and York are afflicted with the cholic. we had all of our horses driven together today near our camp, which we have directed shall be done each day in order to familiarize them to each other." Lewis continued, "[W]e had all our baggage Secured and Covered with a rouf of Straw. our little fortification also completely Secured with brush around which our camp is formed. The Greater part of our Security from the rains &c;, is the grass which is formed in a kind of ruff So as to turn the rain Completely and is much the best tents we have. as the days are worm &c.; we have a bowry made to write under."

May 30, 1806. Lewis recorded a serious accident involving a canoe that "was driven broadside with the full forse of a very strong current against some standing trees and instantly filled with water and sunk. Potts who was [aboard] is an indifferent swimmer, [and] it was with much difficulty he made the land. they lost three blankets a blanket coat and their pittance of merchandize. in our bear state of clootheing this was a serious loss."

On June 18, Lewis reported that "Potts cut his leg very badly with one of the large knives; he cut one of the large veigns on the inner side of the leg; I found much difficulty in stoping the blood which I could not effect untill I applyed a tight bandage with a little cushion of wood low on the veign below the wound." On June 22, Lewis remarked, "Pott's legg is inflamed and very painfull to him. we apply a poltice of the roots of Cows" (cous, a member of the carrot family).

On July 1, Lewis, preparing for his side exploration of the upper Marias River, "determined to leave Thompson, McNeal and Goodrich to prepare carriages and geer for the purpose of transporting the canoes and baggage over the portage." (around the Great Falls) On July 2, he wrote, "Goodrich and McNeal are both very unwell with the pox which they contracted last winter with the Chinnok women. this forms my inducement principally for taking them to the falls of the Missouri where during an intervail of rest they can use the murcury freely."

On July 13, 1806, Clark's Yellowstone River detachment had reached the cache of supplies and canoes that had been submerged the year before, at Camp Fortunate. While Clark and his group, on horses, proceeded overland to the Yellowstone, Sergeant Ordway was in charge of the party returning down the Jefferson and Missouri Rivers to Great Falls. In his group were Collins, Colter,

Cruzatte, Howard, LePage, Potts, Weiser, Whitehouse, and Willard. Enroute, Howard was caught in between the canoe and a log and a little hurt.

On July 18, 1806, while proceeding to the Yellowstone River with Clark during the return journey, "Gibson in attempting to mount his horse...fell on a Snag and sent it nearly two inches into the Muskeler part of his thy....this is a very bad wound and pains him exceedingly."

On July 15, McNeal, who had accompanied Lewis' detachment from Travellers Rest camp on the Bitterroot River to the Great Falls of the Missouri, had been dispatched by Lewis "to the lower part of the portage in order to learn whether the Cash and white perogue remained untouched or in what state they were. A little before dark McNeal returned with his musquet broken at the breach, and informed me that on his arrival at willow run [on the portage] he had approached a white [grizzly] bear within ten feet without discover[ing] him the bear being in the thick brush, the horse took the alarm and turning threw him immediately under the bear; this animal raised himself on his hind feet for battle, and gave McNeal time to recover from his fall which he did in an instant and with his clubbed musquet he struck the bear over the head and cut him with the guard of the gun and broke off the breach."

"[T]he bear stunned... gave McNeal time to climb a willow tree which was near at hand and thus made his escape. The bear in the evening, left him...McNeal ventured down and caught his horse and returned to camp...there seems to be a sertain fatality attached to the neighborurhood of these falls, for there is always a chapter of accedents prepared for us during our residence at them."

Clark wrote that on July 26, 1806, during the return journey, "a Wolf bit Sergt. Pryor through his hand when asleep, and this animal was So vicious as to make an attempt to Seize Windsor."