

1800



ORIGINAL JOURNALS
OF THE
LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION
1804-1806

WITH FACSIMILES, MAPS, PLANS, VIEWS, PORTRAITS, AND
A BIBLIOGRAPHY

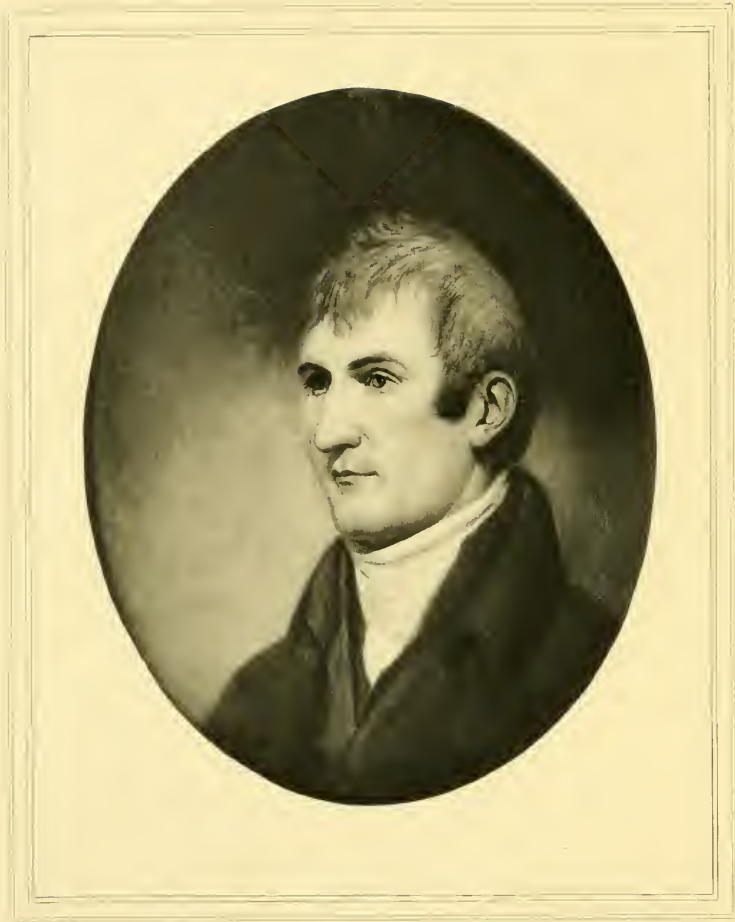
VOLUME ONE

PART I

*Journals and Orderly Book of Lewis and Clark, from
River Dubois to the Vermilion River
Jan. 30, 1804 — Aug. 24, 1804*

*Of this Edition on Imperial Japan Paper
fifty copies only have been printed
of which this is*

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Meriwether Lewis

ORIGINAL JOURNALS
OF THE
LEWIS AND CLARK
EXPEDITION

1804 - 1806

PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS
in the Library of the American Philosophical Society and
by Direction of its committee on Historical Documents

TOGETHER WITH

MANUSCRIPT MATERIAL OF LEWIS AND CLARK
from other sources, including Note-Books, Letters, Maps, etc.,
and the Journals of Charles Floyd and Joseph Whitehouse

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED IN FULL
AND EXACTLY AS WRITTEN

Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Index, by

REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D.

Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," etc.

VOLUME ONE

PART I

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Published July, 1904

To

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, LL.D.

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

*Upon the Hundredth Anniversary of the Departure of the
Trans-Mississippi Expedition of Lewis and Clark, this
first publication of the Original Records of
their "Winning of the West" is most
respectfully dedicated*

MADISON, WISCONSIN

May 14, 1904

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

THE greater part of the Original Manuscript Journals of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, herein literally followed, are in the library of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, and are published by arrangement with and at the suggestion of its committee on Historical Documents.

Several important note-books by William Clark, together with an Orderly Book, a Field Book, the maps in the Atlas, and a number of letters, memoranda, etc., are the property of Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis, of New York, General William Clark's granddaughter and great-granddaughter, respectively; and are published by arrangement with them.

The Journal of Charles Floyd is published by consent of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, in whose library the original manuscript is preserved.

The Journal of Joseph Whitehouse was purchased by the publishers expressly for this work, but now is the property of Edward Everett Ayer, Esq., of Chicago.

The material in the Appendix is from various sources, as therein indicated.

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¹ All of the portraits of Indians, scenes of Indian life, and most of the views of Western scenery are by Charles Bodmer, and are reproduced from Maximilien's Atlas.

INTRODUCTION

PREVIOUS EXPLORATIONS

SLOWLY pushing northward from Mexico, Spaniards had by the close of the seventeenth century established towns and Indian missions at many points in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona — a slender chain, stretching across the continent from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. By the opening of our Revolutionary War, their mission villages, with an aggregate population of over thirteen thousand barbarian converts, extended upwards through California to San Francisco and Monterey; Spanish mariners, seeking vainly for a waterway through to the Atlantic, that should furnish a short route between Spain and India, had by this time become familiar with the coast as far north as the modern Sitka, and developed a considerable trade with the natives, chiefly at Nootka Sound, on Vancouver's Island; while adventurous Spanish missionaries had contemporaneously penetrated eastward to the Great Basin.

The pioneers of New France, on their part seeking a trans-continental waterway from the east, had throughout the first two-thirds of the eighteenth century made several costly attempts to discover and surmount the great divide. Upon New Year's day, 1743, the Chevalier de la Vérendrye, journeying overland from his fur-trading post on the Assiniboin River, sighted the Wind River Range. Affairs moved slowly, under the French régime; but yearly the prospect was growing brighter of reaching the Pacific by way of a chain of posts across the Canadian Rockies, via the Assiniboin and Saskatchewan, when the victory of Wolfe cut short these ambitious projects, and England succeeded both to the responsibilities and the dreams of New France.

INTRODUCTION

The Hudson's Bay Company, organized in London in 1667, had long held actual dominion over the sub-arctic regions to the north of New France; and on paper ^{England} claimed the far-stretching lands to the south and west, upon which the more adventurous French had actively ranged from Lake Superior westward to the headwaters of the Saskatchewan—a distance of twelve hundred miles. At first disinclined to explore beyond the sphere of influence immediately exerted by her profitable posts on Hudson and James bays, “the old lady of Fenchurch Street” was early in the eighteenth century forced by public opinion in England to make a show of seeking from the East the waterway which Sir Francis Drake, in the “Golden Hind,” had sought from the Pacific as early as 1579, and for which both Spain and France were still vainly striving. The company's spasmodic, apathetic, and fruitless searches for the “Northwest Passage” extended through half a century.

When New France fell, both independent and organized English and Scotch fur-traders, with headquarters at Montreal and Mackinac, disregarding the claims of the Hudson's Bay Company at once occupied the vast country through which Verendrye and his compatriots had so long conducted their wilderness barter. The story of the rival trading corporations—chiefly the Hudson's Bay Company on the one hand, and the North West Company (1783) on the other—although with occasional disruptions of the latter, and several kaleidoscopic reshiftings and amalgamations—is a stirring and sometimes bloody chapter in the history of the continental interior.

The situation cultivated mighty passions within strong men. One of these, Samuel Hearne, in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company, stirred by great ambitions, descended the Coppermine River in 1770, and reached the Arctic Ocean. Nineteen years later (1789), Alexander Mackenzie, a “Nor' Wester” in charge of the Athabasca department, reached the Arctic Ocean by way of Mackenzie River; in 1793, after almost incredible difficulties, he crossed the Canadian Rockies and descended Fraser River to the Pacific, a feat preceding Lewis and Clark's venture by a dozen years.

INTRODUCTION

While these various hardy enterprises were in progress in the North, many deemed the Missouri River the most feasible gateway to the Pacific. There long existed a tradition among Indians living upon the Mississippi, that the Missouri sprung from a low-lying watershed that might easily be portaged to some stream flowing into the Western Ocean. Joliet and Marquette (1673) had at first hoped that the Mississippi might be found emptying into the Pacific; but ascertaining that its flood was received by the Gulf of Mexico, they looked upon the Missouri as the undoubted highway to the Ocean of the West. Thirty years later, charts were published in Europe which showed west-flowing waters interlocking with the Missouri. Several French expeditions were organized for exploring the Missouri and some of its lower affluents — La Harpe and Du Tisé (1719), De Bourgmont (1722), and Mallet (1739); but they accomplished little more than obtaining a knowledge of the country for a few hundred miles above the mouth, with side ventures upon the South Fork of the Platte, the Arkansas, and the plains southwestward to the Spanish seat of Santa Fé.

Upon the eve of the downfall of New France, the crafty Louis XV, in order to prevent England from obtaining them, ceded to Spain (November, 1762) the town and neighborhood of New Orleans and the broad possessions of France west of the Mississippi. But the Spaniards who came to New Orleans and St. Louis were in the main only public officials. French *habitans* occupied their little waterside villages, as of old; being joined in the closing decade of the century by Kentuckians like Boone, who, weary of the legal and social restraints of growing American settlements, were willing to accept Spanish land grants with their promise of a return to primitive conditions, in which farming operations alternated with hunting. French trappers, many of them blood relatives of the red men, and now released from the tyranny of the fur-trade monopoly of New France, freely plied their nomadic calling upon the lower reaches of the Missouri and its branches, and even up the Platte and Arkansas to the bases of the Rockies. French and half-breed

INTRODUCTION

fur-traders — either on their own account or, in the northern regions, as agents of the warring British companies — wandered far and near among the tribesmen, visiting them in their permanent villages and accompanying them upon hunting-, fishing-, and war-parties. Their long journeyings by land and water occasionally carried them as far afield as the great northern bend of the Missouri, where were the villages of the trade-loving Mandans, who bartered indiscriminately with Gauls from St. Louis and Britons from the Assiniboin.

Such was the situation when the United States was born, and when Thomas Jefferson — philosopher, seer, statesman — always interested in the Middle West, first felt within Jefferson's dream him yearnings for a more intimate knowledge of the spacious territory of Louisiana, lying beyond the great river. The country belonged to Spain, but this fact gave him no pause; he felt that so long as British traders were profitably exploiting the trans-Mississippi, Americans might be excused for opening through it a trade route to the Pacific, and incidentally extending the bounds of human knowledge, in geography and the natural sciences.

In 1783 he proposed to General George Rogers Clark, the hero of Kaskaskia and Vincennes, to lead an expedition “for Proposition to G. R. Clark exploring the country from the Missisipi to California;” he intimated that a similar enterprise was being broached in England — “they pretend it is only to promote knoledge. I am afraid they have thoughts of colonising into that quarter.”¹ Nothing came of this suggestion — possibly Clark did not reply; or very likely Jefferson, just then in private life, thought that the necessary funds could not be raised.

Three years later, when minister to Paris, Jefferson met John Ledyard, a Connecticut adventurer who had been a petty officer with Captain James Cook on the latter's third Ledyard's project voyage around the world (1778), and had written a widely-read account of that enterprise. Ledyard agreed to cross Europe and Asia to Kamchatka, thence em-

¹ See Appendix for facsimile of this document, the original of which is in the Draper MSS. Collection, Wisconsin Historical Library.

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barking on a Russian vessel trading to Nootka Sound, from which he was to find his way to the sources of the Missouri, whose current was to be descended to the American settlements. But Ledyard, when within a few days of the Kamchatka port, was arrested by imperial orders from St. Petersburg, and ignominiously carried back to Poland, where, "disappointed, ragged, and penniless," he was dismissed.

In 1789, General Henry Knox, Washington's secretary of war, ordered General Josiah Harmar, commanding the Western frontier at Cincinnati, to "devise some practicable plan for exploring that branch of the Mississippi called the Messouri, up to its source," and possibly beyond to the Pacific. Captain John Armstrong, then in command at Louisville, was despatched upon this adventure in the spring of 1790. Entirely alone in a canoe, he "proceeded up the Missouri some distance above St. Louis . . . but, meeting with some French traders, was persuaded to return in consequence of the hostility of the Missouri bands to each other, as they were then at war, and he could not safely pass from one nation to the other."

Arm-
strong's
attempt

Jefferson was the next to make a venture in transcontinental exploration. This time (1793) in his capacity as a vice president of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, he made an arrangement therefor with André Michaux, a distinguished French botanist then herborizing in the United States. A small subscription was raised by the society, to which many of the prominent men of the day contributed, and detailed instructions for Michaux were drafted by Jefferson.¹ The intending explorer was to "cross the Mississippi and pass by land to the nearest part of the Missouri above the Spanish settlements, that you may avoid the risk of being stopped;" he was then to "pursue such of the largest streams of that river as shall lead by the shortest way and the lowest latitudes to the Pacific ocean." The previous year, Captain Robert Gray, of Boston, had discovered the mouth of the Columbia, and Jefferson hoped that this stream might be found to interlock with the sources of

The
Michaux
plan

¹ See Appendix, for this document.

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the Missouri. Just then, however, there had arrived in the United States Charles Genet, minister of the French Republic, who was charged with the secret mission of forming a filibustering army of American frontiersmen in the Carolinas, Georgia, and Kentucky to attack Spanish possessions on the Gulf of Mexico and beyond the Mississippi. Michaux was selected by Genet as his agent to deal with the Kentuckians, led by George Rogers Clark, who had proposed, under the banner of France, to descend the Mississippi with fifteen hundred borderers and attack New Orleans. Michaux tarried in Kentucky to carry out these ill-fated plans, with the result that his project of exploration was abandoned.¹

Meanwhile, there had been important developments upon our Northwest Coast. We have seen that by the opening of the Revolutionary War the Spanish had explored the whole extent of this shore, nearly up to the site of the modern Sitka. In 1778 Captain Cook was here, on behalf of England, searching for the Northwest Passage, a movement which induced fresh zeal on the part of Spanish navigators, and watchfulness on the part of the Russians in Alaska. Eight years later, the French navigator and scientist, Count de la Pérouse, visited these shores and gave to the world its first definite knowledge of Spain's California missions. English fur-trading vessels now appeared on the scene, bartering with the natives for furs, which were carried to China, to be there exchanged for teas, silks, spices, and other Oriental wares. Friction between Spanish and English trading interests at Nootka Sound—where the latter had made small settlements—led to a spirited controversy that might readily have precipitated war, but which ended peacefully in the withdrawal of Spain (1795). By this time, American trading craft were sharp competitors for the China-American fur traffic of the Northwest Coast. Owing to the monopoly of the East India Company in British trade on the Pacific Ocean, most of the Englishmen gradually withdrew :

¹ Several important documents connected with these early American projects in transcontinental exploration, will be found in the Appendix to the present work. For a fuller narrative, see Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration* (N. Y., 1904), chap. iv.

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thus for some twenty years leaving New England navigators almost complete masters of the situation.

When Thomas Jefferson became president of the United States, perhaps two score American trading vessels were annually visiting Nootka Sound and the mouth of the Columbia; British overland traders were operating among the Mandans and their neighbors, at and below the great bend of the Missouri; French and half-breed trappers and traders, together with a few expatriated Kentuckians, were familiar with the Missouri and its lower affluents; upon St. Peter's River (near the Minnesota), British free-traders were profitably operating among the Sioux, a proximity which caused much uneasiness among Americans in the West. As yet, few citizens of the United States were operating in the vast territory of Louisiana, which Napoleon, dreaming of another New France in North America, had now (October 1, 1800) obliged Spain to retrocede to him; but of which he had not thus far taken formal possession.

Amidst the manifold duties of his great office, Jefferson had not forgotten his early scheme for exploring the trans-Mississippi. Greater opportunity now presented itself — he possessed influence to secure governmental aid, and recognized the existence of a stronger public spirit. The lapse in the winter of 1802-03 of an Congressional aid secured “act for establishing trading houses with the Indian tribes,” was made the occasion for addressing (January 18) a secret message to Congress,¹ in which he urged the importance of reaching out for the trade of the Indians on the Missouri River, that thus far had in large measure been absorbed by English companies; and suggested an exploring party as the best means of accomplishing this object. He recognized that the country which he thus proposed to enter was the property of France, although still governed by Spain; but thought that as the latter nation's interests were now waning, she would not be disposed to jealousy and would regard the enterprise merely “as a literary pursuit.” An estimate of the necessary expenses was placed at only \$2,500; but the correspondence which we

¹ See Appendix, for this document.

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give in the Appendix, shows that Jefferson intended that the exploring party should, while still in the United States, be subsisted by the War Department; and in addition thereto we shall see that he issued in their favor a general letter of credit, which proved of no avail, but further demonstrates the fact that the explorers were not expected to limit themselves to the appropriation.

MERIWETHER LEWIS

Congress having proved complaisant, in secretly giving the necessary authority and passing the modest appropriation, Jefferson at once appointed his private secretary, Early years Captain Meriwether Lewis, as head of the proposed expedition. Lewis was born near Charlottesville, Virginia, August 18th, 1774, his people being prominent in colonial and Revolutionary affairs. His father, William, died when Meriwether, named for his mother's family, was a child. The boy came under the guardianship of his uncle Nicholas, who had in 1776 commanded a regiment in the campaign against the Cherokees; but his education remained under the direction of his mother, a woman of capacity and judgment. When but eight years of age, the lad had established a local reputation as a hunter; and until his thirteenth year, when he was sent to a Latin school, had ample opportunity to satisfy his adventurous cravings in this direction. After five years of tuition, he returned to his mother's farm, where the succeeding two years were spent in careful attention to the details of husbandry, in the course of which he acquired some skill in botany, that was to stand him well in stead during the great expedition of a few years later.

In 1794, when Lewis was twenty years of age, the so-called Whisky Rebellion, against a federal excise tax, broke out in Western Pennsylvania, and threatened to spread Military experiences into Virginia and Maryland. President Washington issued a requisition for some thirteen thousand militia from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, and this force promptly marched towards the seat of

INTRODUCTION

disturbance, thus speedily causing the subsidence of what was practically an insurrection against the national government. Lewis enlisted as a private in this little army, and at the close of the disturbance was given employment in the regular service — originally as ensign in the First Infantry (May 1, 1795), later as first lieutenant, and then captain (1797) in the same regiment. He served with distinction under General Wayne, in the latter's Northwestern campaigns, and in the first year of his captaincy was in charge of the infantry in Captain Isaac Guion's expedition to take over the Spanish posts in Mississippi.¹ He also was for several years the paymaster of his regiment.²

Captain Lewis appears early to have won the esteem and confidence of his distinguished neighbor, Thomas Jefferson; and in the spring of 1801 the latter, as president of the United States, appointed him as his private secretary.³ We have already seen that in 1783 Jefferson, not then in official life, suggested to George Rogers Clark an exploration of the trans-Mississippi country, and that his subsequent negotiations with Ledyard (1788) and Michaux (1793) came to naught. The last-named mission had been unsuccessfully sought by his adventurous young friend Lewis, although but nineteen years old. When, apparently as early as July, 1802, President Jefferson revived his long-considered project, he offered the post of leader to his private secretary,

Selected to
command
Expedition

¹ See Claiborne, *Mississippi* (Jackson, 1880), p. 184, *note*.

² A manuscript book in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, containing Lewis's meteorological and natural history data, also has a few brief records of his accounts as paymaster in 1800. In that year he made an extended official tour by land and water, to the posts at Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Fort Wayne, and Detroit, visiting Limestone (Maysville, Ky.), Chillicothe, and Wheeling en route.

³ The original of Jefferson's letter to Lewis, offering this appointment (dated Washington, February 23, 1801), is in the Bureau of Rolls, Department of the Interior, Washington, where its press-mark is "Jefferson Papers, 2d series, vol. 51, doc. 110." Jefferson writes that the salary is but \$500, "scarcely more than an equivalent for your pay & rations" in the army; but it is an easier office, would give him opportunity to meet distinguished people, and he could board and lodge with the president's family, free of charge. The original of Lewis's letter of acceptance, dated Pittsburg, March 10th, may be found in *ibid.*, doc. 95.

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who, now having attained the age of twenty-eight, had again pleaded for this honor. In his Memoir of Lewis,¹ the president pays him this generous tribute :

I had now had opportunities of knowing him intimately. Of courage undaunted ; possessing a firmness and perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction ; careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order and discipline ; intimate with the Indian character, customs, and principles ; habituated to the hunting life ; guarded, by exact observation of the vegetables and animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed ; honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding, and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves — with all these qualifications, as if selected and implanted by nature in one body for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprise to him.

The president had at first sought as commandant a scientist who possessed, in addition to his scholarly attainments, the necessary “ courage, prudence, habits & health adapted to the woods & some familiarity with the Indian character.”² Failing in this, Captain Lewis was chosen as being, in his chief’s opinion, “ brave, prudent, habituated to the woods, & familiar with Indian manners and character. He is not regularly educated, but he possesses a great mass of accurate observation on all the subjects of nature which present themselves here, & will therefore readily select those only in his new route which shall be new.”³

In order to acquire “ a greater familiarity with the technical language of the natural sciences, and readiness in the astronomical observations necessary for the geography of his route,” Lewis proceeded to Philadelphia,⁴ where he received instruction in the rudiments of the sciences from

¹ Introduction to Biddle edition, pp. xi, xii.

² Jefferson’s letter to Dr. Caspar Wistar, in Appendix.

³ Jefferson’s letter to Dr. Benjamin Rush, in Appendix.

⁴ Jefferson’s Memoir of Lewis does not mention that Lewis went to Philadelphia as early as July, 1802 ; but his letter to Lewis, dated January 22d, 1803 (see Appendix), indicates that such was the fact.

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several eminent specialists — that city being the home of the American Philosophical Society, and then the principal seat of learning in the country. His correspondence with Jefferson during this period, which is given in our Appendix, abounds in allusions to scientific and practical details, showing him to have been not only an apt pupil, but already possessed of a large fund of information of the sort essential to the equipment of an explorer.

WILLIAM CLARK

Early in the course of these preparations Lewis determined, with Jefferson's consent, to secure a companion who should share his honors and responsibilities. His choice fell upon Captain William Clark, four years his senior, but who had been the friend of his boyhood in Virginia, and his comrade in Wayne's Indian campaigns.

The Clarks, a large and now widely-ramified family group, had long lived in Albermarle County, Virginia, near the seat of the Lewis family, and here were born the two oldest children of John Clark and his wife Ann ^{A notable family} Rogers — Jonathan (1750–1816) and George Rogers (1752–1818). In 1754 John Clark removed to the neighborhood of Charlottesville, in Caroline County, where William, their ninth child, was born August 1st, 1770. This branch of the family — preceded several years by George Rogers Clark, who had become famous because of his campaign against Kaskaskia and Vincennes — moved to Kentucky in 1784, their estate being Mulberry Hill, on Beargrass Creek, near Louisville. The Clark home was the centre of hospitality and sociability for the region roundabout. It was frequented not only by sturdy pioneers of the Kentucky movement, with their tales of Indian warfare, and other perils and hardships of the early settlements; but the second generation of Kentucky emigrants also found here a welcome — gentlemen and lawyers of the new settlements, Revolutionary soldiers seeking homes in the growing West, men of enterprise, culture, and promise, permanent founders of a new civilization.

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Among them all, young "Billy" was a marked favorite. In his nineteenth year he marched in the ranks of Colonel John Hardin's expedition against the tribesmen north of the Ohio River; the following year he was despatched upon a mission to the Creeks and Cherokees; and in 1791 was ensign and acting lieutenant on the Wabash Indian expedition, under General Scott. "Your brother William," writes one of the family friends,¹ "is gone out as a cadet with Genl. Scott on the Expedition. He is a youth of solid and promising parts, and as brave as Cæsar." Two years later (1793) we find him commissioned as a first lieutenant in the Fourth sub-legion, in General Anthony Wayne's Western Army.

After being engaged as an engineer in constructing forts along the line of advance, he was, late in the season, sent upon a perilous expedition up the Wabash as far as Vincennes, during which his progress was for several weeks blocked by ice. The next year (1794) we read of him as being in charge of a train of seven hundred pack-horses and eighty men, transporting supplies to Fort Greenville. Attacked by the savages, he lost five men, but gallantly repulsed the enemy and won praise from Wayne, under whom he later (August 20) fought in the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Twice (1795) he was entrusted by his general with important commissions to the Spaniards, an account of which is to be found in the Spanish Papers of the Draper Manuscripts, in the Wisconsin Historical Library. It is said that no officer impressed the Spanish with a more wholesome respect than young Lieutenant William Clark. His four years' service in the Western Army had familiarized him with the methods of handling large bodies of men under military discipline, and given him opportunity to exercise the courage and resource needed to deal with savage foes; and it put him in touch with the prominent men of his time. It had also — an important consideration, in view of his subsequent career — once more thrown him into the com-

¹ Dr. James O'Fallon to Colonel Jonathan Clark, Caroline County, Virginia, May 30th, 1791. — Draper MSS., 2 L 28.

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pany of Meriwether Lewis, now a fellow campaigner, and upon at least one expedition he was Lewis's superior officer.¹

Retiring from the army in 1796 — apparently with the brevet rank of captain, for thereafter he was given that title — William Clark lived quietly at home with his family, chiefly occupied in seeking to adjust the tangled affairs of his brother, George Rogers, who had been sued by many persons for supplies furnished in the Illinois campaigns. In the attempted settlement of these claims, William not only gave his time and effort, but sacrificed the small estate he had himself accumulated.

Such was the situation of his affairs when, on the sixteenth of July, 1803, he received a letter from his friend Captain Lewis² — dated Washington, June 19th — in which the latter,

¹ Much confusion has arisen because three William Clarks were prominent in the West, in those stirring days. (1) Judge William Clark, of Indiana Territory, who died at Vincennes in 1802; (2) William Clark, the son of Benjamin, and a cousin of George Rogers Clark; and (3) the subject of this sketch. Confusion between Nos. 2 and 3 has been especially common, among historians; Coues's sketch, in his *Lewis and Clark* (1, pp. lxxviii, lix) is an instance — the "captain of militia," whose commission is given on the latter page, undoubtedly being William No. 2. In the Draper MSS., in the Wisconsin Historical Library, the papers of these two men have been indiscriminately commingled. This was the more natural, because the signatures of the two are so similar that it would require an expert to differentiate them. William No. 2 was one of the most efficient officers in the Illinois campaigns. He must have been quite young at the time; but in the later period of the Revolutionary War was entrusted with various important commissions. When Fort Jefferson was built in 1780, near the mouth of the Ohio, Lieutenant William Clark was sent with a convoy from Kaskaskia to provision it, and late the following year he removed to the Falls of Ohio, where Louisville now stands. He was here employed in garrison duty and in protecting the new settlement against its Indian foes. So valuable were his services, that on the reduction of the regiment in February, 1783, he was one of three officers retained in the service; and was only finally mustered out by the order of the governor in 1784. About this time a large tract of land (150,000 acres) was assigned to the Illinois regiment in return for its services, and laid off on the Indiana side of the Ohio River, opposite Louisville. Clark was appointed one of the allotment commissioners, also principal surveyor of the grant. From that time until his death in 1791, he was chiefly occupied in the business of this office. A man of good habits, kind heart, courage, and resource, he was popular and successful among the early inhabitants of that country. He was on intimate terms with his more illustrious cousins, and it is to be conjectured that he was particularly admired by William Clark No. 3, just then growing into manhood. He never married, and at his death left a considerable landed property to his brothers and sisters, most of whom had not yet removed from Virginia.

² See Appendix, for the correspondence in full.

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after giving confidential information of the projected expedition to the Pacific, proposed that Clark "participate with me in it's fatigues, it's dangers and it's honors," assuring him that "there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself." Clark promptly responded to this cordial offer, saying, "as my situation in life will admit of my absence the length of time necessary to accomplish such an undertaking, I will cheerfully join you."

Lewis's invitation

It will be seen that Lewis's letter, owing to the slowness of Western mails, was nearly a month in reaching Clark. Failing to hear from his comrade as soon as he had expected, and fearing that he could not go, Lewis opened tentative negotiations with Lieutenant Moses Hooke of his own regiment (the First Infantry), who was then in charge of military stores at Pittsburg. In a letter to Jefferson (July 26, 1803)¹ Lewis describes him as a young man "about 26 years of age, endowed with a good constitution, possessing a sensible well informed mind, is industrious, prudent and persevering and withall intrepid and enterprising." A few days later, however (August 3), Lewis, then at Pittsburg, anxiously waiting for his keel-boat to be completed, received Clark's acceptance, and promptly expressed to the latter that he felt "much gratified with your decision; for I could neither hope, wish, or expect from a union with any man on earth, more perfect support or further aid in the discharge of the several duties of the mission, than that, which I am confident I shall derive from being associated with yourself."

THE EXPEDITION

It will be remembered that when Jefferson instituted the ambitious enterprise, the original records of which we are here publishing for the first time, the trans-Mississippi was the property of France, although still in the hands of Spain. This fact gave rise to the secrecy with which the preparations were invested. But upon the

The
Louisiana
Purchase

¹ For text, see Appendix.

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second of May, 1803,¹ the American commissioners in Paris had signed a treaty with Napoleon by which Louisiana was sold to the United States.² Lewis's invitation to Clark shows that some inkling of this unexpected and startling negotiation had reached Jefferson by that date (June 19); but the official news thereof did not arrive in Washington until the first days in July. The circumstance in no way altered Lewis's arrangements, save that it was no longer necessary to maintain that privacy as to the purpose of the exploration, which had been hitherto enjoined upon him.

Organized as a military detachment, under the orders of the secretary of war — although President Jefferson remained the moving spirit — the party, when complete, consisted of twenty-nine persons officially recognized on ^{Personelle} the rolls; with French and half-breed interpreters, Clark's negro slave York, and the Indian woman Sacajawea as supernumeraries — forty-five in all, including the two captains.³ Lewis — who had bidden good-bye to his friends at the White House on the morning of July 5th — embarked at Pittsburg on the thirty-first of August; but owing to shallows in the Ohio River, and the necessity of stopping at some of the forts to obtain volunteers from their garrisons, his passage was slow. At Louisville he picked up Clark and several young Kentucky recruits. December was a third spent, before the expedition went into winter camp at River Dubois, ^{At River Dubois Camp} in Illinois, opposite the mouth of the Missouri, where the men were rigorously drilled both as soldiers and frontiersmen. It had been Lewis's intention to camp at some distance up the Missouri; but the lateness of the season, the technical objections raised by Spanish officials, and Jefferson's characteristic suggestion⁴ that a camp on the east side, in American territory, would save the appropriation by allowing

¹ The actual date of signing, although the treaty was dated April 30th.

² See Thwaites, *Rocky Mountain Exploration*, chap. v, for account of the Louisiana Purchase.

³ The number during the first year out (1804); but there were some changes in the spring of 1805. See list in note on p. 12 of the present volume; also the rolls in the Orderly Book, on pp. 13, 14, 30, 31, *post*.

⁴ Letter to Lewis, of November 16th, 1803, in Appendix.

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the men to draw their winter's rations from the War Department, induced him to stop at River Dubois.

The journals show that the winter was a busy one — Clark being engaged at camp for the most part, in organizing and disciplining the party, and accumulating stores and boats for the long up-river journey; while Lewis was often in St. Louis, consulting with French fur-traders and others who knew the country. On March 9th and 10th, 1804, we find him the chief official witness at the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana — at first from Spain to France, and then from France to the United States.

The expedition started from Camp River Dubois on May 14th, “in the presence of many of the neighboring inhabitants, and proceeded on under a gentle breeze up the Missouri.” The long and painful up-stream journey during the summer and autumn of 1804 was followed by a winter spent in log huts enclosed by a stout palisade, among the Mandan Indians not far from the present Bismarck, North Dakota. Making a fresh start from Fort Mandan, upon the seventh of April, 1805, there ensued a toilsome experience all the way to the headspring of Jefferson Fork of the Missouri, which was reached August 12th. Then came the crossing of the rugged, snow-clad Bitterroot Mountains, which here constitute the divide, and the descent of the foaming rapids and cataracts of the Columbia, until the Pacific Coast was reached in November. By Christmas the party were safely housed within Fort Clatsop, a rude structure — like Fort Mandan, log huts within a palisade covering a plot of ground some fifty feet square.¹

Another dreary but busy winter was spent in studying the natives and making other scientific observations in the neighborhood, and filling their large note-books with these interesting data. This was not the season, however, for meeting any of the numerous trading mariners who frequented the Northwest Coast; thus the letter of credit which Jefferson had given to Lewis proved of no avail, and for several months the explorers were obliged to exercise great

The first season

At Fort Clatsop

¹ See plan of the fort, in chapter xxi, vol. iii of the present work.

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ingenuity in making trinkets with which to obtain supplies from the natives, who exhibited an avaricious temperament.

Leaving Fort Clatsop the twenty-third of March, 1806, the return of the expedition was delayed by heavy snows on the mountainous divide, and much hardship was experienced. The actual crossing of the range commenced ^{The return} June 15th. By the first of July the party had arrived at 'Travellers' Rest Creek, where the native trails converged, and here they divided into two sections—Lewis's party going direct to the Falls of the Missouri, and afterwards exploring Maria's River with a view to ascertaining its availability as a fur-trade route to the north; Clark and his contingent proceeding to the head of navigation of the year before, and then crossing over to the Yellowstone and descending that stream to its junction with the Missouri. Parting company on the third of July, it was the twelfth of August before the two branches of the expedition reunited on the Missouri, several days below the mouth of the Yellowstone. Their final happy arrival at St. Louis, on the twenty-third of September, after an absence of two years, four months, and nine days, is one of the familiar events in American history.

THE STORY OF LEWIS AND CLARK'S JOURNALS

The final entry in the journal of Captain Clark is significant :

Friday 25th [26] of Sept. 1806

a fine morning we commenced wrighting &c.

This shows that on the third day after their return to civilization, the commanders began placing its literary records into definitive form. The history of these records, thus promptly commenced, proved to be almost as romantic as that of the great discovery itself.

In his detailed instructions to Lewis (June 20, 1803),¹ President Jefferson had displayed particular concern for the journals of the proposed expedition to the Pacific, which with all possi-

¹ For this document, see Appendix.

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ble scientific data were to be prepared "with great pains & accuracy, to be entered distinctly, & intelligibly for others as well as yourself." The notes of the two captains were to be guarded against loss by making copies of them — "one of these copies [to] be written on the paper of the birch, as less liable to injury from damp than common paper."¹ Not only were Lewis and Clark to keep such journals, but they were to encourage their men to do likewise. Jefferson especially requested of Lewis that "several copies of . . . your notes should be made at leisure times & put into the care of the most trustworthy of your attendants, to guard by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed." The captain was reminded that "in the loss of yourselves, we should lose also the information you will have acquired;" and as a further precaution was required "to communicate to us, at reasonable intervals, a copy of your journal, notes & observations of every kind, putting into cypher whatever might do injury if betrayed" — for we have seen that at the time these instructions were written the country to be explored and thus opened to American trade, was in the hands of the Spanish, whose suspicions must not be aroused.

The two leaders faithfully performed their duty in this regard, and the four sergeants — Charles Floyd, Patrick Gass, John Ordway, and Nathaniel Pryor — also wrote journals.² Tradition has it that at least three of the twenty-three privates (Robert Frazier, Joseph Whitehouse, and possibly George Shannon) were, as well, diarists upon the expedition — but the only private's note-book now known to us is that of Whitehouse.

It was the daily custom of the captains to make rough notes, with rude outline maps, plans, and miscellaneous sketches,³ in

¹ This suggestion was not adopted, in practice.

² In the camp orders issued by Lewis and Clark, May 26th, 1804 (see *post*, p. 33), occurs this sentence: "The serg^{ts} in addition to those [other] duties are directed to keep a separate journal from day to day of all passing occurrences, and such other observations on the country &c. as shall appear to them worthy of notice."

³ Clark was the draughtsman of the party. His maps, sketches of birds, fishes, leaves, etc., in the note-books of both Lewis and himself, and on separate sheets of paper (for which latter, see our atlas volume), are worthy of an engineer with better training than he had received. They are all carefully reproduced in the present work.

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field-books which they doubtless carried in their pockets. When encamped for a protracted period, these were developed into more formal records. In this development, each often borrowed freely from the other's notes — Lewis, the better scholar of the two, generally re-writing in his own manner the material obtained from Clark; while the latter not infrequently copied Lewis practically verbatim, but with his own phonetic spelling. Upon returning to St. Louis, these individual journals were for the most part transcribed by their authors into neat blank books — bound in red morocco and gilt-edged — with the thought of preparing them for early publication. After this process, the original field-books must have been cast aside and in large measure destroyed; for but one of these¹ is now known to exist. There have come down to us, however, several note-books which apparently were written up in the camps.

Collectively, these journals of the captains cover each and every day the expedition was out — largely a double record, although there are occasional periods when we have the journal of but one of them.² The manuscripts well exemplify the habits and characteristics of the two men — Clark, the more experienced frontiersman of the two, expressing himself

¹ By Clark, dated Sept. 13th–Dec. 31st, 1805, and described *post*.

² We have much more of Clark in these journals, than of Lewis. The lacune in the Lewis manuscripts, as compared with the dates covered by Clark, are as follows: 1804 — May 14, 16–19, 21–September 15; September 18–December 31 = 228 days.

1805 — January 1–February 2; February 14–April 6; August 27–September 8; September 11–17, 23–November 28; December 1–31 = 168 days.

1806 — August 13–September 26 = 45 days. But during much of this period Lewis was disabled from a wound, and therefore unable to write.

The only apparent gap in the Clark journals, is the brief period from February 3 to 12 (inclusive), 1805 = 10 days. But the omission is only nominal, for under February 13th he gives a summary of events during this period of absence; see vol. 1, p. 253, note, and pp. 259–261. Actually, we have from Clark a perfect record of his movements day by day throughout the expedition.

Whether the missing Lewis entries (441 days, as compared with Clark; but we may eliminate 41 for the period when he was disabled, thus leaving 400) are still in existence or not, is unknown to the present writer. There appears to be no doubt that he regularly kept his diary. It is possible that the missing notes, in whole or in part, were with him when he met his death in Tennessee, and were either accidentally or purposely destroyed by others.

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sententiously with Doric simplicity and vigor of phrase, and often amusingly eccentric orthography; Lewis, in more correct diction, inclined to expatiate on details, especially with regard to Indians and natural history, and frequently revealing a poetic temperament and a considerable fund of humor.

In February, 1806, when the expedition was upon the Pacific coast, President Jefferson sent to Congress a message enclosing, among other matters, a letter from Lewis, The first news dated at Fort Mandan in the previous April, just as the explorers were leaving for the upper country;¹ at that point the party had passed their first winter. This communication, describing the experiences of the expedition as far as Fort Mandan, was accompanied by brief reports of explorations on the Red and Washita rivers by Dr. Sibley, Dr. Hunter, and William C. Dunbar, together with statistics of the Western tribes and other data of the kind; the ill-assorted whole being promptly printed as a public document.² Based upon this fragmentary publication there soon sprung up, both in England and America, a long list of popular compilations telling the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition during its first year, expanded with miscellaneous information about the Western Indians, picked up here and there—some of it singularly inaccurate.³

A year later (early in 1807), only a few months after the return of the party, there was published at Philadelphia the first detailed report of the entire tour; being the journal of Sergeant Gass's Journal Patrick Gass, an observant man, whose rough but generally accurate notes had been expanded with small regard to literary style, by an Irish schoolmaster, named David McKeehan, of Wellsburg, West Virginia. This little volume of about 83,000 words,⁴ with its curiously crude illustrations, was reprinted in London in 1808, while new American editions appeared at Philadelphia in 1810, 1811, and 1812, and a French translation at Paris in 1810. It is now, in any form, a rarity.

¹ For this document, see Appendix.

² See first item in Bibliographical Data, in the present volume, *post*.

³ See "Counterfeit Publications," in Bibliographical Data.

⁴ See Bibliographical Data, for description of the various editions of Gass's Journal.

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It had been the intention of Lewis and Clark to publish their own journals; they had presented no official detailed report to the government, it being left with them by Jefferson, as we shall see, to make such literary use ^{Lewis's} prospectus, of their material as they saw fit. During the year ¹⁸⁰⁷ following the return, and the one in which Gass's Journal had appeared, Lewis issued a prospectus announcing the speedy publication of the official narrative by C. & A. Conrad, of Philadelphia. The first volume was to contain the "narrative of the voyage," the second to be devoted chiefly to an account of "the Indian nations distributed over that vast region," and the third "exclusively to scientific research." Apart from this, was to be published "Lewis and Clark's Map of North America, from longitude 9° west to the Pacific Ocean, and between 36° and 52° north latitude, with extensive marginal notes, dimensions five feet eight inches by three feet ten inches, embracing all their late discoveries, and that part of the continent heretofore the least known."¹

Unfortunately for this enterprise, both explorers soon after their return had received, together with commissions as generals, important government appointments: Lewis being made governor of Louisiana Territory, and Clark its superintendent of Indian affairs and brigadier-general of militia.² The onerous duties appertaining to these offices, in the new and vast territory through which they had journeyed, were necessarily absorbing; and neither being a literary man, the task of publication under such circumstances was easily deferred.

Urged by Jefferson — who from the first had been keenly desirous to have the records of the exploration as soon as possible made the common property of the world — it was in 1809 agreed that General Lewis should in earnest undertake the work. He was travelling on horseback through Tennessee,

¹ See Appendix, for this prospectus.

² Upon the expedition, Lewis held a captaincy in the First Infantry; Clark had been commissioned as second lieutenant of artillery. On their return they both resigned from the army — Clark on February 27th, 1807, and Lewis on March 2d following. March 3d, Jefferson signed Lewis's commission, and nine days later Clark's.

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on his way to Washington, intending thereafter to go to Philadelphia to enter upon this editorial task, when he lost his life during the night of October 11th. A guest, at the time, of a wayside settler some sixty miles southwest of Nashville, it was reported that he had committed suicide — a theory which Jefferson, probably his closest friend, accepted without question; but it was and still is believed by many that he was murdered for the small sum of money upon his person at the time.¹

Clark, now the sole surviving head of the expedition, prompted by the indefatigable Jefferson, appears to have soon sought the assistance of an editor in bringing out the proposed publication. It seems that, probably early in 1810, overtures were made to him from some literary person in Richmond, Virginia;² but these he rejected, and earnestly solicited the aid of Nicholas Biddle, of Philadelphia. Biddle, who was descended from one of the oldest Philadelphia families, had graduated from Princeton in his sixteenth year (1801); he had been secretary to John Armstrong, our minister to France (1804), and while in Paris had superintended the payment of American claims growing out of the Louisiana Purchase — in this capacity greatly surprising the French officials both by his brilliancy and his youth. After travelling extensively in Europe, he became secretary to Mr. Monroe while the latter was minister to Great Britain, but in 1807 returned to practise law in Philadelphia. At the time of Clark's invitation, Biddle was but twenty-four years of age; nevertheless he had already attained considerable reputation as a financier, lawyer, and man of letters — in the last-named field being editor of the *Port-folio* — and socially was by many considered both the handsomest and the most charming man in Philadelphia, as he certainly was one of the most cultivated. It is small wonder that Clark selected him as the writer of the narrative.

¹ See discussion in Coues, *Lewis and Clark*, i, pp. xl-lvii; and Wheeler, *The Trail of Lewis and Clark* (New York, 1904), i, pp. 61-74.

² See Biddle-Clark correspondence in Coues, *Lewis and Clark*, i, pp. lxxxii et seq.

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In his second letter to Biddle, dated February 20th, 1810, from the home of his father-in-law, Colonel George Hancock, near Fincastle, Virginia—then being visited by the general—he invites his correspondent to come to him at that place, “where I have my books and memorandums and stay with me a week or two; read over & make yourself thereby acquainted with everything which may not be explained in the Journals. . . . Such parts as may not be full, I can explain, and add such additional matter as I may recollect. I brought the Books with me to Copy such parts as are intended for the Botanical work which I shall send to Doct^r Barton, and will deliver the Books to you if you will engage to write the narrative &c.”

On the third of March Biddle replied to Clark, regretting “that it will be out of my power to undertake what you had the politeness to offer;” explaining that “My occupations necessarily confine me to Phil^a and I have neither health nor leisure to do sufficient justice to the fruits of your enterprize and ingenuity. You cannot be long however without making a more fortunate selection.”

Two weeks later, however (March 17), he again addressed Clark—who was still at Fincastle—and reports having been seen by some of the latter’s friends in Philadelphia; the result of the conference being that he “will therefore very readily agree to do all that is in my power for the advancement of the work; and I think I can promise with some confidence that it shall be ready as soon as the publisher is prepared to print it. Having made up my mind today, I am desirous that no delay shall occur on my part.” He therefore will soon visit the general at Fincastle. The latter replied (March 25) with “most sincere acknowledgements for the friendly sentiments,” and urged an immediate visit, “as my business calls me to Louisiana; and nothing detains me, but the business I wish with you.”

Biddle made the trip to Fincastle, noted Clark’s oral statements, and carried back with him to Philadelphia the journals and maps of the expedition, from which he at once began to prepare its history. In May, Clark sent to the editor George

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Shannon¹ who, when a lad of sixteen years, had creditably served as one of the privates in the detachment. Then twenty-three years old, and studying for the law, Shannon appears to have remained in Philadelphia during most of the time spent in draughting the narrative, and to have materially assisted Biddle both in interpreting the note-books and giving personal recollections of the tour. Not only did Clark tender the services of Shannon, but he himself was in frequent correspondence with the editor,² and purchased and forwarded to him the journal of Sergeant Ordney. The journal of Sergeant Gass being already in print, was of course also accessible to Biddle.

The talented young editor at once surrendered himself almost completely to the difficult task before him; he had promised Clark that the narrative should be ready for the press within twelve months. By the seventh of July he appears to have finished the story up to July 7th, 1805, above the Falls of the Missouri; for in a note to his distinguished correspondent, chiefly concerning the maps for the publication,³ he playfully says: "Today I have sent you and ten men up into a bottom to look for wood to make canoes after the unhappy failure of your iron boat." A year later (July 8, 1811) he wrote to Clark, informing him that he had "completed the work agreeable to our engagement," and was "ready to put it to the press whenever Mr. Conrad chose."

¹ Shannon was born in Pennsylvania, of a good family, in 1787. After the return of the expedition he lost a leg as the result of a wound at the hands of Indians, the amputation having taken place at St. Charles, Mo. Soon after serving Biddle, he was admitted to the bar at Louisville, Ky.; becoming a circuit judge in Kentucky, a state senator in Missouri, and U. S. district attorney for Missouri. He died suddenly in court in 1836, aged forty-nine years.

² The following memoranda, found in Clark-Voorhis note-book No. 4, were evidently made by General Clark at this time:

"Mem. Enquire at St. Louis into the Situation & number of the Crow Indians & which, if either, of their bands is called the Paunch Indians.

Also for some Indian speeches.

Story of the Osage on the subject of the Beaver.

Send to M^r Biddle every thing authentic & not yet published on the subject of the Fur Trade.

Get an Indian Song

about the Fur Trade

Fur Compy" — Ed.

³ Which were being prepared by F. R. Hassler, of Schenectady, N. Y.

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In our day, a manuscript of this character would eagerly be sought by publishers. Stanley, Nordenskjöld, Nansen, and Hedín have had but to choose among applicants from the book-trade. Ninety years ago, the situation was far different. John Conrad, a prominent publisher of his day, was finally prevailed upon to undertake the work, the financial outcome of which seemed to some others doubtful. He appears to have entered into the project with much interest; but by the time Biddle was ready, Conrad had fallen into financial straits, and in due course was plunged into bankruptcy; for this was the period of the second war with England, and business was unsettled. Biddle accordingly writes to Clark, July 4th, 1811, stating the facts in the case, and incidentally mentioning that "Last winter I was prevented from going to the legislature chiefly by a desire to stay & superintend the printing." He has, however, made an arrangement with Thomas Bradford, "one of the best book-sellers here," and hopes that "we can proceed vigorously & soon get the volumes out."

Wanted:
a pub-
lisher

Despite Biddle's optimism affairs dragged slowly, for Bradford's terms were unsatisfactory. Over a year later (September 5, 1812), we find Clark offering Biddle "the half of every profit arising from it, if you will attend to it, have it Completed as far as it is possible and necessary. printed published &c. including the advances which have and may be necessary &c." Biddle does not appear to have accepted this financial proposition; familiar with the book market, he probably anticipated the failure of the project.

Throughout the course of the work Conrad continued his friendly concern, and assisted Biddle in his strenuous search for a publisher. November 12th, he writes Biddle that he has tried Johnson & Warner without success; that firm "seem to have so incorrect an idea of the value of the work and probable profits arising from the publication of it." He advises Biddle to "agree to Mr. Bradfords offer. It is I am confident the best bargain you can make for Genl Clarke. The copyright I presume will be in him (Genl. C.) & I suppose he will derive the entire benefit of the sale of the M. S. in England."

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This advice Biddle in due time felt impelled to accept, and February 23d, 1813, tells Clark that having found Bradford's terms "not such as I thought advantageous I made proposals to all the booksellers in town. The stagnation in that branch of business was so great that no one was willing to embark in it, and after a great deal of fruitless negotiation I was obliged to return and on the advice of M^r. Conrad accept M^r. Bradford's proposals . . . I now wait only for the engravers who will soon I hope finish their work and then we can strike off the printing immediately & in a little time the work will be published." Nevertheless a year was spent in the mechanical execution of the two small volumes. Meanwhile the publishing firm of Bradford & Inskoop, who had undertaken the work, in their turn became insolvent and at the actual time of publication (February 20, 1814)¹ were in the bankruptcy court.

Just before going to press, Biddle was elected to the legislature, in which he soon won an enviable reputation for statesmanlike qualities. Being thus prevented from paying that attention to the book which he thought it deserved, he engaged Paul Allen, a Philadelphia newspaper writer, to supervise the issue. In a letter to Clark (March 23), reviewing some of the circumstances of the publication, Biddle says: "The gentleman who received and prepared it for the press, Mr. Allen, is a very capable person, and as I did not put the finishing hand to the volumes I did not think it right to take from him the credit of his own exertion and care by announcing personally the part which I had in the compilation. I am content that my trouble in the business should be recognized only by the pleasure which attended it and also by the satisfaction of making your acquaintance, which I shall always value. I could have wished that your time had permitted you to revise the whole of the work, as no doubt some errors and inadvertencies have from the nature of the volumes and the circumstances attending the publication crept into them. I hope however that you will not

¹ The date of the first sale of volumes. See Coues, *Lewis and Clark*, i, pp. xci, xcii, for detailed statement of the financial outcome of the enterprise.

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find them very numerous or important . . . Henceforth you may sleep upon your fame, which must last as long as books can endure. Mr. Bradford has I presume sent you a copy of the work."

Despite Biddle's determination to claim no credit for the narrative which has long been regarded a classic in American history, it is quite apparent that Allen's connection with the enterprise was but that of reviser for the press. He himself frankly states in the Preface, that he does not wish "to arrogate anything from the exertions of others;" that "he found but little to change, and that his labor has been principally confined to revising the manuscript, comparing it with the original papers, and inserting such additional matter as appears to have been intentionally deferred by the writer [Mr. Biddle] till the period of a more mature revisal." Allen secured from President Jefferson an admirable memoir of Lewis; possibly, he also blocked out the chapters; and in a measure the mechanical form may be due to him. His labors were doubtless important from the typographical and clerical side; but of course the credit for the enterprise should chiefly rest with Biddle. That the latter had finished the work, ready for the final touches of a practical reviser for the press, is evident from his own letters to Clark, as well as the confirmatory statement which has come down to us from Conrad.

In his richly annotated edition of the *Travels* (N. Y., 1893, 4 vols.), Dr. Elliott Coues spends much space and energy in persistently heaping vituperation on Allen for fathering a work mainly performed by another. Biddle had the undoubted right to withdraw his name from public connection with the narrative. We may consider his reasons Quixotish, but he was entitled to be guided by them, and they certainly bespeak a nature more generous than we are accustomed to meet. As for Allen, it is evident that he did his part with becoming modesty; no doubt he well earned the fee of \$500 — partly taken out in trade — with which he was rewarded by the publishers. Press-revision and proof-reading are no light tasks; although we might wish that, while he was at it, he had also given us an index.

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The size of the edition was, apparently, 2,000 copies.¹ Of these it would seem that 583 were either lost in some manner — “supposed to be destroyed in binder’s or printer’s hands” — or were defective from lacking plates; this would leave for sale only 1,417 perfect copies, which explains why the book is now rare. The net profits on the enterprise were computed at \$154.10, of which neither Clark nor Biddle appears to have received a penny. The copper plates of the engraved maps became the property of the latter, and are now owned by his son, the Hon. Craig Biddle, of Philadelphia. To Clark was left the copyright. As for the heirs of Lewis, we find them² as late as 1816–17 making application to Clark for their share of the earnings, “persuaded that profit arising from that work has been received,” and being informed by the latter of the dismal result of the enterprise.

Over two and a half years after the publication, a letter from Clark to Jefferson (October 10, 1816)³ reveals the fact that the explorer had himself “not been so fortunate as to procure a single volume, as yet” — thus showing that Bradford, in the midst of his financial troubles, had not carried out the above-mentioned agreement with Biddle, to transmit a copy of the work to the man chiefly concerned in its appearance.

The service of Biddle in editing the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, was a far more difficult literary task of Biddle’s undertaking than is commonly supposed. The entire mass of notes which he had before him may be thus roughly computed:

Lewis and Clark journals (Amer. Philosophical Society codices)	900,000 words
Gass Journal (as printed)	83,000 “
Ordway Journal — unknown, but possibly	100,000 “
	1,083,000

To this we should add about 160,000 words in the Clark-Voorhis collection, later to be described, and undoubtedly at

¹ In this, I follow Cones.
² Coues, *L. and C.*, i, pp. xciii, xciv.
³ Published in our Appendix.

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one time in Biddle's hands; and whatever additional notes he may himself have made during conversations with Clark and Shannon, or as the result of correspondence with the former — and they must have been copious. A large proportion of the scientific matter of the Lewis and Clark note-books, however, which may have aggregated a fourth of the journals as a whole, had at the outset been eliminated by Clark and Biddle. This material, carefully copied out, was sent to Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton, an eminent naturalist in Philadelphia.¹ Dr. Barton agreed to edit a special volume, "which was to have been (by contract) prepared in six months from the time" of the appearance of the narrative of the journey. Owing to Barton's illness and consequent death, this "scientific part"² was not written. Thus, while the Biddle narrative gives a popular account of some of the principal discoveries, the scientific data so laboriously kept by Lewis and Clark, chiefly the former, has not heretofore been published.

It was Biddle's task to weave this mass of heterogeneous data into a readable paraphrase which should have unity and a simple and forceful literary style. Adopting so far as possible the language of the original journals, where essential he amplifies and explains them from his additional data — Clark and Shannon's verbal statements, and the Ordway and Gass journals, assisting him to a more complete understanding. The nearly 1,500,000 words of manuscript he condensed into 370,000 printed words. The first person plural is used, save where the captains are individually mentioned, and then we have the third person singular. So skilfully is the work done, that probably few have realized that they had not before them the veritable journals of the explorers themselves, written upon the spot. The result will always remain one of the best digested and most interesting books of American travel, comparable in many respects with *Astoria* and *Bonneville's Adventures* — of course lacking Irving's

¹ A professor of medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, and a vice-president of the American Philosophical Society.

² Clark's letter to Jefferson, dated St. Louis, Oct. 10, 1816, given in our Appendix.

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charm of style, but possessing what Irving's two Western classics do not, the ring of truth, which never fails to appeal to those who love a tale of noble adventure in the cause of civilization.¹

We have seen that Jefferson, who set on foot the expedition, had from the first expressed much concern in its records, both in the making and the publication. He had urged their early printing, and on Lewis's death spurred Jefferson dissatisfied Clark to action; with what result, has been related. The dilatoriness of that performance — for which Clark, however, was only partly responsible — fretted the great man. December 6th, 1813, he wrote to Baron von Humboldt: "You will find it inconceivable that Lewis's journey to the Pacific should not yet have appeared; nor is it in my power to tell you the reason. The measures taken by his surviving companion, Clark, for the publication, have not answered our wishes in point of dispatch. I think, however, from what I have heard, that the mere journal will be out within a few weeks in two volumes, 8vo. These I will take care to send you with the tobacco seed you desired, if it be possible for them to escape the thousand ships of our enemies spread over the ocean. The botanical and zoological discoveries of Lewis will probably experience greater delay, and become known to the world through other channels before that volume will be ready. The Atlas, I believe, waits on the leisure of the engraver."² Nearly a hundred years have elapsed, and until the present work neither scientific data nor atlas has been given to the public.

Three years later (1816), we find Jefferson instituting a search for the manuscript journals of the explorers, with a view of placing them in the archives of the American Philosophical Society. He writes (April 26)³ to Jefferson's search for Original Journals Prof. Joseph F. Correa da Serra, a botanist then holding membership in the Society, asking him in the cause of science to interest himself in the matter, and

¹ For a bibliographical account of the Biddle paraphrase, see Mr. Paltsits's Bibliographical Data in the present volume.

² See full text, in Appendix.

³ The correspondence here cited is given in full in the Appendix.

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describing in some detail the character of the documents — with which he was himself familiar, for he had handled them at Monticello. These papers, he informs Da Serra, “are the property of the government, the fruits of the expedition undertaken at such expence of money and risk of valuable lives. They contain exactly the whole of the information which it was our object to obtain for the benefit of our own country and of the world, but we were willing to give to Lewis and Clarke whatever pecuniary benefits might be derived from the publication, and therefore left the papers in their hands, taking for granted that their interests would produce a speedy publication, which would be better if done under their direction. but the death of Cap^t Lewis, the distance and occupations of General Clarke, and the bankruptcy of their bookseller, have retarded the publication, and rendered necessary that the government should attend to the reclamation & security of the papers. their recovery is now become an imperious duty. their safest deposit as fast as they can be collected, will be the Philosophical society, who no doubt will be so kind as to recieve and preserve them, subject to the order of government. . . . As to any claims of individuals to these papers, it is to be observed that, as being the property of the public, we are certain neither Lewis nor Clarke would undertake to convey away the right to them, and that they could not convey them, had they been capable of intending it. . . . my interference will, I trust, be excused, not only from the portion which every citizen has in whatever is public, but from the peculiar part I have had in the design and execution of this expedition.”

It appears that Biddle, who still held the majority of the note-books, was disinclined to surrender them to Jefferson save on order of Clark. September 8th, Jefferson wrote to the general, soliciting such an order, to “be given in favor either of the War office or myself. . . . I should receive them only in trust for the War office to which they belong, and take their orders relating to them.” He wishes to deposit with the Philosophical Society “for safekeeping the travelling pocket journals as originals to be recurred to on all interesting questions arising out of the published journal ;” his desire

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being to secure "to the world all the beneficial results we were entitled to expect from it [the expedition], and which would so fully justify the expences of the expedition incurred by the United States in that expectation."

October 10th, Clark responds to Jefferson by enclosing "an Order on my friend M^r. Biddle for the papers in his possession," Biddle being at the same time instructed, as his agent, "to collect all the Books, papers, specimens, &c." in the hands of Dr. Barton's heirs or others. Clark expresses interest in Jefferson's desire to collect the papers, and adds: "From the mortification of not haveing succeeded in giving to the world all the results of that expedition, I feel Relief & greatitude for the interest which you are willing to take, in effecting what has not been in my power to accomplish." Nevertheless, we shall presently see that Clark had retained in his possession at St. Louis five of his own original journals, nearly all the maps made by him upon the expedition, and many miscellaneous documents concerning the enterprise; these he did not surrender.

Jefferson now writes to Dr. John Vaughan of the Society (June 28, 1817), saying that although Da Serra had obtained several note-books from Mr. Biddle and Mrs. Barton, considerable difficulty is being experienced in collecting all the documents. Evidently much annoyed, he proposes to bring pressure to bear, through the secretary of war, "that office having some rights to these papers." The further suggestion is made, that the Society publish "in their Transactions or otherwise," a digest of the "zoological, vegetable & mineralogical papers & subjects."

On the eighth of April, 1818, we learn from the manuscript minutes of the corporation that "Mr. Nicholas Biddle deposited the original journals of Lewis and Clark, with an account of them and of those journals and documents which he was not possessed of." The deposit consisted of eighteen note-books and twelve parcels of loose sheets; of these, thirteen are in red-morocco covers—seven by Lewis and six by Clark.¹

¹ The correspondence touching upon this event will be found in full in the Appendix.

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Here the records of Jefferson's search suddenly cease. Neither the federal government nor the American Philosophical Society having decided to publish them, these precious manuscripts slumbered untouched for nearly seventy-five years in the library vault of the Society, practically unknown to historical scholars outside of that institution. In 1892, Dr. Elliott Coues, eminent as a scientist and traveller, as well as an editor of American historical sources, was engaged in preparing the new edition of Biddle, to which frequent reference has already been made. Most if not all of his matter was before him in galley proofs, when he learned for the first time of the existence of the original manuscripts in Philadelphia. Armed with a letter from the explorer's son, Jefferson Kearny Clark, of St. Louis, Coues requested the loan of the note-books from their custodian. This was granted by the Society (vote of December 16), and the manuscripts were accordingly sent to him at Washington. Concluding that it was too late to block out the work afresh and discard Biddle's text, he compromised by enriching his notes with many citations from the originals — unfortunately freely modernized, as was his custom with all the Western manuscripts which he edited; and from them he also compiled a new chapter in the Biddle style, which he inserted into the body of the book, as though a part of the Biddle text. His modified excerpts but served to whet the appetites of students of American history, and thus led to the project for their eventual publication in extenso and with literal accuracy.

In returning the journals to the Society, Coues transmitted therewith a detailed report upon their scope and condition.¹ While in his possession, he attached to each codex (note-book) a memorandum summarizing its contents, and to each gave an identifying letter, running from A to T. This was commendable; but certain other liberties which he took with the manuscripts merit our condemnation — for in many codices he freely interlined the text with his own verbal changes and comments; and in general appeared

Used by
Coues

Coues's
report on
codices

¹ Published in *American Philosophical Proceedings*, xxi (No. 140), pp. 17-33; reprinted, in abbreviated form, in our Appendix.

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to treat the material as though mere copy for the printer, which might be revised by him with impunity. Apparently the codices remained unopened after their return; for it was not until the summer of 1903 that the Society authorities were made aware, by one who was examining them in detail, of the surprising treatment to which they had been subjected.

The next chapter in the story opened in the spring of 1901, when the Society's Committee on Historical Manuscripts determined—in view of the forthcoming centennial of the Louisiana Purchase—at last to carry out Jefferson's suggestion, and secure the publication of the Lewis and Clark journals direct from the original manuscripts in their custody. They interested in this project the present publishers, who in turn engaged the writer as Editor of the work.

In the course of consequent investigation into the sources, there came to view in the Society's library a few other Lewis and Clark items, besides the codices handled and labelled by Coues; these were chiefly statistical tables regarding the Western Indians, a meteorological record, and a list of the explorers' specimens sent from Fort Mandan to the Society¹—matters of considerable although not commanding importance.²

In Coues's report on the codices, occurs this note: "One of Clark's Journals is now in the possession of his son, [the late] Mr. Jefferson K. Clark, of St. Louis. I am not informed of the date covered by this volume, nor of the nature of its contents." Upon assuming charge of the proposed publication, the present writer at once approached the heirs of General William Clark for permission to use the Ordway Journal, in case it could be found among

¹ See Appendix, for this document.

² Several copies of the Indian vocabulary blank prepared by Jefferson are also in the possession of the American Philosophical Society, having been presented by him in October, 1820. It consists of a sheet $7\frac{3}{4} \times 19\frac{1}{4}$ ", printed on both sides—although there are some which were printed on but one side of a sheet twice this width, the two pages standing side by side. Those filled out represent, among others, the Miami, Micmac, Shawnee, Chippewa, and Lenape languages; while several are still blank. In the collection are no vocabularies which appear to have emanated from the Lewis and Clark expedition.

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the family papers. As the result of protracted negotiations, an unexpected situation was revealed. The third son and fourth child of General Clark and his first wife, Julia Hancock, was George Rogers Hancock Clark, born at St. Louis in 1816 and dying in 1858. This son was his father's executor, and as such came into possession of the explorer's papers and many other family relics, which he appears to have arranged and labelled with some care. Upon his death they descended to his eldest child, now Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis of New York City, whose proprietary rights are at present shared with her daughter, Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis.

It appears that a few years ago Mrs. Voorhis began the examination of the collection with a view to selecting therefrom, for a projected compilation of her own, certain documents which pertained to the public careers of various members of the Clark family, particularly William and George Rogers. This examination was still privately in progress when, in the autumn of 1903, the present Editor — quite unconscious of the existence of other historical manuscripts at the Voorhis home — appeared upon the scene with his application for the *Ordway Journal*. Indeed, the ladies themselves were as yet unaware of the full significance of their treasures, especially those appertaining to the great expedition. The result was that the writer in several visits personally completed the examination of the collection, with the papers of the expedition especially in view; and arrangements were concluded between the proprietors of the documents and the publishers, by which all those essential to the complete narrative of the Lewis and Clark exploration are to be published in the present work.

The Voorhis collection of Lewis and Clark material is of surprising richness, and consists of the following items:

Clark Journals

Red morocco note-book No. 1 — Diary, April 7–July 3, 1805; 38,000 words, with 3 maps of the Falls of the Missouri.

Field-book, bound in a rude piece of elk skin, secured by a thong and button, and undoubtedly carried in Clark's pocket upon the expedi-

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tion — Diary, Sept. 11–Dec. 31, 1805; 20,000 words, with over a dozen full-page sketch-maps of the trail over the mountains, and the neighborhood of Fort Clatsop, interwoven with the badly blurred text. On the skin cover is a rude plan of the fort itself.

Red morocco note-book No. 2 — Diary, Jan. 30–April 3, 1806; 41,000 words, with numerous pen sketches of canoes, birds, dwellings, tools, etc. by the same hand (Clark's) as those contained in Lewis's codices of similar dates, in the American Philosophical Society's collection.

Red morocco note-book No. 3 — Diary, April 4–June 6, 1806; 35,000 words, with some sketch-maps.

Fragment of Journal — Detached leaves, giving evidently first draft of entries, April 16–21, 1806; 2,300 words.

Red morocco note-book No. 4 — No diary, but containing sundry notes and tables of weather, distances, astronomical and ethnological data — all covered, however, in more finished manuscripts in the American Philosophical Society's collection. There are also in this book four excellent colored maps.

Miscellaneous Material

An orderly book, by several hands, running from April 1 to Oct. 13, 1804, and a detached entry for Jan. 1, 1806; detached orders promulgated at River Dubois camp, Feb. 20 and March 4, 1804; also a few detached orders issued during the expedition.

Ten letters (some of them drafts) — Lewis offering (June 19, 1803) Clark an equal partnership in command of the expedition; Clark's acceptance thereof (July 17); Clark's letter to President Jefferson (July 24), informing him of this fact; Lewis to Clark (Aug. 3), expressing his gratification at the latter's favorable response; six others, chiefly by Clark, relating to various phases of the expedition.

Letter of Clark to "Mr. Hugh Henry at the N. W. Co. establishments on the Assiniboin River," written from the Yellowstone, July 20, 1806 (2,000 words); and Clark's order to Sergeant N. Pryor, dated July 25, 1806, directing him to take the aforesaid letter to Henry, together with twelve or fourteen horses (320 words).

An address from the citizens of Fincastle and its vicinity to Captains Lewis and Clark, dated January 8, 1807 (300 words); and Clark's undated answer thereto (300 words).

Numerous other letters and memoranda — among them the original of Jefferson's letter of credit; Clark's various military commissions,

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before, during, and after the expedition; fragmentary records of courses and distances, Indian tribes, weather data, and the like; information concerning the Assiniboin country obtained from British traders at Fort Mandan; and one of Clark's speeches to the Indians, in 1806.

Maps

Most important of all are about sixty detailed maps, for the most part made by Clark while on the trip, he being engineer of the detachment. Collectively, these illustrate the greater part of the journey both going and returning, indicate camping-places, and contain many interesting comments on the country and the Indians. These charts vary in size from eight inches square to several feet long.

In addition to the above manuscripts, there are in this collection several oil paintings of the Clarks—chiefly George Rogers and William—together with numerous valuable relics of these men, making of the Voorhis home a museum of great interest to students of Western history.

Why did not General Clark surrender this wealth of manuscripts either to the American Philosophical Society or to Jefferson, when the latter was searching for all the documents of the expedition, stoutly claiming them as the undoubted property of the government? The probable answer is, that Biddle found the four Clark-Voorhis morocco note-books of no service to him; for practically all the facts contained in them are either in Lewis's journals of similar dates or in other drafts by Clark. He doubtless returned the books to Clark, in the early stages of the work, keeping only those which later were placed in the Society's archives. It is probable, also, that the engraver having completed such maps as he deemed necessary for the publication, all the charts made upon the expedition were returned to Clark. As for the skin-bound field-book, this having already been transcribed into a red morocco note-book, very likely the original did not go to Biddle at all; the orderly book, the various fragments, the Lewis-Clark correspondence, and the letter of credit, were doubtless also retained at St. Louis as being deemed, for Biddle's purpose of a popular narrative, unusable

An interesting query

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material. On his part, it is probable that Clark had either forgotten the existence of these documents, or, like Biddle, considered them as of relatively slight historical value. His seemingly careless treatment of them would appear to bear out the last conclusion. In all events, they remained among his papers untouched, until tied into packets and labelled by his son and executor, George Rogers Hancock Clark.¹ The manuscripts again suffered a long period of neglect, and eventually were sent to New York, where they became the property of Mrs. Voorhis, the story of whose connection with them has already been told.

It has often been asserted that Sergeant Pryor wrote a journal of the expedition, and some have assumed that Pryor, Floyd, Biddle used it in preparing the narrative of 1814; Frazier, and Woodhouse but evidence to this effect is wanting — in any event, Journals no one now seems to know the whereabouts of this manuscript.

The journal (12,500 words, covering the dates March 13 — August 18, 1804) of Sergeant Floyd, the only man of the party to meet death during the trip,² was in the spring of 1805

¹ General William Clark's appointment as Superintendent of Indian Affairs and Brigadier General of Militia for the Territory of Louisiana (1807) has already been noted in the text. In this dual part, he was eminently successful. Governor Lewis had been succeeded in that office by Benjamin Howard, and the following year (1810) the name of the territory was changed to Missouri. July 1, 1813, Clark was appointed by President Madison as governor of Missouri Territory, being several times recommissioned as such — in 1816, 1817, and 1820. In the last-named year, Missouri entered the Union, and Clark was a candidate for the first State governor, but was defeated in the election by Alexander McNair. In 1820, President Monroe appointed him to the newly created office of federal Superintendent of Indian Affairs; two years later, he was commissioned as Surveyor General for the States of Illinois and Missouri and the Territory of Arkansas. He died at St. Louis, September 1st, 1838, in his sixty-ninth year, and was given an impressive funeral, in which the entire community took part. Governor Clark was twice married — first, at Fincastle, Virginia, January 5, 1808, to Julia Hancock, who died in 1820, leaving four sons and a daughter; second, at St. Louis, November 28, 1821, to Mrs. Harriet Kennerly Radford, who died in 1831, leaving one son by William Clark.

² Floyd, aged about twenty years (possibly twenty-three), died near the site of the present Sioux City, Iowa, May 14th, 1804, and was buried on the top of a neighboring bluff. The site is now marked by a stately stone monument dedicated (May 30, 1901) to his memory by the Floyd Memorial Association. See *Reports of the association* — First, 1897; Second, 1901.

The Floyds were prominent Kentucky pioneers. Colonel John Floyd, the head

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sent from Fort Mandan to his parents in Kentucky, and eventually became the property of the Wisconsin Historical Society. With many textual errors in transcription, it was published in 1894 in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, with an introduction by Dr. James Davie Butler.

Soon after the return of the expedition, Robert Frazier, one of the privates, solicited subscriptions in Vermont for a publication of his journal, to be "contained in about 400 pages octavo;" but it did not appear, and the present writer has no knowledge of the manuscript.¹

The existence of a journal by Private Joseph Whitehouse was unknown until recently. It was purchased in San Francisco by Dodd, Mead & Co., to be published in connection with the Original Journals of Lewis and Clark; after having been edited for the press, the manuscript (containing 67,000 words, covering the dates May 14, 1804—November 6, 1805) was acquired from the publishers by Edward E. Ayer, the well known Chicago collector.²

of the family, was a friend and contemporary of Daniel Boone and George Rogers Clark. But little is known of the young sergeant's personal history, save that his father, also Charles, was a surveyor and a friend of Boone. Governor John Floyd, of Virginia, father of John B. Floyd, Buchanan's secretary of war, was a first cousin of the sergeant. Much prominence has been given to Sergeant Floyd, because he was the only man to suffer death upon this expedition, because it is thought that he was the first United States soldier to lose his life west of the Mississippi River, and because his captains praised him as a faithful man—see entry by Clark, *post*, under date August 20th, 1804. Floyd's Journal—which was discovered by the present writer among hitherto-neglected papers of the late Dr. Lyman C. Draper, in February, 1893—has of course greatly added to his reputation, and made of him a far more important character in the annals of the expedition than he otherwise would have been.

¹ See Appendix, for Frazier's prospectus.

² Nothing appears to be known concerning the history of Joseph Whitehouse, save that he was one of the nine young Kentuckians whom Clark recruited for the expedition. The manuscript of his journal was purchased by Dodd, Mead & Co. from Mrs. Gertrude Haley (widow of Captain John Haley), of San Francisco, from whom it has been impossible for the present Editor to obtain any very definite information concerning its career. According to Mrs. Haley's statements, obtained only after a protracted correspondence with her, it would appear that Whitehouse, when upon his death-bed (date unknown), gave the journal to his confessor, Canon de Vivaldi, who subsequently (1860) went as a Roman Catholic missionary to Patagonia. Upon leaving the United States, Vivaldi deposited the manuscript with the New York Historical Society, in whose museum it rested until 1893. In that year, Vivaldi was in Los Angeles, California. Captain and Mrs. Haley were stopping at the same

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Thus, seventy-five years after Jefferson's quest, and within the centennial year of the departure of the Lewis and Clark expedition from their preliminary camp on River Dubois, there have at last been located presumably all the literary records now extant, of that notable enterprise in the cause of civilization. The Original Journals, now definitively published to the world, in a dress which surely would have satisfied Jefferson, must create a new interest in the deeds of Lewis and Clark. They are, in the mass, much more extensive than the Biddle narrative; the voluminous scientific data here given—in botany, zoölogy, meteorology, geology, astronomy, and ethnology—is almost entirely a fresh contribution; and we obtain from the men's note-books as written from day to day, a far more vivid picture of the explorers and their life, than can be seen through the alembic of Biddle's impersonal condensation.

The pages of the journals are aglow with human interest. The quiet, even temper of the camp; the loving consideration that each of the two leaders felt for the other; the magnanimity of Lewis, officially the leader, in equally dividing every honor with his friend, and making no move without the latter's consent; the poetic temperament of Lewis, who loved flowers and animals, and in his notes discoursed like a philosopher who enjoyed the exercise of writing; the rugged character of Clark, who wrote in brief, pointed phrase, and, less educated of the two, spelled phonetically, capitalized chaotically, and occasionally slipped in his grammar—all these and more, are evident on every page; causing the reader deeply to admire the men, and to follow

hotel. Mrs. Haley says that her husband advanced money to the missionary, and was in return given an order on the New York Society for the journal, which the historian, Hubert Bancroft, had told them was of great value. Haley obtained the document in 1894, and it remained Mrs. Haley's property until sold to the present publishers. The Editor's attention had been directed to the manuscript because of its being offered to the Library of Congress. That institution declined to pay the price asked for it, and Dodd, Mead & Co.'s successful negotiations followed. The authenticity of the journal is self evident, and its historical value is considerable. While for the most part in the writing of Whitehouse, many entries are in other hands as will be noted in the publication of the document itself, in vol. vi of the present work.

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them in their often thrilling adventures with the keenest sympathy and anticipation. We shall henceforth know Lewis and Clark as we never knew them before. The Biddle narrative will no doubt continue to live as the brief popular account of an exploration fraught with great consequence to American expansion; but at least the student of history will feel that the original records, as the men wrote them on the spot, are by far the more satisfying of the two.

In preparing for the press these Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, many editorial problems have arisen, which it is unnecessary here to discuss in detail. In brief, it may be said that the abundance of material has in itself often proved an embarrassment. As already stated, the two captains frequently rewrote their records; for the most part, only the definitive form remains to us, but there are long periods for which we have two or more drafts. Then again, each leader freely copied from the other, although generally with some variation. In the case of the narrative proper, the Editor has, with a few exceptions, thought best to retain the several drafts in the order of their preparation; this method involves occasional repetition of statement, but in a publication of the original records it appears advisable to exhibit the literary methods of the explorers. With regard, however, to the statistical and scientific material, it has not seemed essential to publish the different drafts — the best only has been presented. In the department of Scientific Data, it will be noted that in a few instances some of the tabular matter has been co-ordinated, the sources being indicated either by differentiation in type or by explanatory foot-notes. Some of the tables were prepared by the explorers in a manner quite impossible of reproduction in type. But wherever practicable, we have sought to imitate the original as closely as the limitations of typography will allow.

We have seen that the codices in the possession of the American Philosophical Society contain many erasures, interlineations, and emendations — by Clark, Biddle, Coues, and an unknown hand. The scientific entries were generally crossed in red ink, with the note, "Copy for Dr. Barton;" this meant

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that such matter was to be reserved for Barton's proposed volume on the scientific results of the expedition, which, however, was not prepared. The present Editor has disregarded marks of this character. His method of indicating to the reader the various emendations, is explained in the foot-note to page 11 of the present volume, *post*.

The arrangement of chapters follows the Biddle edition of 1814. In that narrative the chapters were of proper and nearly equal length; whereas in this, owing to the greater extent of material, they are unequal and some of them abnormally extended. A new system of chaptering would have obviated this difficulty and thus presented a better mechanical appearance. Nevertheless, it has been deemed best to retain the Biddle chapters — they are convenient chronological and geographical divisions; they are familiar to scholars, and thus have acquired a certain historical and bibliographical standing; moreover, comparisons between the Biddle paraphrase and the Original Journals will be facilitated by their retention.

A work of this character, involving so wide a range of territory, interests, and studies, must in considerable measure be co-operative in its character. The Editor's requests for advice and assistance have on every hand met with most cordial responses, for which a mere enumeration of names seems only cold acknowledgment; it is hoped that each of his correspondents and colleagues will between the lines read a heartier appreciation than to others may be apparent. The Bibliographical Data contributed to the present work by Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, is a work of great value; like the Original Journals themselves, this chapter on the literature of the subject will doubtless prove definitive. The officers of the American Philosophical Society, particularly the secretary, Dr. I. Minis Hays, have been kindness itself. Valuable notes on the scientific results of the expedition have been freely contributed by Dr. William Trelease, Director of the Missouri Botanical Garden at St. Louis; Messrs. Stewardson Brown and Witmer Stone, assistants to the curators of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Philadelphia; Mr. James Newton Baskett, of

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Mexico, Missouri; Professor Edwin H. Barbour, of the University of Nebraska; Professor E. E. Blackman, archaeologist for the Nebraska Historical Society; Professor Charles V. Piper, botanist and entomologist of the Washington (State) Agricultural and Experiment Station at Pullman; and Professor Franklin H. King, of the United States Department of Agriculture. Detailed information concerning the over-mountain trail of the expedition has been obtained from Mr. Olin D. Wheeler, of the General Passenger and Ticket Department of the Northern Pacific Railway, whose two-volume work, *The Trail of Lewis and Clark*, will prove of much practical value to American historians; and Professor F. G. Young, of the University of Oregon. Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, of Oregon City, Oregon, has contributed most liberally from the surprisingly rich store of historical materials which, with remarkable enterprise and perseverance, she accumulated during her preparation for the writing of *The Conquest*; her persistent helpfulness has laid the Editor under unusual obligations. Courtesies of various kinds have also been received from the following persons — to mention but a few of the many who, throughout the past two years, have aided the publication: Hon. Pierre Chouteau, and Hon. Walter B. Douglas, of St. Louis, members of the Missouri Historical Society, and the society's librarian, Miss Mary Louise Dalton; Hon. Craig Biddle, of Philadelphia; Mrs. Laura E. Howey, secretary and librarian of the Historical and Miscellaneous Department of the Montana State Library; Mrs. S. Lou Monroe-Farmer, of Portland, Oregon; Mr. Peter Koch, of Bozeman, Montana; Mr. Charles H. Conover, of Chicago; Mr. J. W. Cheney, librarian of the War Department, Mr. Robert Chapman, of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, Mr. C. H. Lincoln, of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, and Major William Hancock Clark, of Washington, D. C.; Mr. C. H. Anderson, of Ivy Depot, Virginia; Hon. Nathaniel P. Langford, of St. Paul; and Mr. William Harvey Miner, of Cleveland.

Emma Helen Blair, A.M., editorial assistant upon *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* and now one of the editors of *The Philippine Islands, 1493-1898*, assisted materially

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upon a majority of the annotations; further help in this direction, as well as in the difficult work of comparing transcriptions with the original manuscripts, has been rendered by Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph.D., of the Manuscripts Division of the Wisconsin Historical Library. Finally, the Editor takes especial pleasure in acknowledging the patient and kindly cooperation of the Publishers, who have exhibited the deepest interest in every detail of the work, which owes much to their many suggestions and their generous determination to leave nothing undone that might add to its scholarly value and artistic embellishment.

R. G. T.

MADISON, WISCONSIN
May 14, 1904

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

By VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS

A PART from a few insignificant references in the prefaces or introductions of some of the earlier editions of Lewis and Clark, the first attempt to record the publications related to the expedition of those explorers was made by Joseph Sabin in his *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, vol. vi, p. 443, under William Fisher; vol. vii, p. 181, under Patrick Gass; and vol. x, pp. 310-313, under Merriwether Lewis. Unfortunately Sabin read into his record several titles or editions that never existed, and in his descriptions committed a number of egregious errors, which have been only too freely copied and perpetuated by others.

An incomplete list was given by Field in his *Essay towards an Indian Bibliography* (New York, 1873).

The late Elliott Coues made the first comprehensive bibliographical study of these problematic books in his *An Account of the various publications relating to the Travels of Lewis and Clarke (sic)*, printed in the "Bulletin of the Geological and Geographical Survey of the Territories" (Hayden's), Second Series, No. 6, published by the Department of the Interior in 1876. A few copies thereof were also issued as separates. This material Coues "recast and improved" for his 1893 edition of the Lewis and Clark *History*; it appears in vol. i, pp. cvii-cxxxii. In many respects it is a worthy endeavor, especially if regarded as a pioneer effort; yet it must be admitted that it teems with errors, some of which are inexplicable.

There are some brief bibliographical notes in Hubert Howe Bancroft's *Northwest Coast*, vol. ii, pp. 7, 8, 31, which present some inaccuracies. The same may be said of Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vii, pp. 556-558.

The latest attempt to cover the subject was made by William Harvey Miner, in *The Literary Collector*, vol. iii (1902), pp. 204-209. The form is poor; the collations are not nearly accurate, and numerous errors perpetuated from Coues and Sabin, as well as some omissions, detract from its usefulness as a bibliography.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

In order to serve its real purpose — namely, to afford the scholar, the librarian, and the collector media for determining what is a complete work — a monographic bibliography must give in minutest detail an analysis of each volume. Only by this method can imperfections and variations be determined. Starting out with this ideal in view, I have endeavored to find and examine one or more copies of every work related to the expedition. This task was great, but an insatiable appetite would not permit deviation from this plan. If the results attained prove at all of service, the compiler will consider himself rewarded for his arduous labor.

The material is arranged in five chronological groups, namely: Jefferson's Message (1806-1808); Counterfeit Publications (1809-1851); Gass (1807-1904); Genuine History (1814-1904); Miscellanea (1804-1904). Only a few analytical references have been included, on account of their special importance, and magazine articles have intentionally been barred. The various editions of Jefferson's *Writings* and *Works*, edited by Washington and by Ford, are worth consulting for valuable materials. References to the official publications of the government of the United States, not included here, are given by another hand at the end of my bibliography.

The following key is explanatory of the abbreviations used to locate copies:

- AAS = American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
- BA = Boston Athenæum
- BM = British Museum, London
- BPL = Boston Public Library
- C = Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
- CHC = Collection of Charles H. Conover, Esq., Chicago
- CHS = Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford
- CU = Columbian University, Washington, D. C.
- EI = Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
- HC = Harvard College Library, Cambridge, Mass.
- HSP = Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
- LCP = Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia
- MHS = Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
- NA = New York Public Library (Astor Library Building)
- NL = New York Public Library (Lenox Library Building)
- NYHS = New York Historical Society, New York
- NYSL = New York State Library, Albany
- WD = War Department Library, Washington, D. C.
- WHS = State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

JEFFERSON'S MESSAGE

1806

Message from the President of the United States, communicating Discoveries made in exploring the Missouri, Red River and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley, and Mr. Dunbar; with a Statistical Account of the countries adjacent. February 19, 1806. Read, and ordered to lie on the table.

City of Washington: A. & G. Way, Printers. 1806.

8vo; title, verso blank; "Message", pp. [3] and 4; "Extract of a Letter from Captain Meriwether Lewis, to the President of the United States, dated Fort Mandan, April 17th, 1805", pp. [5]-8; "A Statistical View", pp. [9]-65; "Historical Sketches", pp. [66]-86; "To General Henry Dearborn", signed by John Sibley, pp. 87-112; "Distances up Red river by the course of the river", pp. 113-115; "Observations", etc., pp. 116-171; "Meteorological observations", pp. (7); two folded broadsides, to follow pp. 30 and 34. Signatures: [1]-22 in fours, 23 in two (the last leaf blank).

This is the original and official edition, as well as the first separate publication with data on the expedition of Lewis and Clark.

Copies: AAS; BM; BPL; C; CHC; CHS; CU; EI; HC; LCP; MHS; NA; NL; WD; WHS.

1806

Message from the President of the United States, communicating Discoveries made in exploring the Missouri, Red River, and Washita, by Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley, and Mr. Dunbar; with a Statistical Account of the countries adjacent. Read in Congress, February 19, 1806.

New-York: Printed by Hopkins and Seymour, and sold by G. F. Hopkins, No. 118, Pearl-Street. 1806.

8vo; title, verso blank; "Message", pp. [3] and 4; "Extract of a Letter from Captain Meriwether Lewis, to the President of the United States, dated Fort Mandan, April 17th, 1805", pp. [5]-8; "A Statistical View", pp. [9]-47; "Historical Sketches", pp. [48]-62; "To General Henry Dearborn", signed by John Sibley, pp. 63-81; "Distances up Red river by the course of the river", pp. 82-83; "Observations", pp. 84-125; "Meteorological Observations", beginning on p. 125-128; table of "Sioux proper" to follow p. 25. Signatures: [A]-Q in fours.

Copies: AAS (uncut copy); BPL; CHC; LCP; NYHS; WHS.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1806

Discoveries | made in exploring | the Missouri, Red River | and Washita, | by | Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley, | and | William Dunbar, Esq. | with | a Statistical Account | of the | Countries adjacent. With an Appendix by Mr. Dunbar. | Natchez: | Printed by Andrew Marschalk, | 1806. |

8vo; title, verso blank; "Message", pp. [3] and 4; "Extract of a letter from Captain Meriwether Lewis, to the President of the United States, dated Fort Mandan, April 17th, 1805", pp. [5]-8; "A statistical View of the Indian Nations", pp. [9]-64; "Historical Sketches of the several Indian Tribes of Louisiana", pp. [65]-83; "To General Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War", signed by John Sibley, pp. 84-109; "Distances up Red river by the course of the river", pp. 110-112; "Observations", pp. 113-164; "Extracts from the Appendix", pp. [165]-166, 159-169; "Meteorological observations", pp. 170-177; verso of last leaf blank. Two pages 127, also erratic pagination after 166. Signatures: [A]-W in fours, X in six.

The only copy which I have seen was one kindly loaned to me by Dr. Samuel A. Green, of Boston, Mass., purchased by him many years ago in Paris, France. It appears not to be in the various libraries which I have visited, but the British Museum has a copy.

1806

The | Monthly Anthology, | and | Boston Review, | Containing | Sketches and Reports | of | Philosophy, Religion, History, | Arts and Manners, | Omnes undique fosculos carpam atque delibem. | Vol. 3^d | 1806. |

Boston | Published by | Munroe & Francis | N^o 7 Court Street. | 1806 | Callender Sc^o |

8vo. The appendix, entitled, "The Political Cabinet", consists of 96 pp. On pp. 39, ff. Jefferson's Message of February 19, 1806 and other documents are printed in part.

[*Same title*] Vol. 4th | 1807 | Boston | Published by | Munroe & Francis | N^o 7 Court Street. | 1807 | Callender Sc^o | The appendix of this fourth volume, also entitled, "The Political Cabinet", consists of 80 pp. On pp. 6, ff. is printed a "Letter from Capt. Clark", dated at "St. Louis, 23d Sept. 1806."

These descriptions are from a set in MHS. Also in WHS.

1807

Travels | in the | Interior Parts of America; | communicating | Discoveries | made in exploring | the Missouri, Red River and Washita, | by | Captains Lewis and Clark, Doctor Sibley, | and |

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Mr. Dunbar; with a Statistical Account of the Countries adjacent. As laid before the Senate, by the President of the United States. In February, 1806, and never before published in Great Britain.

London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 6, Bridge Street, Blackfriars, By J. G. Barnard, 57, Snow-hill. 1807.

8vo; title, verso blank; text in composite, pp. [3]-24, 17-116. Signatures: A—C, C—O in fours, P in two. Folded table of "Sioux Proper" at p. 24 of first series of pagination.

This edition is part of Richard Phillips's A Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels: Vol. VI.

The copy described¹ is in HC. It is also in BM; C; CHC; NYSL; WHS.

1808

American State Papers, containing Authentic Documents relative to the History, Politicks, Statisticks, &c. of the United States of America. Communicated to Congress by the President.

Boston: Printed by Munroe, Francis, & Parker, No. 4, Cornhill. 1808.

8vo. On pp. 39, ff. Jefferson's Message of February 19, 1806 and other documents are printed in part; and on pp. 6, ff. the "Letter from Capt. Clark", dated at "St. Louis, 23d Sept. 1806." It is a reissue, with separate title-page, of the appendixes from the *Monthly Anthology*, vols. 3 and 4.

The description is from a copy in MHS. Also in WHS.¹

¹ Jefferson's Message of February 19th, 1806, was printed many times in collected works, without the accompanying documents, of which the following is by no means a complete list: (1) *Addresses and Messages*. New York: Charles Lohman, 1837; (2) *Addresses and Messages*. New York: Edward Walker, 1841; (3) *Addresses and Messages*. New York: Edward Walker, 1846; (4) *True American*. By Joseph Coe. Concord, N. H.: Morrill, Silsby & Co., 1841; (5) *Statesman's Manual*. By E. Williams. New York: Edward Walker, 1853; (6) *Richardson's Messages and Papers of the Presidents*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896-99; (7) *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. Edited by H. A. Washington. Washington, D. C.: Taylor & Maury, 1853-54; (8) *Writings*. [Idem]. New York: J. C. Riker, 1854-56; (9) *Works*. [Idem]. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1864; (10) *Works*. [Idem]. New York: Townsend MacCoun, 1884. — It is not in Paul Leicester Ford's collection of Jefferson's *Writings*.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

COUNTERFEIT PUBLICATIONS

1809

The | Travels | of | Capts. Lewis & Clarke, | by order of the | Government of the United States, | performed in the years 1804, 1805, & 1806, | being upwards of three thousand miles, from | St. Louis, by way of the Missouri, and | Columbia Rivers, to the | Pacifick-Ocean : | Containing an Account of the Indian Tribes, who inhabit | the Western part of the Continent unexplored, | and unknown before. | With copious delineations of the manners, cus- | toms, religion, &c. of the Indians. | Compiled | From various authentic sources, and Documents. To which is subjoined, | A Summary of the Statistical view of the Indian | Nations, from the Official Communication of | Meriwether Lewis. | Embellished with a Map of the Country inhabited by | the Western tribes of Indians, and five Engravings | of Indian Chiefs. |

Philadelphia : | Published by Hubbard Lester. | 1809. | Price — 1 dollar 62½ cts. |

12mo; title, with copyright on verso; "Recommendation" of Jefferson, verso blank; "Message", verso blank; "Introduction", pp. [vii]-xi; "Estimate", p. xii; "Travels to the Pacifick Ocean", pp. [13]-153; "Statistical View", pp. [154]-178; "Historical Sketches of the several Indian Tribes in Louisiana", pp. [179]-204; "Origin", pp. 204-228; "Observations", pp. [229]-292; "Anecdotes", pp. 293-300. Five portraits, of "Sioux Warrior", "Sioux Queen", "Mahas King", "Ottoes Queen", and "Serpentine Chief"; also folded map, entitled, "Map of the Country Inhabited by the Western Tribes of Indians". Two of the plates in different copies exhibit a curious metamorphosis, by serving in one case for masculinity and in the other for femininity, namely, as "Mahas King" and "Mahas Queen"; "Ottoes Chief" and "Ottoes Queen". Signatures: [A]-BB in sixes.

Copies: C; CHC; NL (lacks map); NYHS (two copies, one lacks map).

1809

The | Travels | of | Capts. Lewis & Clarke, | from | St. Louis, by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers, | to the | Pacific Ocean; | performed in the years 1804, 1805, & 1806, | by order of the | Government of the United States. | Containing | Delineations of the Manners, Customs, | Religion, &c. | Of the Indians, | compiled from | Various Authentic Sources, and Original Documents, | and | a Summary

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

of the Statistical View of the Indian Nations, from the official communication of Meriwether Lewis. Illustrated with a Map of the Country, inhabited by the Western Tribes of Indians.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, Paternoster Row. 1809.¹

8vo; title, with printer's name on verso; "Message", pp. [iii]-iv; "Introduction," pp. [v]-ix; one blank page; "Travels to the Pacific Ocean", pp. [1]-156; "Statistical View", pp. 157-183; "Historical Sketches of the several Indian Tribes in Louisiana", pp. 184-210; "Origin of the American Indian Population", pp. 211-237; "Observations", pp. 238-307; "Common Names of some of the Trees", etc., pp. 308-309; verso of p. 309 blank. P. 38 is misprinted 83. Folded "Map of the Country Inhabited by the Western Tribes of Indians", engraved by Neele. Signatures: A in five, B-U in eights, X in two, Y in one.

Copies: BM; C; CHC; HC; NL; NYHS; NYSL.

1811

Die Reisen der Capitaine Lewis und Clarke; unternommen auf Befehl der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten in den Jahren 1804, 1805 und 1806, über eine Länderstrecke von mehr als 3000 Meilen, von St. Louis, auf dem Missouri und Columbia, nach dem stillen Meer. Enthaltend: Eine Beschreibung der Indianischen Völkerstämme, welche dem westlichen Theil von Nord-America, der uns bisher unbekannt und unentdeckt war, bewohnen. Samt einer statistischen Uebersicht der Indianer Nationen, aus dem Official Bericht von Meriwether Lewis. [Mit vier Abbildungen Indianischer Könige.]

Libanon, (P.) Gedruckt bey Jacob Stöver. — 1811.

18mo; title, verso blank; "Empfehlung", with "Vorbericht" on verso, 1 leaf; "Reise nach dem stillen Meer", pp. [5]-23; "Statistische Uebersicht", pp. 23-33; "Beobachtungen", pp. 34-47; "Louisiana", pp. 47-51; "Ueber den Ursprung der Indianer", pp. 52-59; "Anekdote", pp. 59-60. Signatures: 1-5 in sixes.

On p. 60 the publisher says: "~~62~~ Die unerwartet grosse Ermunterung, die diese gegenwärtige Reisebeschreibung durch eine zahlreiche Subscription von einem geehrten Publikum erhalten hat, und wofür der Herausgeber hiermit seinen aufrichtigsten Dank abstattet" [etc.].

The only copy I have found is in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Cassel Collection).

¹ See *Eclectic Review* for November, 1809, p. 1052, for a caustic review of this publication, which is reprinted in *Monthly Anthology and Boston Review*, viii, p. 142. — ED.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1812

Die | Reisen | der Capitaine | Lewis und Clarke; | unternommen | auf Befehl der | Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten | in den Jahren 1804, 1805 und 1806, | über | eine Länderstrecke von mehr als 3000 Meilen, | von St. Louis, auf dem Missouri und | Columbia, nach dem stillen Meer. | Enthaltend: | Eine Beschreibung der Indianischen Völkerstämme, | welche den westlichen Theil von Nord-Amerika, | der uns bisher unbekannt und unentdeckt | war, bewohnen. | Samt | einer statistischen Uebersicht der Indianer Nationen, | aus dem Official Bericht von | Meriwether Lewis. | [Mit Abbildungen Indianischer Könige.] |

Friedrichstadt: | Gedruckt bey M. Bärtgis. — 1812. |

12mo; title, verso blank; "Empfehlung" [extract from Jefferson's Message], p. [3]; "Vorbericht", p. [4]; "Reise nach dem stillen Meer", pp. [5]-11; "Bericht des Capitains Clarke, in einem Briefe an den Gouvernör Harrison. Fort Madan, den 2ten April, 1806", pp. 12-15; "Brief des Capt. Clarke an seinen Bruder. St. Louis, den 22ten Sept. 1806", etc., pp. 15-24; "Statistische Uebersicht aller westlichen Indianer Stämme", pp. 24-36; "Beobachtungen über die Sitten u. Gebräuche die Indianer", pp. 36-51; "Louisiana", pp. 51-56; "Ueber den Ursprung der Indianer", pp. 56-64. Signatures: A-E in sixes, F in two. The third leaf of sig. D is misnumbered C₂. A complete copy, apparently, should have several cuts of Indian chiefs ("Abbildungen Indianischer Könige").

This little pamphlet, printed at Frederick, Maryland, is entirely unknown to bibliographers, and Seidensticker did not know of a single item printed there during the year 1812. The only copy I have located is owned by Charles H. Conover, Esq., of Chicago, who kindly loaned it to me for this study. It has not the cuts of Indian chiefs which the title-page calls for.

1812 (FISHER)

An | interesting Account | of the | Voyages and Travels | of | Captains Lewis and Clark, | in the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806. | Giving a faithful description of the river Missouri and | its source—of the various tribes of Indians through | which they passed—manners and customs—soil—climate | —commerce—gold and silver mines—animal and vege- | table productions interspersed with very enter- | taining anecdotes, and a variety of other useful and | pleasing information remarkably calculated to de- | light and instruct the readers.—To which is added a | complete dictionary of the Indian tongue. | By William Fisher, Esq. |

Baltimore. | Printed by Anthony Miltenberger, | For the Purchasers. | 1812. |

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Sm. 12mo; two frontispieces, Lewis and Clark; title, verso blank; "Recommendation", p. (1); "Message", pp. (2); "Introduction", pp. [x]-xiv; "Estimate", p. xv; text, pp. [16]-326. Pp. 179 and 265 are mis-paged 178 and 295, respectively. Signatures: [A]-Bb in sixes, Cc in one.

Copies: BM; BPL; C; CHC; NYHS.

1812 (FISHER)

New Travels | among the | Indians of North America; | being | a compilation, taken partly from the communications already | published, of | Captains Lewis and Clark, | to the | President of the United States; | and | partly from other authors who travelled among the Various Tribes of Indians. | Containing | a variety of very pleasant anecdotes, remarkably calculated | to amuse and inform the mind of every curious reader; | with | a Dictionary of the Indian Tongue. | Compiled | by William Fisher, Esqr. |

Philadelphia: | Published by James Sharan. | J. Maxwell, printer. | 1812. |

12mo; two leaves with portraits of Lewis and Clark; title, with "Copy-right secured" on the verso; a second title: "The | Voyages and Travels | of | Captains Lewis and Clarke", with verso blank; "Recommendation", p. (1); "Message", pp. (2); one blank page; "Introduction", pp. [vii]-xi; "An Estimate", etc. on p. xii; "Travels to the Pacific Ocean", etc., pp. [13]-153; "Statistical View", pp. [154]-178; "Historical Sketches of the several Indian Tribes in Louisiana", pp. [179]-204; "Origin", pp. 204-228; "Observations", pp. [229]-292; "Anecdotes", pp. [293]-300. The pagination of 155 is inverted in some copies. In most copies the second title-page is lacking. Signatures: Two leaves with portraits: | Main title-page, A—BB in sixes.

Copies: BM; C; CHC; NA; NL; NYHS; NYSL; WHS.

1813 (FISHER)

An | interesting Account | of the | Voyages and Travels | of | Cap-tains Lewis and Clarke, | in the Years 1804-5, & 6. | Giving a faithful description of the river Missouri and | its source — of the various tribes of Indians through | which they passed — manners and customs — soil | — climate — commerce — gold and silver | mines — animal and vegetable | productions. | Interspersed | With very entertaining anecdotes, and a variety of | other useful and pleasing information, re- | markably calculated to delight and | instruct the readers. | To which is added | A complete Dictionary of the Indian Tongue | By William Fisher, Esq. |

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Baltimore: | Printed and published by P. Mauro, | N^o 10, North
Howard St. | 1813. |

12mo; title, verso blank; "Recommendation", p. (1); "Message", pp. [vi]–vii; "Introduction", pp. [viii]–xi; "Estimate", p. (1); text, pp. [13]–266. There are no pp. 125, 126, 149, 150, 179, 180, 209, 210; and pp. 173, 174 are repeated. Signatures: [A]–X in sixes, Y in three. Three illustrations, at pp. 35, 80, 230.

Copies: BPL (lacks one plate); C; CHC; NYSL; WHS.

1840

The | Journal | of | Lewis and Clarke, | to the Mouth of the
Columbia River | beyond the Rocky Mountains. | In the Years 1804–5,
& 6. | Giving a faithful description of the river Missouri | and its source
— of the various tribes of Indians | through which they passed — man-
ners and cus- | toms — soil — climate — commerce — gold and | silver
mines — animal and vegetable | productions, &c. | New Edition, with
Notes. | Revised, corrected, and illustrated with numerous | wood cuts. |
To which is added | a complete dictionary of the Indian tongue. |

Dayton, O. | Published and sold by B. F. Ells. | John Wilson,
Printer. | 1840. |

16mo; two leaves with portraits; title, with advertisement and copyright
on the verso; extracts from "Message", etc., pp. (2); "Preface", pp. [ix]–
xii; text, pp. [15]–224; "Dictionary of Indian Words and Phrases", pp.
[225]–234; "Appendix", pp. 234–237; "Contents", pp. [238]–240.
Page [xiii] is blank. Plates: Portraits of Lewis and of Clark, before the title;
other illustrations on pp. [xiv], 18, 39, 44, 68, 82, 84, 98, 105, 111, 126,
138, 176, 222. Signatures: [1]–15 in eights.

Copies: BPL (lacks portraits); C; CHC; HSP; NYHS; WHS.

1851

The Journal of Lewis and Clarke. Dayton: Ells, Clafin & Co.
1851. 12mo, pp. 240.

This title is given in Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America*, No. 40832. I have not been able to authenticate his reference, and it has not been found in any collection or library known to me.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

GASS

1807

A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, under the command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the army of the United States, from the mouth of the river Missouri through the interior parts of North America to the Pacific Ocean, during the years 1804, 1805 & 1806. Containing An authentic relation of the most interesting transactions during the expedition, — A description of the country, — And an account of its inhabitants, soil, climate, curiosities and vegetable and animal productions. By Patrick Gass, one of the persons employed in the expedition. With Geographical and Explanatory Notes by the publisher. [Copy-right secured according to law.]

Pittsburgh, printed by Zadok Cramer, for David M'Keehan, Publisher and Proprietor 1807.

18mo; title, with copyright on verso; "Preface", pp. [iii]–viii; half-title, verso blank; text, pp. [11]–262. No illustrations. Signatures: A–Y in sixes, the last blank.

Copies: BA; BM (two copies); C; CHC; CHS; HC; HSP; LCP; NL; NYHS; NYSL; WHS.

1808

A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, under the Command of Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke, of the Army of the United States; from the mouth of the River Missouri, through the Interior Parts of North America, to the Pacific Ocean; during the years 1804, 1805, & 1806. Containing An Authentic Relation of the most interesting Transactions during the Expedition: A Description of the Country: And an Account of its Inhabitants, Soil, Climate, Curiosities, and Vegetable and Animal Productions. By Patrick Gass, One of the Persons employed in the Expedition.

Pittsburgh: Printed for David M'Keehan. London: Re-printed for J. Budd, Bookseller to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, Pall-Mall. 1808.

8vo; title, with printers' name on verso; "Advertisement by the English Publisher", pp. [iii]–iv; "Preface, by the American Publisher", pp. [1]–9;

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

one blank page; half-title to Journal, with verso blank; "Journal | of the Voyages and Travels, &c. &c.", pp. 13-381; verso of the last page blank; "Books lately published by J. Budd", pp. (2). Signatures: [A] in two, B-BB in eights. Published in paper covers with label-title, "Gass's Voyages | and | Travels | through | North America. | 9 s."

Copies: AAS; CHC; HSP; MHS; NA; NL; NYHS; NYSL; WHS.

1810

Voyage | des Capitaines | Lewis et Clarke, | Depuis l'embouchure du Missouri, jusqu'à l'entrée | de la Colombia dans l'Océan Pacifique; | fait dans les années 1804, 1805 et 1806, | par ordre du gouvernement des États-Unis: | contenant | Le Journal authentique des Événements les plus remar- | quables du Voyage, ainsi que la Description des Habitants, du Sol, du Climat, et des Productions | animales et végétales des pays situés à l'ouest de | l'Amérique Septentrionale. | Rédigé en Anglais par Patrice Gass, Employé dans | l'Expédition; | Et traduit en Français par A. J. N. Lallemand, | l'un des Secrétaires de la Marine. Avec des Notes, deux Lettres du Capitaine Clarke, | et une Carte gravée par J. B. Tardieu. |

A Paris, | Chez Arthus-Bertrand, Libraire, rue Hautefeuille, n° 23. | 1810. |

8vo; half-title, with publisher's list on verso; title, verso blank; "Message", pp. [v]-vij; one blank page; "Préface de l'éditeur américain", pp. [ix]-xviii; text, pp. [1]-415; "Lettre du capitaine Clarke à S. E. le gouverneur Harrison", dated "Fort Mandanne, 2 avril 1805", pp. 416-422; "Lettre du capitaine Clarke à son frère le général Clarke", dated "Saint-Louis, 23 septembre 1806", pp. 423-432; "Table des Chapitres", pp. 433-443; verso of last page blank. Colophon at the foot of p. 443, thus: "De l'Imprimerie de M^r V^e Jeunehomme, | Rue Hautefeuille, n° 20." Page 358 is mispagéd 258. Signatures: Nine preliminary leaves, sig. 1-27 in eights, 28 in six. Folded map, engraved by J. B. Tardieu, entitled: "Carte | Pour servir au Voyage | des Cap^{es} Lewis et Clarke, | à l'Océan Pacifique." It measures 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ by 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.

Copies: BM; BPL; CHC; HC; NYHS; NYSL.

1810

A | Journal | of the | Voyages and Travels | of a Corps of Discovery, | under the command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the army of the United States, | from | the mouth of the river Missouri through the | interior parts of North America | to the Pacific Ocean, | During the Years 1804, 1805 and 1806. | Containing | An authentic

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relation of the most interesting transac- | tions during the expedition, —
A description of | the country, — And an account of its inhabi- | tants,
soil, climate, curiosities and ve- | getable and animal productions. | By
Patrick Gass, | one of the persons employed in the expedition. | With
geographical and explanatory notes. | Second Edition — with six en-
gravings. | [Copy-Right secured according to Law.] |

Philadelphia: | Printed for Mathew Carey, | No. 122, Market-
street. | 1810. |

12mo; title, with copyright on verso; "Preface by the publisher of the
first edition", pp. [iii]–viii; half-title, with verso blank, forming pp. [9–10];
"Journal", pp. [11]–262. Signatures: A–Y in sixes, the last leaf blank.
This is the first Gass which has plates, as follows: Frontispiece, to p. 220,
"A Canoe striking on a Tree"; opp. p. 26, "Captains Lewis & Clark hold-
ing a Council with the Indians"; opp. p. 60, "Captain Clark & his men
building a line of Huts"; opp. p. 95, "Captain Clark and his men shooting
Bears"; opp. p. 239, "An American having struck a Bear but not killed him,
escapes into a Tree"; opp. p. 245, "Captain Lewis shooting an Indian."
These cuts are very crude, artistically considered, and are insets.

The subject-matter and location of the plates in Carey's three editions, 1810,
1811, 1812, are the same, but the plates as engraved differ in each edition.
For example, the bear in the plate to page 239 of the 1810 edition looks like a
Newfoundland dog; in the other editions he looks either like a pig or anything
other than a bear. On the whole, the best illustrations are those of the 1812
edition, and this has a map of Louisiana not in the preceding editions. The
three editions are typographically different.

Copies of 1810 edition: CHC; HC; HSP; LCP; NYHS; NYSL; WHS.

1811

Journal | of the | Voyages and Travels | of | a Corps of Discovery, |
Under the command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke | of the army of
the United States, | from the mouth of the river Missouri through | the
interior parts of North America | to the Pacific Ocean, | During the
Years 1804, 1805, and 1806. | Containing | An authentic relation of
the most interesting transactions | during the expedition; a description
of the country; | and an account of its inhabitants, soil, cli- | mate,
curiosities, and vegetable | and animal productions. | By Patrick Gass, |
One of the persons employed in the expedition. | With geographical and
explanatory Notes. | Third Edition — With six Engravings. | [Copy-
right secured according to Law.] |

Printed for Mathew Carey, | No. 122 Market Street, | Philadelphia. |
1811. |

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

12mo; title, with copyright on verso; "Preface. By the publisher of the first edition", pp. [iii]–viii; half-title (Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery.), with verso blank; text, pp. [11]–262. Page 170 is misnumbered 70. Signatures: A–X in sixes, Y in five. Six illustrations to pp. 26, 60, 95, 220 (frontispiece), 239 and 245.

Copies: BPL (lacks one plate); CHC; NL (imperfect); WHS.

1812

Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, Under the command of Capt. Lewis and Capt. Clarke of the army of the United States, from the mouth of the river Missouri through the interior parts of North America to the Pacific Ocean, During the Years 1804, 1805, and 1806. Containing An authentic relation of the most interesting transactions during the expedition; a description of the country; and an account of its inhabitants, soil, climate, curiosities, and vegetable and animal productions. By Patrick Gass, One of the persons employed in the expedition. With geographical and explanatory notes. Fourth Edition — with six Engravings. [Copyright secured according to Law.]

Printed for Mathew Carey, No. 122, Market-Street, Philadelphia, 1812.

12mo; "Review of this Work", pp. (2); title, with copyright on verso; "Preface. By the publisher of the first edition", pp. [v]–x; "Journal", pp. [11]–262. Small folded map of "Louisiana", at the beginning, measuring $7\frac{5}{8}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches; frontispiece to p. 220, and also plates to pp. 26, 60, 95, 239 and 245. Signatures: A–Y in sixes, the last leaf being blank.

Copies: AAS (this is Isaiah Thomas's copy, in the original roan binding); CHC; NL; NYHS (lacks map).

1814

Tagebuch einer Entdeckungs-Reise durch Nord-America, von der Mündung des Missouri an bis zum Einfluss der Columbia in den stillen Ocean, gemacht in den Jahren 1804, 1805 und 1806, auf Befehl der Regierung der Vereinigten Staaten, von den beiden Capitäns Lewis und Clarke. Uebersetzt von Ph. Ch. Weyland. Mit einer Charte.

Weimar, im Verlage des H. S. privil. Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs. 1814.

8vo; title, verso blank; "Bothschaft des Präsidenten der Vereinigten Staaten an die beiden Kammern des Congresses", pp. iii–v; "Vorbericht des Uebersetzers", pp. vi–viii; "Inhalt", pp. ix–x; half-title to text, with verso blank;

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

text, in twenty-five chapters, pp. [3]-345; "Schreiben vom Capitän Clarke an Se. Excell. den Gouverneur Harrison", pp. [346]-352; "Schreiben vom Capitän Clarke an seinen Bruder, den General Clarke", pp. [353]-362. Map, as below. Signatures: *a* in five, A-Y in eights, Z in five.

This is a translation made from the French edition (Paris, 1810), and is so uncommon in the United States that Dr. Coues had never seen it, and was unable to identify it. I have not traced a copy in any of the many large libraries which I have consulted, and it was only after some difficulty that I succeeded in obtaining a copy from Germany which contains a later map. Subsequently, by good fortune, I procured a perfect copy with the correct map. This chart measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $9\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and is entitled: "Carte Pour Servir au Voyage des Cap^{es} Lewis et Clarke, à l'Océan Pacifique." The similar map in the French edition was engraved by Tardieu, but no engraver's name is attached to the German copy. In my other copy of the book, this map is replaced by a much larger colored map, possibly designed for a reissue of the book, and is entitled: "Nord America entworfen u. gezeichnet von C. F. Weiland, im Verlage des Geograph. Instituts. 1839." It measures $12\frac{1}{2}$ by $14\frac{1}{4}$ inches, and was probably also included in Stieler's atlas of the period. There is a copy of the book in the British Museum. In Germany it is classed as "Selten" (rare). The German translator, Philipp Christoph Weyland, in his preface refers to Gass as "Sir Patrick Gass." Weyland was the translator of several works of travel.

1847

Lewis and Clarke's Journal to the Rocky Mountains In the years 1804, -5, -6; as related by Patrick Gass, one of the officers in the expedition. New Edition with Numerous Engravings.

Dayton, Published by Ells, Claflin, & Co. 1847.

12mo; frontispiece, with recto blank; title, with copyright and first part of "Preface" on verso; the "Preface" extends from pp. [iv]-viii; two leaves with portraits of Lewis and Clark; "Journal", pp. [13]-238; "Books published by Ells, Claflin, & Co.", etc., pp. (2). Portraits on pp. [x] and [xi], and illustrations on pp. 23, 27, 40, 47, 51, 62, 79, 91, 98, 117, 131, 151, 173, 196, 222, and frontispiece. Signature: [1]-15 in eights.

Copies: CHC; NYHS; WHS.

1852

Patrick Gass. [To accompany bill H. R. No. 152.] January 29, 1852. Mr. G. W. Thompson, from the Committee on Private Land Claims, made the following Report: The Committee on Private Land Claims, to whom was referred the petition of Patrick Gass, report: [*followed by the text of the Report*]

8vo; pp. 2. House Report No. 56, 32d Congress, 1st Session.

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1854

Patrick Gass. [To accompany bill H. R. No. 419.] | June 23, 1854. | Mr. Hillyer, from the Committee on Private Land Claims, made the | following | Report. | The Committee on Private Land Claims, to whom was referred the petition | of Patrick Gass, report: | [*followed by the text of the Report*]

8vo; pp. 2. House Report No. 215, 33d Congress, 1st Session.

1859

The | Life and Times | of | Patrick Gass, | now sole survivor | of the overland expedition to the Pacific, | under Lewis and Clark, | in 1804-5-6; | also, | a soldier in the war with Great Britain, from 1812 to 1815, and a participant in the | Battle of Lundy's Lane. | Together with | Gass' Journal of the Expedition condensed; | — and — | sketches of some events occurring during the | last century in the upper Ohio country, | biographies, reminiscences, etc. | By J. G. Jacob. |

Jacob & Smith, | Publishers and Printers, Wellsburg, Va. | 1859. | 12mo; title, with copyright on verso; "Preface", pp. [iii]-v; "Contents", pp. [vi]-viii; "Life and Times of Patrick Gass", pp. [9]-193; portrait of Washington on p. 194; "Civil History", pp. [195]-280. No signatures. Frontispiece portrait of Gass, with autograph; "Mandan Indians", to p. 59; "Big White-Ball Costume", to p. 108; tailpiece on p. 202; "Going to Church in Old Times", to p. 248.

Dr. Elliott Coues learned from the author of this volume that the substance of it appeared in the columns of the Wellsburg (Va.) *Herald* before it was made up in book form.

Copies: BA; BPL; CHC; HSP; NYHS; NYSL; WHS.

1904

[A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery, etc., by Patrick Gass.]

A. C. McClurg & Co., of Chicago, have announced that they will issue during the year 1904 a reprint of Gass's *Journal*, in one volume, with an introduction by James K. Hosmer, uniform with their library edition of the Biddle version of Lewis and Clark, published in 1902.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

GENUINE HISTORY

1814

History of the Expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the Sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Performed during the years 1804-5-6. By order of the Government of the United States. Prepared for the press by Paul Allen, Esquire. In two volumes. Vol. I. [II.]

Philadelphia: Published by Bradford and Inskeep; and Abm: H. Inskeep, New York. J. Maxwell, Printer. 1814.

2 vols; 8vo. Vol. I: Title, with copyright on verso; "Preface", signed by Paul Allen, pp. [iii]-v; p. [vi] blank; "Life of Captain Lewis", pp. [vii]-xxiii; p. [xxiv] blank; "Contents", pp. [xxv]-xxviii; text, pp. [1]-470. Plates: "Fortification", opp. 63; "The Falls and Portage", opp. p. 261; large folded map entitled, "A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track, Across the Western Portion of North America From the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; By Order of the Executive of the United States." in 1804. 5 & 6. Copied by Samuel Lewis from the Original Drawing of W^m Clark. Sam^l Harrison fecit. Vol. II: Title, with copyright on verso; "Contents", pp. [iii]-ix; one blank page; text, pp. [1]-433; p. [434] blank; "Appendix", pp. [435]-522. Plates: "Great Falls of Columbia River", opp. p. 31; "The Great Shoot or Rapid", opp. p. 52; "Mouth of Columbia River", opp. p. 70. Signatures: Vol. I-[a]-c in fours, d in two, B-30 in fours, the last leaf blank. Vol. II-[A] in six (the first blank), B-3v in fours, 3x in one.

Copies: AAS; BA; BM; C; CHC; HC (two copies); HSP; LCP; NL (two copies, one without the map); NYHS (uncut copy, with titles on original board covers); NYSL; WHS.

1814

Travels to the Source of the Missouri River and across the American Continent to the Pacific Ocean. Performed by Order of the Government of the United States, in the years 1804, 1805, and 1806. By Captains Lewis and Clarke. Published from the Official Report, and illustrated by a map of the route, and other maps.

London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row. 1814.

4to; half-title, with "J. G. Barnard, Skinner-street, London", on the verso; title, verso blank; "Preface, by the English Editor", pp. [v]-xiv, signed at end by "Thomas Rees", and dated at "Barnard's Inn, April 30,

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1814"; "Contents", pp. [xv]-xxiv; text, pp. [1]-663; catalogue of "Works published" on verso of p. 663. P. 323 is misprinted 223. Signatures: [a] in two, b-c in fours, d in two; B-4P in fours. Large folded map, "Neele. sculp. 352. Strand"; five plates on three leaves, intended for pp. 47, 191, 364, 379, 398.

Copies: BM (two copies); C; CHC; MHS; NYHS (imperfect); NYSL.

1815

Travels | to the source of | the Missouri River | and across the | American Continent | to | the Pacific Ocean. | Performed by order of | the government of the United States, | in the years | 1804, 1805, and 1806. | By Captains Lewis and Clarke. | Published from the official report, | and illustrated by a map of the route, | and other maps. | A new edition, in three volumes. | Vol. I. [II.] [III.] |

London: | Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, | Paternoster-Row. | 1815. |

3 vols; 8vo. Vol. I: Title, with "Printed by A. Strahan, Printers-Street, London" on verso; "Preface, by the English editor", signed by Thomas Rees, pp. [iii]-xix; p. [xx] blank; "Contents of the first volume", pp. [xxi]-xxvi; text, pp. [1]-411; verso of last page blank. Plates: Large folded map engraved by Neele; "Ancient Fortification on the Missouri", opp. p. 87 (but the plate is misnumbered 47); "Great Falls of the Missouri", opp. p. 191. Vol. II: Title, with printer's name on verso; "Contents of the second volume", pp. [v]-xii; text, pp. [1]-434. Plates: "Great Falls of Columbia River", opp. p. 364; "Lower Falls of the Columbia", opp. p. 379; "Mouth of Columbia River", opp. p. 398. Vol. III: Title, with printer's name on verso; "Contents of the third volume", pp. [iii]-xii; text, pp. [1]-394. No plates. Signatures: Vol. I — A in eight, a in eight (the last three represented only by stubs), B-CC in eights, DD in four, EE in two. Vol. II — a in six (the first being blank), B-EE in eights, FF in one. Vol. III — A in six, B-BB in eights, CC in four, DD in one.

Copies: BM; C; CHC; HSP; NL.

1817

Travels | to the source of | the Missouri River, | and across the | American Continent | to | the Pacific Ocean. | Performed by order of | the government of the United States, | in the years | 1804, 1805, and 1806. | By Captains Lewis and Clarke. | Published from the official report, | and illustrated by a map of the route, | and other maps. | A new edition, in three volumes. | Vol. I. [II.] [III.] |

London: | Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, | Paternoster-Row. | 1817.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

This edition collates almost the same as the preceding London edition of 1815. The large map and plates are the same in both, but the editions differ typographically; the 1817 edition is entirely reset. The following variations should be noted: A comma at the end of the third line of the title-pages, not in the 1815 edition. On the verso of sig. a₂, in vol. i, "Directions for placing the Maps", not in the 1815 edition. A half-title to vol. ii, with verso blank, making sig. A in six, of which this half-title is the first leaf. In vol. iii sig. A is arranged in six leaves, as follows: Title, with printer's name on verso; "Contents of the third volume", pp. [iii]-xii.

Copies: CHC; HSP; WHS.

1817

History of the Expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clarke, to the Sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Performed during the years 1804-5-6. By order of the Government of the United States. Prepared for the press by Paul Allen, Esq. With the life of Captain Lewis, by T. Jefferson, President of the United States of America. In two volumes. Vol. I. [II.]

Philadelphia: Published by Bradford and Inskeep; and Abm. H. Inskeep, New York. Dublin: Printed by J. Christie, 170, James'-Street. 1817.

2 vols; 8vo. Vol. I: Title, with American copyright on verso; "Contents of the first volume", pp. (6); "Preface", pp. [iii]-v; p. [vi] blank; "Life of Captain Lewis", pp. [vii]-xxvii; p. [xxviii] blank; text, pp. [1]-588. P. viii is misprinted iiii, and p. 418 is given as 18. Folded map on thin paper, copied in reduced size after that of the 1814 Philadelphia edition; plates of "Fortification", opp. p. 78; "Principal Cascade of the Missouri", a view, opp. p. 326; "The Falls and Portage", opp. p. 327. Vol. II: Title, with American copyright on verso; "Contents of the second volume", pp. [i]-xii; "Subscribers", pp. (3); "Directions for placing the plates" in both volumes, p. (1); text, pp. [3]-544; "Appendix", pp. [545]-643, verso of last leaf blank. The appendix consists of "Observations and reflections on the present and future state of Upper Louisiana"; "Estimate of the Western Indians"; "Reflections and Remarks"; "A summary statement of the rivers", etc. P. 261 is mispagged 2. Plates of "Great Falls of Columbia River", opp. p. 40; "The Great Shoot or Rapid", opp. p. 67; "Mouth of Columbia River", opp. p. 90. Signatures: Vol. I—[a] for title, b in six, B-4 H in fours. Vol. II—[a] for title, b and c in fours, [A] in three, B-4 M in fours, 4 N in two.

Copies: C; CHC; MHS; NL; WHS.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1816-1818

Reize | naar | de Bronnen van den Missouri, | en door het vaste Land van America | naar de Zuidzee. | Gedaan op last van de Regering der Vereenigde Staten van America, | in de jaren 1804, 1805 en 1806. | Door de Kapiteins | Lewis en Clarke. | Met eene Kaart. | Uit het Engelsch vertaald door | N. G. Van Kampen. | Eerste [Tweede] [Derde en Laatste] Deel. | [*Star*] |

Te Dordrecht, | bij A. Blussé & Zoon. | 1816. |

3 vols; 8vo. Vol. I: Title, verso blank; "Voorberigt van den Vertaler", pp. [iii]-xviii; "Voorberigt van den Engelschen Uitgever", pp. [xix]-xxviii; "Inhoud", pp. xxix-xxxii; text, pp. [1]-398; large folded "Kaart | der Reizen van Lewis en Clarke | door het Westelijk gedeelte van | Noord Amerika, | van den | Mississippi tot de Zuid Zee, | op last van de Uitvoerende Magt der | Vereenigde Staten, | in 1804, 5 en 6. | C. van Baarsel en Zoon, sculps." Vol. II: Title, verso blank; "Inhoud", pp. [iii]-viii; text, pp. [1]-390; p. 98 is mispaged 70. Vol. III: Title, verso blank; "Inhoud", pp. [v]-xii; text, pp. [1]-326; "Bijlagen", pp. 327-335; verso of p. 335 blank; pp. 119, 161 and 300 are mispaged 116, 163 and 30, respectively. Signatures: Vol. I —* and * in eights, A-B b in eights, the last apparently completed by one blank leaf. Vol. II —* in four, A-A a in eights, B b in four, the last apparently completed by one blank leaf. Vol. III —* in six, one being blank, A-X in eights. In Vol. I sig. O₆ is misprinted O₃; and in Vol. II. sig. A₃ is misprinted A₅.

In this work the imprints of the first two volumes agree, save that the second volume is dated 1817; but the third volume has the following imprint: "Te Dordrecht, | bij Blussé en Van Braam. | 1818. |" The only copy which I have seen is in the Library of Congress. It is also in WHS.

1842-1901

History | of | the Expedition | under the command of | Captains Lewis and Clarke, | to | the sources of the Missouri, thence across the Rocky | Mountains, and down the River Columbia to the | Pacific Ocean: performed during the | Years 1804, 1805, 1806, | by order of the | Government of the United States. | Prepared for the press | by Paul Allen, Esq. | Revised, and abridged by the omission of unimportant [*sic*] de- | tails, with an introduction and notes, | by Archibald McVickar. | In two volumes. | Vol. I. [II.] |

New-York: | Harper and Brothers, 82 Cliff-St. | 1842. |

2 vols.; 18 mo. Vol. I: — Title, with copyright on verso; "Advertisement", pp. [iii]-vi; "Contents", pp. [i]-v; p. [vi] blank; "Introduction", pp. [vii]-li; p. [lii] blank; text, pp. [53]-371; "Catalogue of

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Books", on verso of p. 371. Vol. II:—Title, with copyright on verso; "Contents", pp. [iii]-x; text, pp. [9]-338; "Appendix", pp. [339]-395; verso of p. 395 blank. Plates: Vol. I, "Map of Lewis and Clark's Track across the Western Portion of North America, . . . Drawn & Engraved by W. G. Evans N. York", to face title; "Fortification" opp. p. 87; "Principal Cascade of the Missouri" opp. p. 223; "The Falls & Portage" opp. p. 234. Vol. II, "Great Falls of Columbia River" opp. p. 64; "The Great Shoot or Rapid" opp. p. 79; "Mouth of Columbia River" opp. p. 92. Signatures: Vol. I, 3 prel. leaves, A-H in sixes; x₂ misprinted H₂. Vol. II, 5 prel. leaves, A in two, B-K in sixes.

The foregoing description is from a set of the original edition in the Library of Congress. It is a curious fact that all of the editions which I have seen, even those of a late date, perpetuate an error in the stereotype plates, namely "unimportant" on the title-pages, which is given as "unimportant."

By the kindness of Mr. A. V. S. Anthony, of Harper and Brothers, I have been able to test my record of subsequent editions by the books of the publishers. He also states that "several small editions have been published since 1891, of which no record was kept." The following is a conspectus of the issues of this oft-printed work, brought out originally in Harpers' popular "Family Library":—September, 1842; January, 1843; May, 1843; January, 1844; July, 1845; April, 1847; May, 1850; August, 1851; June, 1855; April, 1858; November, 1860; February, 1868; March, 1871 (vol. II); April, 1872 (vol. I); February, 1874 (vol. II); December, 1875 (vol. I); 1876 (copy in NYHS, but publishers have no record); February, 1881; March, 1882; July, 1883; April, 1886; February, 1887; June, 1891; June, 1901; several undated editions of late publication (one such in NYHS).

Sabin in his *Dictionary of Books relating to America* mentions a London, 1842, edition of M. Vickar, but it is not in the British Museum. I have not been able to verify his statement, yet it is not unlikely that the American publishers may have made up some sets for the English market.

1893

History of the Expedition under the command of Lewis and Clark, To the Sources of the Missouri River, thence across the Rocky Mountains and down the Columbia River to the Pacific Ocean, performed during the Years 1804-5-6, by Order of the Government of the United States. A New Edition, Faithfully Reprinted from the only Authorized Edition of 1814, with Copious Critical Commentary, Prepared upon Examination of Unpublished Official Archives and Many Other Sources of Information, Including a Diligent Study of the Original Manuscript Journals and Field Notebooks of the Explorers, together with A New Biographical and Bibliographical Introduction, New Maps and other Illustrations, and a Complete

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

Index, by Elliott Coues, Late Captain and Assistant Surgeon, United States Army, Late Secretary and Naturalist, United States Geological Survey, Member of the National Academy of Sciences, etc. In Four Volumes. Vol. I. [-IV.]

New York. Francis P. Harper. 1893.

4 vols., 8vo. Vol. I: Half-title, with certification of the edition on verso; title, with copyright on verso; "Dedication", verso blank; "Preface to the new edition", pp. v-x; "Contents of the first volume", pp. xi-xii; "Preface to the original edition", pp. xiii-xiv; "Memoir of Meriwether Lewis", pp. xv-xlii; "Supplement to Jefferson's Memoir of Meriwether Lewis. By Dr. Coues", pp. xliii-lxii; "Memoir of William Clark. By Dr. Coues", pp. lxiii-xcvii; p. [xcviii] blank; "Memoir of Patrick Gass. By Dr. Coues", pp. xciv-cvi; "Bibliographical Introduction. By Dr. Coues", pp. cvii-cxxii; text, pp. [1]-352; frontispiece portrait of Lewis, and facsimiles of holograph letters of Lewis and of Clark, opposite pp. xv and lxiii. Vol. II: Half-title, verso blank; title, with copyright on verso; "Contents of the second volume", pp. v-vi; text pp. 353-820; frontispiece portrait of Clark. Vol. III: Half-title, verso blank; title, with copyright on verso; "Contents of the third volume", pp. v-vi; text, pp. 821-1213; p. [1214] blank; "Appendix I. Essay on an Indian policy", pp. 1215-1243; "Appendix II. Estimate of the western Indians", pp. 1244-1256; "Appendix III. Summary statement", pp. 1257-1263; "Appendix IV. Meteorological register", pp. 1264-1298. Vol. IV: Half-title, verso blank; title, with copyright on verso; "List of maps and other plates", p. v; one blank page; folded "Tabular statement of the lineal issue of William Clark"; folded "Tabular statement of the living issue of William Clark"; "Index", pp. 1299-1364; plans and maps as follows: "Fortification", "The Falls and Portage", "Great Falls of Columbia River", "The Great Shoot or Rapid", "Mouth of Columbia River", folded "Map of Lewis and Clark's Track", folded "Map of part of the Continent of North America"; "New Map of the Route of Lewis and Clark in 1804-5-6, Prepared by Elliott Coues for comparison with Clark's Map of 1814". No signatures. The edition consisted of one thousand copies, of which Nos. 1 to 200 were printed on handmade paper, and Nos. 201 to 1000 on fine book paper.

Dr. Coues did not believe in strictly adhering to the text of the 1814 edition. "I have not found it necessary to make a fetch of that text", is his declaration. So in his other edited works he took liberties with originals; for example, in *Larpenieur* he tells us that "there was scarcely a sentence in it all that did not need to be recast to some extent in preparing the manuscript for publication. But this is a mere matter of grammar; I have simply helped the author to express himself; the sense and sentiment are his own, if the style is not." Of the Lewis and Clark he says, "I have punctiliously preserved the orthography of proper names in all their variance and eccentricity; and wherever I have amplified any statement in the text, or diverted the sense of a passage by a hair's breadth, square brackets indicate the fact. Yet I have not hesitated to touch the

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text here and there in a mere matter of grammar or punctuation. For the rest, I have prepared new titles and synopses of the chapters, and new headlines of the pages; one new chapter is interpolated, by digesting the Clatsop diary for that purpose. Excepting in these several respects, the present edition is literally true to the original. Nothing whatever is omitted."

Copies: AAS; BA; BPL; C; CHC; HC; LCP; NA; NL; NYHS; NYSL; WHS.

1902

History of the Expedition under the command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the sources of the Missouri, across the Rocky Mountains, down the Columbia River to the Pacific in 1804-6. A reprint of the edition of 1814 to which all the members of the expedition contributed with maps. In three volumes. Vol. I. [II.] [III.]

New Amsterdam Book Company Publishers: New York, 1902

3 vols; sm. 8vo. Vol. I: Title, verso blank; "Preface", pp. v-vii; one blank page; "Life of Captain Lewis", pp. ix-xxvii; one blank page; "Contents", pp. xxix-xxxiii; one blank page; text, pp. 35-416; portrait frontispiece of Lewis; plan of "Fortification", opp. p. 108; "The Falls and Portage", opp. p. 347. Vol. II: Title, verso blank; "Contents", pp. iii-ix; one blank page; text, pp. 11-410, with two blank leaves between pp. 406 and 407; a final blank leaf to complete the last signature; portrait frontispiece of Clark; "Great Falls of Columbia River", opp. p. 210; "The Great Shoot", etc., opp. p. 234; "Mouth of Columbia River", opp. p. 257. Vol. III: Title, verso blank; "Contents", pp. iii-xi; one blank page; text, pp. 13-283; one blank page; "Appendix", pp. 285-382; "The Commonwealth Library", pp. (4). Signatures: Vol. I: [1]-26 in eights, the first leaf blank; Vol. II: [1] to 10 in eights, 11 in four, 12 in four, 12-26 in eights. Vol. III: [1] to 24 in eights, and one additional leaf. Large folded map in a pocket of Vol. III, entitled, "A Map of Lewis and Clark's Track . . . Sam Harrison fet". This edition is included in the series known as "The Commonwealth Library". Described from a set in the Library of Congress. There is also a special edition on large paper.

An issue for the Canadian market from the same sheets and in the same binding of "The Commonwealth Library", has the following imprint on the title-pages: "George N. Morang & Company, Limited | Toronto |". This is the only variation from the regular New York edition.

1902

History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark 1804-5-6. Reprinted from the edition of 1814. With introduction [Lxxxiii]

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

and Index | by | James K. Hosmer, LL.D., | [*Four lines*] | In Two
Volumes, with Portraits and Maps | Volume I. [II.] |

Chicago | A. C. McClurg & Co. | 1902 |

2 vols ; 8vo. Vol. I : Half-title, verso blank ; title, with copyright, etc. on verso ; facsimile of 1814 title and original copyright, pp. (2) ; "Publishers' Note", with verso blank, one leaf ; "Contents of Volume I", pp. [ix]-xiii ; one blank leaf ; "List of Portraits and Maps", with verso blank, one leaf ; "Introduction", pp. [xvii]-xxxv ; "Preface To the Edition of 1814", pp. [xxxvii]-xxxix ; one blank leaf ; "Life of Captain Lewis", pp. xli-lvi ; half-title to text, verso blank ; text, pp. [1]-500. Maps and portraits as shown in the volume itself. Vol. II : Half-title, verso blank ; title, with copyright, etc. on verso ; "Contents of Volume II", pp. [v]-xi ; one blank page ; "List of Portraits and Maps", with verso blank, one leaf ; text, pp. [1]-461 ; p. [462] blank ; "Appendix", pp. [463]-550 ; "Index", pp. [551]-586. Maps and portraits as shown in the volume itself. Described from a set in the Library of Congress.

1904

History of the Expedition under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri, Across the Rocky Mountains, Down the Columbia River to the Pacific in 1804-6. With an account of the Louisiana Purchase, by Prof. John Bach MacMaster, and an introduction identifying the route, by Ripley Hitchcock. New York : A. S. Barnes & Co., 1904.

12mo ; 3 vols. This edition is included in "The Trail Makers" series. The title is taken from the publishers' circular announcement.

MISCELLANEA

1804

Report | of | the Committee | of | Commerce and Manufactures, |
who were instructed, | by a Resolution of this House, | of the 18th
ult. | "To Enquire | into the | expediency of authorising | the | Presi-
dent of the United States, | to employ persons | to explore such parts
of the province | of | Louisiana, | as he may deem proper". | 8th
March, 1804. | Read, and ordered to be committed to a committee of
the | whole House, on Wednesday next. |

8vo ; title, verso blank ; text, pp. [3]-7 ; verso of last leaf blank. Merely has an allusion to Lewis and Clark on p. 4, who are there designated as "two enterprising conductors", etc.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1806

Message from the President of the United States, containing his Communication to both houses of Congress, at the commencement of the Second Session of the Ninth Congress. 2d December, 1806. Printed by Order of the Senate.

Washington City: Printed by Duane & Son. 1806.

8vo; title, verso blank; text, pp. [3]-12. In this message Jefferson refers incidentally to Lewis and Clark, and mentions that "they have traced the Missouri nearly to its source."

1806

Report of the Committee appointed on the third instant, on so much of the Message of the President of the United States as relates to the farther exploring of the western waters. December 22, 1806. Referred to a committee of the whole House on Thursday next.

City of Washington: A. & G. Way, Printers. 1806.

8vo; title, verso blank; text, p. [1], with verso blank. Refers to Lewis and Clark.

1806? — PROPOSALS FOR PUBLISHING FRAZER'S JOURNAL¹

[From a MS. in the Library of the Wisconsin Historical Society.]

Proposals for publishing by subscription *Robert Frazer's Journal*, from St. Louis in Louisiana to the Pacific ocean, — containing an accurate

¹ Early in the first decade of our [the nineteenth] century a brother of my father sold a hat in Vermont to Robert Frazer, a fencing-master there, who absconded without paying for it. This Frazer enlisted under Capt. Lewis, and his name was given to a rapid and a creek near the head-waters of the Missouri. Before Frazer's return to St. Louis, my uncle himself had removed thither and was managing the hotel to which Frazer came for entertainment. Each recognized the other, and my uncle had no difficulty in collecting his debt. But Frazer proved to be one of the seven journalists [of the Lewis and Clark expedition] and purposed to print his journal, he having, as well as Gass, obtained permission from Capt. Lewis. His prospectus, which of necessity was written, since there was no printing in St. Louis till 1808, shows beautiful chirography, and promised a volume of four hundred pages. A copy of it is in my hands, which came to my father in Vermont from his brother at the West. — JAMES DAVIE BUTLER, in "The New Found Journal of Charles Floyd", *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Soc.*, April 25th, 1894.

Later, Professor Butler presented this MS. prospectus to the Wisconsin Historical Society, as above. Apparently there was insufficient patronage, for the proposed book was not published. The whereabouts of the Frazer Journal is unknown to the present Editor. — Ed.

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description of the Missouri and its several branches, of the mountains separating the eastern from the western waters, of the 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 regions, the latitudes and longitudes of some of the most remarkable places, — together with a variety of curious and interesting occurrences during a voyage of 2 years 4 months and 9 days, conducted by Captains Lewis and Clark.

Published by permission of Capt. Meriwether Lewis. This work will be contained in about 400 pages octavo, and will be put to the press as soon as there shall be a sufficient subscription to defray the expenses. Price to subscribers three dollars.

1807

Documents | accompanying | a Bill making Compensation | to |
Messieurs Lewis and Clarke, | and | their Companions, | presented |
the 23d January, 1807. |

Washington City: | A. & G. Way, Printers. | 1807. |

8vo; title, verso blank; communication signed by "Willis Alston, Jun.," dated January 12, 1807, on p. [3]; answer to the former by H. Dearborn, dated January 14, 1807, pp. [4]–5; letter from Meriwether Lewis to Gen. Dearborn, dated at "City of Washington, January 15, 1807," pp. [6]–8; large folded broadside entitled, "A Roll | Of the men who accompanied captains Lewis and Clarke on their late tour to the Pacific ocean, through the interior of the continent of North America, shewing their rank, with some remarks on their respective merits and services", signed with Meriwether Lewis's name, and dated at "City of Washington, January 15, 1807."

Copies: BPL; C; CHS; WD.

1808, ETC.

The Navigator, published in many editions at Pittsburgh, by Zadok Cramer, contains in an appendix to some of the editions a short account of the expedition of Lewis and Clark. This work is a composite, mostly devoted to "directions for navigating the Monongahela, Allegheny, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers", together with correlative matter. Its structure is crude. The first edition appeared in 1801. It was in its inception a small pamphlet, devoted solely to the Ohio.

So far as I can ascertain, the Lewis and Clark appeared for the first time in the "Sixth Edition" of 1808, on pp. 146–156, based on Gass, etc. It is entitled, "A brief account of the Missouri river, and the extensive and fertile

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

country through which it winds, as traversed by captain Lewis and captain Clark — A short notice of the Indians and their customs — different kinds of wild animals — fowls — fish — curiosities &c. And of the Columbia river." In the "Advertisement" of "The Editor", this part purports to have been "collected from the letters of captain Clark and other publications since the return of the party". The "Seventh Edition" (1811) reproduced this text on pp. 254-268. Beginning with the "Eighth Edition" (1814), pp. 343-349, the text is very different from that of the sixth and seventh editions. All of these subsequent editions have a mere summary headed, "Abridgment of Lewis and Clark's Expedition." I have seen the editions of 1802 (third), 1808 (sixth), 1811 (seventh), 1814 (eighth), 1817 (ninth), 1818 (tenth), and 1821 (eleventh); but there were others.

1830

Tales of Travels | west of the Mississippi | [*Cut*] | By Solomon Bell, | Late Keeper of the Traveller's Library, Province-House Court, Boston. | With a map, and numerous engravings. |

Boston: | Gray and Bowen — Washington Street. | 1830. |

18mo; advertisement leaf, pp. (2); half-title, with frontispiece illustration on verso; title, with copyright on verso; "Prefatory, including some account of the author", pp. [vii]-x; "Contents", pp. [xi]-xvi; text and illustrations, pp. [1]-162. Numerous woodcuts in the text. Signatures: [*]-** in fours, 1-13 in sixes, 14 in four, the last leaf being blank. The volume is the first of a series by the publishers, having for design the supplying "to the children of the United States" of "an entertaining abstract of the most popular books of travels, which have lately appeared". Lewis and Clark's travels make up the bulk of the volume; the remainder being devoted to Long and Jewitt. Described from a copy loaned by Mr. Charles H. Conover.

1848

In Senate of the United States. | January 20, 1848. | Submitted, and ordered to be printed. | Mr. Westcott made the following Report: | The Committee of Claims, to whom was referred the petition of David Whelply, report: | [*text of the report*]

8vo; pp. 3, verso of last leaf blank. David Whelply claimed governmental aid as a reward for his participation in Pike's explorations. Lewis and Clark are introduced by the petitioner as one of the precedents under which he lodged his claim. It was, however, adversely reported by the senatorial Committee of Claims. The public document is in Senate Reports of Committees, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., No. 37.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1866

Oregon and Eldorado; | or, | Romance of the Rivers. | By | Thomas
Bulfinch, . . .

Boston: | J. E. Tilton and Company. | 1866. |

12mo; half-title, verso blank; title, with copyright, etc. on verso;
"Preface", pp. ix-x; "Contents", pp. xi-xiv; half-title to "Oregon",
verso blank; text to "Oregon" and "Eldorado", pp. 1-464. Signatures:
Six preliminary leaves, 1-29 in eights. The Lewis and Clark matter begins on
p. 14 (chap. II). Described from a copy in the Library of Congress.

1876

Department of the Interior. | United States Geological and Geograph-
ical Survey of the Territories. | F. V. Hayden, U. S. Geologist-in-
Charge. | An Account | of the various publications relating to | the
Travels of Lewis and Clarke, | with a | Commentary on the Zoologi-
cal Results of | their Expedition. | By | Dr. Elliott Coues, U. S. A. |
[Extracted from Bulletin of the Geological and Geographical Survey |
of the Territories, No. 6, Second Series.] | Washington, February 8,
1876. |

8vo; title on cover, verso blank; text, pp. [417]-444. Divided into two
parts, the first of which is bibliographical, and the second zoological. This is
the separate edition. The Bulletin from which it is an extract has the following
title: Department of the Interior. | Bulletin | of | the United States | Geolog-
ical and Geographical Survey | of | the Territories. | Bulletin, No. 6. — Second
Series. | Washington: | Government Printing Office. | February 8, 1876. |

Copies of this Bulletin are in B; NYSL. The separate is in B; CHC.
These I have seen or located, but there are of course others.

1876

Sketch | of | Gov. Merriwether Lewis. | By General Marcus J.
Wright. | [First published in the June number, 1876, of "Ware's
Valley Monthly."] | Washington, D.C. |

8vo; title, verso blank; text, pp. [3] — 10; one blank leaf.

Copies: HSP; NYHS; WHS.

1886-1888

Children's Stories | of | American Progress | By | Henrietta Christian
Wright | *** | Illustrated by J. Steeple Davis |
New York | Charles Scribner's Sons | 1888 |

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

8vo; half-title, with advertisement on verso; title, with copyright, etc. on verso; "Contents", pp. [v]—vii; one blank page; "List of Illustrations", verso blank; text, pp. [1]—333; one blank page; advertisements, pp. (8); one blank leaf. Chapter IV (pp. 86—103) relates to "The Expedition of Lewis and Clarke to the Pacific Ocean". This describes the issue of 1888, but the book was copyrighted in 1886.

1893

Description of the Original Manuscript Journals and Field Notebooks of Lewis and Clark, on which was based Biddle's History of the Expedition of 1804—6, and which are now in the possession of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. |

8vo. Forms pp. 17—33 of the "Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society held at Philadelphia for Promoting Useful Knowledge. Vol. xxxi. January to December, 1893. Philadelphia: Printed for the Society by MacCalla & Company. 1893." It is No. 140, which was printed March 4, 1893.

Described from a copy in AAS. It is also in CHC and WHS.¹

1893

Explorers and Travellers. By General A. W. Greely.

See for full description *infra*, under 1902.

1893

Old South Leaflets. Eleventh series, 1893. No. 6. Captain Meriwether Lewis. By Thomas Jefferson. |

12mo; pp. 16. The cover-title to this series is entitled "The Opening of the West". Described from a copy in HC.

1893

Old South Leaflets. General Series, No. 44. Captain Meriwether Lewis. By Thomas Jefferson. | [1893]

12mo; pp. 16. Forms part of a volume, the general title of which is "Old South Leaflets. Volume II. 26—50. Boston: Directors of the Old South Work. Old South Meeting House".

Copies: BPL; HC; HSP; NYSL; WHS.

¹ A condensation of this article is given in the Appendix to the present edition. — Ed.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1894

The New Found Journal | of Charles Floyd, | a sergeant under
Captains Lewis and Clark. | By | James Davie Butler. | From Pro-
ceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, at the Semi- | annual
Meeting, held in Boston, April 25, 1894. |

Worcester, Mass., U. S. A. | Press of Charles Hamilton, | 311 Main
Street. | 1894. |

8vo; half-title on cover; title, verso blank; introduction by Butler, pp. [3]
— 15; "Appendix", pp. [16] — 30, of which Floyd's Journal is the princi-
pal part.

Copies. CHC; HC; WHS (where also is the original MS. of the Journal).¹

1898-1899

The Plants of Lewis and Clark's Expedition across the Con- | tinent,
1804-1806. | By Thomas Meehan.

Forms pp. 12-49 of "Proceedings | of the | Academy of Natural Sciences |
of | Philadelphia. | 1898. Committee on Publication: | [*Five names*] | Edi-
tor: Edward J. Nolan, M.D. | Philadelphia: | Academy of Natural Sciences, |
Logan Square. | 1899". It is a section of part I (Jan.-March, 1898).
Described from a copy in AAS.

1900

Baldwin's Biographical Booklets | The Story | of | Captain Meri-
wether Lewis and | Captain William Clark | for young readers | By |
Nellie F. Kingsley | With an Introduction by The Editor | [*Cut*] |
Werner School Book Company | New York Chicago Boston |
[1900]

18mo; title, with list of series, etc. on verso; "Contents" on p. 3; por-
trait of Lewis on p. [4]; "Introduction", pp. 5-12; text, with illustrations,
pp. 13-128. Many illustrations in the text. No signatures. Copyright, 1900.

1901

Lewis and Clark | Meriwether Lewis | and | William Clark | By
William R. Lighton | [*Printer's mark*] |

Boston and New York | Houghton, Mifflin and Company | The
Riverside Press, Cambridge | 1901

¹ Republished in the present series directly from the original MS. The publica-
tion above noted contained numerous minor errors. — ED.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

16mo; four preliminary leaves; text, pp. [1]-159; colophon on verso of p. 159. No signatures. Frontispiece with photogravure portraits of Clark and Lewis.

Copies: BA; BPL; C; CHC; HC; NA; NYHS; NYSL; WHS.

1901

First | Across the Continent | the Story of | The Exploring Expedition of Lewis | and Clark in 1803-4-5 | By Noah Brooks |
New York | Charles Scribner's Sons | 1901 |

8vo; half-title, verso blank; title, with copyright, etc. on verso; "Preface," pp. [v]-vii; one blank page; "Contents", pp. [ix]-x; "List of Illustrations", pp. [xi]-xii; half-title, verso blank; text, pp. [1]-361; one blank page; "Index," pp. [363]-365; one blank page. Twenty-four plates as registered in the "List of Illustrations", and folded map at end of the volume. Signatures: Eight preliminary leaves, the first being blank; 1-23 in eights, the last leaf being blank.

"It is hoped that the present version of the story of the expedition, told as fully as possible in the language of the heroic men who modestly penned the record of their own doings and observations, will be acceptable to many readers, especially to young folks, who will here read for the first time a concise narrative of the first exploring expedition sent into a wilderness destined to become the seat of a mighty empire." — PREFACE.

Copies: CHC; LCP; WHS.

1902

Four | American Explorers | Captain Meriwether Lewis | Captain William Clark | General John C. Frémont | Dr. Elisha K. Kane | A Book for Young Americans | By | Nellie F. Kingsley |
Werner School Book Company | New York Chicago Boston |
[Copyright 1902]

12mo; title, with list of series, etc. on verso; "Contents", pp. 3-4; map on p. [5]; p. [6] blank; half-title on p. [7]; portrait on p. [8]; "Introduction", pp. 9-16; text of Lewis and Clark, pp. 17-132; text, etc. of Frémont and Kane, pp. [133]-271; advertisement on verso of p. 271. No signatures. This volume is the eighth in "The Four Great Americans Series", and was published in the spring of 1902.

1902

The Conquest | The True Story of Lewis | and Clark | By | Eva Emery Dye | Author of | "McLoughlin and Old Oregon" | [*Publishers' mark*]

Chicago | A. C. McClurg & Company | 1902 |

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

12mo; half-title, with advertisement on verso; title, with copyright, etc. on verso; "Note of acknowledgment", with verso blank; "Contents", pp. [vii]-ix; "Foreword", pp. (1); half-title to Book I, with verso blank; text, pp. [1]-443; one blank page. Portrait frontispiece of "Judith." Signatures: Six preliminary leaves, 1-27 in eights, 28 in six, but printed off in an erratic manner. The work was first "Published Nov. 12, 1902." There have been several subsequent editions. Historical fiction with considerable antiquarian detail. Described from a copy in NL.

1902

Men of Achievement | Explorers and Travellers | By | General A. W. Greely, U. S. A. | Gold Medallist of Royal Geographical Society and Société de Géographie, Paris | [*Publishers' mark*] |
New York | Charles Scribner's Sons | 1902 |

12mo; half-title, with list of "Men of Achievement Series" on verso; title, with copyright on verso; "Preface", pp. [3]-4; "Contents", p. [5]; "List of Illustrations", pp. [6]-8; text, pp. [9]-373; verso of last leaf blank. There are seven full-page illustrations not a part of the regular pagination, and sixty-two full page and text-illustrations included in the regular pagination. The original issue appeared in 1893, and it has been kept in print ever since that date. I have here described the latest issue. The fifth chapter, pp. [105]-162, is entitled, "Captain Meriwether Lewis and Lieut. William Clark. First Trans-Continental Explorers of the United States."

1903

The Louisiana Purchase and the Exploration, early History and Building of the West. By Ripley Hitchcock. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1903.

12mo; pp. 21, 349. Illustrations, portraits and maps. Part 2 is devoted to the Lewis and Clark expedition. Copyright 1903, but really issued early in 1904. The author's full name is James Ripley Wellman Hitchcock. Not seen.

1904

A Brief History of | Rocky Mountain | Exploration | with especial reference to the | Expedition of Lewis and Clark | By | Reuben Gold Thwaites | . . . | . . . | . . . | With illustrations and maps | | [*Publishers' cut*] |
New York | D. Appleton and Company | 1904 |

8vo; half-title, with list of the "Series" on verso; title, with copyright, etc. on verso; dedication, verso blank; "Preface", pp. vii-ix; one blank page;

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL DATA

“Contents”, verso blank; “List of Illustrations”, verso blank; text, pp. 1-252; “Index”, pp. 253-276; publishers’ advertisements, pp. (14). Views, map, portraits, etc., making ten subjects, as in the printed “List of Illustrations”. “Published February, 1904” in Appletons’ “Expansion of the Republic Series”. Signatures: [1]-19 in eights.

1904

The Trail of Lewis and Clark. A Story of the Great Exploration Across the Continent, 1804-06; with a Description of the Old Trail, Based upon Actual Travel over it, and of the Changes Found a Century Later. By Olin D. Wheeler, member of the Minnesota Historical Society. New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1904.

8vo; 2 vols, with colored frontispieces and about two hundred illustrations, including maps and diagrams. From the publishers’ spring announcements of 1904.

The Original Journals of Captains Meriwether
Lewis and William Clark

THE JOURNALS PROPER

The ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF LEWIS AND CLARK

CHAPTER I

FROM RIVER DUBOIS TO THE PLATTE

Clark's Journal and Orders, January 30—July 22, 1804

Entries and Orders by Lewis, February 20, March 3, May 15, 20, 26, and July 8, 12

[PRELIMINARY MEMORANDA]

[Clark]

CAPT^s LEWIS & CLARK wintered at the entrance of a Small river opposit the Mouth of Missouri Called Wood River,¹ where they formed their party, Composed of robust helthy hardy young men, recomended [Sentence unfinished. — E.D.].²

[The following memoranda of events in the history of the expedition prior to its departure from River Dubois, May 14, 1804, are selected from a record, mainly of natural phenomena, kept by Clark, which is written near the end of Codex C;

¹ Local traditions here place the mouth of the Missouri River in 1803 at one mile north of Maple Island; it is now four miles below the island. The mouth of Wood River is one mile below Maple Island, and is supposed to have been in the same place in 1803. — G. B. DORSEY, Gillespie, Ill.

² This unfinished memorandum is found on the fly-leaf at beginning of the small note-book designated by Elliott Coues — in his report upon the journals, made to the American Philosophical Society, Jan. 20, 1893, and reprinted in our Appendix, *post* — as "Codex A," from which book is here reproduced Clark's journal of the expedition from May 13 to August 14, 1804. Occasional entries, written by Lewis during that period, will be here designated by his name within brackets at the beginning of such matter.

As stated in the Introduction to the present volume, there are two collections of original journals of the explorers — that made by Thomas Jefferson and now in the custody of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia; and that owned by

this begins at p. 231, and continues (the pages being in reverse order) to p. 216, covering the time from Jan. 1, 1804 to April 7, 1805. The expedition had gone into camp in December. — ED.]

	<i>January 30th</i>
Cap' Lewis arrived from Kahokia	
	<i>Feb'y 29</i>
The weather had been clear since Cap' Lewis left [t] Camp until this ¹	
	<i>March 19th</i>
Visited S' Charles	
	<i>20th</i>
Return from S' Charles after having arrested the progress of a Kickapoo war party	
	<i>21st</i>
I arrived at River Dubois from S' Charles	
	<i>28th</i>
Cap' Lewis returned to Camp	
	<i>29th</i>
Tried Several men for misconduct	
	<i>April 2nd</i>
Cap' Lewis went to St. Louis. M' Hay arrive[d]	

[The following memorandum, by both Lewis and Clark, occupies a detached sheet in the Clark-Voorhis collection. — ED.]

[Lewis:]

Information of M' John Hay, commencing at the discharge of the Ottertail Lake, which forms the source of the Red River, to his winter station on the Assiniboine River.

Mrs. Julia Clark Voorhis and Miss Eleanor Glasgow Voorhis, of New York — grand-daughter and great grand-daughter, respectively, of William Clark. In all references to the Philadelphia codices, we shall for convenience give Coues's lettered designations thereof (e. g., "Codex A"); the four Voorhis note-books will be designated by their Arabic numerals (e. g., "Clark-Voorhis note-book, No. 1"). Other Clark manuscripts in the Voorhis collection will be specifically alluded to, as they appear in our volumes. — ED.

¹ Lewis appears to have spent his time chiefly in St. Louis, where, on March 9 and 10, he was principal witness to the formal transfer of Upper Louisiana. See act of transfer, in Billon, *Annals of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1886), pp. 360, 361. — ED.

	<i>Leagues</i>
From Ottertail Lake	
To the Shugar rapid	18.
Buffaloe River — N. Side	10.
Commencement of shaved prairie	9.
Expiration of D ^o d ^o	18.
{ Tho' on a streight line not thought more than } 6. leagues }	
Stinking bird river, South side	60.
(heads with river St Peters)	
Shayen or Shaha South side	14.
River au Bouf North side	4.
Tree River South side	10.
Wild oates river N. Side	2.
Goose river South side	7.
Pond River S. side	1/3
Sand Hill river — not certain but b[e]lieved to be on the South side	5.
To the grand fork or <i>Red Lake River</i> N. Side	20.
Turtle river S. Side	3.
Dirty water river S. side	3.
Salt water river N. side at the head of this river is a salt spring	18.
Pierced wood river N. S.	12.
Pembnar river N. S.	3.
To a wintering establishment of the N. W. Company on the S. side	8.
Paemicon river S. side	3.
M ^r Reaum's Fort S. side 1792	1/3
Pond river S. side	14.
Kuckould burr river S. side	3 1/2
Rat river N side	7.
Assiniboin N side	16 1/2
	269
Dead river S. side	8.
Lake Winnepique	10.
From the mouth of the Assinaboin up the same to To the mouth of Mouse River S side	139 1/2

Notes — 1) the general course of the red River from Leaf river to the mouth of the assinaboin is due West

(2^d) the River Pembnar heads in three large lakes bearing as it proceeds upwards towards the Assinaboin — the first lake three leagues

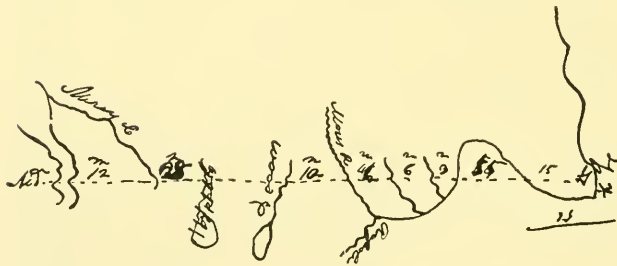
in length and 1 in width, the turtle mountain bearing S W. dist^{nt} 7 leagues, the second smaller lying N N W. not very distant from the former the third and last large and extending within a few miles of the mouth of Mouse river branch of the Assinnaboin

(3) Salt is made in sundry places on the Red river (to it) [to wit] just below the mouth of river Pembear on the S. side head of salt river, also on the South side of the red river a little way below the dirty water river

[Clark:]

The Course from the Fort Mandan to the Fort *Chaboillez's* on the Assinna Boin is North 150 Miles

	mils	
Mirey creek	12	& Big C. of wood 16 to the E to a lake
Mous river	50	to the river La sou[rie] 4 L
		30 yd wide
and	20	Legues to a Small creek of the Mous R
&	3	d ^o to the next
&	1	League cross the Lasou or M.[ouse]
&	20	L cross the Ditto to the R
		Pass Turtle Hites at 6 L.
	27	to Assinnibon
	51	



[We now return to Clark's memorandum of events, in Codex C. — ED.]

M^{3rd}! Garrous¹ Boat loaded with provisions pass up for Prarie du chien, to trade

at St. Louis

18thA

The Country about the Mouth of Missouri is pleasent rich and partially Settled On the East Side of the Mississippi a leavel rich bottom extends back about 3 miles, and rises by several elevations to the high Country, which is thinly timbered with Oakes & On the lower Side of the Missouri, at about 2 miles back the Country rises gradully, to a high pleasent thinly timberd Country, the lands are generally fine on the River bottoms and well calculating for farming on the upper Country

in the point the Bottom is extensive and emensly rich for 15 or 20 miles up each river, and about $\frac{2}{3}$ of which is open leavel plains in which the inhabtents of S^t. Charles & portage de Scioux had ther crops of corn & wheat. on the upland is a fine farming country partially timbered for Some distance back.

[DISCIPLINE AND ORGANIZATION]

[The following "Detachment Orders" are in the Voorhis collection of Lewis and Clark manuscripts—see note 2, p. 3, *ante*. The documents show that the "robust helthy hardy young men," many of them fresh from the Kentucky woods, found it not easy to accustom themselves to the rigid discipline of a military corps; and illustrate the difficulties which beset the two captains during the first winter camp. The orders relating to the personnel of the expedition, with the organization of the messes, etc., are especially interesting and suggestive.—Ed.]²

¹ Little is known of this Garreau, save that it is probably his son Pierre (whose mother was an Arikara woman) who was long an interpreter at Fort Berthold; see Coues's *Narrative of Larpenteur* (N. Y., 1898), i, pp. 125, 126. Clark's Garreau may be the Jearreau (of Cahokia, Ill.) mentioned by Pike in 1806; see Coues's *Expeditions of Pike* (N. Y., 1895), i, p. 263. — Ed.

² The first two orders (Lewis) are on separate sheets of paper. The others are contained in a pocket note-book, which we designate as the "Orderly Book." This

*Detachment Orders**Camp River Dubois, Feb' 20th 1804.*

[Lewis:]

The Commanding officer directs that During the absence of himself and Cap^t Clark from Camp, that the party shall consider themselves under the immediate command of Serg^t Ordway, who will be held accountable for the good poliece and order of the camp during that period, and will also see the subsequent parts of this order carried into effect.

The sawyers will continue their work untill they have cut the necessary quantity of plank, the quantity wanting will be determined by Pryor; during the days they labour they shall recieve each an extra gill of whiskey p^r day and be exempt from guard duty; when the work is accomplished, they will join the party and do duty in common with the other men.

The Blacksmiths will also continue their work untill they have completed the articles contained in the memorandum with which I have furnished them, and during the time they are at work will recieve each an extra gill of whiskey p^r day and be exempt from guard duty; when the work is completed they will return to camp and do duty in common with the detatc[h]ment.

The four men who are engaged in making sugar will continue in that employment untill further orders, and will recieve each a half a gill of extra whiskey p^r day and be exempt from guard duty.

The practicing party will in futer discharge only one round each p^r day, which will be done under the direction of Serg^t Ordway, all at the same target and at the distance of fifty yards off hand. The prize of a gill of extra whiskey will be recieved by the person who makes the best shot at each time of practice.

Floyd will take charge of our quarte[r]s and store and be exempt from guard duty untill our return, the commanding

book (at first in Clark's hand, and then for the most part in that of Sergeant John Ordway, with a few entries by Lewis) covers the dates April 1–October 13, 1804. It is but a fragment; the remaining leaves are missing, save those containing an entry dated Fort Clatsop, January 1, 1806. After the start of the expedition from River Dubois camp, we have incorporated into the text the several entries from this document, designating them as “[Orderly Book:]”. —ED.



SNAGS, ETC., ON THE MISSOURI

Officer hopes that this proof of his confidence will be justified by the rigid performance of the orders given him on that subject.

No man shall absent himself from camp without the knowledge and permission of Serg^t Ordway, other than those who have obtained permission from me to be absent on hunting excursions, and those will not extend their absence to a term by which they may avoid a tour of guard duty, on their return they will report themselves to Serg^t Ordway and receive his instructions.

No whiskey shall in future be delivered from the Contractor's store except for the legal ration, and as appropriated by this order, unless otherwise directed by Cap^t Clark or myself.

MERIWETHER LEWIS Cap^t
1st U. S. Reg^t Infy.

Serg^t Ordway will have the men paraded this evening and read the inclosed orders to them.

M. LEWIS

[Indorsed:] to Floyd

Detachment Orders
March 3rd 1804.

[Lewis:]

The Commanding officer feels himself mortified and disappointed at the disorderly conduct of Reubin Fields, in refusing to mount guard when in the due roteen of duty he was regularly warned; nor is he less surprised at the want of discretion in those who urged his oposition to the faithfull discharge of his duty, particularly Shields, whose sense of propriety he had every reason to believe would have induced him reather to have promoted good order, than to have excited disorder and faction among the party, particularly in the absence of Cap^t Clark and himself: The Commanding officer is also sorry to find any man, who has been engaged by himself and Cap^t Clark for the expedition on which they have entered, so destitute of understanding, as not to be able to draw the distinction between being placed under the command of another officer, whose will in such case would be their law, and that of obeying the orders of

Cap! Clark and himself communicated to them through Serg! Ordway, who, as one of the party, has during their necessary absence been charged with the execution of their orders; acting from those orders expressly, and not from his own caprice, and who, is in all respects accountable to us for the faithfull observance of the same.

A moments reflection must convince every man of our party, that were we to neglect the more important and necessary arrangements in relation to the voyage we are now entering on, for the purpose merely of remain[in]g at camp in order to communicate our orders in person to the individuals of the party on near points of poliece, they would have too much reason to complain; nay, even to fear the ultimate success of the enterprise in which we are all embarked. The abuse of some of the party with respect [to the] prevelege heretofore granted them of going into the country, is not less displeasing; to such as have made hunting or other business a pretext to cover their design of visiting a neighbouring whiskey shop, he cannot for the present extend this privilege; and dose therefore most positively direct, that Colter, Bolye, Wisner, and Robinson do not recieve permission to leave camp under any pretext whatever for *ten days*, after this order is read on the parade, unless otherwise directed hereafter by Cap! Clark or himself. The commanding officers highly approve of the conduct of Serg! Ordway.

The Carpenters Blacksmiths, and in short the whole party (except Floid who has been specially directed to perform other duties) are to obey implicitly the orders of Serg! Ordway, who has recieved our instructions on these subjects, and is held accountable to us for their due execution.

MERIWETHER LEWIS.

Cap! 1st U. S. Reg! Infy Comd^r Detachment

[Indorsed:] Serg! Ordway will read the within order to the men on the parade the morning after the receipt of the same.

M. LEWIS Cap!



INDIAN UTENSILS AND ARMS



INDIAN UTENSILS AND ARMS

[Orderly Book; Clark:]

Detachment Order
Camp River Dubois April 17 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 Permanent Detachment. (Viz).

William Bratten	John Ordway
John Colter	Nathaniel Pryor
John Collins	John Potts
Reubin Fields	Moses B Reed
Joseph Fields	George Shannon
Charles Floyd	John Shields
Patric Gass	John B. Thompson
George Gibson	Richard Winsler
Silas Goodrich	William Werner
Thomas P. Howard	Peter Wisler
Hugh Hall	Joseph Whitehouse
Hugh Mc Neel	Alexander Willard
John Newmon	

The commanding officers do also retain in their service untill further Orders: The following Persons, Richard Warvington, Robert Frasure, John Robertson, & John Boyley (*Moses B. Read*)¹ who whilst they remain with the Detachment

¹ The Lewis and Clark manuscripts were, as explained in the Introduction, *ante*, for a time in the hands of Nicholas Biddle, who prepared from them his paraphrase *Narrative*, published in 1814. Clark, in assisting Biddle, not infrequently made interlineations in the text; so did Biddle—in our opinion, the former thus wrote in black ink, the latter in red. In 1893, Elliott Coues also made emendations in the Philadelphia codices; and there are some erasures and interlineations by an unknown hand. In seeking to reproduce the manuscripts with fidelity, the present Editor has deemed it desirable to retain all emendations made by contemporaries, although he has ignored many made by Coues, who often sought to correct and modernize the spelling of proper names. Words reproduced by us in Italics enclosed by parentheses, are corrections in red ink, presumably by Biddle—e. g. (*Moses B. Read*); those set in Italics enclosed by brackets, are in black ink and by several persons—Clark, Coues, or an unknown hand—e. g. [*Petite Côte*]; words in Italics, unenclosed, were underlined by the author himself; the present Editor's signed or unsigned emendations are in Roman, bracketed—e. g. [Lewis]; plain parentheses (enclosing matter in Roman type) are as in the text.—Ed.

shall be incorporated with the second, and third squads of the same, and are to be treated in all respects as those men who form the Permonant detachment, except with regard to an advance of Pay, and the distrebutions of Arms and Accoutrements intended for the expedition.

The following persons (viz *Charles Floyd, John Ordway, and Nathaniel Pryor* are this day *appointed Sergeants*, with equal Powers (unless when otherwise specially ordered). The authority, Pay, and emouliments, attached to the Said rank of Sergeants in the Military Service of the United States, and to hold the Said appointments, and be respected Accordingly, dureing their good behaviour or the Will and pleasure of the s^d Commanding officers.¹

To insure order among the party, as well as to promote a regular Police in Camp, The Commanding Officers have thought proper to devide the detachment into three *Squads* and to place a Sergeant in Command of each, who are held imediately responsible to the Commanding officers, for the regular and orderly deportment of the individuls Composing their respective Squads.

The following individuals after being duly balloted for, have fallen in the several *Squads* as hereafter stated, and are Accordingly placed under the derECTION of the Sergeants whose names preceeds those of his squad. (Viz:)

¹ The above spelling is somewhat erratic. Following is the now generally accepted list of members of the expedition, as verified by the official pay-roll at the close of the venture: Meriwether Lewis, Captain in 1st Reg. U. S. Infantry, commanding; William Clark, 2nd Lieutenant in U. S. Artillery; sergeants—John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor, Charles Floyd, Patrick Gass; and privates—William Bratton, John Colter, John Collins, Peter Cruzatte, Reuben Fields, Joseph Fields, Robert Frazier, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Thomas P. Howard, Francis Labiche, Hugh McNeal, John Potts, George Shannon, John Shields, John B. Thompson, William Werner, Joseph Whitehouse, Alexander Willard, Richard Windsor, Peter Wiser. Besides these men, the party included two interpreters, George Drewyer (or Drouillard) and Toussaint Charbonneau; an Indian woman, Sacajawea ("Bird-woman"), Charbonneau's wife; and a negro slave of Captain Clark's, named York. Two soldiers, John Newman and M. B. Reed, who had set out with the expedition, were punished for misconduct, and sent back to St. Louis on April 7, 1805. Baptiste Lepage was enlisted in Newman's place, at Fort Mandan, Nov. 2, 1804, and remained with the expedition until the discharge of its men at St. Louis, Nov. 10, 1806. For more detailed information regarding them, see Coues's *Lewis and Clark*, i, pp. 253-259. — Ed.

<i>1st Squad</i>		Reubin	Fields
<i>Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor.</i>		Joseph	Fields
		John B.	Thompson
<i>Privates</i>		Richard	Winser
George	Gibson	Richard	Worthington
Thomas P.	Howard	Robert	Frasure.
George	Shannon		
John	Shields	<i>3rd Squad</i>	
John	Collins	<i>Serg^t John Ordway</i>	
Joseph	Whitehouse	<i>Privates</i>	
Peter	Wiser	William	Bratten
Hugh	Hall	John	Colter
<i>2nd Squad</i>		Alexander	Willard
<i>Serg^t Charles Floyd</i>		William	Warner
<i>Privates</i>		Silas	Goodrich
Hugh	M ^r Neel	John	Potts
Patric	Gass	John	Robertson
		John	Boleye

The Camp Kettles, and other Public utensels for cooking shall be produced this evening after the parade is Dismissed ; and an equal division shall take place of the same, among the non-commissioned officers Commanding the squads. Those non-commissioned officers shall make an equal Division of the proportion of those utensels between their own Messes of their respective squads,—each squad shall be divided into two Messes, at the head of one of which the commanding Sergeant shall Preside. the sergeants Messes will Consist of four privates only to be admitted under his discession, the ballance of each squad shall form the second mess of each squad.

During the indisposition of Sergeant Pryor, George Shannon is appointed (protempor) to discharge his the Said Pryor's duty in his squad.

The party for the co[n]venience of being more imediately under the eye of the several sergeants haveing charge of them, will make the necessary exchanges of their *Bunks* and rooms for that Purpose as shall be verbally derected by us.

Untill otherwise derected, Sergeant John Ordway will continue to keep the *rouster* and detaile the men of the detachment

for the several duties which it may be necessary, they should perform, as also to transcribe in a book furnished Him for that purpose, those or such other orders as the Commanding officers shall think proper to publish from time, to time for the government of the Party.

Signed

MERIWETHER LEWIS
W^M CLARK

Detachment Order

River a Dubois April 7th 1804.

[Orderly Book; Ordway:]¹

During the absence of the Commanding officers at S^t Louis, the Party are to Consider themselves under the immediate command of Serg^t John Ordway; who will be held accountable for the Poliece; and good order of the Camp, dureing that period. Every individual of the party will Strictly attend to all the necessary duties required for the benefit of the party; and to the regulations heretofore made which is now in force. Serg^t Floyd will stay in our quarters, attend to them, and the Store; and to the other duties reqired of him; he will also assist Serg^t Ordway as much as possible.

Signed

W^M CLARK
MERIWETHER LEWIS

Detachment Orders

April 21st 1804

[Orderly Book:]

Dureing the absence of the Commanding officers at S^t Louis the Party are to be under the immediate Command of Ser-geant John Ordway agreeable to the Orders of the 7th Instant

Signed W^M CLARK Cap^t

[Orderly Book:]

Camp at River a Dubois May the 4th 1804

ORDERS Corporal Warvington, Frasier, Boley & the Detachment late from Captain Stoddards Company will form a mess under the direction of the Corporal, who shall be held accountable for their conduct in Camp.

¹ From this point until the end of the Orderly Book, the entries therein are by that officer, unless otherwise noted. — Ed.

River a Subject to report the
 mouth of the Mississippi
 River Sunday May the 10th
 1804 - I dispatched an express
 this morning to Capt Lewis at
 St Louis, all our provisions food
 and equipage on board of
 a Boat of 22 coars a large
 Perogues of 7 coars a second
 Perogues of 6 coars, complete
 with Sails &c &c. Men complete
 with Powder Cartridges and
 100 Balls each, all in keel
 and ready to set out. Boat
 and every thing complete with the
 necessary stores of provisions &
 such articles of merchandise as
 we thought desirable to have
 with us. The boat is built on the
 flat of the country of the United States
 Lat. 38-55-10. N. of North of Equator
 Long. 89-57-45. West of Green wick

MS. Page, by Clark, dated May 10, 1804.

ORDERS: The Sergeants are to mount as officers of the Day During the time we delay at this place, and exhibit on Duty to Command the Detachment in the absence of the Commanding officer — he is to see that the Guard doe their Duty, and that the Detachment attend to the regulations heretofore made and those which may be made from time to time, No man of the Detachment Shall leave Camp without permission from the Commanding officer present, except the French Hands who have families may be allowed to Stay with their families whilst at this place

2 Serg! Ordway for Duty to Day. Serg! Floyd tomorrow & Serg! Pryor the next day.

Signed W^m CLARK
Cap! Command^r

[Clark:] *A Memorandum of Articles in readiness for the Voyage*¹

Viz:	14	Bags of Parchmeal of 2 bus:	each about .	1200 ^w
	9	do - Common Do . do .	do .	800
	11	do - Corn Hulled . do .	do .	1000
	30	half Barrels of flour) (Gross 3900 ^w)	do .	3400
	2	Bags of . do }		
	7	do of Biscuit) .	Gross 650) do .	560
	4	Barrels do }		
	7	Barrels of Salt of 2 bus: each "	(870) do .	750
	50	Kegs of Pork . (gross 4500)	. do .	3705
	2	Boxes of Candles 70 ^{lb} and about 50 ^{lb}		
		(one of which has 50 ^{lb} of soap	. do .	170
	1	Bag of Candle-wick . .	do .	8
	1	do " Coffee	50
	1	do " Beens & 1 of Pees	100
	2	do " Sugar . . .	do .	112
	1	Keg of Hogs Lard . . .	do .	100
	4	Barrels of Corn hulled (650)	. do .	600
	1	do of meal . . .	170 do .	150
	600 ^{lb}	Grees		
	50	bushels meal		
	24	do Natchies Corn Huled		
	21	Bales of Indian goods		
		Tools of every Description &c &c.		

¹ A loose sheet, in the Voorhis collection, with map of neighborhood of River Dubois camp on reverse side. — ED

our party

2 Cap^l 4 Sergeants, 3 Intp^l, 22 Amⁿ 9 or 10 French, & York also 1 Corp^l & Six in a perogue with 40 Days provisions for the party as far as these provisions last

[Indorsed:] A List of Arti[c]les for Missouri voyage

[COMMENCEMENT OF THE JOURNALS PROPER]

[Clark:]¹

*River a Dubois opposet the mouth of the Missouri River
Sunday May the 13th 1804.*

I despatched an express this morning to Cap^l Lewis at S^t Louis, all our provisions Goods and equipage on Board of a Boat of 22 oars² (*Party*) a large Perogue of 71 oares (*in which 8 French*) a Second Perogue of 6 oars, (*Soldiers*) Complete with Sails &c. &c. Men comp^d with Powder Cartrages and 100 Balls each, all in health and readiness to set out. Boats and everything Complete, with the necessary stores of provisions & such articles of merchandize as we thought ourselves authorised to procure — tho' not as much as I think ness^y for the multitude of Ind^t thro which we must pass on our road across the Continent &c. &c.

Lat^d 38° - 55' - 19" - 6 10 North of equator
Longth 89 - 57 - 45 - West of Greenwich

Monday May 14th 1804

Rained the fore part of the day I determined to go as far as S^t Charles a french Village 7 Leag^s up the Missourie, and wait at that place untill Cap^l Lewis could finish the business in which he was obliged to attend to at S^t Louis and join me by Land from that place 24 miles; by this movement I calculated that if any alterations in the loading of the Vestles or other Changes necessary, that they might be made at S^t Charles

I Set out at 4 oClock P.M, in the presence of many of the neighbouring inhabitants, and proceeded on under a jentle

¹ This and subsequent Clark entries, up to and including Aug 14, 1804, are from Codex A. — ED.

² "A keel boat fifty-five feet long, drawing three feet water, carrying one large square sail and twenty-two oars, a deck of ten feet in the bow, and stern formed a forecabin and cabin, while the middle was covered by lockers, which might be raised so as to form a breastwork in case of attack." — BIDDLE, i, p. 2.

Monday May 14th 1844

Received the proposition of the day
I determined to go as far as St.
Charles a further distance I left
up the Missouri, and wait at
that place until Capt Lewis
could ~~start~~ the business
which he was obliged to attend
to at St Louis and join me by
Land from that place 24 Miles.
By this movement I calculated
that if any alteration in the
Course of the Valley or other
Channel necessary had been
made at St Charles
I set out at 4 o'clock P.M. in
the presence of many of the
neighboring inhabitants, and
proceeded on under gentle breeze
up the Missouri to the upper
Point of the 1st Island 4 Miles

MS. Page, dated May 14, giving Clark's start
from River Dubois.

brease up the Missouri to the upper Point of the 1st Island 4 Miles and camped on the Island which is Situated Close on the right (or Starboard) Side, and opposit the mouth of a Small Creek called Cold water,¹ a heavy rain this after-noon

The Course of this day nearly *West* wind from N. E.

[Lewis:]

Tuesday May 15th —

It rained during the greater part of last night and continued untill 7 O^{cl} A. M. after which the party proceeded, passed two Islands and incamped on the Star^d shore at M^r Fifer's landing opposite an Island. the evening was fair. some wild gees with their young brudes were seen to-day. the barge run foul three several times on logs, and in one instance it was with much difficulty they could get her off; happily no injury was sustained, tho' the barge was several minutes in eminent danger; this was cased by her being too heavily laden in the stern. Persons accustomed to the navigation of the Missouri and the Mississippi also below the mouth of this river, uniformly take the precaution to load their vessels heavyst in the bow when they ascend the stream in order to avoid the danger incedent to runing foul of the concealed timber which lyes in great quantities in the beds of these rivers²

[Clark:]³

May 15th Tuesday —

Rained the greater part of the last night, and this morning untill 7 oClock. at 9 oClock Set out and proceeded on 9 miles passed two Islands & incamped on the Starb^d Side at a M^r Pipers Landing opposet an Island, the Boat run on Logs three times to day, owing [to] her being too heavily loaded a Sturn, a fair after noon, I saw a number of Goslings to day on the Shore, the water excessively rapid, & Banks falling in.

¹ This creek was just above Bellefontaine, Mo., where a U. S. military post was established in 1803. — ED.

² This entry, made by Lewis, is found at end of Codex Aa. — ED.

³ Where, as herein, there are consecutive entries by the same hand, we only thus indicate the commencement of a stretch. — ED.

LEWIS AND CLARK JOURNALS [May 16

Course & Distance ascending the Missouri Tuesday 15th May

Course	M ^{ls}	
West	1 - 0	- To a p ^t on S ^t Side
N 80° W	2 - 0	- To a p ^t on S ^t Side
N. 11° W	2 - ½	- To a p ^t on Stb ^d Side
N 20° W	1 - ½	- To a p ^t on Lb ^d Side
S 10° W	1 - ½	- To a p ^t on Stb ^d Side
S 22° W	1 - 0	- To a p ^t on Stb ^d Side.
	9 - ½	(See <i>Suplem^t</i> in N ^o . 3)

May 16th Wednesday

A fair morning Set out at 5 oClk pass a remarkable Coal Hill on the Larboard Side, Called by the French Carbonere, this hill appear to Contain great quantity of Coal (*É ore of a appearance*) from this hill the Village of S^t Charles may be Seen at 7 miles distance. we arrived at S^t Charles at 12 oClock a number Spectators french & Indians flocked to the bank to See the party. This Village is about one mile in length, Situated on the North Side of the Missouri at the foot of a hill from which it takes its name *Peetiete Coete* [*petite côte*] or the *Little hill* This Village Contn^s about 100 (*frame*) houses, the most of them small and indifferant and about 450 inhabitants Chiefly French, those people appear Pore, polite & harmonious. I was invited to Dine with a M^r Ducett [*Duquet*], this gentleman was once a merchant from Canadia, from misfortunes aded to the loss of a Cargo, Sold to the late Judge Turner he has become Somewhat reduced, he has a Charming wife an elegant Situation on the hill Serounded by orchards & a excellent gardain.

Course & Distance ascending the Missouri the 16th of May —

Course	M ^{ls}	
South	2 . 0	- To a p ^t on Lb ^d Side
S. 85° W.	7 . 0	- To the mid. of S ^t Charles passed
	9 - 0	much hard water & 3 Is ^{ds} .

[Orderly Book:]

S^t Charles May 16th 1804

Note the Commanding officer is full[y] assured that every man of his Detachment will have a true respect for their own

Dignity and not make it necessary for him to leave S^t Charles for a more retired situation.

[Clark:]

May the 17th Thursday 1804

A fair day compelled to punish for misconduct, Several Kickapoos Indians visit me to day, George Drewyer arrive.

Took equal altitudes of Suns L. L. made it $84^{\circ} - 39' - 15''$ ap. T.

A. M. 8h - 35' - 40"	P. M. 3h - 23' - 24"
8 - 37 - 50	3 - 24 - 50
8 - 38 - 20	3 - 25 - 50

Measured the river found it to be 720 yards Wide, a Keel Boat came up to day. Several of the inhabitants Came aboard to day, reseeded Several Speces of vegatables from the inhabitants to day

[Orderly Book:]

Orders S^t Charles Thursday the 17th of May 1804

A Sergeant and four men of the Party destined for the Missouri Expedition will convene at 11 oClock to day on the quarter Deck of the Boat, and form themselves into a Court martial to hear and determine (in behalf of the Cap^t) the evidences aduced against William Warner & Hugh Hall for being absent last night without leave; contrary to orders; — & John Collins 1st for being absent without leave — 2nd for behaving in an unbecomeing manner at the Ball last night — 3^{dly} for Speaking in a language last night after his return tending to bring into disrespect the orders of the Commanding officer

Sign^d W. CLARK Comd^r

Detail for court martial

Serg^t John Ordway Prs
 R. Fields
 R. Windsor members
 J. Whitehouse
 J^o Potts

The Court convened agreeable to orders on the 17th of May 1804

Sg^t John Ordway P.

members

Joseph Whitehouse	Reuben Fields
John Potts	Richard Windsor

after being duly Sworn the Court proceeded to the trial of William Warner & Hugh Hall on the following Charges Viz: for being absent without leave last night contrary to orders, to this charge the Prisoners plead *Guilty*. The Court are of oppinion that the Prisoners Warner & Hall are Both Guilty of being absent from camp without leave, it being a breach of the Rules and articles of War and do Sentence them each to receive twenty-five *lashes* on their naked back, but the Court recommend them from their former Good conduct to the mercy of the commanding officer.—at the Same court was tried John Collins Charged

1st for being absent without leave.

2^d for behaving in an unbecomming manner at the ball last night.

3^{dly} for Speaking in a language after his return to camp tending to bring into disrespect the orders of the Commanding Officer.

The Prisoner Pleads Guilty to the first Charge but not Guilty to the two last Charges. after mature deliberation & agreeable to the evidence aduced, The Court are of oppinion that the Prisoner is Guilty of all the charges alledged against him it being a breach of the rules & articles of War and do Sentence him to receive fifty lashes on his naked back.

The Commanding Officer approves of the proceedings & Desicon of the Court *martial and orders* that the punishment of John Collins take place this evening at *Sun Set* in the Presence of the Party. The punishment ordered to be inflicted on William Warner & Hugh Hall, is remitted under the assurance arriseing from a confidence which the Commanding officer has of the Sincerity of the recommendation from the Court.

A consecuencia de carta expedida en la Nueva Orleans en 25 de Diciembre del año ultimo de 1803 por los Señores Marques de Casa Labrador y Don Manuel de Salcedo, Comandantes de las Armadas y Comisionados por S. M. C. para la entrega de la Colonia y Provincia de la Luisiana a la Republica Francesa dirigida al Señor Don Carlos Dehaut Delavoy, Comandante de las Armas de Orleans, Teniente de Gobernador de la Luisiana otra y Comisionado por dichos Señores para la entrega de ella, segun el contenido de dicha carta que previene de poner en amplia y entera posesion de la expresada Luisiana y sus comprehendidos los Fueros Militares de S. Luis y sus dependencias al Sr. Don Clemente Larrazo Comisionado por la mencionada Republica Francesa para tomar posesion de la mencionada Colonia y Provincia de la Luisiana a qualquiera otra persona que creyere oportuno y nombre para el efecto, con arreglo al ultimo Decreto de Emancipacion.

Tengo por carta expedida en la misma Ciudad de Orleans en 22 de Enero de este año denunciado Comisario de la Republica Francesa, establece, constituye y nombra por unico agente, y Comisario de parte de su Nación a Amos Stoddard, Capitan de Artilleria de los Estados Unidos de America para pedir y recibir la expresada Luisiana otra y comprehendidos los denominated Fueros Militares de S. Luis y sus dependencias, en virtud de los Poderes respectivos que quedan explicados Sepase por esta presente como yo el referido

Don Carlos Dehaut, Comandante de las Armas en calidad de Teniente de Gobernador de ella, por requerimiento que debidamente se me hizo por el citado Amos Stoddard, agente y Comisionado de la Republica Francesa le entregue la plena posesion, Soberania, y Gobierno de la mencionada Luisiana otra con todos los Fueros Militares Juantiles, y Fortificaciones que dependen, y yo el referido Amos Stoddard, como tal, Comisionado reconozco haber recibido la dicha posesion en los mismos terminos que queda prevenido de que me doy por satisfecho y entregado en esta ciudad, en cuyo testimonio el susodicho Señor Teniente de Gobernador y yo hemos firmado respectivamente estas presentes, delicias con el sello de nuestros Armas asistidos de los testigos abajo firmados de las quales se sacaron sus exemplares, tres de ellos en Villana Española, y las otras tres en el Estado de Luisiana en la Villa de San Luis de Illinoi, y de Marzo de 1804

Amos Stoddard
 Comandante de las Armas de Artilleria
 Comisario de parte de su Nación
 para recibir la expresada Luisiana otra y comprehendidos los denominated Fueros Militares de S. Luis y sus dependencias

Don Carlos Dehaut
 Comandante de las Armas
 Teniente de Gobernador

Receipt given by Capt. Amos Stoddard, acting as Commissioner for France, to Don Carlos Dehaut Delavoy, Spanish Lieutenant-Governor, acknowledging the transfer from Spain to France of the Province of Upper Louisiana. From the original MS. in the possession of the Missouri Historical Society.

after the punishment Warner Hall & Collins will return to their Squads and Duty

The Court is Dissolved

Sigⁿ W^m CLARK

[Clark:]

May the 18th Friday 1804

a fine morning, I had the loading in the Boat & perogue examined and changed so as the Bow of each may be heavyer loded than the Stern, M^r Lauremus who had been Sent by Cap Lewis to the Kickapoo Town on public business, return'd and after a Short delay proceeded on to S^t Louis, I sent George Drewyer with a Letter to Cap^t Lewis Two Keel Boats arrive from Kentucky to day loaded with whiskey Hats &c &c. the wind from the S. W.

Took equal altitudes with Sexten [sextant.—ED.] made it $97^{\circ} - 42' - 37''$ M. T.

A. M. 9h - 9' - 51''	P. M. 2h - 49' - 24''
9 - 10 - 16	2 - 50 - 50
9 - 11 - 34	2 - 51 - 10

Error of Sextion 8' - 45''.

May 19th — Saturday 1804 —

A violent Wind last night from the W. S. W. accompanied with rain which lasted about three hours. Cleared away this morn'g at 8 oClock, I took receipt for the pay of the men up to the 1st of Dec^r next, R Fields kill a Deer to day, I reseve an invitation to a Ball, it is not in my power to go. George Drewyer return from S^t Louis and brought 99 Dollars, he lost a letter from Cap^t Lewis to me, Seven Ladies visit me to day

Took equal altituds of \odot L. L¹ & made it $76^{\circ} - 33' - 7''$

A. M. 8h - 12' - 20''	P. M. 3h - 45' - 49''
8 - 14 - 9	3 - 46 - 22
8 - 15 - 30	3 - 47 - 41

Error of Sexton as usual.

¹ These characters are used by Clark to signify "the sun's lower limb;" or, with "U. L.," its "upper limb." — ED.

May 20th Sunday 1804 —

(at St. Charles) A Cloudy morning rained and hard Wind from the last night, The letter George lost yesterday found by a Country man, I gave the party leave to go and hear a Sermon to day delivered by M^r. [Blank space in MS.] a roman Carthlick Priest

at 3 oClock Cap^t Lewis, Cap^t Stoddard accompanied by the Officers & Several Gentlemen of S^t Louis arrived in a heavy Showr of Rain. Mess^{rs} Lutenants Minford & Worriss. M^r Chouteau[,] Grattiot, Deloney, Laberde, Rankin. D^r Sodrang¹

rained the greater part of this evening, Suped with M^r Charles Tayon, the late Comd^t of S^t Charles a Spanish Ensign.

[Lewis:]

Sunday May 20th 1804.

The morning was fair, and the weather pleasant; at 10 OC^k A M. agreably to an appointment of the preceeding day, I was

¹ Louisiana (retroceded by Spain to France in 1800) was sold by Napoleon Bonaparte (April 30, 1803) to the United States; and Captain Amos Stoddard was the commissioner appointed by Jefferson to receive the upper portion of the territory from the Spanish authorities. France never having taken actual possession of Louisiana, the transfer from Spain to France took place at St. Louis, March 9, 1804, Lewis being chief official witness; the transfer from France to the United States occurred the following day; and Stoddard became military governor of Upper Louisiana, pending its reorganization by Congress, which took effect on October 1 of that year. One of his officers was Lieutenant Worrall (the name spelled Worriss by Clark); another was named Milford (Minford, in Clark).

Pierre and Auguste Chouteau were among the earliest settlers of St. Louis, and the Chouteau family has always been prominent in its annals; Pierre was the son of its founder, Pierre Laclède. Their sister Victoire was the wife of Charles Grattiot, who was engaged in the Indian trade in the Illinois country from 1774, settling at St. Louis in 1781; upon the organization of the District of Louisiana (1804), Grattiot was appointed the first presiding justice of the new Court of Quarter Sessions at St. Louis, afterward filling various public offices. Another sister, Pelagie Chouteau, married Sylvester Labbadie (misspelled Laberde by Clark). David Delaunay was an associate justice in the above-mentioned court. James Rankin was another early settler of St. Louis. Dr. Antoine François Saugrain (the "Sodrang" of Clark) was a French chemist and mineralogist, who had made several voyages to America, for scientific purposes, from 1784 to 1788. In 1790, he was one of the French colonists who settled at Gallipolis, O., and finally located with his family at St. Louis, where he practised medicine until his death in 1820. See W. V. Byars's *Memoir* of Saugrain's life (St. Louis, 1903). For detailed accounts of these and other early settlers of St. Louis, see Scharf's *Saint Louis*, pp. 167-202; and Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*, pp. 389-492. — ED.

joined by Capt Stoddard, Lieut^e Milford & Worrell together with Mess^{rs} A. Chouteau, C. Gratiot, and many other respectable inhabitants of S^t Louis, who had engaged to accompany me to the Village of S^t Charles; accordingly at 12 OC^k, after bidding an affectionate adieu to my Hostis, that excellent woman the spouse of M^r Peter Chouteau, and some of my fair friends of S^t Louis, we set forward to that vilage in order to join my friend companion and fellow labourer Capt. William Clark, who had previously arrived at that place with the party destined for the discovery of the interior of the continent of North America the first 5 miles of our rout laid through a beautifull high leavel and fertile prarie which incircles the town of S^t Louis from N. W. to S. E. the lands through which we then passed are somewhat broken less fertile the plains and woodlands are here indiscriminately interspersed untill you arrive within three miles of the vilage when the woodland commences and continues to the Missouri the latter is extremely fertile. At half after one P. M. our progress was interrupted by the near approach of a violent thunder-storm from the N. W. and concluded to take shelter in a little cabbn hard by untill the rain should be over; accordingly we alighted and remained about an hour and a half and regailed ourselves with a cold collation which we had taken the precaution to bring with us from S^t Louis.

The clouds continued to follow each other in rapaid succession, insomuch that there was but little prospect of it's ceasing to rain this evening; as I had determined to reach S^t Charles this evening and knowing that there was now no time to be lost I set forward in the rain, most of the gentlemen continued with me, we arrived at half after six and joined Capt Clark, found the party in good health and sperits. Suped this evening with Mons^r Charles Tayong a Spanish Ensign & late Commandant of S^t Charles at an early hour I retired to rest on board the barge. S^t Charles is situated on the North bank of the Missouri 21 miles above it's junction with the Mississippi, and about the same distance N. W. from S^t Louis; it is bisected by one principal street about a mile in length runing nearly parallel with the river, the plain on which it stands is

narrow tho' sufficiently elevated to secure it against the annual inundations of the river, which usually happen in the month of June, and in the rear it is terminated by a range of small hills, hence the appellation of *petit Cote*, a name by which this vilage is better known to the French inhabitants of the Illinois than that of S: Charles. The Vilage contains a Chappel, one hundred dwelling houses, and about 450 inhabitants; their houses are generally small and but illy constructed; a great majority of the inhabitants are miserably pour illiterate and when at home excessively lazy, tho' they are polite hospitable and by no means deficient in point of natural genius, they live in a perfect state of harmony among each other, and plase as implicit confidence in the doctrines of their speritual pastor, the Roman Catholic priest, as they yeald passive obedience to the will of their temporal master the commandant. a small garden of vegetables is the usual extent of their cultivation, and this is commonly imposed on the old-men and boys; the men in the vigor of life consider the cultivation of the earth a degrading occupation, and in order to gain the necessary subsistence for themselves and families, either undertake hunting voyages on their own account, or engage themselves as hirelings to such persons as possess sufficient capital to extend their traffic to the natives of the interior parts of the country; on those voyages in either case, they are frequently absent from their families or homes the term of six twelve or eighteen months and alwas subjected to severe and incessant labour, exposed to the ferosity of the lawless savages, the vicissitudes of weather and climate, and dependant on chance or accident alone for food, raiment or relief in the event of malady. These people are principally the decendants of the Canadian French, and it is not an inconsiderable proportion of them that can boast a small dash of the pure blood of the aboriginies of America. On consulting with my friend Capt C. I found it necessary that we should postpone our departure untill 2 P. M. the next day and accordingly gave orders to the party to hold themselves in readiness to depart at that hour.

Capt. Clark now informed me that having gotten all the stores on board the Barge and perogues on the evening of the

13th of May he determined to leave our winter cantonment at the mouth of River Dubois the next day, and to ascend the Missouri as far as the Village of S^t Charles, where, as it had been previously concerted between us, he was to wait my arrival; this movement while it advanced us a small distance on our rout, would also enable him to determine whether the vessels had been judiciously loaded and if not timely to make the necessary alterations; accordingly at 4 P. M. on Monday the 14th of May 1804, he embarked with the party in the presence of a number of the neighbouring Citizens who had assembled to witness his departure. during the fore part of this Day it rained excessively hard. In my last letter to the President dated at S^t Louis I mentioned the departure of Capt. Clark from River Dubois on the 15th Inst, which was the day that had been calculated on, but having completed the arrangements a day earlier he departed on the 14th as before mentioned. On the evening of the 14th the party halted and encamped on the upper point of the first Island which lyes near the Larbord shore, on the same side and nearly opposite the center of this Island a small Creek disimbogues called *Couldwater*.

The course and distance of this day was West 4 Miles — the Wind from N. E.¹

[Clark:]

May 21st 1804 *Monday* —

All the forepart of the Day arranging our party and procureing the different articles necessary for them at this place. Dined with M^r Ducett and Set out at half passed three oClock under three Cheers from the gentlemen on the bank and proceeded on to the head of the Island (which is Situated on the Stb^d Side) 3 Miles Soon after we Set out to day a hard Wind from the W. S W accompanied with a hard rain, which lasted with Short interuales all night, opposit our Camp a Small creek coms in on the Lb^d Side.

¹ The entry here closed, written by Lewis, is found in Codex Aa. — ED.

Course & Distance 21st of May

	m	
S. 15° W	- 1 - $\frac{3}{4}$	- To bilge of Is ^d ¹
N 52° W	- 1 - $\frac{1}{2}$	- To Upper Pt ^d of Is ^d St ^d S ^d
	3 - $\frac{1}{4}$	

May 22nd Tuesday 1804 —

A Cloudy Morning Delay one hour for 4 french men who got liberty to return to arrange Some business they had forgotten in Town, at 6 oClock we proceeded on, passed Several small farms on the bank, and a large creek on the Lb^d Side Called *Bonom* [*bon homme*] a Camp of Kickapoo^s ² on the S^d Side (*An Indian nation residing on the heads of Kaskaskis & Illinois river 90 miles N.E. of the mouth of the Missouri, & hunt occasionally on the Missouri*)

Those Indians told me several days ago that they would Come on and hunt and by the time I got to their Camp they would have Some provisions for us, We camped in a Bend at the Mo: of a Small creek, Soon after we came too the Indians arrived with 4 Deer as a Present, for which we gave them two qt^s of Whiskey

Course & Distance the 22^d May

S 60° W.	3	M ^d to a p ^t Lb ^d Side
S 43° W.	4	M ^d to a p ^t on Stb ^d Side
West	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	M ^d to a p ^t on Stb ^d S ^d ps ^d <i>Bonom</i>
S. 75° W.	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	M ^d to a p ^t in Bend to Stb ^d Side at the Mo.
	18	of Osage Womans R ³

This day we passed Several Islands, and Some high lands on the Starboard Side, verry hard water.

¹ Apparently meaning the "bulge" or projection of St. Charles Island to the south. Most of the camping-sites of the expedition, and other localities named, are identified in the notes to Cones's *L. and C.*, q.v.; but as many of these are but conjectures, the reader will do well to compare carefully therewith the facsimiles of Clark's original maps, published in the present edition. — Ed.

² An Algonquian tribe, formerly located in southern Wisconsin, where is a river bearing their name. — Ed.

³ Still named Femme Osage River. — Ed.

May 23rd Wednesday 1804 —

We Set out early ran on a Log and detained one hour, proceeded the Course of Last night 2 miles to the mouth of a Creek [R] on the Stb^d Side called Osage Womans R, about 30 y^{ds} Wide, opposit a large Island and a [American] Settlement. (on this Creek 30 or 40 faml^{rs} are Settled, crossed to the Setlem^t and took in R & Jos Fields who had been Sent to purchase Corn & Butter &c Many people Came to See us, we passed a large Cave on the Lb^d Side (Called by the french the *Tavern*¹—about 120 feet wide 40 feet Deep & 20 feet high many different immages are Painted on the Rock at this place the Ind^s & French pay omage. Many names are wrote on the rock, Stopped about one mile above for Cap^t Lewis who had assended the Clifts which is at the Said Cave 300 fee[t] high, hanging over the waters, the water excessively Swift to day, We incamped below a Small Isl^d in the Middle of the river, Sent out two hunters, one Killed a Deer.

Course & Distance 23rd May

S. 75 W 2 mils to Osage Womⁿ R the Course of last Night
 S. 52 W $\frac{7}{9}$ mil^s to a p^t on S^t Side.

This evening we examined the arms and amunition found those mens arms in the perogue in bad order. a fair evening. Cap^t Lewis near falling from the Pinecles of rocks 300 feet, he caught at 20 foot.

May 24th Thursday 1804 —

Set out early. passed a verry bad part of the River Called the Deavels race ground, this is where the Current Sets against some projecting rocks for half a Mile on the Lab^d Side, above

¹ Thus named, according to Brackenridge (*Views of Louisiana*, p. 203), because this cave afforded "a stopping place for voyagers ascending, or on returning to their homes after a long absence." The American settlement just below this place was the Kentucky colony recently founded on Femme Osage River, about six miles above its mouth; among these settlers was Daniel Boone, who in 1798 had obtained a grant of land there from the Spanish authorities, whereon he resided until 1804. His death occurred at Femme Osage, on Sept. 26, 1820 (see the Draper MSS. Collection in library of Wisconsin Historical Society; press-mark, 16 C 28). — Ed.

this place is the Mouth of a Small Creek called *queevere*, passed Several Islands, two Small Creeks on the Stb^d Side, and passed between a Isl^d and the Lb^d Shore a narrow pass above this Isl^d is a verry bad part of the river, We attempted to pass up under the Lb^d Bank which was falling in so fast that the evident danger obliged us to cross between the Starb^d Side and a Sand bar in the middle of the river, We *hove* up near the head of the Sand bar, the Same moveing & backing caused us to run on the sand. The Swiftness of the Current Wheeled the boat, Broke our *Toe* rope, and was nearly over Setting the boat, all hands jumped out on the upper Side and bore on that Side untill the Sand washed from under the boat and Wheeled on the next bank by the time She wheeled a 3rd Time got a rope fast to her Stern and by the means of swimmers was Carred to Shore and when her stern was down whilst in the act of Swinging a third time into Deep Water near the Shore, we returned, to the Island where we Set out and assended under the Bank which I have just mentioned, as falling in, here George Dreyer & Willard, two of our men who left us at S^t Charles to come on by land joined us, we camped about 1 mile above where we were So nearly being lost, on the Lab^d Side at a Plantation. all in Spirits. This place I call the *retrgrade* bend as we were obliged to fall back 2 miles

Course & Distance of the 24th May

S. 63° W, 4 M^l to a p^t on Stb^d Side
 S. 68° W, 3 M^l to a pt on Lb^d Side
 S. 75° W, 3 M^l to a p^t on Stb^d Side

10

May 25th Friday 1804 —

rain last night, river fall several inches, Set out early ps^d. Several Islands passed Wood River on the Lb^d Side at 2 Miles passed [*again*] the Creek on the S^t Side called La quevr [*quiver*] at 5 miles passed a [*small*] Creek (called R la *poceau*) at 8 miles, ops^d an Is^d on the Lb^d Side, Camped at the mouth of a Creek called River a Chouritte, [*La Charrette*],



WASHINGA SAHIB'S GRAVE ON BLACKBIRDS HILLS

above a Small french Village of 7 houses and as many families,¹ settled at this place to be conv^d to hunt, & trade with the Indians, here we met with M. Louisell, imedately down from the Seeder [*Cedar*] Isl^d Situated in the Country of the Sciox [*Sioux*] 400 Leagues up he gave us a good Deel of information [and] Some letters he informed us that he Saw no Indians on the river below the *Poncrars* [*Poncaras*].² Some hard rain this evening.

Course & Distance 25th May

West	3 M ^d Str ^d	Side passed Creek
N. 57 ^o W.	5 Ms.	Lb ^d Side ps ^d Creek
N. 20 ^o W.	2 M ^t	to Mo: Chouritte Creek
	<u>10</u>	& Village on the S ^t Side.

The people at this Village is pore, houses Small, they sent us milk & eggs to eat.

May the 26th Saturday 1804 —

Set out at 7 oClock after a heavy Shour of rain (George Drewyer, & John Sheelds, sent by Land with the two horses with directions to proceed on one day & hunt the next)

The wind favourable from the E.N.E. passed Beef Island and River on Lb^d Side at 3½ m^t. [*a large island called Buffaloe Island separated from the land by a small channel into which Buffaloe creek empties itself*]. Passed a creek on the Lb^d Side called Shepperds Creek, passed Several Islands to day, great Deel of Deer Sign on the Bank, one man out hunting, W[e] camped on an Island on the Starboard Side [*near the Southern extrem^t of Luter Island (La L'oultre)*]³

¹ Gass and Floyd, in their journals, call this place St. John's, and say that it was "the last white settlement on the river." — Ed.

² Referring to the Siouan tribe of Poncas, whose village was on the Ponca River, a stream flowing into the Missouri not far above the Niobrara River. When visited by our explorers, their town was found deserted, the tribe (then reduced to a few cabins) being absent on a hunting expedition, and having joined the Omahas, also a Siouan tribe, for mutual aid and protection. — Ed.

³ L'Outre Island, as given on modern maps — this, as well as the form in the text, corrupted from the French word *loutre* ("otter"). Floyd and Biddle use the English name for the island or the creek. — Ed.

Course & Distance to day

S. 50° W. 3½ M^t to a p^t S. Side ops^d p^t Buf Is^d
 N. 80° W. 2½ M^t to p^t Lb^d S^d
 N. 88° W. 3½ M^t to p^t St^d S^d above Buf Is^d
 N. 82° W. 1½ M^t to p^t S^d Side
 N. 37° W. 5 M^t to p^t Lb^d S^d passed 2 Is. & Shep^d R.
 N. 60° W. 2 M^t to p^t on S^t S^d p^d a Is^d S. S.

18

[Orderly Book; Lewis:]

*Detachment Orders.*May 26th 1804.

The Commanding Officers direct, that the three Squads under the command of Sergt^t Floyd Ordway and Pryor heretofore forming two messes each, shall until further orders constitute three messes only, the same being altered and organized as follows (viz)

Sergt Charles Floyd.

PRIVATES

Hugh M^t Neal
 Patric Gass
 Reubin Fields
 John B Thompson
 John Newman
 Richard Winsor
 Francis Rivet & (*French*)
 Joseph Fields

Sergt John Ordway

PRIVATES

William Bratton
 John Colter
 Moses B. Reed (*Soldier*)

Alexander Willard

William Warner

Silas Goodrich

John Potts &

Hugh Hall

Sergt Nathaniel Pryor

PRIVATES

George Gibson
 George Shannon
 John Shields
 John Collins
 Joseph Whitehouse
 Peter Wisner
 Peter Crusat &
 Francis Labuche

The commanding officers further direct that the remainder of the detachment[t] shall form two messes; and that the same be constituted as follows. (viz)

[30]

Patron, Baptist Dechamps

ENGAGES.

Etienne Mabbauf
 Paul Primaut
 Charles Hébert
 Baptist La Jeunesse
 Peter Pinaut
 Peter Roi &
 Joseph Collin

Corp! Richard Warvington

PRIVATES.

Robert Frasier
 John Boleye
 John Dame
 Ebenezer Tuttle &
 Isaac White.

The Commanding officers further direct that the messes of Sergt^s Floyd, Ordway and Pryor shall untill further orders form the crew of the Batteaux; the Mess of the Patron LaJeunesse will form the permanent crew of the red Perogue; Corp! Warvington's mess forming that of the white perogue.

Whenever by any casualty it becomes necessary to furnish additional men to assist in navigating the Perogues, the same shall be furnished by daily detale from the Privates who form the crew of Batteaux, exempting only from such detale, Thomas P. Howard, and the men who are assigned to the two bow and two stern oars. For the present one man will be furnished daily to assist the crew of the white perogue; this man must be an expert boatman.

The posts and duties of the Sergt! shall be as follows (*viz*)—when the Batteaux is under way, one Sergt! shall be stationed at the helm, one in the center on the rear of the starboard locker, and one at the bow. *The Sergt! at the helm*, shall steer the boat, and see that the baggage on the quarterdeck is properly arranged and stowed away in the most advantageous manner; to see that no cooking utensels or loos lumber of any kind is left on the deck to obstruct the passage between the burths—he will also attend to the compas when necessary.

The Sergt! at the center will command the guard, manage the sails, see that the men at the oars do their duty; that they come on board at a proper season in the morning, and that the boat gets under way in due time; he will keep a good lookout for the mouths of all rivers, creeks, Islands and other remarkable places and shall immediately report the same to the com-

manding officers; he will attend to the issues of spirituous liquors; he shall regulate the halting of the batteaux through the day to give the men refreshment, and will also regulate the time of her departure taking care that not more time than is necessary shall be expended at each halt — it shall be his duty also to post a centinel on the bank, near the boat whenever we come too and halt in the course of the day, at the same time he will (acompanied by two his guard) reconnoiter the forrest around the place of landing to the distance of at least one hundred paces. when we come too for the purpose of encamping at night, the Serg^t of the guard shall post two centinels immediately on our landing; one of whom shall be posted near the boat, and the other at a convenient distance in rear of the encampment; at night the Serg^t must be always present with his guard, and he is positively forbidden to suffer any man of his guard to absent himself on any pretext whatever; he will at each relief through the night, accompanied by the two men last off their posts, reconnoiter in every direction around the camp to the distance of at least one hundred and fifty paces, and also examine the situation of the boats and perogues, and see that they ly safe and free from the bank.

It shall be the duty of the *serg^t at the bow*, to keep a good look out for all danger which may approach, either of the enimy, or obstructions which may present themselves to the passage of the boat; of the first he will notify the Serg^t at the center, who will communicate the information to the commanding officers, and of the second or obstructions to the boat he will notify the Serg^t at the helm; he will also report to the commanding officers through the Serg^t at the center all perogues boats canoes or other craft which he may discover in the river, and all hunting camps or parties of Indians in view of which we may pass. he will at all times be provided with a seting pole and assist the bowsman in poling and managing the bow of the boat. it will be his duty also to give and answer all signals, which may hereafter be established for the government of the perogues and parties on shore.

The Serg^t will on each morning before our departure relieve each other in the following manner — (viz) The Serg^t at the

helm will parade the new guard, relieve the Serg^t and the old guard, and occupy the middle station in the boat; the Serg^t of the old guard will occupy the station at the bow, and the Serg^t who had been stationed the preceeding day at the bow will place himself at the helm.

The serg^t in addition to those duties are directed each to keep a seperate journal from day to day of all passing occurrences, and such other observations on the country &c as shall appear to them worthy of notice.

The Serg^t are relieved and exempt from all labour of making fires, pitching tents or cooking, and will direct and make the men of their several messes perform an equal proportion of those duties.

The guard shall hereafter consist of one sergeant and six privates & engages.

Patroon Dechamp, Cop^t Warvington, and George Drewyer, are exempt from guard duty; the two former will attend particularly to their perogues at all times, and see that their lading is in good order, and that the same is kept perfectly free from rain or other moisture; the latter will perform certain duties on shore which will be assigned him from time to time: all other soldiers and engaged men of whatever discription must perform their regular tour of gua[r]d duty.

All detales for guard or other duty will be made in the evening when we encamp, and the duty to be performed will be entered on, by the individuals so warned, the next morning. provision for one day will be issued to the party on each evening after we have encamped; the same will be cooked on that evening by the several messes, and a proportion of it reserved for the next day as no cooking will be allowed in the day while on the ma[r]ch.

Serg^t John Ordway will continue to issue the provisions and make the detales for guard or other duty.

The day after tomorrow lyed corn and grece will be issued to the party, the next day Poark and flour, and the day following indian meal and poark; and in conformity to that rotiene provisions will continue to be issued to the party untill further orders. should any of the messes prefer indian meal to flour

they may receive it accordingly — no pork is to be issued when we have fresh meat on hand.

Labuche and Crusat will man the larboard bow oar alternately, and the 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 any idle hand on board.

MERIWETHER LEWIS Cap^t
W^m CLARK Cp^t

[Clark:]

May 27th Sunday 1804 —

as we were pushing off this morning two Canoes Loaded with fur &c came to from the Mahas [*Mahar*; Omaha — Ed.] nation, [*living 730 miles above on the Missouri*] which place they had left two months, at about 10 oClock 4 *Cajaux*¹ or rafts loaded with furs and peltries came too, one from the *Paunees*, [*Paunees on the river Platt*] the others from Grand Osage, they informed nothing of Consequence, passed a creek on the Lb^d Side called *ash Creek* 20 yd^t Wide, passed the upper point of a large Island on the Sb^d Side back of which comes in three creeks one Called Otter Creek, her[e] the man we left hunting came in we camped on a Willow Island in the mouth of Gasconnade River George Shannon killed a Deer this evening.

Course & Distance 27th May.

N 71° W. 3	M ^t to p ^t Lb ^d S ^d p ^d an Is ^d
S 82° W. 6	M ^t to p ^t Lb ^d S ^d p ^d 2 Is ^d a Creek
N 74° W. 1½	M ^t to p ^t Lb ^d S ^d p ^d up ^r p ^t big Is ^d & 2 Creeks
S 70° W. 5	M ^t to p ^t ops ^d the Gasconnade R
15½	

¹ The word originally penned by Clark in the MS. has been erased both here and elsewhere, and over it is written the word "Cajaux," by the same hand which has made other black-ink emendations in Clark's text. This word (also written *cajeu* or *cajeux*) is a term used by the French-Canadian peasantry to designate a small raft; for its etymology, see *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites's ed.), xxxii, p. 313. Cf. entries under June 5 and elsewhere, where the word appears as originally written, "Caissee," and "Chaussies." — Ed.



ENCAMPMENT OF THE TRAVELLERS ON THE MISSOURI

May 28th Monday 1804*Gasconnade*

Rained hard all last night some thunder & lightning hard Wind in the forepart of the night from the S W. Ruben Fields killed a Deer Several hunters out to day. I measured the river found the Gasconnade to be 157 yd: Wide and 19 foot Deep the Course of this R. is S. 29 W, one of the hunters fell in with 6 Ind^s hunting, unloaded the large Perogue on board of which was 8 french hands found many things wet by their carelessness, put all the articles which was wet out to Dry. this day so Cloudy that no observations could be taken, the river begins to rise, examine the mens arms and equipage, all in order

May 29th Tuesday —

Rained last night, Cloudy morning 4 hunters sent out with orders to return at 12 oClock

Took equal altitudes of Suns Lower limb found it 105 - 31' - 45"

A M. 9 h - 25' - 24"	P M 2 h - 35' - 31"
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9 - 26 - 3	2 - 37 - 20
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9 - 27 - 27	2 - 38 - 52
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Error of Sextion 8' 45" -

☉' Magnetic Azzamuth S. 83° W.

Time at place of obsⁿ by bront^r P. M. 4 h - 4 m - 44 s

Double altitude of ☉ L Limb — 71° - 24' - 00"

Cap Lewis observed Meridean altitude of ☉ U L. back observation with the octant & artificcal horozen — gave for altitude on the Limb 38°. 44' - 00".

octant error — 2 - 0 - 0 +

had the Perogues loaded and all perpared to Set out at 4 oClock after finishing the observations & all things necessary found that one of the hunters had not returned, we determined to proceed on & leave one perogue to wate for him, accordingly at half past four we set out and came on 4 miles & camped on the Lb^d Side above a small Creek called Deer Creek, Soon after we came too we heard several guns fire down the river, we answered them by a Discharge of a Swivell on the Bow.

LEWIS AND CLARK JOURNALS [May 29]

Course to day & Distance 29th May

N. 54° W, 2 M^l to p^l Lb^d S^d
 N. 78° W 2 M^l to p^l Lb^d S^d p^d Deer Creek
 4

May 30th Wednesday 1804

Rained all last night. Set out at 6 oClock after a heavy shower, and proceeded on, passed a large Island a Creek opposit on the Sⁱ Side, Just above a *Cave* Called *Monbrun* [*Montbrun's*] *Tavern* & River, passed a Creek on the Lb^d Side call *Rush* Creek at 4 miles several Showers of rain, the Currents verry Swift, river rising fast. Passed Big Miry [*Muddy*] River at 11 miles on the Starboard Side, at the lower point of a Island, this River is about 50 yards Wide, Camped at the mouth of a Creek on Lb^d Sd. of ab^t 15 y^{ds} Wide Called Grinestone Creek, opposit the head of a Is^d and the mouth of Little Mirey [*Muddy*] River, on the Sⁱ Side, a heavy wind accompanied with rain & hail we made 14 miles to day, the river Continud to rise, the Country on each Side appear full of Water.

Course & Distance of May 30th.

West 2 M^l to a p^l L. S^d ops^d a Cave & p^l Is^d .
 S 80° W. 2 M^l to a p^l on L. S^d ps^d Is^d & rush Creek
 S 78° W. 3 M^l to a p^l on L. S^d ps^d a Wil. Is^d
 S 66° W 4 M^l to a p^l on Lb^d S^d ops^d Miry R: & Is^d
 S 48° W 6 M^l to a p^l on St. S^d ops^d som sm: Is^{ds} Ps^d
 17 say 17 mile a creek 2 m^l Swift

May 31st Thursday 1804 —

rained the greater part of last night, the wind from the West raised and blew with great force untill 5 oClock p. m. which obliged us to lay by a *cajaux* of Bear Skins and peleries came down from the Grand Osarge, one french man, one Indian, and a squaw, they had letters from the man M^l Choteau Sent to that part of the Osarge nation settled on Arkansa River

mentioning that his letter¹ was committed to the flames, the Ind^t not believing that the Americans had possession of the Country they disregard'ed S^t Louis & their Supplies &c. Several *rats* of Considerable Size was Caught in the woods to day. Cap^t Lewis went out to the woods & found many curious Plants & Srubs, one Deer killed this evening.

June 1st 1804 Friday—

Set out early a fair morning Passed the mouth Bear Creek 25 yd^t Wide at 6 Miles, Several Small Islands in the river the wind a head from the West the current exceedingly rapid Came to at the point of the Osarges River on the Lab^d Side of Missouri this Osages river very high, [*wē*] falled all the Trees in the point to make observations Set up untill 12 oClock taken observation this night —

Course & Distance June 1st

S. 49° W - 4 m^t to p^t Is^d ps^d Little Muddy river on Lb^d S^d 30 y^d wid
 S 45° W - 6 m^t to Is^d ps^d Bear Creek L. S^d 20 y^d Wid.
 S. 39 W. 3 m^t to Pt. of Osage River
 13

June 2nd Saturday

Cap Lewis Took the Time & Distance of ☉ & Moons nearest limbs, the Sun East—and Meridean altitude of Suns U. L. with Octant, back observation gave for altitude 37° - 28' - 00".

Errors of Octant 2° - 00' - 00" +. made Several other observations. I made an angle for the Wedth of the two rivers. The Missouri from the Point to the N. Side is 875 yards wide the Osage River from the point to the S. E. Side is 397 yards Wide, the distance between the two rivers at the p^t of high Land (100 foot above the bottom) and 80 poles up the Missouri from the point is 40 poles, on the top of this high land under which is a limestone rock two mouns or graves are raised. from this p^t which comds (*com-*

¹ In Biddle (i., p. 7) this phrase reads "the letter announcing the cession of Louisiana." — Ed.

mands) both rivers I had a delightfull prospect of the Missouri up and down, also the Osage R. up.¹

George Drewyer & John Shields who we had sent with the horses by Land on the N. Side joined us this evening much worsted, they being absent Seven Days depending on their gun, the greater part of the time rain, they were obliged to raft or Swim many Creeks, those men gave a flattering account of of the Countrey Commencing below the first hill on the N Side and extend'g Parrelal with the river for 30 or 40 M! The Two Muddy rivers passing thr? & som fine Springs & Streames our hunters kill several Deer to day, Some Small licks on the SE of the Osage River.

June 3rd Sunday 1804 —

The forepart of the day fair Took Meridional altitude of ☉ U. L. with the Octant and glass Horreson adjusted back observation. the instrement gave 38° - 2' - 00" it was Cloudy and the Suns disk much obscured and cannot be Depended on.

We made other Observations in the evening after the return of Cap! Lewis from a walk of three or four m! round. We Set out at 5 oClock P. M. proceeded on five miles to the mouth of a Creek on the L. S. 20 y.^{ds} wide Called Murow,² passed a Creek at 3 m! which I call *Cupbord* Creek as it mouths above a rock of that appearance. Several Deer killed to day. at the mouth of the Murow Creek I saw much sign of War parties of Ind! haveing crossed from the mouth of this Creek. I have a bad cold with a Sore throat. near West 5 Miles

June 4th Monday 1804 —

a fair day three men out on the right flank passed a large Island on the S! Side called Seeder Island, this Is^d has a great Deel of Ceedar on it, passed a Small Creek at 1 m! 15 y.^d Wide which we named Nightingale Creek from a Bird of that discription which Sang for us all last night, and is the first

¹ Biddle here furnishes (pp. 8, 9) an enumeration of the bands of the Osage tribe, then numbering over 2,300 warriors; also their own tradition of their origin, which made them descendants of the beaver. — Ed.

² Moreau, in Biddle and on modern maps. — Ed.

of the Kind I ever heard.¹ passed the mouth of Seeder Creek at 7 M^l on the S. S. ab' 20 yd' Wide above Some Small Is^d: passed a Creek on the L. S. ab' 15 yd' wide, Mast [Mast] Creek, here the Serj' at the helm run under a bending Tree & broke the Mast, Some delightfull Land, with a jentle assent about this Creek, well timbered, Oake, Ash, Walnut &c. &c. passed, wind N W. by W. passed a small creek called Zancare C on the L. S: at this last point I got out and walked on the L. S^d thro a rush bottom for 1 Mile & a Short Distance thro: Nettles as high as my brest assended a hill of about 170 foot to a place where the french report that Lead ore has been found, I saw no Mineral of that description. Cap Lewis camped imediately under this hill,² to wate which gave me Some time to examine the hill, on the top is a mound of about 6 foot high, and about 100 acres of land which the large timber is Dead in Decending about 50 foot a projecting lime stone rock under Which is a Cave at one place in this projecting rocks I went on one which spured up and hung over the water from the top of this rock I had a prospect of the river for 20 or 30 m^l up, from the Cave which incumpased the hill I decended by a Steep decent to the foot, a verry bad part of the river opposit this hill, the river continus to fall Slowly, our hunters killed 7 Deer to day The land our hunters passed thro: to day on the S. S. was verry fine the latter part of to day. the high land on the S. S. is about 2^d rate

Course & Distance 4th June

N. 30° - W. 4	M ^l to a p ^l on S. S ^d ps ^d a C. & 2 Is ^d
N. 25° - W. 3	M ^l to a p ^l on S. S ^d ps ^d Seeder C.
N. 58 W. 7½	M ^l to p ^l on L. S. a Creek on L. S.
N. 75. W. 3	M ^l to a p ^l on S. S ^d ops ^d Mine Hill


 17½

¹ No species of the true nightingale (*Daulias luscina*) is found in North America; the so-called "Virginia nightingale" is the cardinal or red-bird (*Cardinalis virginianus*). — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 14).

The ordinary mocking-bird sings in the night; so also, occasionally, do the catbird and the brown thrasher. — JAMES N. BASKETT.

² Brackenridge locates this hill nine miles above Cedar Creek. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 14).

June 5th Tuesday 1804—

after Jurking¹ the meet killed yesterday and Crossing the hunting party we Set out at 6 oClock, from the last Course & distance, N 51° W. 5 M. to a p^t on the St. Sd. passed a small creek on the L. S: I call *Lead C.* passed a creek on the S. S. of 20 yd^t Wide Cal^d Lit: [*Little*] Good-Womans C. on the L. S. a Prarie extends from Lead C. parrel with the river to Mine river, at 4 M^t Passed the Creek of the big rock about 15 yd^t wide on the L. S^d at 11 oClock brought too a small Caissee [*raft made of two canoes tied together*] in which was two french men, from 80 Leagues up the Kansias [*Kanzas*] R. where they wintered, and Cought a great quantity of Beaver, the greater part of which they lost by fire from the Praries, those men inform [us] that the Kansas Nation are now out in the plains hunting Buffalow, they hunted last winter on this river Passed a projecting rock on which was painted a figure  and a Creek at 2 m^t above Called Little Manitou² Creek, from the Painted rock this Creek 20 yd^t wide on the L. S^d passed a Small Creek on L. S. opposit a verry bad Sand bar of Several M^t in extent, which we named *Sand C.* here my Servent York Swam to the Sand bar to geather Greens for our Dinner, and returned with a Sufficent quantity wild *Creases* [*Cresses*] or Tung [*Tongue*] grass, we passed up for 2 m^t on the L. S. of this Sand and was obliged to return, the wat^t uncertain the quick Sand moveing we had a fine wind, but could not make use of it, our Mast being broke, we passed between 2 Small Islands in the Middle of the Current, & round the head of three a rapid Current for one mile and Camped on the S. S. ops^d a large Island in the middle of the river, one Perogue did not get up for two hours, our Scout discov^d the fresh sign of about 10 Inds. I expect that those

¹ Coues claims (*L. & C.*, i, p. 31) that the word "jerk" (spelled "jurk" by Clark), as applied to the process of drying meat in the sun, is a corruption of a Chilian word *charqui*, meaning "sun-dried meat." — Ed.

² Corrupted on modern maps to Moniteau. — Ed.

Indians are on their way to war, against the Osages nation probably they are the Saukees.¹

Course & Distance June 5th

N. 51° W. 5 M^l to a p^l on S. S. ps^d 3 C, 1 S. 2 L. S.
 N 23° W $\frac{7\frac{1}{2}}{12\frac{1}{2}}$ M^l a p^l L. S. ps^d Mon. [Manitou — Ed.] Creek

June 6th Wednesday 1804

Mended our Mast this morning & Set out at 7 oClock under a jentle breeze from S. E. by S passed the large Island, and a Creek Called Split rock Creek² at 5 M^l on the S. S. ps^d a place to the rock from which this Creek 20 yds. w^d takes its name, a projecting rock with a hole thro: a point of the rock, at 8 M^l passed the Mouth of a Creek Called *Saline* or Salt R. on the L. S^d this River is about 30 y^ds wide, and has So many Licks and Salt Springs on its banks that the water of the Creek is Brackish, one verry large Lick is 9 m^l up on the left Side the water of the Spring in this Lick is Strong as one bushel of the Water is said to make 7^{lb} of good Salt passed a large Is^d & several Small ones, the water excessivly Strong, so much so that we Camped Sooner than the usual time to waite for the perogue, The banks are falling in verry much to day river rose last night a foot.

Cap^l Lewis took Meridean alt^d of Sun U. L. with the Octant above Split Rock C. made the altitude 37° 6' — 00" error of oct. as usual 2° 0' 0" + The Country for Several miles below is good, on the top of the high land back is also tolerble land Some buffalow Sign to day³

¹ The Sauk Indians, an Algonquin tribe formerly resident in Wisconsin; they were the allies of the Foxes in the war waged by that tribe against the French during the early part of the eighteenth century. — Ed.

² The French name, Roche percée, is used on most maps. — Ed.

³ The buffalo (more correctly designated as "American bison") ranged, during the seventeenth century, as far east as the Alleghany Mountains. For descriptive and historical information regarding this animal, see monographs thereon, as follows: J. A. Allen's "History of the American Bison," in *U. S. Geol. and Geog. Survey of the Territories, Ann. Rep.*, 1875, pp. 443-587; Wm. F. Hornaday's "Extirmination of the American Bison," in *Smithsonian Institute Rep.*, 1887, part 2, pp. 367-548; and Charles Mair's "The American Bison," in *Canad. Roy. Soc. Proc.*, 1890, sec. 2, pp. 93-108. — Ed.

I am Still verry unwell with a Sore throat & head ake

Course & Distance June 6th

N. 28° W.	3½	M ^t to a Hill on S. S. p ^d N. Bilg: of Is ^d
N 49° W	1½	M ^t to a creek Split rock
West -	1½	M ^t to a p ^t on S. S. ops ^d a Clift
N 31° W.	4½	M ^t to a p ^t on L. S. ps ^d Saline C. L. S.
N. 51° W	3	M ^t to a bilg of an Is ^d to lift p ^d Sm. Is ^d

14

June 7th Thursday 1804 —

Set out early passed the head of the Island opposit which we Camped last night, and braekfast at the Mouth of a large Creek on the S. S. of 30 yd^s wide called big *Monetou*,¹ from the p^t of the Is^d of [u]r Course of last night to the mouth of this Creek is N 61° W 4½ M^t: a Short distance above the mouth of this Creek, is Several Courious paintings and carving on the projecting rock of Limestone inlade with white red & blue flint, of a verry good quallity, the Indians have taken of this flint great quantities. We landed at this Inscription and found it a Den of Rattle Snakes, we had not landed 3 Minites before three verry large Snakes was observed in the Crevises of the rocks & killed. at the mouth of the last mentioned Creek Cap^t Lewis took four or five men & went to Some Licks or Springs of Salt Water from two to four miles up the Creek, on R^t Side the water of those Springs are not Strong, say from 4 to 600 g^s of water for a Bushel of Salt passed some Small willow Islands and camped at the mouth of a small river Called *Good Womans River*² this river is about 35 yards Wide and said to be navigable for Perogues Several Leagues. Cap^t Lewis with 2 men went up the Creek a short distance. our Hunters brought in three *Bear* this evening, and informs that the Countrey thro: which they passed from the last Creek is fine, rich land, & well watered.

¹ Called by Gass and Floyd, "River of the Big Devil." — Ed.

² More often known by its French name, *Bonne Femme*. — Ed.

Course & Distance June 7th

N 61° W,	4½	M ^s to Mo. of Manitou on S. S.
S 88° W,	2	M ^s to p ^t on Lb ^d Side
S 81° W	4	M ^s to p ^t S. S. ps ^d an Island
S 87° W	3½	M ^s to p ^t of High Land on L. S. ps ^d W. Is ^d
<u>14</u>	M ^s	Passed the Mo. of Good Womans R.

8th of June, Friday 1804 —

Set out this morning at Daylight proceeded on the Course of last night Passed two Willow Islands & a Small Creek above a Rock point on the L. S. at 6 miles on which there is a number of Deer Licks, passed the *Mine* River at 9 m^t this river is about 70 yards wide at its mouth and is Said to be navigable for Perogues 80 or 90 m^t the Main [*West*] branch¹ passes near the place where the Little Osage village formerly stood on the Missouries, & heads between the Osarge & Kansias Rivers, the left hand fork heads with nearer Branches of the Osage River, The french inform^d that Lead Ore has been found in different parts of this river, I took S^j: Floyd and went out 4 M^t below this river, I found the land very good for a mile or 1½ M^t back, and Sufficiently watered with Small Streams which lost themselves in the Missouries bottom, the Land rose gradually from the river to the Summit of the high Country, which is not more than 120 foot above High Water Mark, we joined the Boat & Dined in the point above the mouth of this River, Cap^t: Lewis went out above the river & proceeded on one mile, finding the country rich, the wedes & vines So thick & high he came to the Boat. proceeded on passed an Island and Camped at the lower point of an Island on the L. S. Called the Island of Mills about 4 M^t: above Mine River at this place I found Kanteens, axs, Pumey Stone & peltry hid and buried (I suppose by some hunters) none of them (except the pumey Stone) was teched by one of our party, our hunters Killed 5 Deer to day, commenced raining Soon after we came too which prevented the party cooking

¹ At the point of junction are some very rich salt springs; the west branch, in particular, is so much impregnated, that, for twenty miles, the water is not palatable. — BIDDLE (i, p. 12).

their provisions. our Spies inform that the Countrey they passed thro: on S. S is a fine high bottom, no water.

Course & Distance 8th June.

S.	81° W.	3	M ^l to a p ^t on S. S. ps ^d Deer L. Creek L. S.
N.	88° W.	3	M ^l to a p ^t on L Side
N.	83° W.	2	M ^l to Mouth of Mine Riv. L. S.
N.	64° W.	1	M ^l to a p ^t on S. S.
N.	80° W.	3	M ^l to the Lower p ^t of Is ^d of Mills
		12	

This day we met 3 men on a Cajaux from the River of the Soux above the *Mahar Nation* those men had been hunting 12 Mo: & made about 900\$ in pelt^s & furs they were out of Provisions and out of Powder. rained this night.

9th of June 1804 Saturday —

a fair morning, the River rise a little we got fast on a Snag Soon after we Set out which detained us a Short time passed the upper Point of the Island, Several Small Chanel running out of the River below a Bluff [*Cliff of rocks called the arrow rock*¹] & Prarie (Called the Prarie of Arrows) where the river is confined within the width of 300 [200] yd^t Passed a Creek of 8 yd^t wide Called Creek of Arrows, this Creek is Short and heads in the Praries on the L. S. passed a Small Creek called Blackbird Creek S.S. and an Island below & a Prarie above on the L. S. a small Lake above the Prarie. opposit the Lower point of the 2^d Island on the S. S. we had like to have Stove our boat, in going round a Snag her Stern Struck a log under water & She Swung round on the Snag, with her broad Side to the Current exp^d to the Drifting timber, by the active exertions of our party we got her off in a few Mint^s without engerey [injury] and Crossed to the Island where we Camp^d.² our hunters lay on the S. S. the Perogue crossed without Seeing them and the banks too uncertain to Send her over. Some wind from the S accompanied with rain this evening.

¹ So called from being resorted to by Indians for stone arrow-heads. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 18).

² Five miles above Blackbird (now Richland) Creek. — ED.

The Lands on the S. S. is a high rich bottom the L. S. appears even and of a good quality rising gradually to from fifty to 100 foot.

Course & Distance June 9th

N. 39° W. 4	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. ops ^d a Prarie
N. 34° E. 2	M ^s to a p ^t of an Is ^d L. S.
N. 83 ¹ / ₂ ° W. 1 ¹ / ₂	M ^s to a p ^t on L. S. ops ^d B.Bs Cr.
N. 39. W. 2	M ^s to a p ^t of High L ^d on L. S.
N. 32. E 3 ¹ / ₂	M ^s to a p ^t on L. S. ps ^d an Is ^d

13

10th of June 1804—

A hard rain last night, We set out this morning verry early passed Some bad placies in the river, Saw a number of Goslings [this] morning pass near a Bank which was falling in at the time we passed, passed two Rivers of *Charletons* which mouth together, above some high land which has a great quantity of Stone Calculated for whetstons the first of those rivers is about 30 yd^t Wide & the other is 70 yd^t w^d and heads Close to the R. Dumons [*des Moines*] The Aieways [*Ayaway*] Nation have a Village on the head of these Rivers.¹ they run through an even Countrey [*a broken rich thickly timbered country*] and is navagable for Perogues Cap Lewis took Medⁿ alt^d of \odot U. L. with Octant, back obsvⁿ made it 37 12' — 00" delayed 1¹/₂ hours.

Cap. Lewis Killed a large Buck, passed a large Is^d call'd Shecco² and camped in a Prarie on the L. S. I walked out three miles, found the prarie composed of good Land and plenty of water roleing & interspersed with points of timber land. Those Praries are not like those, or a number of those

¹ The name Charleton now appears on maps as Chariton. The etymology of Des Moines is suggested in the form used by Clark, "Dumons." This river was formerly named (from the tribe dwelling on its shores) Rivière des Moihgonans—a name soon abbreviated to Moins, and that to River Des Moins (with many variants, of which Clark's is one). Aieway and Ayaway are among the many variants of the name of a Siouan tribe, now known as the Iowa, from whom a State and river are named. Biddle says that the Iowas numbered 300 men. — Ed.

² Chicot (a French word, meaning "stump"), now Harrison Island. — *COUES* (*L. and C. i, p. 20*).

E. of the Mississippi void of every thing except grass, they abound with Hasel Grapes & a wild plumb of a Superior [*size &*] quality, Called the Osages Plumb Grows on a bush the hight of a Hasel (and is three times the size of other Plumbs,) and hang in great quantities on the bushes I saw great numbers of Deer in the Praries, the evening is Cloudy, our party in high Spirits.

Course & Distance June 10th

N. 8° E	2 ½	M ^s to a p ^t on L. S.
North	1	M ^s along the L. Side
N. 40° W	1	M ^s do do do
N. 70° W.	0 ½	(ops ^d the Mo ^t of Charltons R.
N 60° W	2	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S.
N 80 W	3	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. ops ^d a Pl ^a .
	<u>3</u>	

10

11th June 1804 Monday —

The N W. wind blew hard & cold as this wind was imediately a head, we could not proceed we took the advantage of this Delay and Dried our wet articles, examin d Provisions &c. &c. the river begining to fall, the hunters killed two Deer G; Drewyer killed two Bear in the Prarie, they were not fat. we had the meat Jurked and also the venison, which is a constant Practice to have all the fresh meat not used, Dried in this way.

12th of June Tuesday 1804

Set out early passed Some bad Placies, and a Small Creek on the L. S. called *plumb Creek* at ab^t 1 M^s at 1 oClock we brought too [to,] two Chaussies one loaded with furs & Pelteries, the other with Greece [*buffalow grease & tallow*] we purchased 300^{lbs} of Greese, and finding that old M^s Durioun was of the party we questioned him untill it was too late to Go further, and Concluded to Camp for the night, those people inform nothing of much information.

Concluded to take old Durioun [*who went acc^t*] back as fur as the Soux nation with a view to get some of their Cheifs to visit the Presd^t of the United S. (This man being a verry

confidential friend of those people, he having resided with the Nation 20 odd years) and to accompany them on¹ [Sentence incomplete. — ED.]

Course & Distance June 12th

N. 25° W.	3 1/2	M ^s to L. S. passed Plumb C.
N 70° W	2 1/2	M ^s to p ^t on S. S.
N. 60° W	3	M ^s to p ^t on S. S.
	9	

13th June Wednesday 1804—

We Set out early passed a round bend to the S. S. and two Creeks Called the round bend Creeks between those two Creeks and behind a Small Willow Island in the bend is a Prairie in which the Missouries Indians once lived and the Spot where 300 [200] of them fell a sacrifice to the fury of the *Saukees*, this nation (Missouries) once the most numerous nation in this part of the Continent now reduced to about 30 f^s [fires, i. e., families — ED.] and that few under the protection of the *Otteaus*² [*Ottoes*] on R Platt who themselves are declining, passed some willow Is^{ds} and bad Sand bars, Took Medⁿ Altitude with Octent back observation it gave for alt^d on its Lo^w L. 36° 58' 0" the E [Error] Enstrement 2' 00' - 00" +. the Hills or high land for Several days past or above the 2 Charletons does not exceed 100 foot, passed a Batteau on Sand rolling where the Boat was nearly turning over by her Strikeing & turning on the Sand. we came too in the mouth of Grand River on S. S. and Camped for the night, this River is from 80 to 100 yards wide at its mouth and navigable for Perogues a great distance, this river heads with the R. Dumoine, below its mouth is a butifull Plain of bottom land, the hills rise at 1/2 a mile back, the lands about this place is either Plain or over flown bottom. Cap^t Lewis and myself walked to the hill, from the top of which we had a butifull prospect of Serounding country, in the open

¹ An original letter by Dorion to George Rogers Clark, dated Cahokin, 1780, is in the Draper Collection, Wisconsin Historical Society (press-mark, 50 J 34). — ED.

² The Missouri and Oto tribes belong to the Siouan stock. The remnants of both are now in the Indian Territory. — ED.

Prarie we caught a racoon, our hunter brought in a Bear & Deer, we took some Lunar observations this evening.

Course & Distance 13th June 1804

N. 40° W	2 1/2	M ^s to a p ^t L. S.
S. 39 W.	3	M ^s to a p ^t S. S. ps ^d 2 Creeks
N. 28, W	1 1/2	M ^s to a p ^t Stb ^d S.
N. 30 W	2	M ^s to a p ^t L. S. ops ^d G ^d R
	9	M ^s

14th June Thursday —

We Set out at 6 oClock, after a thick fog passed thro: a narrow pass on the S. S. which forms a large Is^d opposit the upper point of this Island on the L. S. is one of the worst quick or moveing sand bars Which I have Seen, notwithstanding all our precaustons to Clear the Sands and pass between them (which was the way we were comp^d to pass, from the immince Current & falling banks on the S. S.) the Boat Struck the point of one from the active exertions of the men, prevented her turning, if She had turned she must have overset. We met a *Causseu* [Cajaux, or raft — ED.] from the Pania [Paunee] on the River Platt, we detained 2 hours with a view of engaging one of the hands to go to the Pania nation with a view to get those people to meet us on the river, (I went out & Shot a Deer) We passed a high land, & clay bluff on the S. S. Called the Snake bluff from the number of Snakes about this place, we passed a Creek above the Bluff about 18 yd^s wide, this Creek is Called Snake Creek,¹ a bad Sand bar just below, which we found Dificulty in passing & Camp^d above, our Hunters came in. George Drewyer, gives the following ac^t of a Pond, & at ab^t 5 Miles below here S. S. Passed a Small Lake in which there was many Deer feeding. he heard in this Pond a Snake makeing goubleing noises like a turkey. he fired his gun & the noise was increased, he has heard the indians mention this Species of Snake, one Frenchman gives a Similar account

¹ This may have been either Miami or Wakenda Creek of modern maps. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 25).

Course & Distance June 14th

S. 33° W	2	M ^l to Low ^r p ^t on an Is ^d S. S.
S. 60° W	1	M ^l thro: a chanil on S. S.
S. 70° W	2	M ^l to p ^t L. S. passed a bad Sand
S. 5 E	$\frac{3}{8}$	M ^l to a p ^t on S. S. passed a Creek S. S.

15th June, Friday 1804—

Set out early and had not proceeded far e'er we wheeled on a Sawyer which was near injuring us verry much, passed a plain on the L. S. a Small Is^d in the middle, the river rising, water verry swift Passed a Creek on the L. S. passed between two Islands, a verry bad place, moveing Sands, we were nearly being swallowed up by the rolling Sands over which the Current was so Strong that we could not Stem it with our Sales under a Stiff breese in addition to our ores, we were compelled to pass under a bank which was falling in, and use the Toe rope occasionally, Continued up pass two other Small Islands and Camped on the S. S. nearly opposit the *antient Village* of the *Little Osarges* and below the ant^t *Village* of the *Missouries* both Situations in view and within three M^l: of each other,¹ the Osage were Settled at the foot [of] a hill in a butifull Plain, which extends back quite to the Osage River, in front of the Vilg: next to the river is an ellegent bottom Plain which extends several miles in length on the river in this low Prarie the *Missouries* lived after they were reduced by the *Saukees* at their Town Some Dist^t: below. The little osage finding themselves much oppressed by the *Saukees* & other nations, left this place & built a village 5 M^l: from the *Grand Osarge Town*, about years ago a few of the *Missouries* accompanied them, the remainder of that Nation went to the *Otteaus* on the River Platt. The River at this place is about 3 [*one*] M^l: wide. our hunters did not come in this evening the river beginning to fall

¹ Near the present Malta Bend, and not far below the site of the old French Fort Orleans. — ED.

Course & Distance June 15th

S. 35° W.	2	M ^o along S. S.
S. 50° W.	1 1/2	M ^o a p ^l L. S. passed a pra: & Creek L. S.
S. 51° W.	2 1/2	M ^o a p ^l S. S. ps ^d a Willow Is ^d
S. 8° W.	3/4	M ^o to a p ^l L. S. pass ^d Low p ^l 2 Is ^d
S. 80° W.	2	M ^o to up ^l P ^l Is ^d S. S. ps ^d bad place
S. 5° W.	2	M ^o to a p ^l S. S. passed bad place
S. 12° W.	1 1/2	M ^o to a p ^l S. S. ps ^d a Is ^d in Mid ^l ops ^d old village
	12 1/4	Lit: Osage.

16th June Saturday 1804 —

Set out at 7 oClock at about a mile 1/2 we came to the Camp of our hunters, they had two Bear & two Deer, proceeded on pass a Island on the S. S. a heavy rain came on & lasted a Short time, we came to on the S. S. in a Prairie at the place where M^l Mackey lais down a old french fort,¹ I could See no traces of a Settlement of any kind, in the plain I discovered a kind of Grass resembling Timothey which appeared well Calculated for Hay. this Plain is verry extensive in the evening I walked on the S. S. to see if any timber was conv^t to make Oars, which we were much in want of, I found some indifferent timber and Struck the river above the Boat at a bad Sand bar, the worst I had Seen which the boat must pass or Drop back Several Miles & Stem a Swift Current on the

¹ Lewis's map of 1806 indicates "Mr. J. Mackay's route," which embraces most of the valley of the Niobrara River; this Mackay may be the person referred to in the text. Biddle's narrative mentions (i, p. 44) a man of this name who had in 1795-96 a trading establishment farther up the Missouri. The French fort was probably the post (Fort Orleans) established by Bourgmont (1723) not far (according to Coues) from the Malta Bend of the Missouri (see Margry's *Decouvertes et établissements*, vi, p. 393; Le Page du Pratz's *Louisiane*, i, p. 324; and Coues's *L. and C.*, i, p. 24, note 51).

The exact site of Fort Orleans is not definitely known, and there are diverse opinions regarding it. Hon. Walter B. Douglas, of St. Louis, thinks that the fort was on "the north bank of the Missouri, above the mouth of Wakenda Creek, in what is now Carroll County, and 15 to 20 miles above the town of Brunswick, which stands a little below the place where was the old mouth of Grand River (about six or seven miles from its present entrance). The action of the river-current has caused great changes in the course of both rivers, even within the last thirty years." Later there was another French post upon the river at a village of the Kansas Indians, not far from the present site of Fort Leavenworth. — Ed.

ops^d Side of an Is^d the Boat however assended the middle of the Stream which was difficult Dangerous We came to above this place at Dark and Camped in a bad place, the Mosquitoes and Ticks are noumerous & bad.

Course & Distance June 16th

N. 68° W.	2 1/2	M ^a to a p ^t L. S. pass Is ^d S. S.
West	2	M ^a to a b ^l in Snag Is ^d L. S.
S. 85° W.	1	M ^a on L. S. a bad Sand Mid.
S. 61° W.	1	M ^a on L. S. do do and 2 sm. Is ^{tr}
S. 30° W.	2 1/2	M ^a to a p ^t S. S. passed up ^t S ^d Is ^d
S. 40° W.	1	M ^a alg. S. S. an Is ^d Md ^t & bad p ^t
	<u>10</u>	

June 17th Sunday 1804 (S. 65° W. 1 M. S. Side.) —

Cloudy morning wind from the S. E. we Set out early and proceeded on one mile & came too to make oars, & repair our cable & toe rope &c. &c. which was necessary for the Boat & Perogues, Sent out Sj^r Pryor and Some men to get ash timber for ores, and Set some men to make a Toe Rope out of the Cords of a *Cable* which had been provided by Cap^t Lewis at Pittsburg for the Cable of the boat. George Drewyer our hunter and one man came in with 2 Deer & a Bear, also a young Horse, they had found in the Prarie, this horse has been in the Prarie a long time and is fat, I Suppose, he has been left by Some war party against the *Osage*, This is a Crossing place for the war parties against that nation from the *Saukees*, *Aiaouez*, [*Ayauways*] & Souix. The party is much afflicted with *Boils*, and Several have the Deassentary, which I contribute to the water [*which is muddy.*] The Countrey about this place is butifull on the river rich & well timbered on the S. S. about two miles back a Prarie com^t [*commences*] which is rich and interspersed with groves of timber, the count^y rises at 7 or 8 miles Still further back and is rolling. on the L. S. the high lands & Prarie com^t in the bank of the river and and continus back, well watered and abounds in Deer Elk & Bear The Ticks & Musqueters are verry troublesome.

June 18th Monday

Some rain last night, and Some hard Showers this morning which delay our work verry much, Send out Six hunters in the Prairie on the L. S. they kill 5 Deer & Coht [caught] a Bear, which verry large & fat, the party to wok at the oars, make rope, & jurk their meat all Day Dry our wet Sales &c. in the evening, The Musqueters verry bad

June 19th Tuesday

rain last night after fixing the new oars and makeing all necessary arrangements, we set out under a jentle breese from the S. E. and proceeded on passed two large Islands on the S. S. leaving J. Shields and one man to go by land with the horses Some verry hard water, passed Several Islands & Sand bars to day at the head of one we were obliged to cleare away Driftwood to pass, passed a Creek on the L. Side Called *Tabboe* [*Tabo*] 15 yd^s Wide passed a large Creek at the head of an Island Called Tiger River 25 yd^s on the S. S. the Island below this Is^d is large and called the Isle of Pant[h]ers, formed on the S. S. by a narrow Channel, I observed on the Shore *Goose* & *Rasp* berries in abundance in passing Some hard water round a Point of rocks on the L. S. we were obliged to take out the roape & Draw up the Boat for $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile, we came too on the L. S. near a Lake of the Sircumfrance of Several miles, Situated on the L. S. about two miles from the river¹ this Lake is Said to abound in all kinds of fowls, Great numbers of Deer frequent this Lake dureing Summer Season, and feed on the hows [haws] &c. &c. they find on the edgers the Land on the North Side of the river is rich and Sufficiently high to afford Settlements, the Ld^s on the South Side assends Gradually from the River not So rich, but of a good quality and appear well watered

¹ The musquitoes and other animals are so troublesome that musquitoe biers or nets were distributed to the party. — BIDDLE (i, p. 16).

Course & Distance June 19th

N 87° W.	3	M ^e to up ^r p ^r of an Island.
S 80° W	1 1/2	M ^e to a p ^r L. Side ps ^d 4 wil. Is ^d .
S. 70° W	1 1/2	M ^e along the L. S.
S 58° W	4 1/2	M ^e to a p ^r S. S. ps ^d a Is ^d S. S.
S. 68° W	3	M ^e to p ^r S. S. ps ^d Tabbo Creek
S. 83° W	4	M ^e to p ^r L. S. Camp ^d 1 M ^e . ¹
	<u>17 1/2</u>	

June 20th Wednesday—

Set out after a heavy Shower of rain and proceeded on the Same Course of last night passede a large butifull Prarie on the S. S. opposit a large Island, called Saukee Prarie, a jentle breese from the S. W. Some butifull high lands on the L. S. passed Som verry Swift water to day, I saw *Pelicans* to day on a Sand bar, My Servent York nearly loseing an Eye by a man throwing Sand into it, we came too at the lower Point of a Small Island, the party on Shore we have not Seen Since we passed Tiger R. The Land appear'd verry good on each Side of the river to day and well timbered, We took Some Loner observations, which detain^d us untill 1 oClock a butifull night but the air exceedingly Damp, & the Mosqueters verry troublesome

Course & Deistances June 20th

S. 42° W.	1	M ^e along L. S.
S. 46° W	2	M ^e to p ^r S. S. ps ^d an Is ^d
S. 51° W	1 1/2	M ^e to p ^r L. S. ops ^d Is ^d & Saukee Prarie on S. S.
S. 70° W	3/4	M ^e along L. S. water bad
S. 25° W	1 1/2	M ^e to a p ^r S. S. ps ^d Is ^d & bad Sand
	<u>6 3/4</u>	

21st June Thursday—

The river rose 3 Inches last night after the Bows man Peter Crousat viewed the water on each Side of the Island which presented a most unfavourable prospect of Swift water

¹ At a place 7 1/2 miles above the present town of Dover. — COVES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 28).

over rolling Sands which roared like an immense falls, we concluded to assend on the right Side, and with much difficulty, with the assistance of a long Cord or Tow rope, & the *anchors*, we got the Boat up without any further dang. than Braking a Cabbin window & loseing Some *oars* which were Swong under the windows, passed four Is^{ds} to day two large & two Small, behind the first large Island two Creeks mouth, called Eue-bert [*Hubert*]¹ Creek & River & Is^d the upper of those Creeks head against the Mine River & is large, passed a very remarkable bend in the River to the S. forming an accute angle, the high lands come to the river on the S. S. opposit the upper large Island, this Is^d is formed by a narrow chanel thro. the P^t of the remarkable bend just mention^d below this Is^d on the L. S. is a Counter Current of about a mile. passed between several Small Islands Situated near the L. Side and camped above on the Same Side. Two men Sent out to hunt this evening brought in a Buck & a pore Turkey.

at Sunset the atmespier presented every appearance of wind, Blue & White Streeks centiring at the Sun as She disappeared and the Clouds Situated to the S. W. Guilded in the most butifull manner.

The Country and Lands on each Side of the river is various as usual, and may be classed as follows, viz: the low or overflown points or bottom land, of the groth of Cotton & Willow, the 2nd or high bottom of rich furtile Soile of the groth of Cotton, Walnut, Som ash, Hackberry, Mulberry, Lynn [*Linden*] & Sycamore. the third or high Lands rises gradually from the 2nd bottom (except whin it Coms to the river then from the river) about 80 or 100 foot roleing back Supplied with water (the small rivers of which loses themselves in the bottom land) and are covered with a variety of timber Such as Oake of different Kinds Blue ash, Walnut &c. &c. as far as the Praries, which I am informed lie back from the river, at Some places near & others a great Distance

¹ Biddle gives this name (i, p. 17) as "Eau Beau or Clearwater;" Gass calls it Du Beau or Du Bois. — ED.

Course & Distance June 21st 1804

S. 77° W.	2½	M ^s	along S. S.	ps ^d	the h ^d	of a lg	Is ^d	L. S.
N 30° E,	1½	M ^s	p ^t	L. S.	ps ^d	a c ^t	Low p ^t	Is ^d on L. S. (1)
North,	1	M ^s	along the	Larboard	Side			
N 18° W	½	M ^s	do	do	do			
N 84° W	½	M ^s	do	do	do			
S. 80° W,	¾	M ^s	do	do	ps ^d	Sev ^t	Sm.	Is ^d L. S.
S. 35 W	¾	M ^s	do	do	ps ^d	do	do	do
	7½							

22nd June Friday—

river rose 4 Inch last night I was waken'd before daylight this morning by the guard, preparing the Boat to receive an apparent Storm which threttened violence from the West at daylight a violent wind accompanied with rain cam[e] from the W. and lasted about one hour, it Cleared away, and we Set out and proceeded on under a gentle breeze from the N. W. passed Some verry Swift water, crouded with Snags, pass two large Island opposit each other, and immediately opposit a large & extensive Prarie on the Lab^d Side, this Prarie is butifull a high bottom for 1½ mile back and rises to the Common leavell of of the Countrey (about 70 or 80 feet) and extends back out of view. Cap^t L walked on Shore a few miles this after noon (at 3 oClock P. M. Faren^{ht} Thermometer Stood at 87. = to 11^t above Summer heat) We came too on the L. Side opposit the mouth of a large Creek called the River of the Fire Prarie,¹ at the mouth of this Creek, the Party on Shore were waiting our arrival, they informed that the Lands thro: which they passed was fine & well watered

Course & Distance June 22nd

S. 14° W.	2½	M ^s	to a p ^t	on the S. S.
S. 25° W	3	M ^s	to a p ^t	on the S. S. <i>bad wat.</i>
S. 66° W.	½	M ^s	on S. Side	
N. 60° W	4½	M ^s	to a p ^t	on the L. S. ps ^d 2 Is ^d and a Prarie
	10½			

¹ The present name of a creek on the *south* side of the Missouri; on the north side is Clear (or Fishing) creek, but four or five miles higher, which may be the one meant by Clark, as its mouth may have shifted since their time. Gass says that Fire-prairie creek was 60 yards wide. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 30).

23rd June Saturday—

Some wind this morning from the N. W. we set out at 7 oClock, and proceeded on to the head of a Island on the S. S. the wind blew hard and down the river which prevented the P'ty movinge [*proceeding*] from this Island the whole day,¹ Cap^t Lewis had the arms examined &c. at the lower end of this Island I got out of the boat to walk on Shore, & expected the party on Shore would overtake me, at the head of the Island, they did not & I proceeded on round a round and extensive bend in the river, I Killed a Deer & made a fire, expecting the boat would come up in the evening. the wind continuing to blow prevented their moveing, as the distance by land was too great for me to return by night I concluded to Camp, Peeled Some bark to lay on, and geathered wood to make fires to keep off the musquitr & knats, Heard the party on Shore fire, at Dark Drewyer came to me with the horses, one fat *bear* & a Deer, river fell 8 Inches last night

Course & Distance June 23rd

N 70° W 2 M^s to an Is^d on S. S. (I went out)
 N 75° E 1½ M^s ps^d the head of the Is^d to p^t L. S.
 3½

24th June Sunday—

Set out at half after Six. I joined the boat this mornig at 8 oClock (I will only remark that dureing the time I lay on the sand waiting for the boat, a large Snake Swam to the bank imediately under the Deer which was hanging over the water, and no great distance from it, I threw chunks and drove this snake off Several times. I found that he was so determined on getting to the meet, I was compell^d to kill him, the part

¹ Biddle here says: "Directly opposite on the south, is a high commanding position, more than seventy feet above high water mark, and overlooking the river which is here of but little width; this spot has many advantages for a fort, and trading house with the Indians." (And, in a foot-note :) "The United States built in September, 1808, a factory and fort at this spot, which is very convenient for trading with the Osages, Ayauways, and Kansas." This place was the site of Fort Osage, at or near the present town of Sibley. — Ed.

of the Deer which attracted this Snake I think was the Milk from the bag of the Doe.) I observed great quat. of Bear Signs, where they had passed in all Directions thro the bottoms in Serch of Mulberries, which were in great numbers. in all the bottoms thro which our party passed)

Passed the mouth of a Creek 20 yd^s wide name [named] *Hay Cabbin Creek*¹ from Camps of Straw built on it

came to about $\frac{1}{2}$ M^l above this creek & jurked, the meet killed yesterday and this morning *Latitude* of this place $38^{\circ} - 37' - 5''$ N. Cap^t Lewis walked on Shore & killed a Deer, pass a bad part of the river, on the S. S. the rocks projected into the river Some distance, a creek above called *Sharriton Carta*,² in the evening we Passed thro: between two Sand bars at the head we had to raise the Boat 8 Inches to get her over, Camped near the lower point of an Island on the L. Side, party in high Sperrits. The Country on each side of the river is fine interspersed with Praries, in which immense herds of Deer is Seen,³ on the banks of the river we observe numbers of Deer watering and feeding on the young willow, Several killed to day

Course & Distance June 24th

N 80. E	$\frac{1}{4}$	M ^l on the Larboard Side
N 55. E	$\frac{1}{4}$	M ^l on other
West	3	M ^s to a point on S. S.
N 80. W.	$4\frac{1}{2}$	M ^s to a p ^t on L. S. pass ^d Hay Cab. Is.
West	$\frac{1}{2}$	M ^l on L. Side
S 21 ^o W	3	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. ps ^d a rock & Creek L. S.
	<hr/>	
	11	$\frac{1}{2}$

¹ Now the Little Blue River, in Jackson Co., Missouri. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 31).

² A phonetic rendering of the French *Charretins écartés* — that is, two creeks named Charretin, whose courses are separated (*écartés*), although they meet at their entrance into the Missouri. There are two such creeks in Clay County, Mo., which answer to the description in our text. For full explanation of the name, see Coues's *L. and C.*, i, p. 31. — ED.

³ Brackenridge says in 1811 (*Louisiana*, p. 219): "The Missouri is now what the Ohio was once, the *Paradise of hunters*." — ED.

25th June Monday

a thick fog detained us untill 8 oClock, passed a Island, at 3 Miles passed a Coal-Mine, or Bank of stone Coal, on the South Side, this bank appears to Contain great quantity of fine Coal, the river being high, prevented our Seeing that contained in the cliffs of the best quallity, a Small Creek mouths below this bank call'd after the bank *Chabonea* [*Charbon*] Creek the Wind from the N. W. passed a Small Creek on the L. Side at 12 oClock, called *Benner's* Creek The Praries come within a Short distance of the river on each Side which Contains in addition to Plumbs Raspberries &c. vast quantities of wild apples, great numb^s of Deer are seen feeding on the young willows & earbage in the Banks and on the Sand bars in the river, our party on Shore did not join in this evening we camped on an Island Situated on the S. Side, opposit some hills higher than Common, say 160 or 180 feet above the Bottom. The river is Still falling last night it fell 8 Inches

Course & Distance June 25th

S. 49° W.	3	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S.
S. 55° W.	½	M ^s on the S. S. ps ^d a Coal Mine
N. 50° W.	3½	M ^s to P ^t on L. S. ps ^d a Creek L. S.
N. 70° W.	½	M ^s on L. S. pass Willow Is ^d
S. 80° W.	½	M ^s on L. S. ditto
S. 55° W.	½	M ^s on L. S. ditto
S. 15° W.	½	M ^s on L. S. ditto & round P ^t
S. 2° E.	2	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S.
S. 48° W.	2	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. ps ^d a Is ^d

13

June 26th Tuesday 1804 —

We Set out early, the river falling a little, the wind from the S. W. Passed the mouth of a Small river on the L. Side above the upper point of a Small Island, called Blue Water River,¹ this river heads in Praries back with the Mine River

¹ Now Big Blue River. In a footnote, Biddle here says: "A few miles up the Blue Water Creek are quarries of plaster of paris, since worked and brought down to St. Louis." — Ed.

about 30 yd^l wide Latitude of a p^l 4 M^l above this river is 38° 32' - 15" North, the high lands which is on the North Side does not exceed 80 feet high, at this Place the river appears to be conf^d in a verry narrow channel, and the current Still more so by Counter Current or Whirl on one Side & high bank on the other, passed a Small Is^d in the bend to the L. Side We Killed a large rattle Snake, Sunning himself in the bank, passed a bad Sand bar, where our tow rope broke twice, & with great exertions, we rowed round it and came to & camped, in the Point above the *Kansas* [*Kanzas*] *River* I observed a great number of Parrot queets [Parroquets] this evening, our Party killed Several [7] Deer to day

Course & Distance June 26th

S 62° W.	½	M ^l on the S. S. Is ^d on L. S.
S 80° W.	½	M ^l on the S. S. ps ^d Blue Water R. L. S.
N 87° W.	1	M ^l on the S. S.
N. 85° W.	3	M ^l to a p ^l on the L. S. Mid ^l ab ^l
S. 80° W.	½	M ^l on L. S.
S. 37° W.	2½	M ^l to a p ^l on S. S. ps ^d Lit. Cr.
S. 58° W.	1	M ^l on S. S. ps ^d a bad place
S. 78° W.	¾	M ^l to the up. p ^l of Kansas R.
<u>9¾</u>		= 366 & ¾ M ^l to mouth of Missouri

June 27th. Wednesday —

a fair warm morning, the river rose a little last night, we determine to delay at this Place three or four Days to make observations & recruit the party, Several men out Hunting, onloaded our Perogue, and turned her up to Dry with a view of repairing her after completing a Strong redoubt or brest work from [*one*] river to the other, of logs & Bushes Six feet high, The Countrey about the mouth of this river is verry fine on each Side as well as North of the Missouri the bottom, in the Point is low & overflows for 250 yards. it rises a little above high water mark and continus of that hight of good quallity back to the hills A high Clift, on the upper Side of the Kanes ½ a mile up below the Kanes the hills is about 1½ Miles from the point on the North Side of the

Missourie the Hills or high lands is Several Miles back, we compared the instrumts Took equal altitudes, and the Meridian altitude of the Suns L. L. to day *Latitude* $38^{\circ} 31' - 13''$ *Longitude* [Blank space in MS.] measured the width of the Kansas River by an angle and made it 230 yd^s $\frac{1}{4}$ wide,¹ it is wider above the mouth the Missourie at this place is about 500 yards wide, The Course from the Point down the Mid. of the Missourie is S. 32° E, & turns to the North. up Do: is N 21° W. & do do [*i. e.* turns to the North — ED.] Do. up the right side of the Kansas is S. 54° E., & the river turns to the left, Several Deer killed to day.

28 June Thursday —

took equal altitudes &c. &c. &c. & variation of the Compass repaired the Perogue cleaned out the Boat suned our Powder [and] wollen articles examined every thing 8 or 10 hunt^{rs} out to day in different directions, in examining our Private Store of Provisions we found Several articles Spoiled from the *wet* or dampness they had received, a very warm day, the wind from the South, The river Missourie has raised yesterday last night & to day about 2 foot. this evening it is on a Stand, Capt. Lewis weighed the water of the Two rivers The Missourie 78. the Kansais 72. (the weight is)²

To Describe the most probable of the various accounts of this great river of the Kansas, would be too lengthy & uncertain to insert here, it heads with the river Del Noird in the black Mountain or ridge which Divides the Waters of the Kansas *Del Nord*, & Callarado & [a word almost illegible; possibly "offshoots." — ED.] from those of the Missourie (and not well ascertain^d) This river receives its name from a Nation which dwells at this time on its banks & [has] 2 villages one about 20 leagues & the other 40 Leagues up, those Indians are not very noumerous at this time, reduced by war with their neighbours, &c, they formerly lived on the South banks of the Missourie 24 Leagues above this river in a open & butifull plain, and were very noumerous at the

¹ The Biddle text gives the width of the Kansas River as $340\frac{1}{4}$ yards. — ED.

² Referring to the specific gravity of the waters — see Biddle, I, p. 18. — ED.

time the french first Settled the Illinois, I am told they are a fierce & warlike people, being badly Supplied with fire arms, become easily conquered by the Aiauway & Saukees who are better furnished with those materials of War, This Nation is now out in the Plains hunting the Buffalow [*They consist of about 300 men*] our hunters killed Several Deer and Saw Buffalow, Men imp^d [employed] Dressing Skins & makeing themselves comfortable, the high lands come to the river Kansas on the upper Side at about a mile, full in view, and a butifull place for a fort, good landing-place, the waters of the Kansas is verry disagreeably tasted to me.

29th June Friday —

obsv^d the distance of ☉ & ☾, took Equal & maridional Alt^d and after makeing Some arrangements, and inflicting a little punishment to two men we Set out at ½ past 4 oClock, and proceeded on. (1) passed a large Island on the S. Side, opposit a large Sand bar, the Boat turned, and was within Six Inches of Strikeing the rapidity with which the Boat turned was so great that if her bow had Struck the Snag, She must have either turned over or the bow knocked off, S W wind

Course Distance and referrences June 29th

N. 21. W. $3\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to a p^t on L. S. ps^d p^t Is^d S. S. (1)
 N. 18^o W. $\frac{3}{4}$ M^t on the L. S. ps^d H^d of the Is^d
 S. 79. W. $\frac{3}{7\frac{1}{4}}$ M^s to a p^t on the S. S.

[Orderly Book; Clark:]

Camp Mouth of the Kansies June 29th 1804

Ordered — A Court Martial will Set this day at 11 oClock, to consist of five members, for the trial of *John Collins* and *Hugh Hall*, Confined on Charges exhibited against them by Sergeant Floyd, agreeable to the articles of War.

Detail for the Court

Serg ^t Nat. Pryor pres ^d	} Mb ^t
2 John Colter	
3 John Newmon	
4 Pat. Gass	
1 J. B. Thompson	

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John Potts to act as Judge advocate.

The Court Convened agreeable to order and proceeded to the trial of the Prisoners Viz

John Collins Charged "with getting drunk on his post this Morning out of whiskey put under his charge as a Sentinal, and for Suffering *Hugh Hall* to draw whiskey out of the Said Barrel intended for the party."

To this Charge the prisoner plead *not Guilty*.

The Court after mature deliv[er]ation on the evidence adduced &c are of oppinion that the prisoner is *Guilty* of the Charge exhibited against him, and do therefore sentence him to receive *one hundred Lashes on his bear Back*.

Hugh Hall was brought before the Court Charged with takeing whiskey out of a Keg this morning which whiskey was stored on the Bank (and under the Charge of the Guard) Contrary to all order, rule, or regulation."

To this Charge the prisoner "Pleaded Guilty."

The Court find the prisoner Guilty and Sentence him to receive *ffity* Lashes on his bear Back.

The Commanding Officers approve of the Sentence of the Court and orders that the Punishment take place at half past three this evening, at which time the party will Parrade for inspection.

30th June Saturday 1804

Set out verry early this morning, a verry large wolf came to the bank and looked at us this morning, pass^d the (1) mouth of a Small river 10 M^s above the *Kansas* called by the french *Petite River Platte* (or Shoal river) from the number of falls in it, this river is about 60 yards wide at its mouth and runs Parrilel with the *Missouries* for ten or twelve miles,¹ Some of the party who went up told that the lands on this Small river is good, and on it several falls well calculated for mills, The wind from S. W. came to at 12 oClock & rested three hours, the [day] being hot the men becom verry feeble, Farn^s Thermometer at 3 oClock stood at 96^o above 0,

¹ Now Little Platte River; the location of its mouth has changed much since 1804. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 35).

emence numb^r of Deer on the banks, Skipping in every derection, the party killed nine Bucks on the river & Bank today, The Countrey on the S. S. between the Shoal River & Missouri is indifferēt Subject to overflow, that below and on the L. S. is high & appers well timbered, camped on the L. S. ops^d the Lower point of a Is^d. Called Diamond Island, Broke our Mast

Course Distance & reef^r June 30th

N. 20° W.	2 M ^l to p ^l L. S.	Boat turned
N 30° W.	½ M ^l on L. S.	High Land S. S.
S. 64° W.	2½ M ^l to p ^l on S. S.	ps ^d R. Plate (1)
West -	1 M ^l on S. S.	a Sm. Creek L. S.
N. 60° W	4 M ^l to p ^l on L. S.	

10

July 1st Sunday 1804 —

a Small allarm last night all prepared for action, Set out early this morning passed on the North Side of Dimond Island, a Small Creek mouths opposit, I call *Biscuit* Creek, a large Sand bar in the middle of the river 1½ M^l above the Is^d covered with Drift wood. river fall a little. the wind from S. W. Came to above this Drift and delayed three hours to refresh the men who were verry much over powered with the heat, Great quantitys of Grapes & raspberries, (2) passed a Small Creek on the L. S. below one large and two small Islands. This Creek and Isd^r are called *Remore* (or Tree Frog) a large Pond on the S. S., the main current of Water run'g on the L. S. of the Island, I am told that three years ago the Main Current run on the S. S. of the Island and no appearance of the two Smaller Islands, Camped on the lower point of one of the two large & 2 Small Isd^r Called *Isles des Parques* or field Isl'ds¹ a high butifull Prarie on the L. S. one of the french hands Says "that the french kept their cattle & horses on those Islands at the time they had in this quarter a fort & trading establishment.

¹ Nearly opposite Leavenworth, Kans. — COVES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 36).

Course Distance & ref^s July 1st

N. 62° W.	1½	M ^t on the S. Side of the Is ^d
N. 40° W	¼	M ^t do do do
N 28° W	¾	M ^t to p ^t on L. S. ps ^d the Is ^d
N. 45° W	3½	M ^t to a p ^t on S. S. ps ^d Drift
N 32° W	1½	M ^t to a creek (2) L. S.
N 58 W	2½	M ^t to p ^t L. S. ps ^t the head of Is ^d
N. 42 W.	1½	M ^t to a p ^t on S. S.
N. 27 W.	½	M ^t to p ^t of Field Is ^d prairie L. S.

12

paccaun [pecan — E.D.] Trees Seen on the S. S. Deer and turkeys in great quantities on the bank

July 2nd 1804—

Set out early and proceeded on the left of the Islands, two of which are large a high bottom Situated on the L. S. passed the mouth of a Creek on the S. S. called Turque [Parques] Creike, at this place I observed that the river was Crouded with Drift wood, and dangerous to pass as this dead timber Continued only about half an our, I concluded that Some Island of Drift had given way (3) passed a Creek on the L. S. called Turkey Creek, a bad Sand bar on the L. S. we could with difiucelty Stem the Current with our 20 oars & and all the poles we had, passed a large Island on the S. S. Called by the Indians *Wau-car-ba war-cand-da* or the *Bear Medesin* Island,¹ at 12 oClock landed on the Island a [nd — E.D.] put up a mast which detained us four hours. a verry hot day winds from the S. E. George Drewyer informs that the Lands he passed through, yesterday and to day on the S. S. was verry fine, few Springs, We camped after dark on the S. S. above the Island & opposit the 1st old village of the Kanzes. which was Situated in a Valley, between two points of high Land, and imediatly on the river bank, back of the village and on a rising ground at about one mile The French had a garrison for some time and made use of water out of a

¹ Now Kickapoo island, above Fort Leavenworth. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 37).



WAKK-TÄ-GE-LI
of the Sioux



WAHK-TÄ-GE-LI
(Horns Horns)

Spring running into Turkey Creek.¹ an extensive Prairie, as the Current of the river Sets against the banke and washes it away the landing place for Boats is indifferant. The high lands above the Fire river, approaches nearer east, than below, being from 3 to 6 Miles distant and above Kansas from 3 to 5 Miles distant and the Hills at Some places are from 160 to 180 feet above the bottom

Course and distance & reffers^{ns} July 2^d

N. 22° W.	1¼ M ^s to a pt on L. S. in a bend (1)
N. 10° W	2¼ M ^s to a pt of a Lit: Is ^d on S. S. pass ^s Is ^d (2)
N 34° E	1½ M ^s to a pt on L. S. ps ^d Turkey Cr. (3)
N 10° W	½ on the L. S. High Ld ^s on S. S.
N. 46 W	1¼ M ^s on S. S. of an Is ^d on S. S. (4)
S. 87 W	½ M ^s on S. S. a point ps ^d a run
S 81° W	2¼ M ^s on S. S. ps ^d head of Island
N 82 W	2 M ^s on the S. S. ps ^d Swift Water
	11½

1st old village Kansas

July 3rd Tuesday 1804 —

Set out verry early this morning and proceeded on under a gentle Breeze from the S. passed two Islands (1) one a Small Willow Island on the L. S. the other large Called by the french *Isle de Vache* or *Coxw Island*, opposit the head on the S. S. is a large Pond containg Beaver, & fowl, a bad Sand bar on the S. S. above the Island, on the L. S. we halted at an old Tradeing house [*deserted*], here we found a verry fat horse, which appears to have been lost a long time, a butifull small run passes back of the Tradeing house near the high land, we came to at a round bend on the L. S. and camped

¹ The Biddle text states that Lewis and Clark found some remains of the French fort; this was the post among the Kansas Indians, tributary to Fort Chartres, with a garrison sent from New Orleans. In 1757 it produced one hundred bundles of furs. See Bougainville on the French posts, in *Northern and Western Boundaries of Ontario* (Toronto, 1878). — ED.

Course Distance & refr^s July 3rd

N. 53° W.	1	M ^l on the S. S.
N. 50° W.	$\frac{1}{4}$	M ^l do. do
N. 18° E	1	M ^l to a p ^t on L. S. ops ^d 2 lds. (1)
N 30° W	$\frac{3}{4}$	M ^l to p ^t Left of an Isl ^d
N 10° W.	$\frac{1}{2}$	M ^l to p ^t L. S.
N 60° W	$\frac{1}{4}$	M ^l to a p ^t on the Island
N 78 W	$\frac{1}{2}$	M ^l to a p ^t L. S. at H ^d of Is ^d (2)
S 56° W	$2\frac{1}{4}$	M ^l to a p ^t on S. S. of Missouri.
N. 50° W.	1	M ^l on the S. S.
N 45 E	3	M ^l to a p ^t on L. S. pass a Bar
N 12 E	$\frac{1}{2}$	M ^l on L. S. Camped
	<u>11</u>	$\frac{1}{4}$

July 4th Wednesday, —

ussed in the day by a discharge of one shot from our Bow piece, proceeded on, passed the Mouth of a (1) Bayeau l[e]ading from a large Lake on the S. S. which has the appearance of being once the bend of the river & reaches parrellel for Several Miles Came to on the L. S. to refresh our selves &. Jos. Fields got bit by a Snake, which was quickly doctored with Bark by Cap Lewis¹ (2) Passed a Creek 12 yd^t wide on L. S. coming out of an extensive Prarie reching within 200 yards of the river, as this Creek has no name, and this being the 4th of July the day of the independance of the U S. call it 4th of July 1804 Creek, we dined (on Corn) Cap^t Lewis walked on Shore above this Creek and discovered a high Mound from the top of which he had an extensive View, 3 paths Concentering at the moun Saw great numbers of Goslings to day which Were nearly grown, the before mentioned Lake is Clear and contain great quantities of fish and Gees & Goslings, The great quantity of those fowl in this Lake induced me to Call it the *Gosling* Lake, a Small Creek & several Springs run in to the Lake on the East Side from the hills the land on that Side very good. (3) We came to and camped in the lower edge of a Plain where the 2^d old

¹ A poultice of bark and gunpowder was sufficient to cure the wound. — BIDDLE (i, p. 21).

Kansas village formerly Stood, above the mouth of a Creek 30 yd^s wide this Creek we call *Creek Independence* as we approached this place the Prarie had a most butifull appearance Hills & Valies intersps^d with Coops [Copses] of Timber gave a pleasing deversity to the Senery. the right fork of Creek Independence Meandering thro: the Middle of the Plain a point of high Land near the river givs an ellivated Situation. at this place the Kansas Indians formerly lived, this Town appears to have cov^d a large Space, the Nation must have been noumerous at the time they lived here, the Cause of their moving to the Kansas River, I have never heard, nor can I learn; war with their neighbors must have reduced this nation and Compelled them to retire to a Situation in the plains better Calculated for their defence, and one where they may make use of their horses with good effect, in persueing their enemey, we closed the [day] by a Descharge from our bow piece, an extra Gill of whiskey.

Course & Distance. refr^t July 4th 1804

N. 70° W.	1	M ^l on L. S. pass ^d a Bayo: S. S. (1)
S. 45° W.	3	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. a sm ^l Is ^d on L. S.
N. 75° W.	$\frac{1}{4}$	M ^l on S. S.
N. 40° W.	6	M ^{ls} on S. S. ps ^d a prarie & Creek (2)
N. 12° E.	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	M ^s to p ^t on L. S. ps ^d a Sm ^l Is ^d L. S.
N. 10° E.	2	M ^s to p ^t on S. S. ops ^d oldvilg. (3) ps ^d Creek L.S.

15

July 5th Thursday 1804 —

Set out verry early, proceeded on near the bank where the old village stood for two miles, (swam the hors found a few days ago) passed Some bad Sand bars, The orrigan of this old village is uncertain M. de Bourgmont, a French officer who Comd^d a fort near the Town of the Missouris in about the year 1724 and in July of the Same year he visited this Village at that time the nation was noumerous & well disposed towards the french M^r Du Pratz must have been badly informed as to the cane oppos^d this place we have not Seen one Stalk of reed or cane on the Missouris, he States that

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the "Indians that accompanied M De Bourgmont crossed to the Canzes Village on floats of Cane"¹

Those people must have been very numerous at that time as M^r De B: was accompanied by 300 Warriors, 500 young people & 300 Dogs of burthen out of this Village

The Cause of those Indians Moveing over to the Kanzis river I have never learnt. We passed Some bad Sand bars, Situated parrellel to each other (1) The Boat turned twice on the quick Sand & once on a raft of Drift, No prouveable damage the Prarie continu on the high land on the L. S. passd a Small Creek (2) on L. S. in the first bend to the L. S. I call Yellow Oaker [Ochre — ED.]. Creek from a quantity of that Mineral in a bank a little above

The river continu to fall a little. I observe great quantity of Summer & fall Grapes, Berries & Wild roases on the banks. Deer is not so plenty as useal, great Deel of Elk Sign. (Wind from S. E.)

Course Distance & refer^s July 5.

N. 35° E	1 M ^l on S. S. ops ^d the pl ^e of old vilg.
S 56° E	2 M ^s to L. p ^t a eddey on L. S.
East	1 M ^l on L. S. Sev ^t Sand bars (1)
N 18° W	2 M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. ops ^d a prarie p ^d (2)
North	1 M ^l on the S. S.
S. 70° E	3 M ^s to p ^t of will ^l on L. S.
	10

July 6th Friday —

We Set out early this morning, wind from the S. W. passed a large Sand bar in the 1st bend to the right. (1) passed a Small Island at the S. point. opposit the 3rd point we passed a Prarie on the S. S. called Reeveys Prarie at this place the river is confined in a very narrow Channel Crouded by a Sand bar from the L. Point, this Sand bar is very bad, at the 4th Point from the S. S. is a very extensive bar, at the Point of which is a Small Willow Island, this is called the *Grand Detour of [or] Great bend (great bend is higher up)*

¹ The "Relation du voyage" of Bourgmont, which is cited by Le Page du Pratz in his *Louisiane*, may be found in Margry's *Decouv. et etabl.*, vi, pp. 398-449. — ED.

I walked on this Sand bar and found the Sand was light, with collection of Small pebble, & Some Pit Coal I observe that the men Swet more than is common from Some cause, I think the Missouri Water is the principal Cause our hunters Sent in 3 Bucks to day The river Still fall a little

Course Distance & refer^t July 6th

N. 58° E	1	M ^t on L. S. ops ^d a Sand bar
North	3	M ^t a p ^t on S. S. an Is ^d (1)
N. 10° W.	$\frac{1}{4}$	M ^t on S. S. of Island
S. 76° E	$\frac{3}{2}$	M ^t on S. S. ps ^d h ^d of Isl ^d a Sand bar
S. 60° E	$1\frac{3}{4}$	M ^t to a Willow p ^t on L. S.
N. 70° E	$1\frac{1}{2}$	M ^t over a Sand bar L. S. op. Prarie (2)
N 50 W	1	M ^t on the L. S. pas ^d a Sand bar
West	3	M ^t to a p ^t on S. S. a Sand & (3) Is ^d

12

July the 7th Saturday 1804—

Set out early passed Some Swift Water, which obliged us to draw up by roapes, a Sand bar at the point; opposit a butifull Prarie on the S. Side call^d (1) S^t Michul, those Praries on the river has verry much the appearence of farms from the river Divided by narrow Strips of woodland, which wood land is Situat^d on the runs leading to the river. passed a Bluff of Yellow Clay above the Prarie. Saw a large rat on the bank.¹ Killed a Wolf. at 4 oClock pass a verry narrow part of the river water conf^d in a bend not more than 200 yards wide at this place the Current runs against the L. Side. No Sand to Confine the Current on the S. S. passed a Small sand Island above, the Small Isl^d Situated at the points, in low water forms a part of the Sand bars making out from those points Incamped on the S. S. at 7 oClock a violent Ghust of Wind from the N. E with Some rain, which lasted half an hour (G D. informs me that he Saw in a Pond on the S. S. which we passed yesterday, a number of young Swans , one

¹ The wood-rat (*Neotoma floridana*), unknown to science until thus discovered by Lewis and Clark. Its identification is furnished by Gass, who says that it has hair on its tail. — COVES (*L. and C.*, p. 40, note 86).

man verry sick, Struck with the Sun, Cap^t Lewis bled him
& gave Niter which has revived him much

Course Distance & reffr^t July 7th

N. 40° E.	2	M. on the S. p ^t over a Sand bar.
N. 76° E.	3	M ^s to a p ^t on the L. S. a S ^d bar
N. 50° E.	1 3/4	M ^s to a prairie on S. S. (1)
N. 30° W.	1	M ^t on the L. S. a Bluff on S. S.
N. 76° W.	1/4	M ^t on the L. S.
S. 66° E.	2	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. a Sand bar
N. 74° W.	1 1/2	M ^s on the S. S. ops ^d a yellow cliff
N. 45° E.	1/2	M ^t on the S. S.
N. 70° E.	2	M ^s to a p ^t on L. S. a Sand bar
	14	

July the 8th Sunday 1804

Set out early passed a Small Creek on the S. S. and two (1) Small Islands on the S. S. five men Sick to day with a violent head ake &c. We made some arrangements as to provisions & Messes, Came to for Dinner at the lower point of a very large Island Situated near the S. S. after a delay of two hours we passed a narrow Channel of 45 to 80 yds wide five miles to the Mouth of (3) *Nadâwâ* [now Nodaway] River, This river Coms in from the North and is navagable for Perogues Some distance. it is about 70 yards wide a little above the mouth, at the mouth not so wide, the mud of the Gut running out of the Missouri is thrown and Settles in the Mouth half a mile higher up this Channel or gut is the upper point of the Said Island, This Island is Called Nadawa, & is the largest I have Seen in the river, containing 7 or 8000 acres of Land Seldom over flowed we Camped at the head of this Island on the S. S. opposit the head of our Camp is a Small Island near the Middle of the river, river Still falling. our flank party did not join us this evening

Course Distance & Refr^a July 8th

N. 28° E	1	M ^l on L. p ^l — a Sand bar
N. 10. W	1½	M ^l to Low p ^l of Little Nadawa Is ^d S. S.
N. 25. W.	3	M ^l to a p ^l on L. S. pass ^d 2 Is ^{ds} (1)
N. 56. W.	1½	M ^l to L. p ^l of Big Nadawa Is ^d (2)
West	¼	M ^l on the left of the Island
S. 10° W	¼	M ^l to p ^l on the S. S.
N. 25. W	¼	M ^l to p ^l on the Island
N. 40. W	¼	M ^l to a bend on the on the S. S.
N. 70. W	½	M ^l to do do do S. S.
S. 70. W	¼	M ^l to do do do Island
N. 82. W	½	M ^l to do do do do
N. 42. W	½	M ^l to do do do S. S.
S. 50. W	½	M ^l to do do do Island
N 60. W	¼	M ^l to do do do do
N 18. W	¼	M ^l to do do do S. S.
N 38. W	½	M ^l to do do do S. S.
S 20. W	½	M ^l to do do at the Mo. of Nadawa (3)
S 15. W	¼	M ^l to do do do Island
S 80. W	¼	M ^l to do on S. S. ops ^d the head of Is ^d
	12¼	

*Detachment Orders.**Nadarwa Island July 8th 1804.*

[Orderly Book; Lewis:]

In order to insure a prudent and regular use of all provisions issued to the crew of the *Batteaux* in future, as also to provide for the equal distribution of the same among the individuals of the several messes, The Commanding Officers do appoint the following persons to *recieve, cook, and take charge of* the provisions which may from time to time be issued to their respective messes, (*viz*) John B. Thompson to Serg^t Floyd's mess, William Warner to Serg^t Ordway's Mess, and John Collins to Serg^t Pryor's Mess.

These *Superintendants of Provision*, are held immediately responsible to the commanding Officers for a judicious consumption of the provision which they recieve; they are to cook the same for their several messes in due time, and in such manner as is most wholesome and best calculated to afford the greatest proportion of nutriment; in their mode of cooking they are to

exercise their own judgment; they shall also point out what part, and what proportion of the mess provisions are to be consumed at each stated meal (i. e.) morning, noon and night; nor is any man at any time to take or consume any part of the mess provisions without the privity, knowledge and consent of the Superintendent. The superintendent is also held responsible for all the cooking utensels of his mess. in consideration of the duties imposed by this order on Thompson, Warner, and Collins, they will in future be exempt from guard duty, tho' they will still be held on the royster for that duty, and their regular tour shall be performed by some one of their respective messes; they are exempted also from pitching the tents of the mess, collecting firewood, and forks poles &c for 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.

M. LEWIS
W^m CLARK

[Clark:]

July 9th Monday 1804—

one man Sent back to the river we passed last night to Blase [notch] a tree with a View to notify the party on Shore of our passing Set out and passed the head of the (1) Island which was Situated opposit to our Camp last night a Sand bar at the head (2) ops^d this Island a Creek or Bayaue coms in from a large Pond on the Starboard Side, as our flanking party saw great numbers of Pike in this Pond, I have laid it down with that name anex'd, at 8 oClock the wind Shifted from the N. E. to S. W. and it commenced raining. (3) at Six Miles passed the mouth of Creek on the L. S. called Monter's [Mountain's] Creek, about two mile above is some Cabins where our Bowman & Several frenchmen Camp^d two years ago¹ (4) passed an Island on the S. S. in a Bend of the river opposit some Clifts on the L. S. the Wind Shifted to the N W opposit this Island and on the L. Side, (Loup) or *Wolf River* coms in, this river is about 60 yards wide and heads with the

¹ Floyd here remarks: "Passed a prarie on the South Side whare several French famileys had setled and made Corn Some Years ago Stayed two years the Indians Came Freckently to See them and was very frendley." — Ed

waters of the Kansis, and is navigable for Perogues "Some distance up" Camped at a point on the L. S. opposit the head of the Island, our party was incamped on the Opposit Side, their not answering our signals Caused us to Suspect the persons Camped opposit to us was a War party of Soux, we fired the Bow piece to alarm the party on Shore, all prepared to oppose if attacked

Course Distance & refr^s July 9th 1804

N. 60° W	1½	M ^s to up. p ^t of Is ^d ps ^d a Creek S S (1) (2)
S 20° W	3½	M ^s to p ^t S. S. ps ^d p ^t & Sand bar S. S.
N 82° W	3½	M ^s to p ^t S. S. ps ^d sand, & a Creek L. S. (3)
N 68° W	5½	M ^s to p ^t L. S. pa ^d Wolf R. L. S. ops ^d Is ^d (5)

14

July 10th Tuesday 1804 —

Set out early this Morning and cross^d the river with a view to See who the party was that Camped on the other Side, we soon discovered them to be our men, proceeded on passed a Prarie on the L. S. at 4 Miles passed a creek L. S. called (1) *Pappie* [*Pape's Creek*] after a man who killed himself at its mouth, this Creek is 15 yds wide (2) Dined on an Is^d called *de Salamin* [*Solomon's Island*]. Delayed 3 hours on this Island to recruit the men opposit on the L. S. is a butifull bottom Plain of about 2000 acres (3) covered with wild rye & Potatoes [*ground apple pomme de terre*],¹ intermix't with the grass, We camped on the S. S. opposit a yellow Clay Clift, Cap^t Lewis killed to young Gees or Goslings this evening. The men of the party getting better, but much fatigued. The river on a stand. The bottom is verry extensive on the S. S. and thickly interspered with Vines.

The High Land approaches near the river on the L. S. and well timbered next to the river, back of those hills the Plains commence.

¹ Apparently the plant here referred to was *Psoralea esculenta*, the tubers of which had long been used as food by the Indians and voyageurs of the Northwest. — Ed.

Course Distance & refr^s July 10th

N. 80° W.	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	M ^s to p ^t S. S. pass ^d a Sand bar
N 19° E.	2	M ^s to p ^t L. S. ps ^d a Creek (1)
North	$\frac{3}{4}$	M ^t to Low p ^t of an Isl ^d (2)
S. 80° W.	$\frac{3}{4}$	M ^t to p ^t on Left of an Is ^d ops ^d Pra (3)
N 50 W.	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	M ^s to p ^t on L. S. passed S ^d bar
N 83 W.	2	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. Is ^d (5)
	<u>10</u>	

July 11th Wednesday 1804—

Set out early passed a Willow Island (1) in a bend on the S. S. back of this Island a Creek coms in called by the Indians *Tar-ki-o* I went on Shore above this Creek and walked up parrelel with the river at about half a mile distant, the bottom I found low & Subject to over flow, Still further out, the under groth & vines wer So thick that I could not get thro: with ease after walking about three or 4 miles I observed a fresh horse track where he had been feeding I turned my course to the river and prosud the track and found him on a Sand beach This horse Probably had been left by Some party of Otteaus hunters who wintered or hunted in this quarter last fall or Wint^r I joined the party on a large Sand Island imedeately opposit the mouth of *Ne Ma how* [*Nemā-hāw*] River, at which place they had Camped, this Island is Sand about half of it covered with Small Willows of two different kinds, one narrow & the other a Broad Leaf. Several hunters sent out to day on both Sides of the river, *Seven* Deer killed to day, Drewyer killed six of them, made some Luner observations this evening.

Course Distance & refr^s July 11th

N. 30° W	3	M ^s to the head of a Willow Is ^d (1) in a bend to S. S.
West	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	M ^s to Low ^t p ^t of a Sand Is ^d on the S. S. ps ^d p ^t S. S. (2)
North	$\frac{1}{4}$	M ^t on the N. Side of Is ^d & Camped.
	<u>6</u>	Miles

July 12th Thursday 1804 —

Concluded to Delay here to day with a view of taking equal altitudes & making observations as well as refreshing our men who are much fatigued. after an early Brackfast I with five men in a Perogue assended the River *Ne-Ma-haw* about three [2] Miles to the Mouth of a Small creek on the Lower Side, here I got out of the Perogue, after going to Several Small Mounds in a leavel plain, I assended a hill on the Lower Side, on this hill Several artificial Mounds were raised, from the top of the highest of those Mounds I had an extensive view of the Serounding Plains, which afforded one of the most pleasing prospect I ever beheld, under me a Butifull River of Clear Water of about 80 yards wide Meandering thro: a leavel and extensive meadow, as far as I could See, the prospect much enlivened by the few Trees & Srubs which is bordering the bank of the river, and the Creeks & runs falling into it, The bottom land is covered with Grass of about 4½ feet high, and appears as leavel as a smoth surface, the 2^d bottom [*the upper land*] is also covered with Grass and rich weeds & flours, interspersed with copses of the Osage Plumb, on the rising lands, Small groves of trees are Seen, with a numbers of Grapes and a Wild Cherry resembling the common Wild Cherry, only larger and grows on a small bush on the tops of those hills in every direction, I observed artifical Mounds (or as I may more justly term graves) which to me is a strong evidence [*indication*] of this Country being once thickly Settled. (The Indians of the Missouri Still keep up the Custom of Burying their dead on high ground) after a ramble of about two miles about I returned to the perogue and decended down the river, gath^d Som *grapes* nearly ripe, on a Sandstone Bluff about ¼ of a Mile from its mouth on the Lower Side I observed some Indian Marks, went to the rock which jucted over the water and marked my name & the day of the month & year. This river heads near one of the (see note) villages of the Pania [*Pawnee*] on the River Blue [*Blue River*], a branch of the *Kansas River*. above this river about half a mile the Prarie comes to the *Missouri*, after my return to Camp on the Island

completed Some observations. Tri[e]d a man (W. C.) for Sleeping on his Post & inspected the arms amunition &c. of the party found all complete, Took Some Luner Observations. three Deer killed to day.

Lat^d 39° - 55' - 56'' N.

[Orderly Book; Lewis:]

Camp New Island July 12th 1804.

A Court ma[r]tial consisting of the two commanding officers will convene this day at 1 Ock. P.M. for the trial of such prisoners as may be brought before them; one of the court will act as Judge Advocate.

M. LEWIS
W^m CLARK

[Clark:]

The Commanding officers, Cap^l M. Lewis & W. Clark constituted themselves a Court Martial for the trial of such prisoners as are *Guilty of Capatal Crimes*, and under the rules and articles of *War* punishable by DEATH.

Alexander Willard was brought foward Charged with "*Lying down and Sleeping on his post*" whilst a *Sentinal*, on the Night of the 11th Instant" (by John Ordway Sergeant of the Guard)

To this Charge the prisoner pleads *Guilty of Lying Down, and Not Guilty, of Going to Sleep.*

The Court after Duly Considering the evidence aduced, are of oppinion that the *Prisoner Alex^d Willard* is guilty of every part of the Charge exhibited against him. it being a breach of the *rules* and articles of *War* (as well as tending to the probable distruction of the party) *do Sentience* him to receive *One hundred lashes, on his bear back, at four different times in equal proportion.* and Order that the punishment Commence this evening at Sunset, and Continue to be inflicted (by the Guard) every evening untill Completed

W^m CLARK
M. LEWIS

[Clark:]

July 13 - Friday 1804

Set out at Sun rise, and pros^d on under a gentle Breeze, at two Miles passed the mouth of a Small river on the S. S. called by the Indians *Tar-ki-o*,¹ a channel running out of the river three miles above (which is now filled up with Sand) runs into this Creek and formed a Island Called *S^t. Josephs* Several Sand bars parralel to each other above. In the first bend to the left is Situated a Butifull & extensive plain, cover'd with Grass resembling Timothy except the Seed which resembles *Flax* Seed, this plain also abounds in Grapes of defferent kinds Some nearly ripe, I Killed two Goslings nearly Grown, Several others Killed and cought on Shore, also one old Goose, with pin fethers, she Could not fly. at about 12 Miles pass^d a Island Situated in a bend on the S. S. above this Island is a large Sand bar Covered with willows, The wind from the *South*, Camped on a large Sand Bar making out from the L. S^t opposit a high handsom *Prarie*, the *hills* about 4 or 5 Miles on S. S. this plain appeard extensive, the Clouds appear to geather to the N. W. a most agreeable Breeze from the South (I walked on Shore on the S. S. the lands are low Subject to overflow)

Last night at about 10 oClock a Violent Storm of wind from the N. N. E which lasted with Great violence for about one hour, at which time a Shower of rain Succeeded.

Course Distance & Reff^s: July 13th

N. 8° E.	1	M ^t to p ^t on S. S. ps ^d S ^t Isl ^d
N. 28° E	3½	M ^t to p ^t on L. S. ps ^d Riv. & Is ^d (1)
S 70° W	3	M ^t to p ^t on S. S. ops ^d a prarie (2)
N. 46° W.	1½	M ^t on S. S. ops ^d the Prarie & a Hill
N. 30° W.	1½	M ^t to a p ^t on L. S.
N. 45° W.	4½	M ^t to a p ^t on L. S. ps ^d an Is ^d (3)
N. 66° W.	3½	M ^t to a p ^t on S. S.
N. 8° W.	2	M ^t to a p ^t on L. S. a Sand Is ^d
20½ Miles		

¹ The Big Tarkio, according to Biddle; this is also its present name. — ED.

The men on Shore did not join us this after noon. The river nearly on a Stand the high lands on the S. S. has only been seen at a Distance above the Nordaway River, those on the L. S. approaching the river at every bend, on the Side next to the river well timbered, the ops^d Side open & the Commencm^t of Plains.

July 14th Saturday 1804 —

Some hard Showers of rain this morning prevented our Setting out untill 7 oClock, at *half past Seven*, the atmisp^f became Suddenly darkened by a black and dismal looking Cloud, at the time we were in a Situation (not to be bettered,) near the upper point of the Sand Island, on which we lay, and the opposit Shore, the *bank* was falling in and lined with snags as far as we could See down, in this Situation the Storm which pass^d over an open Plain from the N. E. Struck the our boat on the Starb^d quarter, and would have thrown her up on the Sand Island dashed to pices in an Instant, had not the party leeped out on the Leward Side and kept her off with the assistance of the anker & Cable, untill the *Storm* was over, the waves washed over her windward Side and she must have filled with water if the *Lockers* which is [had not been — ED.] covered with *Tarpoling* & threw of the Water & prevented any quantity getting into Bilge of the Boat In this Situation we Continued about 40 Minit. when the Storm Suddenly Seased and the river become Instancetaneously as Smoth as Glass.

The two *perogu[e]s* during this Storm was in a Similar situation with the boat about half a mile above. The wind shifted to the S. E. & we Sailed up passed a Small (1) Isld Situated on the S. S. and Dined & continued two hours, men examine their arms about a Mile above this Island, passed a Small Tradeing fort on the S. S. where, M^r Bennet of S^t Louis Traded with the Otteaus & Panis two years. I went on Shore to Shoot Some Elk on a Sand bar to the L. S. I fired at one but did not get him, Went out into a large extensive bottom the greater part of which over flows, the part that dose not over flow, is rich and well timbered, Some Small

open Praries near the hills, the Boat passed the lower part of a large Island Situated on the S. S. above the Lower point of this Island on the S. S. a (2) large Creek Coms into the river called by the *Maha's* [*Mahar*] Indians *Neesh-nah-ba-to-na* (Neësh-näh-bā-to-na) 50 yds. this is a Considerable Creek, nearly as large as the Mine River, and runs parrilel with the Missouri, the Greater part of its course. In those small Praries or Glades I saw wild Timothy, lambs-quarter, Cuckle burs,¹ & rich weed. on the edges Grows Sum^r Grapes, Plum's, & Goose berries. I Joined the boat which had Came to and Camped² in a bend oppos^d the large Island before mentioned on the L. S. Several men unwell with *Boils*, *Felons*, &c. The river falls a little.

Course Distance & Reffer^s July 14th

N. 70° W.	2	M ^t to a point on S. S. a Sm ^t Is ^d S. S. (1)
N. 22° W	2	M ^t to a p ^t L. S. wind Shift N. W. by N.
N. 30° W.	1	M ^t on the L. S.
N. 50 W	2½	M ^t to Low ^t p ^t of an Is ^d S. S.
N. 87 W	1½	M ^t to a p ^t on S. Side of Is ^d ps ^d a Creek (2)

9

July 15th Sunday —

a heavy Fog this morning prevented our Setting out before 7 oClock, at nine I took two men and walked on the L. S. I crossed three butifull Streems of running water heading in the Praries on those Stroom the lands verry fine covered with pea vine & rich weed the high Praries are also good land Covered with Grass entirely void of timber, except what grows on the water, I proceeded on thro those praries Several Miles to the Mouth of a large Creek on the L. S. called (?) [*Little*] *Nema har* this is a Small river, about 100 y^ds above the Mouth it is 40 yards wide, at the mouth (as all other Creeks & rivers falling into the Missouri are) much narrower than a litle distance up. after continuing at the mouth of

¹ Cockle-burs (*Xanthium strumarium*). "Lamb's-quarter" is *Chenopodium album*, a succulent weed often used as "greens." — COUES (*L. and C.*, p. 46, note 103).

² We encamped on the north side of this island, a little above Nishnabotona. — BIDDLE (i, p. 26).

this Creek about an hour, I swam across and proceeded on about 3 miles and halted to wait for the boat, which was some distance below. In all this days march thro woods & Praries, I only Saw three Deer & 3 fawns. I had at one part of the Prarie a verry extensive view of all the Countrey around up and down the river a Considerable distance, on the Larb^d S^d one continued Plain, on the S. S. Some timber on the bank of the river, for a Short distance back of this timber is a bottom Plain of four or five miles back to the hills and under the hills between them & the river this plain appeared to extend 20 or 30 miles, those Hills have but little timber, and the Plain appears to Continue back of them. I saw Great quantities of Grapes, Plums of 2 kinds, Wild Cherries of 2 Kinds, Hazelnuts, and Goosberries.

We Camped in a point of woods on the Larboard S. ops^d a large Island.

Course Dist^s & ref^s July 15th 1804

N. 30° W	{	3½	M ^t to a p ^t on a Willow Is ^d on the L. S. passed the head of the large Is ^d on S. S. (1)
N. 70° W	{	¼	of a M ^t to L. p ^t on S ^d Is ^d the boat Passed to the L. S. Hills projects to river
N. 89° W.	{	¼	of a m ^t to a p ^t of S ^d Is ^d the Hills here leave the river.
N. 88° W.	{	¼	of a Mile to a p ^t on main Shore L. S. opposit a Sand bar. took Med ⁿ alt ^d ⊙ L. L.
West	{	1¼	M ^t to a p ^t on S. S. opposit to which the hills again touch the river.
N 45° W.	{	1½	M ^t to the Mouth of <i>Ne-ma-bar</i> creek in a bend to L. S. (2) ops ^d Low p ^t of S ^d bar.
N. 30° E	{	2	M ^t to a pt. on L. S. a Deep bend to the right below the p ^t
N. 15° E.	{	¾	M ^t to the lower p ^t of a Is ^d east of this Is ^d is Said to be a Pond.
		9¾	

July 16th Monday 1804—

Set out this morning verry early and proceeded on under a gentle breeze from the S passed the upper point of the Island, an extensive Prarie on the L. S. passed a large (1)



FORT PIERRE in the distance

Island Called *Fair Sun* Is^d a Small Willow Isl^d at the lower point on the L. S., the boat pass^d on the L. S. of those Islands Several Small Sand Islands in the Channel, the Boat run on the point of a Snag, (2) passed a place above the Island, L. S. where about 20 acres of the hill has latterly Sliped into the river, above a clift of Sand Stone for about two miles, the resort of burds of Different kinds to reare their young. (5) Passed a Willow Island in a Deep bend to the S. S. opposit the river is about two miles wide, and not very Deep as the Snags may be Seen across, scattering, passed the Lower point of an Island called by F, *Chauvin* [*Chauve Island*]¹ Situated off the L. Point opposit an extensive Prarie on the S. S. This Prarie I call *Ball* [Bald — E.D.] *pated Prarie*, from a range of Ball Hills parrelel to the river & at from 3 to 6 miles distant from it, and extends as far up & Down as I can See. We Camped in a point of Woods on the S. S. above the Lower point of the Island. river falling.

Course Distance & ref^t July 16th

N. 70° W.	1/2	M ^l to a p ^t on the left of the Is ^d oppos ^d
N. 35° W.	1 1/2	M ^l to a bend L. S. in Prarie ops ^d h ^d of Is ^d
N 30° E	1	M ^l to to the Low ^t p ^t of Wil: Is ^d off L. p ^t (1)
N. 40° W	1/4	M ^l to p ^t on sa ^d Island
N. 30° W.	2	M ^l to a p ^t S. of a Sm. Is ^d on S. S. ps ^d p ^t L. S.
N. 15° E.	1 1/2	M ^l to p ^t of Good Sun Is ^d ps ^d W Is ^d (2)
N 35° W.	1/2	M ^l to L. S. Sm: W: Is ^d ps ^d a Sm. W: Is ^d (3)
N. 15° W	3/4	M ^l on L. S. High Land Ne ^t Shore
N. 38° W	3/4	M ^l to p ^t Left of Is ^d ps ^d Sm. W: Is ^d L. S.
N. 54° W	3/4	M ^l to p ^t Sm. W. Is ^d on the S ^d of the Is ^d
N. 38° W	3/4	M ^l to p ^t L. S. took Md ⁿ alt ^d Lat. 40°: 20' - 12".
N. 52° W	1/2	M ^l to p ^t of the Is ^d ops ^d High Land.
N. 50° W.	1 1/4	M ^l to p ^t on L. S. above h ^d of Is ^d (4)
N. 58° W.	2	M ^l to p ^t on S. S. ps ^d Sand Stone Clifts
North.	1/4	M ^l on the S. point
N 40° E	6	M ^l to the up ^t p ^t of a wood in the bend to the S. S.
	20 1/4	above the Low ^t Point of a Isl ^d L. S. a prarie above & Som ball Hills at ab ^t 4 M ^l (I call ^d Ball Hill Prarie)

¹ The Biddle text says (i, p. 27), "called by the French l'Isle Chance [a misprint for Chauve], or Bald Island." — Ed.

July 17th Tuesday 1804 Bald pated Prarie —

We concluded [to] lay by at this place to day to fix the Latitude & Longitude of this place (to Correct the cronometer run down Sunday) Several men out by day light hunting, Cap^t Lewis concl^d to ride out to *Neesh-nah-ba-to-na* Creek which passes under the ball hills near this place and at one place a little above this Camp is within 300 yards of the Missouri on this Creek grows Some few trees of oake Walnut & Mulberry.

I took Meridean altitude of \odot L. L. ($43^{\circ} 27''$) which made the Latitude $40^{\circ} - 27' - 5'' - \frac{4}{10}$ North. Wind from the South E. Several of the party much inflicted with *tumers* of different kinds, Som of which is verry troublesom, and dificcelt to cure. Cap^t Lewis returned in the evening, he Saw Som handsom COUNTRY, & Says that the aforesaid Creek is rapid muddy and running. This Creek which [*where he saw it*] is at 10 or 12 from its mouth, within 300 yd^s of the river [*Missi*] is at least 25 [*16*] foot Lower than the river.¹ The high Lands from our Camp in this *Bald Pated Prarie* bears N 25° W. up the R.

Took equal altitudes

A. M. 7 h - 10 m - 8 s	P. M. 4 h - 4 m - 38
“ - 15 - 28	“ - 6 - 3
“ - 52 - 55	“ - 7 - 24
Altitude $69^{\circ} - 36' - 00''$	

Took Suns Azmoth, with Comp^s & Sextent & Time

<i>1st Set</i>		
Comp ^s	altid.	Time
N. 85° W.	= $28^{\circ} . 51' . 45''$.	= $5^h . 23^m . 10^s$

<i>2^d Set.</i>		
N. 84° W.	= $26^{\circ} - 35' - 30''$	= $5 - 59 . 20$

observed the Moon \subset & Spica * Star West

¹ The Biddle text says, “at least six feet below the level of the Missouri.” — ED.

Made	Time	distance
	8 - 53 - 11	41° - 50' - 00"
	" - 59 - 0	" - 53 - 15
	9 - 2 - 58	" - 54 - 0
	" - 5 - 49	" - 55 - "
	" - 8 - 2	" - 56 - "
	" - 15 - 24	" - 57 - "
	" - 21 - 10	" - 58 - "
	" - 25 - 18	42 - 0 - 0

The Common Current taken with a Log runs 50 fathom in 40" — Some places much Swifter, in 30" and even 20 Seconds of time. five Deer Killed to day

July 18th Wednesday 1804 —

a fair morning the river falling fast. Set out this morning at Sun rise under a Gentle Breeze from the S E. by S passing over the Prarie, at about 3 Miles we passed the head of the Island L. S. called by the French *Chauve* or *Bald pate* opposit the middle of (1) this Island the creek on the S. S. is nearest the river. In high water an Island is formed in the bend above the last (2). Measured the Current and found that in forty one Seconds it run 50 fathom but little timber is to be Seen except in the Low points on Islands & on creeks, the Groth of timber is generally Cotton Mulberry Elm Sycomore &c. &c. passed a Island on the 2^d point to the S. S. opposit the water (3) when high passes out in the Plain. oppsed this Island on the L. S. the hills jut to the river (4) this Hill has Sliped from the top which forms a Bluff above & 200 foot above the water, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile in length & about 200 feet in Depth, has Sliped into the river, it is Composed of Sand Stone intermixed with an indiffer! Iron ore near the bottom or next to the water is a Soft Slate Stone, Some pebble is also intirmixt. We passed a verry bad Sand bar and incamped on the L. S. at the lower point of the Oven Islands & opposit the Prarie, Call^d by the french *Four le tourtere* [*Baker's Oven*]. Saw a Dog nearly Starved on the bank, gave him som meet, he would not follow, our hunters killed 2 Deer to day.

Course distance & refer^t: July 18th

- N. 28° W. $3\frac{3}{4}$ M^l to a Curve in the bank passed a bend of the Is^d (& Several Sand bars (1)
 S 28° W $3\frac{3}{4}$ M^l to p^t on S. S. ps^d the head of the Is^d on L. S. (one back in bend (2)
 S. 32° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ M^l on S. p^t ps^d a Sand bar
 S. 88° W $\frac{1}{4}$ M^l on S. S. Wind S. W.
 N 55° W $\frac{1}{4}$ M^l on S. S.
 N. 48° W $2\frac{1}{2}$ M^l to a p^t on L. S. ps^d a Sand bar L. S.
 N 64° W $2\frac{1}{2}$ M^l to a p^t on S. S. low banks on L. S. (2) an Is^d S. S. (3)
 N 50° W 3 M^l to a p^t on S. S. ops^d a red bank on L. S. Some Iron (4)
 N. 8° E $\frac{1\frac{1}{2}}{18}$ M^l to p^t on L. S. ops^d a Small Isl^d in the river one (above (5)

The Creummoter too Slow 6 minits 51 seconds & $\frac{6}{10}$ altitude of the North Star * last night at 10 h - 23 m - 18 s was 81° - 9' - 15".

July 19th Thursday 1804 —

Set out early passed between two small Islands, one in the Middle of the river, the other close on the L. S. opposit a prarie S. S. called (1) by the french *Four le tourtre*, The Bakers oven Islands. passed (2) Some high clift $4\frac{1}{2}$ Miles above the Islands on the L. S. of yellow earth passed Several Sand bars, that [*were*] wide and at one place very Shallow (two Small butifull runs falls into the river near each other at this Clift, a Deer Lick 200 yards up the Lowest of those runs head at no great distance in the plains and pass thro: Scirts [*skirts*] of timber to the river. In my walk on Shore I found Some ore in the bank above those runs which I take to be Iron ore. (3) at this place the Side of the hills has sliped about half way into the river for $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile forming a Clift from the top of the hill above. In the first bend to the right passed a Small Island a Sand bar opposit, worthy of remark as We approach this great River *Platt* the Sand bars much more numerous and the quick or moving Sands much worst than they were below at the places where Praries approach the river, it is very wide those places being much easier to wash & under mine than the Wood Land's. (4) passed a Willow

Is^d situated near the middle of the river, and a large Sand making out from the S. S. a Deep bend to the L. S. we camped at the head of this Island on the Starboard Side of it,¹ Hunters Killed Two Deer. Saw great numbers of young Gees, River falling a little.

Course Distance & refⁿ July 19th

North		$\frac{1}{4}$	of a M ^l to Low ^t p ^t of a Is ^d L. S. (1)
N 10° W		$1\frac{1}{4}$	M ^l to p ^t on L. S. sand bar ps ^d Is ^d (1)
N. 45° W		1	M ^l on the L. S. a sand bar on S. S.
N 85° W.		2	M ^l to p ^t on S. S. ops ^d High land (2)
N 82° W.		$3\frac{3}{4}$	M ^l to the Mo: of a run in bend L. S. (3)
N 13° W.		$2\frac{1}{2}$	M ^l to p ^t L. S. ps ^d slipe ^d bank (3)
			(a Island on S. S. a run L. S.
N 54° W.		3	M ^l to a p ^t on S. S. ops ^d Some Clifts pass ^d a
		$10\frac{3}{4}$	Wil ^o Is ^t in a Deep bend on the L. S. a Sand bar S. S. (4)

July 20th Friday 1804 —

a cool morning passed a large Willow Island (1) on the S. and the mouth of Creek about 25 yds wide on the L. S. called by the french *l'Eue que* [*L'Eau qui*] *pleure*, or the Water which cry's [*weeping water*], this Creek falls into the river above a Clift of brown Clay opposit the Willow Island, I went out above the mouth of this Creek and walked the greater part of the day thro: Plains interspersed with small Groves of Timber on the branches, and some scattering trees about the heads of the runs, I Killed a verry large yellow Wolf, The Soil of those Praries appears rich but much Parched with the frequent fires. after I returned to the Boat we proceeded around a large Sand bar making out from the L. S. ops^d a fountain of water coming out of a hill L. S. and affording water Sufficent to turn a mill. The Praries as far as I was out appeared to be well watered, with small Streems of running water Serj^t Pryor & Jo. Fields brought in two Deer this evening. a verry Pleasant Breeze from the N. W all night. river falling a little. It is worthey of observation to mention that our Party has been much healthier on the

¹ A little above the present site of Nebraska City, Neb. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 49).

Voyage than parties of the same number is in any other Situation. Tumers have been troublesom to them all.

Course Distance & ref^{ns} July 20th

N	18°	E	3	M ^s	to a p ^t on L. S. ps ^d a Wil: Is ^d on S. S. a Creek on L. S. (1)
N.	48°	E	2½	M ^s	to a p ^t on S. S. of an Isl ^d ops ^d the up ^r p ^t on 2 ^d Is ^d which is divided from it by a narrow Chan ^l a Deep bend to S. S.
N.	5°	W	3	M ^s	to a Lb ^d p ^t of an Island
North			6	M ^s	to the p ^t of an Is ^d on L. S. of sm.
N	18°	W	3½	M ^s	to a p ^t on L. S. high Land ps ^d the head of an Is ^d above is a large Sand bar on L. S. (2)
			18		

From this evenings encampment a man may walk to the Pani [*Pawnee*] Village on the S bank of the Platt River in two days, and to the *Otteaus* in one day,¹ all those Indians are Situated on the South bank of the Platt River, as those Indians are now out in the Praries following & Hunting the buffalou, I fear we will not see them.

July 21st Saturday 1804 —

Set out early under a gentle breeze from the S. E. proceeded on verry well, passed (1) a willow Island on the L. S. opposit a bad Sand bar, Some high lands covered with timber L. S. in this hill is limestone and semented rock of shels &c (2) in high water the opposit Side is cut thro: by several Small channels, forming Small Islands, a large Sand bar opposit the Hill, at 7 oClock the wind luled and it Commns'd raining, arrived at the lower Mouth of the Great River *Platt* at 10 oClock, (about 3 m^s above the Hill of wood land) the Same range of High land continus within ¾ of a mile of the Mouth below This Great river being much more rapid than the Missouri forces its Current against the opposit Shore. The Current of this river comes with great velocity roleing its Sands into the Missouri, filling up its Bead & Compelling it to in-croach on the S [*North*] Shore. we found great dificuelty in

¹ Gass mentions, as also living on the Platte, "the Loos [French, *Loup*], or Wolf Indians." — Ed.

passing around the Sand at the Mouth of this River. Cap^t Lewis and Myself with 6 men in a perogue went up this Great river Platt about 2 [*one*] Miles, found the Current very rapid roleing over Sands, passing through different Channels none of them more than five or Six feet deep, about 900 [*600*] yards Wide at the Mouth, I am told by one of our Party who wintered two winters on this river, that "it is much wider above, and does not rise more than five or six feet" Spreads very wide [*with many small islands scattered thro' it,*] and from its rapidity & roleing Sands Cannot be navigated with Boats or Perogues. The Indians pass this river in Skin Boats which is flat and will not turn over. The Otteaus a Small nation reside on the South Side 10 Leagues up, the Panies on the Same Side 5 Leagues higher up. about 10 Leagues up this river on the S. Side a Small river Comes into the Platt Called Salt River, "the water So brackish that it Can't be Drank at Some Seasons, above this river & on the North Side a Small river falls into the platt Called *Elk (Horn) River* this river runs Parralal withe the Missouri. at 3 miles passed a Small river on the L. S. Called *Papillion* or Butterfly C: 18 yd^t wide a large Sand bar off the mouth, we proceeded on to get to a good place to Camp and Delay a few days, passed around this Sand bar: and Cam^{pt} for the night on the L. S. a very hard wind from the N. W. I went on Shore S. S. and proceeded up one mile thro: high Bottom land open a great number of wolves about us this evening

Course Distance & Ref^s July 21st

- N. 22° W. 3½ M^s to a p^t S. S. opposit a P^t of High land on the L. S.
 N. 28° W. 6½ M^s to a p^t on S. S. ps^d a Naked p^t & Wil^d Isl^d (1)
 on the L. S. & a high p^t on L. S. (2)
 N. 39° W. 3 M^s to a p^t on S. S. just below the Platt river pass^d a
 p^t of High Land cov^d with wood L. S. a S^d bar
 near the S. S.
 N. 8° W 2 M^s to a point in the junction of the Platt & Missouri
 a very extensive [view — Ed.] up the Platt West
 & Missouri North Passed many Sand bars in the
 Mouth Platt river

15 M^s to Platt.

July 22nd Sunday 1804—

Set out verry early with a view of Getting Some Situation above in time to take equal altitudes and take observations, as well as one Calculated to make our party Comfortable in a Situation where they Could receive the benefit of a Shade. passed a large Sand bar opposit a Small river on the L. S. at 3 miles above Platt Called Papillion, or Butterfly Creek a Sand bar & a Willow Island opposit a Creek 9 M^s above the Platt on the S. S. Called *Morqueton* Creek Prarie on both Sides of the river, Came too and formed a Camp on the S. S. above a Small Willow Island, and opposit the first Hill which aproach the river on the L. S. and covered with timber of Oake Walnut Elm &c. &c.

This being a good Situation and much nearer the Otteaus town than the Mouth of the Platt, we Concluded to delay at this place a few days and Send for Some of the Chiefs of that nation, to let them know of the Change of Government the wishes of our government to Cultivate friendship with them, the Objects of our journy and to present them with a flag and Some Small presents.

Some of our Provisions in the French Perogue being wet it became necessary to Dry them a few days. wind hard from N W. five Deer Killed to day. the river rise a little.

The Course & Distance from the Plate river to Camp N. 15^o W. 10 Miles, ps^d 3 pts. L. S. & 2 p^s S. S.

CHAPTER II

FROM THE PLATTE TO VERMILION RIVER

Clark's Journal, July 23—August 24, 1804

[Clark:]

*Camp White Catfish Nine [10] Miles above the Platt River,
Monday the 23^d of July 1804—*

A FAIR morning Set a party to look for timber for Ores, two parties to hunt, at 11 o'clock Sent off George Drewyer & Peter Crousett with some tobacco to invite the Otteaus if at their town and Panies if they saw them, to come and talk with us at our Camp &c. &c. (at this Season the Indians on this river are in the Praries hunting the Buffalow, but from some signs of hunters, near this place & the Plains being on fire near their towns induce a belief that they this nation have returned to get some Green Corn or roasting Ears) raised a flag Staff Sund and Dried our provisions &c. I commence Copying a Map of the river below to Send to the P. [President—Ed.] U. S. five Deer Killed to day one man with a tumor on his breast, Prepared our Camp the men put their arms in order Wind hard this afternoon from the N. W.¹

July 26th Thursday

A M	7 h	33 m	32 s	P. M.	4 h	15 m	22 s
	"	34	55		"	16	51
	"	36	22		"	18	14

altitude given not put down

¹ The astronomical observations following, have been transferred to "Scientific Data."—Ed.

*White Catfish Camp 10 M^s above Platt
24th of July 1804 Tuesday—*

a fair day the wind blows hard from the South, the Breezes which are verry frequent in this part of the Missouri is cool and refreshing. Several hunters out to day, but as the game of all kinds are Scerce only two Deer were brought in. I am much engaged drawing off a map, Cap! Lewis also much engaged in preparing Papers to Send back by a perogue — which we intended to Send back from the river Platt¹ observations at this place makes the Lattitude 41° 3' 19" North.

This evening Guthrege Cought a *White Catfish*, its eyes Small & tale much like that of a *Dolfin*.

White Catfish Camp 25th of July Wednesday—

a fair morning Several hunters out to day, at 2 oClock *Drewyer* & *Peter* returned from the *Otteau* village, and informs that no Indians were at their *towns*, they saw Some fresh Signs of a Small party But Could not find them. in their rout to the Towns (which is about 18 miles West) they passed thro a open Prarie crossed papillion or Butterfly Creek and a Small butifull river which run into the Plate a little below the Town called *Corne de charf* [*corne de Cerf*] or *Elk Horn river* this river is about 100 yards wide with Clear water & a gravelly Channel. wind from the S. E. two Deer killed to day 1 Turkey Several Grous Seen to day.²

*Catfish which is White Camp—
26th of July Thursday 1804—*

the wind Blustering and hard from the South all day which blowed the clouds of Sand in Such a manner that I could not complete my pan [*plan*] in the tent, the Boat roled in Such a manner that I could do nothing in that, & was Compressed [*compelled*] to go to the woods and combat with the Mus-

¹ Coues here remarks (*L. and C.*, i, p. 54) : "Nothing was dispatched to Jefferson till Apr. 7, 1805" (that is, from Fort Mandan). — Ed.

² Biddle here gives (i, pp. 33, 34) an account of the various Indian tribes of that region — Oto, Pawnee, Arapaho, Kiowa, Comanche, etc. — Ed.

quetors, I opened the Tumer of a man on the left breast, which discharged half a pint [pint].

five Beaver Cough[*t*] near the Camp the flesh of which we made use of. This evening we found very pleasant. only one Deer killed to day. The countrey back from Camp on the S. S. is a bottom of about five mile wide, one half the distance wood & the bal^e plain high & Dry. The opposit Side a high Hill about 170 foot rock foundation Cov^d with timber, back & below is a Plain.

White Catfish Camp 10^{mi} above Platt 27th of July Friday, —

a small Shower of rain this morning, at 10 oClock Commence Loading the Boat & perogue, had all the ores completely fixed; Swam over the two remaining horses to the L. S. with the view of the Hunters going on that Side, after getting every thing complete, we Set Sale under a gentle breeze from the South and proceeded on, passed a Island (form^d by a Pond fed by Springs) on the L. S. of high Land covered with timber, in the 2nd bend to the right a large Sand Island in the river a high Prarie on the S. S. as we were Setting out to day one man Killed a Buck & another Cut his Knee very bad. Camped in a Bend to the L. Side in a coops [*copse*] of Trees, a verry agreeable Breeze from the N. W. this evening. I killed a Deer in the Prarie and found the Musquitors so thick & troublesom that it was disagreeable and painfull to Continue a moment still.

Course & Distance. refr^d July the 27th

North	1½	M ^s to a willow p ^t on the L. S.
West	2	M ^s to Sand p ^t on S. S. ops ^d a pond L. S.
N. 10° E.	3	M ^s to p ^t of W. L. S. ps ^d a large S ^d bar in the middle of the river
N. 8° W.	4	M ^s to a p ^t on S. S. ops ^d Some Mounds [Ottos village <i>old Ayaawaus v.</i>] on the L. S. ps ^d Bluff S. S.
N. 54° E.	4½	M ^s to a p ^t of wood land in a bend on L. S. ps ^d a
	15	p ^t S. S.

I took one man R. Fields and walked on Shore with a view of examoning Som Mounds on the L. S. of the river those

Mounds I found to be of Different high Shape & Size, Some Composed of sand some earth & Sand, the highest next to the river all of which covered about 200 acres of land, in a circular form, on the Side from the river a low bottom & small Pond. The Otteaus formerly lived here I did not get to the boat untill after night.

July the 28th Saturday 1804—

Set out this morning early, the wind from the N. W. by N. a Dark Smokey Morning Some rain passed at 1 ml. a Bluff on the S. S.¹ the first high land above the Nodaway approaching the river on that Side, a Island and Creek 15 yds. wide on the S. S. above this Bluff, as this Creek has no name call it Indian Knob Creek our party on Shore Came to the river and informs that they heard firing to the S. W. below² this High Land on the S. S. the Aiauway Indians formerly lived, below this old village about 5 miles passed Some Monds on the L. S. in a bend where the *Otteauze* Indians formerly lived, this Situation I examined, found it well situated for Defence, about 2 or 300 acres of Land Covered with Mounds

The flank came in & informed they heard two Guns to the S. W. the high land approaches in the 1st bend to the left, we camped on the S. S. below the point of an Island, G Drewyer brought in a *Missourie Indian* which he met with hunting in the Prarie This Indian is one of the few remaining of that nation, & lives with the Otteauz, his Camp about 4 Miles from the river, he informs that the 'great gangue' [body—BIDDLE] of the Nation were hunting the Buffalow in the Plains. his party was Small Consisting only of about 20 Lodges.³ [Blank space in MS.] Miles further another Camp where there was a french man, who lived in the nation,

¹ A trading post, called Fort Croghan, was afterward built at or near this bluff. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 61).

² The rest of this paragraph is crossed out by another pen, in the original MS. Biddle says that the Iowas "emigrated from this place to the river Des Moines." — Ed.

³ Floyd here says: "The Reason this man Gives of His being with So Small a party is that He Has not Got Horses to Go in the Large praries after the Buflovs but Stayes about the Town and River to Hunte the Elke to sporte thare famileys." — Ed.

this Indian appear'd Spritely, and appeared to make use of the Same pronouncation of the Osarge, Calling a Chief *Inea*

Cours. Distance & reffer^t July 28

- S. 32° E. 1 M^l on the L. Side to p^t of a Sand bar L. S.
 N. 10 W. ½ M^l on the L. S. a High Bluff on the Stab^t S. above the
 old village of the Aiaouez, this High land the 1st
 above *Nordaway* which aproaches the river S. S.
 N. 30° W. ½ on the L. Side
 N. 77. W. 3 M^l to a p^t on the L. S. ps^d an Is^d & Indian Knob
 Creek S. S.
 N. 60 W. 3 M^l to a p^t on the S. S. passed the aforesaid Island S. S.
 N. 60 W. ¾ on the S. S.
 N. 63. E 2 M^l to a point L. S. ops^d a Island in the M. river

10¾

July 29th Sunday 1804 —

Sent a french man *la Liberty* with the Indian to Otteauze Camp to envite the Indians to meet us on the river above. a Dark rainy morning wind from the W. N. W. rained all the last night. Set out at 5 oClock opposit the (1) Island, the bend to the right or S. S. within 20 feet of Indian knob Creek, the water of this Creek is 5 feet higher than that of the River. passed the Isld. we stoped to Dine under Some high Trees near the high land on the L. S. in a few minits Cought three verry large *Cat fish* (3) one nearly white, those fish are in great plenty on the Sides of the river and verry fat, a quart of Oile Came out of the surpolous fat of one of those fish (4) above this high land & on the S. S. passed much falling timber apparently the ravages of a Dreddfull harican which had passed oblequely across the river from N. W. to S. E. about twelve months Since, many trees were broken off near the ground the trunks of which were sound and four feet in Diameter, (2) about ¾ of a M^l above the Island on the S. S. a Creek coms in Called Boyers R. this Creek is 25 yards wide, one man in attempting to cross this Creek on a log let his gun fall in, R. Fields Dived & brought it up proceeded on to a Point on the S. S. and Camped.

Course Distance & Refr^s July 29th

North	$\frac{3}{4}$	of a Mile on the L. S. an Island on the right of the Course (1)
N. 80° W.	$\frac{1}{2}$	M ^s to a pt ^s on the L. Side passed Bowyers Creek S. S. (2)
N. 85° W.	2	M ^s to a Wood in a bend on the L. S. below a Hill
North	$\frac{3}{4}$	M ^s on the S. S. (3)
N. 11° E.	$3\frac{1}{2}$	M ^s to a tree in the bend S. S. passed a Harican (4)
N. 70° W.	$2\frac{1}{2}$	to a point of wood on the S. S. Camped S. S.
	<u>10</u>	

July 30th Monday 1804 —

Set out this morning early proceeded on to a clear open Prairie on the L. S. on a rise of about 70 feet higher than the bottom which is also a Prairie (both forming Bluffs to the river) of High Grass & Plumb bush Grapes &c. and situated above high water, in a small Grove of timber at the foot of the Riseing Ground between those two preraries, and below the Bluffs of the high Prairie we Came too and formed a Camp,¹ intending to waite the return of the frenchman & Indians. the white horse which we found near the Kanzus river, Died Last night

Course Distance &c. July 30th

S 82° W.	2	M ^s to a point of wood on the L. S. above a pt ^s on the L. S. and ops ^s one on S. S.
West	$\frac{1}{4}$	M ^s to the lower part of a Bluff & High Prairie on L. S.
	$\frac{3}{4}$	came too.

posted out our guard and sent out 4 men, Captⁿ Lewis & [I] went up the Bank and walked a Short Distance in the high Prairie this Prairie is Covered with Grass of 10 or 12 inches in high, Soil of good quality & at the Distance of about a mile still further back the Countrey rises about 80 or 90 feet higher, and is one Continued Plain as fur as Can be seen, from the Bluff on the 2^d rise imediately above our Camp, the most butifull prospect of the River up & Down and the

¹ This camp is quite near Fort Calhoun. — E. E. BLACKMAN (of Nebraska State Historical Society).

Country Ops^d presented it Self which I ever beheld; The River meandering the open and butifull Plains, interspersed with Groves of timber, and each point Covered with Tall timber, Such as Willow Cotton sum Mulberry, Elm, Sucamore Lynn & ash (The Groves contain Hickory, Walnut, coffee nut & Oake in addition) Two ranges of High Land parrelel to each other, and from 4 to 10 Miles Distant, between which the river & its bottoms are Contained. (from 70 to 300 feet high)

Joseph Fields Killed and brought in an Anamale Called by the French *Brarow*,¹ and by the Panies *Cho car tooch* this Anamale Burrows in the Ground and feeds on Flesh, (Prairie Dogs) Bugs & Vigatables "his Shape & Size is like that of a Beaver, his head mouth &c. is like a Dogs with Short Ears, his Tail and Hair like that of a Ground Hog, and longer; and lighter. his Interals like the interals of a *Hog*, his Skin, thick and loose, his *Belly* is White and the Hair Short, a white Streak from his nose to his Sholders. The toe nails of his fore feet is one Inch & $\frac{3}{4}$ long, & feet large; the nails of his hind feet $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Inch long, the hind feet Small and toes Crooked, his legs are short and when he moves Just sufficient to raise his body above the Ground He is of the Bear Species. We have his skin stuffed.

Jo. & R. Fields did not return this evening, Several men with verry bad *Boils*. Cat fish is caught in any part of the river Turkeys Geese & a Beaver Killed & Caught every thing in prime order men in high Spirits. a fair Still evening Great no. Musquitors this evening

July 31st Tuesday —

a fair Day three Hunters out, Took Meridian altitude made the Latt^d $41^{\circ} 18' 1'' 5 10 N$. R. & Jo. Fields returned to Camp they Killed 3 Deer; The Horses Strayed off last night. Drewyer Killed a Buck one inch of fat on the ribs, R. & Jo. Fields returned without any meet haveing been in persuit of the horses. The Indians not yet arrived. Caught

¹ Corruption of *blaireau*, French name of the badger (*Taxidea Americana*).—Ed.

a young Beaver alive which is already quite tame. Caught a Buffalow fish. The evening verry Cool, the Musqu[i]tors are yet troublesom.

August the 1st 1804—

a fair morning Despatched two men after the horses lost yesterday, one man back to the place from which the Messenger was Sent for the *Ottoes* to see if any Indians was or had been there sence our dept^r he return'd and informed that no person had been there Sence we left it. The Prarie which is situated below our Camp is above the high water leavel and rich covered with Grass from 5 to 8 feet high interspersed with cospse of Hazel, Plumbs, Currents (like those of the U. S.) Rasberries & Grapes of Dif^t Kinds. also producing a variety of Plants and flowers not common in the United States, two Kind of honeysuckle one which grows to a kind of a Srub Common about Harrodsburgh in Kentucky the other are not so large or tall and bears a flour in clusters short and of a light Pink colour, the leaves differ from any of the other Kinds in as much as the Lieves are distinct & does not surround the stalk as all the other kind do.

One Elk and three Deer Killed to day also two Beaver Cought

The wind rose at 10 oClock from the W. S. W. and blew a steady and agreeable Breeze all Day.

The Musquitors verry troublesom this evening in the bottom.

Took equal altitudes to day and the azmuth with the commencement of the A. M.

Time of alt'd

N. 86° E	A. M.	7 h . 52 m . 55 s	—	P. M.	3 h . 50 m . 42 s
	"	7 . 54 . 20	—	"	3 . 52 . 3
	"	7 . 55 . 47	—	"	3 . 53 . 31
The Altitude given 68° - 47' - 15"					

The Indians not yet arrived we fear Something amiss with our messenger or them.



HORSE RACING OF SIOUX INDIANS

August 2nd Thursday 1804 —

a verry pleasant Breeze from the S. E. The Two men Drewyer & Colter returned with the horses loaded with Elk, those horses they found about 12 miles in a Southerly Derection from Camp.

The Countrey thro which they passed is Similar to what we see from Camp. one Beaver & a foot [*of Beaver caught in trap*] Cought this morning

at Sunset M^r Fairfong (*Ottoe interpreter resident with them*) and a p^t of Otteau & Missourie Nation Came to Camp, among those Indians 6 were Chiefs, (not the principal Chiefs) Cap^t Lewis & myself met those Indians & informed them we were glad to see them, and would speak to them tomorrow, Sent them Some roasted meat, Pork flour & meal, in return they sent us Water *millions*. every man on his Guard & ready for any thing.

Three fat Bucks Killed this evening, the 4 qrs. of one weighed 147^{lbs}

August 3rd Friday 1804 —

Mad up a Small present for those people in perpotion to their Consiquence, also a package with a Meadle to accompany a Speech for the Grand Chief after Brackfast we collected those Indians under an owning of our Main Sail, in presence of our Party paraded & Delivered a long Speech to them expressive of our journey the wishes of our Government, Some advice to them and Directions how they were to conduct themselves. The principal Chief for the Nation being absent, we Sent him the Speech flag Meadel & Some Cloathes. after hering what they had to say Delivered a Medal of Second Grade to one for the Ottos & one for the Missourie and present 4 medals of a third Grade to the inferior chiefs two for each tribe.¹ (Those two parts of nations Ottos & Missouries now residing together is about 250 men the Ottoes composing 2, 3^d and Missouris 1, 3 part)

¹ The customary mode of recognizing a chief, being to place a medal round his neck, which is considered among his tribe as a proof of his consideration abroad. — BIDDLE (i, p. 38).

The names of the Chiefs made [*we acknowledged*] this day are as follows viz :¹

	Indian name		English sign ^{ts}
1 st	<i>We ár ruge nor</i>	Ottoe call'd	<i>Little Thief</i>
2	{ <i>Shõn gò tòn gõ</i>	“ “	Big Horse
	{ <i>We - the - à</i>	Miss : “	Hospitality
3	{ <i>Shon Guss càn.</i>	Ottoe	White horse
	{ <i>Wau pe ùh</i>	M.	
	{ <i>Ah hõ nting gǎ.</i>	M.	
	{ <i>Baza cou jà.</i>	Ottoe	
	{ <i>Ah hõ nē gǎ</i>	M.	

Those Chiefs all Delivered a Speech, acknowledging their approbation to the Speech and promising to pursue the advice & Directions given them that they were happy to find that they had fathers which might be depended on &c.

We gave them a Cannister of Powder and a Bottle of Whiskey and delivered a few presents to the whole, after giving a Br. Cth. [Breech Cloth] some Paint quartering & a Meadell to those we *made* Chiefs, after Cap^t Lewis's Shooting the air gun a few Shots (which astonished those natives) we Set out and proceeded on five miles on a Direct line passed a point on the S. S. & around a large Sand bar on the L. S. & Camped on the upper point, the Misquitors excessively troublesome this evening. Great appearance of wind and rain to the N. W. we prepare to rec^{ve} it, The man *Liberty* whom we Sent for the Ottoes has not Come up he left the Ottoes Town one Day before the Indians. This man has either tired his horse or lost himself in the Plains Some Indians are to hunt for him.

The Situation of our last Camp *Council Bluff*² or Handsom Prairie, (25 Days from this to *Santafee*) appears to be a very

¹ The diacritical marks over these names were added by other hands. Biddle gives the first name as Weahrushhah. He also states that these envoys asked the American officers to mediate between them and the Omaha, who were at war with them. — Ed.

² This is the origin of the name now applied to a city in Iowa opposite Omaha, Nebr.; but Coues thinks (*L. and C.*, i, p. 66) that the place of this council was higher up the river, on what was later the site of Fort Calhoun, in the present Washington Co., Nebr. He also calls attention to the well-known uncertainty and constant shifting of the Missouri's channels, rendering it difficult to identify historic points. — Ed.

proper place for a Trading establishment & fortification The Soil of the Bluff well adapted for Brick, Great deel of timber above in the two Points—many other advantages of a small nature. and I am told Senteral to Several nations viz. one Days march from the Ottoe Town, one Day & a half from the great Pania village, 2 days from the Mahar Towns, two $\frac{1}{4}$ Days from the *Loups* village, & convenient to the Countrey thro: which Bands of the Soux [*rove &*] hunt. perhaps no other Situation is as well Calculated for a Trading establishment.

The air is pure and helthy so far as we can judge.

Course of Aug^t 3rd

N. 5° E 5 M^t to a p^t on L. S. ps^d a p^t on the S. S. & a Sand bar L. S.

August 4th Saturday —

Set out early. (at 7 oClock last night we had a violent wind from the N. W. Some little rain succeeded, the wind lasted with violence for one hour after the wind it was clear screen and cool all night.) proceeded on passed thro between Snags which was quit across the River the Channel confined within 200 yards one side [*S. S.*] a Sand p^t the other a Bend, the Banks washing away & trees falling in constantly for 1 mile, above this place is the remains of an old Trading establishment L. S. where Pet^t Crusett one of our hands stayed two years & traded with the *Mahars* a Short distance above is a Creek (3) the out let of three Ponds, communicateing with each other, those Ponds or rether Lakes are fed by Springs & Small runs from the hills. (2) a large Sand Island opposit this Creek, Makeing out from the L. Point, from the Camp of last night to this Creek, the river has latterly changed its bed inroaching on the L. Side, on this Sand bar I saw great no^t of wild gees passed a small creek on the L. S. about 3 miles above the last both of those Creek's are out lets from the Small Lake which re[c]ive their water from the Small Streems running from the high land. great many *Pumey* stones on the Shore of various Sises the wind blew hard. *Reed* a man who went back to camp for his knife has not joined us. we camped at a Beaver house on the L. S. one Buck Killed to day.

Course Distance & ref^s 4th August 1804

- S. 80° W. $\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to an old Trading House on the L. S. passed a
S^d p^t from S. S. (1)
N. 25° W. $2\frac{1}{4}$ M^s to a Willow p^t on the L. S. pass a large Sand
Is^d & Creek on the L. p^t (3)
N. 70° W. $1\frac{3}{4}$ M^s to a willow p^t on the S. S. ps^d a sm: Creek L. S.
& many Snags
N. 24° W. $3\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to a willow p^t on the L. S. passed a Sand bar
from a S. p^t
S. 84° E. $3\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to a p^t on the L. S. passed a p^t on the S. S.

15

here the high Land is Some Distance from the river on both Sides, and at this place the High lands are at least 12 or 15 miles a part, the range of high land on the S. S. appear to contain Some timber. that on the L. S. appear to be intirely clear of any thing but what is common in an open Plain, Some Scattering timber or wood is to be Seen in the reveens, and where the Creeks pass into the Hill. the points and wet lands contain tall timber back of the willows which is generally situated back of a large Sand bar from the Points.

5th of August Sunday 1804. —

Set out early great appearance of wind and rain (I have observed that Thunder & lightning is not as common in this Country as it is in the atlantic States) Snakes are not plenty, one was killed to day large and resembling the rattle Snake, only something lighter. I walked on Shore this evening S. S. in Pursueing Some turkeys I [s]truck the river twelve miles below within 370 yards, the high water passes thro' this Peninsula, and agreeable to the customary changes of the river, I conclud [*should calculate*] that in two years the main current of the river will pass through. In every bend the banks are falling in from the current being thrown against those bends by the Sand points which enlarges and the Soil I believe from unquestionable appear^s of the entire Bottom from one hill to the other being the Mud or Ooze of the river at Some former Period mixed with Sand and Clay easily

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melts and Slips into the River, and the mud mixes with the water & the Sand is washed down and lodges on the points. Great quantities of Grapes on the banks, I observe three different kinds at this time ripe, one of the no. is large & has the flavor of the Purple grape, camped on the S. S. the Musquitors verry troublesom. The man who went back after his knife has not yet come up, we have some reasons to believe he has Deserted.

Course Distance & Refr^d August 5th

S. 60° E	1 ½	M ^e Cross ^e a large S ^d bar to a p ^t on m ^a S. S ^d bet: a willow Is ^d in S. Bend
N. 20 W.	¾	M ^e to a p ^t above a Sa ^d bar ops ^d the upper point of the S ^d Island (Beaver
N. 34 W.	3 ¼	M ^e to a p ^t on the L. S. passed one on the Starboard Side
North	¾	M ^e to a p ^t on the right of a Sand Is ^d makeing from the L. p ^t
S. 45° W.	3 ¼	M ^e to 3 small trees in Prarie & bend to the L. S. passed a Sand p ^t S. S.
N. 45° W.	4 ½	M ^e to a p ^t on S. S.
North	1 ¼	M ^e on the S. S. to the p ^t of a Sand bar river narrow
N. 70° E	¼	M ^e on the Sand bar S. S.
S. 30 E	2	M ^e to the p ^t of a Sand bar making out from the L. p ^t ps ^d a Sand.
S. 30 E	½	M ^e on the point
N. 45° E	2 ½	M ^e to the lower point of an Island Close to the S. S. behind this Island on the S. S. the <i>Soldiers</i> river disimboques itself.
	20 ½	

6th August, Monday 1804 —

At twelve oClock last nigh[t] a violent Storm of wind from the N. W. Some rain, one p^t of colours lost in the Storm from the bige Perogue. Set out early and proceeded on passed a large Island on the S. S. back of this Is^d Soldiers River Mouths, I am told by one of the men that this river is about the size of Nadawa river 40 yards wide at the mouth. Reed has not yet come up. neither has La Liberty the frenchman whome we Sent to the Indian Camps a few miles below the *Council Bluffs*.

Course Distance &c. August 6th

N. 30° E.	1	M ^l to a p ^l on L. S. opposit the mouth of Soldiers River S. S.
N. 15° E.	3½	M ^s to a p ^l in a bend to the S. S. below a chan ^l of the river laterly filled up passed a Sand bar. from the L. p ^l
West	2½	M ^s to a willow p ^l on the L. S. passed a Sand bar making out from the from the L. p ^l
S. 50° W.	3½	M ^s to a p ^l of willows on the S. S. the high land within 3 miles of the river on the L. S.
N. 10° W.	½	M ^l on the S. p ^l a Sand bar in R.
N. 18° E.	3	M ^s passing over a Sand bar on the L. S. to a p ^l on the Same side of the Missouri.
North	1½	M ^s to a p ^l on the S. S.
N. 18° W.	½	M ^l on the Sand from the P ^l
East	3	M ^l to a p ^l of willows on L. p ^l passed a place where the snags were thick
N. 16° E.	1½	M ^s to a p ^l on the S. S. and a place where the river for-
	20½	merly run leaving ponds in its old Channels S. S.

7th August Tuesday 1804—

last night at 8 oClock a Storm from the N. W. which lasted $\frac{3}{4}$ of an hour set out late this morning wind from the North. at 1 oClock dispatched George Drewyer, R. Fields, W^m Bratten & W^m Labieche back after the Deserter reed with order if he did not give up Peaceibly to put him to Death &c. to go to the Ottoes Village & enquire for La Liberty and bring him to the Mahar Village also with a Speech on the occasion to the Ottoes & Missouries, and drecting a few of their Chiefs to come to the Mahars, & we would make a peace between them & the Mahars and Souex, a String of Wompom & a Carrot of Tobacco. proceeded on and Camped on the S. S.

Course Dist^s & remarks Aug^t 7th 1804.

North	2	M ^s to a p ^t of Willows on the L. S.
N. 25° W.	½	M ^s on the L. p ^t
N. 45° W.	1½	M ^s on the L. p ^t of a S ^t bar.
S. 12° E.	2½	M ^s do do.
S. 70° E.	½	M ^s to the Willows on the S. S.
N. 36° W.	2½	M ^s to a p ^t of Willows on the L. S. a large Sand [bar — Ed.] make in out
N. 73° W.	3	M ^s to a p ^t of Willows on the S. S. I went thro to to the next bend up a Bayou. S. S. form'g two Is ^{ds} I call Detachment Is ^s
N. 83° E.	2½	M ^s to a p ^t of Cotton Wood L. S. Ps ^t Sand bar from L. p ^t
N. 32 W.	1½	M ^s to a Sand p ^t from the S. p ^t
N. 12° E.	½	M ^s to the Willows on the S. S.

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8th August Wednesday 1804

Set out this morning at the usual time at two miles passed (1) a bend to L. S. choaked up with Snags our boat run on two in turning to pass through, we got through with Safty the wind from N. W. (2) passed the mouth of a River on the S. Side called by the *Soux Indians Éa-neáh W'au de pon* (or Stone river) the French Call this river. *Petite Rivere de Cuoux (riviere des sioux)*. it is about 80 yards wide and as (M^r Durion Says whos been on the heads of it and the Country ab^l) is navagable for Perogues Some Distance runs Parrelel to the Missouri some Distance, then falls down from N. E. thro a roleing Country open, the head of this river is 9 miles from the R Demoin [*Desmoines*] at which place the *Demoin* is 80 y^d Wide, this Little Cuoux passes thro a lake called Despree [*D'Esprits*] which is within 5 Leagues of the *Deemoin* the Said Lake is about 20 Leagues in circumfrance and is divided into 2 by two rocks approaching verry near each other, this Lake is of various wedth, containing many Islands. from this Lake to the Maha 4 days march, as [and?] is Said to be near the Dog Plains one principal branch of the Demoin is Called Cat River. The Demoin is Sholey.

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Cap Lewis took Med^o altitude of the Sun made it $56^{\circ} - 9' - 00''$ Lat: $41 - 42 - 34$ and I took one man and went on Shore the man Killed an Elk I fired 4 times at one & did not kill him, My ball being Small I think was the reason, the Musquitors so bad in the Praries that with the assistance of a bush I could not keep them out of my eyes, the boat turned Several times to day on Sand bars. in my absence the boat passed a Island 2 Miles above the litle Scouix R on the upper point of this Isld Some hundreds of Pelicans were collected, they left 3 fish on the Sand which was very fine, Cap Lewis Killed one, & took his dimentions, I joined the boat and we Camped on the S. S. worthie of remark that Snakes are not plenty in this part of the Missourie.

Course Dist^s & reff^s 8th Aug^t

N. 20 ^o	E. 2	M ^s to the p ^t of a S ^d Is ^d from the S. S.
N. 50	E. 2	M ^s to a p ^t of Wil ^s on the L. S.
East	$\frac{1}{2}$	M ^s on the right of a Sand Island
North	$1\frac{1}{2}$	M ^s to the mouth of Little River desioux Call ^d by Soux <i>Ea neab-wau de pon</i> (Stone River)
N. 70 ^o	W. 2	M ^s to the Lower p ^t of Pelican Is ^d (3)
N. 20 ^o	W. 1	M ^s to a right Hand p ^t of S ^d Is ^d
N. 52	W. $\frac{7}{16}$	M ^s to a P ^t of high woods in a bend to L. S. have- ing pass ^d the Pelican Is ^d

one & a half miles South of Little Riv. de Cououx took half altitude with Sextⁿ

Time		
8 h - 26 m - 59 s	}	alt ^d $80^{\circ} - 14' - 15''$
8 - 28 - 29		
8 - 30 - 3		

9th August Thursday 1804—

The fog being thick detained us untill half pas^d 7 oClock at which time we Set out and proceeded on under Gentle Breeze from the S. E. I walked on Shore, Saw an Elk, crossed a Istmust of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to the river, & returned to the boat Camped on the L. S. above a Beaver Den. Musquitors very troublesom.

Course Distance & refs Aug^t 9th

N. 30°	E.	2½	M ^t to a Point of a Sand Bar on the L. S.
N. 32.	W.	1	M ^t to a p ^t of high wood on L. S.
N. 22.	W.	2½	M ^t to a p ^t of high wood on the S. S. a large Sand bar from it
N. 15.	W.	2	M ^t to a p ^t of high Land L. S. ops ^d to which the river laterly cut thro' Saving 6 Leagues. S. S.
N. 46°	W.	1½	M ^t to a Willow p ^t on the S. S.
N. 35.	W.	2	M ^t to the S. S. the river comeing gradually around to the Rig ^t
N. 60°	E.	2½	M ^t to a Willow p ^t on the L. S.
N. 44.	W.	3½	to a point on S. S.
		<u>17½</u>	

10th August Friday 1804 —

Set out early this morning. Course

N. 60°	W.	2	miles about to a Sand making out from the Larboard point.
S. 80	W.	½	m ^t to a Drift log on the Sand this place is called Coupee ar Jacke ¹ the river laterly Cut through, Saving Sev ^l m ^t
S. 18°	E.	2½	M ^t to the S. S.
S. 20	W.	2½	M ^t to a burnt Stump in a bend to the L. S. this place I was at yesterday.
West		3½	M ^t to 2 Cottonwood trees at the mouth of a run on the L. S. near the high land & below a Bluff.
N. 40°	W.	1½	to a cliff of yellow Sand stone the first high land touching the river above the Council Bluff.
N. 52°	W.	1½	M ^t to the p ^t of a Sand bar from the Starboard p ^t passed the Cliff L. S.
N. 79°	E.	3	M ^t to a p ^t of Willows on the L. S.
N. 29.	E.	½	M ^t on the L. P ^t
North		1½	M ^t to a sand bar from the L. p ^t
N. 68.	W.	¾	M ^t on the Sand bar from L. p ^t
N. 85.	W.	2½	M ^t to the lower p ^t of a willow island near the S. point.
		<u>22¼</u>	

¹ This is Coupee a Jacques, in Biddle's text. — ED.

from this Island the high hill which the Late King of the Mahars was buried on is high and bears West 4 miles. we camped on this Island.

Musquitos verry troublesom. much Elk & Beaver Sign

11th August Saturday 1804. —

about day light this morning a hard wind from the NW. with Some rain proceeded on around the right of the Is^d

S. 52° W. ½ a Mile on the Sand p^t

N. 25 W. 2 M^{ls} to a p^t of low Willows from the L. S. pass^d the Is^d & a Sand bar making from the S. point.

N. 72 W. 2¼ M^{ls} to a P^t on the S. S.

a hard wind accompanied with rain from the S. E. after the rain was over, Cap^t Lewis myself & 10 men assended the Hill on the L. S. (under which there was some fine Springs) to the top of a high point where the *Mahars King Black Bird* was burried 4 years ago. [Died of small pox]¹ a mound of earth about 12 [feet — BIDDLE] Diameter at the base, & 6 feet high is raised over him turfed, and a pole 8 feet high in the Center on this pole we fixed a white flage bound with red Blue & white, this hill about 300 feet above the water forming a Bluff between that & the water of various hight from 40 to 150 feet in hight, yellow soft Sand stone from the top of this Nole the river may be Seen Meandering for 60 or 70 miles, we Decended & set out N. 24 W. ½ M^l passing over a Sand bar on the S. p^t along the willows to the river opposit a Small Beyeau on the L. S. which is the Conveyance of the high water from a bend which appears near in a northerly derection, haveing passed a Creek in a Deep bend to the L. S. Called by

¹ Brackenridge gives (*Louisiana*, pp. 229, 230) an interesting account of this chief, who gained an unlimited ascendancy over the tribes of that region by his possession of some arsenic, by which he threatened death against any one who opposed him. Irving describes (*Astoria*, p. 161) the burial of this chief upon his horse. His skull was carried away by George Catlin in 1832, and is now in the U. S. National Museum (*Smithsonian Report*, 1885, ii, p. 263). — Ed.

the *Mahars Wau can di Pecche* (Great Spirit is bad) on the Creek & Hills near it about 400 of the *Mahars* Died with the Small Pox

Took Medⁿ altitude & made the Lat^d $42^{\circ} . 1' . 3'' S_{10}$ N. also the *Moons Distance from the Sun*

P. M.	Time			.	.	Distance		
	H.	M	S			O	M	S
	1	13	45	.	.	73	-	6 - 45
	"	16	48	.	.	73	-	6 - 0
	"	18	39	.	.	"	-	6 - 0
	"	20	55	.	.	"	-	7 - 45
	"	22	25	.	.	"	-	8 - 30
	"	24	24	.	.	"	-	9 - 30
	"	25	45	.	.	"	-	9 - 30
	"	27	43	.	.	"	-	10 - 45
	"	29	33	.	.	"	-	11 - 30
	"	31	30	.	.	"	-	12 - 00

S 81° E $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles to the beginning of a point of willows on the L. Side
 N. 84° E. 6 Miles to a high wood above a Prarie on the S. S. opposite a Sand point

N. 22° E. $1\frac{1}{4}$ to a p^t of willows on the L. S.

North $1\frac{3}{4}$ to a Cotton tree in a bend to the Starboard Side passed
 Miles $\frac{17}{17}$ a Sand bar on the L. S. & Camped¹

the Musquitoes verry troublesom, Great Nos. of Herrons. this evening.

I have observed a number of places where the River has onced run and now filled, or filling up & growing with willows & Cottonwood.

12th August, Sunday 1804 —

Set out early under a gentle Breeze from the South the river wider than usual and Shallow

(1) at 12 oClock we halted to take a meridean alt^d of the *Sun* & Sent a man *back* or I may Say across to the Bend of the

¹ Near the present Badger Lake, Monona Co., Ia. — COUES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 73).

river where Cap^t Lewis took the Mdⁿ altitude yesterday, to Step off the distance, he made it 97 $\frac{1}{4}$ yards across, the Distance around the bend is 183 $\frac{3}{4}$ miles. about 4 miles above this bend on the L. S. is the Commencement of a Bluff which is about 4 miles extending on the river, of yellow and brown Clay in Some parts in it near the water a Soft Sand Stone is imbeded on the top (which is from 20 to 150 feet above the water, & rises back) is Covered with timber, a few red Ceeder is on this Bluff, the wind coms round to the S. E. a *Prarie Wolf* come near the bank and Barked at us this evening, we made an attempt but could not git him, the animale Barkes like a large *ferce* Dog. Beaver is verry Plenty on this part of the river. I prepare Some presents for to give the Indians of the *Mahars* Nation. Wiser ap^t Cook & Supent^{dt} of the Provisions of Serg^t Floyds Squad. We Camped on a Sand Island in a bend to the S. S. Musquitors verry troublesom untill the wind rose. at one or 2 oClock

Course Distance &c. August 12th

N. 45° W. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to a p^t of willows on the L. S.
 S. 42 W. $\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to a Sand on the L. point
 S. 22. E. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ to a p^t making out from the Larb^d S. passed the
 Timber L. S.
 N. 78. W. 3 M^s to a p^t of willows on the L. S.
 S. 68. W. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to a Grove of Cotton Trees in the bend L. S. (1)
 N. 49. W. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to a p^t on the S. Side ops^d a Bluff passed a p^t at
 1 M^s on S. S. some at 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ on L. S.
 N. 12° W. 3 M^s to a p^t on S. S. ops^d a Bluff
 N. 46. E. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$ M^s to a Sand Island in the Bend to S. S. (Camped)
 20 $\frac{1}{4}$

August 13th Monday 1804—

Set out this morning at Light the usual time and proceeded on under a gentle Breeze from the S. E.

- N. 66° W. $2\frac{3}{4}$ M^s to a p^t of Low willows on the S. S. a bar making out. passed [to] the S^d
- N. 11° W. $5\frac{1}{4}$ to a p^t of Cotton Wood. in a Bend to the S. S. passed over the p^t of a Sand bar from L. S.
- S. 44° W. $2\frac{1}{2}$ to a p^t on the S. S. opposit to the place M^t Ja: M^t Key had a trading house in 95. & 96. & named it Fort Charles¹
- West $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile to the P^t of willow Is^d on the S. point
- N. 50° W. 1 M^t to a point of high wood below the mouth of a Bayou communicating with a Pond L. S.
- N. 20° E. $2\frac{1}{4}$ M^h to a p^t of Willows on the L. S. passed a Creek at $1\frac{1}{2}$ M^h on which the Mahar village is Situated² a Sand bar on S. S. & one on L. S. having passed the Willow Is^d
- Nortn $\frac{1}{4}$ M^t on the Sand bar L. S.
- N. 69° W. $2\frac{1}{2}$ M^s to the upper Point of Some Cottonwood trees in a Bend to the L. S. opposit the lower p^t of a large Island Situated on the S. S.

we formed a Camp on a Sand bar on the L. S. & Detached Serg^t Ordway Peter Crusatt, George Shannon. Werner & Carrn. [Carson? —Ed.] to the Mahar Village with a flag & Some Tobacco to envite the Nation to See & talk with us on tomorrow. we took some Luner observation this evening. the air Pleasant.

14th August Tuesday 1804 —

a fine morning wind from the S. E. The men Sent to the Mahar Town last evining has not returned we Conclude to send a Spye to Know the Cause of their delay, at about 12 oClock the Party returned and inform^d us that they Could not find the Indians, nor any fresh Sign, those people have not returned from their Buffalow hunt. Those people haveing no houses no Corn or anything more than the graves of their ansesters to attach them to the old Village, Continue in pur-

¹ See *ante*, p. 50. — Ed.

² A little south of Dakota City, north of the Omaha Indian Reservation. The party encamped nearly opposit the present Omadi, Neb. — COVES (*L. and C.*, i, p. 74).

seute of the Buffalow longer than others who has greater attachments to their native village. The ravages of the Small Pox (which Swept off [*about 7 years ago*] 400 men & Womyn & children in perpopotion) has reduced this nation not exceeding 300 men and left them to the insults of their weaker neighbours, which before was glad to be on friendly turms with them. I am told when this fatal malady was among them they Carried their franzey to verry extraordinary length, not only of burning their Village, but they put their *wives* & children to *Death* with a view of their all going together to some better Countrey. they burry their Dead on the top of high hills and rais Mounds on the top of them. The cause or way those people took the Small Pox is uncertain, the most Probable, from Some other nation by means of a warparty.

*August 15th, Wednesday, 1804.¹
Camp three Miles N. E. of the Mahar Village*

I went with ten men to a Creek Damed by the Beavers about half way to the Village, with Some small Willows & Bark we made a Drag and hauled up the Creek, and Caught 318 fish of different kind i. e. Pike, Bass, Salmon, perch, red horse, small cat, and a kind of perch Called Silver fish, on the Ohio. I cought a Srimp prosisely of Shape Size & flavour of those about N. Orleans & the lower part of the Mississippi in this Creek which is only the pass or Streight from [one — Ed.] Beaver Pond to another, is Crouded with large Musstles verry fat, Ducks, Plover of different kinds are on those Ponds as well as on the river. in my absence Cap^t Lewis Sent Mr. Durione the Souix interpeter & three men to examine a fire which threw up an emence Smoke from the Praries on the NE. Side of the River and at no great distance from Camp. the Object of this party was to find Some Bands of Seouex which the intpt^r thought was near the Smoke and get them to come in. in the evening this Party returned and informed, that the fire arose from Some trees which had been

¹ With this entry Codex B commences, continuing until Oct. 3, 1804. — Ed.

left burning by a small party of Seoux, who had passed [by that place] Several Days. the wind Setting from that point, blew the Smoke from that pt over our Camp. our party all in health and Sperrits. The men Sent to the Ottoes & in pursute of the Deserter Reed has not yet returned or joined our party.

16th August Thursday 1804.

Fishing Camp 3 M N. E. of the Mahars.

a verry cool morning the wind as usual from the NW. Cap. Lewis took 12 men and went to the Pond & Creek between Camp and the old village and Cought upwards of 800 fine fish, 79 Pike, 8 salmon resembling Trout [8 fish resemb'g Salmon Trout] 1 Rock, 1 flat Back, 127 Buffalow & red horse 4 Bass & 490 Cats, with many Small Silver fish. (♂ Srimp) I had a Mast made and fixed to the Boat to day, the Party Sent to the ottoes not yet joined us. the wind shifted around to the S. E. every evening a Breeze rises which blows off the Musquitors & cools the atmispere.

17th August Friday 1804. —

a fine morning the wind from the S. E. I collected a grass much resembling Wheet in its grouth the grain like Rye, also Some resembling Rye & Barly. a kind of Timothey, the Seed of which branches from the main Stalk & is more like a flax Seed than that of Timothey.

at 6 oClock this evening *Labieche* one of the Party sent to the Ottoes joined, and informed that the Party was behind with one of the Deserters M. B. Reed and the 3 principal Chiefs of the Nations. La Liberty they cought but he deiced them and got away. the object of those Chiefs coming forward is to make a peace with the Mahars thro: us. as the Mahars are not at home this great Object cannot be accomplished at this time. Set the Praries on fire to bring the Mahars & Soues if any were near, this being the usual Signal.

a cool evening two Beaver cought to day.

18th August, Sat^y day 1804.—

a fine morning. Wind from the S. E. in the after part of the Day the Party with the Indians arriv^d we meet them under a Shade near the Boat and after a Short talk we gave them Provisions to eat & proceeded to the trial of Reed, he confessed that he “Deserted & stold a public Riffle Shot-pouch Powder & Ball” and requested we would be as favourable with him as we Could consistantly with our Oathes—which we were and only Sentenced him to run the Gantlet four times through the Party & that each man with 9 Swichies Should punish him and for him not to be considered in future as one of the Party. The three principal Chiefs petitioned for Pardin for this man after we explained the injurey such men could doe them by false representations, & explan’g the Customs of our Countrey they were all Satisfied with the propriety of the Sentence & was Witness to the punishment. after which we had Some talk with the Chiefs about the orrigan of the war between them & the Mahars &c &c. it Commenced in this way in two of the Misouries Tribes resideing with the Ottoes went to the Mahars to steel horses, the Killed them both which was a cause of revenge on the part of the Missouris & Ottoes, they also brought war on themselves Nearly in the same way with the Pania Loups, and they are greatly in fear of a just revenge from the Panies for takeing their Corn from the Pania Towns in their absence hunting this Summer. Cap L. Birth day the evening was closed with an extra gill of whiskey and a Dance untill 11 oClock.

19th August Sunday 1804.—

a fine morning wind from the S. E. prepared a Small Present for the Chiefs and Warriors present. the main chief Brackfast with us & beged for a Sun glass, those People are all naked, Covered only with Breech Clouts Blankets or Buffalow Roabes, the flesh Side Painted of Different colours and figures. At 10 oClock we assembled the Chiefs and warriors 9 in number under an ownig, and Cap. Lewis [we] explaind the Speech Sent to the Nation from the Council Bluffs by M^r Faufon. The 3 Chiefs and all the men or



FUNERAL SCAFFOLD OF A SIOUX CHIEF

warriors made short Speeches approving the advice & Council their great father had Sent them, and concluded by giving themselves some Credit for their acts.

We then brought out the presents and exchanged the *Big horses* Meadel and gave him one equal to the one Sent to the Little Thief & gave all Some Small articles & 8 Carrots of Tobacco, we gave one Small Meadel to one of the Chiefs and a Sertificate to the others of their good intentions.

Names.

The Little Thief	{ Gr ^d Chiefs I have mentioned before.
The Big Horse	
<i>Crows Head</i> (or)	<i>Kar Ka paba</i> – Missory
<i>Black Cat</i> (or)	<i>Ne na Sa wa</i> – do
<i>Iron Eyes</i> (or)	<i>Sar na no no</i> – Ottoe
<i>Big Ax</i> ¹ (or)	<i>Nee Swar Unja</i> – do
<i>Big Blue Eyes</i> –	<i>Star gea Hun ja do</i>
<i>Brave Man</i> (or)	<i>War sar Sha Co</i>

one of those Indians after receiving his Certificate deliv^d it again to me the *Big blue eyes* the Chief petitioned for the Ctft. again,² we would not give the Certf^t, but rebuked them verry roughly for haveing in object goods and not peace with their neighbours. this language they did not like

¹ In Biddle, "Big Ox." — Ed.

² The captains carried with them a large number of "Indian commissions," or certificates, on printed blanks measuring $7\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ inches, which they would fill out with the chiefs' names. These read as follows:

THOMAS JEFFERSON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

From the powers vested in us and by the above authority: To all who shall see these presents, Greeting:

Know YE, that from the special confidence reposed by us in the sincere and unalterable attachment of chief of the NATION to the UNITED STATES, as also from the abundant proofs given by him of his amicable disposition to cultivate peace, harmony, and good neighbourhood with the said States, and the citizens of the same; we do by the authority vested in us, require and charge, all citizens of the United States, all Indian Nations, in treaty with the same, and all other persons whomsoever, to acknowledge, and treat the said and his in the most friendly manner, declaring him to be the friend and ally of the said States: the government of which will at all times be extended to their protection, so long as they do acknowledge the authority of the same.

Having signed with our hands and affixed our seals
this day of 180

at first, but at length all petitioned for us to give back the Certificate to the Big blue eyes he came forward and made a plausible excuse, I then gave the Certificate [to] the Great Chief to bestow it to the most Worthy, they gave it to him, we then gave them a Dram and broke up the Council, the Chiefs requested we would not leave them this evening we determined to Set out early in the morning we Showed them many Curiosities and the air gun which they were much astonished at. those people beged much for Whiskey. Serjeant Floyd is taken verry bad all at once with a Biliose Chorlick we attempt to relieve him without success as yet, he gets worst and we are much allarmed at his Situation, all [give] attention to him.

20th August Monday 1804. —

Sergeant Floyd much weaker and no better. Made M^r Faufonn the interpter a few presents, and the Indians a Canister of Whiskey We Set out under a gentle breeze from the S. E. and proceeded on verry well. Serjeant Floyd as bad as he can be no pulse & nothing will Stay a moment on his Stomach or bowels. Passed two Islands on the S. S. and at the first Bluff on the S. S. Serj. 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 $\frac{1}{2}$ Mile below a Small river to which we Gave his name, he was buried with the Honors of War much lamented, a Seeder post with the (1) Name Serg^t C. Floyd died here 20th of august 1804 was fixed at the head of his grave.¹ 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

¹ The journal kept by Sergeant Floyd (which will be published in full in the present work) ends abruptly on August 18. He was buried at a spot which is now in the southern part of Sioux City, Ia. The inroads of the Missouri River having partly washed away Floyd's grave, his remains were reburied (May 28, 1857) in a safer place, some 200 yards back of the original grave; and on Aug. 20, 1895, the spot was marked with a slab. A monumental shaft to his memory was erected May 30, 1901. See *Reports of Floyd Memorial Association* (Sioux City, 1897, 1901). — Ed.

our Deceased brother we camped in the Mouth of floysd River about 30 yards wide, a butifull evening.

Course Dist^a & reff^r 20th Aug^t

N. 56° W. 3 M^a to p^t of a Willow Is^t S. S.
 North 3¼ m^l on the left of the Island
 N. 72. E. 2¼ M^a to the up^r p^t of the Is^d
 N. 18. E. 2½ M^a to the lower p^t of an Is^d on the S. S. passed Sand bars.
 North 3½ M^a to Sj Floysd Bluff on S. S. the 1st above Aiaways Village a few miles above Platt R.
 1 To the Mo. of Floysd River on S. S. and camped.

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21st August Tuesday 1804. —

We Set out verry early this morning and proceeded on under a gentle Breeze from the S. E. passed Willow Creek Small on the S. S. below a Bluff of about 170 feet high and one ½ M^a above Floysd River at 1½ Miles higher & above the Bluff passed the *Soues River* S. S. this River is about the Size of Grand river and as M^t Durrien our Soues intpt^t says “is navigable to the falls 70 or 80 Leagues and above these falls Still further, those falls are 20 feet or thereabouts and has two princpal pitches, and heads with the S^t peters [now Minnesota River—Ed.] passing the head of the Demoin, on the right below the falls a Creek coms in which passes thro Clifts of red rock which the Indians make pipes of,¹ and when the different “nations meet at those quaries all is piece.” [*a sort of asylum for all nations, no fight^t there*] passed a place in a Prarie on the L. S. where the Mahars had a Village formerly. the Countrey above the Platt R. has a great Similarity. Camp^d on the L. Side, Clouds appear to rise in the West & threten wind. I found a verry excellent froot resembling the read Current, the Strub on which it grows resembles *Privy* & about the Common hight of a wild plumb.

¹ The celebrated “Red Pipestone Quarry,” in Pipestone County, S. W. Minnesota; it was first described by George Catlin, who visited it in 1836; the stone (a red quartzite) was named in honor of him, “catlinitic.” See his *N. Amer. Inds.*, ii, pp. 160, 164-177, 201-206; and *Minn. Geol. Survey Rep.*, 1877, pp. 97-109. The stone is even yet worked, although in crude fashion, by the Sioux Indians. — Ed.

Course Distance & ref: 21st Aug¹

S. 82° E.	3	m ^{ls} to the Upper part of a Bluff below the Soues river on S. S. passed Willow Creek at 1½ M: S. S.
South	1¼	M ^{ls} to Lower p ^t of a Willow Island in the Middle of the River one on S. S. ops ^d .
S. 48. W.	1¾	m ^{ls} to the head of the Isl ^d passed Several Sand bars dividing the Current, Wind hard
West	2	M ^{ls} to a high wood on the L. S. passed a large Sand bar from the S. S. <i>River Wide</i> .
N. 36. W.	4	M ^{ls} to a Beyau in a bend to the L. S. above where the Mahars once had a Village a Sand bar in the Middle & S. S.
N. 18. E.	2	M ^{ls} to a p ^t of Willows on the L. S. wind hard from S. E.
N. 22° W.	¾	M ^{ls} on the L. S. ops ^d to which the Soues River is within 2 miles on the S. S.
S. 50. W.	¼	M ^l on the L. S.
S. 28. W.	2	M ^{ls} to a Willow p ^t on the S. S.
S. 78 W.	1½	m ^{ls} on the Sand bar on S. S.
N. 12. W.	2	M ^{ls} to a Willow p ^t on the L. S. passed a Sand bar.
S. 60. W.	1¾	m ^{ls} on the Sand bar on the L. Side.
South	2½	miles to Some low Willows on the S. S.
	24¾	

The two men Sent with the horses has not joined us as yet.

22nd August Friday 1804. —

Set out early wind from the South at three miles we landed at a Bluff where the two men Sent with the horses were waiting with two Deer, by examination this (1) Bluff Contained Alum, Copperas, Cobalt, Pyrites; a Alum Rock Soft & Sand Stone. Capt. Lewis in proveing the quality of those minerals was Near poisoning himself by the fumes & tast of the *Cobalt* which had the appearance of Soft Isonglass. Copperas & alum is verry pisen,¹ Above this Bluff a Small

¹ Biddle here says (i, p. 50): "The appearance of these mineral substances enabled us to account for disorders of the stomach with which the party had been affected since they left the river Sioux;" the men had used the water of the Missouri, on which floated a scum proceeding from these rocks. By dipping from below, and avoiding this scum, they obtained pure water, and their maladies soon ceased. — Ed.

Creek comes in from the L. S. passing under the Cliff for Several Miles, this Creek I Call Roloje a name I learned last night is M[]s (2) Seven Miles above is a Cliff of Allom Stone of a Dark Brown Col. Containing also incrusted in the crevices & shelves of the rock great qt. of Cobalt, Semented Shels & a red earth. from this the (3) river bends to the East and is within 3 or 4 miles of the River Soues at the place where that river Comes from the high land into the Low Prairie & passes under the foot of those Hills to its Mouth.

Capt. Lewis took a Dost of Salts to work off the effects of the arsenic, we camped on the S. S.¹ Sailed the greater part of this day with a hard wind from the S. E. Great deel of Elk Sign, and great appearance of wind from the N. W.

Course Distance & ref^s 22nd Aug^t

S. 47°	W.	1 1/4	M ^{ls} on the S. point
West		1 1/4	M ^{ls} to the lower point of a Bluff on the L. S. (1)
N. 18.	W.	2 1/2	M ^{ls} to a p ^t of high wood on the L. S. pass ^d a Creek (2)
N. 56.	W.	5 1/2	M ^{ls} to a Cliff on the L. S. ops ^d a p ^t pass'd a Sand bar on both sides of the river (3)
N. 54.	E.	2	M ^{ls} to a p ^t of Sand on the L. S. ops ^d the R. Soues is near the Missouri (4)
N. 48.	W.	6 1/2	M ^{ls} to a Tree in the Prarie on the S. S. ps ^d a pt. of Sand on the S. S. 2 Sand bars in the middle of the river.
		<u>19</u>	

ordered a Vote for a Serjeant to chuse one of three which may be the highest number. the highest numbers are P. Gass had 19 votes, Bratten² & Gibson.

¹ Near Elk Point, Union Co., S. Dakota. — ED.

² For such information as can be obtained about William Bratton, see Wheeler, *On the Trail of Lewis and Clark* (N. Y., 1904), pp. 112-116. Bratton died in 1841; a monument over his grave at Waynetown, Ind., records his share in the Lewis and Clark expedition.

For biography of Sergeant Gass, see J. G. Jacob's *Life and Times of Patrick Gass* (Wellsburg, Va., 1859); Coues's compilation therefrom, in his *Lewis and Clark*, 1, pp. xcix-cvi; and a sketch in *History of the Pan-Handle, West Va.* (Wheeling, 1879), pp. 346-349. — ED.

23rd August Thursday 1804 —

Set out this morning verry early the two men with the horses did not come up last night I walked on Shore & Killed a fat Buck. J. Fields Sent out to hunt Came to the Boat and informed that he had Killed a Buffalow in the plain a head. Cap. Lewis took 12 Men and had the buffalow brought to the boat in the next bend to the S. S. 2 Elk Swam the river, and was fired at from the boat R. Fields came up with the Horses and brought two Deer one Deer killed from the Boat. Several Prarie Wolves Seen to day Saw Elk Standing on the Sand bar. The Wind blew hard [*west*] and raised the Sands off the bar in Such Clouds that we Could Scercely [*see*] this Sand being fine and verry light Stuck to everry thing it touched, and in the Plain for a half a mile the distance I was out, every Spire of Grass was covered with the Sand or Durt.

We camped on the L. S. above a Sand Island, one Beaver Cought.

Course Distance & refs Aug^t 23rd

West	4	M ^{ls} to a Small run between two Bluffs of Yellow & Blue Earth. [<i>L. S.</i>]
North	3¼	M ^{ls} to Some timber in a bend to the S. S. pass ^d a Willow Island, a Sand Is ^d ops ^d ps ^d a p ^t of High Land S. S. at ¼ of M ^l
S. 48° W.	3	M ^{ls} to a p ^t of Willows on the S. S. having pass ^d the Sand bar on the L. point.

24th August Friday 1804. —

Some rain last night, a Continuation this morning, we Set out at the usual time and proceeded on the Course of last night, to the (1) Commencement of a blue Clay Bluff of 180 or 190 feet high on the L. S. Those Bluffs appear to have been laterly on fire, and at this time is too hot for a man to bear his hand in the earth at any Debth,¹ Great appearance of

¹ The heated bluffs here mentioned are ascribed by Coues (*L. and C.*, i, p. 84) to volcanic action; they were called by the French voyageurs *côtes brûlées*, or "burnt

Coal, an emence quantity of *Cobalt* or a Cristolised Substance which answers its description is on the face of the Bluff. Great quantities of a kind of berry resembling a current except double the Size and Grows on a hush like a Privey, and the Size of a Damsen deliciously flavoured and makes delitefull Farts, this froot is now ripe,¹ I took my Servent and a french boy and Walked on Shore, Killed Two Buck Elks and a fawn, and intersepted the Boat, and had all the Meat butchered and in by Sun Set at which time it began to rain and rained hard, Cap. Lewis & My self walk out & got verrey wet, a Cloudy rainy night In my absence the Boat Passed a Small (2) River Called by the Indians White Stone River this river is about 30 yards wide and runs thro: a Plain or Prarie in its whole Course In a northerley derection from the Mouth of this Creek in an emence Plain a high Hill is Situated, and appears of a Conic form, and by the different nations of Indians in this quarter is Suppose to be the residence of Deavels. that they are in human form with remarkable large heads, and about 18 Inches high, that they are very watchfull and are arm'd with Sharp arrows with which they Can Kill at a great distance; they are Said to kill all persons who are So hardy as to attempt to approach the hill; they State that tradition informs them that many Indians have Suffered by those little people, and among others three *Mahar* Men fell a sacrefise to their murceless fury not many Years Sence. So Much do the Maha, Soues, Ottoes and other neighbouring nations believe this fable, that no Consideration is Sufficient to induce them to approach the hill.

bluffs." Brackenridge, who was at this place in 1811, ascribes this phenomenon to the burning of coal (*Louisiana*, pp. 232, 233). — ED.

At Ionia, Dixon County, is found the Nebraska "volcano" or "burning hill." Though declining in activity, this hill was once an object of considerable interest, especially after freshets in the Missouri River. Though not visited personally, the smoking or steaming seems to be due to the decomposition of pyrite in the damp shales. It seems that sufficient chemical heat is produced to make the hill-top steam and even to fuse some of the sand and clay. It bears no relation whatever to a volcano. — ERWIN H. BARBOUR, geologist of University of Nebraska.

¹ Buffalo-berry, or beef-suet tree (*Fr. grasse de bœuf*), *Shepherdia argentea*. — ED.

Course Distance & ref. 24 Aug^t

S. 48°	W.	2¼	M ^{ls} to the Commencement of a Blue Clay Bluff of 180 or 190 feet high on the L. S.
West		1¾	M ^{ls} under the Bluff pass ^d two Small runs from the Bluff, those Bluffs have been latterly on fire & is yet verry hot. (1)
North		2	M ^{ls} to a point on L. S.
N. 10°	E.	¼	M ^{ls} to an object in the bend on S. S. an extensive Sand bar on the L. S.
N. 45°	W.	1½	M ^{ls} to the lower point of a small Willow Island.
West		1¼	M ^l to the upper point of a Sand bar Connected with the Island [<i>passed the Creek.</i> (2.)]
S. 40.	W.	2½	M ^{ls} to a Willow p ^t on the S. S.
		11½	

