

Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Study Significance Statement



Photo of Ohio River from Maysville, Kentucky

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Washington Office Park Planning and Special Studies Division to the
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Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (proposed extension) Significance Statement

INTRODUCTION (LEGISLATIVE HISTORY)

The 1968 National Trails System Act (NTSA) (Public Law (PL) 90-543) established the framework for a system of national trails. The act created three trail categories – scenic trails, recreation trails, and connecting or side trails. The act created two national scenic trails – the Appalachian Trail and the Pacific Crest Trail – and, in section 5(c), called for the study of 14 additional trails, of which 3 were primarily scenic and the other 11 primarily historic. During the next decade, either the Secretary of the Interior or the Secretary of Agriculture oversaw the completion of most of these studies.

These studies quickly recognized that many otherwise-eligible historic trails did not satisfy the established criteria for designation. As a result, Congress inserted an amendment in the National Parks and Recreation Act of 1978 (PL 95-625). Section 551 of that act called for the establishment of a separate category for national historic trails (NHTs), and under the revised criteria set forth in that section, most of the historic trails that were subject to study in the 1968 act have since become legislatively designated national historic trails.

Section 343 of PL 110-229, the Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008, directs the Secretary of the Interior to evaluate the suitability and feasibility of extending the designated Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail to include eastern sites and segments associated with the preparation or return phases of the historic Lewis and Clark Corps of Discovery Expedition (Expedition).

The term “Eastern Legacy” refers to eastern sites and segments not currently located along the officially designated trail that are associated with the preparation or return phase of the Expedition. Eastern Legacy routes are those followed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark (independently or together) prior to May 14, 1804, during the preparatory phases, and following September 23, 1806, during the subsequent return phases.

This specific study legislation requires that sites in Virginia, the District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois are to be studied. Routes in Mississippi and Alabama were also evaluated as part of the study.

The National Park Service, under the delegated authority of the Secretary of the Interior, is responsible for administering the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail and for conducting this special resource study regarding the potential extension of the designated national historic trail to include Eastern Legacy historic sites and trail segments.

CRITERIA AND REQUIRED ELEMENTS FOR ESTABLISHING NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAILS

The basis for evaluating a potential national trail is set forth in the National Trails System Act, PL 90-543, as amended. While this resource study is only an evaluation of two of the criteria in section 5(b)(11), a full study document will be developed that will address the remaining required elements from section 5(b):

(b) The Secretary of the Interior, through the agency most likely to administer such trail, and the Secretary of Agriculture, where lands administered by him are involved, shall make such additional studies as are herein or may hereafter be authorized by Congress for the purpose of determining the feasibility and desirability of designating other trails as national scenic or national historic trails. Such studies shall be made in consultation with the heads of other federal agencies administering lands through which such additional proposed trails would pass and in cooperation with interested interstate, state, and local governmental agencies; public and private organizations; and landowners and land users concerned. The feasibility of designating a trail shall be determined on the basis of an evaluation of whether it is physically possible to develop a trail along a route being studied, and whether the development of a trail would be financially feasible. The studies listed in subsection (c) of this section shall be completed and submitted to Congress, with recommendations as to the suitability of trail designation, not later than three complete fiscal years from the date of enactment of their addition to this subsection, or from the date of enactment of this sentence, whichever is later. Such studies, when submitted, shall be printed as a House or Senate document, and shall include, but not be limited to:

[Required elements]

- (1) the proposed route of such trail (including maps and illustrations);
- (2) the areas adjacent to such trails, to be utilized for scenic, historic, natural, cultural, or developmental purposes;
- (3) the characteristics which, in the judgment of the appropriate Secretary, make the proposed trail worthy of designation as a national scenic or national historic trail; and in the case of national historic trails the report shall include the recommendation of the Secretary of the Interior's National Park System Advisory Board as to the national historic significance based on the criteria developed under the Historic Sites Act of 1935 (40 Stat. 666; 16 U.S.C. 461);
- (4) the current status of land ownership and current and potential use along the designated route;
- (5) the estimated cost of acquisition of lands or interest in lands, if any;
- (6) the plans for developing and maintaining the trail and the cost thereof;
- (7) the proposed Federal administering agency (which, in the case of a national scenic trail wholly or substantially within a national forest, shall be the Department of Agriculture);

(8) the extent to which a State or its political subdivisions and public and private organizations might reasonably be expected to participate in acquiring the necessary lands and in the administration thereof;

(9) the relative uses of the lands involved, including: the number of anticipated visitor-days for the entire length of, as well as for segments of, such trail; the number of months which such trail, or segments thereof, will be open for recreation purposes; the economic and social benefits which might accrue from alternate land uses; and the estimated man-years of civilian employment and expenditures expected for the purposes of maintenance, supervision, and regulation of such trail;

(10) the anticipated impact of public outdoor recreation use on the preservation of a proposed national historic trail and its related historic and archeological features and settings, including the measures proposed to ensure evaluation and preservation of the values that contribute to their national historic significance

The National Trails System Act was amended in 1970 to include additional study criteria for national historic trails, of which the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is one. Section 5(b)(11) of the act states that “To qualify for designation as a national historic trail, a trail must meet all three of the following criteria:

- a. It must be a trail or route established by historic use and must be historically significant as a result of that use. The route need not currently exist as a discernible trail to qualify, but its location must be sufficiently known to permit evaluation of public recreation and historical interest potential. A designated trail should generally accurately follow the historic route, but may deviate somewhat on occasion of necessity to avoid difficult routing through subsequent development, or to provide some route variations offering a more pleasurable recreational experience. Such deviations shall be so noted on site. Trail segments no longer possible to travel by trail due to subsequent development as motorized transportation routes may be designated and marked onsite as segments which link to the historic trail.
- b. It must be of national significance with respect to any of several broad facets of American history, such as trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, or military campaigns. To qualify as nationally significant, historic use of the trail must have had a far reaching effect on broad patterns of American culture. Trails significant in the history of Native Americans may be included.
- c. It must have significant potential for public recreational use or historical interest based on historic interpretation and appreciation. The potential for such use is generally greater along roadless segments developed as historic trails and at historic sites associated with the trail. The presence of recreation potential not related to historic appreciation is not sufficient justification for designation under this category.

CRITERIA FOR NATIONAL SIGNIFICANCE AND THE THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

To attain national significance (per element 3 and criterion 11B, above), proposed national historic trails (or extensions of existing trails) must qualify under at least one of six criteria that have been established to evaluate properties for national significance and possible designation as National Historic Landmarks (NHLs). These six criteria were issued as federal regulations subsequent to and in accordance with national policy set forth in the Historic Sites Act of 1935.

A NPS bulletin that pertains to the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), titled “How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation,” states that “The quality of national significance [when considering potential National Historic Landmarks] is ascribed to districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess exceptional value or quality in illustrating or interpreting the heritage of the United States in history, architecture, archeology, engineering, and culture and that possess a high degree of integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and:

1. *That are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent, the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained; or*
2. *That are associated importantly with the lives of persons nationally significant in the history of the United States; or*
3. *That represent some great idea or ideal of the American people; or*
4. *That embody the distinguishing characteristics of an architectural type specimen exceptionally valuable for a study of a period, style or method of construction, or that represent a significant, distinctive and exceptional entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or*
5. *That are composed of integral parts of the environment not sufficiently significant by reason of historical association or artistic merit to warrant individual recognition but collectively compose an entity of exceptional historical or artistic significance, or outstandingly commemorate or illustrate a way of life or culture; or*
6. *That have yielded or may be likely to yield information of major scientific importance by revealing new cultures, or by shedding light upon periods of occupation over large areas of the United States. Such sites are those which have yielded, or which may reasonably be expected to yield, data affecting theories, concepts and ideas to a major degree.*

Criteria 3, 4, 5, and 6 above are less applicable and not employed as frequently to evaluate the significance of national historic trails and historic road segments; Criteria 1 and 2 are more appropriate to be used for this purpose.

A note on “integrity” as described in the paragraph above. Unlike National Historic Landmarks, there are no criteria for national historic trail segments to have integrity as defined above. Trails sometimes leave evidence of their passage, as in wagon ruts along the Oregon and California trails, but other trails are ephemeral on the landscape. In the case of national trails, “integrity of location” is interpreted to mean the National Park Service can accurately map the routes traveled by the explorers. In the case of the Expedition, very few extant resources serve as tangible markers of their passage.

Another key topic in the selection and appropriateness of historic trails as being part of the National Trails System is whether they are part of broad recognized themes in American history. Since the mid-20th century, NPS historians have devised and relied upon an evolving set of

thematic frameworks, the most recent of which is the NPS Revised Thematic Framework, issued in 1994. This framework envisions American history as being a complex interrelationship of people, time, and place that are manifested in eight broad themes: I) Peopling Places, II) Creating Social Institutions and Movements, III) Expressing Cultural Values, IV) Shaping the Political Landscape, V) Developing the American Economy, VI) Expanding Science and Technology, VII) Transforming the Environment, and VIII) The Changing Role of the United States in the World Community. The framework also provides a list of subsidiary topics that further define and describe that theme.

STUDY METHODOLOGY

Each trail segment traveled by Lewis and Clark in the east was researched and mapped. This process used historic documentation and fieldwork to determine as near as possible the actual location of each trail segment. Once the trails were defined, they were divided into logical segments and each segment was evaluated against criteria of the National Trail System Act, sections 11(A) and 11(B). The historic use of each trail segment was evaluated to determine if it was established by historic use, and if it was nationally significant as a result of that use, as related to the Expedition. Routes that met the criteria for national significance, as defined in the National Trails System Act, were then evaluated against NHL criteria, and their location in the NPS Thematic Framework was confirmed.

Preliminary study findings were reviewed by representatives of the National Park Service from many disciplines, including national and regional offices, other national trails, and parks associated with the existing trail and the study area.

Those updated findings were then provided to two expert peer reviewers. The two reviewers concurred on the significance of some study segments, and disagreed on the significance of other segments. In the cases where the reviewers concurred, NPS has adopted their position. In cases where there was not a unified finding, NPS agency officials made a determination of significance based on the criteria in the National Trails System Act and previous input. Following this process, the significance findings are being reviewed by the National Park System Advisory Board and the Advisory Board's Landmarks Committee.

Routes that meet all of the preceding criteria will be evaluated against the remaining feasibility and suitability elements (in a separate, more complete study document). Routes that do not meet NTSA or NHL criteria will not be evaluated against the remaining feasibility and suitability requirements.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

THE LEWIS AND CLARK NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL

The Lewis and Clark Expedition and the Corps of Discovery have reached legendary status for their feat in exploring the Louisiana Territory and the search for the all-water route to the Pacific Ocean.

The activities of the Corps of Discovery made their trek nationally significant. They truly were exploring foreign territory, as the lands from St. Louis to the Pacific Ocean had long been occupied by American Indians and later “claimed” by various European nations during the colonial period. The Expedition mapped the territory, documented new species of plants and animals that were encountered, engaged with American Indian tribes they visited, and ranged far and wide to determine the best route toward the Pacific Ocean. The Corps of Discovery saw things that were quite unlike anything these men had experienced in areas east of the Mississippi River, such as grizzly bears and the Rocky Mountains.

In exploring the Louisiana Territory, the Corps of Discovery largely followed routes that had been used by American Indians for thousands of years. While some locations were unmapped territory, in many cases they started with maps that American Indians, European explorers, and fur traders had given them. What Lewis, Clark, and the Corps of Discovery did so successfully was to link these routes and maps in a way that no one had done before. They did so by order of President Thomas Jefferson and under the watchful eye of the new nation.

The story has been turned into books and movies, and is memorialized as a national historic trail administered by the National Park Service. The designated trail runs from Wood River, Illinois, to the west coast in Oregon and Washington. Congress has now asked the National Park Service to study additional routes related to the Expedition and determine if the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail should be extended. The study is required to look at the routes the Corps of Discovery used in preparing for the journey, beginning in 1803, and those routes they traveled after their return to St. Louis in 1806, all of which are deemed the “Eastern Legacy” of their travel.



Figure 1: Trail Study Segments



EASTERN LEGACY ROUTE EVALUATION

The routes traveled by the Corps of Discovery in the east had been travel corridors for thousands of years – first for the Pleistocene megafauna that roamed the continent in the last ice age and later adopted by American Indian tribes who called the area home centuries before the arrival of Europeans. Unlike the already-designated western routes, these eastern corridors had been impacted by several hundred years of European and Euro-American influence and settlement. Improved roads, towns, farms, and industry were all present to varying degrees as the frontier pushed westward from the 15th to 19th centuries.

The National Park Service evaluated 25 distinct route segments used by the Corps of Discovery in the preparation and return phases of the Expedition.

The National Park Service finds that three of these routes meet the criteria for national significance established by NHT criteria in section 5(b)(11) of the National Trails System Act. These routes (segments 5a, 5b and 6, the water routes the Corps of Discovery took from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to their winter quarters in Wood River, Illinois, in 1803) are found eligible for addition to the existing designated national historic trail (pending a determination of their feasibility and suitability, as required by the act).

- Segment 5a, the Ohio River from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Louisville, Kentucky, near the Falls of the Ohio: While in Pittsburgh, Lewis purchased the keelboat used on the Expedition and assembled his first group of recruits to man the boat. He then set off from Pittsburgh down the Ohio River to begin the water journey that was to continue for thousands of miles in search of the all-water route to the Pacific; previous travels to prepare for the Expedition occurred on land. This was also where Lewis received the letter from Clark, stating that he (Clark) had committed to joining Lewis on the Expedition. After leaving Pittsburgh on the now-famous keelboat, pirogue, and canoe laden with the weapons and supplies, Lewis and the men initiated their hands-on activities that were necessary to prepare them for the hardships of the long trip west. Lewis tried out his new guns and experienced the difficulties and delays navigating the river and how to deal with unexpected “riffles” or sandbars blocking the boat. It was also during this time Lewis began taking notes on American Indian sites and began collecting specimens for the president.

The actions of Lewis and the early members of the Corps of Discovery along this route amounted to a test run, to make sure their technology and techniques would work correctly to support exploration and documentation. Lewis gained a better understanding of the number of men needed for the Expedition, how to operate the new vessels, how to navigate the sandbars prevalent here and in the Mississippi River; and refined his techniques to map, document, and investigate the surroundings.

- Segment 5b, Louisville, Kentucky, to the confluence with the Mississippi River: On the outbound journey, Louisville is the place where Lewis and Clark met for the first time since their previous collaboration during U.S. military campaigns, and joined their preliminary crews. Prior to this point, they had worked individually, but it was here that the full Corps of Discovery was formed and began to work together. They stayed in Louisville and Clarksville for several days to solidify their plans and their crew. Once back on the water, they mapped the river’s course and met American Indian tribes of the southern Illinois territory and surrounding areas. Their activities along this stretch of river were remarkably similar to their activities along the rivers of the Louisiana Territory.

- Segment 6, the Mississippi River from its confluence with the Ohio River (present day Cairo, Illinois) to Wood River, Illinois: At the confluence of the rivers, the Expedition turned upstream for the first time and began working against the current. This would be their orientation for the next several thousand miles. The crew gained familiarity with the keelboat and pirogues. Here they acted as diplomats, conversing with foreign powers who maintained rights over the land, and with American Indian tribes, who occupied the land. Again, their activities along this stretch of river were remarkably similar to their activities in the west.

The above mentioned activities along segments 5a, 5b, and 6 establish these segments as historically and nationally significant.

The National Park Service finds that the remaining 22 preparation and return routes studied do not have the same level of significance as the routes of the established national historic trail and do not meet the criteria for national significance established by the National Trails System Act.

- On four of these routes (segments 1, 2, 3, and 4, the preparation phases between Washington, DC and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania), Lewis prepared himself for the journey to come. He acquired materials and skills, purchased equipment, and recruited men for the expedition. But he did these things while on established and well-known travel routes. The most significant activities of this time took place at important homes and institutions, not along the routes traveled. This preparation phase was not exploration, as routes were chosen based on experience and expedience. The National Park Service finds that the activities on these routes are not nationally significant as defined by the National Trails System Act and are found to be not eligible for designation or addition to the existing national historic trail.
- Three of the routes were not traveled by Lewis or Clark. One was the unsuccessful recruiting route taken by George Drouillard when he traveled south from Fort Massac toward Fort Southwest Point in Tennessee, apart from the main body of the Expedition (segment 7). This route is speculative, as little documentation exists to confirm the route. Another route (segment 24) was the wagon trip in 1803. The wagon train hauled supplies for the coming Expedition from Frederick, Maryland, to meet Lewis in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, before his descent down the Ohio River. The third route (segment 22) was taken by two of the three American Indian Tribal Delegations east toward Washington, D.C. These three routes do not meet the criteria for national significance as established in the National Trails System Act, and are not eligible for designation or addition to the existing national historic trail.
- The remaining 15 routes studied (segments 8-21 and 23) were traveled after the Expedition returned to St. Louis in 1806. On these routes Lewis and Clark traveled mostly separately, and the Corps of Discovery did not pass as a unit working together. They were returning to their lives post-Expedition and using the routes that took them back and forth from their families and their jobs. These individual actions and travels are important in the lives of Lewis and Clark, but they do not add to the significance of the national historic trail. The activities along these routes were not well documented (the explorers stopped journaling in Wood River or before), and were not like the activities during the Expedition in which they explored the Louisiana Territory. These routes do not meet the criteria for national significance as established in the National Trails System Act; therefore, these routes are not eligible for designation or addition to the existing national historic trail.

Many of these 22 study routes have deep local significance and may be nationally significant for reasons other than their association with Lewis and Clark (such as for their roles in American Indian history, European American and American Indian migration, military expeditions, and trade in the development of the United States). Even though the explorers' use of some of these routes may be among the earliest documented travels, the importance of these routes is derived from uses outside the key time period of Lewis and Clark's journeys (1803-1807), which makes them ineligible to be added to the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

TABLE 1. SUMMARY TABLE

Segment Number	Segment Location	Is the Segment Nationally Significant, as Defined by the NTSA?
Segment 1	Washington DC to Harpers Ferry, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia) via Fredericktown, Maryland (contemporary Frederick)	No (Lewis's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 2	Fredericktown, Maryland (contemporary Frederick, Maryland) to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (via York, Pennsylvania and Lancaster, Pennsylvania)	No (Lewis's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 3	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to Washington, DC (via Wilmington, Delaware and Baltimore, Maryland)	No (Lewis's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 4	Harpers Ferry, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia) to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (via Winchester, Virginia, Cumberland, Maryland, and Brownsville, Pennsylvania)	No (Lewis's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 5a	Ohio River; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to Louisville, Kentucky, near the Falls of the Ohio	YES Lewis and recruits tested the keelboat and weapons and learned to navigate the river.
Segment 5b	Louisville, Kentucky, to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers Confluence, Illinois/Kentucky/Missouri	YES Lewis and Clark joined forces and began working together. The Expedition began in earnest.
Segment 6	Ohio and Mississippi Rivers Confluence, IL/Kentucky/Missouri, to Wood River, Illinois	YES Expedition members began mapping the Mississippi River and sandbars and began discussions with foreign officials.
Segment 7	Fort Massac, Illinois to Fort Southwest Point, Tennessee	No (not traveled by Lewis, Clark, or main body of the Corps of Discovery)
Segment 8	Kaskaskia, Illinois to Louisville, Kentucky (via Vincennes, Indiana)	No (Lewis and Clark's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 9	Louisville, Kentucky to Sapling Grove, Tennessee/Virginia (contemporary Bristol, Tennessee/Virginia, via Frankfort, Mount Vernon, and Cumberland Gap, Kentucky)	No (Lewis and Clark's individual activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 10	Bean Station, Tennessee to Staunton, Virginia (via Abingdon, Wytheville, and Fincastle, Virginia)	No (Lewis and Clark's individual activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 11	Staunton, Virginia to Richmond, Virginia (via Ivy and Charlottesville, Virginia)	No (Lewis and Clark's individual activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 12	Charlottesville, Virginia to Washington, DC (via Orange, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria, Virginia)	No (Lewis and Clark's individual activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)
Segment 13	Fort Massac, Illinois to Kaskaskia, Illinois	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 14	Fincastle, Virginia to Huntington, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia) via White Sulphur Springs, Rainelle, and Charleston, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia)	No (outside the period of significance)

Segment Number	Segment Location	Is the Segment Nationally Significant, as Defined by the NTSA?
Segment 15	Mississippi River; Ohio and Mississippi Rivers Confluence, Illinois/Kentucky/Missouri to Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs (contemporary Memphis, Tennessee)	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 16	Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs to Chickasaw Agency (contemporary Memphis, Tennessee to Old Houlka, Mississippi)	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 17	Chickasaw Agency to Grinder's Stand, Tennessee (contemporary Old Houlka, Mississippi to historic stand location near contemporary Hohenwald, Tennessee)	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 18	Kaskaskia, Illinois to Lusk's Ferry on the Ohio River, Illinois (contemporary Golconda, Illinois)	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 19	Lusk's Ferry on the Ohio River, Kentucky to Louisville, Kentucky (via Hopkinsville, Russellville, Bowling Green, and Elizabethtown, Kentucky)	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 20	Cumberland Gap, Kentucky to Bean Station, Tennessee	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 21	Keswick/Cismont, Virginia to Fredericksburg, Virginia (via Louisa, Richmond, and Bowling Green, Virginia)	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 22	Lexington, Kentucky to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania via Limestone, Kentucky (contemporary Maysville, Kentucky), Chillicothe, Ohio, Lancaster, Ohio, and Wheeling Town, Virginia (contemporary Wheeling, West Virginia)	No (not traveled by Lewis, Clark, or main body of the Corps of Discovery)
Segment 23	Louisville, Kentucky to Cincinnati, Ohio (via Big Bone Lick, Kentucky)	No (outside the period of significance)
Segment 24	Harpers Ferry, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia) to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania (wagon route via Fort Loudon, Bedford, Ligonier, and Greensburg, Pennsylvania)	No (not traveled by Lewis, Clark, or main body of the Corps of Discovery)

NHL SIGNIFICANCE CRITERIA AND NPS THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

To be considered for addition to the existing national historic trail, the proposed extension routes that meet NTSA criteria in section 5(b)(11) must also meet NHL criteria for significance, and the routes must be demonstrated to fit within the NPS Thematic Framework.

This section pertains only to segments 5a, 5b, and 6. These segments met NTSA criteria in section 5(b)(11) and were further evaluated.

- The National Park Service finds that the proposed trail extension routes also meet the following NHL criteria:
 - Criterion 1: the Corps of Discovery is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.
 - Criterion 2: the routes are associated with the lives of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who are nationally significant in the history of the United States.

Segments 5a, 5b, and 6 were also evaluated against the NPS Thematic Framework.

The existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is significant for its far-reaching effect on the culture of the United States. The existing trail is particularly associated with the topics of trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, military campaigns, and the history of American Indians. Per the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy Study by John S. Salmon (2007), “Several historical themes can be associated with the eastern phase of the Expedition. . .they include Political and Military Affairs, 1783–1860 (Jeffersonian Period, 1800–1811), and Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763–1898 (British and United States Explorations of the West: Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806). These themes and others are outlined in *History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program: The Thematic Framework* (1987).”

In terms of the newer 1994 NPS Thematic Framework, the existing trail and the eastern routes are most closely associated with the themes of: I) Peopling Places, III) Expressing Cultural Values, V) Developing the American Economy, VI) Expanding Science and Technology, and VIII) The Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

- The National Park Service finds that the NHL and NPS Thematic Framework requirements are met for the proposed extension routes (segments 5a, 5b and 6). These routes echo and extend the themes in place for the existing trail.

INDIVIDUAL SITES ASSOCIATED WITH THE EASTERN LEGACY

The National Park Service examined individual sites associated with the preparation and return phases of the Expedition, as directed by the study legislation. Some sites in particular were critically important to Meriwether Lewis’s preparation for the journey:

- The White House, where President Jefferson drew up the presidential orders and discussed the Expedition with Lewis, and where Lewis and Clark returned at the completion of the journey
- Monticello, where President Jefferson and Lewis met regularly to design the Expedition

- The American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, where Lewis underwent a crash course in the sciences to prepare himself for recording the journey

A revised National Historic Landmark Theme Study, the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy Study by John S. Salmon in 2007, prepared for the National Park Service, evaluated the three sites listed above and found they had all previously been determined to possess national significance and had been designated as National Historic Landmarks. Each of these sites has contributed to American history in many ways, and the Lewis and Clark story is just one aspect of their significance. The National Park Service finds that the associations of these sites with Lewis and Clark's eastern travels should be more adequately documented, but that no further national recognition is necessary given their status as National Historic Landmarks.

Additional sites related to the preparation and return phases of the expedition are already protected by the National Park Service, including the Harpers Ferry armory, the Cumberland Gap, and Meriwether Lewis's death site (on the Natchez Trace Parkway).

Given this level of prominence and protection, the most significant sites do not need to be added to the national historic trail. Sites related to the preparation and return phases, other than those listed above, do not meet the same standards for national significance for their relationship to the Expedition, and the National Park Service finds that they are most appropriately protected and commemorated at the local, state, or regional level. The National Park Service finds that no additional designations are warranted at the site level at this time, and that the national historic trail does not need to be extended to these sites to tell the story of the Expedition.

SUMMARY CONCLUSION

Determining where the Corps of Discovery's journey began and ended is a difficult task. It could be considered that everything the men of the Expedition did to prepare themselves contributed to their success. From Lewis's tutelage at the hands of the president and scientists in Philadelphia and from William Clark's distinguished career in the US Army, to the hunting and competitive games of the young men of the Expedition, their life experiences certainly added to the story and contributed to the successful outcome of the Expedition. While the later lives of the Corps of Discovery members were certainly influenced by their epic trek, their actions following the completion of the Expedition do not necessarily increase the national significance of that event.

A strong case could be made that none of the study routes are of historical and national significance, when compared with the routes already designated as the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. As peer reviewer, historian and author Gary E. Moulton puts it,

A vast library of studies . . . firmly established these as the Expedition's bookend dates [May 14, 1804 – September 23, 1806] . . . The two captains would doubtless have considered these dates as the signal points of their expedition. The first edition of their journals edited by Nicholas Biddle under Clark's direction used these dates as its beginning and ending points. Moreover, all the enlisted journalists (John Ordway, Charles Floyd, Patrick Gass, and Joseph Whitehouse) began their accounts on May 14, 1804, and those still writing ended their diaries before or on September 23, 1806 (personal correspondence, 2015).

Nevertheless, the NPS study team fully evaluated each of the routes described above, and reaches the following conclusions:

- The National Park Service finds that three segments definitively meet the significance criteria established by the National Trails System Act and should be considered eligible for addition to the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail (pending positive findings for other feasibility and suitability criteria):
 - Segment 5a, the water route from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Louisville, Kentucky, near the Falls of the Ohio River
 - Segment 5b, the water route from Louisville, Kentucky, near the Falls of the Ohio River, to the confluence of the Ohio River and the Mississippi River
 - Segment 6, the water route from the confluence of the Ohio River and the Mississippi River to the winter camp at Wood River, Illinois
- The National Park Service finds that all other preparation and return routes studied do not meet the criteria for national significance for national historic trails as established in Criterion 11 of the National Trails System Act. These routes are most appropriately recognized at the local, state, or regional level.
- The National Park Service finds that the individual sites most closely associated with the preparation and return phases of the Expedition have already been acknowledged and that no further designation is necessary to protect and interpret these locations. These sites do not meet the criteria to be added to the national historic trail.

Therefore, the National Park Service concludes that three segments (segments 5a, 5b, and 6) are eligible for addition to the national historic trail, pending findings on feasibility, suitability, and desirability.

It is important to note that trail routes and historic sites do not need to be on the designated national historic trail to be recognized as important in the lives of Lewis and Clark. In preparing this study, the National Park Service was assisted by individuals, organizations, and communities who are passionate about preserving and promoting the history of Lewis and Clark across the country. The National Park Service is confident that Americans enthusiastic about this time-honored journey can find ways to commemorate and preserve a much greater portion of the story of Lewis and Clark and the Corps of Discovery than can be told through the national historic trail.



Figure 2: All Routes Considered for Potential Trail Extension

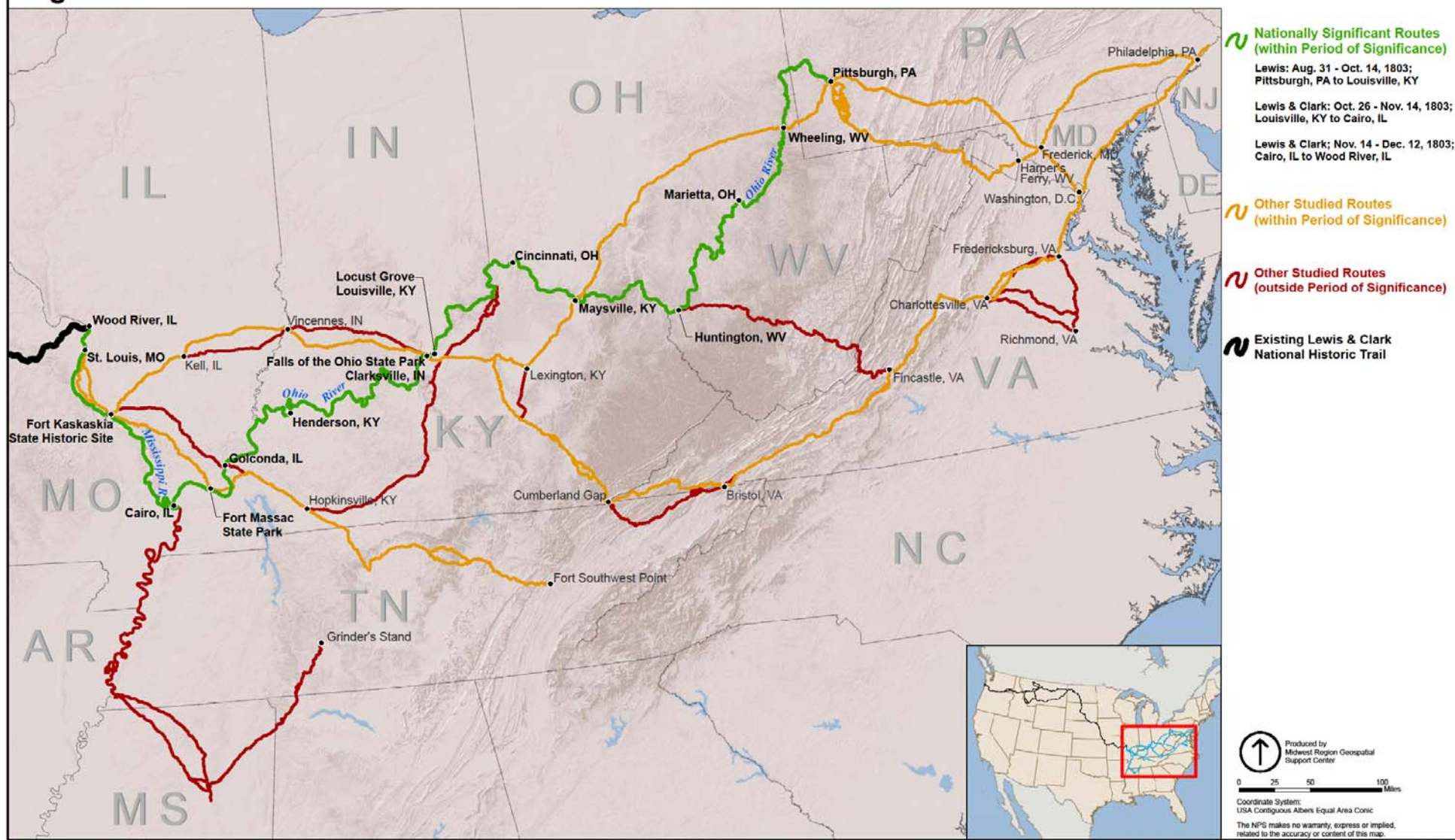




Figure 3: Nationally Significant Study Routes

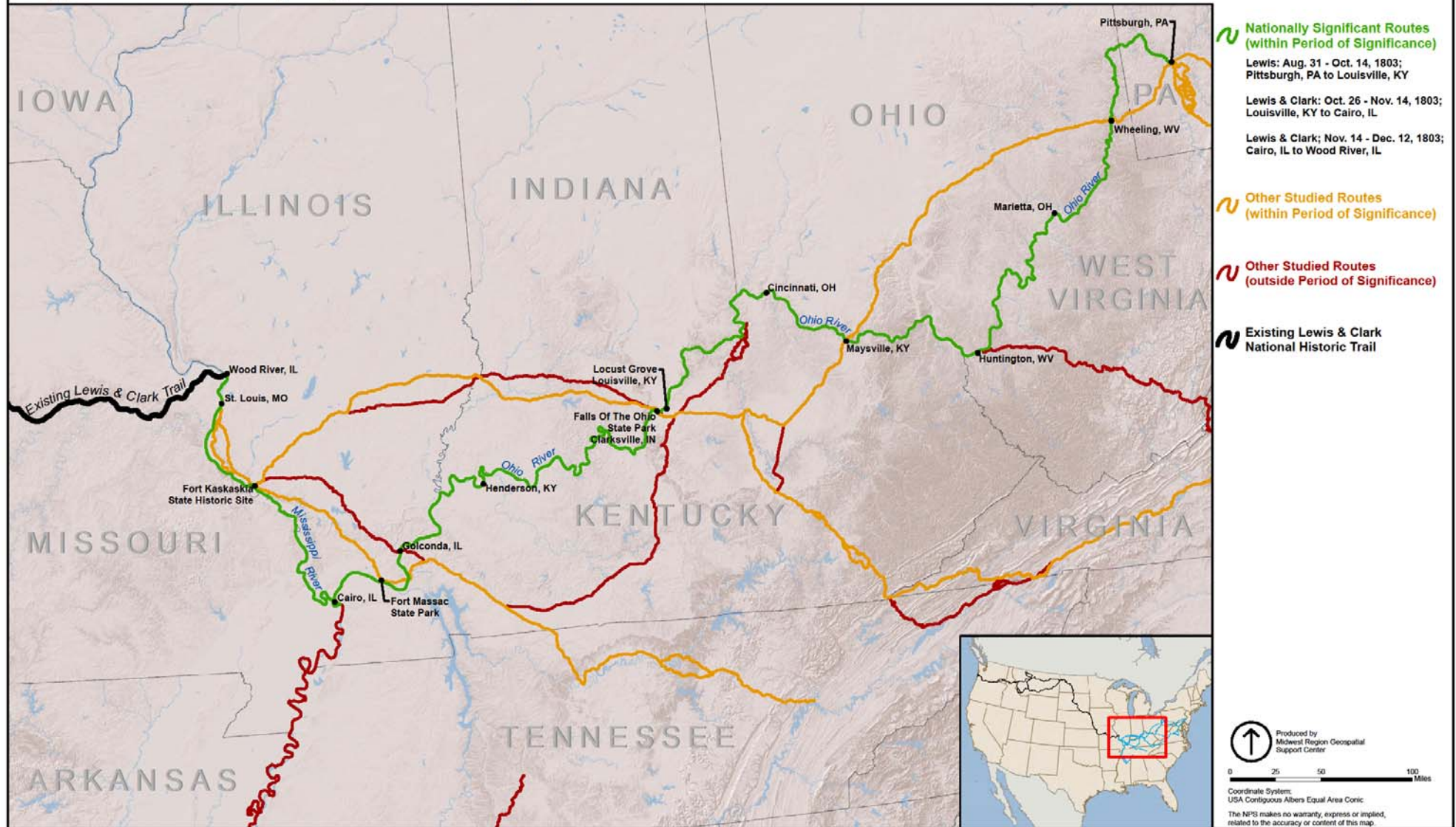
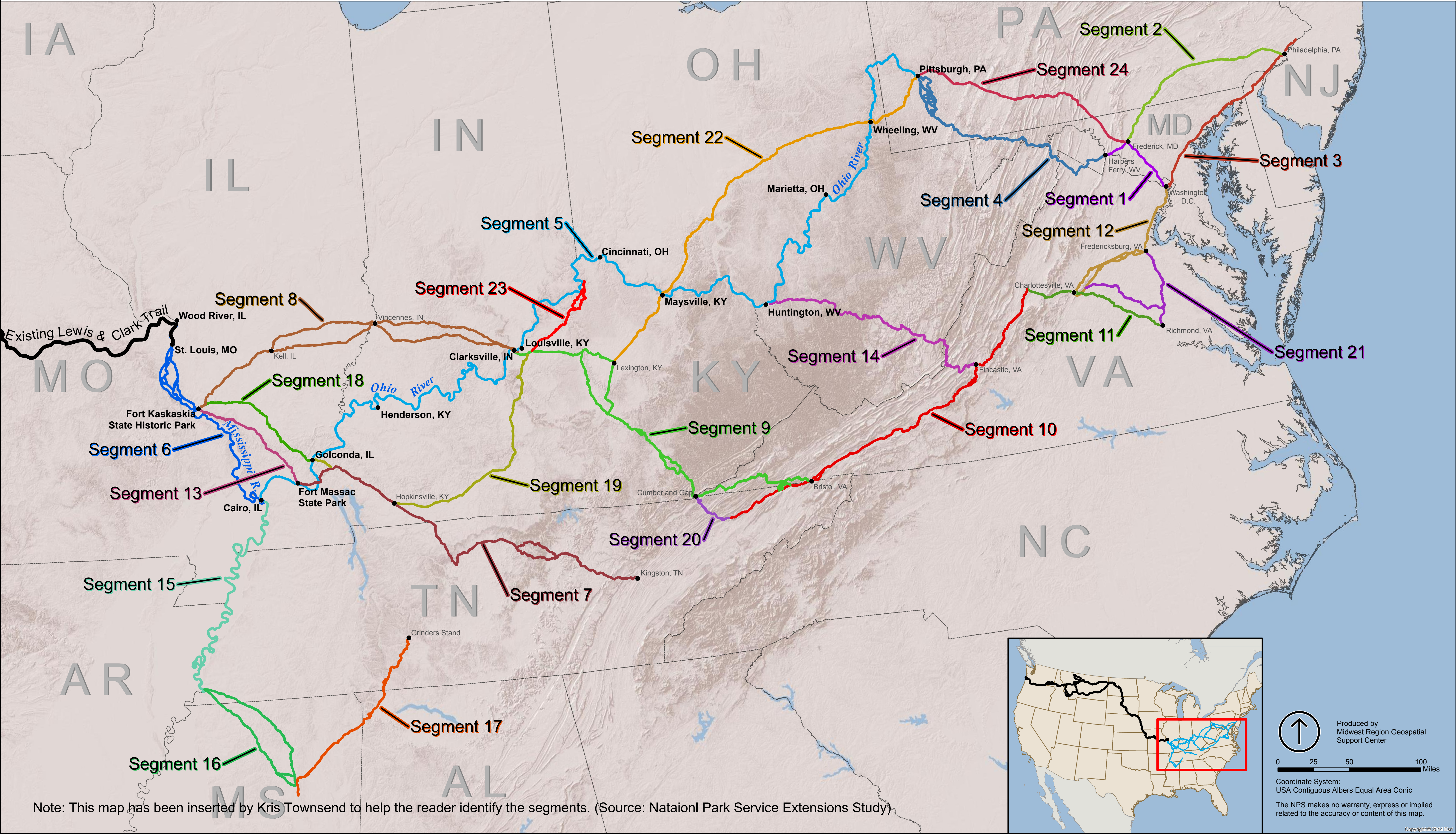




Figure 2: Trail Study Segments



Note: This map has been inserted by Kris Townsend to help the reader identify the segments. (Source: National Park Service Extensions Study)

STUDY TASKS

This determination of significance is necessitated by the passage of PL 110-229. The full text of the study law is attached as an appendix. The law requires the Secretary of the Interior to determine:

- (A) the suitability and feasibility of adding these sites to the trail; and
- (B) the methods and means for the protection and interpretation of these sites by the National Park Service; other federal, state, or local government entities; or private or nonprofit organizations.

This document addresses only the criteria of sections 5(b)(11)(A) and 5(b)(11)(B) of the National Trails System Act, which relate to national significance. The rest of the criteria and required elements spelled out in the act and study legislation will be addressed in the full study document.

The tasks that determine whether the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy routes should be considered nationally significant as an extension to the existing national historic trail include: 1) a historical narrative, 2) an evaluation of each segment studied against the significance criteria of the National Trails System Act, and 3) a discussion of the significant themes exhibited by the routes determined to be nationally significant.

STUDY PERIOD AND STUDY GEOGRAPHY

The established Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail has a period of significance from 1804–1806, starting and ending with the Corps of Discovery’s journeys west of St. Louis. The period of investigation for this study is proposed to be from January 1803 to January 1807, and the geographic area for the study stretches from Washington, D.C. to Wood River, Illinois.

In January 1803, President Thomas Jefferson first requested funding for an expedition to explore the Missouri River and the West. Congress granted his request in February and funded the expedition. Meriwether Lewis began his preparations for the Expedition shortly afterward.

By January 1807, the Expedition had concluded, the members of the Corps of Discovery had disbanded, and the two captains celebrated with the president in Washington, DC. While the struggle to publish the explorers’ journals continued, the great journey was complete.

(The study also reviewed many routes used by Lewis and Clark individually in the years following the study period, from 1807 to 1809. These routes are included for informational purposes only, as they were found to be outside the Expedition’s period of significance, and are not suitable for addition to the existing national historic trail.)

TABLE 2: LEWIS AND CLARK EASTERN LEGACY TIMELINE

Date	Event
January 1803	President Jefferson requested funding for the expedition; funding was approved by Congress in February
February 1803	President Jefferson requested assistance from the American Philosophical Society to train Lewis for the Expedition
March 1803	Lewis traveled to Harpers Ferry and ordered supplies
April–June 1803	Lewis traveled to Philadelphia via overland routes and was instructed by members of the American Philosophical Society
June 1803	Lewis returned to Washington, DC and received his final instructions at the White House

July 3, 1803	President Jefferson and Lewis received confirmation of the Louisiana Purchase in Washington, DC
July 5, 1803	Lewis left Washington, DC for Pittsburgh via overland routes
August 31, 1803	Lewis left Pittsburgh for Louisville, Kentucky, near the Falls of the Ohio, via the Ohio River
October 14, 1803	Lewis and Clark met at Louisville
October 26, 1803	The party left Louisville/Clarksville via the Ohio River, by way of Fort Massac, Cape Girardeau, Kaskaskia, and Cahokia on the Mississippi River
December 12, 1803	The party reached Wood River and established their winter camp
March 1804	The Louisiana Territory was officially transferred to the United States in a ceremony at St. Louis
May 14, 1804	The party left St. Louis for the Pacific Ocean
May 1804–September 1806	The journey of the Corps of Discovery, currently designated as a national historic trail
September 23, 1806	The party returned to St. Louis
October 1806	The Corps of Discovery disbanded at St. Louis
November 1806	Lewis and Clark traveled with the Mandan Indian and Osage Delegations, first by ship from St. Louis, and then overland from Kaskaskia to Louisville
November 1806–January 1807	The party separated; Lewis, Clark, and the Mandan Tribal Delegation made their ways separately to Washington, DC
January 18, 1807	Lewis, Clark, and President Jefferson celebrated in Washington, DC

DETERMINATION OF SIGNIFICANCE PER NATIONAL HISTORIC LANDMARKS CRITERIA AND NPS THEMATIC FRAMEWORK

To be considered for addition to the existing trail, the proposed extension routes that meet NTSA criteria in section 5(b)(11) must also meet NHL criteria for significance and be demonstrated to fit within the NPS Thematic Framework.

This section pertains only to segments 5a, 5b, and 6. These segments met NTSA criteria in section 5(b)(11) and were further evaluated.

- The National Park Service finds that the proposed trail extension routes also meet the following NHL criteria:
 - Criterion 1: the Corps of Discovery is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to, and are identified with, or that outstandingly represent the broad national patterns of United States history and from which an understanding and appreciation of those patterns may be gained.
 - Criterion 2: the routes are associated with the lives of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, who are nationally significant in the history of the United States.

Segments 5a, 5b, and 6 were also evaluated against the NPS Thematic Framework.

The existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is significant for its far-reaching effect on US culture. The existing trail is particularly associated with the topic areas of trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, military campaigns, and the history of American Indians. Per the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy Study by John S. Salmon (2007), “Several historical themes can be associated with the eastern phase of the expedition. . .they include Political and Military Affairs, 1783–1860 (Jeffersonian Period, 1800–1811), and Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763–1898 (British and United States Explorations of the West: Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806). These themes and others are outlined in *History and*

Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program: The Thematic Framework (1987)."

In terms of the newer 1994 NPS Thematic Framework, the existing trail and the eastern routes are most closely associated with the themes of: I) Peopling Places, III) Expressing Cultural Values, V) Developing the American Economy, VI) Expanding Science and Technology, and VIII) The Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

The existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail's significance is associated with several topics in American history, as described in the NTSA section 11(B). The evaluation below highlights the most relevant topics and themes for the proposed trail extension routes.

- **Exploration** (most closely related to the NPS theme of VI) Expanding Science and Technology)

The Expedition made major contributions to the fields of geography, cartography, and natural history. The two men took notes on and collected plants, animals, and fossils at multiple locations along the route, including the routes proposed for extension of the trail. The meticulously compiled journals of the two captains and Expedition members provided abundant knowledge of the natural world of the continental United States.

Meriwether Lewis underwent extensive scientific training at the hands of the members of the American Philosophical Society, and learned pertinent skills in cartography and astronomical observation. The captains benefited from this training as they surveyed, created, and copied maps of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and their confluence. These activities took place in the segments proposed for the trail extension as well as along the existing trail.

- **Migration and Settlement** (most closely related to the NPS theme of I) Peopling Places)

The Ohio River and other routes followed in the east were major trade routes, part of a vast national transportation network. The Louisiana Purchase, the successful expedition, and increasing population resulted in greater migration and settlement west of former US land boundaries. The establishment of a water route to the west was critical for this development.

- **History of American Indians** (most closely related to the NPS theme of III) Expressing Cultural Values and VIII) Changing Role of the United States in the World Community)

Ethnographic documentation of American Indian nations was conducted by Lewis and Clark at numerous points before, during, and after the expedition. Lewis inspected the Cahokia Mounds along the Mississippi River. Lewis's notes on American Indian communities in Illinois include information on diet and customs.

The voyage of the Corps of Discovery was mirrored to some extent by three American Indian tribal delegations that traveled east to Washington DC to meet the leaders of the new nation. The full story would be best examined in a separate study that focuses on the interactions between early colonists and American Indians. Such a study could examine more thoroughly the experience of American Indian tribes with the Corps of Discovery and its aftermath—diplomatic relations, advancing European American settlement, treaties, and land loss.

- **Trade and Commerce** (most closely related to the NPS theme of V) Developing the American Economy)

The results of the Expedition spurred curiosity about potential settlement and resource opportunities in the West. One significant opportunity that resulted from the expedition was the expansion of the fur trade, particularly in the Upper Missouri-Yellowstone River Rocky Mountain area. The fur trade was so important that Lewis included the potential for fur trade in his first letter to President Jefferson, immediately upon his return to St. Louis in 1806. The wealth of information recorded and brought back by the Corps of Discovery about the climate, terrain, ecology, and more presented a passive invitation for colonists to migrate, settle, and use the resources available. Additionally, President Jefferson's motivations for a coast-to-coast nation began to be fully realized during the post-Expedition phase when Lewis and Clark brought back news of their discoveries. The two explorers became key participants in Indian Policy and diplomatic relations in the following years.

The Ohio River and other major routes followed in the east were established trade routes and part of national transportation networks. This network was extended with the Corps of Discovery's successful transition from going down-river on the Ohio River, to up-river on the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. These routes became critical for trade and commerce between the eastern United States and the West, allowing and supporting major population shifts that occurred between 1803 and 1814, and for many years after.

CONCLUSION

The National Park Service finds that the NHL criteria and the NPS Thematic Framework requirements are met for the proposed extension routes (segments 5a, 5b, and 6). These routes echo and extend the themes in place for the existing trail.

HISTORICAL NARRATIVE

This brief historical narrative is excerpted from the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy Study written by John S. Salmon dated January 24, 2007.

A portion of the introduction only is included here. Please see the appendix for the full Context Statement and footnotes, which provide an excellent summary of the events during the study period.

Between 1803 and 1807, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark led an expedition across North America from the Eastern Seaboard to the Pacific Ocean and back. Its mission was, as President Thomas Jefferson put it succinctly, “single”: to identify “the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri and perhaps the Oregon” Rivers. The co-commanders were also to map their route, collect samples of the flora and fauna encountered in their journey, and establish friendly relations between the United States government and the Native tribes of the continent’s interior. They succeeded in all their goals except the principal one, dashing on the Rocky Mountains the ancient dream of a Northwest Passage by water from sea to sea. Of their small party, Lewis and Clark lost only one man, Sergeant Charles Floyd, early in the expedition from an illness that was not then survivable (probably appendicitis). That the journey was accomplished at such a relatively low cost is attributable not only to the skill of the leaders, the hardiness of the men, the vital assistance of the Native people, and good fortune, but also to the careful planning that took place beforehand over the course of more than a year. The sites related to the planning phase, as well as the outward and homeward parts of the journey east of the Mississippi River, constitute the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy.¹

The eastern phase of the Lewis and Clark Expedition may be divided conveniently into several parts. First, Meriwether Lewis and Thomas Jefferson discussed the proposed expedition, conducted research, analyzed alternatives, estimated costs, and arrived at a plan of action. Second, Jefferson arranged for Lewis a course of study in various useful sciences with experts in the fields of astronomy, medicine, and surveying who were fellow members with Jefferson of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Third, Lewis purchased supplies, contracted for the construction of a boat, and recruited other members of the expedition, most notably William Clark. Finally, Lewis departed from Washington for Harpers Ferry and Pittsburgh, gathered his supplies, loaded his keelboat, and descended the Ohio River to the Mississippi and eventually Camp River Dubois (Camp Wood), picking up Clark and many crew members en route.

This study evaluates the second and third of these phases. It evaluates the routes traveled by the explorers and their activities along those routes, to determine if they meet the criteria for historical and national significance as defined by the National Trails System Act.

ANALYSIS OF SEGMENT-BY-SEGMENT SIGNIFICANCE

Table 3 summarizes each segment of the Expedition. A description of each segment follows the table. Please refer to figure 1 for a map of the studied routes.

TABLE 3. DETAILED SEGMENT FINDINGS

Segment Number	Segment Location	Is the Segment Nationally Significant, as Defined by the NTSA?	Rationale for Positive Findings
Segment 1	Washington DC to Harpers Ferry, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia) via Fredericktown, Maryland (contemporary Frederick)	No (Lewis's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	
Segment 2	Fredericktown, Maryland (contemporary Frederick, Maryland) to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (via York, Pennsylvania and Lancaster, Pennsylvania)	No (Lewis's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	
Segment 3	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania to Washington, DC (via Wilmington, Delaware and Baltimore, Maryland)	No (Lewis's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	
Segment 4	Harpers Ferry, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia) to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania (via Winchester, Virginia, Cumberland, Maryland, and Brownsville, Pennsylvania)	No (Lewis's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	
Segment 5a	Ohio River; Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania to Louisville, Kentucky, near the Falls of the Ohio	YES	Lewis and recruits tested the keelboat and weapons and learned to navigate the river.
Segment 5b	Louisville, Kentucky, to the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers Confluence, Illinois/Kentucky/Missouri	YES	Lewis and Clark joined forces and began working together. The Expedition began in earnest.
Segment 6	Ohio and Mississippi Rivers Confluence, Illinois/Kentucky/Missouri to Wood River, Illinois	YES	Expedition members began mapping the Mississippi River and sandbars and began discussions with American Indian tribes.
Segment 7	Fort Massac, Illinois to Fort Southwest Point, Tennessee	No (not traveled by Lewis, Clark, or main body of the Corps of Discovery)	
Segment 8	Kaskaskia, Illinois to Louisville, Kentucky (via Vincennes, Indiana)	No (Lewis and Clark's activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	
Segment 9	Louisville, Kentucky to Sapling Grove, Tennessee/Virginia (contemporary Bristol, Tennessee/Virginia, via Frankfort, Mount Vernon, and Cumberland Gap, Kentucky)	No (Lewis and Clark's individual activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	

Segment Number	Segment Location	Is the Segment Nationally Significant, as Defined by the NTSA?	Rationale for Positive Findings
Segment 10	Bean Station, Tennessee to Staunton, Virginia (via Abingdon, Wytheville, and Fincastle, Virginia)	No (Lewis and Clark's individual activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	
Segment 11	Staunton, Virginia to Richmond, Virginia (via Ivy and Charlottesville, Virginia)	No (Lewis and Clark's individual activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	
Segment 12	Charlottesville, Virginia to Washington, DC (via Orange, Fredericksburg, and Alexandria, Virginia)	No (Lewis and Clark's individual activities do not qualify as nationally significant or establish the route)	
Segment 13	Fort Massac, Illinois to Kaskaskia, Illinois	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 14	Fincastle, Virginia to Huntington, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia) via White Sulphur Springs, Rainelle, and Charleston, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia)	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 15	Mississippi River; Ohio and Mississippi Rivers Confluence, Illinois/Kentucky/Missouri to Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs (contemporary Memphis, Tennessee)	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 16	Fort Pickering, Chickasaw Bluffs to Chickasaw Agency (contemporary Memphis, Tennessee to Old Houlka, Mississippi)	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 17	Chickasaw Agency to Grinder's Stand, Tennessee (contemporary Old Houlka, Mississippi to historic stand location near contemporary Hohenwald, Tennessee)	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 18	Kaskaskia, Illinois to Lusk's Ferry on the Ohio River, Illinois (contemporary Golconda, Illinois)	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 19	Lusk's Ferry on the Ohio River, Kentucky to Louisville, Kentucky (via Hopkinsville, Russellville, Bowling Green, and Elizabethtown, Kentucky)	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 20	Cumberland Gap, Kentucky to Bean Station, Tennessee	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 21	Keswick/Cismon, Virginia to Fredericksburg, Virginia (via Louisa, Richmond, and Bowling Green, Virginia)	No (outside the period of significance)	
Segment 22	Lexington, Kentucky to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania via Limestone, Kentucky (contemporary Maysville, Kentucky), Chillicothe, Ohio, Lancaster, Ohio, and Wheeling Town, Virginia (contemporary Wheeling, West Virginia)	No (not traveled by Lewis, Clark, or main body of the Corps of Discovery)	
Segment 23	Louisville, Kentucky to Cincinnati, Ohio (via Big Bone Lick, Kentucky)	No (outside the period of significance)	

Segment Number	Segment Location	Is the Segment Nationally Significant, as Defined by the NTSA?	Rationale for Positive Findings
Segment 24	Harpers Ferry, Virginia (contemporary West Virginia) to Pittsburg, Pennsylvania (wagon route via Fort Loudon, Bedford, Ligonier, and Greensburg, Pennsylvania)	No (not traveled by Lewis, Clark, or main body of the Corps of Discovery)	

SEGMENT 1: WASHINGTON DC TO HARPERS FERRY, VIRGINIA (CONTEMPORARY WEST VIRGINIA) VIA FREDERICKTOWN, MARYLAND (CONTEMPORARY FREDERICK)

Occupation of this region has occurred for at least 10,000 years, and the associated use of this segment is generally well established and documented from at least the 1600s until the present day. This was the “main route,” especially the section between Fredericktown and Georgetown, within the recently established National Capitol in Washington, District of Columbia. The primary ridge dividing the Potomac River and Rock Creek between contemporary Georgetown and Gaithersburg, Maryland has provided a relatively ideal path for animals and humans in this vicinity. The prehistoric and historic setting of the Maryland Piedmont region was a landscape consisting of extensive woodlands and grand rolling hills and was modified both before and after colonial settlement.

This segment can be divided into two different sections: contemporary Washington, DC to Frederick, Maryland; and Frederick to Harpers Ferry, West Virginia. The section between contemporary Washington, DC and Frederick is known to have first been established as a result of early human use in the area dating back thousands of years. By the 18th century, colonial expansion continued to spread inland, gradually moving further west and upstream from the tidewater lowlands of the Mid-Atlantic Region. Colonists used the very same paths American Indians used, and by the mid-18th century, General Braddock’s military engineers further developed (widened) this path as part of a military expedition during the North American French and Indian War. The other portion of this segment route, Frederick to Harpers Ferry, has similar historical origins as an early American Indian trail between contemporary Frederick and the water gap in the Blue Ridge at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers, today’s contemporary Harpers Ferry.

Meriwether Lewis used this route at least three times in 1803 as part of his preparations for the Expedition. Prior to serving as the president’s secretary to Thomas Jefferson, Lewis had used this same route while in the US Army as part of efforts to quell the Whiskey Rebellion in western Pennsylvania. President Jefferson gave instructions to Lewis to assemble a delegation of members from particular tribes that he met with while on his Expedition, and send them to Washington, DC with an escort. They would travel through the eastern part of the continent and into the new US boundaries, and then meet with President Jefferson at the recently constructed National Capitol. Three separate American Indian Tribal Delegations used this route – in 1804, 1805, and 1806.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery. The explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before. The Corps of Discovery took this route because it was essentially the main route between the important cities of Washington, DC, Fredericktown, Maryland, and Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia).

Lewis, Clark, affiliated party members, and three American Indian Tribal Delegations took this route numerous times. It is fairly well established that this is the route that was used by the American Indian Tribal Delegations; however, there is no conclusive proof of their passage through particular areas. The National Park Service finds that it was the meetings of the American Indian Tribal Delegations and President Jefferson in Washington, DC that are of national significance, not necessarily their actions along the route that delivered them to the National Capitol. The National Park Service does not consider this route to be nationally significant nor eligible for addition to the current Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

SEGMENT 2: FREDERICKTOWN, MARYLAND (CONTEMPORARY FREDERICK, MARYLAND) TO PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA (VIA YORK, PENNSYLVANIA AND LANCASTER, PENNSYLVANIA)

This path ranks as one of the oldest continuously used travel corridors in eastern North America from prehistoric to modern times. Use of the Great Valley as a primary travel corridor stretches back thousands of years during which time a relatively consistent corridor of braided paths, first created and used by animals, later by early prehistoric human travelers, and continuing through historic times remains today a primary corridor for contemporary travelers. This route and connecting trails were important for American Indians in Pennsylvania, and further south through the Great Valley, as it was used as a means of travel, hunting, and trade throughout the valley. Colonial immigrants such as the English, German, Scot-Irish, and African American communities used this route during early stages of Pennsylvania exploration and settlement.

This segment is part of a larger road network that is most commonly known as the “Great Valley Road.” The Great Valley Road references the geographic features of the path, as it was the main route that traversed the flat terrain of the Appalachian Valley from the Canadian border in upstate New York, through Pennsylvania, to Alabama and Georgia in the south. This segment of the road network’s nomenclature is indicative of the period and culture giving the road its name. Evidence shows use of this path for thousands of years. The Monocacy and Susquehanna American Indians, among others, used this path prior to and for some time after European colonial contact with North America. When colonial expansion and migration increased, the name “Great Wagon Road” appeared in the historical record and is demonstrative of north-to-south migration of early colonial immigrants who made their way to the southern “backcountry” of Virginia and the Carolinas where they settled upon cheaper lands. From 1803 on, access to this route helped shape the economy and cultural demographics of the eastern United States.

The connection between Philadelphia and Lancaster was important because it connected one of the largest, most economically prosperous cities in the New World (Philadelphia) to the growing Lancaster. Philadelphia, which served as the US capital a few years prior to 1803, was also the home of the American Philosophical Society, a preeminent scholarly organization with an international reputation. Philadelphia also served as the location where Lewis obtained goods such as the “portable soup” and materials for trade with western American Indian tribes.¹

Meriwether Lewis used this route in the late spring to mid-summer of 1803 during the preparatory phase of the Expedition. This was a defining point in Lewis’s career as he received many months of training by expert scientists in Lancaster and Philadelphia, hand-picked by President Jefferson from the American Philosophical Society; training that would prove crucial to the success of the Expedition. During Lewis’s extensive training by members of the American Philosophical Society, he collected goods to use for trade in establishing relations and trust with American Indian tribes throughout the West. The American Philosophical Society is recognized as a National Historic Landmark for its role in the advancement of science in American history.

Conclusion

This segment was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery during the preparation and return phases of the Expedition. The path was chosen for use due to its established nature; the explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before.

¹ *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents*; edited by Donald Jackson, 69-104.

While the activities of Lewis upon this route contributed to the successful completion of the expedition, they are not in and of themselves nationally significant. Therefore the National Park Service does not consider this route to be nationally significant nor eligible for addition to the current Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

SEGMENT 3: PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA TO WASHINGTON, DC (VIA WILMINGTON, DELAWARE AND BALTIMORE, MARYLAND)

This segment was historically a “fall line road,” an easily navigable road line that naturally descended at the east-west division of high and low elevations along the coast. American Indian tribes such as the Susquehannock and Delaware lived on the banks of the Chesapeake Bay until they were displaced by European colonists. Subsequently, the tribes traveled along corridors such as this route to settle upon western lands such as the Shenandoah Valley.

This segment is most commonly known as “King’s Highway” as a result of expansion of the Boston Post Road in the late 1600s, initiated by King Charles II during his reign of the British American colonies. This road enabled more efficient communication between two of his main colonies, Boston and New York. Eventually the road was extended further south as trade networks expanded and immigration ensued. The study area encompasses a significant portion of the Chesapeake Bay area, and it is important to note that this route directly connected the northern colonies with the southern colonies, meeting in the middle at the capital in Washington, DC and the former temporary capital of Philadelphia.

This route is historically important because it was the main route traveled between the cities of Philadelphia, Baltimore, and the newly established (1790) US capital, Washington, DC, during early US history. The road, part of King’s Highway, began at the Boston Post Road in Boston, Massachusetts and extended down along the east coast to the south in North Carolina. The interconnectedness between adjacent roads and waterways in this portion of the country allowed for easy travel by land or river, whichever proved most convenient and efficient for human travel and transporting supplies. It was use of this route by General George Washington and his cavalry, as well as allied French troops, that enabled the defeat of the British during the American Revolutionary War. In general, military campaigns forged new routes or widened existing roads. The Yorktown campaign used a variety of existing roads, including the portion of this route, which ultimately widened the road.

This route was taken by Lewis and Clark at separate times before and after the Expedition. Additionally, three separate American Indian Tribal Delegations made their way from the west to Washington, DC, and each delegation visited Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Conclusion

The routes associated with this segment were not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery during the preparation and return phases of the Expedition. This route was well established for thousands of years; the explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before. In addition, the route was extensively used for trade, immigration, travel, and more during the early stages of colonialism along the Eastern Piedmont, and as a post road during the reign of King Charles II. The use of portions of this route and its current recognition as the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route National Historic Trail attest to the road’s established nature prior to the significance period of this study.

The National Park Service does not consider this route to be nationally significant for its use during preparations for the Expedition nor eligible for addition to the current Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. The travel, experiences, and meetings of the three American Indian Tribal Delegations may be significant, but would be more appropriately analyzed under a separate study unrelated to the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail, where the level of significance and context can be determined.

SEGMENT 4: HARPERS FERRY, VIRGINIA (CONTEMPORARY WEST VIRGINIA) TO PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA (VIA WINCHESTER, VIRGINIA, CUMBERLAND, MARYLAND, AND BROWNSVILLE, PENNSYLVANIA)

For several millennia, regional American Indian tribes such as the Iroquois and Algonquin used this corridor. The general path was one of three dominant routes through the Appalachian Mountains that connected the eastern lands and settlements on the Atlantic Coast to lands within the Ohio River Valley watershed. The portion of this path where the study segment begins is at Harpers Ferry, once referred to as “The Hole,”² located at the confluence of the Potomac and Shenandoah Rivers. By 1751, this strategic spot had become the established “Harpers Ferry” river crossing, which was used by and named for builder and millwright, Robert Harper.³ The route then proceeded southwest along one of several paths referred to as the Great Wagon Road/Great Valley Road to Charles Town. Very few routes reached western Pennsylvania, but this was one of the primary corridors that connected the important cities of Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. Common names associated with this path include Nemacolin’s Path, Braddock’s Road, Washington’s Road, Burd’s Road, and Gist’s Trace.

Lewis and Clark were familiar with this route prior to the Expedition due to their early military activities, including duties to help suppress the Whiskey Rebellion and maintain order in western Pennsylvania in the 1790s. In 1803, Lewis traveled this road yet again from Harpers Ferry to Pittsburgh where he met his wagon transporter (who traveled upon segment 24; see below) and prepared to float down the Ohio River on his newly constructed keelboat. This extensive route with various sub-segments had been forged at different times and by different people prior to the Expedition. Additionally, the three American Indian Tribal Delegations took this route on their way to Washington, DC and on their return journey back to their respective homelands.

Conclusion

This segment was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery during the preparation and return phases of the Expedition. It was a well-used corridor for millennia prior to the significance period of this study. The explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before. While Lewis had traveled this route numerous times throughout his life, the National Park Service finds that no actions undertaken by him or any other members of the Expedition are considered nationally significant in relation to the Lewis and Clark Expedition and the designated trail.

OVERVIEW FOR SEGMENTS 5A, 5B, AND 6, THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS FROM PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA TO WOOD RIVER, ILLINOIS

² <http://www.nps.gov/hafe/historyculture/robert-harper.htm>

³ <http://www.nps.gov/hafe/historyculture/robert-harper.htm>

For centuries, the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers provided a means of transportation for American Indian tribes long before the coming of Europeans, and a variety of settlements developed along the riverbanks, sustained by early farming and agricultural practices. Other American Indian tribes who lived along the rivers were hunter-gatherers or herders. The rivers offered means for vast territorial exploration and migration, and played a particular role when game became sparse in one area; hunter-gatherers could travel long distances by these river systems to find new lands with bountiful resources. Trade was conducted over vast regions, and artifacts specific to one region have been discovered in parts all over the continental interior, indicative of an expansive multiracial commercial network.

The rapid use of extensive systems of waterways, particularly the great river system of the Midwest, is centered on the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, as well as the Missouri River, which flows through the continental Great Plains. This system was the primary route of national exploration and expansion through several centuries. The Mississippi River provided the opportunity for transportation into the continental interior from the north and east by early American Indian tribes, European American explorers, voyageurs, missionaries, conquerors, and trappers who traveled by canoes, rafts, flat boats, and keelboats. The three rivers were marked by constantly shifting corridors and unpredictable currents, covering nearly 6,000 miles of navigable waterways throughout the national landscape. Use of these rivers improved means of transportation, which assisted in the development of nationwide internal commerce, most notably after the end of the Revolutionary War in 1783 and prior to the commencement of the Civil War in 1861.

SEGMENT 5A: OHIO RIVER; PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA TO LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, NEAR THE FALLS OF THE OHIO

While in Pittsburgh, Lewis purchased the keelboat used for the Expedition and assembled his first group of recruits to man it. This was also where Lewis received the letter from Clark, stating that he (Clark) had committed to join the Expedition. After leaving Pittsburgh on the keelboat with the weapons, supplies, and canoe, Lewis and the men initiated their hands-on activities that were necessary to prepare them for the hardships of the long trip west. Lewis tried out his new guns, experienced the difficulties and delays navigating the river, and learned how to deal with unexpected “riffles” or sandbars blocking the boat. Lewis purchased a pirogue in Wheeling, West Virginia, to supplement and improve on the canoes used by the party. It was also during this time Lewis began taking notes on American Indian sites and began collecting specimens for the president. This is the beginning of Lewis’ journals, a critical factor in the success of the mission.

The actions of Lewis and the early members of the Corps of Discovery along this route amount to a test run to make sure their technology and techniques worked correctly to support exploration, documentation, and contact. Lewis gained a better understanding of the number of men needed for the Corps of Discovery; how to operate the vessels and navigate the sandbars prevalent in the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; and how to map, document, and investigate the surroundings. (As an aside, it should also be mentioned that it is believed Lewis purchased his now-famous Newfoundland dog, Seaman, in Pittsburgh, for \$20. Seaman has in recent years become a celebrated member of the Expedition.)

Conclusion

The National Park Service considers segment 5a nationally significant for its use by members of the Expedition, primarily the actions of Lewis. While the geography of this segment was likely familiar to many of the crew, and there were few new species to discover and document, it was the critical

first step in the search for the all-water route to the Pacific. It was along this route that Lewis officially began his duties as captain of the crew and documentarian for the Expedition.

However, unlike segments 5b and 6, Lewis did not travel with Clark on this route. Many eventual members of the Expedition, notably the “nine young men from Kentucky” that joined the Expedition at the Falls of the Ohio near Louisville, also did not travel this route. Although the actions of Lewis on this segment were very important for the success of the Expedition, most of who would become the Corps of Discovery did not accompany him.

SEGMENT 5B: LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY, TO THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS CONFLUENCE, ILLINOIS/KENTUCKY/MISSOURI

Segment 5b is the outbound journey from Louisville, Kentucky, near the Falls of the Ohio, to the confluence with the Mississippi River. Louisville is the place where Lewis and Clark met for the first time and joined their crews. Historian and author James J. Holmberg notes that “Clark had been anticipating his partner in discovery’s arrival for weeks. News quite likely preceded Lewis’s little flotilla down the Ohio, and Clark would have been waiting for him. Even if he was in Clarksville, word of Lewis’s arrival would have been rushed to him and he would have made all hast to meet his friend rather than wait a day ... for Lewis to pass through the Falls and reach Clarksville” (personal correspondence, 2015).

Prior to this point, they had worked individually, but it was here that the Corps of Discovery was formed and began to work together. Lewis and Clark dismissed some men and added others, including the “nine young men from Kentucky”, and Clark’s slave, York. George Drouillard, a hunter and interpreter key to the Expedition, was engaged at Fort Massac, and journalist Joseph Whitehouse was also added at this time. The Expedition members began mapping the river at this time, including a detailed map of the confluence with latitude readings. Moulton notes that Lewis “gave attention to flora and fauna at the confluence, describing in detail the morphological features of a catfish” (Personal correspondence, 2015). The Corps of Discovery also began meeting American Indians at this time, as they had interactions with Shawnee and Delaware tribes on this segment. Their activities along this stretch of river were remarkably similar to their activities in the western routes; this could be considered the true beginning of the Expedition.

Conclusion

The National Park Service considers segment 5b nationally significant for its use by members of the Expedition and the activities of the explorers. It was along route 5b that Lewis and Clark met for the first time in regard to the start of the Expedition. At the Falls of the Ohio, the two captains “shook hands,” discussed the Expedition, evaluated volunteers, and selected the principal crew members.

The travel of the two men thereafter down the Ohio River is considered nationally significant. While en route to Wood River, the men took measurements at the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, visited Shawnee and Delaware encampments, and began charting the river. At Fort Kaskaskia, the larger crew divided for the first time, with Clark guiding the boats and Lewis going overland for a time. These activities amount to a new use of the river by the Corps of Discovery and establish this segment as a route of the Expedition.

SEGMENT 6: MISSISSIPPI RIVER; OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS CONFLUENCE, ILLINOIS/KENTUCKY/MISSOURI TO WOOD AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS CONFLUENCE, ILLINOIS

At the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers, the Corps of Discovery turned upstream for the first time and began working against the current. This would be their orientation for the next several thousand miles, albeit they paused when they established camp at Wood River for the winter of 1803–1804. The crew learned additional navigational techniques and mapped the river. They also met with regional American Indian tribes in the respective Illinois and Missouri Territories. Their activities along this stretch of river were remarkably similar to their activities in the West.

From November 20 to 28, Lewis kept detailed records of events on the Mississippi, including weather notations, astronomical observations, course and distance calculations, river condition surveys, and landscape evaluations . It was during this period that Clark began his journal, providing a critical additional source for future study (Moulton, personal correspondence, 2015). Moulton goes on to say, “This period is also important because the captains had to deal with Spanish officials who were reluctant or resistant to allowing them to continue their journey into territory that was still under Spanish Control . . . at this time the captains’ negotiating abilities were put to test, much as the captains’ counsels would be with Indians during the Expedition proper” (personal correspondence, 2015). It may have also been on this segment of the river that Lewis and Clark acknowledged to the crew that their actual destination was not the source of the Mississippi (as was stated publicly), but the all-water route to the Pacific via the Missouri (James J. Holmberg, personal correspondence, 2015).

Conclusion

The National Park Service considers segment 6 nationally significant for its use by members of the Expedition and the activities of the explorers. It was along segment 6 that the explorers began mapping the Mississippi River and became acquainted with and educated about the lifestyles of regional American Indian tribes of the Louisiana Territory. The two met with the Spanish administrator for the Louisiana Territory at Cahokia, their first contact with a foreign power during the Expedition. These activities amount to a new use of the river by the Corps of Discovery, and establish this segment as a route of the Expedition.

SEGMENT 7: FORT MASSAC, ILLINOIS TO FORT SOUTHWEST POINT, TENNESSEE

This corridor had long been used by the Shawnee, Cherokee, and Choctaw tribes of the region before the arrival of Europeans and Africans to North America. The earliest written historical documentation of this area can be traced back to the exploration of the Tennessee Territory by Hernando De Soto, a 16th century Spanish conquistador who traveled into the North American Southeast and encountered numerous American Indian tribes, including the Chickasaw in western Tennessee and the Cherokee in eastern Tennessee.⁴ This route was known by several names before and after the period of significance of this study. Common names associated with this route include: Avery’s Trace, Cumberland Road/Trace, Nashville Road/Turnpike, Nashville-Saline River Trail, and Walton Road.

⁴ Native North America. Zimmerman & Molyneaux. 44.

⁵ <http://www.tennesseehistory.com/class/DeSoto.htm>

The exact location and use of this route during the Expedition is speculative at best. It is possible this route was used by Expedition frontiersman George Drouillard during the preparation phase of the Expedition, after he was instructed to search for able and willing men to recruit for the voyage west. Drouillard's orders came from Lewis and Clark after their meeting in Fort Massac, Illinois on November 11, 1803. Drouillard was to go to Fort Southwest Point in Kingston, Tennessee to gather men for the Expedition.

During the time Drouillard supposedly traveled throughout this territory, much of the surrounding lands of Kentucky and Tennessee had been ceded to the US government. Part of this route directly intersected the interior of Cherokee lands, and Drouillard's crossing of these lands to reach Kingston, Tennessee would have been a great risk. The most likely route Drouillard would have taken to reach Kingston, Tennessee would have been from Berry's Ferry to Nashville by way of the Nashville-Saline River Trail, and then on to Avery's Trace, Cumberland Road/Trace, and Walton Road between Nashville and Kingston.⁵ Due to lack of evidence, it is only certain that Drouillard was in Fort Massac between November 11 and December 16, 1803. However, it is known that he gathered men from somewhere in this area and escorted them to Camp Dubois in Illinois.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery. At this time, due to inconclusive evidence, the activities of Drouillard or any other members of the Corps of Discovery while along this route cannot be determined. The National Park Service is sure that Drouillard and other party members were at certain locations near this route, but the route itself is only assumed and not confirmed by evidence. Even if this was the precise route used by Drouillard, his actions are not well enough established to determine that this route has national significance. Therefore, the National Park Service does not consider this route to be nationally significant nor eligible as an addition to the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

SEGMENT 8: KASKASKIA, ILLINOIS TO LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY (VIA VINCENNES, INDIANA)

This route began as an animal path and, like many others, was later adopted by American Indian tribes. This path was used for trade and commerce for hundreds, if not thousands, of years between different villages and American Indian tribes, up through the colonial period and to the formation of the United States. It was one of the best known paths between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, connecting established towns and settlements within the Illinois Territory. Common known route names associated with this segment include Buffalo Trace, Clark's Trace, Vincennes Trace, Harrison's Road, Kentucky Road, Lan-an-zo-ki-mi-wi Trail, New Albany-Paoli Turnpike, Vincennes-Kaskaskia-Cahokia Post Road, Louisville Trace, Old Indian Trail, Old Indian Road, Trace to the Falls, and Road to Kell.

This path is perhaps the most important east-west corridor across southern Indiana and southern Illinois. This is one of the exemplary paths that demonstrate how Pleistocene megafauna established major thoroughfares across the continent as enormous animals in large herds, passing year after year over the same paths. Vincennes (1800–1813) and Kaskaskia (1809–1819) were territorial capitals of Indiana and Illinois, respectively, and therefore travel along the route for

political purposes in developing and managing these “new” territories was critical. The path also remained a treaty line between the United States and Indian (Indiana) Territory for some time.

By the time this route was used in relation to the Expedition, it was a very well-known and established road used as a post route and a business highway, and for trade, travel, and military purposes. On the return from the Louisiana Territory, the overland voyage from Kaskaskia to Clarksville or Louisville was the final stage that Lewis and Clark traveled together, after the Corps of Discovery as a whole had disbanded. The explorers left the rivers behind and traveled overland in an effort to return to Washington, D.C. They escorted the Mandan and Osage Tribal Delegations along the old Buffalo Trace Road until they reached Clarksville or Louisville. It was here the explorers parted as Clark stayed to visit family and Lewis went to Washington, D.C. They would not reunite again until January 1807 at the National Capitol. The actions of the two explorers along this route are not well documented. The National Park Service knows that Lewis and Clark traveled together, with the Mandan and Osage Tribal Delegations and a few remaining members of the Corps of Discovery on this route, but there is not much evidence of specific activities that took place during those travels. The explorers’ biographers do not discuss this route very much, likely because there is so little information recorded during this time. It is presumed the explorers chose this route for its expedience in their desire to return to their homes and Washington, DC.

The first and second American Indian Tribal Delegations accompanied by various Expedition party leaders also traveled along this path, each twice, as they made their way to meet President Jefferson in Washington, DC, and then return to their native lands.

Conclusion

The route was used by Lewis, Clark, and the third American Indian Tribal Delegation, traveling together during their return from the Expedition. This trip is not well documented, and there is not compelling evidence that the activities of the explorers on this segment were significant. It appears the explorers believed their official duties were concluded at this time, given that they ceased recording their journals, dismissed the men under their command, and prepared to go their separate ways to return to the Capitol. The routes were not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery. No activities undertaken by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery are deemed nationally significant compared with the history of the route corridor before the period of significance of this study.

SEGMENT 9: LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY TO SAPLING GROVE, TENNESSEE/VIRGINIA (CONTEMPORARY BRISTOL, TENNESSEE/VIRGINIA, VIA FRANKFORT, MOUNT VERNON, AND CUMBERLAND GAP, KENTUCKY)

Segment 9 consists of several different paths that existed between Louisville, Kentucky, and Cumberland Gap, and between Cumberland Gap and contemporary Bristol, Tennessee. The roads were adopted by early pioneer settlers from regional American Indian tribes. Common names associated with this segment include The Wilderness Road, Boone Trace, Pioneer Road from Lexington to the Falls of the Ohio, Pioneer Road from Harrodsburg to the Falls of the Ohio, Old Road from Fort Washington to Tennessee, The New River and Cumberland Gap Trail, Boones Waggon Road, Harrod’s Old Trace, Warrior’s Path, and Athawominee.⁶

⁶ Indian Trails of the Southeast. 746-749.

The Wilderness Road was one of three major paths into the Kentucky and Ohio River Valley regions from the eastern Piedmont and Appalachian Plateau. This path is important as it was the main route for Pleistocene megafauna and other mammal migration as they crossed long distances to go from one grazing spot to the next, and one salt lick to another. The route was used by the earliest peoples in Kentucky for hunting, trade, and warfare, and was continually used for thousands of years, adopted by historic American Indians and later by colonial immigrants. The network of traces laid by Pleistocene animals formed the path of least resistance and avoided difficult terrain.

Frontier exploration and surveying by people such as Dr. Thomas Walker and Daniel Boone enabled others to have access to information about the path through the Cumberland Gap. Walker provided descriptions of Cudjo Cave, the spring that flows past the iron furnace, and the Indian road followed by the explorers. He also educated colonists by documenting information on the vegetation in the area, such as identifying laurel, beech, clover, and hop vines.⁷

This segment was the first major migration route into Kentucky for early immigrants during the mid to latter half of the 18th century. Post-American Revolutionary War, immigrants flooded into the region, and while nomenclature of this route and smaller paths that branched from the main route go by various names, “Wilderness Road” was the most commonly used named to describe the corridor between the Cumberland Gap; Louisville, Kentucky; and Lexington, Kentucky. Traveling this path provided a means to reach the Ohio River Valley from the lower Appalachian Mountains, Cumberland Gap, and Great Valley of Virginia. Reaching these landscapes allowed newcomers opportunities for acquisition of land and resources, in turn playing a significant role in the territorial expansion and commercial development of the United States.

Lewis, Clark, and Corps of Discovery members traveled this route separately on different occasions, and the first, second, and third American Indian Tribal Delegations traveled portions of this segment while en route to Washington, DC.

Although this segment was not established by the Corps of Discovery, or Lewis and Clark, a significant event took place upon this route upon Lewis’s return journey, which is not directly related to the Expedition. Lewis stopped to stay with Colonel Arthur Campbell of Yellow Creek, Kentucky, who persuaded Lewis to survey the true location of the boundary line between Tennessee and Kentucky, at the Cumberland Gap. This line had long been disputed as being incorrectly located.

Lewis performed the survey and wrote out a certificate of his findings to Campbell. Campbell then sent transcribed copies to the governors of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia, requesting they review and make corrections to their maps. By having Lewis survey the appropriate line, Campbell was attempting to settle a long-disputed boundary.

Conclusion

The routes were not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and there is very little documentation regarding their use of this route. The explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before. No activities undertaken by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery are deemed nationally significant compared with the vast history of the route before the period of significance of this study. While Lewis’s survey of the Cumberland Gap was important, it does not add to the significance of the Expedition. The

⁷ Chapter 3: Wilderness Road: Animal Trace to Modern Highway. 20. NPS document [print]

National Park Service does not find this segment to be eligible for an addition to the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

SEGMENT 10: BEAN STATION, TENNESSEE TO STAUNTON, VIRGINIA (VIA ABINGDON, WYTHEVILLE, AND FINCASTLE, VIRGINIA)

This route was an ancient Pleistocene animal footpath later adopted by American Indian tribes in the region, and used for thousands of years before colonial immigrants followed and altered the route. Common names associated with this route include Jonontore, Great Indian Road by the Treaty of Lancaster, Chesapeake Branch of the Great Valley Road, Great Road from Philadelphia, Great Wagon Road, Great Philadelphia Wagon Road, the Great Warrior Path, Great Warrior's Trail, Great Indian Warpath, and Valley Turnpike.

Use of the Great Valley as a historic primary travel corridor of braided paths remains as an important road network for contemporary travelers today. This second portion of the Great Valley Road/Great Wagon Road extends between Staunton, Virginia and Cumberland Gap, Kentucky.

This route's importance can be attributed to its history as an ancient American Indian footpath that acted as a network for migration, trade, and cultural collision and fusion. This road also exemplifies a period in early US history in which the "east" and the "west" were culturally divided. The history of this route could be explored as a means to understand early relations between colonial settlers and American Indian tribes.

Lewis and Clark used this route numerous times after completion of the Expedition, only once each in relation to the period of significance up to 1807, although they used this path many times up to 1813.

Conclusion

The route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery during the preparation and return phases of the Expedition. The explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before. While the route is significant in the history of early America, the National Park Service does not find that any activities or events that took place along this route hold national significance in relation to the Expedition; therefore, the National Park Service does not consider this route eligible for addition to the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

SEGMENT 11: STAUNTON, VIRGINIA TO RICHMOND, VIRGINIA (VIA IVY AND CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA)

Segment 11 was an important road in early colonial North America and was a well-used travel path for American Indian tribes prior to the period of significance. Common names associated with this segment include Three Notch'd Road, Three Chopt Road, Trail between Pamunkey and New River, The Mountain Road, or Mountain Ridge Road. The Three Notch'd Road has an important history related to early colonial migration and military campaigns.

The route by which Lewis and Clark travelled individually from Staunton, Virginia to Charlottesville (and between Charlottesville and Richmond) was the Three Notch'd Road (also known as the Three Chopt Road), one of the oldest roads still in use in Virginia. Originally, the

Three Chopt Road was an Indian footpath likely following the same tread of a prehistoric animal trail long before it was called the “Mountain Ridge Road” in the early 1700s. The road was called “Mountain Road” for the first decade of its colonial use because it ran from the mountains down between the Rivanna and South Anna Rivers in the most convenient way. The “notches” or “chops” of the road trace are indicative of specified trail blazing for the purpose of guiding travelers.

Lewis’s family was from the area that became Albemarle County and he spent a large portion of his life in this vicinity. He likely used this road regularly throughout his life as it was one of the primary east-west routes in this region. During the period of significance, Lewis and Clark traveled along the Three Notch’d Road separately after completion of the Expedition. Lewis traveled this route between December 11 and December 25, 1806 en route to Washington, DC, to meet with the president for the first time since his departure in July 1803. It is assumed that Clark also took this route several weeks after Lewis, following Clark’s reception in Fincastle, Virginia, as it was the main route. Clark departed Fincastle sometime after January 8 and arrived in Washington, DC on January 18, 1807.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery. The explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before. This route’s expansive history provides many reasons for its importance, but the National Park Service finds no evidence of this route holding national significance in relation to the Expedition. The National Park Service does not recommend this route be considered eligible for addition to the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

SEGMENT 12: CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA TO WASHINGTON, DC (VIA ORANGE, FREDERICKSBURG, AND ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA)

Segment 12 crosses the contemporary counties of Fredericksburg, Spotsylvania, Orange, and Albemarle, Virginia. While several different routes between Charlottesville and Washington, DC existed during this period, this route was one of the most frequently used as it provided the most direct travel route that connected Charlottesville to Fredericksburg, where the long and well-established King’s Highway led directly north to Washington, DC. During colonial times, the route once known as King’s Highway was a well-used travel corridor for mail carriage, and was adopted by early travelers as the main route between Boston, Massachusetts and Charleston, North Carolina. The segment followed the natural topography of the fall line that ran along the coastal Piedmont region of the continental United States. The portion of the route that extends westward is one of the earliest corridors for westward migration, travel, and trade.

The importance of this segment and the three separate component routes can be attributed to the first inhabitants to this region thousands of years ago, followed by early colonial migration and settlement of Virginia, until the present day. The roads between Charlottesville and Fredericksburg were ancient paths used by people of the Monacan Tribe, as they were the predominant tribe that resided in central Virginia, and evidence of burial mounds have been discovered in the vicinity of Charlottesville.⁸ The other portion of this segment, old King’s Highway/Fall Line, allowed travel along a north-south route that linked the 13 colonies. This is significant as it was one of the first ever roads of colonial America and was the main north-south avenue for early migration, travel,

⁸ Please see Segment 11 for history of tribes in Virginia.

correspondence, and commerce and trade of the original colonies. In years prior to colonial immigration, the fall line had been used as a cultural and territorial boundary line between Piedmont and Coastal Plain tribes. Later importance of the route can also be attributed to Union and Confederate troops who traveled and fought along portions of this route during the American Civil War. King's Highway was part of the Washington-Rochambeau Revolutionary Route, and the Orange Plank Road and the Orange Turnpike were both used during the Civil War, including the Battle of the Wilderness on May 5, 1864.⁹

Lewis and Clark traveled this route during separate occasions immediately after the Expedition, each en route to Washington, DC, to meet with President Jefferson to celebrate completion of the Expedition and provide accounts of their time out west.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery. The explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before. This was a well-traveled route, and Lewis and Clark and their families used this route at various points during their lifetimes. The National Park Service does not find the activities of Lewis, Clark, and the Corps of Discovery members while on this route to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition.

SEGMENT 13: FORT MASSAC, ILLINOIS TO KASKASKIA, ILLINOIS

Southern Illinois has been occupied for more than 10,000 years, and the corridor of this route was used by at least the five main tribes of the Illinois Confederation up to and after European contact. The National Park Service speculates that this exact route was forged during the military campaign of American George Rogers Clark from May to July 1778, as he and his men took the overland route from Fort Massac to capture Kaskaskia during the American Revolutionary War.¹⁰

Lewis and Clark spent time in Fort Massac before the commencement of the Expedition during their recruiting phase. This segment, however, between Fort Massac and Kaskaskia, was not used until after the Expedition, outside the period of significance for this study. In 1807, Clark traveled this route on his way to St. Louis from Washington, DC to report for duty as Indian Agent of the Louisiana Territory. York may have used this route in 1808 when Clark, his family, some Corps of Discovery members, and Clark's slaves made their way to St. Louis, a permanent move away from his home and siblings to fully devote his time as Indian agent.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery and was not used by the Corps of Discovery during the period of significance. The National Park Service further finds that no activities undertaken by the Corps of Discovery, or any affiliated party members, were of national significance and, therefore, this route is not recommended to be eligible for addition to the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

⁹ Please see Segment 3 for further history and significance of King's Highway.

¹⁰ George Rogers Clark. Bearss. Pg 69.

SEGMENT 14: FINCASTLE, VIRGINIA TO HUNTINGTON, VIRGINIA (CONTEMPORARY WEST VIRGINIA) VIA WHITE SULPHUR SPRINGS, RAINELLE, AND CHARLESTON, VIRGINIA (CONTEMPORARY WEST VIRGINIA)

This route followed the Kanawha River from the Ohio River to the falls of the Kanawha just below the confluence of the New and Gauley Rivers. From there, the path either followed ridgetops or valleys, connecting to other prominent trails in contemporary western and central Virginia, including the Great Valley route. Common names associated with this route include Kanawha Trace, Kanawha Turnpike, Midland Trail Turnpike, and Kanawha-James River Turnpike.

This route is important as an early transportation path used by American Indian tribes and a migration path for early colonial immigrants moving into the Ohio River Valley. The extensive remains of the Adena and Fort Ancient cultures, as well as many associated trade artifacts, speak to the importance of this trail prior to the colonial period. During the period of colonial westward expansion, this route was one of three primary routes through the Appalachian Mountains. Improvements to this route over time subsequently established this as an important transportation corridor linking this area to the Ohio River Valley.

Clark followed this path on two separate occasions in the post-Expedition years, once for his return to St. Louis following his marriage to Julia Hancock in Fincastle in 1808, and the other to St. Louis following his work with Nicholas Biddle in Fincastle to prepare the Expedition journals for publication in 1810.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and use of this segment is outside of the main period of significance. Furthermore, the National Park Service does not find this route to be nationally significant in relation to the Lewis and Clark Expedition; therefore, it is not recommended to be eligible for addition to the existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. While Clark used this route twice during two important times in his life, his travel dates are outside of the main period of significance for this study and the explorers did not use this route in a different way than it had been used before. The route is not nationally significant because Clark traveled upon it; Clark followed this route because it was one of three main routes through the mountains and was directly linked to Fincastle, Virginia.

SEGMENT 15: MISSISSIPPI RIVER; OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI RIVERS CONFLUENCE, ILLINOIS/KENTUCKY/MISSOURI TO FORT PICKERING, CHICKASAW BLUFFS (CONTEMPORARY MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE)

This segment describes the portion of the Mississippi River between the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, and the Chickasaw Bluffs. As the main river that drains the interior of the North American continent, the Mississippi River has been a source for transportation, trade, and food supply for animals and American Indians for thousands of years. Hernando De Soto is recorded to have explored the Mississippi River in this vicinity in the 1540s, and Sieur de La Salle traveled south on the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico and laid claims to the watershed for Louis XIV in 1682. The presence of the Spanish and French can be understood through the names of various towns established along the river. This river corridor factored prominently in early colonial American history and has remained an important transportation corridor up through

present day. Various tribes that resided along the lower Mississippi River basin during the period of significance include the Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Shawnee. The Ohio River meets the Mississippi River at contemporary southern Illinois, northern Kentucky, and mid-eastern Missouri. The Ohio River is the primary tributary by volume of water for the Mississippi River.¹¹

This route was used only once in direct connection to the Lewis and Clark Expedition during the post-Expedition phase in 1809 when Lewis traveled south from St. Louis by boat on the Mississippi River to the Chickasaw Bluffs where he disembarked at Fort Pickering. The reason for his 1809 trip was to return to Washington, DC to settle debts accrued as part of the Expedition for which he was being held personally accountable, and to consult with President Madison, the Secretary of War William Eustis, and former President Jefferson regarding these debts, political matters, and the pursuit of an editor and publisher for the Expedition journals. On this trip, Lewis was carrying the Expedition journals. He changed his original stated course, which was an all-water route by way of the Mississippi River to the Gulf of Mexico and through the Atlantic Ocean to reach Washington, DC, and rerouted to an interior overland course through Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee to reach Washington, DC. This change in route plans, made while Lewis was at Fort Pickering, has generally been attributed to the growing hostilities between the United States and Great Britain, and the fact that the Expedition journals at the time were considered to be “top secret military documents,” given the contested territorial claims by these two nations of the Pacific Northwest “Oregon Territory.”

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and use of this segment is outside of the main period of significance. Additionally, the National Park Service does not find any activities undertaken to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition.

SEGMENT 16: FORT PICKERING, CHICKASAW BLUFFS TO CHICKASAW AGENCY (CONTEMPORARY MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE TO OLD HOULKA, MISSISSIPPI)

This area is rich in history and culture and is the ancestral homeland of the Chickasaw Nation. This route corridor was historically important and remains significant to the Chickasaw Nation as it was a means for travel, trade, and hunting. It was also important as a main travel corridor for trade and warfare by the French, Spanish, and English during colonial times and is documented on nearly every historic map from the colonial period.

This segment is located between the Chickasaw Bluffs, the site of contemporary Memphis, Tennessee, and the 1809 Chickasaw Agency site that had been established near contemporary Old Houlka, Mississippi. The agency site was established in the vicinity of the major Chickasaw town sites that were located near the contemporary communities of Pontotoc and Tupelo, Mississippi.

Of the many different paths that existed within this corridor, two well-known trails connecting these locations appear to match the 1809 route followed by Lewis and his accompanying party, which consisted of Lewis’s servant, John Pernier, Major James Neelly, Neelly’s servant whose name is unknown, a packer hired to carry the trunks to the Chickasaw Nation on horseback¹², an interpreter, and several Chickasaw chiefs who have yet to be identified.

¹¹ Please see Segments 8 and 9 for the history and significance of the Mississippi River.

¹² Page 467 Jackson.

Lewis arrived at Fort Pickering on September 15, 1809, suffering from the effects of what was apparently malaria, for which he had endured for many years. Following a two-week rest and recovery at Fort Pickering, Lewis and the accompanying party departed the Chickasaw Bluffs on September 29 and traveled to reach the Chickasaw Agency, where Lewis required further rest for several more days between October 2 and 6.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and use of this segment is outside of the main period of significance. Additionally, the National Park Service does not find any activities undertaken to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition.

SEGMENT 17: CHICKASAW AGENCY TO GRINDER'S STAND, TENNESSEE (CONTEMPORARY OLD HOULKA, MISSISSIPPI TO HISTORIC STAND LOCATION NEAR CONTEMPORARY HOHENWALD, TENNESSEE)

This segment follows a portion of the Natchez Trace between the 1809 Chickasaw Agency site near contemporary Old Houlka, Mississippi and the historic Grinder's Stand site, approximately 7 miles east of contemporary Hohenwald, Tennessee. The entire Natchez Trace began on the east bank of the Lower Mississippi River at the contemporary town of Natchez, Mississippi and followed a general northeastern bearing across the present-day states of Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee to reach the site of present-day Nashville, Tennessee. This well-established route was an important path throughout history and prehistory within this region. Historic names associated with this segment route include The Natchez Trace, Natchez Road, Old Natchez Trace, Middle Tennessee Chickasaw Trace, Chickasaw Trace, Path to the Choctaw Nation, and the Mountain Leader's Trace among others, but the Natchez Trace was likely the most commonly identified name during the period related to this study.

The importance of the Old Natchez Trace as a historic route cannot be underestimated. As previously described, the winding network of individual paths linking various communities, though individually perhaps not of outstanding importance, but when joined formed a critical travel path within this region. Following ridgelines between primary watersheds, this vast network of trails that came to be known as the Natchez Trace has been used by humans for thousands of years as a travel route and as a road of commerce. Between the 16th and early 19th centuries, the Natchez Trace linked the important tribes of the Natchez, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Cherokee.

The Chickasaw Agency was established in 1800 on the Natchez Trace and was specifically located adjacent to the major Chickasaw towns that occupied the region within the vicinity of the present-day cities of Pontotoc and Tupelo, Mississippi.

The significance of the Natchez Trace at the close of the 18th century and in the opening years of the 19th century lay in the political, military, and economic importance of the two towns of Natchez and Nashville. Perhaps the importance of these two places was the accidental result of a temporary stalemate of conflicting forces in the Mississippi Valley – American Indian and colonial immigrant, French and British, and Spanish and American. But the Natchez Trace came nearest to a practicable all-weather route without requiring the construction of large numbers of expensive bridges and causeways.

Lewis was traveling along this segment when he fell ill and died in 1809.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and use of this segment is outside of the main period of significance. Additionally, the National Park Service does not find any activities undertaken to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition. Lewis's death while traveling along this route was a contributing factor to the establishment of the Natchez Trace Parkway and Natchez Trace National Scenic Trail.

SEGMENT 18: KASKASKIA, ILLINOIS TO LUSK'S FERRY ON THE OHIO RIVER, ILLINOIS (CONTEMPORARY GOLCONDA, ILLINOIS)

The trail associated with the expedition return phase from Kaskaskia, Illinois to Golconda, Illinois connects through the largely forested region of southern Illinois. The associated name with this trail route is "Lusk's Ferry Road." While other names to identify this route are sure to exist prior to "Lusk's Ferry Road," this is the most well-documented and frequently used name.

This area of Illinois is important for early American history because it exemplifies the shifting cultures and human populations within southern Illinois. Illinois held prosperous lands with lush forest and abundant game for indigenous Illini tribes, including the Chepoussa, Chinkoa, Coiracoentanon, Espeminkia, Maroa, Moingwena, and Tapouaro. Colonial expansion and nearly constant warfare throughout the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, combined with a rapidly changing region with regard to population and land use, resulted in a dramatic shift in landscape, ecology, and culture. Additionally, this trail segment was part of the route taken by the Cherokee tribes living east of the Mississippi River who were forced to be "removed and relocated" as part of federal Indian removal policies and formally dictated by the terms of the 1830 "Indian Removal Act," signed into law by President Andrew Jackson shortly after his election. Now referred to as the "Trail of Tears" by the Cherokee Indians, a portion of this trail segment has been formally designated by Congress as a part of the larger Trail of Tears National Historic Trail.

The William Clark Memorandum Book of 1809 provides some detail of the rivers that were crossed and when, and the individuals he encountered on the route. Clark arrived in Kaskaskia, Illinois on September 4, 1809, from St. Louis. His purpose of travel was to meet Lewis in Washington, DC, as the publications of the Expedition journals had been previously delayed, and it was time their story was accessible to the public. Additionally, Lewis felt an unending desire to protest "representations" against him that he would take his Missouri River Fur Company (a partnership contract with a private company) to the Rocky Mountains to start a new country, implying that he was not loyal to the United States. In addition, Clark had business to attend to with the Department of War.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and use of this segment is outside of the main period of significance. Additionally, the National Park Service does not find any activities undertaken to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition.

SEGMENT 19: LUSK’S FERRY ON THE OHIO RIVER, KENTUCKY TO LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY (VIA HOPKINSVILLE, RUSSELLVILLE, BOWLING GREEN, AND ELIZABETHTOWN, KENTUCKY)

The majority of this route was used only once during the period of significance of this study, although a short portion of this route between Salem and Hopkinsville, Kentucky may overlap the 1803 George Drouillard recruiting route described in segment 7 of this study. While there may be an overlap of different trips, this segment specifically addresses the well-documented trip by Clark in 1809. This path was part of Clark’s overland route to Washington, DC to take up official government matters with the Department of War regarding the expedition, including many of the financial charges that were being billed to Lewis personally, as well as to address several financial affairs on behalf of his brother’s, George Rogers Clark, interests. The other personal reason for the trip was that Clark’s wife Julia had planned to travel home to Virginia with their young son and stay with her family where a greater network of established friends and family provided necessary support, the equivalent of which was not available in the St. Louis region.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and use of this segment is outside of the main period of significance. Additionally, the National Park Service does not find any activities undertaken to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition.

SEGMENT 20: CUMBERLAND GAP, KENTUCKY TO BEAN STATION, TENNESSEE

This short trail segment extends from the Cumberland Gap in southern Kentucky to Bean Station, Tennessee and was a turnpike in the early years of the American “Turnpike Era.” This route follows a branch of the Wilderness Road as described in segment 9 of this study, and provided a more direct route to Knoxville, Tennessee. Common names associated with this route include Turnpike of Clinch Mountain and Turnpike Road to Kentucky.

Clark traveled this route once during the post-Expedition phase in 1809 and he recorded his experiences in his memorandum. With the little documentation available, the National Park Service believes this route is not nationally significant due to the actions of Clark or any other Corps of Discovery members.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and use of this segment is outside of the main period of significance. Additionally, the National Park Service does not find any activities undertaken to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition.

SEGMENT 21: KESWICK/CISMONT, VIRGINIA TO FREDERICKSBURG, VIRGINIA (VIA LOUISA, RICHMOND, AND BOWLING GREEN, VIRGINIA)

The trail associated with the Expedition return phase from Charlottesville to Fredericksburg can be broken into two separate parts. The first portion can be identified by the road that travels west-east from Charlottesville, Virginia to the site of the historic Merry Oaks Tavern, north of Richmond, Virginia through Louisa and Hanover Counties on the watershed divide between the North and South Anna Rivers. The second portion of this segment is located south-north from Richmond, Virginia to Fredericksburg, Virginia along the fall line between the Eastern Piedmont and Coastal Plain Regions. Within this study period, towns of note include Charlottesville, Keswick/Cismont, Louisa, Richmond, Bowling Green, and Fredericksburg, Virginia. Common names historically associated with the portion from Charlottesville to Richmond include the Mountain Road, possibly portions of the Limetrack Road, Louisa Road, and Clark Road. Common names historically associated with the portion from Richmond to Fredericksburg include the Fall Line Road and King's Highway.

Clark's use of this route in 1807–1809 was for personal business matters as well as for purposes associated with Lewis's death. Not only was Clark traveling east to support Lewis with regard to the many debts and charges that were being directed at Lewis personally, but immediately after Lewis's death, Clark assumed full responsibility for the publication of the expedition journals, thus necessitating his further trip to meet with prospective publishers in Philadelphia. Following Lewis's death, Clark was required to meet with and assist Lewis's relatives, who were tasked with managing Lewis's estate.

Conclusion

This route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery, and use of this segment is outside of the main period of significance. Additionally, the National Park Service does not find any activities undertaken to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition.

SEGMENT 22: LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY TO PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA VIA LIMESTONE, KENTUCKY (CONTEMPORARY MAYSVILLE, KENTUCKY), CHILLICOTHE, OHIO, LANCASTER, OHIO, AND WHEELING TOWN, VIRGINIA (CONTEMPORARY WHEELING, WEST VIRGINIA)

This segment covers a portion of the Ohio River Valley, the area surrounding the Ohio River that had great importance for American Indians who resided in this area prior to the period of significance of this study. For thousands of years Paleo-Indian cultures made use of the different paths that make up this segment, which were adopted by colonial immigrants in more recent history. Evidence of colonial immigration and settlement to the west can be seen through archeological and historical evidence and through remnants of old road traces, many of which were transformed into modern roads. The Ohio Territory played a significant role in the evolution and development of the United States. The area was highly active and contested during the early wars of the United States, and amended treaties and their boundary lines within Ohio can be seen on historical maps and through written evidence that documents their placement and shifts.

The routes were significant as ancient American Indian footpaths used for thousands of years, and later adopted and developed by colonial immigrants. Areas within this corridor were significant for early US history because the culture contestation and warfare over land rights occurred here. It is assumed that portions of Zane's Trace followed existing American Indian paths. These early trails crossed through lush forest and were used for travel and as game paths for hunting. This was the

primary route of travel across this portion of Ohio in the newly established United States within newly ceded territory. Use of the route by American Indian Tribal Delegation members is noteworthy because these tribal members were able to move somewhat freely and were protected for long distances within this territory.

Ohio was a long sought-after territory by colonial powers and the new United States because the Ohio River Valley was critical for trade, commerce, power, and control of the interior continent. Zane's Trace and the connecting Kentucky, Virginia, and Pennsylvania routes provided a northern link to the Natchez Trace located further south for returning boatmen and merchants.

This corridor was used by Ohio Indian tribes and was later adopted and forged by the Zane family before the significance period of this study.

Neither Lewis nor Clark traveled this route during the period of significance. This route was used by the first, second, and third American Indian Tribal Delegations during and after the Lewis and Clark Expedition from 1804 to 1806. Each delegation consisted of various tribes encountered during the Expedition, who were sent back to Washington, DC in groups to meet with President Jefferson and other figures in prominent cities along the eastern seaboard.

Conclusion

This route was not followed by Lewis or Clark. The route was not established by any members or affiliated parties of the Corps of Discovery. The National Park Service does not find any activities undertaken to be nationally significant in relation to the Expedition. The significance of travel by the three American Indian Tribal Delegations would be better studied and evaluated under a separate study unrelated to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

SEGMENT 23: LOUISVILLE, KENTUCKY TO CINCINNATI, OHIO (VIA BIG BONE LICK, KENTUCKY)

Segment 23 is located in north-central Kentucky just south of the Ohio River. Common names associated with this route include Louisville-Cincinnati Road via Big Bone Lick (via Drennon's Lick/Drennon's Springs), Road to Big Bone Lick, Alanant-o-wamiowee (Buffalo Path), General Clark's War Road, and Lower Miami Trail.

The routes to and from the Big Bone Lick were examples of ancient paths and the site itself provides significant fossil remains of North American Pleistocene megafauna from thousands of years ago. Additionally, the fossilized remains of these animals provide a fascinating window into the continued use of these same paths by animals and humans alike over the span of many millennia.

Lewis was the first to travel the northern section of this route in the pre-Expedition period of their journey in 1803 to collect specimens at Big Bone Lick for President Jefferson. While Lewis clearly collected specimens that originated from this site and intended to send them to the president, it cannot be definitively proven that he took this route to visit the site. The specimens collected by Lewis may have been purchased nearby, not harvested directly.

The second trip along the southern section of this road segment was made by Clark, who traveled the road at least once, if not twice later in 1807. The reason for Clark's travel was to visit the Mammoth site and collect more specimens for President Jefferson, as the boat carrying the

specimens first collected by Lewis in 1803 sank near the mouth of the Mississippi River while being shipped to President Jefferson.

Conclusion

While the significance of the Big Bone Lick site itself is well established, there is not adequate evidence related to Lewis' visit during the period of significance to confirm the national significance of the route as related to the Expedition. Clark's later visits to the site are well documented, but fall outside the period of significance for this study. This route is not recommended for addition to the established trail.

SEGMENT 24: HARPERS FERRY, VIRGINIA (CONTEMPORARY WEST VIRGINIA) TO PITTSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA (WAGON ROUTE VIA FORT LOUDON, BEDFORD, LIGONIER, AND GREENSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA)

This segment outlines a supporting trail that neither Lewis nor Clark directly used as part of the Expedition, but rather was used by the wagons transporting Expedition supplies to Pittsburgh.¹³ Lewis had supplies shipped from Philadelphia by way of Harpers Ferry to Pittsburgh. At Harpers Ferry, the wagon driver picked up arsenal materials; however, the original transporter decided to renege on the deal because he was concerned about the weight of the arsenal. As a result, Lewis hired a teamster to transport the supplies, which was again unsuccessful. Finally, Lewis hired another local who successfully transported the supplies to Pittsburgh.

Conclusion

Neither Lewis nor Clark traveled this route. It is only speculative that this route was taken in preparation for the Expedition because no definitive sources state whether the wagon teamster actually followed this corridor. Therefore, this segment is not considered nationally significant in relation to the Expedition. This route is not recommended for addition to the established trail.

¹³ For historical significance of western Pennsylvania territory, please refer to Segment 4.

APPENDIX

Context Statement for the Preparation Routes

(Please note that this overview is excerpted from the Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy National Historic Landmark Theme Study written by John S. Salmon dated January 24, 2007. It is included because it provides an excellent summary of the events during the study period. The original document can be found at <http://www.nps.gov/nhl/learn/specialstudies/LewisClarkEasternLegacy.pdf>. The footnotes to this excerpt are at the end of this section.

Introduction

Between 1803 and 1807, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark led an expedition across North America from the Eastern Seaboard to the Pacific Ocean and back. Its mission was, as President Thomas Jefferson put it succinctly, “single”: to identify “the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri and perhaps the Oregon” Rivers. The co-commanders were also to map their route, collect samples of the flora and fauna encountered in their journey, and establish friendly relations between the United States government and the Native tribes of the continent’s interior. They succeeded in all their goals except the principal one, dashing on the Rocky Mountains the ancient dream of a Northwest Passage by water from sea to sea. Of their small party, Lewis and Clark lost only one man, Sergeant Charles Floyd, early in the expedition from an illness that was not then survivable (probably appendicitis). That the journey was accomplished at such a relatively low cost is attributable not only to the skill of the leaders, the hardiness of the men, the vital assistance of the Native people, and good fortune, but also to the careful planning that took place beforehand over the course of more than a year. The sites related to the planning phase, as well as the outward and homeward parts of the journey east of the Mississippi River, constitute the Lewis and Clark Expedition Eastern Legacy.¹

The eastern phase of the Lewis and Clark Expedition may be divided conveniently into several parts. First, Meriwether Lewis and Thomas Jefferson discussed the proposed expedition, conducted research, analyzed alternatives, estimated costs, and arrived at a plan of action. Second, Jefferson arranged for Lewis a course of study in various useful sciences with experts in the fields of astronomy, medicine, and surveying who were fellow members with Jefferson of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia. Third, Lewis purchased supplies, contracted for the construction of a boat, and recruited other members of the expedition, most notably William Clark. Finally, Lewis departed from Washington for Harpers Ferry and Pittsburgh, gathered his supplies, loaded his keelboat, and descended the Ohio River to the Mississippi and eventually Camp River Dubois (Camp Wood), picking up Clark and many crew members en route.

In reality, of course, this phase of the expedition did not happen quite so neatly. Lewis and Jefferson discussed and refined the action plan virtually up to the minute that Lewis left Washington for Pittsburgh, which had not been the first choice of a jumping-off point—it had instead been Nashville, Tennessee. Lewis not only purchased additional supplies as he made his way down the Ohio River, but he also acquired another boat and retained some prospective members of the expedition while dismissing others. Camp River Dubois became the winter camp only because the original plan—to press on up the Missouri River with the permission of the Spanish in St. Louis—had to be abandoned because of earlier delays, Spanish opposition, and the lateness of the season. In other words, improvisation was essential because some aspects of the plan went awry.

A recent U.S. Army study identified four central themes in the logistical (i.e., eastern) phase of the

expedition: “the concept of innovation, the employment of civilian contractors, the anticipation of support from native tribes (host nation support), and difficulty in securing adequate transportation.” Several of the sites associated with those themes survive today—sites as diverse as the American Philosophical Society hall in Philadelphia and the Fort Southwest Point Archaeological Site in Tennessee. Properly preserved and interpreted, these sites help to tell the story of the research, planning, organization, and initial execution of the journey of discovery.²

Prelude: Early Western Exploration

The European explorers and settlers of the New World arrived here with dreams and expectations about what they would find. Some of their notions were based on facts, others on wishful thinking and myth. Certain myths—cities paved with gold, Native mines full of gems and precious metals, the Fountain of Youth—died quickly as the settlers discovered that easy wealth and eternal youth were but lovely fictions. Another dream, however, died hard: that there was an all-water passage through North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Numerous explorers tried to find it and failed, but the hope remained alive that perhaps the next river would provide the link.

The search for the Northwest Passage, as it was called, began in earnest when the first permanent English settlers arrived in present-day Virginia. They had barely established themselves at Jamestown when, in 1608, Captain John Smith undertook two arduous voyages through the Chesapeake Bay seeking, among other things, mines of precious metals and a river that would carry travelers across what many believed to be a narrow strip of land to the Pacific. He quickly found that neither mines nor such a passage existed, at least not in the Chesapeake region. Smith explored and mapped the country, forged alliances with Native tribes and chiefdoms, described his discoveries in his writings, and encouraged the settlement of Virginia and New England to secure control of the country for England.

Over the next two centuries, as other English, Spanish, and French colonists gradually extended their settlements into the continent’s interior, they followed similar patterns. They explored, mapped, and described the land and watercourses. They established trading and military alliances with the Native peoples. They sought to deny territory to other nations while claiming it for their own. They fought wars to extend and consolidate control. And they looked for ways to improve trade routes so they could dominate parts of the continent economically as well as physically.

If the settlers’ search for an all-water Northwest Passage began in 1608 with Captain John Smith, it did not end until almost two centuries had passed. In 1778, Captain James Cook searched along the Pacific coast but found no conclusive water link between West and East. In May 1792, Captains Robert Gray and George Vancouver confirmed the location of the mouth of the Columbia River, and fixed its longitude and latitude, thereby establishing the width of the continent—about three thousand miles—with more certainty than ever before. Vancouver’s subsequent expeditions proved that an all-water route almost certainly did not exist, but there were those in America and elsewhere who hoped that perhaps a short land passage between an eastern and a western river might serve the same purpose. Chief among them—in a position to encourage and support an expedition—was Thomas Jefferson, U.S. Secretary of State.³

Born near Virginia’s frontier in 1743, and the son of an explorer and cartographer himself, Jefferson had had his eye on the West from childhood. The executor of Jefferson’s father’s estate, Dr. Thomas Walker, was a surveyor and frontier explorer whom Jefferson knew well. Jefferson also attended the school operated by the Reverend James Maury, an advocate of western expansion. As an adult politician, Jefferson wrote to General George Rogers Clark in December 1783 to suggest that Clark lead an expedition into the Trans-Mississippi West to counter a similar undertaking

proposed in Britain. Nothing came of either project, but two years later, while serving as minister to France, Jefferson encouraged John Ledyard, an adventurer who proposed to cross the North American continent from west to east after traveling from London through Russia to Alaska. Ledyard got as far as eastern Siberia before Russian officials arrested him and deported him to Poland.⁴

In 1793, Jefferson, a member of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia as well as secretary of state, proposed that the society send French botanist André Michaux to explore the region between the Mississippi River and the Pacific Ocean. Eighteen year-old Meriwether Lewis, whose family knew Jefferson, applied to accompany the scientist, but Jefferson turned Lewis down because of his youth. Jefferson wrote Michaux's instructions, which were to give preference to the Missouri River as a route west from the Mississippi, and to find "the shortest & most convenient route of communication between the U.S. & the Pacific ocean, within the temperate latitudes, & to learn such particulars as can be obtained of the country through which it passes, it's productions, inhabitants & other interesting circumstances." The instructions were almost identical to those Jefferson would give Lewis ten years later. Jefferson also told Michaux to skirt the Spanish settlements there to avoid trouble, since Spain controlled the region. An expedition planned for 1790, with which Jefferson had had no involvement but was probably familiar, had foundered on anticipated Spanish opposition. U.S. Army Lieutenant John Armstrong, under the auspices of U.S. Secretary of War Henry Knox, traveled from Cincinnati to Fort Kaskaskia in the Illinois Territory, then to Cahokia opposite St. Louis. After crossing the Mississippi, intending to proceed up the Missouri River, Armstrong was recalled and the expedition cancelled. Michaux's project also came to naught, after he and the French ambassador, Citizen Edmond C. Genêt, wore out their welcome by plotting against the British and Spanish in violation of President George Washington's proclamation of neutrality. Genêt was expelled in 1793 and Michaux went with him, ending Jefferson's dream of western exploration for the time being.⁵

Planning for the Expedition

On February 23, 1801, shortly before Thomas Jefferson's inauguration as president, he wrote Captain Meriwether Lewis in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to offer him the position of private secretary. Among Lewis's qualifications for the post, Jefferson listed first and foremost "your knowlege of the Western country." In addition, Jefferson told Lewis that he would "save . . . the expence of subsistence & lodging as you would be one of my family," and assured him that the duties would be "easier" than his current ones. Jefferson wrote in a later letter to William A. Burwell that the position of secretary was more like that of an aide, "because I write my own letters. . . . The care of our company, execution of some commissions in the town occasionally, messages to Congress, occasional conferences & explanations with particular members, with the offices, & inhabitants of this place . . . constitute the chief business." Lewis replied on March 10, "I most cordially acquiesce, and with pleasure accept the office." He began wrapping up his affairs immediately.⁶

Meriwether Lewis had been born a few miles west of Jefferson's Monticello in Albemarle County, Virginia, at the family farm called Locust Hill, on August 18, 1774. After his father, William Lewis, died in 1779, his mother married Captain John Marks in 1780. Marks moved the family—which included Meriwether's younger siblings Jane and Reuben—to northeastern Georgia about 1783, where Meriwether lived until about 1787, when he returned to Albemarle County to attend school and learn the management of Locust Hill, which he had inherited as the oldest child. In 1791, Captain Marks died, and soon thereafter Lewis's mother returned from Georgia to Locust Hill, bringing with her John and Mary Marks, Meriwether's half-siblings. In 1794, Lewis served in the militia called out by President George Washington to put down the Whiskey Rebellion in western

Pennsylvania; he rose to the rank of ensign and then joined the regular army. He spent the next several years in various assignments in the then-western parts of the United States, traveling from Pennsylvania through Ohio, as well as to Detroit. He was promoted to lieutenant and eventually to captain, serving as paymaster on the western frontier, but his path was not always smooth. In 1795, while still an ensign, he was courtmartialed for drunk and disorderly conduct that included challenging a superior officer to a duel; Lewis was acquitted. He then transferred to another infantry company, one commanded by a combat veteran, Lieutenant William Clark. Although the two men served together for only six months, it was long enough to form a friendship that lasted until Lewis's death.⁷

Clark, like Lewis, was also a Virginian, born in Caroline County on August 1, 1770. He had family ties to Charlottesville, in Albemarle County, and his elder brother was General George Rogers Clark, a friend of Thomas Jefferson and the conqueror of the Old Northwest during the Revolutionary War. A four-year veteran of the army by the time Lewis joined his company, William Clark had taken part in the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1795. Six months after Lewis began serving under him, Clark resigned his commission because of ill health and a desire to help his famous brother recover the debts owed the general by the United States. Clark returned to Louisville, Kentucky, where his father had settled the family in 1785 on a farm called Mulberry Hill, and resided in the two-story log dwelling there. At Mulberry Hill, on the western frontier, Clark grew to manhood and then left to join the army. On the death of his father in 1799, Clark inherited Mulberry Hill, which he sold to his other brother, Jonathan, in 1803. At about that time, George Rogers Clark moved to a site across the Ohio River just west of present-day Clarksville, where he built a cabin overlooking the falls and where William Clark came to live with him.⁸

Clark and Lewis likely met again face to face between the time that Clark left the army in 1796 and their reunion at George Rogers Clark's cabin in 1803. Clark's travels in the intervening years on behalf of his brother and on other family business took him to present-day Illinois and New Orleans, further familiarizing him with the western part of the country. He also traveled to Washington, D.C., after Jefferson became president, and later wrote of becoming acquainted with him there; surely he would also have visited with his friend Lewis, the president's secretary. The only correspondence between him and Lewis known to survive, however, is a single letter from Lewis written in 1801, in which he asked Clark to inquire about some land in Ohio. The two men somehow found a way to maintain their friendship.⁹

In 1801, having accepted Jefferson's invitation to serve as secretary, Lewis set out from Pittsburgh for the capital, where he arrived on April 1. As a member of the president's household, Lewis established his quarters in what is now called the East Room of the White House. One of his first orders of business was to assist Jefferson in evaluating the army's officers, many of whom Lewis knew personally because of his duties as paymaster and his travels among the various western posts. Jefferson wanted to ensure that the officer corps, of which some members were political appointees, was solidly Republican rather than Federalist. The surgery he and Lewis performed on the corps was done with a scalpel rather than a cleaver, however, and an officer's competence frequently counted for more than his political persuasion. Lewis also attended to the other duties outlined by Jefferson, gathering information, delivering messages to members of Congress, and assisting with correspondence. He dined with Jefferson and his guests, met many influential people, and traveled with Jefferson to Monticello when the president went home. And, there in the White House and at Monticello, he and Jefferson discussed the exploration of the American West.¹⁰

The United States, in the first year of Jefferson's presidency, had no firm western boundary. Beside the Native tribes, other nations claimed various parts of the country west of the Mississippi River, as well as along parts of the river itself. The French, the Spanish, and the British all occupied, or sought to occupy, portions of western North America. Jefferson, an early advocate of westward

national expansion, had a variety of reasons for wishing to explore the region: to advance scientific knowledge, to make friends with the western Native tribes, to secure an all-season trade route from sea to sea, to deny territory and trade routes to foreign powers, to establish the western boundaries of the new nation, and to provide space for the future growth of the population of the United States. The possessor of a rational and organized mind, Jefferson also understood that exploration had to precede settlement or even the establishment of transitory trading routes. A party of explorers could gather accurate information, provide reliable maps, and smooth the way with the Native peoples. To mount such an expedition, however, would require sufficient funds, a capable leader, and political will.

Politics began to assert itself in the spring of 1801, when Jefferson learned of secret treaties between Spain and revolutionary France, led by Napoleon, to transfer New Orleans and the Louisiana Territory from Spanish to French control. This alarmed Jefferson, for Spain had presented little challenge to American expansion and trade; belligerent, Napoleonic France was another matter. Jefferson feared that the United States might be forced into an alliance with Great Britain against the French to protect American interests along the Mississippi River. On October 16, 1802, the Spanish administrator of New Orleans initiated a crisis when he effectively closed the port to American commerce by revoking the “right of deposit”: to offload, store, reload, and ship goods such as cotton, which right had been guaranteed by the Treaty of 1795. The resulting uproar was enormous. To keep the river and the vital port of New Orleans open to American shipping, as well as to avoid war with France, Jefferson planned to send James Monroe to Paris to join Ambassador Robert Livingston in negotiating the sale of New Orleans to the United States. He also sent a request to Congress on January 12, 1803, for almost \$10 million to pay for the city. What he did not then know, of course, was that Napoleon might be inclined instead to sell all of Louisiana, in order to compensate for the recent French military disaster in Santo Domingo, keep his empire at a defensible size, and raise funds for his army as the prospect of war with Britain increased.¹¹

Although, as discussed previously, Jefferson had long been interested in an expedition to the West, it took three specific events to make the concept a necessity for the nation. Two of the events were the retrocession of Louisiana and the closing of the port at New Orleans. The third was the publication in 1801 in Great Britain of Alexander Mackenzie’s book, *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Lawrence, Through the Continent on North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Ocean*. Jefferson at once ordered a copy, which arrived at Monticello when he and Lewis were there in the summer of 1802. Mackenzie had reached the Pacific coast near present-day Vancouver, British Columbia, in 1793, after a couple of attempts. He reported that he had crossed the continental divide at a point where it was only three thousand feet high and easily portaged, across a narrow “height of land” that separated an east-flowing river from one that emptied into the Pacific Ocean. Mackenzie, who was seeking a route across the continent for the British fur trade, had painted his name on a rock near the shore, thereby directing a challenge to the United States. He knew that the route he had taken was unsatisfactory for commerce. Lewis and Jefferson absorbed the book and decided to find a path that would work, ultimately selecting the Missouri River as the most likely avenue. Mackenzie’s easily portaged “height of land” would turn out to be a fiction—at least as regards the route taken by Lewis and Clark—but his estimate of the West Coast’s longitude was remarkably accurate. It enabled Jefferson and Lewis to calculate the width of the continent (about three thousand miles), confirming Vancouver’s earlier estimate, and plan accordingly.¹²

The threat of a strong British presence on the West Coast inspired Lewis and Jefferson to pursue seriously the planning of an expedition on behalf of the United States. For the next few months, both at Monticello and at the president’s house in Washington, the two men plunged into research. Much of it was conducted at Jefferson’s home, among the many volumes in his personal library, arguably the finest in the new nation, and some in Washington among the documents and periodicals available there. The gathering of information continued almost up to the moment that

Lewis departed from Washington for the West in July 1803. Some of it was conducted through the mails, as the president solicited scientific advice from the brightest minds in the United States, in particular from the American Philosophical Society members in Philadelphia. Advice, charts, tables, and lists of recommended equipment made their way to the White House. Lewis studied them and near the end of the year gave Jefferson an estimate of the expedition's cost, assuming a party of ten to twelve men: \$2,500. The estimate included sums for mathematical instruments, weapons, camping equipment, medicine, boats, presents for the Indians, packing materials, the pay of guides and hunters, specie for expenses along the way, contingencies, and "provisions extraordinary."¹³

Late in November 1802, Jefferson met with the Spanish ambassador. Spain had not yet relinquished control of the Louisiana Territory to France, so Jefferson asked him whether his government would object if a small party of explorers crossed the West through Spanish territory to the Pacific Ocean after Congress authorized and funded the undertaking. Jefferson said that in order to get the appropriation, he would tell Congress that the main purpose of the expedition would be to follow the Missouri River to its source and then find the easiest route to the ocean for mercantile purposes. The real reason, however, would be for the information to be gathered about the continent's interior ("the advancement of the geography"). The ambassador replied that indeed his government would object; privately, as he informed the king of Spain, he was concerned that the expedition was merely a ploy to extend American influence across the continent.¹⁴

Despite the ambassador's concerns, on January 18, 1803, Jefferson sent a secret message to Congress. As promised, Jefferson told the legislators that the purpose of the expedition was to promote commerce with the Indians and outmaneuver the British traders. He pointed out that the Missouri River offered a connection, through the Mississippi and its tributaries, with such eastern watercourses as the James River in Virginia, and thereby would link the West with the East. The Missouri also perhaps afforded, "possibly with a single portage," a passage all the way to the Pacific Ocean. It would be worth finding out, he wrote, and could be done inexpensively.

An intelligent officer with ten or twelve chosen men . . . taken from our posts . . . might explore the whole line, even to the Western ocean, have conferences with the natives on the subject of commercial intercourse, agree on convenient deposits for an interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers. Their arms & accoutrements, some instruments of observation, & light & cheap presents for the Indians would be all the apparatus they could carry, and with an expectation of a soldier's portion of land on their return would constitute the whole expense. Their pay would be going on, whether here or there. . . . The interests of commerce place the principal object within the constitutional powers and care of Congress, and that it should incidentally advance the geographical knowledge of our own continent can not but be an additional gratification.

Jefferson closed by asking for an appropriation of \$2,500, the sum that Lewis had suggested. His request was approved and became law on February 28.¹⁵

Jefferson sent letters to several members of the American Philosophical Society between February 26 and March 2, confidentially soliciting their help with the expedition. He first wrote Andrew Ellicott in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and then Benjamin Smith Barton, Caspar Wistar, Benjamin Rush, and Robert Patterson (all of Philadelphia). Ellicott was the country's leading astronomer and mathematician; Barton was a prominent physician, naturalist, and lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania; Wistar was a professor of anatomy at the university; Rush, a professor of medicine

there, was perhaps the most eminent physician in America; and Patterson taught mathematics at the university. Although each letter varied in the specifics, that to Barton was typical:

What follows in this letter is strictly confidential. You know we have been many years wishing to have the Missouri explored & whatever river, heading with that, runs into the Western ocean. Congress, in some secret proceedings, have yielded to a proposition I made them for permitting me to have it done: it is to be undertaken immediately, with a party of about ten, & I have appointed Capt. Lewis, my secretary, to conduct it. It was impossible to find a character who to a complete science in botany, natural history, mineralogy & astronomy, joined the firmness of constitution & character, prudence, habits adapted to the woods, & a familiarity with the Indian manners & character, requisite for this undertaking. All the latter qualifications Capt. Lewis has. Altho' no regular botanist &c. he possesses a remarkable store of accurate observation on all the subjects of the three kingdoms, & will therefore single out whatever presents itself new to him in either: and he has qualified himself for taking those observations of longitude & latitude necessary to fix the geography of the line he passes through.

Jefferson then told each scientist that Lewis would arrive soon to seek instruction in various specialties, including botany, zoology, medicine, "Indian history," astronomy, and the use of various scientific instruments. He also sought each man's advice on the supplies, scientific and otherwise, that Lewis needed to take with him.¹⁶

The scientists assented enthusiastically. Ellicott's reply, written on March 6, was no doubt typical:

I shall be very happy to see Capt. Lewis, and will with pleasure give him all the information, and instruction, in my power. The necessary apparatus for his intended, and very interesting expedition, you will find mentioned in the last paragraph of the 42d page of my printed observations made in our southern country, a copy of which I left with you. But exclusive of the watch, I would recommend one of Arnold's chronometers, (if it could be had,) for reasons which I will fully explain to Mr. Lewis.

Mr. Lewis's first object must be, to acquire a facility, and dexterity, in making the observations, which can only be attained by practice; in this he shall have all the assistance I can give him with aid of my apparatus. It is not expected that the calculations can be made till after his return, because the transportation of the books, and tables, necessary for that purpose, would be found inconvenient on such a journey. The observations on which Arrowsmith has constructed his map of the northern part of this country, were all calculated in England.¹⁷

In the middle of March, Lewis set off to begin his graduate tour of Pennsylvania, but instead of going there first, he traveled to Harpers Ferry, in present-day West Virginia, to check on the progress of several items he had ordered from the U.S. armory there. These included weapons, especially rifles and tomahawks, as well as a collapsible iron frame for a boat or "canoe" to be covered with hides at the appropriate time and used in the upper reaches of the Missouri River. It would be relatively easy, he thought, once the imaginary "height of land" was in sight, to collapse the canoe, transport it and the supplies across the height, and then reassemble all of it to descend the Columbia to the Pacific. Lewis spent much time at the armory overseeing the frame's construction, calculating weights and loads, and testing parts of it. All for naught; when the time

came, there was no pitch to seal the seams of the hides used to cover the frame, and the craft leaked like a sieve. It was abandoned on the Missouri River.¹⁸

From Harpers Ferry, Lewis wrote to the commanders of the army posts at Southwest Point, Tennessee, and Massac and Kaskaskia in Illinois, informing them that he would be requisitioning men from their garrisons for the expedition. He reserved the right to take men of his own choosing, and return those who proved unsatisfactory. Secretary of War Henry Dearborn followed up later with similar letters to the officers at the various forts. Lewis also wrote to Congressman William Dickson at Nashville, Tennessee, forwarding \$50 and asking him to purchase a “large light wooden canoe” and contract with a “confidential boat-builder” there to construct a large boat to serve as the primary vessel for transporting soldiers and supplies. Lewis planned to descend the Cumberland River to the Ohio, pick up his men along the way, and arrive at St. Louis by August.¹⁹

After a month, Lewis finally left Harpers Ferry to begin his studies, arriving in Lancaster on April 19 and immediately calling on Andrew Ellicott. Lewis wrote Jefferson the next day to bring him up to date and to tell him that he had “commenced, under [Ellicott’s] direction, my observations &c to perfect myself in the use and application of the instruments. Mr. Ellicott is extremely friendly and attentive, and I am confident is disposed to render me every aid in his power: he thinks it will be necessary I should remain here ten or twelve days.” While in Lancaster, a center for the production of so-called “Kentucky” long rifles, Lewis may have visited gunsmiths and purchased a few rifles to augment the fifteen he had acquired at Harpers Ferry.²⁰

Lewis departed from Lancaster for Philadelphia on May 7. He carried letters from Ellicott to two of the astronomer’s colleagues, and they both began with the same words—“This will be handed to you by my friend Capt’n. Lewis”—that illustrate the bond that the two men had formed over the course of two and a half weeks. Ellicott had trained Lewis in the use of the chronometer, the sextant, and other instruments for calculating longitude and latitude. In Philadelphia, Lewis continued his training and also began acquiring scientific instruments and supplies. He relied on the scientists of the American Philosophical Society for advice concerning the former, as well as for instruction in their care and use. For supplies, he depended on the purveyor of public supplies, Israel Whelan, who spent more than a month helping Lewis purchase Indian trade goods, clothing, camp equipment, provisions, medicine, and packing material. Lewis also purchased a large quantity of “portable soup,” which apparently consisted of meat and vegetables boiled down to a paste that was then dried. When reconstituted with water, it was hardly delicious but was adequate to hold off starvation. This vast pile of supplies was carefully packed in numbered storage bags—an important, obvious-but-sometimes-neglected innovation that allowed Lewis to consult a list and locate essential items when needed without searching the entire load of cargo.²¹

Lewis also acted on another clever idea, perhaps inspired by watching watermen and pondering the challenges of river transport during his month in Harpers Ferry. The explorers needed to carry with them sufficient gunpowder and lead for their rifles, both for hunting and to defend themselves if necessary. Ordinarily, large quantities of lead bars (to be melted and cast into balls later) and wooden barrels of powder served the purpose. The problem, as Lewis knew, was that the barrels and powder were almost certain to get soaked by rain, waves, or boats overturning in the water. Instead of packing the powder in wooden casks, someone, perhaps Lewis, thought of using lead canisters to be filled with powder and stopped with corks. After a container of powder was emptied into the men’s powder horns, the lead could then be melted and cast into balls. This elegant solution resulted in dry powder, containers that were transformed into ammunition, and the saving of the weight of wooden casks. George Ludlum, a Philadelphia plumber, made fifty-two powder canisters for Lewis in May.²²

Meanwhile, back in Washington, Jefferson had been drafting a set of detailed instructions to Lewis for the expedition, circulating them among his Cabinet members for comment, and revising them accordingly. On April 27, Jefferson mailed Lewis what the president called a “rough draught” and asked him to show it to Barton, Patterson, Rush, and Wistar for their input. The scientists offered suggestions both verbally and in writing, with Rush submitting a lengthy list of queries about Indian “physical history & medicine,” morals, and religion. Lewis and Clark later combined the questions with others possibly suggested by Barton and Wistar to produce a guide for examining virtually every aspect of western Indian life and culture. Rush also prepared an extensive list of rules for preserving Lewis’s health and that of his men during the expedition.²³

Lewis wrote Jefferson on May 29 that he hoped to leave Philadelphia for Washington by the end of the first week of June. Although his studies under the scientists had been going well, Patterson’s other obligations had delayed him; Lewis had spent the time acquiring equipment. He had also written Dickson in Nashville about the boat and canoe he had ordered, having heard nothing from the congressman. Lewis must have received a negative response soon thereafter, for by mid-June he had abandoned the plan to float down the Cumberland River from Nashville. Instead, he had decided to descend the Ohio River from Pittsburgh, a major center of boat-building for western settlers, where he had ordered the construction of a keelboat. He had also arranged for the supplies to be hauled to Pittsburgh from Philadelphia by way of Harpers Ferry, where the wagon driver was to pick up the weapons. Lewis returned to Washington through Wilmington, Delaware, and Baltimore, Maryland. He had been to Wilmington before with a friend from Philadelphia, and he hoped to procure a tiger skin for Jefferson in Baltimore.²⁴

Once back in Washington, Lewis entered the last stage of organizing the expedition. Most important, on June 19 he wrote a letter to William Clark. He first referred to some Clark family papers that he was enclosing, and apologized for the delay in sending them. The delay, he wrote, “has really proceeded from causes which I could not control,” and then he gave Clark a detailed description of the principal cause: planning a journey up the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean and back. He explained the essential goals and objectives of the expedition, and that he planned to leave from Pittsburgh, and asked Clark to recruit some young men from his neighborhood in Kentucky, if he thought any were suited to the hardships the party was likely to encounter. Lewis also informed Clark that the “whole immense country watered by the Mississippi and its tributary streams, Missouri inclusive, will be the property of the U. States in less than 12 Months.” He also mentioned the scientific and geographic discoveries he hoped to make. Lewis then issued a charming invitation, no doubt knowing that Clark would find it irresistible:

Thus my friend you have so far as leisure will at this time permit me to give it you, a summary view of the plan, the means and the objects of this expedition. If therefore there is anything under those circumstances, in this enterprise, which would induce you to participate with me in its fatigues, its dangers and its honors, believe me there is no man on earth with whom I should feel equal pleasure in sharing them as with yourself.

Lewis also proposed a shared command, normally anathema in military undertakings, but which in this instance would prove uniquely successful. He wrote that Clark would be equal in rank (a captain) and in reward with him: “your situation if joined with me in this mission will in all respects be precisely such as my own.” Months later, when Clark’s commission as a lieutenant arrived, a disappointed Lewis insisted that the distinction be kept a secret from the soldiers, and so both men have been referred to as captains ever since. In 1811, when the expedition journals were being prepared for publication, Clark, in response to a question from the editor, reiterated that he and Lewis were “*equal in every point of view*” (his emphasis). He added, “I did not think myself very well treated as I did not get the appointment which was promised me,” but he decided not to “make

any noise about the business.” He asked the editor to “place me on equal footing with Cap. Lewis in every point of view without . . . mentioning the Commission at all.”²⁵

On June 20, at the White House, Jefferson gave Lewis his final instructions. The president noted that the governments of France, Spain, and Great Britain had been informed of the mission and that Lewis had been given a French passport. Jefferson stated the object of the expedition: “to explore the Missouri river, & such principal stream of it, as, by it’s course and communication with the waters of the Pacific ocean, whether the Columbia, Oregon, Colorado or any other river may offer the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce.” Lewis was to take careful observations and measurements, ensure that his notes were guarded and copied to safeguard against loss, and gather information on a host of subjects of scientific and geographical interest. Jefferson instructed him as well, “in all your intercourse with the natives, treat them in the most friendly & conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit.” He also told Lewis that if ever the survival of the party was at risk, he was to turn for home, “to bring back your party safe even if it be with less information.” Assuming Lewis reached the Pacific, he and some or all of the party could then return by sea around Cape Horn if passage on a ship could be secured. Jefferson issued a letter of credit on July 4, promising that the United States would reimburse anyone who assisted Lewis.²⁶

On the evening of July 3, a note arrived at the White House from Rufus King, U.S. ambassador to Great Britain, who had just disembarked in New York with messages to the president from Robert Livingston and James Monroe. On April 30, Livingston and Monroe had signed a treaty with France that confirmed the new nation’s purchase of New Orleans and all of Louisiana. With the stroke of a pen, the United States had more than doubled in size and war had been averted. The purchase also meant that Lewis and Clark would be exploring not foreign soil but the country’s newest territory, although it would remain under Spanish administration until formal transfer ceremonies the following year. It was glorious news nonetheless, and an auspicious overture to the expedition.²⁷

On July 5, Lewis left Washington for Pittsburgh, stopping at Frederick, Maryland, that evening. There, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas H. Cushing, of the inspector’s office, earlier had ordered eight men to be detached from the post at Fort Mifflin in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and marched to Pittsburgh. They were to assist Lewis in getting down the Ohio River, and then would be assigned to Fort Adams in the Mississippi Territory. In Frederick, Lewis also learned that the wagon from Philadelphia had passed through the town on its way to Harpers Ferry. When he reached the arsenal the next day, the driver was long gone to Pittsburgh, having left the weapons and other supplies waiting for him at Harpers Ferry with the excuse that they were too heavy for his wagon. Lewis departed on July 8 after testing the weapons and arranging for their transportation. He arrived in Pittsburgh on July 15 after a dusty ride and, as the mails were about to close, scribbled a hasty note to Jefferson to say that he had not yet had time to check on the progress of the boat he was having constructed there.²⁸

The work, Lewis soon learned, was not going well at all. He wrote to Jefferson a week later, on July 22, of his disappointment and frustration.

The person who contracted to build my boat engaged to have it in readiness by the 20th [of July]; in this however he has failed; he pleads his having been disappointed in procuring timber, but says he has now supplied himself with the necessary materials, and that she shall be completed by the last of this month; however in this I am by no means sanguine, nor do I believe from the progress he makes that she will be ready before the 5th of August; I visit him every day, and endeavour by every means in my power to hasten the

completion of the work: I have prevailed on him to engage more hands, and he tells me that two others will join him in the morning, if so, he may probably finish the boat by the time he mentioned: I shall embark immediately the boat is in readiness, there being no other consideration which at this point detains me.

Lewis mentioned that the wagon with the arms from Harpers Ferry had arrived, as well as seven recruits from Carlisle (one had deserted).²⁹

Lewis wrote Jefferson again four days later, but omitted any mention of the boat. Not until September 8, after he arrived in Wheeling (in present-day West Virginia), did Lewis send another letter to the president, and in it he detailed his problems in getting the craft completed and under way from Pittsburgh. There, he wrote, “I had been most shamefully detained by the unpardonable negligence of my boat-builder” who, “according to his usual custom . . . got drunk, quarrelled with his workmen, and several of them left him.” With the builder “constantly either drunk or sick,” Lewis wrote, “I spent most of my time with the workmen, alternately persuading and threatening.” He had even contemplated abandoning Pittsburgh, buying two or three “perogues” or small open boats, and descending the Ohio River, trusting that he could purchase a suitable large boat somewhere downstream. Local merchants, however, talked him out of the idea, telling him that there was no hope of finding what he wanted anywhere else.³⁰

Amid Lewis’s troubles, a bit of good news arrived: a letter from Clark dated July 18, gladly accepting Lewis’s offer. “I will cheerfully join you,” Clark wrote, “and partake of the dangers, difficulties, and fatigues, and I anticipate the honors & rewards. . . . This is an undertaking fraught with many difficulties, but My friend I do assure you that no man lives with whom I would prefer to undertake Such a Trip &c. as your self.” Clark also wrote that he would engage a few men pending Lewis’s approval. Lewis replied on August 3 that he was “much gratified with your decision; for I could neither hope, wish, [n]or expect from a union with any man on earth, more perfect support or further aid in the discharge of the several duties of my mission, than that, which I am confident I shall derive from being associated with yourself.” All of the supplies were ready in Pittsburgh, he wrote, to be loaded on the boat if it was ever completed. The boatbuilder had just promised Lewis “that she shall be in readiness by the last of the next week.”³¹

From Pittsburgh to Camp Wood

It was not until “7 O’Clock on the morning of the 31st Ultmo. [August 31] that my boat was completed,” Lewis wrote to Jefferson on September 8, “and at 10. A.M. on that same day I left Pittsburgh.” Lewis also began a journal on the day of departure, in which he reported a slightly different time: “Left Pittsburgh this day at 11 ock with a party of 11 hands 7 of which are soldiers, a pilot and three young men on trial they having proposed to go with me throughout the voyage. Arrived at Bruno’s [present-day Brunot] Island 3 miles below. halted a few minutes. went on shore and being invited on by some of the gentlemen present to try my airgun.” Lewis’s air gun, a weapon that compressed air in a chamber by means of a pump, has been the subject of considerable speculation among weapons experts. Recent research suggests that while in Philadelphia, Lewis probably acquired the gun from Isaiah Lukens, a watchmaker who also made such weapons. Whether Lukens actually made the weapon that Lewis purchased or sold him one made by another craftsman is even less certain, although it may have been a Girandoni repeating air rifle. At any rate, Lewis fired the weapon several times, then handed it to one of the gentlemen; he fired it accidentally while handling it, and “the ball passed through the hat of a woman about 40 yards distant cutting her temple.” To Lewis’s great relief, the woman was only nicked. He got the boat under way again and floated downstream a short distance to a “ripple” or “riffle”—a sand- or gravel

bar partly exposed by the river's unusually low water level. The hands disembarked to "lift the boat over about thirty yards," and then climbed back aboard to float to the next riffle. This procedure was repeated twice more before Lewis ordered a halt for the night, "much fatigued." So began the voyage down the Ohio River, the first of many exhausting days spent alternatively floating in or dragging the boat. The task would have been even more difficult had Lewis not anticipated trouble and sent some of the supplies by wagon to Wheeling, to be picked up there.³²

The next morning, Lewis and company awoke in a thick fog, which the pilot explained commonly occurred in the mornings at that time of year. There was nothing to do but wait until the rising sun burned it off, for not far downstream were riffles more difficult to pass than those encountered the day before. About 8 A.M., the men got the boat underway, and soon they found the first riffle, which took them two hours to get over. The next riffle was even worse, Lewis wrote, for "here we wer obliged to unload all our goods and lift the emty Boat over, about 5 OC[l]ock we reach the riffle called Woolery's trap, here after unloading again and exerting all our force we found it impracticable to get over, I therefore employed a man with a team of oxen with the assistance of which we at length got off. we put in and remained all night having made only ten miles this day." So it went, day after tedious day, with the fogs and the riffles causing maddening delays.³³

Lewis and his party passed Steubenville, Ohio, a "small well built thriving place" on September 6, and Charlestown (in present-day West Virginia) the next day. Late in the afternoon they reached Wheeling, where Lewis had consigned his supplies sent overland from Pittsburgh, and found them in good order. He wrote Jefferson on September 8, detailing his troubles with the Pittsburgh boatbuilder and describing his progress to date. He reported that he had covered about a hundred miles by water despite the riffles.³⁴

In Wheeling, Lewis met Dr. William Ewing Patterson, son of Robert Patterson of Philadelphia who had instructed Lewis. When the younger Patterson expressed an interest in accompanying the expedition, Lewis agreed provided he could be ready by the next afternoon. He was not, and Lewis went on without him. He had not gone far, however, before he discovered that the bread he had ordered baked in Wheeling was not on board, so Lewis sent a soldier back to get it. On September 10, the soldier returned with the bread, and Lewis got underway again. Late in the morning, after passing more riffles, he ordered a halt to examine an "Indian grave" or mound on the eastern side of the river, in present-day Moundsville, West Virginia. This was Lewis's first encounter on the expedition with an important Native site, and he described it carefully. After a hike through the woods, Lewis found that "the mound is nearly a regular cone 310 yards in circumpherence at its base & 65 feet high terminating in a blunt point whose diameter is 30 feet, this point is concave being depreed about five feet in the center, arround the base runs a ditch 60 feet in width which is broken or inte[r]sected by a ledge of earth raised as high as the outer bank of the ditch." Lewis also wrote that he was told that when the earth of another mound nearby was removed, "the skeletons of two men were found and some brass beads were found among the earth near these bones."³⁵

By this time, Lewis was commanding a small flotilla consisting of the keelboat and pirogue purchased in Pittsburgh, a leaky canoe bought in Georgetown, Pennsylvania, and another pirogue picked up in Wheeling. Lewis hoped to lighten the keelboat as much as possible by distributing the supplies and men among the other vessels. His tactic helped, but not much. On September 13, the party arrived at Marietta, Ohio, where Lewis wrote Jefferson from "On board my boat opposite Marietta" that although he was now a hundred miles (in reality about eighty) downstream from Wheeling, the low water continued to slow his progress. Several times, he reported, he had had the men dig channels through the riffles. Sometimes all efforts failed and he had to resort to horses or oxen to pull the keelboat through: "I find them the most efficient sailors in the present state of the navigation of this river, altho' they may be considered somewhat clumsey." Lewis released two of his hands in Marietta and hired a new one. In the morning his departure was delayed until he could

locate two other men who had gone into town in the night and gotten drunk.³⁶

On September 28, the party reached Cincinnati, Ohio, where Lewis wrote two letters. The first, written the same day, was to Clark, from whom Lewis had found two letters awaiting him. Clark had described some of the young men he was considering for the expedition, and Lewis replied that they sounded acceptable. Lewis next wrote to Jefferson on October 3, explaining that his crewmen were so exhausted by the voyage that he thought it wise to rest them for a few days while he bought fresh provisions. On October 1, he had sent the boat on while he planned an overland trek to Big Bone Lick, a place already famous for its bones of extinct mammals such as the woolly mammoth. It would take the boat three days to reach the place where it would pick up Lewis, he explained, while he would only have to cover seventeen miles by land by way of the lick. He told Jefferson that he had examined the collection of Dr. William Goforth, a Cincinnati physician who had excavated part of the Big Bone Lick site and found many mammoth bones. Lewis described Goforth's collection in considerable detail, compared some items with similar bones he had seen in Caspar Wistar's hands while in Philadelphia, and enclosed several samples for Jefferson. He also asked the president to send him some "Vaccine matter" to inoculate his men against smallpox, as well as a copy of the Louisiana Purchase treaty so that he could show it to inhabitants of the new territory.³⁷

Lewis then concluded with a proposal that disturbed Jefferson, judging from his later reply. By this time, Lewis knew that the season was too far advanced for him and his party to ascend the Missouri River for any distance. Instead, he would have to go into winter quarters somewhere near its confluence with the Mississippi River. Fearing that Jefferson might encounter growing opposition to the expedition from Congress if Lewis appeared to be stalled, he proposed a "tour this winter on horseback" of a few hundred miles through part of the territory near the camp, so that he could find something on which to report. He would also send Clark out on his own "excursion." He hoped that the information they gathered "if it dose not produce a conviction of the utility of this project, will at least procure the further toleration of the expedition." Jefferson wrote Lewis on November 16, enclosing the items that Lewis had requested, suggesting alternative locations for his winter camp, observing that he had discussed Lewis's plan with the cabinet, and emphatically stating that

One thing however we are decided in: that you must not undertake the winter excursion which you propose in yours of Oct. 3. Such an excursion will be more dangerous than the main expedition up the Missouri, & would, by an accident to you, hazard our main object, which, since the acquisition of Louisiana, interests every body in the highest degree. The object of your mission is single, the direct water communication from sea to sea formed by the bed of the Missouri & perhaps the Oregon. By having Mr. Clarke with you we consider the expedition double manned, & therefore the less liable to failure, for which reason neither of you should be exposed to risques by going off of your line.

The proposed excursion did not take place.³⁸

On or about October 4, Lewis visited Big Bone Lick as promised, and collected a large number of bones that he forwarded to Jefferson. He then boarded the keelboat, and ten days later arrived at the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, Kentucky. The next day, the party passed through the falls with the aid of pilots and tied up on the north bank near Clarksville in the Indiana Territory. Lewis went to the home of George Rogers Clark and there reunited with his friend, William Clark. For the next eleven days, the three men discussed the expedition and evaluated the dozens of volunteers who flocked to Clarksville, hoping to be chosen. By October 26, Lewis and Clark had selected the

principal members of what became known as the Corps of Discovery, and the group got under way. It included Lewis, Clark, Clark's slave York, the seven temporarily assigned soldiers from Carlisle, and nine new permanent members: John Colter and George Shannon, who had joined Lewis en route and arrived at Clarksville with him, and William Bratton, Joseph and Reuben Field, Charles Floyd, George Gibson, Nathaniel H. Pryor, and John Shields, who had been recruited by Clark. On November 11, the men landed at Fort Massac, on the north bank of the river in the Illinois Territory near present-day Metropolis, where Lewis was disappointed not to find eight soldiers who had volunteered at Fort Southwest Point in Tennessee. He hired George Drouillard, a renowned woodsman, as an "Indian Interpreter," and dispatched him to Tennessee to locate the volunteers and bring them up the eastern bank of the Mississippi River to the winter camp to be established somewhere opposite St. Louis. Besides Drouillard, Joseph Whitehouse, and possibly John Newman joined the expedition at Massac.³⁹

The party left the fort on November 13 and descended the Ohio River to its junction with the Mississippi, arriving at the site of present-day Cairo, Illinois, the next day. There, the men rested for a week while Lewis and Clark went back and forth across the river, taking measurements with the scientific equipment and visiting some Shawnee and Delaware Indians encamped on the western shore. On November 20, the expedition began its slow ascent of the Mississippi, heading to St. Louis and struggling against the current. Along the way, zigzagging back and forth across the river, Lewis and Clark took measurements and notes and drew charts describing and illustrating the sandbars and islands they encountered. They put in at Cape Girardeau on the Missouri shore on November 23, where they rested and Lewis attended a horse race with the "commandant" of the place, Louis Lorimier. Clark remained with the boats, ill. The next morning, the party set out again, exploring streams and taking measurements. On November 28, the boats arrived at Fort Kaskaskia, where the party divided. Clark, who had recovered, took charge of the flotilla and remained nearby for a few days. He and the boats then ascended the Mississippi to Cahokia, an ancient former French settlement on the eastern side of the river just downstream from St. Louis, arriving there on the afternoon of December 7.⁴⁰

At Kaskaskia, meanwhile, Lewis met with Captains Russell Bissell and Amos Stoddard, who commanded infantry and artillery companies there respectively. Pursuant to Lewis's orders, they asked for volunteers and then selected likely candidates for the expedition from among their men. Those selected probably left with Clark by boat, while Lewis departed on December 5 on horseback for Cahokia. He arrived there on December 7 (ahead of Clark) and immediately asked U.S. postmaster John Hay and French fur trader Nicholas Jarrot from Cahokia to assist him in conferring with Colonel Carlos Dehault Delassus, lieutenant governor of Upper Louisiana, in St. Louis. The Spanish administrator spoke French as well as Spanish but no English; Hay and Jarrot spoke French; Lewis could speak neither French nor Spanish. The party went at once to St. Louis and got a very courteous reception from Delassus, who nonetheless refused to give Lewis permission to start up the Missouri River, citing his orders from New Orleans. He agreed, however, to write the Spanish governor general in New Orleans for permission to let the expedition pass in the spring. Lewis spent the night in St. Louis, then returned to Cahokia the next day, where he found Clark. On December 10, the entire party left Cahokia in the evening and spent the night opposite St. Louis. Lewis went into the town the next morning, while Clark made his way upriver with the boats to Wood River (River Dubois) on the eastern bank of the Mississippi, where he arrived on December 12 in a snowstorm. There, he established the winter camp nearly across from the mouth of the Missouri River, about seventeen and a half miles above St. Louis. Clark put the men to work clearing land, cutting a road, and constructing cabins, which were completed by Christmas Eve.⁴¹

For the remainder of the winter, Lewis shuttled among St. Louis, Cahokia, and Camp River Dubois, also called Camp Wood. Perhaps it had been during the long, hard pull against the Mississippi

current that the co-commanders realized that they would need a much larger party to make their way up the Missouri, unless they wanted to work their men to death. Drouillard arrived at the camp from Fort Southwest Point, Tennessee, on December 16 with eight recruits; four were accepted. Lewis and Clark continued to assess volunteers, accepting some and rejecting others, until the Corps of Discovery had grown to more than forty men. To supply and feed all the extra mouths, Lewis purchased extra foodstuffs in St. Louis, where he spent a great deal of time interviewing knowledgeable residents about the Missouri River and the land through which it passed. Clark refined and enlarged the list of questions that Benjamin Rush wanted answered about the western Indians. Lewis also wrote Jefferson from Cahokia; the president had written Lewis several letters in which he opened by remarking how long it had been since he had heard from the explorer. Fortunately, occasional newspaper accounts of Lewis's progress surfaced to keep Jefferson from getting too worried. Lewis's letters, when they finally reached Washington, showed Jefferson that his faith in the commander had not been misplaced: Lewis was gathering useful information, taking care of his men, working well with the authorities on both sides of the Mississippi, and making discoveries. On March 26, 1804, Lewis sent Jefferson cuttings from a plant unknown to science—the Osage orange, which he called the “Osage apple”—as well as a wild plum and a description of the white-tailed jackrabbit (both of which were previously unknown to the eastern United States).⁴²

On January 22, 1804, Jefferson wrote to Lewis with welcome news: the transfer of New Orleans to American control had taken place on December 20 and the Spaniards had sent orders to their posts to turn them over as soon as practicable. The president instructed Lewis on what to tell the Indian tribes about the implication of the transfer: “that henceforward we become their fathers and friends.” He wanted Lewis to assure the tribes that they would continue to prosper by trading their furs to the Americans. Also, Lewis had been elected to membership in the American Philosophical Society; Jefferson told Lewis he would keep the explorer's certificate of election for him until he returned.⁴³

The transfer ceremonies for Upper Louisiana took place on March 9 and 10 in St. Louis, with both Lewis and Clark in attendance. Captain Stoddard was there from Kaskaskia with a detachment from the 1st Infantry Regiment; he represented both the American and French governments for the ceremonies. First, Lieutenant Governor Delassus had the Spanish flag lowered and presented to Stoddard, who accepted it on behalf of the French government and ran up the Tricolor. The crowd, mostly French, cheered and asked Stoddard to leave the flag aloft overnight, which he did. The next day, in another ceremony, Stoddard lowered the French flag and raised the Stars and Stripes, then signed the appropriate documents. St. Louis and Upper Louisiana had become part of the United States.⁴⁴

Then came the bad news. A letter to Lewis from Secretary of War Henry Dearborn, written on March 26, arrived early in May. He enclosed Clark's commission, which was for a lieutenancy, not the captaincy that Lewis had promised his friend. Dearborn explained that “the peculiar situation circumstances and organisation of the Corps of Engineers is such as would render the appointment of Mr. Clark a Captain in that Corps improper—and consequently no appointment above that of a Lieutenant in the Corps of Artillerists could with propriety be given him.” Although Dearborn stated that Clark would be paid as a captain, Lewis was mortified and angered. He sent the commission to Clark on May 6, enclosing Dearborn's letter. “It is not such as I wished,” he wrote, “or had reason to expect; but so it is—a further explanation when I join you. I think it will be best to let none of our party or any other person know any thing about the grade.” It remained their secret for years, until Clark revealed it to the editor of the journals in 1811 and swore him to silence.⁴⁵

The expedition was almost ready to head west. Despite all the planning that had taken place before the spring of 1804, Lewis and Clark spent the last couple of months at Camp River Dubois in a veritable frenzy of activity. Twenty-five men were selected and trained as permanent members of

the expedition, including three sergeants and twenty-two privates. Additional hired watermen, whom Lewis referred to as the “French Engagees,” were engaged to help get the flotilla of one keelboat and two pirogues as far up the Missouri as the Mandan towns, and then return to St. Louis. The keelboat was fitted with swivel-mounted blunderbusses fore and aft, and one was placed on each pirogue. All the boats were outfitted with sails to help the men row up the Missouri when the wind was right. Lewis arranged for the transportation of a delegation of Osage Indians to Washington, where they would meet Jefferson and tour the capital. Clark and Lewis took turns going back and forth to St. Louis from the camp, hiring watermen, acquiring additional trade goods, purchasing supplies, and tending to other endless details. On May 7, while Lewis was in the city, Clark loaded the keelboat and the next day took it out on the Mississippi to check its balance. Returning to shore, he had the cargo redistributed and then began the same process with the two pirogues. By May 13, all was ready, he wrote Lewis, who would travel overland to St. Charles on the Missouri and board the keelboat there.⁴⁶

The next day, May 14, Sergeant John Ordway began keeping a journal, as ordered by Lewis and Clark. He described the day’s events briefly:

A Journal commenced at River Dubois Monday May the 14th 1804. Showery day. Capt. Clark Set out at 3 oClock P. M. for the western expedition. one Gun fired. a number of Citizens to see us Start, the party consisted of 3 Sergeants & 38 Good hands, which maned the Batteaux and two pearogues. we Sailed up the Missouri 6 miles & encamped on the N. Side of the River.

At last, the voyage of discovery was under way.⁴⁷

Coming Home: From St. Louis to the East

The Corps of Discovery returned to St. Louis on September 23, 1806. William Clark announced the news to his brother Jonathan in a letter: “We arrived at this place at 12 oClock today from the Pacific Ocean.” Meriwether Lewis wrote in a similar vein to Thomas Jefferson in a letter of the same date: “It is with pleasure that I anounce to you the safe arrival of myself and party at 12 OClk. today at this place with our papers and baggage.” Sergeant Ordway concluded his journal with a description of the expedition’s end, after it had paused briefly at the old Camp River Dubois, which had been transformed into a “plantation”:

About 12 oClock we arived in Site of St. Louis, fired three Rounds as we approached the Town and landed oppocit the center of the Town, the people gathred on the Shore and Hizzared three cheers. we unloaded the canoes and carried the baggage all up to a store house in Town. drew out the canoes then the party all considerable much rejoiced that we have the Expedition Completed and now we look for boarding in Town and wait for our Settlement and then we entend to return to our native homes to See our parents once more as we have been so long from them.

The journey home was about to begin, as eagerly anticipated by Lewis and Clark as by the men.⁴⁸

First, however, Lewis and Clark had to wrap up the expedition, pay off its members, dispose of equipment, arrange for the shipment of specimens, and—most important— inform President Jefferson of their discoveries and of their safe return. Lewis, learning that the mail had just left for Cahokia, sent a request to the postmaster there to hold it until he could write a short letter to Jefferson. First, he gave the president the bad news: there was not only no all-water route to the Pacific Ocean, but also the Rocky Mountains were no mere “height of land.” Second, the good news: the Missouri was navigable, it abounded in beaver and otter, the Rockies could be crossed in

the summer, and the Columbia River was navigable along most of its course. He also described some of the animal skins and botanical specimens he had collected. In a postscript he noted that everyone had returned “in good health.” And he wrote a glowing appraisal of Clark, stressing his co-commander’s equality with himself and refusing to acknowledge his lesser rank:

With respect to the exertions and services rendered by that esteemable man Capt. William Clark in the course of late voyage I cannot say too much; if sir any credit be due for the success of that arduous enterprize in which we have been mutually engaged, he is equally with myself entitled to your consideration and that of our common country.

Lewis proposed returning to Washington by way of Cahokia, Vincennes (Illinois), Louisville, and, after crossing into Virginia through Cumberland Gap, the towns of Abingdon, Fincastle, Staunton, and Charlottesville. After he closed and posted his letter, Lewis joined Clark and the men to celebrate.⁴⁹

The celebrations went on for several days, and a month elapsed before the expedition was closed out. The captains spent the time selling equipment, paying and discharging the soldiers, and writing letters. It took thirty-one days for Lewis’s letter of September 23 to reach Jefferson, who wrote Lewis on October 26 that he had received it “with unspeakable joy.” It was not until early in November that Clark and Lewis finally left St. Louis, with a large entourage, for Kentucky. On November 9 they arrived at Louisville, where the citizens gave them a feast, and where they were reunited with George Rogers Clark at Locust Grove, where the brothers’ sister Lucy lived with her husband, William Croghan. By November 13, they were at Frankfort, Kentucky. From there, the exact route that Lewis and Clark followed, and at what point they separated, is not certain. Lewis was in Staunton, Virginia, by December 11, where he wrote a letter to Henry Dearborn. He arrived back home at Locust Hill two days later, and attended a banquet in his honor in Charlottesville on December 15. After Christmas with his mother at Locust Hill, Lewis left for Washington, arriving on December 28 for what must have been a very happy reunion with Jefferson at the White House.⁵⁰

Clark, meanwhile, departed from Locust Grove on December 15 and headed for Fincastle, Virginia, where he had friends among the prominent Preston and Hancock families. He had a special interest in visiting the Hancocks: the fifteen-and-a-half-year-old daughter of Colonel George Hancock, Judith, who was known as Julia. He had named a tributary of the Missouri River for her, and she would become his wife in January 1808. Clark probably arrived in Fincastle late in December or early in January 1807. On January 8, the citizens of the town gave Clark a celebratory party on the courthouse square. Botetourt County sheriff Patrick Lockhart delivered an oration on behalf of the townspeople, in which he stated,

In whatever situation it may hereafter please the Supreme Being to place you, it will be a source of unmixed gratification to remember that in order to meet the just expectations, which your appointment by Government had excited, you have navigated bold & unknown rivers, traversed Mountains, which had never before been impressed with the foot steps of civilized man, and surmounted every obstacle which climate, nature, or ferocious Savages could throw in your way. You have the further satisfaction to reflect that, you have extended the knowledge of the Geography of your country; in other respects enriched Science; and opened to the United States a source of inexhaustible wealth, no event, which occurred during the expedition, can, in the smallest degree, impair the force of those solacing reflections.

Clark replied, on behalf of Lewis as well,

To meet with the approbation of our country for the attempt which has been made to render services to the government by Capt. Lewis, myself and the party that accompanied us, is a source of the highest gratification. It will be a pleasing reflection in future life to find the expedition has been Productive of those advantages to our country, geography, and science that you are willing to imagine.

He promised to deliver a copy of Lockhart's address to Lewis.⁵¹

A few days after the celebration, Clark left Fincastle for Washington, where he arrived on Sunday evening, January 18. He wrote to his brother Jonathan four days later that "Sence that time have been engaged in formal visits to the heads of departments and partakeing of the Sumptuous far[e] of many of the members [of Congress], maney of whome I have become acquainted with." There were undoubtedly long, congenial hours spent at the White House as well, where the two friends regaled their mentor with stories of the West over glasses of Jefferson's fine wines and plates of gourmet delights. It had been almost six years since Meriwether Lewis had arrived in Washington to serve as private secretary to the president. Jefferson's longtime dream of western exploration had come to fruition at last, thanks to the careful planning that took place in the White House and at Monticello. The president had accurately gauged Lewis's abilities and his potential for growth, had sent him to Pennsylvania to learn what he needed to know, had appointed him to lead the expedition, and had seen his judgments confirmed. Lewis, for his part, had selected his dearest friend to be co-commander, had fought the bureaucracy tenaciously for Clark's equal status, and had accomplished his difficult, stressful mission while maintaining the friendship as well as the partnership. Together, the two men had selected and led a group of young frontiersmen halfway across the continent and back, losing only one. They had taken part in one of the greatest adventures in American history, advanced geographic knowledge, discovered new species almost daily, and returned with the written record of their achievements intact. Now, in January 1807, the grand adventure had ended, and they were back where all the planning had begun.⁵²

Postscript

The rounds of parties and meetings that William Clark described in his January 22, 1807, letter to his brother contributed eventually to Clark's appointment as superintendent of Indian affairs for the Louisiana Territory and as brigadier general of militia there. Lewis was appointed governor of the Louisiana Territory.⁵³

The reunion of Meriwether Lewis with Thomas Jefferson in the White House, and William Clark's arrival there on January 18, 1807, marked the end of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Next would come Clark's long and respected career in the West, culminating in his service as governor of the Missouri Territory. Lewis would pursue unsuccessfully the publication of the expedition journals and then die by his own hand along the Natchez Trace in 1809. Clark finally published an edited version of the journals in 1814.

The expedition's vitally important geographical discoveries and the story of its experiences were recorded on Clark's maps and in the journals kept by several members of the Corps of Discovery. Most of the original maps that Clark drew were used to prepare other manuscript maps or given to engravers and printers for publication and then lost. One was sent to the War Department from the Mandan villages in April 1805. It was published in two versions in 1805 and 1806; the original passed from the War Department to Jefferson to the publisher and has disappeared. Lewis brought

a second Clark map to Washington in 1806 and it was used to prepare another map. The former map is lost and the latter is in the Boston Athenaeum. A third Clark map, which he drew in St. Louis about 1809, is in the Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, as are Clark's field notes, begun while he was at Camp Wood. Most of the separate detail maps he prepared are in this collection as well. Other maps, which were drawn in the journals, are with the journals at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Sergeant John Ordway's manuscript journal is also in the Society's collection. Charles Floyd, the only member of the Corps of Discovery to die during the expedition, kept a journal that has been published; the original is at the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Patrick Gass's manuscript journal disappeared after it was published in 1807. Robert Frazer kept a journal that was later lost, although it was proposed for publication immediately after the expedition. Joseph Whitehouse's journal has been published; the manuscript is in the Newberry Library, University of Chicago. Nathaniel Pryor and Alexander Willard may have kept journals, but they have not come to light. Hugh Hall may have written a journal, but if so, it later was consumed in a fire.⁵⁴

Footnotes:

¹ Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents: 1783–1854* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:137.

² Donald L. Carr, *Into the Unknown: The Logistics Preparation of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2004), 65.

³ Roy E. Appleman, ed., *The Lewis and Clark Expedition [National Historic Landmark Theme Study]* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1958), 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 17–21.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 21–23.

⁶ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:2–3.

⁷ Stephen E. Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage: Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1996), 21–22, 24–28, 38–46.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 45–46, 97; Roy E. Appleman, ed., *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places Associated with Their Transcontinental Exploration (1804–06)* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, 1975), 54–55; James J. Holmberg, ed., *Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002), 32–33.

⁹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:101, 2:572; Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places*, 55; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 97.

¹⁰ Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 60–65.

¹¹ Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 72–73, 78–79; Jon Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense: The Louisiana Purchase and the Destiny of America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 245–258.

¹² Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 73–75.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 76–79; Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places*, 28; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:8–9.

¹⁴ Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 77; Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places*, 26–28; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:4–6.

¹⁵ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:10–14.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:16–19, 21.

¹⁷ The Thomas Jefferson Papers, 1606–1827, Library of Congress, image 1177, Andrew Ellicott, Lancaster, PA, to Thomas Jefferson, President U.S., March 6, 1803, www.memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/jefferson_papers/ (accessed July 23, 2006); also printed in Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:23–24.

¹⁸ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:39–40; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 248–249; Carr, *Into the Unknown*, 24.

¹⁹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:38, 103–104.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:40; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 87.

- ²¹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:45, 69–75, 78–99; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 87–88; Carr, *Into the Unknown*, 66.
- ²² Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 89; Carr, *Into the Unknown*, 66; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:80.
- ²³ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:44, 50–51, 54–55, 157–161. 18
- ²⁴ Ibid., 1:51–53, 57; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 64.
- ²⁵ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:57–60, 2:571–572.
- ²⁶ Ibid., 1:61–66, 105–106.
- ²⁷ Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense*, 284–287.
- ²⁸ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:67, 106–107, 110; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 100, 103. The boat is often called a keelboat but was not, strictly speaking, the same as the vessels of that type that plied the Western waters for many decades. It was a “keeled boat,” constructed on a keel, but was more like a galley. The identity of the boatbuilder and the location of the yard have never been established. No receipt for payment for the boat’s construction has been found, and Lewis’s letters and journals are silent on the subject. They do not, however, contain references to any other place in regard to the boat than Pittsburgh. The town of Elizabeth, located on the Monongahela River more than twenty-two miles south of Pittsburgh by water and fifteen miles by land, has long claimed to be the site. Lewis, however, visited the shipyard daily and after loading the boat on August 31 stopped just three miles downstream at Brunot’s Island, a feature that is still called by that name. Several shipyards were located within three miles of the island around Pittsburgh, many miles from Elizabeth. For a detailed discussion of the debate, see Patricia Lowry, “Who Built the Big Boat?”, in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, August 3, 2003, www.postgazette.com/ (accessed July 14, 2006).
- ²⁹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:112.
- ³⁰ Ibid., 1:113–114, 121–122.
- ³¹ Ibid., 1:110–115.
- ³² Ibid., 1:121–122; Milo M. Quaife, ed., *The Journals of Captain Meriwether Lewis and Sergeant John Ordway Kept on the Expedition of Western Exploration, 1803–1806* (Madison: The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1965), 31; Robert D. Beeman, “New Evidence Points to the Lewis and Clark Air Rifle—An ‘Assault Rifle’ of 1803 (March 13, 2006)” and “‘Proceeding’ On to the Lewis and Clark Airgun,” www.beemans.net (accessed Aug. 19, 2006).
- ³³ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 32–33.
- ³⁴ Ibid., 37–38; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:121–122.
- ³⁵ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 39–42.
- ³⁶ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:124; Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 43–44.
- ³⁷ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:124–131.
- ³⁸ Ibid., 1:131, 137.
- ³⁹ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 47; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 118–119.
- ⁴⁰ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 58–74; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 121–122.
- ⁴¹ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 74–76; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:145–147.
- ⁴² Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 74–76; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:144–166, 170–171; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 123–127.
- ⁴³ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:165–166.
- ⁴⁴ Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 123–127; Kukla, *A Wilderness So Immense*, 321.
- ⁴⁵ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:172, 179.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., 1:175; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 128–137.
- ⁴⁷ Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 79.
- ⁴⁸ Holmberg, *Dear Brother*, 101; Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:319–320; Quaife, *Journals of Lewis and Ordway*, 402.

⁴⁹ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:319–324; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 396–402.

⁵⁰ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:350, 353; Ambrose, *Undaunted Courage*, 407–410.

⁵¹ Gene Crotty, *The Visits of Lewis & Clark to Fincastle, Virginia: Why Was a Montana River Named for a Fincastle Girl?* (N.p.: The History Museum and Historical Society of Western Virginia, 2003), 34–35, 40–43.

⁵² Holmberg, *Dear Brother*, 119.

⁵³ Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:376.

⁵⁴ Appleman, *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places*, 376–377; Larry E. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers after the Expedition* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004), 156–157, 160–161, 168, 175, 182.

LEGISLATION DIRECTING THIS STUDY

S. 2739 [became P.L. 110-229]: Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008

May 2, 2008 - Enrolled Bill. This is the final text of the bill or resolution as approved by both the Senate and House.

SEC. 343. LEWIS AND CLARK NATIONAL HISTORIC TRAIL EXTENSION.

(a) Definitions- In this section:

(1) EASTERN LEGACY SITES- The term 'Eastern Legacy sites' means the sites associated with the preparation or return phases of the Lewis and Clark expedition, commonly known as the 'Eastern Legacy', including sites in Virginia, the District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, Missouri, and Illinois. This includes the routes followed by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, whether independently or together.

(2) TRAIL- The term 'Trail' means the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail designated by section 5(a)(6) of the National Trails System Act (16 U.S.C. 1244(a)(6)).

(b) Special Resource Study-

(1) IN GENERAL- The Secretary shall complete a special resource study of the Eastern Legacy sites to determine--

(A) the suitability and feasibility of adding these sites to the Trail; and

(B) the methods and means for the protection and interpretation of these sites by the National Park Service, other Federal, State, or local government entities or private or non-profit organizations.

(2) STUDY REQUIREMENTS-

(A) IN GENERAL- The Secretary shall conduct the study in accordance with section 5(b) of the National Trails System Act (16 U.S.C. 1244(b)).

(B) IMPACT ON TOURISM- In conducting the study, the Secretary shall analyze the potential impact that the inclusion of the Eastern Legacy sites is likely to have on tourist visitation to the western portion of the trail.

(c) REPORT- Not later than 3 years after the date on which funds are made available to carry out this section, the Secretary shall submit to the Committee on Natural Resources of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the Senate a report containing-

(1) the results of the study; and

(2) any recommendations of the Secretary.

Public Law 108-387, passed by the U.S Congress on October 30, 2004, authorized the Secretary of the Interior to “update, with an accompanying map, the 1958 Lewis and Clark National Historic Landmark theme study to determine the historical significance of the eastern sites of the Corps of Discovery expedition used by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, whether independently or together, in the preparation phase starting at Monticello, Virginia, and travelling to Wood River, Illinois, and the return phase from Saint Louis, Missouri, to Washington, District of Columbia, including sites in Virginia, Washington, District of Columbia, Maryland, Delaware, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois.” The Lewis and Clark Eastern Legacy Study 2007, contained a narrative history of the preparation and return phases of the Corps of Discovery, outlined the themes for which properties could be evaluated for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or designation as National Historic Landmarks, and provided an inventory of sites associated with the expedition’s Eastern Legacy.

The basis for evaluating a potential national historic trail is set forth in the National Trails System Act, PL 90-543, as amended. This act specifies that any proposed national historic trail (or extension) must be nationally significant. NPS uses the NHL criteria and NHL themes to determine the significance of trail routes.

As part of this study, the NPS evaluated over 6,000 miles of trail routes traveled by the explorers. The study team evaluated the activities of the men along these routes to determine if they met the criteria for historical and national significance as defined by the National Trails System Act. Of the total studied, 1,196 miles have been found to meet the criteria for national significance: the river routes used to travel from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Wood River, Illinois. The river routes were determined to be significant based on the activities of Lewis and Clark, and for their contribution to the success of the main Expedition. The river routes are proposed for further study for potential addition to the existing national historic trail. (Criteria for suitability, feasibility, and other factors have not yet been finalized; this submittal deals only with the national significance of the routes under study.)

Name of Property:	Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Extension Routes
City, State:	Multi-state: routes along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Wood River, Illinois
Period of Significance:	January 1803-January 1807; routes found to be significant were traveled between August 31, 1803, and May 14, 1804.
NHL Criteria:	Criteria 1 and 2
NHL Themes:	V. Developing the American Economy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 6. Exchange and trade 7. Governmental policies and practices VI. Expanding Science and Technology <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Scientific thought and theory VIII. The Changing Role of the United States in the World Community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Expansionism and imperialism
Previous Recognition:	1978 Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail
National Historic Context:	V. Political and Military Affairs, 1783–1860 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> D. Jeffersonian Period, 1800–1811 X. Westward Expansion of the British Colonies and the United States, 1763–1898 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. British and United States Explorations of the West <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806

NHL Significance:

- The existing Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is significant for its far-reaching effect on the culture of the United States. The existing trail is particularly associated with the topics of trade and commerce, exploration, migration and settlement, military campaigns, and the history of American Indians. These areas of significance are expanded by the proposed extension routes:

- The actions of Lewis and the early members of the Corps of Discovery from Pittsburgh to Louisville amounted to a test run, to ensure their technology and techniques would support exploration and documentation. Lewis gained a better understanding of the number of men needed for the Expedition, how to operate the new vessels, how to navigate the sandbars prevalent here and in the Mississippi River; and refined his techniques to map, document, and investigate the surroundings.
- Louisville is the place where Lewis and Clark met for the first time since their previous collaboration during US military campaigns, and where they joined their preliminary crews. Prior to this point, they had worked independently, but it was here that the full Corps of Discovery was formed and began to work together. They stayed in Louisville and Clarksville for several days to solidify their plans and their crew. Once back on the water, they mapped the river's course and met American Indian tribes of the southern Illinois territory and surrounding areas. Their activities along this stretch of river were remarkably similar to their activities along the rivers of the Louisiana Territory.
- At the confluence of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers, the Expedition turned upstream for the first time and began working against the current. This would be their orientation for the next several thousand miles. The crew gained familiarity with the keelboat and pirogues. Here, they acted as diplomats, conversing with foreign powers, who maintained rights over the land they approached, and with American Indian tribes, who occupied the land. Again, their activities along this stretch of river were remarkably similar to their activities in the West.

Integrity: (Please note that per National Trails System Act, integrity is not required for national historic trails as it is for national historic landmarks.)

- These sections of trail have very limited integrity; the explorers' presence was ephemeral.
- Integrity of location is assumed. The exact path of travel is well documented along the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; however, those rivers have changed course over the last 200 years.

Owner of Property: Multiple private and public property owners between Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Wood River, Illinois.

Acreage of Property: The total number of trail miles studied was 6,146. 1,196 miles have been preliminarily determined to be nationally significant, and are proposed for further evaluation.

Origins of Nomination: The trail extension study has been conducted as directed by Section 343 of PL 110-229, the Consolidated Natural Resources Act of 2008.

Potential for Positive Public Response or Reflection on NHT Program:

- Extending the designated trail to the east may draw additional volunteers and supporters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.
- The extension is strongly favored by several national and regional Lewis and Clark interest and advocacy groups.

Potential for Negative Public Response or Reflection on NHT Program:

- The existing trail struggles to maintain adequate partnerships and staffing to cover its long distance. Adding additional trail miles may exacerbate this issue, and it may take many years for NPS to be able to effectively partner in these new areas.
- The central event behind the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the military exploration through the Louisiana Territory, is already designated. Expert peer reviewers have noted that none of the study routes are as significant as the routes already designated as the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail. There may be dissatisfaction at expanding the reach of the National Park Service as related to this trail.
- Additional segments were also studied for this project but were found not to meet significance criteria of the National Trails System Act; there may be confusion and negative response that certain segments have been found significant while others have not.

Landmarks Committee Comments:

Landmarks Committee Recommendation: Mr. Harris moved, Dr. Carson seconded; unanimous approval of the trail's statement of significance.

Public Comments Favoring Designation (received as of):

Advisory Board Recommendation: verbally approved at 6/2/2016 meeting