

NEW NORTH-WEST¹

DEER LODGE CITY, FRIDAY, APRIL 8.

THE LEWIS & CLARK EXPEDITION

**First Exploration of the Great North-West,
by a Follower of their Landmarks.**

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.[?]² OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED
BY LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLAN, U. S. A., BEFORE
THE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SO-
CIETY AT FORT OWEN, MONTANA,
DEC 25TH, 1861, AND NOW

Published for the First Time.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I have deemed that an hour this evening might be appropriately spent in rehearsing the principal events and incidents, the object and results of the first and greatest expedition that has ever taken place across the American Continent, vis: that of Lewis and Clark.

RETROSPECTIVE

What memories arise, what associations spring up at the very mention of these noble men? What school-boy is not familiar with the movements of such bold pioneers towards our western ocean? Who within the sound of my voice has not read and re-read with pleasure the simple and unpretending narrative of their long, tiresome and marvelous journeyings [sic], their hair-breadth escapes and a life fraught with dangers and privations? The date and circumstances attending the starting of this Expedition are worthy a special remark, showing as they do that, even at the beginning of the present century, the disposition of our Government was to explore new and far distant regions at any cost, peril or danger. This was a period when we had but recently emerged from a Colonial condition, when our settlements were principally confined to the eastern slopes of the Alleghenies, and when the perils of a western frontier life at that that can be read in the present histories of Kentucky, Tennessee, Ohio, and Illinois. The bands of roving and ever savage Indian tribes still occupied the vast regions from the foot of the western water-shed of the Allegheny mountains to the summit of the Rocky range, and when their light bark canoes alone disturbed the still waters of the great Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio. This was a period when the axeman's stroke was for the first time heard in the great primeval forests of the west, and when the daily incidents and enactments in the lives of Daniel Boone, George Rogers Clarke and the frontiersmen of that day formed equally the topics of daily conversation and gossip in Cabinet sessions while grave affairs of State were being discussed. This was a period when France and Great Britain equal with ourselves were joint claimants to the vast domain extending from the Mississippi towards the setting sun, and only

limited by the bold waters of the Pacific on the west. This was a period when the great geographical and commercial centre of our nation, St. Louis, the starting point of the expedition, was the site of a small French village of rude frame tenements, and when its merchants were content with a barter of whiskey and powder for furs and peltries. This was a period when the mid and affairs of our citizens were rivetted [sic] upon home and the fireside where had sat their fathers and grandfathers before them. This was a period when the wild power of steam had not been caught and harnessed to the wheels and shafts and spindles of a commercial and manufacturing world, and when the electric pulse that by its ceaseless heatings[?] was to add a new life to a torpid world still lay slumbering in the womb of the future. It was a period when a new mould of the world's activity and ingenuity was to be cast, and when man was to demonstrate by his works of art and invention that the development of mind formed one of the great objects of man's habitation of the world. It was such a period of the world's history as this, therefore, in which destiny had determined that the broad and unknown region lying between the Alleghenies and the Pacific should be explored by the thousands of industrious citizens and aliens whose hands still clung to their own altars at home, and from whose feet had never fallen the dust of their own homesteads.

TERRA INCOGNITA

Before the cession of Louisiana to the United States by France in 1803, truly nothing was known of the great interior whence flow the Missouri, Mississippi and Columbia, the three great arteries of our country. No bold geographer had as yet threaded the long and tortuous windings of the two former and though speculation had oft[?] and for years asserted that a great river rose in the great rocky range and poured its tribute towards the western ocean, and which explorers at that day styled the great river "San Roque," it was now for the first time authentically proclaimed to the world that our majestic Columbia existed.

Expeditions by sea carried on under the flags of English, Spanish, Russian, and Mexican governments had coasted along our western shore from the tropics to the 60[?]th parallel of latitude, and though the coast was well marked and observed, still no parties were ever sent on shore to explore its great interior. Although Gray secured to us by the right of discovery the country through which the Columbia flows, yet he could tell us nothing of the interior save what he saw from the deck of the first vessel that was floated upon the waters of the river that now bears its noble name.

JEFFERSON'S VIEWS

When the former mystical river, San Roque was now no longer a subject of doubt or speculation, but when it was known that its waters had been drunk of, and its magnificence and importance proclaimed to the world, the prompt and sagacious Jefferson, who was then President of the United States, had determined in his own mind that the value of such a treasure should not only be secured to us, but should be appreciated by us by making known to the world through the efforts and labors of an American exploration the extent, character, and resources of that vast region watered by this great inland sea[?]. The first and greatest object with him was to secure it to us by a right and a title that was indisputable, not only for ourselves, but against all foreign nations who might de[????] to establish colonies in juxtaposition to our own territorial possession. It was contrary to the established principles of our government then as it is now to seek a war either with a foreign or neighboring [?????]

with the object of conquest in view, and hence to obtain from France the large Territory of Louisiana, that extended from the Mississippi to the Pacific, by conquest, was both a constitutional and political impossibility, and the only other [?????] left to us by which it might be secured[?] was by the title[?] of purchase. But upon this there existed, then as now, in the minds of our [?????] and leading statesmen grave doubts as to the constitutional right of Congress to make the purchase. And to show how the wiser and astute statesmen, the [?????] of the project and then the chief magistrate[?] of the nation, appreciated the national[?] importance to us of this [?????????], when the doubts were suggested to his own hand[?] relating to our right to make the purchase [?????????] authority [?????????] [?????] [????] Constitution. He recommended that all should[?] [????] [????] subject [????????] [????] [????????] by [????] [?????????] this[?] Constitution [????] [?????????] [?????] [?????????] [?????]. That [?????????] [?????????] [????????] [?????] [?????] doubts, and [????????], [?????], [?????????-ieted in his own mind at the duty[?] [????] the purchase they were all last right[?] of and possessions [????] [????????] [?????] [?????] [e?????ing] as his [????????] a[?] [?????] [?????] has given[?] [?????] {????????} [rest of line blurred] of industrious citizens, and placed us in possession of a treasure and a boon, the benefits of which, we appreciate the more as our country advances in growth and prosperity. Even before the cession was full and complete he sent in a special message to Congress on the 18th of January 1803, recommending that steps prompt and immediate be taken by our government to secure to us the knowledge of the extent and resources of this acquisition, and suggested the fitting[?] out of a well equipped and well organized expedition whose labors should only end when they reached the mouth of the great river Columbia, the source of which it was their duty to explore. These suggestions were promptly endorsed and as promptly acted upon, and full authority was given the President to hasten to the field a well armed and scientific to make known throughout its length and breadth the value of the territory of Louisiana and country to its west.

COMMANDERS OF THE EXPEDITION

The command of the expedition was given to Lewis and Clark, then Captains in the United States army. At the time Capt. Clark was the private Secretary of President Jefferson and in his entire confidence as to the full and final objects of this great inland exploration. His long service in the army and on the frontier had inured him to danger and privation, accustomed as he had been to meet and treat with the Indian bands them[?] occupying the country between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, and having, in the different positions which he had been called upon to occupy evinced a capacity equal to his duties, and holding towards the President of the United States the intimate and confidential position that he did, who could have been selected to command so important an expedition, who would have brought to the task greater advantages, higher recommendations or fuller capacities for the accomplishment of the objects of his hazardous mission?

In his co-laborer and joint Commander, Capt. Lewis, was found a man whose services had made the events of frontier life the daily record of his history, and who brought scientific acquirements, all of which, it was anticipated would find a full field for development in the great expanse of country they were called upon to explore, map and make known to the world. With such men to lead show was not willing to follow; and, under the guidance of such Commanders who could doubt but that every movement was a sure index to success.

OTHER EXPEDITIONS

While this project was in progress large naval expeditions were being fitted out by England to explore and discover, by both oceans, a new route from Asia to India, and no sooner was it heralded to the world that the American Government had secured by purchase the immense Territory of Louisiana, but had organized an expedition to explore and to claim by the exploration the entire country to the west of this Territory, than was excited the jealousy and ambition and love of land aggrandisement [sic] of the British government, whose trading companies then occupied the country to the north of the 49th parallel, and who sent out small parties all directions establishing sites and forts, and actually took possession of a region which was already our own.

Simultaneous with the movements which were destined in time to eventuate in results of significant import to the commercial and political world, were others of equal importance on the eastern border of the Rocky mountains and within the very heart of the vast American continent.

A small band of pioneers under the command of the gallant Pike, whose labors and services have given a name to the new Eldorado of Pike's Peak, in the interior of the country, was sent out at the same time to explore and map the head waters and sources of the great Mississippi, and make known to us that wilderness where now basks and smiles in beauty, wealth and prosperity the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa and Minnesota. Thus, was given by our government, the first impetus to the exploration of our great interior, which continued as it had been for the last half century, has added on the eastern slope of our continent eighteen States to our Confederacy, and which has enabled us to build up on the Pacific slope a line of battlements of near one million souls, peopling two independent States and a Territory; and that has given us the command of that great trade which is daily seeking its way from Asia by our line of transportation to the great markets of Europe. It was no short sighted vision, therefore, that enabled President Jefferson to see the end from the beginning; but, acting in the minor details in the organization of this expedition in the same spirit of liberality that characterized this first American statesman in his movements, be they public or be they private, he gave to Lewis and Clark a liberal charter of authority to guide their course, believing, as he did, that their own judgement and experiences would prove equal to any emergency that their duties would forth.

Instructions were given for the departure of this expedition from St. Louis in 1803[?] but the then unsettled condition of the country and unforeseen contingencies delayed their departure until the middle of May 1804. All that money could purchase commensurate with the character of their transportation was placed at their disposal, and the earlier days of May 1804 found the members of the party busily engaged in all their preparations and outfit[?] for a long and tedious trans-continental journey. The character of their outfit—no refined luxuries overloaded their boats, no costly viands were stowed away for an epicurean feast, no gewgaws[?] and trinkets were to form part of their attire when far away in the heart of the continent, and no holiday festivities were prepared for that should assist[?] the vision of the future, or squander the house of the present. But their outfit was characterized by the useful, simple and best[?] that the village of St. Louis could boast. They took special care to be well armed, and prepared [????????] with a goodly quantity of powder, all of which they canned[?] in hermetically sealed leaden boxes, so that the latter could be moulded into bullets whenever their contents were

exhausted. They were also [??????] supplied with medals and presents for distribution among the Indians whom they would visit[?] along their route. Thus, were they prepared to appeal either to the good understanding of the savage tribes, or, on the other hand, offer them what has so often proved the effective alternative.

THE DEPARTURE

Thys equipped, they departed on the 15th of May, 1803 on their long and eventful pilgrimage with the captains[?] [??-??????] warm support and the loud [??????] of the good people of the village of St. Louis, each and all wishing a God speed, but fearing in their own hearts that they had parted with their friends and commanders, their brothers and relations for the last time. We will not accompany mile by mile these bold explorers [??] [??????] [??????] [??????] our passage of the Missouri, nor step as they [????????????????????????????????] that should bear the name of the father of the project [??????] to-day, [??????] [??????] Capital of the [??????] State of Missouri[?] river[?] will we [????ry] so they [?????unintelligible to end of column??????] Indian tribes in the south-west corner of Iowa, which point of the Missouri, on one side, should ever be commemorated as Council Bluff, a treaty ground with the Indians, and Council Bluff, a depot of trade and a new starting point for a more westernly home for the white man; and, on the other, Omaha, the Capital of a future flourishing Territory. Nor we halt as they halted at Sergeant's Bluff, and shed with them the tear of sympathy and sorrow as they silently and mournfully interred the remains of one of their best and purest companions whose grave was to add a new name to the geography of the river, and whose head-stone was to bear an inscription rehearsed by each traveler as he traces their footsteps. Nor will we hurry in their onward march at Floyd's Bluff when death again had become their visitant and claimed another soul from that small band of explorers who by this time had more than a foretaste of that which was to follow. We will not be with them in midsummer when all was gay and cheerful and propitious, nor in the autumn when despondency for the first time caused the hearts of all to turn towards the comfortable homes and villages now left far behind. But we will for a moment tarry to pass the winter with them at the Mandan village, the terminus of their first season's work, when the bleak wind of autumn had already warned them to cease from their labors, and we will learn from them a short recital of their movements and incidents.

(To be continued.)

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[Continued from No. 40]
AT THE MANDAN VILLAGE

Entering a neatly constructed abode, that the hand of industry had quickly erected for their shelter and comfort, we find our explorers cantoned for the winter. Swarthy bands of Indians were encamped without. A bold promontory on the right bank of the Missouri, in latitude 47° 15' N. had been selected for the point where their winter should be passed and which now bears the name of Fort Clark. This point I visited in 1853, and of all the points along the Missouri it has bold characteristics which are peculiar to itself, unlike the country below. It is the commencement of a high elevated platteau [sic] that extends westwardly to the Mauvaises lines⁴ of Nebraska, and which defies the highest floods to which the Missouri is subject, and affords one of the few picturesque points on the upper Missouri. Then as now, the buffalo roamed in countless herds between the Yellowstone and Missouri on the South, and hence, here they could be secure in an abundance of game for their wants. The thickets of cottonwood that border the Missouri river bottoms afforded them fuel and to spare, and hence their material comforts and gave them but little care. Here were prepared the maps of the country, which for the first time witnessed the presence of the white man, and here were written the reports of a six month's toiling against a treacherous current, through countless bands of Indians, but where the kind hand of fortune had sheltered and protected them.

Their labors of this year embraced a complete map of the Missouri from its mouth to latitude 47° 15' North. its each and every tributary had now for the first time its position correctly given it upon the maps, and, the entire country bordering the river, upon either bank, was mapped and reported upon as far as their facilities extended. While the main parties in boats rowed and paddled and steered against a rapid and dangerous current, small parties were kept on land on either bank, some to hunt, some to explore, and others to keep a look-out for the roving bands of Indians bordering the Missouri. No opportunity was now lost sight of to impress upon the Indians the character and power of our Government, and a rigid adherence to rigid rules was the tenor of each day's movements, and thus did this small but fearless party

move silently and harmlessly through lands of hundreds of savages without either accident or molestation. As we have seen, whenever the hand of death had dealt a stern blow at their number the occasion was availed of to mark the spot and treasure its memory by giving to the locality the name of their late companion. Incidents of this character, together with daily words of encouragement to each and every member of the party, and a willingness on the part of the Commanders to be foremost in labors of toil and privation tended to stimulate the men; and with but one exception during the period of their journey all were contented and cheerful. The first portion of their journey was therefore marked with bold success, rapid movements, and from which they augured a pleasant and successful termination of their labors. Occupied day by day in their labor of map making, converting robes and furs into comfortable garments, and hides and skins into boots and shoes, their winter passed pleasantly and rapidly, and when the genial season of spring had unclaped [unclasped?] the icy fetters of winter they were once more equipped for their onward march. From their winter abode a small party was sent on their return to St. Louis to carry back their maps and reports, while the remainder were to seek the source whence the Missouri flows.

ON THE UPPER MISSOURI.

The early days of April 1805, therefore, again finds our explorers upon the turbid waters of the Missouri, along which they toiled until the long days of midsummer brought them in sight of the snow capped peaks of the Rocky Mountains. This [???] a picture which for twelve months had haunted their vision, and to which all had looked forward with anxious expectation[?]. Beyond this range lay a region unknown to the geography of the world, and with all the enthusiasm of adventurers and explorers they felt a new impetus to their desires to move beyond these icy barriers. They had now ascended to the great falls of the Missouri where the river partaking of the wild mountains whence it flows comes boiling and surging over rocks and cliffs for three hundred feet, and rushes with frightful speed in the haste to join the great father of waters in its course to the gulf or Mexico. Here too, was a grand picture hidden away in the center of our country, and upon which for the first time the eye of the explorer had gazed, and which, even to-day, has been visited by few either for pleasure or profit. When the day arrives when our tourists and seekers for the grand and beautiful shall turn their footsteps toward the great central section of our own country, [???], of all that adds to our pleasure and gives us an additional insight into the mighty works of a wise Creator, no spot will afford a more inviting picture than the great falls of the Missouri river. It is here we find the great Niagara of the north-west where yet may be built up the palaces and mansions of the great and the rich, and where a new commercial mart may yet send in one direction via the yet clear waters of the Missouri the costly fabrics of China and Japan, and by the other via the continuous iron rail to the Pacific the rice and sugar and tobacco and manufactured [??????] of our productions to our neighbors across yonder Ocean. But I will not indulge in the pleasant visions of the future [?????????alions] founded on well based data, but will still accompany Lewis and Clark, who, with the crude[?]vehicles of their own construction have now made the portage of the falls of the Missouri and [????] threaded the windings for three thousand miles to its very source in the Rocky Mountains, where a stream of bold [about five words] narrowed itself to so small a thread at its source that one of the men in his enthusiasm, with one foot on either bank exclaimed that "he thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri river." Arriving at this point of their journey their more perilous movements now begin.

They had navigated this bold river in Mackinaw boats and canoes until further navigation was impenetrable, and from where as new character of transportation must be had. They were now at a great landmark of their [????] at the three forks of the Missouri [several garbled words] respectively the Jefferson, the Madison, and Gallatin forks after the President, the Secretary of State, and the Secretary of the Treasury of the first cabinet of the present [????]. They had but recently [?] [?????] what might have been a well [garbled lines]

A [?????????] [????????]

They [????four garbled lines????] [????]ative to their onward movements. They had with them an Indian by the name of Chaboneau [sic] whose wife was a Sanke and captured many years before by the Sioux of the prairies. Lewis and Clark feared that these mountain tribes, suspicious and doubtful of the objects of their movements would be but illy disposed to assist them in their emergencies, and had it not been an accident as fortunate as strange I verily believe that their labors here and there might have been brought to a most fatal termination and their expedition similarly ended. As it was, the Indians on learning their presence in their country kept shy and aloof, and every hill-top became a telegraph, signal to warn the Indians for miles around of a new era, and a new enemy in their nation's history. It was only a resort to a stratagem such as a long and intimate knowledge of Indian character suggested that they were enabled to converse with them at all, and upon Chaboneau and his wife now rested all their hopes of procuring horses and an outfit from these Indians. Chaboneau's wife, who for years absent, had been regarded as lost and numbered with the dead, was no less than the sister of the principal chief of the tribe, and instead of enemies he found in Lewis and Clark the friend and ransomer of his sister, who, after the first tears of joy, shed at so unexpected a meeting had been dried, was not tardy in narrating the details and objects and anticipated results of this movement in their midst. It was a labor of minor difficulty therefore, for Lewis and Clark to lay before the Chief his wants and requests, and which when once known, were willingly and cheerfully acquiesced [sic] in.

Then, once more quipped and mounted on the best horses of the best horses of the country and with their small packages of barter, and still smaller packages of a scanty supply—having made small *caches* for their return trip—they abandoned their boats, the companions of a long pilgrimage, and once more were in quest of the sources of the Columbia. Doubt and uncertainty as to their movements still annoyed them, and the imperfect knowledge of the Indians themselves, of the country, tended but little to relieve their minds as to whither they should travel to find the best pass through the Rocky and Bitter Root mountains to reach the waters of the Columbia. They attempted a passage by the head of Salmon river, but as so difficult and dangerous did it prove, that retracing their steps they passed down the beautiful valley of the Bitter Root to one of its longer tributaries, which after a long and tedious and eventful journey, they appropriately called "the Travellers' Rest Creek." (Lo Lo Fork.—Ed.)

DESPONDENCY

Here they halted to recruit their men and animals for the difficult mountain passage that lay still beyond. They had, however, by this time reached the waters of the Columbia by one of its main branches, and which Captain Lewis, in honor of the Commander, called Clark's rive[r], and which name it will bear as long as the English language shall transmit to remoted ages the record of the toil of so bold a traveller. The season of the autumn of 1805 was now upon them, and with their supplies nearly exhausted, the game no longer abundant, and with Indians with

whom to barter few, and they tired and poor, their prospects were for the future time more gloomy and disheartening. During the past many months we have followed them through a country well stocked with game and where their unerring rifle had bountifully supplied their every want. The country through which they passed mostly a prairie region and easily traversed, but now high rugged mountains with craggy slopes and snow-capped peaks formed the panorama before them, and where the journey of a day began at the base of a rugged spur and at night ended upon its bleak and desolate summit, and the picture of the morrow was still dreary mountains in advance piled mountains high, and where the next day's journey ended as the first began. Their men were mostly on foot, and by wear and tear their garments had become so much shredded that the cold and piercing winds of the mountains now [????] told upon their already reduced systems, and for the first time despondency and gloom pervaded the party. Cases of sickness yielded readily to well timed doses of rush pills, which had now become a sovereign remedy for most of their ailments, but the mental gloom of their men could not be so easily reached. A well stored larder when starting had now become exhausted. Their last ounce of corn meal had been consumed. Their last drop of coffee had been drunk, and their last pound of venison had been eaten, and the feast of the morrow could only be supplied by the weakest and poorest of their horses, the slaughter of which, had now been determined upon. But they found that the steaks of well cooked horse flesh was palatable to such an extent that when the meat of the first slaughter had ceased to furnish their rations a second was killed, and their repugnance to horse flesh disappeared with its constant use. But as great as were the suffering and privations of Lewis and Clark, at that date, they did not equal that of those who have since followed in their footsteps along the broad expanse of mountains and prairie extending from here to the Missouri frontier. But their cares and anxieties as the first explorers in a region unknown in the world, their gloom of mind, the despondency of their men, and a fear and apprehension for the future now became the daily record of their journal.

Of all the sections of the Bitter Root Mountain chain, there is no doubt in my own mind but that Lewis & Clark crossed by the most difficult section. The whole region for miles in every direction is one immense [area?] of rugged and frowning mountains, and once in them your condition is likened to that of the sea-wrecked mariner, tossed from one mountain wave to another, until the gloom and the despair of [over exhausting?] yourself [takes?] hold of you, and is only dissipated by the gladsome sight of a beautiful have in the distance, which here is the ocean of prairie that borders on its western limit. I have often asked myself the question why it was that Lewis and Clark took this pass through the mountains in preference to other and better breaks through [bad line] satisfactorily account for it by supposing that the other passes [rest of line] direct to the [????] of the Nez Perces, certain Indians of which tribe accompanied them, of that they [????????????????] not for any superior advantages it was supposed to [????????????????] of the Indians; for it has been pronounced by all explorers who have since retraced their steps to be by far the worst pass in the whole Mountain System.

OUT OF THE MOUNTAINS

Once emerging from the immense bed of mountains they [rest of line] Water, passing over the deposits and gold fields of the [??w] Nez Perces [????????] the hidden treasures of ages is for the [????] time [????]most of the remaining column in unreadable????] now the power of steam day by day asserts its supremacy giving us [??] as if does [two words] intimate contact with the settlements to the eastward of yonder Cascade range of mountains, reaching the

dalles and cascades of the Columbia with the aid of the Indians—then as now engaged in catching and drying the salmon—they made the necessary portages without difficulty or detention[?]-and gaining[?] the section to the west of the cascades, found themselves within the mild and invigorating atmosphere bordering upon the Pacific. They could but remark that the season, though in so high a latitude, was mild and warm, the grassed green, and the country generally presenting more the appearance of spring than autumn. They passed the site of your now beautiful city of Vancouver, where the Indian bands were encamped on the borders of the river, and further below, the mouth of the large tributary called by them the Multonomah [sic], and which has since been changed to the not less beautiful name of Willamette [sic]. The river had now gained its large and magnificent proportions, and their own views of soon being at its mouth were fully confirmed by the intelilgence [sic] from the Indians that they would soon reach a great ocean where came the large ships of an infant commerce that now visited the coast year after year for their cargoes of furs and peltries. The voyage of a few days with rapid current brought them to the mouth of the Columbia and in view of that great ocean, the object of their search, and which now was seen for the first time by a party of explorers by an overland route.

ON THE PACIFIC

It need not be told how exultant each and every member of this expedition was at finding their journey ended, their mission fulfilled, and a claim established by our government to the great northwest, that then for the first time known, has since grown in wealth, numbers and importance, until it is regarded as the western garden of the American Republic. Thus were sown the first seeds that matured by the generous shower of public patronage, and under the guardian care of a generous government have borne fruits that have been garnered for the last half century to the advantage of our citizens, and to the stability, repect [sic] and wealth of our North Pacific Possessions. Who then is not willing to respect the memory of those who by their efforts, their self-denial, their privations, their talents and their time, first opened to us the grand portal of trade, population, title and importance to this northwest coast? Who will not treasure the names of Lewis & Clark among the bold benefactors of our country? True, no marble column rises on the coast to point the stranger and a future generation the locality where they rested from their labors, or intended to commemorate the departed worth of two noble souls. Perhaps they need it not. But go with me to yonder snow-capped range, and follow with me the long and tortuous windings of thousands of miles of the two great arteries flowing thence to feed two great oceans, and I will point you to the monument that great Nature herself has erected, and upon which privation and suffering have engraved an inscription that will endure as long as the waters of the Missouri and Columbia continue to flow. Hope[?] with you their monument is to be found in the peace and plenty, wealth and population of an industrious people who have built towns and cities where then was the wilderness, and their epitaphs are engraved upon the hearts and affections of an appreciating people who are ever willing to pay homage and respect to the very mention of the names of Lewis & Clark.

FOR THE RETURN

A second winter under canvass and cover passed as the first, rapidly, and pleasantly, the time being occupied in preparing their field labor and compiling their maps, and the men daily engaged in securing meat for their present use, and smoking sufficient for their journey of the spring. Fortunately at that day game—principally elk and deer—on the western section of the

cascades, was abundant, and, save the exposure in securing them, and the incidents of a life in the forest, their difficulties were few. The skins were saved, dressed and converted into garments and necessaries, and the result of their winter's labors was well worthy the industry of a first class clothing manufactory. Moccasins by the hundreds of pairs, and buckskin pants and coats by the dozens were packed away for their return trip, which was to be renewed as soon as the rainy season should have enabled them to travel with comfort and pleasure. Many detailed surveys were made of the mouth of the Columbia and its approaches from the north and the south. Soundings were made of the two channels, and the position of the breakers—those terrors to safe navigation to this noble river—was given and marked on the map, and for the first time in the history of the geography of the country had we a correct and proper judgment of the map of the interior through which the Columbia and its tributaries flow. Days thus spent in mapping the coast and river, and nights in observing the Heavens for their [ex???] position, brought them to the end of the rainy season and to the time for re[??????] their labors in retracing their steps. The month of March, 1806, was selected for their return trip, and toiling against the ungenerous current of the Columbia and its tributaries, they reached the [??????] [????????????] Bitter Root Mountains by the last of May, when the snow of the mountains, still ten feet deep, caused them to halt and delay the passage of the range to a later date. Their supplies were scanty, their[?] bulk[?] of Indian goods reduced to a handful, and hence their opportunities for barter and exchange with the Indians were much diminished. The Nez Perces Indians, however, who had taken care of their horses during the winter, were kind and generous to them, and what with fishing, hunting, and boating, they were outfitted for their onward journey.

[To be continued.]

NEW NORTH-WEST.⁵

DEER LODGE CITY, FRIDAY, APRIL 22.

THE LEWIS & CLARK EXPEDITION

**First Exploration of the Great North-West,
by a Follower of their Landmarks.**

FROM THE ORIGINAL MS.[?] OF AN ADDRESS DELIVERED
BY LIEUTENANT JOHN MULLAN, U. S. A., BEFORE
THE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL SO-
CIETY AT FORT OWEN, MONTANA,
DEC 25TH, 1861, AND NOW

Published for the First Time.

[Continued from No. 41]

THE RETURN

They recrossed the Bitter Root mountains in June by the same pass through which they had sought the main Columbia, and the early days of July found them once more encamped on the

beautiful and genial Valley of the Bitter Root, when their expedition dividing into two parties, the one under Capt. Clark seeking the head waters of the Yellow Stone, to be followed to its mouth, at which point the second party, under Capt. Lewis, was to be met; they in the meanwhile crossing the main range of the Rocky Mountains, via Lewis & Clark's pass, and threading the mountains to the mouth of the Yellow Stone, from which point the journey of a few days brought them to the scattered settlements along the Missouri border, and finally to the small village of St. Louis, where they were greeted with open arms, the firing of guns, and a season of genial festivity. Then ended in success and safety the first, and doubtless one of the most remarkable overland journeys ever performed under the auspices of the American Government. No difficulty with the Indians except the Blackfeet tribe gave them cause for alarm or detention. The Commanders, except in the case of Capt. Clark, when accidentally disabled by one of his men, who mistaking him for an elk, fired and wounded him. When ever foremost and first where danger and exposure was to be met, and save the period when starvation began to stare them in the face by day and haunt their sleep by night, the utmost cheerfulness, content and good fellowship prevailed, and there is no doubt, as the record of their journey bears full and interesting evidence of the same, but that all the elements of success entered into the composition of this party, and they were so [motivated] and directed that one might have anticipated the end from the beginning that the Government had not erred in selecting the men they did for so arduous and difficult a task.

ITS FRUITS

There were objects and ends in this movement that were of great national importance to our Government and strongly indicative of its history during the past century. The great principle of Territorial expansion was then for the first time determined upon, and it is gratifying to know that the foresight of the Statesman of that day was not limited either by time, distance or sectional feeling. But piercing far into the years yet locked up in the womb of the future, and standing upon the western confines of our new ocean girt Republic they could see the Pacific whitened by the sails of American commerce starting from the now free ports of China and Japan laden with the silks, the teas, the spices, and wares of an Eastern Industry, and sailing for our own golden and land-locked ports, to be there freighted with the spars, the piles, the masts, the lumber, the wool, the gold, and cotton fabrics of our labor-resounding soil. It was a vision well founded that told the mariner that his long and tedious voyage, either by the Cape of Good Hope or through the blistering climate of Egypt and the Red Sea, was no longer to be followed, either for the pleasure of the valetudinarian or the profit of the millionaire. It told the searcher for the North-west passage that the great discovery had been now made by American explorers, and that ships moored in the land-locked havens of the Pacific should to morrow receive by the iron rail the cargo that leaves the Atlantic to-day for his well freighted bark. It told to the geographer, and explorer of unknown lands and seas; that the loss of a Franklin, the wanderings of a McKenzie and a Ross, the suffering of a Kane, and the bold navigation of a Hartstein should no longer be chronicled to the world as the events of our every day life, but should hereafter be regarded as the visionary wanderings of men in search of a philosopher's stone. It told the political economist and financier that here was a route that trade and travel must build up; that here his money and means would grow and multiply, and that they would in time find a Paris Bourse[?], a London 'Change, an American Wall Street. It told to the [?]tening and fermenting Dynasties of an Old World—who marshalling thousands under

every chance adventurer, are content to day with a Pope, to-morrow with a Kossuth[?], and the next with a Garibaldi or Lamorcien[?]*—*that the Western World was opening wide the gates and free the portals to the lovers and seekers of political liberty and to an asylum from the withering iron heel of Monarchs, Kings and Depots. It told to the industrious artisan of the clouded and overgrown city, where poverty and penury was the price of his toil, to seek a western home, and by his head and by his hand add a new spoke to the wheel of American progress. It told the sturdy yeoman of our own and other lands that westward the virgin soil lay yet untouched, and which would appreciate and hail the coming of his plow by the token of wealth and plenty. It told the lover of wild romance to see cities and and [sic] towns reared upon sites and lands once claimed and owned by a race fast passing away, and who died by the white man's breath. It told the Christian patriot when summoned to the bar of God that he had lived in the hearts of freeman in a goodly land, and that future ages should sing praises to his name, and that bidding adieu to the land that he freed he would not go, like the quarry slave scourged to his dungeon, but sustained and soothed by an un-American trust would approach his grave "like one who wraps the drapery of his couch about him and lies down to pleasant dreams.

WASTED HOURS

Though this exploration was fraught with results as gratifying to its projectors as the most sanguine could well have anticipated, still no practical steps were taken by our Government till many years later to maintain the claim, then so well established by the exploration of the country. The trading post of Astoria, it is true, reared its head only to fall again amid the contentions of rival and unscrupulous foreign trading companies, and the war with the mother country, of 1812, was a sufficient great reason why nothing was done by our Government to hold out inducements to our citizens to seek new homes upon the western ocean to be only obtained by thousands of miles of travel of prairie waste, and rugged mountain barriers, and through large and savage tribes who had not then even for the first time felt the strong arm of our Government; and the consequence was, that one-fourth of a century was allowed to pass without either a single step being taken by our Government by which it should be held, or even the subject of occupancy be discussed in our legislative halls. I have ever regarded the action of our Government on this subject censurable in itself, and unjust to our own interests. What was equally lamentable at the time for the friends of the acquisition of Louisiana [sic], was[??] the reports of the exploration of Lewis and Clark were no even published until 1814, and even then be the aid of private[?] [????]. Shame upon our Government [????] today is sending forth to the world the portraits of every hidden reptile, plant, and fossil between here and the Atlantic coast, and that hesitated, at that day, to publish to the world the results of the important geographical discoveries of the first of American explorations. About the year 1823 however, when we found that our neighbors, across the way, were about divesting us of even the right and title to our Pacific possessions, the question for the first time came up in a practical shape, and assumed proportions well calculated to threaten the friendly relations of England and America. In both Halls of Congress the discussion of the subject waxed warm and excited, and the leading statesmen of our Nation, Sevier, Linn, Benton, Rivers, and Calhoun, each and all, placed upon the Nation's record their views as to the course to be pursued in so critical a case. The opinions of some of our military men were called for to aid the decision, and among the rest, that of our late Quartermaster General Thos. S. Jessup, to whom was addressed a letter by

the House of Representatives, asking his views as to what military movements and course should be adopted for the maintainance [sic] of our right to the possessions of Oregon, (as the whole North Pacific was then called); and the old hero, peace to his ashes, replied, in a communication so characteristic of his boldness and clear foresight into projects of great National import, recommending the establishing a line of military posts from Council Bluffs to the mouth of the Columbia, and that ships of war should be sent immediately via Cape Horn to the mouth of the Columbia, freighted with arms and munitions to assert and maintain by force our right to the country. As history records, this gave great umbrage and alarm to the British Government, and warm and frequent was the correspondence between Mr. Rush, our Minister to England, and Messrs. Huskenson⁶ and Sir Shatford Canning, England's Commissioners, relative to the contents of Ge. Jessup's letters, and the consequence was, that milder and probably less wise councils were allowed to prevail. But the far seeing Statesman of the day, were not willing to see the labors of Lewis and Clark thus shamefully treated, to whom had they been more kind they would have been less unjust. These good and great men had now gone to their graves, but the memory of their labors were still fresh in the minds of the lovers of progress and western development, and once more efforts were made by the friends of the Northern Pacific to secure to us its peaceful possession; of opening up a line over Lewis and Clark's route by which our citizens could trail toward the newly discovered region and there establish an infant colony and outpost to our fast increasing Republic. With this view, Mr. Floyd, the father of the present Secretary of War, and who at that day represented his district in Virginia in the House of Representatives, was the first to bring the matter up in a practical shape; and, if I am rightly informed, brought before Congress a bid to open a communication from the Columbia to the Missouri, for which \$50,000 was asked, but which was allowed to slumber on the table of Congress without successful action. Though much detailed information was by this time added to that gained by Lewis and Clark; still nothing was done by our Government until later years by which we have been enabled to build up an important bulwark of our confederacy upon the Pacific coast; and what might be regarded as a somewhat singular incident in the connection is the fact that Gov. Floyd, the younger, aided by Choteau, the younger, was enabled a quarter of a century still later to accomplish and carry out in a full success the first project and views of his father whose chief counsellor and advisor at that day was Choteau, the elder. Among the warm admirers of Lewis and Clark, and a man who could well appreciate their toil and their labors, was the late Col. Benton, and in his aims and effort to make his favorite State of Missouri that which she is destined to be, the great central State of wealth and importance to our Nation, he early devoted his labors and the talents of his mind toward the opening of a practicable highway across the route pursued by these early pioneers. The future portrayed not only for the city of St. Louis and the State of Missouri, but the country at large found the oft repeated theme of his most eloquent appeals in the halls of Congress, and why he abandoned his favorite line and favorite project for routes amid snow-clad mountain ranges, and over alkaline plains, and amide deserts, I never could understand, unless, classing him among the sectional partisans of the day, who, for private views and private interests are ready to forsake his long cherished friend and project, and marshaling his talent under a new standard, with new fledged friends for the pleasure and profit of the hour. To show the interest that this great man took in the National enterprise of connecting the Pacific with the Mississippi valley I will quote from his own writings the account of the steps taken by

the friends of the measure about a half century ago. In the first volume of his Thirty Years View, he states his own action and that of its friends thus wiser. "The Session of 1820 and 1821 is remarkable as being the first at which any proposition was made in Congress for the occupation and settlement of our Territory on the Columbia river, the only part then owned by the United States on the Pacific coast. It was made by the lion, Dr. Floyd, a Representative from Virginia, an ardent man of great ability and decision of character, and from an early residence in Kentucky, thoroughly imbued with western feelings, he takes up the subject with the energy which belonged to him, and it required not only energy, but courage to embrace a subject which at that time seemed more likely to bring ridicule than credit to its advocate.

RETROSPECTIVE. [Oregon Territory]

Two gentlemen, Mr. Ramsey Brooks [Crooks] of N. Y., and Mr. Russell Farnham, of Mass. [Massachusetts], who had been in the employment of Mr. J. J. Astor in founding his colony of Astoria and carrying on the fur trade on the northwest coast of America, was [were] at Washington that winter, and had their quarters at the same hotel [(Brown's)] where Dr. Floyd and I had ours. Their acquaintance naturally made by western men like us—in fact I knew them before— and their conversation, rich in information upon a new and interesting country was eagerly devoured by the ardent spirit of Floyd. He resolved to bring forward the question of occupation and did so. He moved for a select committee to consider and report upon the subject. The committee was granted by the House, more through courtesy to a respected member than any view to business results. It was a committee of three—himself Chairman according to parliamentary rule,—and Thomas Metcalf[e] and Thomas V. Swearingen, from Western Virginia, both like himself, ardent men and strong in western feelings. They reported a bill [with]in six days [after the committee was raised, "to authorize the occupation of the Columbia River, and to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes thereon,"] accompanied by an elaborate report, replete with valuable statistics, in support of the measure. The fur trade, the Asiatic trade and the preservation of our own Territory were the advantages proposed. The bill was treated with the parliamentary courtesy which respect for the committee required. It was committed to a Committee of the Whole House the next day. Nothing was done in the House that session; but a first blow was struck. Public attention was awakened, and geographical, historical and statistical facts set forth in the report, made a lodgment in the public mind which promised eventually passable consideration. I had not been admitted to my seat in the Senate at that time, but was soon after, and quickly came to the support of Dr. Floyd's measure, and at a subsequent session presented some views on the subject which will bear reproduction at this time. The danger of a contest with Great Britain, to whom we had admitted a joint possession, and who had already taken possession, was strongly suggested if we delayed longer our occupation, "and a vigorous effort of policy and perhaps of arms might be necessary to break her hold." Unauthorized or individual occupation was intimated as a consequence of government neglect, and what has since taken place was foreshadowed in this sentence: ["]mere adventurers may enter upon it

as Aeneas entered upon the Tiber, and as our forefathers came upon the Potomac, the Delaware and the Hudson, and renew the phenomenon of individuals paying the foundation of a future empire." The effect upon Asia the establishment of a civilized power on the opposite coast of America [of the Pacific Ocean was thus exhibited: "Upon the people of Eastern Asia the establishment of a civilized power on the opposite coast of America,] could not fail to produce great and wonderful benefits. Science, liberal principles in government and true religion might cast their lights across the intervening sea. The valley of the Columbia might become the granary of China and Japan and an outlet to this imprisoned and exuberant population. The inhabitants of the oldest and the newest, the most despotic and the freest governments would become the friends and the neighbors [neighbors, and the friends] of each other. To my mind the proposition is clear that Eastern Asia and the two Americas, as they become neighbors should become friends, and I for one would as soon see [had as lief] American Ministers seat China and Japan [, to the king of Persia, and even the Grand Turk,] as to see them dancing attendance upon European legitimates who hold everything American in contempt and detestation.[" Thus I spoke; and this I believe was the first time that a suggestion for sending ministers to the Oriental nations was publicly made in the United States.] Then it was a wild suggestion—now it is [it is now] history. Besides the preservation of our territory on the Pacific, the establishment of a port there for the shelter of our commercial and military marine, the protection of the fur trade and aid to the whaling vessels, the accomplishment of Mr. Jefferson's idea of a commercial communication with Asia through the heart of our own continent was constantly insisted upon us as a consequence of planting an American colony at the mouth of the Columbia. That man of large and useful ideas; that Statesman who could conceive measures useful to all mankind and in all time to come, was the first to propose that commercial communication, and may also be considered the discoverer of the Columbia river. His philosophic mind told him that when a snow clad range like that of the Rocky Mountains shed the water on one side which collected into such a river as the Missouri, there must be a corresponding shedding and collection of waters on the other, and thus he was perfectly assured of the existences of a river where the Columbia has since been found to be, although navigator had seen its mouth, and no explorer had seen its mouth, and no explorer had trod its banks. This conviction was complete but the idea was too grand and useful to be permitted to rest in speculation. He was then Minister to France, and the famous traveler Ledyard having arrived at Paris on his expedition of discovery to the Nile, was prevailed upon by Mr. Jefferson to enter upon a fresher and more useful field of discovery. He proposed to him to exchange his theatre from the Old to the New World—and proceeding to St. Petersburg upon a passport [he would obtain for him], he would obtain permission from the Empress Catharine to transverse her dominions in a high northern latitude to the eastern extremity, cross the sea from Kamschatka or Behring's Straits, and descending the northwest coast of America, come down

upon the river which must head opposite the head of the Missouri, ascend it to its source in the Rocky Mountains, and then follow the Missouri to the Territorial [French] settlements on the Upper Missouri and thence home.

It was a magnificent and a daring project of discovery, and on that account the more captivating to the ardent spirit of Ledyard. He undertook it. Went to St. Petersburg, received the permission of the Empress, and had arrived in Siberia when he was overtaken by a revocation of the permission, and conducted as a spy out of the country. He then returned to Paris and resumed his original design of that exploration of the Nile to its sources, which terminated in his premature death, and deprived the world of a young and adventurous explorer, from whose ardor, courage, perseverance and genius great and useful results were to have been expected. Mr. Jefferson was balked in that, his first attempt to establish the existence of the Columbia river. But a time was coming for him to undertake it under better auspices. He became President of the United States, and in that character projected the expedition of Lewis and Clark, obtained the sanction of Congress, and sent them forth to discover the head and course of the river whose mouth was then known, for the double purpose of opening an inland commercial communication with Asia, and enlarging the boundaries of geographical science. The commercial object was placed first in his message, and as the object to legitimate the exploration. And thus Mr. Jefferson was the first to propose the northern American route to India, and the introduction of Asiatic trade on that road. And all that I, myself, have either said or written on that subject from the year 1819, when I first took it up, down to the present day, when I still contend for it, is nothing but the fruit of seed planted in my mind by the philosophic hand of Jefferson. Honor to all those who shall assist in accomplishing his grand [great] idea.⁷

Thus wrote the man who for a half century took an active and leading part in the affairs of our Nation, and whose sympathy was ever enlisted in the grand project that looked toward the opening of our great western dominion. How prophetic the words of the Hon. Dr. Floyd, and views of Thomas H. Benton. Could they, to day, with the immortal Jefferson, arise from the tombs and see the attempt that is now being made by that indefatigable projector of grand enterprises, Perry McD'Collins, to encircle with the electric wire not one Continent alone, but Europe, Asia, and America; could they see the lines of telegraph fast extending from the western confines of the Missouri meet the equally fast extending line from the mountain limits of California; could they see the enterprise to connect our land-locked havens of Puget Sound with the magnificent harbors of the Amour[?] river; could they see the plateaus of old ocean lending themselves as beds to hold fast the lightning's speech; and the [??????] of Suez and Behring Straits each and both the scene of projects such as the mind never before witnessed, truly proclaim that the gift of prophecy had been theirs in pointing out the present pages of the world's history as enterprise and industry are to day writing them. Would that the mantle of these noble spirits had fallen upon the shoulders of our national Legislators. Would that another Jefferson would arise to guide the helm of our noble Ship of State—now fast wending toward the strands of Disunion[?]⁷—and with his full knowledge of the direction taken by the political storms that best us, guide us into the [?????] of harmony and unity of sentiment and

sympathy of action. It is most gratifying, however, to the lover of the liberal, the noble and national to read at the present day the record of our Statesmen of a half century since when this exploration was had. No geographical or sectional lines divided in twain either their legislation or their views. But[?] we find Virginia's Jefferson at the head and front to explore and make known to us a broad expanse of northern territory, which time should carve into a new Confederacy, not for the north, not for the South, but for our sovereign advancement and prosperity. It was in this spirit that the work was initiated, carried on and brought to a successful completion. It was this spirit that the land purchase was bargained for and effected to which to which our right was to be asserted and maintained. It was this spirit that dictated[?] the improbability of then raising the fratricidal hand against a structure as wonderful-in-its formation as it is in its workings. But let us hope that the great spirit of national [????????] is not yet extinct among our relations and kin[????] on the borders of yonder distant ocean where our friends and brothers dwell. Let the next intelligence from the east gladden our hearts with intelligence[?] that the spectre of Disunion has been banished to the exile[?] of [rest if line] and that in a spirit of generous legislation the nation has determined by the [???] that our present Pacific [Pos????????] should encourage[?] the importance to which their position[?], commercially and geographically, so fully entices[?] them. Let us not, in the spirit and [m????] of the Visionary-but in the manner of a [????] when, [????] building [????rest of column unreadable????] stage of Lewis & Clark, arise yonder range of mountains, follow it to completion, until we join our neighbor, seeking us by the same iron track. Let our opening be heralded in advance of the lightning's speed, and let us learn, in return, of the westward movement of the great march of emigration of our ocean-bound coast. Let intelligence from our relatives and friends, brought by carriers of steam, be had daily at our door. Let our beautiful and gem-like valleys of the mountains far, far in the interim team with population, civilization and happiness. Let the church spire and school be the barometer of the morality, the education and refinement of their people. Let nature, with Science's key, unlock the treasures of the gulches, and gorges, and canyons and bowels of your heavy-headed mountains. Let their well-grassed slopes be covered with lowing herds. Let their rugged ravines give place to science, tunnels and an easy passage to the waters beyond. Let their thousand trickling streams, dancing along their slopes, be harnessed to the wheels and spindles of industry, to add new light to a region already redolent with the songs of thrift. Let smiling faces and merry hearts them betoken the wealth of a people rich in happiness, and prattling babes—the jewels of holy wedlock—the gems, the diadem of every happy pair. Let patriots then arise to defend a nation's right, a nation's honor, be they infringed at the north, be they infringed at the south; and let a breastwork of American freeman extend from the Columbia to the Mississippi vale to sentinel the enemy from without and guard the enemy within. Then will the full views and foresight of a Jefferson be known. Then will the problem so difficult to handle be solved to our Nation's fruition. Then will the objects and ends of the first exploration in the great interior of our country be seen and appreciated, and history then, I trust, but too willing, will accord full meet[?] of praise to the name and memory of Lewis & Clark.

¹ John Mullan, "The Lewis & Clark Expedition: First Exploration of the Great North-West,

by a Follower of their Landmarks." *The New North-West*, April 8, 1870, vol. 1:40, 2, from <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn84038125/issues/>, accessed 10 October 2017. Transcribed by Kristopher K. Townsend.

² The transcriber uses question marks enclosed in brackets to indicate words that could not be read due to the poor quality of the microfiche copies. To improve this transcription, the original newspapers or better quality microfiche should be used. Also, Mullan's original manuscript, located at the Montana Historical Society, SC 547, needs to be used. Unfortunately, the first 4 of the 52 pages are missing. Between the original newspapers and Mullan's handwritten manuscript, a much more accurate transcription can be made.

³ Mullan, April 17, 1870, vol. 1:41, 4.

⁴ Mauvasies Terres, or Badlands. "The Mauvasies Terres, or Bad Lands, as they are named, constitute a district of country extending along the foot of the Black Hills, a spur of the Rocky Mountains, situated between the Platte, or Nebraska, and the Missouri Rivers, at the head of certain branches of the latter called the L'Eau-qui-court, White, Cheyenne, and Moreau Rivers. Dr. Owen, in describing this region, from notes of a visit made to it by Dr. John Evans . . . observes that it presents one of the most extraordinary and picturesque sites that can be found in the whole Missouri country." (Joseph Leidy, M.D. *The Ancient Fauna of Nebraska: A Description of Remains of Extinct Mammalia and Chelonia, from the Mauvasies Terres of Nebraska*. (Smithsonian Contribution to Knowledge, 1852), vol. 6, 10.)

⁵ Mullan, April 22 1870, vol. 1:42, 4

⁶ Likely William Huskisson, (1770–1830) British statesman, financier, and Member of Parliament. Interestingly, he is known as the world's first widely reported railway passenger casualty. (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Huskisson accessed on 10 Oct 2017.)

⁷ This part of Mullan's speech, has been compared and corrected with brackets by Kristopher K. Townsend using the publication from which Mullan quoted: Thomas Benton, *Thirty Years View....* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1854), vol. 1, 13.