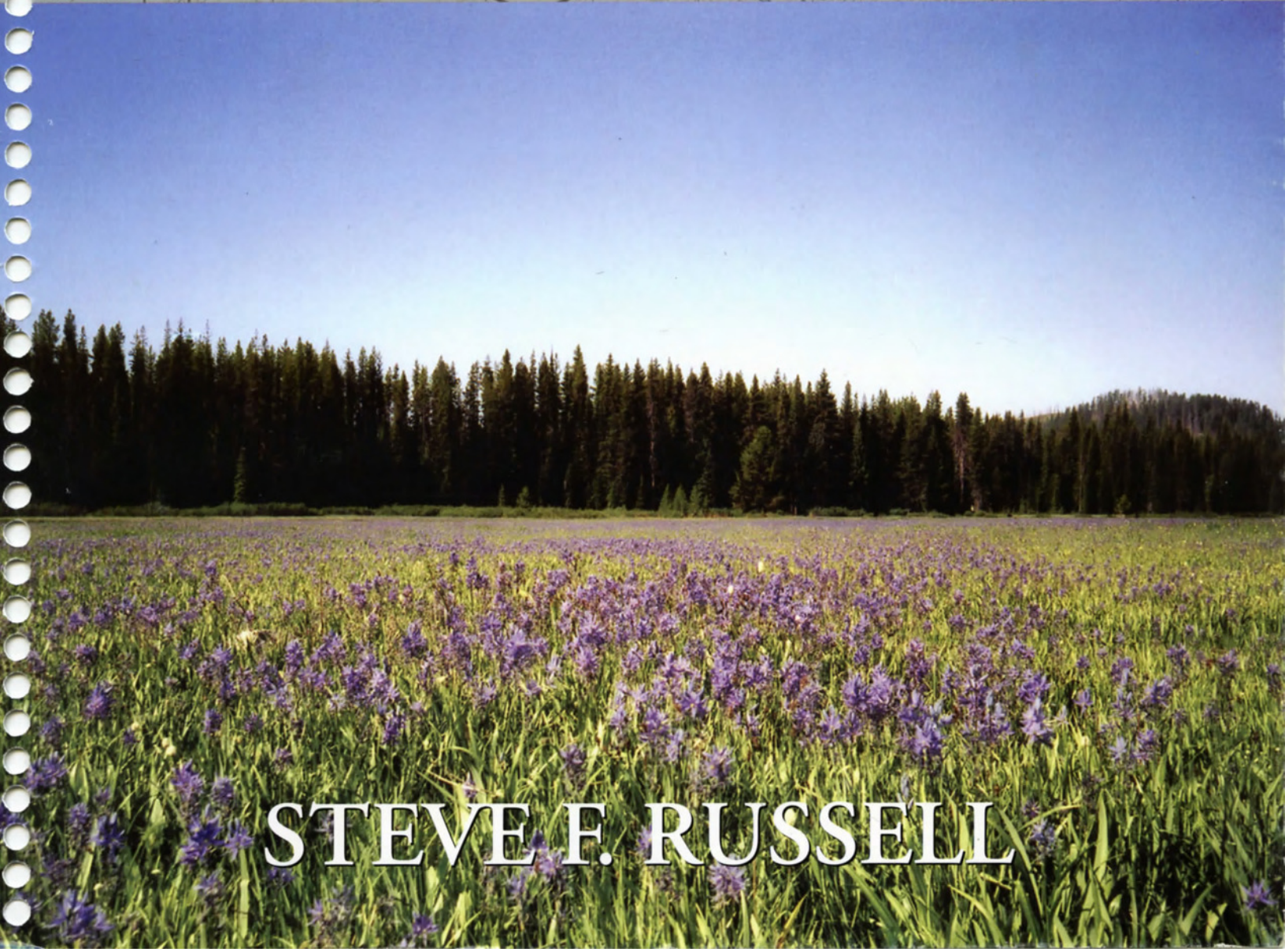


Lewis and Clark across the Mountains

Mapping the Corps of Discovery in Idaho



STEVE F. RUSSELL

Lewis and Clark across the Mountains



On the Lolo Trail: Hungery Creek below the mouth of Obia Creek, where the trail followed along the bank.

Lewis and Clark across the Mountains

*Mapping the Corps of Discovery
in Idaho*

Steve F. Russell

*Idaho State Historical Society
Boise*



Idaho State Historical Society
2205 Old Penitentiary Road
Boise, Idaho 83712

©2005 by Steve F. Russell

All rights reserved. Published 2007.

Publication of this book was funded in part by the Idaho Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee.

Costs associated with this publication are available from the Idaho State Historical Society in accordance with Section 60-202, Idaho Code. HB366: 8/2007/500/0001 and -0349.

ISBN: 0-931406-16-1

Cover design by Fred Fritchman.

Front cover photograph: Packer Meadows abloom with camas.

Back cover photograph: Steve F. Russell with his feet in deep trail tread at Bald Mountain.

Photograph on p. x by Larry R. Jones.

All other photographs are courtesy of Steve F. Russell.

Contents

List of Maps	vii
Foreword <i>by James P. Ronda</i>	ix
Preface	xi
Acknowledgments	xiii
Research Methodology and Technology	xv
Introduction	1
Lewis' Exploration of the Lemhi Valley, 1805	3
Clark's Exploration of the Salmon River, 1805	7
Lemhi Valley and Bitterroot Valley, 1805	11
Over the Lolo Trail, 1805	15
Weippe Prairie to Lewiston, 1805	23
Lewiston to Kamiah, 1806	27
Ordway's Salmon River Trip, 1806	31
Over the Lolo Trail, 1806	33
Clark's Return to Fortunate Camp, 1806	39
Appendix 1: Participants in the Story	43
Appendix 2: Gazetteer	45
Appendix 3: Plants along the Trail	47
Notes	51
Bibliography	59
Maps	<i>following page 60</i>

Maps

Map A is a legend showing the meaning of the symbols used on the maps included in this volume.

Map B is a large-scale map of the entire section of the Lewis and Clark Trail described in this book. It shows the location of the route in relation to the cities, towns, and major landmarks of the area and illustrates the route segment covered by each individual topographic map.

The remaining maps, showing the trail tread and campsites, are based on 100,000-to-1 U.S. Geological Survey (USGS) topographic quads. They are generally organized in order of travel from east to west, except for the area southeast of Lewiston, Idaho. Detailed lists of applicable maps and geographic place names are provided at the beginning of each chapter.

The list below is included for readers who want a quick reference to the geographic area covered by each topographic map. It can also be used to make trail locations easier to coordinate with modern maps.

Map Names and Major Geographic Features and Communities

- MAP A: Entire trail. Western Montana to the west edge of north-central Idaho.
- MAP B: Entire trail. Western Montana to the west edge of north-central Idaho.
- Map LCID-01: Clark Canyon Dam, Horse Prairie Creek, Indian Head
- Map LCID-02: Grant, Horse Prairie, Paiter Creek, Bachelor Mountain, Bannack Road
- Map LCID-03: Bloody Dick Creek, Trail Creek, Selway Ranch, Lemhi Pass
- Map LCID-04: Lemhi Pass, Pattee Creek, Poison Gulch, Tendoy, Lemhi River, Kenney Creek
- Map LCID-05: Baker, Lemhi River, Salmon, Carmine [Carmen] Creek
- Map LCID-06: Big Flat, Tower Creek, Fourth-of-July Creek, North Fork
- Map LCID-07: Salmon River, Indian Creek, Squaw Creek
- Map LCID-08: North Fork, Gibbonsville, Moose Creek, Lost Trail Pass
- Map LCID-09: Camp Creek, Sula, Bitterroot River, Medicine Tree
- Map LCID-10: Connor, Bitterroot River, Darby
- Map LCID-11: Charlott Heights, Hamilton, Corvallis
- Map LCID-12: Woodside, Victor, Bing, Stevensville
- Map LCID-13: Stevensville, Eightmile Creek, Florence
- Map LCID-14: Carlton, Lolo, Missoula, Lolo Creek, Anderson Gulch
- Map LCID-15: Woodman Creek, Grave Creek, Howard Creek
- Map LCID-16: Howard Creek, Erickson Meadow, Lolo Hot Springs, Lolo Pass, Pack Creek
- Map LCID-17: Crooked Fork, Powell, Lochsa Lodge, Wendover Ridge, Cayuse Junction
- Map LCID-18: Cayuse Junction, Spring Mountain, Indian Postoffice, Howard Creek
- Map LCID-19: Saddle Camp, Indian Grave, Bald Mountain, Sherman Peak
- Map LCID-20: Sherman Peak, Willow Ridge, Bowl Butte, Green Saddle, Hungry Creek
- Map LCID-21: Fish Creek, Eldorado Creek, Cedar Creek, Lolo Creek, Crane Meadow
- Map LCID-22: Brown Creek Ridge, Wilson Creek, Weippe Prairie, Fraser
- Map LCID-23: Weippe, Fraser, Big Creek
- Map LCID-24: Clearwater River, Orofino, Ahsahka, Russell (site)
- Map LCID-25: Clearwater River, Peck, Lenore, Angel Ridge
- Map LCID-26: Clearwater River, Potlatch Creek, Lapwai Creek, Spalding
- Map LCID-27: Clearwater River, Hatwai, Lewiston, Clarkston, Snake River
- Map LCID-28: Nez Perce, Suzie Creek, Lawyer Creek, Kamiah
- Map LCID-29: Lawyer Creek, Craigmont, Ferdinand, Icicle Flat
- Map LCID-30: Westlake, Deer Creek, Eagle Creek, Maloney Creek
- Map LCID-31: Salmon River, China Creek, Wapshilla Ridge, Cottonwood Creek, Snake River, Cougar Rapids Bar
- Map LCID-32: Deep Creek, Keuterville, Cottonwood
- Map LCID-33: Cottonwood Creek, Fenn, Grangeville
- Map LCID-34: Stites, Kooskia, Clearwater River, Kamiah
- Map LCID-35: Camp Creek, Gibbons Pass, Trail Creek
- Map LCID-36: Big Hole Battlefield, Ruby Creek, Swamp Creek, Rock Creek
- Map LCID-37: Big Hole River, Jackson, Jardine Hot Springs, Governor Creek
- Map LCID-38: Big Hole Pass, Carroll Hill, Divide Creek, Grasshopper Creek

Foreword

A written order from the Commander-in Chief to a young army officer is hardly the place you would expect to find a graceful sentence or a memorable phrase. But if the Commander-in-Chief is Thomas Jefferson, expectations run high. It is no surprise that Jefferson's letter of exploration instructions for Meriwether Lewis has many such lines and phrases. The President wanted Lewis to search out those rivers that might provide "the most direct & practicable water communication across this continent for the purposes of commerce" while paying attention to "volcanic appearances" and "the remains and accounts" of animals "deemed rare or extinct." With an eye toward future relations with Indians, Jefferson directed Lewis to list "the names of the nations." Of all the many lines in the instructions, one stands out in my mind as both felicitous and apt. Thinking about the western country in terms of the human anatomy, Jefferson ordered Lewis to explore, describe, and record "the face of the country." The President was surely not the first to use those words, but they express his desire to know the West as he might recognize the lines and wrinkles in a familiar face.

Nearly two years later and deep in that western country, William Clark paused to count the cost of seeing the face of the country. Mid-September 1805 found the Lewis and Clark expedition struggling over the Bitterroot Mountains on the Lolo Trail. There had been physical challenges posed by weather and terrain earlier in the life of the expedition; but nothing quite matched the Lolo's deep snows, dense forests, and steep ravines. Historian Donald Jackson once called that passage "an odyssey in bitter snows." Pushing through a tangle of underbrush and pines, the adventurers were covered with snow that cascaded down from the trees. Capturing the scene in a few emotion-charged words, Clark scribbled down "Steep & Stoney our men and horses much fatigued." Exhausted, cold, and hungry, the Corps of Discovery now knew what it meant to trace out the face of the country. Clark could not have been more eloquent when he wrote, "I have been wet and as Cold in every part as I ever was in my life."

Jefferson's elegant words and Clark's blunt ones seem a world apart. But a more careful look reveals a common set of ideas about knowledge, experience, and the craft of exploration. Scratch the surface of any voyage of discovery—especially the Lewis and Clark expedition—and you will find action guided by thought. Despite all the modern romantic emphasis on Lewis and Clark muscles, we might better pay attention to minds.

Jefferson once complained to a friend that it was difficult to persuade scholars and naturalists to leave the comforts of the library and laboratory for expeditions to the western frontiers. Some writers seemed to believe that reading about the Missouri or the Columbia was as good as seeing those mighty rivers. Jefferson would have none of that. Like his

Enlightenment contemporaries, he believed that finding truth in the natural world required firsthand experience. Direct encounter was the sure foundation for all knowledge. And this was most certainly the case for geographic knowledge. It was not enough to read about a place; one had to see it. Speculation had to be tested by observation. As one recent historian has written, the eighteenth century was committed to the notion that "travel makes truth." Jefferson told a French correspondent that American explorers sought "to enlarge our knolege [sic] of the geography of our continent." True knowledge of the country could come only by seeing it. That is what Lewis and Clark's cold company was doing on the Lolo Trail in September, 1805.

But looking at the face of the country was not enough. Jefferson intuitively knew the difference between perceptive seeing and simple looking. What he wanted from his explorers was precise information, not random notes in a travel diary. Lewis and Clark were scientific explorers, not adventure-seeking tourists. A line from the President's instructions to the expedition puts all this in sharp focus: "Your observations are to be taken with great pains & accuracy, to be entered distinctly & intelligibly for others as well as yourself." In typical Enlightenment fashion, Jefferson believed that precise knowledge was by its very nature useful knowledge. And useful knowledge had to be shared with others. What else could one expect from the man who became president of the American Philosophical Society, an institution whose purposes was to promote "Useful Knowledge" by means of discussion and publication?

Observation and precision would be lost without a permanent record. In the world of geography, that most often meant maps. Jefferson lived in a world where shifting national boundaries and imperial rivalries were often expressed in cartographic terms. Every map made an argument, advanced a cause, or asserted possession of lands in dispute. Eighteenth-century maps were alive with controversy about uncertain boundaries and towering ambitions. Every dream and scheme had its map. If the American republic wanted to make the West of the Louisiana Purchase a part of the nation, there had to be maps that would make manifest the new nation's imperial destiny. Writing to surveyor and mathematician Robert Patterson, Jefferson gave maps pride of place in the exploration enterprise. He told Patterson that the "principal object" of the American expedition was "obtaining a correct map of the Missouri." William Clark's simple sketch of part of the Lolo Trail in his elkskin journal was one more example of an idea in action. That hasty sketch gave meaning to days of adversity on the trail.

Observation, precision, and a permanent record to be shared with others: these were the hallmarks of eighteenth-century Enlightenment exploration. They were Jefferson's

guideposts, like blazes on trees along the trail. Writing two decades before the Lewis and Clark expedition, Jefferson admitted that "a great deal is yet wanting to ascertain the true geography of our country." In so many ways, that is what Lewis and Clark and all their successors hoped to accomplish. A true geography required direct observation, a passion for precision, and a steadfast commitment to writing it all down. Steve Russell's comprehensive study of Lewis and Clark on the Lolo Trail exemplifies all those Jeffersonian virtues. Like Lewis and Clark, Russell has spent endless days following trails and locating campsites. By personal example, Russell shows readers that exploration history demands strong boots. His personal encounters with the land itself inform every page. And like Jefferson, Russell knows that exploration is all about paying attention to the details. It is not good enough to simply say that a campsite was "nearby" or that the trail went in "this general direction." With as much certitude as modern instruments and his own experience can provide, Russell shows us just where the camp was and what direction the trail took. Russell has done his homework and his fieldwork. Some trail scholars may dispute individual findings. In the world of Lewis-and-Clark scholarship, there is always something to argue about. Argument and debate often clarify

truth. But one thing is beyond debate. If anyone possesses that elusive sense of place about the Lolo Trail, it is Steve Russell.

The Lewis and Clark Bicentennial promoted all sorts of fantasies about the life and times of what Jefferson always called "Mr. Lewis's Tour." One of those was the notion that we twenty-first-century adventurers could walk in the footsteps of Jefferson's explorers. We could see what they saw, experience what they experienced, all in a supposedly unchanging West. But the trail is not a time machine; we are not time travelers. The river of time has flowed on, and we are far downstream from where Jefferson's explorers once crossed. We have changed, and so has the land. Some of the changes have been subtle and others quite dramatic, but the one constant in the West is change. Steve Russell shows us that his journey in the trail tread is as much an exploration as any made two centuries ago. By letting us be part of his voyage of discovery, Russell has expanded the Corps of Discovery. With him we are part of an ongoing journey. Marching with Russell, we see in some mysterious way the face of our own country. Thomas Jefferson would be pleased.

James P. Ronda
Tulsa, Oklahoma

Jim Ronda, sketching at Rocky Point on the Lolo Trail.



Preface

In the fall of 1984, I read an article about Lewis and Clark and the expedition that explored the upper Louisiana purchase at the request of President Thomas Jefferson. I had no knowledge of the expedition or where it traveled but wondered about it, since I had grown up in north-central Idaho and western Montana.

I visited the Iowa State University library and found books written by Reuben Thwaites, Olin Wheeler, and others that were filled with information about the expedition. The biggest thrill of my quest came when I opened the expedition map of the Bitterroot Valley by William Clark. I instantly recognized the geography he was trying to communicate. Further investigation made me realize that I had lived most of my young life literally on the expedition's route: it went through the front yard of Lochsa Lodge, where I had spent many summers growing up, and it also went through the back pasture of the place south of Stevensville, Montana, where I had lived for four years.

Those faint dotted traces of a trail on the Clark maps made me wonder. Did any remnants of that old trail still exist? Could they be found? I decided that on my next trip to Washington, D.C., I would go to the National Archives to see if other records about this old trail existed. My first visit was in 1985. Four visits later, I felt confident that I had discovered all of the extant old maps and journals on the trail the Corps of Discovery had traveled.

My first trip into the field to find old segments of trail tread was in the summer of 1986. Much of the trail tread now went through private land and had been obliterated by ranching and timber harvest, but one segment seemed to be in original condition: the Lolo Trail. I decided to start my research with it. My father grew up in Weippe, Idaho, and had traveled the Lolo Trail and surrounding area, so we set out together that summer to "discover" the trail. Traveling the Lolo Divide Road (now called the Lolo Motorway), we began looking for segments of the old trail. Dad remembered some of the landmarks, and we quickly found many pieces of old trail near the Motorway. He also remembered the "old timers" talking about Indian trails crossing the ridges and going down to the river. I used much film to take my first photos of the "trail"—but some things about our initial "discoveries" were unsettling. First, the tread seemed much too clean to have been unused for more than a century. Second, we kept seeing small aluminum tags, stapled to trees, that declared the trail to be the "Nee Mee Poo" trail. I consulted a small book by Ralph Space, *The Lolo Trail*, and came to realize that there were at least two intertwined trails across these mountains: one followed by Lewis and Clark in 1805-06, and one constructed by the federal government in 1866. This realization launched me on the research course that I would follow for nearly two decades.

I knew that there would be confusion between the 1806 trail tread and the 1866 trail tread, so I began a major research effort to learn the complete location of the 1866 trail. This was the easier path, since it was much better documented and had been used by the Forest Service between 1907 and 1934. It would turn out that its tread was well worn and engineered to a wagon-road grade—with the corresponding locations and switchbacks of the wagon roads of its day. Following and documenting this trail took several summers. In the meantime, I kept documenting a "fainter" trail tread that sometimes joined, but was usually separate from, the 1866 tread. This older tread did indeed turn out to be the Northern Nez Perce Trail as followed by Lewis and Clark.

During the discovery phase of this research, I read no other research accounts of the trail location or any popular literature on the trail. My goal was to have a completely independent effort and record of a scholarly approach to documenting the actual trail location. I had no preconceived notions about where the trail went or how difficult it was for horses. It certainly did not follow "meadow-to-meadow"—the common wisdom, when I began, that the trail had to travel from meadow to meadow because of the horses. I also did not assume the original Lewis and Clark journals to be totally accurate in their courses and distances or in their descriptions of geographic landmarks. Not reading literature by John Peebles and Stephen Ambrose was a difficult sacrifice.

At Beaver Dam Saddle on August 7, 1989, I met three people who worked for the Forest Service. They had discovered a segment of the 1866 trail and wondered what it was. I got out my USGS topographic maps and explained my research to them. They said that the Forest Service opinion was that there was no existing trail, only a "route." Eventually, my research convinced the Forest Service's heritage-resource staff that the trail did exist and that I had found it. In the years that followed, the Forest Service began searching for a trail to open up for recreation purposes. With the help of many volunteers and the "Take Pride in America" program, several miles of "Lolo Trail" were opened to horse and hiker—including the 1866 trail but not much of the 1806 trail.

In the early 1990s my work on the 1866 trail gradually shifted to the 1806 trail, and the tedious work of documenting the exact location of the old tread began. The details of this process—including information on the tools I have used—will be found in the "Research Methods and Technology" section of this volume.

Starting in the summer of 2002, I began a precision survey (GPS differential navigation accuracy of better than two meters) of the 1806 Lolo Trail followed by Lewis and Clark. The survey, of 104 miles of Lolo Trail from Lolo Pass to Weippe Prairie, took a total of 65 days spread over the summers of 2002 and 2003 and involved hundreds of hours of planning

and post-survey processing of data. The precision-survey results are documented in my book *Lewis and Clark-Lolo Trail Precision Survey*.

In the early 1990s, I also decided to document the trail between the great rivers—the portage route that was one of the main purposes of the expedition. Part of each of my summers was spent exploring the trail routes both east and west of the Lolo Trail. The routes of Clark from Travelers Rest to Fortunate Camp and of Ordway to the Salmon River had been largely overlooked in the literature, so I decided to bring them into the mainstream of my research.

The Bitterroot Valley segment of the trail had already been researched for my 1989 atlas. The trail in the Lemhi Valley, Horse Prairie, and the Big Hole was done a couple of weeks at a time over several years. The open spaces of these areas were a refreshing change from the rugged Lolo Trail.

Horse Prairie is one of my favorite areas, but it is hard to explain why. Its gumbo mud and tire-cutting rocks were an unpleasant experience; but camping on high, open ridges on BLM land was very enjoyable. The views from many places are excellent. The Lemhi Valley and Lost Trail Pass offered few hiking opportunities because the trail has been obliterated by roads or never did exist as an erosion trace. The 1997 Lost Trail location workshop at Salmon was one of my favorite experiences during that time, giving me an opportunity to meet and work with fellow trail researchers.

Working on Clark's return trip from Travelers Rest to Fortunate Camp, hiking over the original Gibbons Pass and down Trail Creek, brought back many good memories of my youth. The Big Hole Battlefield is a remarkably well preserved example of the deadly conflict between European immigrants and Native Americans. The Big Hole is one of the most unspoiled settings outside of wilderness areas that exists along the trail. It is disappointing that there are so few trail-trace segments still existing along this part of the route.

The lower Clearwater River and Nez Perce Reservation areas were the main ancestral home of the Nez Perce (or Chopunnish). It still amazes me to think of all the brush lodges and horses that must have dotted the landscape 200 years ago. It has been great to plot the trail along the river and see all the sand and gravel bars where people have lived for thousands of years. This history-rich area has seen many changes since Ordway traveled it, and the willingness of its modern residents to help me learn about the area was instrumental in finding the Ordway route.

I do not expect that everyone will agree with all the results that are presented in this work. The Hungry Creek route and the campsite at Indian Grave are sure to create lots of discussion in the future, but I am confident of these results. The same is true for the camps on the Weippe Prairie. I will always be disappointed at being unable to pinpoint Lewis' campsite for September 18, 1805—"Dry Camp." In spite of many hours of computer analysis, journal study, and field work, this site still perplexes me. The journal accounts are just too conflicting.

It has been a great seventeen-plus years of traveling and camping along the trail. I've hiked it under all conditions, over hard-packed snow and in sleet, rain, and snowstorms. It was a thrill to discover the deeply eroded tread of the trail at Willow Ridge, Bowl Butte, and Cayuse Junction, as it was early in my research to find the true location of "Snowbank Camp" (September 15, 1805). I've also enjoyed meeting and working with dozens of people. My acknowledgements are nowhere near enough to express my gratitude.

I hope you enjoy learning about the precise location of the trail as much as I have enjoyed doing the research. In the words of an old woodsman and trapper, "I hope you always stay warm and dry as you travel the old trails."

Steve F. Russell

Ames, Iowa

September 30, 2005

Acknowledgments

It is an almost impossible task to acknowledge the people who have helped me or influenced this research. Their names were recorded in my journals over the years, with notes about how we had interacted. Some offered days of their time to help me learn more about the trails. Others talked to me only a few minutes but provided golden nuggets of information. In one case, it was a simple gesture of offering a drink with ice after a long, dry day. And how does one adequately acknowledge someone who traveled the trail 140 years ago and left a valuable legacy of information? It is with this backdrop that I attempt to thank many people.

Several people did research on the trail many years before I started: George Nicholson (1866), Reuben Thwaites (1905), Olin Wheeler (1895), Jack Harlan (1925), John Peebles (1966), and Ralph Space (1970). I've built on their research and am grateful for it.

Larry Jones, past State Historian for Idaho, provided encouragement on the value of this research and patiently waited the years it took to complete the background research and conduct the precision survey. Other people at the Idaho State Historical Society have also helped, especially Mary Anne Davis and Glenda King.

My colleagues and previous co-authors, Jim Fazio and Mike Venso, kept me going forward with their interest and contagious enthusiasm. My co-author Mary Aegerter helped me overcome a reluctance for authorship. Family members also helped—especially my dad, Clarke Russell, and my daughter Rebecca Russell, who have shared in the exploration of the old trails. A special thanks goes to my daughters, Carla, Tracy, Miranda, and Rebecca, and my wife, Kathy, for supporting my long summer absences from their lives.

The precision trail surveys during the summers of 2002 and 2003 were the culmination of years of preparatory research and a rewarding finish to this seventeen-year effort. Thanks go to the Idaho Governor's Lewis and Clark Trail Committee's assistance grant program and the committee's director, Keith Petersen, for support of this work and my work on the Ordway route, and to Larry Jones and the Idaho State Historical Society for administering the grant. Sincere thanks also go to the outstanding survey-assistant work of Theo Peterson (2002) and Matt Battani (2003). They endured heat, cold, torturous hikes, camp food, tent camping, animals, and the isolation of the Lolo Trail for weeks on end without complaint.

Thanks to the Sawtooth Science Institute of Idaho State University and its director, Chris Gertschen, for support of

my Lewis and Clark Workshop. I really appreciate all the students who attended the workshop and asked insightful questions that spurred me to greater research detail and accuracy. For the Ordway part of the trail, I found an enthusiastic and highly supportive group of people living in the Nez Perce Prairie area: Dick Southern, Shelley Kuther, Bob Tatko, Bill Schmidt, Maxine Riggers, Lillian Pethtel, and many others. Many people in the U.S. Forest Service provided assistance over the years: Linnea Keating, Deanna Riebe, Tom Geouge, Dennis Elliott, Dallas Emch, Chuck Raddon, Doug Gober, Cindy Lane, Jim Caswell, Norm Steadman, Carol Hennessy, Sandi McFarland, Jeff Fee, Robbin Johnston, and many others. Jim Caswell was the new Clearwater National Forest Supervisor when he and I hiked the Lewis and Clark Trail west out of Sherman Saddle and he saw the old erosion traces. He is almost solely responsible for rescuing the National Historic Trails on the Clearwater Forest from irreversible development and protecting them as valuable historic resources.

Much appreciation goes to John Barker and Sam McNeill for their financial and technical support of my Ordway research. They produced a great brochure for the Ordway route over the Nez Perce Prairie. All of us spent four hours in a Bell Jet-Ranger helicopter flying the Ordway route, seeing some excellent old trail segments and the pits at Cougar Rapids Bar on the Snake River.

Many colleagues and students in the Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering at Iowa State University also deserve thanks. They kept our research projects running in my summer absences. This work could not have been done without their help. Sam Wormley deserves special mention because of our long mutual association with GPS technology and his expertise in helping to devise the experimental design and the equipment for the precision survey.

It is hard to end this acknowledgment; but it is not practical to include everyone who helped—their names and the aid they provided would fill a booklet by themselves. It is also with a little apprehension that I conclude, knowing that someone may have been omitted. Please accept my apology, and my gratitude, in advance.

*Steve F. Russell
Ames, Iowa
April, 2007*

Research Methods and Technology

Since the late 1800s, historians and scholars have wondered about the exact trail location followed by the Corps of Discovery under the command of Lewis and Clark. In 1866 George Nicholson, a young civil engineer with the Lewiston and Virginia Wagon Road expedition, surveyed the Lolo Trail for a wagon-road route over the rugged Bitterroot Mountains. Nicholson wondered at that time about the Lewis and Clark Trail. When Elliott Coues and Reuben G. Thwaites were (individually) preparing the Lewis and Clark journals for the expedition's centennial celebration, each corresponded with Nicholson about his opinion of the Lolo Trail route. He prepared maps and personal notes, which have been invaluable in locating the actual trail tread. Also during the centennial, Olin D. Wheeler, a Minnesota historian, did some field explorations to determine the location of the old trail. All of these efforts were ineffective in locating the actual trail route because of the lack of good mapping tools and very limited field work.

Later efforts to locate the old trail produced better results but were still not sufficiently accurate to pinpoint the trail location for purposes of either exploration or historic preservation. The most notable of these efforts were the work of John (Jack) Harlan, John Peebles, and Ralph Space. Harlan located some of the trail in the 1920s and wrote several newspaper articles about its history as linked with the Nez Perce people. He was a key participant in the placement of three memorial plaques along the trail.

Peebles indicated the trail and campsites on large-scale maps in a publication for the Idaho State Historical Society. The map scale he chose was too large to find the trail accurately on the ground; consequently, it is difficult to judge how much—if any—trail tread he actually found.

Space joined the work of Peebles and made an extensive effort to locate the campsites along the trail. He told me in the 1980s that he never really attempted to locate the actual trail—just the campsites.

When I began this research effort, all indications were that no one had ever published any information on the actual trail location so accurate and precise that the actual trail tread could be followed and preserved. The effort reflected here to locate all existing trail tread segments across the mountains and accurately document them took more than seventeen years.

Before a trail location can be documented, it must first be located by a long, meticulous research process. My technique for locating campsites and the trail tread has two major components: *coordinated distancing* and the *ordering of geographic clues*.

Coordinated distancing uses all of the distances given by all the journal writers and correlates them using a graphical technique. Each geographic location is noted on a line of distance—a straight line drawn on paper with a length and tick marks that are drawn to scale—and all the journal distances are

recorded along the line so they can be coordinated. It helps considerably when some of the geographic locations are easy to find; these I designate as anchor points and then determine the coordinated distances from them to other, less obvious, geographic locations. In a way, each distance and course clue is a piece of a puzzle that must be put together in the most meaningful way possible. But all the clues are not consistent. The various journal writers give different estimates. The pieces of the puzzle do not exactly fit together. My chief effort was to make them fit together as logically and as consistently as possible.

Geographic clues are the comments made in the journals about crossing creeks, seeing landmarks, and recording rocks and other geological and topographical features. Ordering of geographic clues is done in conjunction with coordinated distancing to create a description of the route that can be compared with modern landmarks and distances.

The essential final step before creating a Geographic Information System (GIS) database of the trail and campsite locations is on-the-ground or field exploration to find the actual erosion trace and document it with navigation tools such as Global Positioning System (GPS).¹ This involves days and weeks of camping and hiking the trail route, locating the erosion traces. If no erosion trace can be found, this process is repeated until I am convinced that no erosion trace still exists. To record varying qualities of tread appearance and depth, I developed a scale of 1-5 to describe the on-the-ground quality of the trail.

Only original journal and map sources were used in this research. To insure that the research would be a completely fresh approach to locating the actual trail tread, I did not refer to secondary sources such as the work of Thwaites, Wheeler, Peebles, and Space.

Ultimately, custom-made computer analysis and GIS tools were extensively used. These were key to predicting where the trail was so it could be found during summer field work. Computer work and map preparation were done in Iowa during the winter months. In the summers, field explorations were made along the trail corridor. Repeated improvements and updates of the discovered and predicted locations were made every year. This process steadily refined the accuracy of the trail and campsite locations.

In the early 1990s, the tread location was documented using a compass, pace counter, and barometric altimeter. These crude tools, which allowed accuracy of 100-200 feet, were the same as those available in the 1800s. My base maps were U.S. Geological Survey 7.5-minute topographical quadrangles. As low-cost GPS units became available, they were used to improve the accuracy of the GIS data slightly, to 20-60 meters; it improved over the years to about 10-15 meters with the termination of selective availability (SA), a method the

U.S. military used to corrupt GPS data in such a way that its accuracy was diminished for civilian use but not for military use (thus preventing an enemy from using our own GPS technology against us), and the implementation of U.S. Coast Guard DGPS beacon signals for the Lolo Trail area. GIS tools such as ARCVIEW and TOPO! also became available as the research progressed, and paper maps were abandoned in favor of computer database maps.²

The location of the trail tread from Lolo Pass to the Weippe Prairie is the most heavily researched segment. A high-precision GPS unit³ was used to document the tread location to an accuracy of 1-3 meters. About 70,000 waypoints were taken between Lolo Pass and Weippe Prairie. These waypoints had to be analyzed later to correct and account for multiple surveys of the same trail segments and temporary losses of the beacon signal. WAAS and satellite beacon signals were found to be too unreliable when the forest canopy obscured the line of sight between the Pathfinder and the satellite. Several attempts were made to use these beacon signals, but usually the Pathfinder recorded the data points as non-differential, which is unacceptable because it is a less accurate reading. The trail data were retaken with the Coast Guard beacon signal, which was found to be fairly reliable and provided differential accuracy. However, temporary losses of the beacon did occur and resurvey was necessary a few times each day.

Trail segments other than the Lolo Trail have varying degrees of accuracy. Segments where no erosion trace could be found or that were on private land were computer documented using the GIS systems. Other places were documented to less than 45 feet using a low-cost hand-held GPS. In all cases, the highest practical accuracy was obtained. From Fortunate Camp to Lolo Pass, tread location is a mix of precision survey with GPS and approximation using all journal records.

The methods I used to research and document the trail tread and campsite locations were first applied to the Lewis and Clark Trail during the preparation of trail maps for the 1989 Montana Centennial celebration. These map sets are available at the Ravalli County Historical Society Museum in Hamilton and at the St. Mary's Mission Museum in Stevensville. The methods were further refined and explained in a publication for a workshop on the location of Lost Trail Pass in 1997. I also provided large-scale maps for a coffee-table book published in 2001. For the first time since 1806, we now have an accurate documentation of the Nez Perce trail followed by Lewis and Clark between Lolo Pass and the Weippe Prairie.

The maps included here can be used to find and hike the Lewis and Clark Trail on government land that has not been logged or otherwise compromised. A map scale of 100,000 to 1 was used to provide reasonable topographic resolution while keeping publication costs as low as possible. The first two maps (A, the map legend, and B, showing the areas covered by the individual trail maps) orient the reader to the overall location of the trail through the mountains.

The U.S. Geological Survey base maps used are the most accurate available. However, they may contain some minor errors and omissions. The USGS does not plan to update the paper versions of its map database because it is transitioning to a computerized database that will be maintained by state, county, and local governments. The digital database is not yet available for much of the trail, so scanned paper maps have been used in this publication.

A trail location is determined in time and space. Over time, the tread location changes in subtle ways. The reader might imagine that communicating and documenting the trail location is simply a matter of walking it with a precision GPS survey instrument and recording the position readings. If only it were this simple! It is true that, with great effort, stand-alone GPS accuracy of 1 to 3 meters can be achieved in nearly all places along the trail. Even greater accuracy can be obtained by doing a master-slave differential precision survey. This involves the use of two GPS units: a master that is located with very high precision, and a slave that is located relative to the master. However, these electronic surveys are merely a long list of numbers inside a computer and do not communicate any meaningful information to a human user. So, what is the next step in giving it meaning?

The next logical step is to plot the GPS data on a map for convenience of viewing. That is satisfactory up to a point; but even small errors in USGS topographic maps start to become apparent when using the precision data provided by GPS. When large map scales are used, neither the accuracy of the map nor that of the GPS is much of a factor. Map errors cannot readily be perceived, and any low-cost GPS will give adequate data for such maps. However, for small-scale maps, the distortion can be very noticeable.⁴

The other drawback to plotting precision trail-location data on maps is that, in order to show the true "ground track" of the trail, one must use such a small map scale that literally hundreds of maps are needed to plot it. These reasons are why the 100,000-to-1 scale was chosen.

Introduction

When President Thomas Jefferson commissioned Meriwether Lewis in 1803 to organize and lead a Corps of Discovery westward across newly acquired Louisiana Territory, his overriding instructions were to gain knowledge of the geography, flora, and fauna of the country; establish friendly relations with the tribes met along the way; and find a practical portage between the Missouri and Columbia Rivers. The Corps had a great deal of success with the first two goals but great disappointment with the third because such a portage did not exist.⁵

The Corps of Discovery traveled through western Montana and Idaho on their westbound trip in the fall of 1805 and their return trip in 1806. The 1805 travel season was getting late as the Corps struggled up the Beaverhead River in western Montana. They still had not met with the Lemhi Shoshoni—the native tribe of Sacagawea, the only Native American on the journey—and time was becoming critical. Their boats would soon be abandoned and they would have to portage over to the Columbia. Horses to pack their supplies and goods over the Continental Divide were absolutely essential, and the trade for horses in the valley of the Lemhi Shoshoni was the key ingredient for their successful traverse of the rugged Bitterroot Mountains separating the two great river basins.

The expedition first entered Idaho on August 12, 1805, when Lewis, George Drouillard, John Shields, and Hugh McNeal crossed the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass. It left Idaho for the last time when the entire party crossed Lolo Pass on June 29, 1806.

The goals of this book are to present the brief, essential history of the Corps during the time they spent crossing the rugged mountains between the great rivers and to provide a complete and accurate map set for the campsites and the trails traveled. Two seldom covered trips are also included: Sgt. John Ordway's salmon-fishing trip to the Salmon River and William Clark's return trip from Travelers Rest Camp to Fortunate Camp. The text is organized into nine geographic sections associated with different circumstances of travel or different goals of the explorers. Each section begins with a list of the maps applicable to the route and a list (in the order followed by the travelers) of geographic names along the route. This organization will be particularly helpful to readers who live along one of the sections and readers wishing to travel only one or two sections. These sections are:

Lewis' Exploration of the Lemhi Valley, 1805: Lewis took a small party and went ahead of Clark and the main party to contact and establish friendly relations with the Shoshoni.

Clark's Exploration of the Salmon River, 1805: The captains were extremely disappointed to learn from the Shoshoni that the Salmon River was impassible below the North Fork. Clark and a party of men left the main Corps to verify this.

Lemhi Valley and Bitterroot Valley, 1805: The entire party, with their Shoshoni guide, Toby, and Toby's son, hurried northward to cross the rugged Lolo Trail ahead of fall snow-storms. The Bitterroot Salish or Oat-lash-shoots gave them a friendly reception and agreed to trade for additional horses.

Over the Lolo Trail, 1805: The most difficult part of the two-year journey. A low-carbohydrate diet caused the Corps to suffer ill health. The Nez Perce or Chopunnish on the lower Clearwater River received them in friendship and shared food and knowledge of the Columbia and Snake Rivers.

Weippe Prairie to Lewiston, 1805: The Corps built canoes and floated down the Clearwater River from Ahsahka to Lewiston. A good relationship developed between some bands of the Chopunnish and the Corps. Toby and his son suddenly departed without notice and without their pay and headed back to the Lemhi Valley.

Lewiston to Kamiah, 1806: After a long winter at Fort Clatsop, the explorers returned to the land of the Chopunnish and were warmly received by many of the Chopunnish bands. The Corps enjoyed sharing food, playing games, and abundant friendship for over a month while preparing for their return journey over the Lolo Trail.

Ordway's Salmon River Trip, 1806: The Columbia Basin salmon run started in late May, and Sgt. John Ordway took a small party west to the Salmon and Snake Rivers to secure a load of salmon for eating on the Lolo Trail. Unfortunately, the effort was essentially wasted: many of the salmon spoiled on Ordway's trip back to Kamiah.

Over the Lolo Trail, 1806: Anxious to get home, the explorers started over the Lolo Trail too early and without Chopunnish guides. The snow turned them back at Green Saddle and they had to wait several more days. Their second attempt, with guides, was very successful.

Clark's Return to Fortunate Camp, 1806: Clark and Lewis separated into two groups at Travelers Rest. Lewis and a small group explored the Big Blackfoot and Marias Rivers. Clark took the main group back to Fortunate Camp and then down the Yellowstone River.

Other sections of the text include a list of participants in the story, a gazetteer, a list of plants along the trail, endnotes, and an annotated bibliography. Readers are encouraged to study the plants and animals encountered by the explorers and read other accounts of their travel.

The maps in this book are its most significant feature. In addition to the trail, they include landmarks and key modern roads. Previously published maps of the trail route contain many errors or are at such a large scale as to be unusable for exploring the trail. This map set provides a documentation of the exact trail and campsite locations,

insofar as meticulous research can determine them. Other features shown are key roads and landmarks. The maps are organized by geographic area and by direction of travel.

In many locations, such as the majority of the Lolo Trail and Clark's exploration of the Salmon River, the same trail was traveled in both directions.



Snowbank Camp on the Lolo Trail. This is typical of how many of Lewis and Clark's campsites appear today.

Lewis' Exploration of the Lemhi Valley

August 10-29, 1805

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 5, pages 63-174; Thwaites: Volume 2, pages 324-386; Volume 3, pages 3-47.

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-1 through LCID-4 cover the region from Clark Canyon Reservoir to the Lemhi Valley near Tendoy, Idaho. Among modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Horse Prairie Creek	Trail Creek	Ghoul Basin
Indian Head	Selway Ranch	Pattee Creek
Horse Prairie	Sacajawea Memorial Spring	Poison Gulch
Grant, Montana	Lemhi Pass	Lemhi River
Bachelor Mountain	Agency Creek	Tendoy, Idaho
Red Butte	Horseshoe Bend Creek	Warm Springs Creek
Bloody Dick Creek	Flume Creek	Kenney Creek

On August 9, 1805, Lewis and his advance party⁶ separated from the main party led by Clark. Lewis wanted to reach the land of the Shoshoni⁷ as soon as possible to establish friendly relations and trade for horses. Without horses, the expedition could not be successful.

L&C

August 10: The small party continued southward along the Beaverhead River (*Jefferson's River*),⁸ passing Blacktail Creek (*McNeal's Creek*) near Dillon, and—after some river crossings—arrived at the forks of the river.⁹ Here Lewis found two streams of nearly equal size: Horse Prairie Creek (*West Fork of Jefferson's River*) and the Red Rock River (*East Fork of Jefferson's River*). He was unsure which to follow, so he sent George Drouillard on one and John Shields on the other to scout them out. The reports of the men indicated they should take the eastern fork, so they left notes for Clark on some dry willow poles and proceeded up Red Rock River. After a mile and a half the trail became very faint, and they could not find the horse tracks they thought they had been following. Lewis decided to return to the westward fork and found that it contained the desired horse tracks. Lewis and his small party continued westward, up Horse Prairie Creek.

The trail westward for the first few miles now lies under the Clark Canyon Reservoir. The journals say they crossed the river below the forks and headed westward. This would have been along the north side of Horse Prairie Creek.¹⁰ There is no existing trail tread west of the reservoir all the way through Horse Prairie; a century of ranching activity and the nature of the vegetation and the soil have caused the tread to disappear. The location of the trail in this area was determined by using distances and geographic clues given in the journal accounts. Lewis writes about seeing the narrow gap at Red Butte that confines the trail. He could not have seen it from his first camp in the prairie but may have climbed to a higher elevation

on the side of Indian Head.¹¹ The August 10 encampment was at a small flat on the east side of the main creek and northwest of Indian Head. It is about one mile north of the main highway and on private property.

August 11: Lewis crossed the main creek and headed westward up the south side of Horse Prairie Creek, across Horse Prairie,¹² and toward the continental divide at Lemhi Pass. About two and a half miles east of Grant, the narrow gap at Red Butte becomes visible ten miles away. Continuing westward, Lewis was about a mile east of Grant when he looked through his telescope and saw a Shoshoni man two miles to the west, riding in his direction. When he was about a mile from the man, Lewis stopped and spread out a blanket as a sign of peace. He then displayed beads and other trade goods and walked toward the man. When he was within 150 paces, the man gave his horse the whip and galloped to the northeast across the main creek and executed an escape maneuver.¹³ Lewis followed him in a leisurely fashion to reduce alarm and stopped to eat lunch on an "elevated situation"—a small mound just south of Bachelor Mountain, right next to the current county road that passes it. The horse tracks Lewis followed led toward Sheep Corral Gulch and then made a big arc westward around the south side of Bachelor Mountain and across Painter and Coyote Creeks. Lewis camped for the night on Painter Creek near the historic Hughes Ranch.¹⁴

August 12: At daylight, Lewis sent Drouillard out to search for the retreat route of the Shoshoni man and his party. After much searching they discovered a large clear trail running southwest to northeast about four miles west of their encampment.¹⁵ They followed it southwest to where it crossed Bloody Dick Creek and then went up Trail Creek toward Lemhi Pass.

The Lemhi-Shoshoni trail followed up the north side of Trail Creek where the road is located today. Some small seg-

ments of the trail are still visible, but most have been erased by road construction. The trail crossed briefly to the south side of Trail Creek at the historic Selway Ranch and then crossed back to the north side where the Frying Pan Creek road leaves the county road. It was at this road junction, where the trail crossed back to the north side, that McNeal paused to stand astride the headwaters of the "mighty and heretofore deemed endless" Missouri River. Lewis reported this location as two miles east of Lemhi Pass.

Lewis wrote, of their arrival at the final climb to Lemhi Pass (a half-mile east of it), that the road they had been following "took us to the most distant fountain of the waters of the mighty Missouri." He was elated at arriving at the headwaters of the Missouri after so many "toilsome days and restless nights" on the journey and was pleased to drink from the pure and ice-cold water of Trail Creek.¹⁶

Proceeding to the top of the dividing ridge that is the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass, Lewis discovered immense ranges of high mountains to the west still covered with snow.¹⁷ He descended three quarters of a mile on the trail to Horseshoe Bend Creek, where he tasted the water of the great Columbia River. There is now an old stage road and hiking trail along this route. The actual site where Lewis drank is easy

to find by either hiking down the trail or parking along the road where it emerges from the canyon of Horseshoe Bend Creek.

Lewis and his party followed the trail in a west-northwest direction, crossing Flume Creek and Ghoul Basin to their August 12 camp at a small spring.¹⁸ The campsite is on U.S. Bureau of Land Management (BLM) land and can be reached by 4-wheel drive along rugged roads from Pattee Creek.

August 13: The party continued westward to the Lemhi Valley. Between Ghoul Basin and Pattee Creek, the trail went through a small saddle where Lewis reported his first sighting of the Lemhi River valley.¹⁹ Proceeding on to Pattee Creek and crossing it at the mouth of Poison Gulch, their route wound up the steep sidehill to another saddle where Lewis reported for a second time a view of "a handsome little valley to our left." About three trail miles beyond Pattee Creek, Lewis spotted two women, a man, and some dogs on a hill in front of him. He tried to approach them in a peaceful manner, calling out to them and displaying a flag, but they quickly fled.

Lewis decided on a hot pursuit of them, and the journals describe some exciting and tense moments in the next hour or two. He first encountered the women in hiding and tried to soothe their fears with signs and gifts, but with only mod-

Looking westward from Lemhi Pass. Ghoul Basin is in the center of the photograph.



erate success. In the meantime, the man had raced back to the main Shoshoni encampment and raised the alarm. Soon, 60 mounted warriors came galloping up at nearly full speed. Instead of attacking, they spoke to the women—who must have related Lewis' good intentions, because the men soon were embracing Lewis and rejoicing.

Lewis soon learned he had encountered the village of Ca-me-âh-wait, who was very influential in the successful trading for horses. Later Lewis and Clark learned that Ca-me-âh-wait was the brother of Sacajawea. It was a fateful day for another reason as well: Lewis was told that the Salmon River is impassible by either land or water a few miles below the mouth of the Lemhi River. At camp, a party with dancing and celebration lasted most of the night. This campsite is located on the north side of Kenney Creek where it leaves the canyon for the valley of the Lemhi.

August 14: Lewis decided to spend the day in camp with Ca-me-âh-wait's village, where talks were held and Lewis learned a lot more about their culture.

August 15: Lewis and his party organized to return eastward to Fortunate Camp,²⁰ where they planned to meet with Clark and the main party—still struggling up the Beaverhead River with their heavy burden of loaded canoes. Lewis had trouble convincing the Shoshoni to accompany him; but after much negotiation, they set out and soon had all the men of the village joining them for the trip east. They halted to smoke at their campsite of August 12, where they rested and let the horses graze. About sunset, they arrived at their campsite on the lower end of Trail Creek, about a mile southeast of where Bloody Dick Creek comes out of its narrow canyon.²¹

August 16: This was one of the most dramatic days in Shoshoni country. Lewis sent Drouillard and Shields out to hunt for meat because the large party had nothing to eat, and the rest of the party continued eastward. Shortly after they passed Red Butte, a Shoshoni man rode up at full gallop to tell everyone that a deer had been killed. The entire party proceeded at full speed toward the kill because nobody wanted to miss the feast. When they arrived at the kill, Drouillard had already field dressed the deer. The scene that Lewis witnessed took him totally by surprise²²—every chewable part of the animal was being eaten. Lewis directed McNeal to skin the deer and provide the Shoshoni with all but one of its quarters.

The party stopped for noon along the south side of Horse Prairie Creek, about one and a half miles east of Red Butte. Here they built a fire of willow brush to cook the deer. They conducted ceremonies during their stop, and the chief presented Lewis with the tippet that he later wore for a widely published drawing.

Continuing on to the forks of the Beaverhead River, Lewis worried that Clark and the main party would not be there—a circumstance that would again raise suspicion among the Shoshoni. So great was the alarm that Lewis offered his gun to the chief and said he could shoot him if an ambush oc-

curred. The other men also gave their guns up as a gesture of good faith. They finally arrived at *Fortunate Camp*²³ for the night. The Shoshoni were still very wary but had settled down in anticipation of the trading goods and a curious "black man"²⁴ who would arrive with Clark. Lewis stayed at Fortunate Camp with the main Corps and the Shoshoni from August 16 to August 23.

August 17–20: Clark finally arrived, and one of the best known events of the expedition occurred: Sacajawea recognized her brother and now chief, Ca-me-âh-wait, and a woman who had been captured along with Sacajawea by the Minnetares (Minitari or Hidatsa Indians). While they were camped here, Lewis recorded more about what he was learning of the area and the customs of the Shoshoni. He also traded for horses and made detailed preparations for packing goods over the mountains.

August 21: Lewis reported a quarter-inch of ice on the standing water in camp, an ominous sign that the season for crossing the mountains was growing short. The last part of the Corps's preparation before leaving Fortunate Camp was to cache some supplies for their return journey. The cache included tobacco that the men would sorely miss before they returned the following year.

August 22–24: Lewis made a final attempt at trading for horses before many of the Shoshoni moved northward down the Beaverhead River. At noon on the 24th, Lewis and the main party headed westward for the Lemhi Valley to resume talking and horse trading with the Shoshoni. They followed the same trail as before and stopped for their evening camp about one mile west of where Lewis had camped on August 10.

August 25: The Corps continued westward and halted two miles east of Red Butte to eat the midday meal. Here Lewis learned from Charbonneau that the Shoshoni were all planning to depart eastward, in contradiction to what they had told him earlier. After a long discussion, the original agreement was confirmed, and the expedition and the Shoshoni continued westward past Red Butte to their evening camp at the place where Trail Creek enters its narrow canyon about seven miles southwest of Red Butte. The area can be recognized by the distinctive rock formations on the hillsides to the south of the creek.

August 26: This morning brought yet another quarter-inch of ice on standing water in camp—a reminder of the urgent need to cross the mountains before the fall snowstorms. The main party set out at sunrise up Trail Creek; when they reached the place where the trail left the creek and crossed over Lemhi Pass, the men drank the water from the "extreme source of the Missouri."²⁵ They continued on and stopped at the spring of Lewis' August 12 camp to eat the midday meal and rest.

Here another interesting story unfolded. A woman who had been helping with the baggage stopped a mile back and sent her two loaded horses ahead with friends. Lewis asked

Ca-me-âh-wait about this and was told that the woman stopped to give birth to a child and would soon catch up. Within an hour, the woman caught up to the main party with her newborn baby—and passed them on her way to the next camp.

The main party continued westward, crossed Pattee Creek, and arrived at a village on the Lemhi River that contained 32 brush lodges. This camp was two or three miles upriver from the camp Lewis had previously visited. That evening, amid dancing and fiddle playing, Lewis began bargaining for 20 horses. On this day Lewis made his last journal entry until September 9.

August 27–29: Lewis and the main party stayed at this camp until Clark returned from his exploration of the Salmon River.

L&C

Lewis was the first to reach the Lemhi Valley and encounter the Shoshoni. His encounter could have ended with a battle, but cool heads prevailed and the encounter ended with friendship and trade. Clark was still coming up the Beaverhead River with the main party.

Once Lewis returned to the Beaverhead and established what we now know as Fortunate Camp, Clark was free to press ahead and explore the Salmon for navigation. The expe-

dition had been told by the Shoshoni that the Salmon was not navigable, but the stakes were so high that Clark had to verify this for himself. Decisions could not be left to chance or to a misunderstanding in sign language or translation.

Lewis crossed Lemhi Pass three times; August 12, 15, and 26. He camped five nights in Horse Prairie—August 10, 11, 15, 24, and 25—making it an area with one of the highest concentrations of campsites. (Most if not all of the camps are on private land and not available for exploration.) Lewis achieved his objectives of establishing good relationships with the Shoshoni and convincing them to trade for their horses, and we learn a lot about the early Shoshoni from Lewis' journal entries.

Fortunate Camp was one of just a few encampments that are given a name in the journals. It was occupied by Lewis for the period August 16–23, 1805, and by Clark for the evenings of August 17, 1805, and July 8, 1806. Today, the forks of the river and the campsite are under the waters of Clark Canyon Reservoir, a little west of the campground now located just off Interstate 15. The campground is a good place to stop and visit the site and take photos. On the west side of the reservoir, there is an overlook interpretive site where the camp area can be viewed looking eastward.



Looking eastward at the Lewis and Clark trail as it dips into Horseshoe Bend Creek west of Lemhi Pass.

Clark's Exploration of the Salmon River

August 17-21, 1805

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 5, pages 118-178; Thwaites: Volume 2, pages 368-386, and Volume 3, pages 3-47.

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-1 through LCID-7 cover the region from Clark Canyon Reservoir to the Lemhi Valley and then down the Salmon River canyon to a ridge east of Shoup, Idaho. Among the modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Indian Head	Pattee Creek	Big Flat
Horse Prairie	Poison Gulch	Tower Creek
Grant, Montana	Lemhi River	Fourth-of-July Creek
Bloody Dick Creek	Tendoy, Idaho	Wagonhammer Creek
Trail Creek	Warm Springs Creek	North Fork, Idaho
Selway Ranch	Kenney Creek	Donnelly Gulch
Sacajawea Memorial Spring	Sandy Creek	Dump Creek
Lemhi Pass	Withington Creek	Moose Creek
Agency Creek	Baker, Idaho	Indian Creek
Horseshoe Bend Creek	Kertley Creek	Squaw Creek
Flume Creek	Salmon, Idaho	Papoose Creek
Ghoul Basin	Carmen Creek	

While Lewis was looking for the Shoshoni and exploring the Lemhi Valley, Clark was proceeding up the Beaverhead River with the main party and most of the supplies. Their progress was slow, and the work was as difficult as any they would experience during the entire expedition. They had to push, pull, and pry the canoes up a river that was increasingly shallow and slippery with large, smooth, mossy river rocks. Lewis was worried that they would not arrive at Fortunate Camp in time to meet the Shoshoni and make a favorable impression. However, Clark arrived at the camp on August 17, just in time. His journal reported the first sighting of several Indians on horseback, and he wrote that Sacajawea and Charbonneau danced for joy when she saw that they were her people. The Shoshoni started singing as they made their way to the camp.

At camp, Clark reported the astonishment of the Shoshoni at their first view of the men, their guns, the canoes, the clothing, Lewis' Newfoundland dog, Seaman, and a man with black skin, York. Now it was Clark's turn to learn that it was impossible to travel down the Salmon River either by horse or by canoe. This was such bad news that Clark decided to go see for himself; he selected a party of 11 men²⁶ to pack up and head for the Salmon River.

L&C

August 18: Clark and his party set out for the Lemhi Valley. They passed through the lower part of Horse Prairie, passed Grant, Montana, and camped due south of Red Butte on the south side of the creek.²⁷ All the Shoshoni proceeded on to the Lemhi Valley except for three chiefs and two young men.

August 19: The party continued west toward Lemhi Pass. One of the chiefs showed Clark the place where several Shoshoni had been killed a few years before,²⁸ on the north side of the creek and about two miles west of Red Butte. The main trail to the Beaverhead is only one mile from this site; an enemy nation must have been traveling that trail and encountered the Shoshoni.

The party crossed Lemhi Pass, stayed on the same trail Lewis had taken, and camped on Pattee Creek where the trail crossed. Clark reported little detail of the trail except to note some brief geography and some incomplete distances. He did say that a man traveling with a mule and Spanish saddle²⁹ offered to let him ride. In gratitude, Clark gave the man his waistcoat.³⁰

August 20: The party reached the Lemhi Valley and encountered many groups of Shoshoni. One group invited them to halt and smoke the pipe. Clark was able to arrange for one man, whom they would call Toby,³¹ to act as a guide over the mountains. They proceeded down the east side of the Lemhi River, crossed it to the west at the mouth of Sandy Creek, and camped on Withington Creek, southeast of Baker, Idaho. Clark was impressed at how attentive the Shoshoni were to strangers, helping them and sharing their precious food supplies. It continued to freeze at night.

August 21: They were again greeted with morning frost as they prepared to proceed down the Lemhi River. After traveling five miles, they reached an Indian camp along the river where there are fishing weirs. The party was provided a meal of boiled salmon and dried chokecherries. Clark described



Lewis' first campsite in Idaho.

how the Shoshoni gigged fish along the cliffs of the river. As the map-maker, Clark decided to name this river after Lewis. However, the name was never adopted; it has always been called the Lemhi Fork of the Salmon River.

While traveling down the river, the party passed above the confluence of the Lemhi and Salmon Rivers by crossing the hills to the east. They stayed on the east side, crossing Carmen Creek, passing through Big Flat, and camping along the river at a large cliff about six tenths of a mile south of Tower Creek. Their route east and north of Salmon, Idaho, crossed hills of brightly colored deep volcanic tuff deposited by the Challis volcanos. The journals record their observations of eroded gullies colored with reddish-brown, dark-brown, and snow-white "sandstone." Clark noted that a trail passed up Carmen Creek and went to the Missouri River.³²

August 22: The party continued down the east side of the Salmon River, crossing Tower Creek and four points of the mountains that were very steep and rocky.³³ After very difficult travel, they reached the mouth of the North Fork of the Salmon at North Fork, Idaho. Here, they encountered several families of Shoshoni gathering and preparing food for the winter. The people did not know about the white men in their country and were very afraid of being killed. They offered

what little food and possessions they had to these white strangers. Some of the women and children cried during the hour the party rested here. After resting, the party continued down the north bank of the Salmon River about three miles and camped on the lower point of an island. This site is about a mile upriver from the Deadwater picnic area. There is a group of islands here; but islands tend to change with the flow of the river over time, so it is not possible to pinpoint the exact campsite. The men attempted to gig fish for supper but were unsuccessful.³⁴

August 23: The expedition started early and continued down the river past Deadwater Spring and the mouths of Dump Creek³⁵ and Moose Creek. The route became risky: going down the river on the north side, they encountered large rocks and steep rocky hillsides that went all the way to the river. After about four miles of difficult, but possible, travel, they came to a place where a rock bluff went all the way to the river and were forced to swim the horses in the river to get around it.³⁶

They continued on past Sage Creek. Five to six miles from their last camp, they encountered a very bad rapid,³⁷ and the trail seemed to disappear. Clark decided to leave some of the men here and proceed on with only Toby and three members

of the Corps. The other men backtracked to the flat at the mouth of Sage Creek and camped for the night, with instructions to hunt and fish until Clark's return. Clark found a small "wolf path" to follow and proceeded on about two miles to the mouth of Indian Creek,³⁸ from which he reported that an Indian trail went northward to the Bitterroot River. The small party stopped at an Indian camp for two hours to rest, fish, and eat the midday meal.

After resting, the party traveled a short distance to the mouth of Squaw Creek and left the Salmon to travel northwest up the creek. Toby told Clark that this would save considerable travel because of a southern bend in the river. The trail up Squaw Creek went all the way to the Bitterroot River, but Clark followed it just under two miles³⁹ before swinging southwest over a low saddle and back to the river at a large flat or small valley. This is the largest flat between here and the North Fork and probably a popular Indian camping area. Lewis wrote that it was about 80 acres in size. West of this flat, at a large bend in the river, Clark climbed a large ridge to get a good view westward. What he saw convinced him that the Shoshoni were correct: there was no way they could go down the "River of No Return" to the Snake River.⁴⁰ Another plan would have to be made. The small party backtracked to Squaw Creek and camped at the mouth of Papoose Creek.⁴¹ In camp, Toby told Clark more about the trail up Squaw Creek and how it went to a large river that was the home of the Salish Nation.

Lewis gave another very detailed account of Clark's exploration down the river. No mention was made of being able to climb to the dividing ridge to the north and follow the Southern Nez Perce Trail.⁴²

August 24: The party continued their return journey very early in the morning. At the mouth of Squaw Creek, Clark carved his initials on a pine tree.⁴³ He reached the rest of the men camped at Sage Creek and they continued eastward to a small flat west of the mouth of Moose Creek, where they camped for the night. Clark composed a letter to Lewis telling him about his exploration of the river and outlining alternate plans for them to reach the Columbia. His first plan was to have Toby guide them overland; his second was to divide the party and have one group go down the Salmon River and the other go overland. He also wrote that some of the party should return to the Missouri River and collect provisions

and then try to rejoin the others by going westward up the Medicine River in Montana.

August 25: Clark's party set out early toward the Lemhi River, where they would meet up with Lewis and the main party. They stopped for an hour at the Shoshoni camp on the North Fork, where they ate boiled salmon and dried berries. Then they retraced their route over the rugged ridges east of the river and stopped to camp at the same bluff where they had camped on August 21.

Lewis reported that a party of Shoshoni passed Clark on this day and that his party spotted a large herd of elk on the south side of the river. The journals (Moulton, 5:167) have a list of courses and distances of Clark's travel down the river, but the data do not agree with the geographic clues in the journals on which this research is based.

August 26: Clark and his party continued to retrace their route back to the Lemhi Valley, passing above the mouth of the Lemhi River and stopping again at the Shoshoni camps located near the fishing weirs on the river.

August 27–28: Clark and party stayed in the Shoshoni camps. Clark made a rare entry in the journal, recording the complaints of the men about having only fish to eat and wondering if they would starve to death in this country with no game. It continued to frost every night. On August 29, a letter arrived from Lewis saying that he was at the upper village and had traded for 22 horses.

August 29: Another frosty morning, with a southern wind, greeted the party as they packed up to go south to join up with Lewis and the main party. Clark left two men at this camp so they could stay and guard the baggage. Clark arrived at Lewis' camp in early afternoon and immediately engaged in more horse trading. The next day the Corps would begin their arduous trip over the main Bitterroot Mountains. Lemhi Pass would seem like a small hill compared to what they were about to encounter.

L&C

The expedition spent many days in the Lemhi Valley camping with the Shoshoni and trading for horses and food. Clark explored the Salmon River below the mouth of the North Fork and concluded it was unnavigable—as we imply today with the name "The River of No Return." Obtaining horses was a key element to the successful travel of the expedition over the rugged Bitterroot Mountains.



Looking southward down the North Fork of the Salmon River from a ridge near the Lost Trail campsite.

Lemhi Valley and Bitterroot Valley

August 30-September 10, 1805

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 5, pages 178-198; Thwaites: Volume 3, pages 47-61.

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-4 through LCID-14 cover the region from the Lemhi Valley near Tendoy, Idaho, down the Lemhi Valley, over Lost Trail Pass, and down the Bitterroot Valley to Lolo, Montana. Among the modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Tendoy, Idaho	Hull Creek	Beam Flat
Lemhi River	Hughes Creek	Connor, Montana
Warm Springs Creek	Sheep Creek	Rye Creek
Kenney Creek	Dahlonga Creek	Darby, Montana
Sandy Creek	Hammerean Creek	Horse Creek
Withington Creek	Twin Creek	Sleeping Child Creek
Baker, Idaho	Pierce Creek	Grantsdale, Montana
Kertley Creek	Moose Creek	Skalkaho Creek
Salmon, Idaho	Colter Creek	Hamilton, Montana
Carmen Creek	Lost Trail Pass	Gird Creek
Big Flat	Camp Creek	Corvallis, Montana
Tower Creek	Indian Trees Campground	South Swamp Creek
Fourth-of-July Creek	Sula, Montana	Stevensville, Montana
Wagonhammer Creek	East Fork Bitterroot River	Eightmile Creek
Silverlead Creek	Cameron Creek	Woodchuck Creek
North Fork, Idaho	Sula Peak	McClain, Montana
North Fork Salmon River	Spring Gulch	Lolo Creek
Bills Canyon	Warm Springs Creek	Lolo, Montana

All meaningful trade with the Lemhi Shoshoni was now concluded, and the Corps were ready to begin their journey over the rugged Bitterroot Mountains. The route the Captains chose would take them almost due north up the North Fork of the Salmon, over Lost Trail Pass, and down the Bitterroot River. With Toby, they had great confidence in finding the best route through the mountains.

L&C

August 30: The Corps of Discovery broke camp and prepared to head north across the main Bitterroot Mountains. They were joined by Toby, his three sons, and another Shoshoni (who may have been a relative of Toby). At the same time, a large party of Shoshoni were headed east toward the Missouri. Clark described the condition of their 29 horses. Nearly all had sore backs and several were in poor condition or young. They traveled about 12 miles down the Lemhi River, crossed it once to the west side, and camped about two miles upriver from the fish weirs and three miles downriver from Baker, Idaho.

August 31: Clark called it a fine morning as the Corps set out before sunrise to go to the "fish weir" camp, where Clark had left two men guarding the baggage from his previous

trip. They halted three hours on "Salmon Creek"⁴⁴ to let their horses graze. They continued on to the mouth of Tower Creek,⁴⁵ went up it for about three miles, and camped at some old lodges where the trail left the creek and headed northwest over the mountains. Clark reported that Toby has four sons with him. The day became warm and sultry, and the prairies and valleys were on fire in several places. Clark speculated that the fires were signals to collect all the Indian bands together for winter buffalo hunting.⁴⁶

September 1: The party continued their journey northwest over a series of mountain ridges and creeks. They crossed Fourth-of-July, Wagonhammer, and Silverlead Creeks on an up-and-down route until they arrived at the North Fork of the Salmon about three miles above its mouth.⁴⁷ They went up the creek about two miles and camped on its east side, west of a bluff that they noted in the journals. The campsite is opposite the mouth of Little Hull Creek. Two of the men were sent to the mouth of the North Fork to purchase fish from the Shoshoni camped there. All of the Shoshoni men except for Toby and one of his sons left the party this day.

September 2: The fine weather of the previous days was gone; it was cloudy and rainy. The main trail they had been

following went up the North Fork to the mouth of Dahlonga Creek and then up Dahlonga Creek, past Gibbonsville, and eastward to the Big Hole and the Missouri River. The party chose to leave the main trail at Dahlonga Creek and continue, without a trail, up the North Fork toward Lost Trail Pass.⁴⁸ This would prove to be a tough, miserable route that pushed the explorers and their horses to the limit. The trailless bottoms of the river along the first couple of miles north were called “Dismal Swamp” in the journals. The river must have been choked with beaver ponds and soggy areas that have since been turned into hay meadows and small acreages. Their path crisscrossed the river several times to avoid the worst of the rocks and brush thickets. Sometimes they had to leave the river bottom and go over steep points and across hillsides. Most of their route was on the west side of the river. Clark wrote that several horses fell on the steep hillsides; one was crippled and two gave out. They camped west of the river in a small stony bottom, just above the mouth of Quartz Creek.

September 3: The weather continued cloudy and stormy, with two inches of snow, rain, and sleet as they reached the Montana-Idaho border. The closed-in weather made travel miserable and navigation difficult. They continued up the North Fork, passing Deep Creek, Twin Creek, and Pierce Creek. When they reached the mouth of Moose Creek, they took to the steep sidehills up the northwest side of the creek, crossed the high ridge to the west, and camped in a cove at the very head of the North Fork just south of the Montana-Idaho border and just across a small saddle from the head of Colter Creek.⁴⁹ There is no modern evidence of any camp, but a small spring still exists at the cove. A few years ago, a forest fire passed through the area and burned most of the trees around the cove.

September 4: The party awoke to a very cold morning, their baggage wet and frozen and the ground covered with snow. They passed over the divide about 1.2 miles west of Lost Trail Pass and traveled northward along the major ridge to the forks of Camp Creek near Indian Trees Campground. An easy journey down Camp Creek brought them to the Eoote-lash-schute⁵⁰ (Bitterroot Salish or Flathead) camp near Sula, Montana. This camp had 33 lodges of about 400 people and 500 horses. The lodges and people must have been scattered around quite a bit, because the valley is not very wide and the creek and beaver dams would have made many parts of it unsuitably wet.⁵¹ This area was a popular camping place for all travelers. It became known as Ross’ Hole during the fur-trade era and then Sula after the homesteaders arrived. The population of the area in modern times area has never rivaled that when it was occupied by the Eoote-lash-schute.

September 5: The party remained encamped with the Eoote-lash-schute while they traded for horses. The Corps speculated that the Native Americans might be remnants of a lost tribe of Welshmen because of the sound of their language.⁵²

September 6: The morning greeted them with rain that finally stopped around noon. They set out in the early afternoon, headed north across the East Fork of the Bitterroot River and Cameron Creek. The trail crossed over the main ridge at a saddle north of Sula Peak and went down Spring Gulch to the river.⁵³ At the mouth of Spring Gulch on the southwest side of the river was a Salish campsite. Today, this campsite is called Spring Gulch Campground. The trail crisscrossed down the river, and the party camped at a large bar on the east side of the river, opposite Beam Flat. The rain started up again that evening.

September 7: Another heavy overcast and rainy day made for an unpleasant trip down the Bitterroot River. The Corps continued to crisscross the river many times as they passed by Connor, Rye Creek, Darby, and Como. At Como they crossed from the west to the east side of the river and camped in a nice flat about a mile south of the mouth of Sleeping Child Creek.⁵⁴ Today, the site is a hay meadow that can be seen from the Old Darby Road. As they traveled along, they could observe the snow-covered mountain tops of the Bitterroot Mountains to the west. It must have further increased their sense of urgency to make it to the Columbia River before the early-fall snowstorms. Clark made a puzzling comment about traveling until dark because they could not find a good camping place; there are in fact literally dozens of good camping places south of where they chose to camp.

September 8: The morning was cloudy and a cold wind was blowing from the northwest—not a good sign for the party. They soon entered the wide part of the Bitterroot Valley, passing Grantsdale, Hamilton, and Corvallis. They crossed several creeks before they reached their evening camp, about a mile south of Stevensville and near South Swamp Creek and Riverside Cemetery. The evening brought a hard rain, and they set up camp all cold and wet.

September 9: The trail they were following continued north through the town of Stevensville and then veered to the north-northeast, away from the river. This route avoided a river crossing and much swampy land that is now the Ravalli National Wildlife Refuge. They stopped to eat the midday meal at Eight Mile Creek, east of Florence on the east side of the river. The trail continued on the east side of the river for another 4r miles northward and then crossed over to the west side near the mouth of McClain Creek.⁵⁵ From here, they continued northward to Travelers Rest Camp. This campsite is on the south side of Lolo Creek,⁵⁶ up on the dry part of the bench, about 1.5 miles from the mouth of the creek. Missoula County has purchased a 40-acre tract of land in the area of the campsite and is (as of 2006) developing a visitor center on the property.

September 10: A fair morning and a day of rest must have brightened the spirits of the party. The hunters were sent north to the Missoula area to investigate the river and to hunt. That evening, one of the hunters returned from a trip up Lolo Creek accompanied by three Indian men.⁵⁷ One of the men,

who was Chopunnish (Nez Perce), offered to join the party and act as a guide to the Columbia River, where his relatives resided. The man also told the party that the previous fall some of his relatives had seen an old white man who lived near the mouth of the Columbia. The new guide said it would take five days to reach his relatives. The party would soon find out this was wildly optimistic for their large group. It is odd that no mention is made of the potential conflict that might occur between Toby and the new man, since their tribes were not on friendly terms. Perhaps the Captains were unaware of this.

L&C.

After successful horse trading, the party went north down the Lemhi Valley and up the North Fork of the Salmon River. Their journey up the North Fork of the Salmon was the first big test of men and horses. Some of the weaker horses gave out before ever reaching the mountains. They aptly named a section of their route along the North Fork "Dismal Swamp."

They had to go over Lost Trail Pass, where no trail existed, in bad weather.

Besides the journey with unproven horses, their next big task was to meet with the Bitterroot Salish⁵⁸ and trade for more horses. The English names for this tribe are varied and confusing. They have been called the Flathead or Tushepau Nation by some authors. Clark reported that they called themselves "Eoote-lash-Schute." The party traded for 11 new horses and exchanged 7 of the less desirable horses by including a few articles of merchandise in the bargain.

The expedition's travel through the Bitterroot Valley was unremarkable and uneventful. The valley was broad, flat, and very easy traveling, and the journal entries are bland. The Corps arrived in good spirits at Travelers Rest Camp on Lolo Creek the evening of September 9 and found a great place for a well-deserved two-day rest. Today the valley is so developed that there is little chance of finding the old trail they followed.⁵⁹

The campsite of September 4, 1805, where the Corps met the Bitterroot Salish or Flathead.





The old trail tread at Bald Mountain, showing lots of erosion because of the steep tread and occasional use by hunters.

Over the Lolo Trail

September 11-22, 1805

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 5, pages 198-231; Thwaites: Volume 3, pages 62-85.

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-14 through LCID-22 cover the region from Lolo, Montana, westward over the Bitterroot Mountains to Weippe, Idaho. Among the modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Lolo Creek	Lolo Pass	Bald Mountain
Mormon Creek	Packer Meadows	No-See-Um Meadows
Sleeman Creek	Pack Creek	Sherman Peak
Hollensteiner Gulch	Brushy Fork	Sherman Saddle
Chickaman Gulch	Crooked Fork	Willow Ridge
Westerman Creek	Colt Killed Creek	Deep Saddle
Anderson Gulch	Lochsa River	Bowl Butte
Schoolhouse Gulch	Papoose Creek	Green Saddle
Woodman Creek	Whitehouse Pond	Hungry Creek
Camp Creek	Wendover Ridge	Boundary Peak
Bear Creek	Lolo Trail	Windy Saddle
Smith Creek	Cayuse Junction	Myrtle Creek
Sheldon Creek	Spring Mountain	Fish Creek
Potato Gulch	Indian Postoffice	Mex Mountain
Clark Creek	Moon Creek	Dollar Creek
Grave Creek	Moon Saddle	Eldorado Creek
Howard Creek	Howard Camp	Eldorado Ridge
Martin Creek	Howard Creek	May Creek
Erickson Meadow	Moccasin Peak	Cedar Creek
Spring Gulch	Serpent Creek	Lolo Creek
Granite Creek	Gravey Creek	Crane Meadow
Lolo Hot Springs	Sinque Hole	Brown Creek Ridge
Mud Creek	Indian Grave Peak	Wilson Creek
West Fork Lolo Creek	Indian Grave Camp	Jim Ford Creek
Lee Creek	Smoking Place	Weippe Prairie
Wagon Mountain	Castle Butte	

With the bad September weather and lack of food causing great concern, the party started over the Lolo Trail⁶¹ to Weippe, Idaho. Although they had been told that the trip would take only “five sleeps,” they had inadequate time to linger around the lower elevations hunting and gathering roots for the trip. They would have to rely on speed and the distasteful “portable soup.”⁶¹

L&C.

September 11: Lolo, Montana, to Anderson Gulch. The Corps had a fair morning and very warm afternoon to begin their trip westward, but they did not start out until 3 p.m. because they lost two horses. We will learn in the days to come that good horse wrangling was not a skill that the party possessed! Lewis dropped his journal keeping again and did not pick it up until he and Clark separated on September 18.

They went up Lolo Creek for about seven miles and camped at a large old Indian camp on the north side of the creek near the mouth of Anderson Gulch. Travel was easy, and the creek had chokecherry groves that were noted in the journals. One remarkable site they saw was a medicine tree with a white bear-skin hanging on it. Toby told them about the large trail that passed up the Big Blackfoot River and over into the area of Great Falls, Montana—the route that Lewis would take eastward the next July. The Chopunnish guide⁶² left them today and went on alone.

September 12: Anderson Gulch to Erickson Meadow.⁶³ They woke up to frost and started up the creek at 7 a.m. The trail passed Woodman School and crossed Woodman Creek in a large meadow where they saw an old Indian encampment with a earthen sweat house.⁶⁴ Here the trail left the creek bot-

tom and crossed some low hills before reaching Grave Creek. Clark stated that they crossed six branches⁶⁵ before reaching the forks of the creek. The trail went this way to avoid the brush- and beaver-dam-choked creek bottoms west of Woodman Creek. Most of this section of trail has been heavily impacted by road building and timber harvest.

The trail continued above the north side of Lolo Creek all the way to Howard Creek. There are still many segments of this old trail about 100 feet above Highway 12, and they can be hiked for short distances. At Howard Creek, the Forest Service has constructed some interpretive signs and cleared and marked the old trail west of the parking lot. This is a good place to hike an authentic segment of the exact trail followed by the Corps of Discovery. The trail went along the south face and on top of this large ridge before dropping southward down to Lolo Creek near the mouth of Martin Creek. The journals complain of an intolerable trail on the side of steep stony mountains.

The trail forded Lolo Creek twice at Martin Creek and then went up Erickson Meadow along its very northern edge to the creek called Spring Gulch. The Corps made camp in the Spring Gulch area.⁶⁶ Clark noted that the pine trees in this area had been peeled for their inner bark, which was used as a carbohydrate food source for both horses and people.

September 13: Erickson Meadow to Packer Meadows. The morning was cloudy when they started out. Lewis and four of the men were detained to hunt for horses while Clark and the main party continued on. They arrived at Lolo Hot Springs and stopped to examine the water. Clark reported the water nearly boiling hot and not bad tasting.⁶⁷

As they tried to head west from the hot springs, they could not identify the main trail because so many game trails⁶⁸ entered the area. They went off the main trail and along Mud Creek but finally found the main trail again where it crossed the West Fork of Lolo Creek about a mile south of Lee Creek Campground.⁶⁹ The trail went up to the ridge east of Wagon Mountain and followed the ridge to the very upper end of Lolo Creek, where it crossed old Lolo Pass⁷⁰ and went into Packer Meadows.

Packer Meadows, on the divide between Lolo Creek and Pack Creek⁷¹ (*Glade Creek, Quawmash Creek, Valley Creek*), was a popular camping spot for all travelers on the old Lolo Trail. The north end of the meadows was the traditional camping area; but the Corps camped on the south end of the meadows on the east side of the creek in a flat, dry area now covered in brush and obscured by logging activity. This site has been given the name Glade Creek Camp and is now state property.

The old Lolo Trail in the Packer Meadows area is well worn and easy to follow except for a few short sections that have been logged over. There are also a few swampy places on the old trail. Even in the logged areas, the trail can be found by careful inspection. The area has many cambium-peeled trees that were used as early spring feed for both horses and people. The trail crosses the creek three times in the mile and a half

(two miles by the Captains' calculations) between the pass and the big ridge south of the meadows. The meadows were used for stock grazing in the late 1800s and early 1900s; some of the trail is well worn from stock traffic, and some of the old sheep camps are faintly evident.

September 14: Packer Meadows to Powell Ranger Station. After leaving the nice surroundings of Pack Creek and Glade Creek Camp, the Corps started over the most rugged portions of the Lolo Trail. The weather was turning bad. They experienced "thunder hail" and other nasty kinds of weather. After traveling about two and eight tenths miles, they came to a fork in the trail on top of the ridge but did not see it. The right, or main, fork went sharply down over the sidehill and down a large ridge to the Crooked Fork (*Kooskooskee*) crossing. This western branch crossed Crooked Fork and climbed steeply up to the main ridge system that has for centuries carried Lolo Trail travelers all the way to Green Saddle and the descent to Hungry Creek. This ridge system is the main divide between the North and Lochsa Forks of the Clearwater River.

The left fork was a Salish salmon-fishing trail that went down to Brushy Fork and over a large ridge to sand and gravel bars along the Lochsa River. The Salish trail had been recently used and was a well beaten path. The main trail was obscured

A section of the old trail tread west of Spring Mountain.





Ancient rock cairns along the trail.

by circumstance of location and brush, so the party mistakenly took the fishing trail. It is likely that Toby was familiar with the fishing trail but not the main trail.

The old Salish fishing trail climbed from the crossing of Brushy Fork to the top of the ridge between Cabin Creek and Crooked Fork. This route has been extensively logged, so the trail route is hard to find. The journals contain several complaints about how steep and rugged the trail is over this ridge.

The trail descended off the ridge and down to fishing weirs and camping sites along Crooked Fork above the mouth of Colt Killed Creek. (The name for this creek has been changed from White Sand Creek to honor the original naming of the creek by the Corps.) The trail along the river no longer exists as an erosion trace; but up the steep nose of the ridge to the east, there are several places where the trail can be found. White Sand Campground and the gravel pit are located on top of an ancient camping site.

The evening camp was at Powell Ranger Station in the area of the Heliport, next to the river and across from the lower end of the river island reported in the journals. Hungry, cold, and wet, the Corps killed a colt to eat for the evening meal. They named the southeast branch of the river for the colt.

September 15: Powell Ranger Station to Snowbank Camp. The party set out early and followed the Salish fishing trail down the north side of the Lochsa River. The trail stayed up on the sidehill in many places until it reached the large flat at Wendover and Whitehouse Pond. The flat is named for Bert

Wendover, an early fur trapper in the area; the pond is named for Private Joseph Whitehouse, who mentioned it in his journal for September 15, 1805. The pond is a popular feeding place for moose.

The old trail in this area was dispersed to various camping sites along the river where salmon weirs were used season after season. To get back to the main branch of the trail, which is high on the ridge to the north, the Corps had to climb up the steep nose of Wendover Ridge and continue for several miles to the top. This trail was little used by either the Nez Perce or the Salish.⁷²

The old Salish fishing trail continued down the river about 16 miles to Weir Creek and then went over Ashpile Peak, passed Devils Chair, and joined the main Lolo Trail near Howard Camp. However, this route was not followed by the Corps. There was no river trail west of Weir Creek until early in the twentieth century, when railroad and dam surveyors built one the entire length of the Lochsa. The old downriver trail went past Whitehouse Pond on its south side, where the highway is now located. The Forest Service constructed a trail up Wendover Ridge to access a short-lived fire lookout about halfway up. This is the trail you can hike today to follow the party's route. Because of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial, the Forest Service is in the process of reconstructing a segment of the old downriver trail along the northern side of the Lochsa River that is mingled with the original Salish fishing trail. Only small segments of the original trail still exist. It went

through the front yard of Lochsa Lodge and through the middle of Powell Campground.

As the party struggled their way up Wendover Ridge, the horse carrying Clark's desk fell off the trail and rolled down the steep hillside, breaking the desk. The horse sustained no damage, but others that fell and rolled at this location were injured. The Corps nooned at a spring halfway up, near the old lookout. The Wendover Ridge route ended at the top of the main ridge of the Lolo Trail. They were once again following the "Great Road."

The night of September 15, the Corps reached one of the highest points along the trail, a place we now call Snowbank Camp. They had spent a very long day traveling from Powell to this point. That night, they drank and cooked with water melted from the small snowbanks that still remained on the north hillside from the previous winter.

September 16: Snowbank Camp to Moon Creek. It began to snow during the night and continued all day. The Corps could see that winter was coming on fast and they had to get over these mountains to lower elevations if they were to survive. At daylight they started westward again, going from one of the highest points on the trail to one of the three lowest points, Cayuse Junction. Clark⁷³ walked in front to try to find the trail that was increasingly covered in 6 to 8 inches of wet snow. In many places, he had to stop several minutes to

locate it. The food supply was low. Clark reported seeing four blacktail deer as they were starting out from Snowbank Camp; he tried shooting at them, but his gun failed because of the heavy, wet snow and damp weather.

At noon, they stopped at Spring Mountain to rest, eat, and let the horses graze on some grass still peeking out of the snow on the south slopes. The wet snow on the brush and trees soaked the party to the point that they were very cold and miserable. Clark commented: "...I have been wet and as cold in every part as I ever was in my life; indeed, I was at one time fearful that my feet would freeze in the thin mockersons which I wore...."

After eating, Clark and one man hurried on about six miles and built fires in a cove formed by the two branches of Moon Creek. The trail did not go into the flat part of the cove but stayed up on the sidehill, where they could scarcely find enough room to lie level. They passed Indian Postoffice shortly before reaching the camp, but the journals do not report either the rock cairns or the two beautiful lakes on the east side of the ridge. It is likely that the snow, the urgency to find shelter, and the trail route all contributed to not seeing them. It is also possible that the cairns were not there at the time.⁷⁴

What we now call Lonesome Cove Camp is in an awkward place along Moon Creek. It is on a narrow, small ridge point with no good places to sleep on the level. If they had not been

Little Weitas Butte, a major landmark along the old Lolo Trail, is at the center of the picture. When fire kept the ridges burned off, it was easy to see. Now it is visible only once in a while through a gap in the trees.



desperate to set up camp and get shelter, they would have found better camping a short distance down the creek. Modern USGS topographic maps incorrectly show Lonesome Cove Camp almost a mile away, off the trail, and on the steep side of a ridge.

September 17: Moon Creek to Indian Grave Camp. The Corps awoke to a cloudy morning, their horses so scattered that they did not set out until 1 p.m. The wet snow again kept them wet and miserable all afternoon. The old trail crossed the ridge west of Moon Saddle and passed through Howard Camp, went south of Moccasin Peak, and dropped down into the lower end of Serpent Creek. Segments of the old trail can still be found except where timber harvest has erased it. We don't really know why the old trail dipped down toward Gravey Creek.⁷⁵ Perhaps it was to reach salmon. The government trail that was built in 1866 stays on the Saddle Camp route. It is not much shorter, but it does stay on the main ridge and avoids the large elevation change encountered on the older trail.

After it crossed the lower end of Serpent Creek, the trail went southward up the main ridge east of Gravey Creek until it again reached the main divide between the Lochsa River and the North Fork of the Clearwater. The trail stayed right on top of the ridge and passed a small pond that reminded Whitehouse of a limestone sink hole. Today we call this pond the Sinque Hole after the spelling used by Whitehouse. It is one of the few very distinct geographic features whose locations we can positively identify, because its appearance is much like that seen by the Corps.

The party continued on and camped at Indian Grave Camp⁷⁶ near a branch of Indian Grave Creek, which flows southeast into the Lochsa River. The camp and creek get their modern name from the death and burial of a Nez Perce teenager named Albert Parsons Mallickan. His family has erected a tombstone for him on the south side of the meadow. Indian Grave has been a popular campsite area for centuries.⁷⁷

September 18 (Clark): Indian Grave Camp to Hungry Creek. The party split up this morning before leaving camp. Clark and six hunters went ahead to find lower elevations and food. The wet, cold, snowy weather and lack of food had the Corps again greatly concerned. Lewis chose to follow behind with the main party. They would meet a few days later at Weippe Prairie.

Clark and the hunters concluded that there was no game in this country, so they needed to hurry west as fast as possible to reach lower elevations. They traveled rapidly over the main ridge, passing Bald Mountain, Sherman Peak, Willow Ridge, and Bowl Butte. From one of the latter peaks, Clark saw the Nez Perce Prairie at Grangeville and Cottonwood. He said it was an immense and level country. Near Green Saddle, the trail went down a main ridge to Hungry Creek.

The distance traveled by Clark and his small party was the longest of any day on the Lolo Trail thus far. Clark's camp was in a great spot on the north side of Hungry Creek, just above the mouth of two small creeks that flow in from the north.

Today, the site is a wide, dry, rocky meadow with a large rock slide to the north. Many people wonder why the trail would dip down into Hungry Creek instead of staying on the ridge. The most probable explanation is that the lower elevation offered relief from the deep snow. The other branch of the Northern Nez Perce Trail goes over Snowy Summit—a name whose origin is obvious.

September 18 (Lewis): Indian Grave Camp to Dry Camp. The main party with Lewis set out at 8:30 a.m., traveled 18 miles, and encamped on the side of a steep mountain. Lewis reported that they "suffered for water," having passed "one rivulet only." At their evening camp, they found water only by going down a steep ravine one-half mile from camp. They used snow for cooking. Their evening meal was portable soup, bear's oil, and 20 pounds of tallow candles. Lewis described their route as along the ridge of a high mountain.

The actual location of this camp is much in doubt. Dry Ridge is a name suggested by modern researchers who have placed the September 18 camp of Lewis along it. Careful research shows that the actual "Dry Camp" had to be between No-See-Um Meadows and Willow Ridge. The location of Dry Camp on USGS topographic maps is several miles east of its true location, which was probably on the eastern face of Willow Ridge.

The journals have conflicting or confusing statements about travel for this day, so it is impossible to be totally confident of the campsite location. Lewis' comment about water is confusing. The trail is near, or crosses, good water sources at Bald Mountain and passes very near water at No-See-Um Meadows, Sherman Peak, and Sherman Saddle. The best journal record of the trail over this area is given by Whitehouse. He writes that they started out at 7 a.m. and halted on a ridge of the mountains at 3 p.m. to let the horses feed and to melt some snow for portable soup. This was probably on the open ridge just east of No-See-Um Meadows. He states that they then ascended a very steep part of the mountain and then ascended the side of another mountain, where they found water. This aptly describes the steep descent in and out of Sherman Saddle going westward. The steep hill to a spring also fits the east face of Willow Ridge.

Sherman Peak is the first practical location near the trail route where the Nez Perce and Camas Prairies (Grangeville, Cottonwood, Nezperce, and Craigmont) can be seen. The old trail actually went along the north side of the peak, but the Corps probably hiked up to the top of it for observations. The prairie can also be seen from Willow Ridge, Bowl Butte, and the south end of the ridge east of No-See-Um Meadows. Today, the view from Sherman Peak is obscured by trees growing up over a century of fire control. There was no campsite at Sherman Saddle, so the USGS topographic map label "Horse Sweat Pass Camp" makes no sense. Going into Sherman Saddle from the east, the old trail goes down very steeply and is buried in heavy brush.

September 19 (Clark): Hungry Creek to Cedar Creek. Clark and his small party set out early and continued up Hungry

Creek. They passed Obia Creek, Yew Creek, and the ridge north of Boundary Peak. The trail remained mostly on the north side of the creek. At a small glade north of Windy Saddle, they found a horse that they killed and used for their breakfast. They hung up the rest of it for use by Lewis and the main party.

After breakfast, they continued up the main creek and then turned due south and went down the large ridge between Camel and Myrtle Creeks. The trail turned southwest, crossed Myrtle Creek, and went to the meadows at Fish Creek where Forest Service Trail 230 now crosses it. This entire area was used for cattle grazing for decades, and many of the existing trails are cattle trails.

West of Fish Creek Meadow, the trail followed the main ridge up to Road 500. The old Nez Perce trail is intermingled with a modern trail on some parts of the ridge, but the modern trail stays to the south of the crest of the ridge while the old trail stays on top of it. The trail then went southwest down the large ridge between Dollar and Six-Bit Creeks. Forest Service Trail 25 has been constructed down this ridge and obscures most the the original trail tread.

At the mouth of Dollar Creek, the old trail stayed in the glades along Eldorado Creek for two miles and then went up a secondary ridge toward Eldorado Ridge. West of this is the most problematic section of the entire trail. We know the Corps crossed between Eldorado Creek and Lolo Creek, but the journal accounts are scant and inaccurate here; so the location was determined by following every trail in the area and deciding on the most probable route. The Forest Service built a trail along the same route, and great care must be taken not to confuse it with the old trail. The entire Forest Service trail is easy to hike and a great experience, traveling under small patches of old-growth trees.

Clark went along the main ridge system and then followed the lower part of May Creek to Cedar Creek and camped on the latter. The interpretive site is located about one mile to the south of the campsite and is called the Lewis and Clark Grove. The so-called "Clark Tree" was dead in 2003.

September 19 (Lewis): Dry Camp to Hungry Creek. Lewis' party set out a little after sunrise and continued on the same course as the day before. Lewis expressed the joy they felt when the "ridge terminated" and they saw a large tract of prairie country lying to the southwest. They thought it was 60 miles distant, but their guide assured them they would reach it the next day. Neither statement was correct.⁷⁸

They continued on, crossing over Willow Ridge and Bowl Butte to reach Hungry Creek.⁷⁹ They went up the creek past the mouth of Obia Creek and camped at a ravine to the north about one mile above the mouth of Yew Creek. Lewis wrote that the men were exhibiting health problems that are "disentary...breakings out or irruptions of the skin." Their all-meat-and-fat diet—a low-carbohydrate diet without fruit or vegetables—was undoubtedly to blame.

Shortly after reaching Hungry Creek, the old trail crosses a dangerous rock point with loose rock and a vertical drop to

the creek. Frazer's horse fell into the creek but escaped unhurt. The exact spot is a tenth of a mile west of Clark's camp of September 18.

September 20 (Clark): Cedar Creek to Weippe Prairie. Clark headed westward, crossed over the low, ridgy, brush-choked mountain to the west, and arrived at the forks of Eldorado Creek and Lolo Creek (*Collins Creek*). His party followed the trail down the creek and then headed northwest up the side of a very steep ridge and on to Crane Meadow. The trail continued up Crane Creek and then up the main dividing ridge, Brown Creek Ridge. It turned west on the main ridge south of Wilson Creek and crossed the county road where Wilson Creek crosses it. This entire route has widely varying qualities of trail tread because of road building, ranching, and logging. The best trail segments are along Lolo Creek and on the south end of Brown Creek Ridge.

The main trail continued westward and eventually split into two branches. The northern branch stayed on the ridge northward to the east end of Weippe Prairie. The western branch continued on through pine country to a crossing of Lolo Creek and then south to Kamiah. The Corps returned to Weippe Prairie on this western branch in 1806.

Near the trail junction, Clark encountered three Chopunnish boys⁸⁰ who ran and hid from him. He found two of the boys, gave them gifts of ribbon, and sent them ahead to their village to alert the people he would be coming. When he arrived at the village, it contained only old men, women, and children. All the able-bodied fighting men had left to war on a neighboring tribe. Clark met with the people and allayed their fears that he had come to kill them. The women gathered around him and were pleased that he was peaceful. The Chopunnish offered food in friendship: a small piece of buffalo meat, dried salmon, berries, roots, and a bread made out of camas that Clark called Pas-she-co. Clark commented that they ate heartily of this food and gave a few small presents in exchange.

The village where Clark first encountered the Chopunnish in their homeland will be called the Eastern Chopunnish Village. From journal accounts, we can calculate that it contained about 18 double lodges. The Eastern Village was located south of Jim Ford Creek (*Village Creek*), an area that was a traditional camping place for the Chopunnish. The men raced horses on the big flat meadow north of the creek.

Clark proceeded on with a Chopunnish leader to his village—a second, or Western, Chopunnish Village. From the journal accounts, it appears that the Western Village had 12 double lodges. It was located about six tenths of a mile south of the town of Weippe and just west of the county road that goes to the Weippe Cemetery. At this point Clark began referring to these people as Cho-pun-nish or Pierced Noses. Their language was different from the Bitterroot Salish or Tushapaws, but Clark writes in his journal that they were originally the same people. If so, it had been so long that their languages had diverged.



Looking northeast at the camp of Clark and his small party on September 18, 1805, the first campsite on Hungery Creek. The meadow, which is dry most of the year, has a distinctive rockslide (on the left of the photo). Hungery Creek is just out of sight on the right. The original trail tread is very faint here because of rocks and very infrequent flooding by the creek at high water.

Clark camped overnight at the Western Village. He complained of being very sick and thought that it was because he ate too much fish, roots, and Pas-she-co.

September 20 (Lewis): Hungery Creek to Dollar Creek Ridge. The party set out at 10 a.m. and continued up the creek until they reached the glade where Clark had left part of the horse he had killed. A note Clark left for Lewis informed him that they were proceeding as fast as possible to the level country. At 1 p.m., Lewis and his party halted at Fish Creek Meadows and ate their meal of "horse beef."

The trail tread between Hungery Creek and Fish Creek is sometimes deep and sometimes faint. Some of this is due to natural erosion but some of it is due to cattle grazing on Fish Creek. It is nearly impossible to find the trail if you start at Fish Creek because so many cow trails are present. Hiking from the top of the ridge down makes the finding easier. A series of beautiful meadows and a mineral lick are located where the old trail crosses Fish Creek. An early ranger station was located there.

Lewis continued on the trail west, crossed the Road 500 ridge, and went down a large ridge toward the confluence of Dollar and Eldorado Creeks. His party stopped about a mile and a half short of Eldorado Creek and camped for the night on top of the ridge. On the same day, Clark reached Weippe Prairie and was in contact with the Chopunnish camped there.

September 21 (Lewis): Dollar Creek Ridge to Lolo Creek. The main party were detained until 11 a.m. because they could not get their horses collected. They continued down the ridge to Eldorado Creek and followed Clark's route to Cedar Creek, where Lewis recognized Clark's camp of September 19. They proceeded on to the forks of Eldorado and Lolo Creeks, went down Lolo Creek, and camped in a small meadow on the north side of the creek.

Lolo Creek was named Collins Creek to honor Private John Collins. The trail came down to Lolo Creek and crossed it just above the mouth of Eldorado Creek. It crossed Lolo Creek two more times before arriving at the large meadow where the campsite is located. The camp can be reached by either crossing the creek at low water or hiking in from the Bradford Bridge.

September 22 (Lewis): Lolo Creek to Weippe Prairie. The party proceeded northwest on the main trail and, at Crane Meadow, met Reubin Fields—who had fish and roots that Clark had sent for them to eat. There was enough to satisfy everyone's appetite. They continued on the same route taken by Clark until they reached the Eastern Village on the Weippe Prairie. Lewis noted 18 lodges in this village. To his surprise, the women and children fled on horseback to the woods. The men, however, seemed unconcerned and walked out to greet them, unarmed. Lewis doesn't identify the village where he

was camped, but Clark found him at the Eastern Village late at night.

L&C.

The estimate of five days to cross the Lolo Trail was highly optimistic for a large party inexperienced with mountain travel. It took 12 hard days until Lewis and the main party emerged into the glades of the Weippe Prairie. This turned out to be the most difficult part of their entire expedition. It started sleeting on September 14, and a full-scale snowstorm started during the night of September 15. They followed the Salish salmon fishing trail down to the Lochsa River instead of staying on the main ridge trail, which added considerable exertion and perhaps an extra half-day to their trip. They also

ran short of decent food; they ate three newborn colts, the hated "portable soup," tallow candles, and a horse they found on Hungry Creek.

Clark and Lewis split up at Indian Grave Camp and Clark went ahead with the hunters to search for food. Lewis followed a day or two behind with the main party. At Weippe Prairie, Clark finally met entire bands of Chopunnish (Nez Perce) and established friendly relations that would last until white men with gold fever, land hunger, and religion created ill will that exists even to this day.⁸¹ The Nez Perce provided food to the entire party, which was much appreciated even though most of the party became seriously ill.⁸²

The Lolo Trail west of Rocky Point. This segment of the old Nez Perce Trail was used until the 1930s.



Weippe Prairie to Lewiston *September 23–October 10, 1805*

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 5, pages 231–260; Thwaites: Volume 3, pages 85–106.

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-22 through LCID-27 cover the region from Weippe, Idaho, westward down the Clearwater River to Lewiston, Idaho. Among the modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Weippe Prairie	Orofino, Idaho	Fir Island
Jim Ford Creek	Riverside	Cottonwood Creek
Weippe, Idaho	Ahsahka, Idaho	Myrtle
Schmidt Creek	Canoe Camp	Potlatch River
Jackson Meadow	Big Canyon Creek	Lapwai Creek
Schmidt Mill	Peck, Idaho	Spalding
Texas Creek	Harpers Bend	Hog Island
Fraser Park	Big George	Hatwai Creek
Big Creek	Lenore, Idaho	North Lewiston
Clearwater River	Jacks Creek	Lewiston, Idaho
Jim Ford Creek	Rattlesnake Point	Snake River
China Island	Big Eddy	Clarkston, Washington
Orofino Creek	Pine Creek	

While trying to recover from illness caused by a dramatic change in diet, the Corps traveled from the camps at Weippe Prairie to Ahsahka—where they would take several days to build canoes to go down the Clearwater, Snake, and Columbia Rivers. This campsite, across from the mouth of the North Fork of the Clearwater, was in a wide flat on the south side of the river and next to a large traditional campsite of the Nez Perce. The party found large trees here that were suitable for canoes. These they built—and then began the last leg of their journey to the Pacific.

L&C:

September 21 (Clark): Weippe Prairie to Clearwater River. It was a fine warm morning. Clark remained in the Western Village to develop friendly relations and learn about the rivers and nations they would encounter going down the Columbia. Reubin Fields was sent back to Lewis with some roots and salmon. Clark was told that a Chopunnish leader named Twisted Hair had a camp on the Clearwater River, so Clark proceeded westward to the river and then downstream. His route was first eastward past Schmidt and Texas Creeks and through Fraser Park. The trail went along the flats and ridges north of Big Creek until it reached the river at the mouth of Jim Ford Creek (*Village Creek*). The trail stayed on the northeast side of the river all the way to Orofino Creek (*Rock Dam Creek*).

At 11 p.m., about seven tenths of a mile short of Orofino Creek, Clark arrived across from the fishing island⁸³ on which Twisted Hair was camped. There was a camp of five women and three children on the shore northeast of the island. Clark, who

gave Twisted Hair a medal,⁸⁴ described him as a cheerful man of about 65 years of age. Clark stayed the night at the camp.

There are some very interesting tidbits at the end of Clark's journal for this day. He noted that one of the people at this camp had been a hostage of the Minitari of the north and had seen white men before. He called this the Flathead River and noted it was the same as the one at Powell Ranger Station where they had killed the first colt to eat. He would also use the name Koos-koos-kee for this river.

September 22 (Clark): Clearwater River to Weippe Prairie. Clark left camp on a fine morning and continued down the river on the northeast side. He had traveled a mile and a half when he saw the chief—probably Twisted Hair—coming in a canoe to meet him. He was taken to the chief's camp on a small island at a rapid.

After eating there, he set out with the chief and the chief's son to return to Weippe Prairie and meet Lewis, who was coming with the main party. About half a mile above Twisted Hair's camp he met Shields, who had three deer. Clark traded his weary horse for Shields's fresh horse—something he would soon regret, because the young horse bucked him off three times and he hurt his hip. They arrived at the Western Village at sunset and the Chief and Clark walked to the Eastern Village. There, at dark, he found Lewis encamped with the main party. Both Clark and Lewis camped for the evening at the Eastern Village.

Twisted Hair drew a map of the river system to the west. Using only sign language, because Clark had no one who could translate, he spoke of the Snake and Columbia Rivers



The 1805 campsite on Weippe Prairie.

and also Celilo Falls. The Chopunnish believed that there were establishments of white men at the falls.

September 23: Eastern Village to Western Village. Clark met with several leading men in the Eastern Village and explained that they were encouraging peace and understanding among the various northwestern tribes. He gave gifts of medals, flags, and other items. That evening the Corps traveled two miles to the Western Village, where they camped for the night. Lewis and two of the other men were very sick, and Clark complained about his hip being very sore. Twisted Hair had a lodge at the Western Village and invited Clark and Lewis to visit him.

September 24: Western Chopunnish Village to China Island. The party set out early on what would become a hot day and proceeded westward on the main trail to the Clearwater River. They arrived at the fishing island (China Island) above Orofino and set up camp for the night. Eight or nine of the men and Lewis were sick with diarrhea. Clark administered Rush's Pills.⁸⁵ Twisted Hair's camp was on another island a little above China Island.

September 25: China Island to Canoe Camp and return. It was a very hot day, and most of the party was now complaining of being sick. Two of the hunters who had been sent

out on the 22nd were very sick. Clark and his party set out down the north side of the river and crossed Orofino Creek at about one mile. They continued down the north side until they reached the North Fork of the Clearwater River (*Chopunnish River*) at Ahsahka. They halted for a midday meal of salmon.

Clark crossed the south fork to the south side of the Clearwater and proceeded westward through a narrow pine flat⁸⁶ where he found trees suitable for building canoes. Clark returned to the China Island camp by going up the south side of the Clearwater and crossing to the north side just west of Orofino. When he arrived, he found Lewis and several of the men still very sick.

September 26: China Island to Canoe Camp. The Corps struck camp and moved to Canoe Camp on the south bank of the Clearwater River just opposite the mouth of the North Fork. Here they would remain for several days. Clark treated the men for their illness, and they prepared to start building canoes.

September 27–October 6: Canoe Camp. All the men who were able to work started building canoes. Toby kept busy making arrow points. On the 28th, one of the Chopunnish told them he had been to a white men's fort at Celilo Falls,

but his story was not believed because he could give no details. The hunters continued to kill deer for the camp, and the men were slowly getting better by getting off of their heavy diet of roots.

On the 4th, the camp was visited by three men from the Snake River country to the south. Lewis was still sick but able to walk around a little.

On the 5th, 38 horses were rounded up and branded with Lewis' iron: "U.S. Capt. M. Lewis"; the hair was cut from their forelocks. They made a deal with three of the Chopunnish to care for their horses until they could return the following spring. Two canoes were launched; one leaked a little, but the other was dry.

They cached their saddles, a canister of gun powder, and a bag of musket balls about half a mile below camp, on a bend in the river, on the 6th. This cache was probably at the boat ramps at Pinkhouse. Clark said that the river below the forks is called Koos-Koos-Kee.

October 7: Canoe Camp to Lenore. Clark was very sick, but they still launched all the canoes and headed down the Clearwater. They passed through many rapids, and one of the canoes struck a rock and started leaking; but they arrived safely at

their evening camp on the north side of the river at Lenore, opposite the mouth of Jacks Creek. Here they buried two lead canisters of gunpowder near a dead-topped tree.

October 8: Lenore to Potlatch River. The party floated down the river, passing 15 rapids, 4 islands, and the mouth of the Potlatch River (*Colter Creek*). Just below the Potlatch, a canoe being steered by Sergeant Patrick Gass hit bottom, sprang a leak, and nearly turned over. They managed to salvage the greater part of the load and towed the canoe to shore. The men now had to post guards on the merchandise they carried for trade and gifts and wait for it to dry out.⁸⁷

This campsite is about three quarters of a mile downriver from the mouth of the Potlatch River on the northwest side of the Clearwater. In his table of courses and distances, Clark said that they stopped at the upper point of an island on the right side. (Perhaps this was, or looked like, an island 200 years ago, but it does not today.) Gass wrote that there were Choppunish villages on both sides of the river where they camped.

October 9: Potlatch River. They spent the day drying out their goods at the campsite and stayed an additional night. They also had to repair the damaged canoe. Toby and his son left in

The campsite at Lenore, Idaho. The 1805 campsite was on the left side of the bridge and a short distance upriver. The Corps buried canisters of powder here. The trail they followed led up the ridge in the center of the picture and then back down to Peck, Idaho.



the dark to return home to the Lemhi Valley; they had to sneak back because of the danger of being killed by the Chopunnish. Both were seen running along the river several miles upstream. They must later have taken two horses to go back over the trail, because two of the Corps's horses were missing the following spring. Clark was concerned that they did not receive their pay for the guiding services and asked the chief to send a horseman after them, but the chief said that would do no good because their possessions would just be taken from them as they passed the Chopunnish camps.

October 10: Potlatch River to Lewiston. The Corps loaded up and set out at 7 a.m. on a very warm day, passing Cottonwood, Lapwai, and Hatwai Creeks on their way to the mouth of the Clearwater River at Lewiston, Idaho. They passed several villages, and at one place they saw a man in a warm bath made by putting hot stones in a pond of water. Somewhat above Hatwai Creek they came to a location they named Raging Rapid. It no longer exists because of excavation changes in the river and water impoundment by the levee and dam at Lewiston. The party floated into the Snake River, and the journals give a description of the land and the people who lived on that river. They camped about seven tenths of a mile below the mouth of the Clearwater on the north side of the Snake.

L&C

The fortunate meeting with the Nez Perce at Weippe Prairie turned into several days of agony for many of the men. They were not used to eating camas and did not eat it in moderation, so they suffered several days of severe vomiting and diarrhea. Many were too sick to help with the canoe building. As the days past, everyone slowly recovered. The launching of the canoes was another major milestone in the expedition. The trip from Canoe Camp to the Snake River went reasonably smoothly. One canoe hit a rock and sprang a leak and another sank, but they were able to salvage the canoes and most of the goods. No people were injured. As they floated down the river, many Chopunnish came to the shore to watch them pass by. Curiosity must have been high in the many Chopunnish villages along the river. We now know that these village sites may have been in use for thousands of years.

We now leave the story of the westbound journey because the explorers have reached the Snake River and the Idaho border. They will float down the Snake and Columbia Rivers to the Pacific Ocean and camp over the winter at Fort Clatsop. We will rejoin them when they reach the mouth of the Clearwater River again on May 5, 1806.

Lewiston to Kamiah

May 5-June 9, 1806

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 7, pages 209-350; Thwaites: Volume 4, pages 357-372, and Volume 5, pages 3-120

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-27 through LCID-24 and LCID-28 cover the region from Lewiston, Idaho, eastward to Kamiah, Idaho.

Among the modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Clarkston, Washington	Bedrock Creek	Russell, Idaho (site)
Lewiston, Idaho	Agatha	Fivemile Creek
North Lewiston, Idaho	Willota	Sixmile Creek
Hatwai	Big Eddy	Nezperce, Idaho
Hatwai Creek	Rattlesnake Point	Mitchell Creek
Spalding	Lenore, Idaho	Susie Creek
Lapwai Creek	Jacks Creek	Lawyer Creek
Potlatch River	Angel Ridge	Sevenmile Creek
Myrtle	Big Canyon Creek	Kamiah, Idaho
Cottonwood Creek	Peck, Idaho	Tom Taha Creek
Fir Island	Little Canyon Creek	Woodland Grade
Hubbard Gulch		

On their return eastward, the Corps reached the land of the Clearwater Chopunnish on May 4, 1806. They crossed the Snake River to the north side and traveled along the Clearwater, passing through North Lewiston and going to the mouth of the Potlatch River. Here they met one of the principal leaders of the Chopunnish, Cut Nose, who would befriend them and help them on their journey to Kamiah. The party continued eastward all the way to Bedrock Creek, where they crossed the river to the south. Passing Big Eddy and Rattlesnake Point, they crossed over Angel Ridge to Big Canyon Creek at Peck, Idaho. They were headed southeast to a large Nez Perce settlement at Kamiah, so they did not want to take the river route they had used the previous fall. They also passed Jacks Creek and Lenore, where they had cached lead and gunpowder canisters the previous fall.

Leaving Peck the following day, they climbed the main ridge east of Peck. On reaching the ridgetop they met Twisted Hair, who invited them to join his party on their way to the camp of Broken Arm on Lawyer Creek. Twisted Hair and Cut Nose began an argument that perplexed the Captains. The argument soon ended and the Corps proceeded on, led by Twisted Hair, to his lodge and good water at the head of a small creek about one mile north of the abandoned townsite of Russell, Idaho. The next day they continued over the prairie tableland, passing just east of Nez Perce, Idaho, where they descended into Lawyer Creek. They stayed two days at the village of Broken Arm.

The weather was bad; they traveled through eight inches of snow on the prairie. They were surprised to discover that on Lawyer Creek it had only rained. They learned that the argu-

ment between Cut Nose and Twisted Hair had been over the bad care given to the horses and saddles the previous year. Apparently, when the two Chopunnish leaders saw that the Corps were not overly upset, they settled their differences and became friends again.

Resuming their journey on May 13, 1806, the Corps went down the north side of Lawyer Creek to the alluvial flat now called Kamiah and crossed the river to build a semi-permanent camp where a large sawmill is now located. The campsite was chosen to provide some privacy and security. Here they stayed for many days, resting and preparing to go over the Lolo Trail and back down the Missouri River. While gathering food, repairing clothes, and exercising the horses were necessary tasks, there was also time for leisure. Games and races with the friendly Nez Perce helped them keep physically fit.

L&C.

May 5: The party set out at 7 a.m. from their camp on the north side of the Snake River about 4.5 miles below the mouth of the Clearwater River.⁸⁸ A Chopunnish man had advised them to travel up the north side of the river for a better trail and better hunting. After traveling approximately 12 miles, they stopped to camp at a large lodge of ten families. On the way, they passed two other large mat lodges, one at five miles and the other at eight miles from the mouth of the Clearwater. They stopped at the first two lodges to trade for provisions but were unable to obtain them. At the second lodge, Clark treated a man for eye problems in exchange for a grey mare. As the word of Clark's skills spread, there would be a flood of eye patients.

For their evening meal at the third lodge, they were able to trade for two dogs and some root bread and dried roots to eat. This lodge was located near the mouth of Beady Gulch, a mile and a half downriver from Spalding. After dinner, they continued four miles up the river and camped at the mouth of the Potlatch River. This locality, now called Arrow, is a rocky, weed-covered flat that has been graded for parking and railroad construction. The campsite was on the flat at the mouth of the river. Two Chopunnish lodges were located on the next flat east of Arrow, one of them the largest the party had yet seen. It was reported to be 156 feet long and 15 feet wide, built of mats and straw. The Captains estimated that the lodge could hold 30 families. Trading for food was again largely unsuccessful, but they managed to obtain some bread of cous and some dried roots.

At this large lodge Clark treated a woman who had an abscess on the small of her back. He lanced it, stuffed it with a cloth for healing, and applied a healing salve. It was also here that the Corps first met a man they described as a principal chief of the Chopunnish, Neesh-ne-park-ke-ook or Cut Nose.⁸⁹

During discussions in the evening, an old man warned the Chopunnish that the Corps were bad men and had come to kill them. The Chopunnish were finally satisfied with the explanations given to them as to why these white men had come.⁹⁰ A good friend of the Corps from the previous year, We-ark-koomt, joined their evening camp; perhaps he soothed the fears. Both Clark and Lewis lavished praise on him as being "of infinite service to [them] on several former occasions."

May 6: The woman whom Clark treated the night before declared that she had rested better last night than she had since she had been sick. Clark was now engaged in administering eye water to a crowd of applicants. The grateful Chopunnish provided them with a plentiful meal, and it was 3 p.m. before they could set out. They continued along the north side of the river for nine miles and stopped at a lodge of six families at a large flat, just upriver from Fir Island, where they camped for the night. The trail passed a lodge of three families located on a large flat opposite the mouth of Cottonwood Creek, but the Corps were unable to trade for any food.

May 7: The party set out early with the brother of Twisted Hair as their guide; We-ark-koomt and his party went in another direction. Up the river about four miles, they arrived at a lodge of six families located just below the mouth of Bedrock Creek. Their guide recommended crossing to the south side of the river here because the trail was better and the game more abundant. The horses swam the river and one canoe was used to transport all the goods. It took them four hours to make the crossing. A man at the lodge gave them two canisters of gunpowder that he had found when his dog discovered their burial location. His honesty was rewarded with the gift of a flint steel that could be used for starting fire.

After they crossed the Clearwater River, the party's route passed Willota and Big Fiddy and crossed over Rattlesnake Point to Jacks Creek (*Canister Draw*). From here it ascended and

crossed Angel Ridge and descended into Big Canyon Creek (*Mosquito Creek*) at Peck. The Corps crossed to the southeast side of the creek, followed it about one mile, and encamped where they found six old lodges that were empty but had been used recently. Much deer and other game sign was seen, as predicted. Cut Nose joined them this evening. In his journal entry, Clark elaborated on the customs and dress of these Chopunnish, including the wearing of a single shell of wampum in the nose and pearls and beads suspended from the ears.⁹¹

May 8: The hunters had been instructed to turn out by first light and hunt for food. Lewis wrote of his irritation at some of the men for ignoring the order and remaining in camp until late in the morning. By noon, they had four deer and the remainder of the horse they had butchered at the Potlatch River. The Chopunnish told them of the shortage of food they had experienced the past winter, describing the boiling and eating of the moss that grows on pine trees.⁹² They also described the eating of pine nuts and the inner (or cambium) layer of the pine bark, which contains sugary sap in the spring.

The party set out at 3:30 p.m. with Cut Nose and his people to find Twisted Hair's lodge. The winding trail took them up to the top of the main ridge east of Peck and on to the main ridge between the Clearwater River and Little Canyon Creek. There, after traveling four miles, they met Twisted Hair and his party. When Cut Nose and Twisted Hair met, they had heated words. The Captains were perplexed by this and by the cool reception the party received from Twisted Hair. They learned later that Twisted Hair had permitted their horses to be ridden and abused, and some of them were in poor condition. This had upset Cut Nose.

The Captains informed both men that the Corps would march on to find water and camp for the night. This camp was near a small creek about a mile and a half west of the Gilbert Church. Today, timber harvest and land clearing have dried up the stream, but there is still a small spring near where they camped.

May 9: The hunters set out early to look for game. The rest of the party set out about 9 a.m. for the lodge of Twisted Hair, where they camped after traveling only six miles. Twisted Hair and Pvt. Alexander Willard had gone northward to Canoe Camp to retrieve some saddles, gunpowder, and lead that had been left behind the previous fall. They returned late in the evening. Some young Chopunnish men arrived about the same time with 21 of the Corps's horses. The Corps discovered that several of the horses had not recovered from injuries suffered the previous fall when they had been ridden and abused by their caretakers. Around 9 p.m., the weather turned foul and it started to rain, then hail, and finally snow. The snow continued into the following morning. The journals report that Cut Nose and Twisted Hair shared the same lodge for the night and had become good friends again.⁹³

May 10: It snowed all night and until 6:30 a.m. The air was sharply cold and the snow about 8 inches deep on the level. The party collected the horses, had a scant breakfast of roots,

and set out southward for Broken Arm's village. The trail crossed the highest part of the prairie, went past the heads of Sixmile and Susie Creeks, and passed two and two tenths miles east of Nezperce, Idaho.

At 4 p.m., they descended the ridge between Susie and Mitchell Creeks and continued to where Susie Creek enters Lawyer Creek (*Cammearp Creek*). From here, they descended Lawyer Creek on the north side for one and three tenths miles and arrived at Broken Arm's village.⁹⁴ Broken Arm greeted Clark and instructed him to camp on the bank of the creek about 80 yards from the main lodge. A feast of camas roots, bread of cous, and dried fish was provided to the visiting party. Lewis expressed concern that the roots would make the men ill because they were not used to an exclusive root diet. (His memories of being very sick the previous fall must still have been strong.) Broken Arm had one of the young men provide a fat young horse for the meal.

About this time, a leader named Hoh-hast-ill-pilp (Red Grizzly) rode up with 50 horse-mounted men, wishing to visit. His village was reported as being six miles away and near the river. Perhaps it was at East Kamiah, on the east side of the Clearwater River. Both Broken Arm and Red Grizzly were given medals, the former a Jefferson Medal and the latter a Washington Medal.

The Captains and the Chopunnish leaders met for discussions in a leather teepee that had been especially prepared for the Captains to stay in. Broken Arm had a large lodge, 150 feet in length and probably 15 feet wide. It contained 24 fires and likely twice as many families as the lodge at Potlatch River.

The journals remark about the unusual climatic conditions that exist in the Clearwater Country. At Lawyer Creek, the grass was green and no snow fell; only rain. On the prairie to the west and east, it snowed, and in the mountains to the east the snow was several feet deep.

May 11: At 8 a.m. the camp was aroused by the arrival of Youm-park-kar-tim, a leader of considerable importance who appeared to be about 40 years of age. As he had lost his left eye, he was referred to as the One Eye chief.⁹⁵ This morning meeting was an important event, as some of the most important Chopunnish leaders were present. The conversations were conducted with an unusual interpretive pattern similar to that used when the Corps met the Bitterroot Salish. English was translated to French, French to Minitari, Minitari to Shoshoni, and Shoshoni to Chopunnish. After discussions of peaceful relationships among the tribes and significant future trade, the Chopunnish were treated to a display of modern technology: magnets, spyglass, compass, watch, and air gun. The Chopunnish had heard rumors of these devices

Looking eastward at Kamiah. The Long Camp was in the millyard where the decks of logs can be seen.



from the Minitari (Hidatsa Indians) but were not confident they were true. The rest of the day was spent treating medical complaints.

May 12: A fine morning began with Clark administering eye water to nearly 40 patients. A grand council was held and gifts were exchanged between the Chopunnish and the Corps. The Chopunnish emphasized that they wished to live in peace with the other northwest tribes and agreed to try to be peaceful despite three of their young men being killed on a peace mission to the Shoshoni. After the council, the Chopunnish men formed two parties and began to gamble for beads.

May 13 to June 9: Clark completed his medical treatments at 11 a.m. on May 13. The Corps gathered the horses and set out at 1 p.m. for the river. The entire party had to camp on the south side the first night because the canoe that would transport their goods to the north side had not arrived. This temporary camp was located at the railroad tracks on the north side of Kamiah, where a railroad siding and several industrial buildings are now located.

On May 14, they crossed the river and went about ½ mile down the north side to the place where they would establish what we now call Camp Chopunnish or Long Camp. This place was at an ancient habitation site where a pit about 4 feet deep and 30 feet in diameter had been constructed in earlier times.⁹⁶ A two- to four-foot wall of earth surrounded the pit, which was used to store and secure their baggage.

In Camp Chopunnish, the Corps waited for the snows to melt in the mountains so they could continue eastward. The Chopunnish had told them that it would be at least the middle of June and maybe later before they should start. This was unwelcome news because everybody was impatient to get home. On May 17, Lewis noted the river rising because of warm weather and a large snowmelt. He ended his journal entry with the comment "patience, patience."

Hunting in the area of Kamiah was not easy. Apparently the Chopunnish had hunted it to the point that game were

now avoiding it, or at least not occupying it. The hunters had to venture out at least ten miles before they could find deer; to the north, they had to go past Lolo Creek. On May 16, Lewis reported that Sacajawea was gathering roots for the journey over the Lolo Trail.⁹⁷ The men avoided root gathering because of the danger of getting a poisonous plant.

From May 27 to June 2, Sergeant John Ordway and Privates Robert Frazer and Peter Weiser went on a trip to the Salmon and Snake Rivers to procure fresh salmon for the party. Their trip, described in the next chapter, was largely unsuccessful in its mission for food but has given us more insight into Chopunnish culture and the trail system between Kamiah and the Snake River.

The Corps continued in other ways to gather food stores for the trip over the mountains. To encourage the men to stay in good physical condition, the captains allowed them to join the Chopunnish in racing and gaming activities.

On June 11, against the advice of the Chopunnish, the Corps left Kamiah on their first attempt to cross the Bitterroot Mountains. Heavy snow would turn them back, and they would not try again until June 24.

L&C

The Corps were successful in reintroducing themselves to the Chopunnish, and the Chopunnish were very accommodating and helpful hosts to the white men. The Captains met the principal leaders of different bands and were successful in describing their mission and desires for peace and future trading relationships. The Corps observed burial and living customs and appreciated the friendly relationships that developed. The long stay at Camp Chopunnish helped each culture learn about the other.

The Corps used the long stay to prepare for the rugged trip over the Bitterroot Mountains, but it was difficult for them to get enough food to feel totally secure. They also ran foot races and played high-activity games to preserve their physical conditioning.

Ordway's Salmon River Trip

May 27-June 2, 1806

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 7, pages 291-330, and Volume 9, pages 315-319.

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-28 through LCID-34 cover the region from Kamiah, Idaho, westward to the Salmon and Snake Rivers.

Among the modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Kamiah	Deer Creek	Grave Creek
Lawyer Creek	Salmon River	Keuterville
Susie Creek	Eagle Creek	Shebang Creek
Mitchell Creek	China Creek	Cottonwood
Nez Perce, Idaho	Wapshilla Creek	Cottonwood Creek
Icicle Flat	Wapshilla Ridge	Stockney Creek
Ferdinand	Cottonwood Creek	South Fork Clearwater River
Lawyer Creek	Big Cougar Creek	Stites
Westlake	Cougar Rapids Bar	Kooskia
Willow Creek	Hoover Ridge	Doty Draw
Maloney Creek	Maloney Creek	Jamison Draw
West Fork Maloney Creek	Deep Creek	
Deer Creek Mine	Telcher Creek	

On their eastward journey, the Corps of Discovery reached Kamiah, Idaho, on May 13, 1806, and established what is now called "Long Camp" or "Camp Chopunnish" on the north bank of the Clearwater River. The remainder of May and the first ten days of June were spent in rest, recreation, and preparation for an early journey over the snowbound Lolo Trail. An essential part of this preparation was the gathering of food to meet immediate needs and to be eaten on the trail. The Lolo Trail was, as they well knew, essentially barren of sufficient food sources for such a large group.

Captains Lewis and Clark were keenly interested in procuring supplies of salmon, but the salmon run had not yet reached the Clearwater at Kamiah. Their Chopunnish friends told them that the sign of returning salmon would be when "the dove is cooing." The cooing dove prompted the captains to send Sergeant John Ordway and privates Robert Frazer and Peter Weiser over to the Salmon River to "procure an abundance of salmon which the Nez Perce had informed them about." Lewis reported that it was "but a half-days ride and nearly south." The mouth of Deer Creek, the initial destination, was actually 46 miles away and nearly southwest.

L&C

May 27: Ordway and his party followed the general course of Lawyer Creek for 26 miles and camped near a large band of Chopunnish in a large open meadow on the creek about one and seven tenths miles east of the old townsite of Westlake, Idaho. It was rainy that night, so their Chopunnish hosts provided them with a "grass house." Ordway commented that it leaked.

May 28: The party continued southwestward, passing south of Westlake, Morrow, and the heads of Maloney and Deer Creeks. At Deer Creek they turned southward and went down the west side of the creek to near its mouth, where they again were guests of a Chopunnish village. At this camp, Frazer traded a razor for two Spanish mill dollars—good evidence of the wide distribution of trade goods among the tribes of the Northwest and Southwest. It was still rainy, so travel and their attempts to sleep were both miserable. It was likely at this camp that Ordway learned the salmon had not started their run on the Salmon River.

May 29: The party proceeded southward to the mouth of Deer Creek and then followed the north bank of the Salmon River past the mouths of Eagle and China Creeks to the mouth of Wapshilla Creek and up that creek. The west branch of the creek provided an easy route to the top of Wapshilla Ridge, where they went north and then westward down Cottonwood Creek. Ordway said they "crossed a steep, bad hill." After going three miles down Cottonwood, they crossed the ridge to the west and continued westward down a secondary ridge system to the mouth of Cougar Creek and the Chopunnish camp at Cougar Rapids Bar. Ordway called their final descent to the Snake River the "worst hills we ever saw a road made down." They had taken three days and traveled more than 62 miles, but they finally reached a location where the salmon were running. The unwelcome news was that the camp had but few salmon. Their greeting at this camp was much more formal than at the previous two. They were asked



The campsite on Deer Creek where the Ordway party traded for Spanish mill dollars.

not to go into the lodge until they were invited; but soon they were invited in and shown great hospitality. They reported that the lodge was 100 feet long and 20 feet wide.

May 30: Ordway and party remained at the camp, still hoping to purchase enough salmon to make the trip worthwhile. Their hosts again fed them, and they were allowed to purchase as many salmon as they thought necessary. Ordway reported that the location of this camp was at a bad rapid where the Chopunnish caught most of their salmon in the whorls and eddies on the west side of the river.

May 31: They headed back to Kamiah. Ordway reported that some of their salmon were stolen during the night, but he did not make an issue of it and did not mention obtaining additional salmon to replace them. They returned eastward to the village on Deer Creek by the same trail they had taken westward. The chief there told them of a “nearer & better road” that they could take back to Kamiah. With two boys as guides, they continued eastward over Hoover Ridge and around the hillsides north of the Salmon River oxbow to the mouth of Maloney Creek. It is hard to believe that this was a “nearer & better road,” but Ordway made no comment except to say that Hoover Ridge was “a very bad hill.” They proceeded up the ridge to the northeast of Maloney and camped just beyond the ridge crest at a large village.

June 1: They set out early with a “young man” as their guide to a “near way & good road.” This time they traveled nearly due east to the South Fork of the Clearwater River, passing Keuterville, Cottonwood, and Cottonwood Creek. This part of the route is indeed a good road, and they traveled more than 38 miles. After they reached the Clearwater River’s South Fork, they stopped at a large village to procure “uppah” and “couse.” They then traveled northward along the west bank of the South Fork, passing west of Stites, and camped at Kooskia. At both villages, the party received fine Chopunnish hospitality.

June 2: Their final day of travel was uneventful. They traveled up the west side of the Clearwater River and back to Kamiah, where they learned that the captains had been very anxious for their return. The salmon they brought back were excellent, fat specimens—but many were spoiled from the long journey.

L&C

The trip accomplished little in terms of securing supplies for the trip eastward, but it provides us with some interesting facts. It took much longer than planned to make the trip. The Chopunnish were friendly and offered good hospitality to strangers. The trade with western tribes brought items such as the Spanish mill dollars all the way from the Southwest. A good salmon run was not established until after June 2.

Over the Lolo Trail

June 10-July 2, 1806

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 8, pages 7-81; Thwaites: Volume 5, pages 120-182.

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-28 and LCID-22 through LCID-14 cover the region from Kamiah, Idaho, eastward to Lolo, Montana.

Among the modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Kamiah, Idaho	Sherman Peak	West Fork Lolo Creek
Lolo Creek	No-See-Um Meadows	Lee Creek
Weippe Prairie	Bald Mountain	Mud Creek
Jim Ford Creek	Castle Butte	Lolo Hot Springs
Wilson Creek	Smoking Place	Granite Creek
Brown Creek Ridge	Indian Grave Camp	Spring Gulch
Crane Meadow	Indian Grave Peak	Erickson Meadow
Lolo Campground	Sinque Hole	Martin Creek
Cedar Creek	Gravcy Creek	Howard Creek
May Creek	Serpent Creek	Grave Creek
Eldorado Ridge	Moccasin Peak	Clark Creek
Eldorado Creek	Howard Creek	Potato Gulch
Dollar Creek	Howard Camp	Sheldon Creek
Mex Mountain	Moon Saddle	Smith Creek
Fish Creek	Moon Creek	Bear Creek
Myrtle Creek	Indian Postoffice	Camp Creek
Hungery Creek	Spring Mountain	Woodman Creek
Windy Saddle	Cayuse Junction	Schoolhouse Gulch
Boundary Peak	Wendover Ridge	Anderson Gulch
Hungery Creek	Powell Junction	Westerman Creek
Obia Creek	Rocky Point	Chickaman Gulch
Green Saddle	Crooked Fork	Hollensteiner Gulch
Bowl Butte	Pack Creek	Sleeman Creek
Deep Saddle	Packer Meadows	Mormon Creek
Willow Ridge	Lolo Pass	Lolo Creek
Sherman Saddle	Wagon Mountain	

Anticipation was high as the Corps made their way up the Columbia, Snake, and Clearwater Rivers on their eastward journey. Home was a long way off in time and distance, and they were anxious to cross the mountains to the Missouri—on which they could “leisurely” float back to St. Louis. At Kamiah, their spirits had been somewhat dampened to learn that the Lolo Trail was still blocked by heavy snows. It took over a month before they could attempt the crossing. On June 10, they decided to make the attempt without adequate food preparation or guides, such was their eagerness to get on with their return home.

1806

June 10: Kamiah to Weippe Prairie. The Corps set out at 11 a.m. to follow the Nez Perce trail that went north from

Kamiah to Weippe Prairie, where they intended to stay a few days to hunt and prepare to cross the Lolo Trail. The old trail went up the Woodland Grade and then swung northeast to cross the main ridge and descend the side of the ridge⁹⁸ west of the county road. It crossed Lolo Creek where the county road crosses and then kept to a northeasterly direction to Wilson Creek. The trail forked about a mile northwest of the mouth of Wilson Creek. The eastern fork continued going over the mountains to Montana, while the northern fork followed a low ridge onto Weippe Prairie.

Their evening camp was near their camp of the previous September 22. It was in a location where there were a great number of burrowing or ground squirrels (*Spermophilus columbianus*). A later journal entry describes it as “agrecably situated



The wet meadow on Eldorado Creek is alongside a dry spot of land in the trees: the Small Meadow Camp of June 15, 1806. The trail is just out of sight to the left.

in a point of timbered land on the eastern borders of an extensive, level, and beautiful prairie that is intersected by several small branches near the bank of one on which our camp is placed.”

June 11-14: Weippe Prairie. The party remained camped on the prairie while gathering food and waiting for the snow to melt further. They were encouraged about the melting snow while still at Kamiah, because the river had risen with the warm weather. The Captains describe the camas in bloom; Lewis said that, from a distance, he could have sworn it was water. They also acknowledged that it was this plant that had made them so sick when they ate too much of it.

On June 13, Reubin Fields and Alexander Willard were sent ahead to Crane Meadows to hunt until the main party could start out. The rest of the hunters returned at noon with eight deer, from which the party prepared jerked meat. In the evening, they prepared a digest of the Indian nations of the Rocky Mountains, estimating the population to be 69,000. They planned to depart early the next morning.

June 15: Weippe Prairie to Eldorado Creek. They awoke to a heavy rain and waited until 10 a.m. to see if it would abate. It did not, so they set out. Their Chopunnish guides were not with them because they knew that it was too early to cross the mountains. Upon reaching Crane Meadows, eight and seven tenths miles into their journey, they found two deer that had been hung up by Fields and Willard. Traveling a mile and a

half further, they arrived at the meadow on Lolo Creek where Lewis and the main party had camped September 21. They stopped and had their midday meal while the horses rested and grazed. After the break, they proceeded on up Lolo Creek for half a mile, crossing it three times, and continued through the high, broken country on the east and west sides of Cedar Creek. After traveling eastward five and six tenths miles from Lolo Creek, they arrived at a small wet meadow on Eldorado Creek where they found a small dry area next to the creek and camped. They traveled a total of 16.3 miles this day.⁹⁹

June 16: Eldorado Creek to Hungry Creek. The Corps ate breakfast, started out about 6 a.m., and proceeded up Eldorado Creek two miles to Dollar Creek. The meadows were lush with fine grass and camas. Neither Lewis nor Clark mentions the bogs and mud holes that the trail goes through on this trip. At Dollar Creek, they went up the ridge on the main trail, crossed the Road 500 ridge, and followed the main ridge down to Fish Creek.¹⁰⁰ They stopped for the midday meal at Fish Creek Meadows, where Trail 230 crosses north and south. The glade where they stopped is the same one that Lewis and the main party had stopped in on the previous September 20. Their route after Dollar Creek was over deep, hard snowbanks, but the meadow was free of snow and flowers were beginning to bloom. They ate hastily and went north over the large ridge and into the Hungry Creek drainage, which they followed down to the small meadow where

Clark had killed a horse September 19. Here they found a small amount of grass for the horses and decided to camp for the night. This campsite is in a small meadow on the north side of the creek and just northwest of where Trail 69 (from Windy Saddle) crosses the creek.

June 17: Hungery Creek. This day they would experience difficult travel and severe disappointment. They set out early and went down Hungery Creek about seven miles, crossing it twice, but avoided two other crossings (in the high water) by taking to the steep sidehills on the north side of the creek.¹⁰¹ They reached the foot of an unnamed mountain and started to ascend a large ridge to the main dividing ridge at Bowl Butte. The first, short, part of the ascent is very steep, but it becomes easy over hard-packed snow after about three tenths of a mile.

After traveling no more than a mile and a half, they encountered snow that was 12 to 15 feet deep. Although they could easily have traveled on over the hard snow in the cold, winter-like air, the horses would have had to do without grass for at least five days. In addition, Drouillard doubted that he could find the location of the trail with such a snow depth. To get lost would be very dangerous—and possibly deadly. They decided to go back to Eldorado Creek and Weippe Prairie, where they could continue to keep their horses in good condition. They unloaded the baggage that was of no immediate use and put it on “scaffolds” for protection.

After caching everything they could, they began their retrograde march at 1 p.m. and went back up Hungery Creek to camp on a good flat about fifteen hundredths of a mile below the mouth of Obia Creek. This was the first time they had been forced to backtrack on their route; and to complete the disappointing day, it rained on them most of the evening.

June 18: Hungery Creek to Eldorado Creek. Drouillard and Shannon were dispatched back to Kamiah and the Nez Perce Prairie to meet the young Chopunnish men who had agreed to be their guides and bring them to the main party. They set out about 9 a.m. and had not proceeded far when John Potts badly cut one of the large inner veins in his leg. It was difficult to get the bleeding stopped, but Lewis was able to apply a compress and save his life. Colter's horse fell into the creek with him and was swept a considerable distance down the creek while they rolled over each other among the rocks. Once again, good fortune was with the party and Colter escaped without injury or the loss of his gun; the journals do not report the fate of the horse.

At 1 p.m. they once again reached Fish Creek Meadows, where they had rested on June 16, and stopped to eat. Reubin and Joseph Fields remained at the meadow to hunt, with instructions to join the main party the next evening at their camp on Collins Creek.¹⁰² The party proceeded on to Eldorado Creek and camped on a small flat at the mouth of Dollar Creek about one and seven tenths miles above their camp of June 15. They saw a number of steelhead trout in the creek and tried to shoot them, but without success. They de-

cided to make some gigs and try to gig them for breakfast. They hoped to avoid a return to Weippe Prairie by gathering what food they could at this camp; the horse feed was excellent. They also anticipated the arrival of the two young Chopunnish guides. These men had also agreed to return to the eastern United States with the Corps.

June 19-20: Eldorado Creek. On June 19, the hunters went out early but returned before noon with only one deer. The fishermen were totally unsuccessful, returning with no fish and their gigs broken. Lewis fashioned two new gigs out of a piece of iron. They caught only one steelhead for the evening, and it was of poor quality. At 2 p.m. the Fieldses brought in two deer. The Captains were starting to be concerned that they could not subsist at this location and would have to return to Weippe Prairie, so they sent out all the hunters to see what the possibilities were. Pierre Cruzatte brought in several large morel mushrooms, which Lewis ate without spices or grease. He remarked that they were a truly insipid, tasteless food. Clark walked up Eldorado Creek about four miles and saw some bear sign but only one fish. The Captains were still hopeful that they could delay at this camp until the young Chopunnish men arrived; Clark remarked that it would save them two days of marching through some of the worst road through these mountains, crowded with fallen timber, mud holes, and steep hills.

On June 20 the hunters managed to bring in one deer, one flesh-poor black bear, and seven steelhead trout. The hunters informed the Captains that they could not remain here and sustain the party on the food that was available. They agreed that it would be best to return to Weippe Prairie the following day. Lewis expressed concern for any delay that might cause them to have to spend another winter away from their homes. Clark commented that, by returning to Weippe Prairie, they could be informed sooner as to the availability of a guide to cross the mountains.

June 21: Eldorado Creek to Weippe Prairie. Lewis recorded that they felt “some mortification” at being forced to return to Weippe Prairie. At midday, they reached the meadow on Lolo Creek where Lewis had camped the previous September 21 and stopped to eat and talk with two Chopunnish men who were on their way east over the mountains. The men said that they had seen Drouillard and Shannon and that they would not arrive for another two days. The two men returned to Crane Meadow with the Corps and said that they would camp there until the Corps returned—or at least two nights. At 7 p.m. that evening the party once again arrived at their old encampment on Weippe Prairie, where they anxiously awaited Drouillard and Shannon.

June 22-23: Weippe Prairie. By daylight on June 22, all the men who could hunt were sent out. They were able to kill eight deer and three bear, a very welcome addition to their food supply. Whitehouse was sent back to Kamiah to bargain for some salmon because the salmon run had reached that part of the Clearwater River.

On June 23, Drouillard and Shannon had not yet arrived, so Frazer and Weiser were sent ahead to Crane Meadow to try to delay the two Chopunnish men a day or two longer. If they could not be delayed, Frazier and Weiser were to go with them and blaze the trees along the trail all the way to Travelers Rest. In the afternoon, Whitehouse, Drouillard, and Shannon returned, accompanied by three Chopunnish men who agreed to go with them to Great Falls, Montana. One of the men was a brother to Cut Nose. The Chopunnish told Clark that their nation and the Wallah-Wallahs had made peace with the Shoshoni, following the advice the Captains had given them. They also told Clark that the Atsina (Gros Ventre or "Big Bellies") of Fort de Prairie had killed great numbers of the Shoshoni and Oat-Lash-Shoots that the Corps had met the previous fall. Both Captains noted that John Colter had not returned from his hunt this evening.

June 24: Weippe Prairie to Eldorado Creek. The Corps started their final push to cross the snow-crust Bitterroot Mountains. They set out with their three guides early in the morning and were relieved when Colter joined them, having killed a bear without incident. When they arrived at the meadow on Lolo Creek, they found only Frazer waiting for them. The other men had set out to overtake the two Chopunnish men, who had left only two hours before Frazer and Weiser arrived. The party continued on over the same trail to their previous camp on Eldorado Creek at the mouth of Dollar Creek and found Gass, Weiser, and the two Chopunnish men waiting for the arrival of the main party. They camped here for the night because of the good grass for the horses. The Fields brothers had gone on to Fish Creek Meadows to hunt and meet them for the midday meal the next day.

The Chopunnish entertained them by setting the fir trees on fire. The many dry limbs on the lower trunk created a blaze that shot from the bottom to the top of a tree. It reminded Lewis of fireworks. The Corps were told that the fires were set to bring fair weather for the journey.

June 25: Eldorado Creek to Hungry Creek. The party set out for Hungry Creek early. One of the guides complained of being sick, so they left the Chopunnish men at the camp and started out, receiving a promise that they would soon follow. At 11 a.m., the main party arrived at Fish Creek Meadows and found the Fields brothers, who had killed no game. While they were resting and eating, they were overtaken by the guides they had left at Eldorado Creek. At Fish Creek Meadows, Lewis described a plant¹⁰³ that he said had the flavor and consistency of the Jerusalem Artichoke and that it was eaten by the Shoshoni. Clark noted that Sacajawea was collecting these roots.

After eating, they went northward to Hungry Creek, traveled down it to eight tenths of a mile below their camp of June 16 at Horsesteak Meadow, and encamped on a small flat on the south side of the creek that had just enough room for the party and their horses.¹⁰⁴

June 26: Hungry Creek to Bald Mountain. After an early breakfast, the party started out at 6 a.m. and followed their previous route down the creek and up the main ridge toward the cache of June 17. At the cache, they loaded up their remaining goods and ate a hasty meal of boiled venison and mush of cous. The snow depth had decreased from almost 11 feet to 7 feet, but they would still be traveling over hard-packed snow for most of the way to Packer Meadows.¹⁰⁵

Their Chopunnish guides urged them to continue on because they still had a considerable distance to travel before reaching their evening camp at Bald Mountain. Lewis wrote that using the same trail that they had traveled the previous fall, they passed no stream of water until they reached Bald Mountain.¹⁰⁶ The camp that evening was on a sidehill just west of the first water source crossed by the trail. There is now an interpretive sign along the road a short walk from the camp.

Bald Mountain was a place that nearly every Lolo Trail traveler stopped to camp. It offered good water sources and a large, south-facing hillside for early spring grass. When the Corps camped there, it was covered in a luxuriant grass suitable for horse feed mixed with some bear grass.¹⁰⁷

Soon after they stopped to camp, they were overtaken by a Chopunnish man who wished to accompany them to Great Falls, Montana. They also learned that the two young men they met on the 21st were going on a social visit to the Oat-lash-shoots.

June 27: Bald Mountain to Spring Mountain. The party set out early and traveled toward their encampment of September 17, 2005, at Indian Grave Camp. About one mile short of this encampment, they stopped at a tall rock cairn¹⁰⁸ to smoke the pipe and contemplate their situation. From this high point, now called Smoking Place, they could see the vast Bitterroot Mountains stretching for tens of miles in every direction. Here the Chopunnish told them that, when they traveled the trail with their families, some of the men would be sent on foot to the fishery at Colt Killed Creek to take fish and then meet their families again at Packer Meadows.¹⁰⁹

Proceeding on past Indian Grave Camp, they descended the ridge between Gravey and Serpent Creeks on the same trail they had used the previous September. The trail continued eastward, passing Moccasin Peak, Howard Camp, and Indian Postoffice. It also passed three branches of the North Fork: Serpent Creek, Howard Creek, and Moon Creek. They arrived at Spring Mountain in the evening and decided to camp after traveling 28 miles.¹¹⁰ The snow was late in melting here, so the horses had only a little grass. The party saw three mule deer in the evening but were unable to shoot them. The Chopunnish told the Corps that there was an abundance of mountain sheep (probably mountain goats) in the area. They also said that there was an abundance of elk in the valley of the Lochsa River near the fishery.¹¹¹

June 28: Spring Mountain to Powell Junction. The horses were starting to look gaunt for lack of good grass, but the Chopunnish guides assured the party that they would reach a



View from the central part of the Lolo Trail. Bitterroot Mountain crests can be seen on the skyline.

good grazing area for their evening camp. The route continued eastward and passed through Cayuse Junction, which Lewis called “one very deep hollow.” It also passed their encampment of September 15 (Snowbank Camp) and the junction of the trail to the fishery, a mile and a half east of Snowbank Camp.¹¹² After traveling only 13 miles, they decided to camp on an open, grassy hillside between Papoose Saddle and Powell Junction.¹¹³ In the absence of nearby water sources, they melted snow for cooking.¹¹⁴ Thirteen-Mile camp was much more barren than it is today and offered great feed for the horses. The guides recommended this as a campsite in spite of a short day because Packer Meadows was still too far ahead and there was no other place for good horse feed.

June 29: Powell Junction to Lolo Hot Springs. The Corps got an early-morning start and sent Drouillard and Reubin Fields ahead to Lolo Hot Springs to hunt. The trail stayed on top of the main dividing ridge to Rocky Point. East of Rocky Point, the main ridge terminated and the trail went down to the crossing of Crooked Fork of the Lochsa (*Kooskooskee River*), a mile and a half above the mouth of Brushy Fork. Here the trail runs very steeply up a large ridge, crosses Highway 12 at a big cut, and reaches the top of the ridge at the trail junction to the fisheries on the Lochsa River. The westward fisheries trail was the one they had used the previous fall.

After passing through most of Packer Meadows, they stopped for the midday meal at the northern end—where the

Chopunnish traditionally camped. After a rest, they proceeded on to Lolo Hot Springs. Their evening camp was in the small meadow to the east of the hot springs. The party was now able to enjoy a well-deserved rest.

June 30: Lolo Hot Springs to Travelers Rest. Drouillard and Joseph Fields were sent out early to hunt. The rest of the party traveled down Lolo Creek for 13 miles until they reached Grave Creek. They stopped and ate the midday meal in the same place they had eaten September 12. Here their Chopunnish guides told them that a trail led up Grave Creek and passed over to the Clark Fork River. Today, the Petty Creek county road follows the same route. At one point in the morning, Clark’s horse slipped on the steep hillside and Clark slid nearly 40 feet down the hill. Both Clark and his horse were unhurt.

The Corps had finally reached the low elevations of Lolo Creek at the mouth of Woodman Creek. The whitetail deer, mule deer, elk, and bighorn sheep (*Ovis canadensis*)¹¹⁵ all seemed abundant along the Lolo Trail. Near sunset, they arrived at their old Travelers Rest camp on the south side of Lolo Creek.

July 1-2: Travelers Rest. The Captains decided to rest for two days and make preparations and plans for their return down the Missouri River. All the hunters were sent out for game, and Shields was assigned to repair some of the guns that were not working.

The Corps decided to separate into two parties. Clark would return with the main party to Fortunate Camp and float down the Beaverhead River to Three Forks, Montana. From there, he would head over Bozeman Pass and travel down the Yellowstone River. A small party of men under the command of Sergeant Ordway would float, with the canoes and supplies, down to Great Falls to meet Lewis. A small group of men and Lewis would travel up the Big Blackfoot River and across the continental divide to Great Falls, Montana. Lewis also intended to explore the Marias River before returning to Great Falls, from which he would continue down the Missouri River with both parties. They planned to meet up with Clark at the mouth of the Yellowstone River in North Dakota.

L&C

The first attempt to cross the Lolo Trail eastward was abandoned when the party encountered deep snow near Green Saddle and were concerned they could not find the trail. They left Kamiah on June 10. The next day they started eastward on the Lolo Trail. Before long they encountered snow that was at least 12 feet deep. They were concerned that there

would be no grass for the horses and that they might lose the trail without guides. After a short deliberation, in which Drouillard expressed his concern about being able to find the trail, they cached as many of their goods as possible and retreated back toward Weippe Prairie. This was the first time their progress had been stopped. There is no hint in the journals of what must have been severe disappointment as they trekked back up Hungery Creek to their camp of June 17 on the bank of Hungery Creek a little below the mouth of Obia Creek.

Returning to Eldorado Creek and Weippe Prairie, they again made preparation for a second try eastward and also arranged for Nez Perce guides. On June 24, they started their second, and successful, attempt to go over the mountains. The snow had gone down several feet since their first try and the grass and early emerging plants greeted them at the beautiful meadows on Fish Creek. The rest of the trip eastward to Lolo Pass was without incident. It turns out that traveling over the hard-packed snow was easier and faster than during the summer because the brush and windfalls could be avoided.

Clark's Return to Fortunate Camp

July 3-8, 1806

Journal References

Moulton: Volume 8, pages 161-174; Thwaites: Volume 5, pages 245-255.

Maps and Place Names

Maps LCID-14 through LCID-8, LCID-35 through LCID-38, LCID-2, and LCID-1 cover the region from Travelers Rest to Fortunate Camp. Among the modern place names along the route are, in order of travel:

Lolo Creek, Montana	Roaring Lion Creek	Joseph Creek
Travelers Rest Camp	Charlos Heights	Sheep Creek
McClain Creek	Lost Horse Creek	May Creek
Carlton, Montana	Como, Montana	Placer Creek
Florence, Montana	Rock Creek	Big Hole Battlefield
One Horse Creek	Darby, Montana	Ruby Creek
Sweeney Creek	Tin Cup Creek	Swamp Creek
Kenspur	Chaffin Creek	Moose Creek
Bass Creek	Rye Creek	Rock Creek
Kootenai Creek	West Fork	Big Lake Creek
Sharrett Creek	Conner	Big Hole River
Silverthorne Creek	East Fork	Jackson, Montana
McCalla Creek	Beam Flat	Jardine Hot Springs
Indian Prairie	Warm Springs Creek	Warm Springs Creek
Curlew School	Spring Gulch	Governor Creek
Big Creek	Sula Peak	Bull Creek
Sweathouse Creek	Cameron Creek	Big Hole Pass
Victor, Montana	Ross Hole	Divide Creek
Bear Creek	Sula, Montana	Grasshopper Creek
Proverty Flat	Camp Creek	Grasshopper Valley
Fred Burr Creek	Andrews Creek	Bannock, Montana
Mill Creek	Prairie Creek	Sagebrush Creek
Woodside	Waugh Creek	Sheep Corral Creek
Blodgett Creek	Dick Creek	Horse Prairie Creek
Canyon Creek	Gibbons Pass	Indian Head
Owings Creek	Trail Creek	Clark Canyon Dam
Sawtooth Creek	Elk Creek	

On July 3, 1806, Clark and Lewis split the party into two groups.¹¹⁶ Lewis planned to take a small exploring party and return to the Missouri via the Big Blackfoot River, exploring an alternate portage between the great rivers. Clark would take the main party and return to Fortunate Camp via the Bitterroot and Big Hole Valleys of Montana. Clark's party would reclaim the supplies cached at Fortunate Camp and return to eastern Montana via the Jefferson and Yellowstone Rivers.

Clark traveled down the west side of the Bitterroot River on the well-established trail, crossing all the main creeks at high water, and camped northwest of Hamilton, Montana. The second day he continued southward, made it all the way to Conner, Montana, and camped on the West Fork of the Bitterroot River. The third day, he retraced the 1805 Camp

Creek route south of Sula, Montana, and camped at the mouth of Andrews Creek, just south of Sula Ranger Station. The next day, he crossed Gibbons Pass and traveled down Trail Creek and across the Big Hole to Jardine Hot Springs at Jackson, Montana. The party rested at the hot springs and tested the heat of the water by cooking three sizes of meat. After the meal, they continued on to Carroll Hill (Big Hole Pass) and camped at a spring on the east side. The final day, they traveled down the south side of Grasshopper Creek, crossed a low divide to Horse Prairie Creek, and followed the creek back to Fortunate Camp.

L&C

July 3: Travelers Rest to Blodgett Creek. Clark and the main party collected their horses after saying goodbye to Lewis



Clark's trail crossing Trail Creek north of the Big Hole Battlefield.

and his smaller party. Charbonneau and Sacajawea stayed with Clark to function as interpreters for the Mountain Crow tribes they would meet on the Yellowstone. After crossing four large streams and four small streams, they halted on the north side of Kootenai Creek, just west of the current highway, to eat their meal of venison and let the horses graze on the grass and clover.

After they ate, they continued their journey southward and soon passed near a place now known as Indian Prairie. This prairie was noted by the early settlers as a popular camping and gaming place for the Bitterroot Salish. It offered a lot of open space and gently sloping ground. South of Indian Prairie, they passed through Victor and went on to Blodgett Creek, northwest of Hamilton, where they camped for the evening on the north side of the creek and just east of the county road.

The first day Clark's party traveled more than 32 miles down the west side of the Bitterroot Valley to their evening camp.¹¹⁷ They crossed several snow-fed creeks (One Horse Creek, Sweeney Creek, Bass Creek, Kootenai Creek, McCalla Creek, Big Creek, Sweathouse Creek, Bear Creek, Fred Burr Creek, Mill Creek) that originated in the jagged, snow-covered peaks to the west. Clark says that they crossed eight large creeks and two small ones after they stopped to eat.¹¹⁸

July 4: Blodgett Creek to Connor. They collected the horses, ate breakfast, and set out about 7 a.m. They crossed three large creeks and two smaller creeks¹¹⁹ before they stopped for the midday meal. As they crossed Roaring Lion Creek, the water was so deep and rapid that some of the horses were swept down the creek for some distance and some of the packs got wet. Clark referred to it as a "large creek or little river."

The midday meal stop was at Hayes Creek near Carlos Heights. Here they observed Independence Day. The meal was venison and mush of cous. After dinner, the party continued on for a mile before coming to Lost Horse Creek, which was too deep and swift for them to cross directly. They had to ascend the creek some distance to find a suitable ford, and even then the water went over the packs of the horses and got the contents wet.

Just south of Como, the west-side and east-side trails joined. Clark's party now traveled southward on the same trail they had traveled northward the year before. At Rye Creek, Clark stayed on the west side instead of crossing over to the east side. The evening camp was on the west side of the West Fork, about half a mile west of Connor and next to the river in a large flat. Up to this point, they had managed to

avoid crossing the main Bitterroot River, which was very swollen with snow melt. In the evening, men were sent out to hunt and to find a place where the West Fork could be forded. A ford was found, but Clark was warned that the loads would probably once again get wet.

July 5: Connor to Camp Creek. Clark got out early in the morning to inspect the fords and found that none the men had selected were suitable. He then chose a ford where they could cross five smaller channels that were divided by islands. In spite of all these precautions, some skins, trade goods, medicine, and roots still got wet. They reached the East Fork and traveled up it for about a mile, then crossed over to the trail they had gone down the previous year. From this point, they would follow last year's trail all the way to Camp Creek. The camp this evening was two miles south of last year's encampment near Sula, at the mouth of Andrews Creek. Clark said it was on the east side of the creek.¹²⁰

July 6: Camp Creek to Moose Creek. The party awoke to a frosty morning, and Clark wrote that it had been so cold he could not sleep. It took them until 9 a.m. to round up the scattered horses and head out. The main trail used by the Bitterroot Salish, Nez Perce, and Lemhi Shoshoni went up Camp Creek about three and seven tenths miles to where it

reached the mouth of Dick Creek and then started southeast up the main ridge to the original Gibbons Pass.¹²¹ The trail went across the pass and down Trail Creek (crossing it several times) and emerged into the Big Hole at the mouth of Ruby Creek. Clark observed "old buffalo roads" on the creek. He also observed that a great amount of the timber had been fire killed.¹²²

After they emerged at the Big Hole Valley, the trail scattered and became so faint that they could no longer follow the erosion traces. Luckily, Sacajawea knew this area well and pointed out the direction they should travel to go back to Fortunate Camp. Her route headed toward Jackson, Montana, crossed Ruby Creek at one mile, and continued on to Moose Creek, where they camped for the night. As they left Ruby Creek, a violent storm pounded them with high winds and heavy rain. In camp, they built large fires to warm up and dry out. The campsite had signs that camas harvesting had recently taken place.

July 7: Moose Creek to Big Hole Pass.¹²³ The horses were scattered over a large area this morning, and nine were missing. Six of the men made a large circuit around the camp and found no signs of them. The men suspected they had been stolen during the night, because only the most valuable

Early morning in the Bitterroot Mountains.



horses were missing. From Moose Creek, they continued southeast to Jackson, crossing four large creeks and the Big Hole River (*Wisdom River*). They soon arrived at the hot spring and stopped to observe it and eat. The water was so hot that they used it to cook some meat.¹²⁴ After an hour and a half of resting and eating, they proceeded on up Governor and Bull Creeks to the pass at Carroll Hill. The evening camp was above a spring on the east side of the pass.

July 8: Big Hole Pass to Fortunate Camp. The trail continued down the south side of Divide Creek (*Willard Creek*) and stayed on the south side of Grasshopper Creek. This is open country and easy going, so they could travel many miles. The trail left Grasshopper Creek a little east of Mill Point, turned south, and crossed a wide gap into Horse Prairie (*Snake Indian Cove*). The county road also crosses this gap.

They reached Horse Prairie Creek and followed it on the previous trail all the way back to Fortunate Camp and their cache of goods. Clark wrote that some of the men who chewed tobacco were so excited to get to the cache containing tobacco that they could scarcely take time to remove the saddles from their horses. They stayed at Fortunate Camp this evening.

L&C.

The trip was fast and easy for Clark and the main party, who covered more than 160 miles¹²⁵ in six days. Their biggest problems were caused by crossing the snow-fed streams in the Bitterroot Valley. Today, their route is little recognized or written about; but it was the main route between the Bitterroot Valley and the Indian trails into southern Idaho.

Appendix I: Participants in the Story

Members of the Expedition

This list uses the most common spelling of names. For more detailed information about each member, consult Moulton's edition of the journals and Fazio, Venso, and Russell's Across the Snowy Ranges.

William Bratton: Army private, hunter

Jean Baptiste Charbonneau: also known as Pompey or Pomp, son of Toussaint and Sacajawea

Toussaint Charbonneau: interpreter and husband to Sacajawea

William Clarke: captain (officially, lieutenant) and co-leader of the expedition, cartographer, provided medical aid

John Collins: Army private, hunter

John Colter: Army private, hunter; one of the best known members of the expedition, partly because of his work after the expedition returned

Pierre Cruzatte: Army private, interpreter, skilled boatman

George Drouillard (Drenyer): scout, hunter, woodsman

Joseph Fields: Army private, hunter, woodsman

Reubin Fields: Army private, hunter, woodsman

Robert Frazier: Army private

Patrick Gass: Army sergeant, squad leader; kept a good journal

George Gibson: Army private, interpreter

Silas Goodrich: Army private

Thomas Howard: Army private

Francois Labiche: Army private

Jean Baptiste Lapage: Army private

Meriwether Lewis: Captain and co-leader of the expedition, earth scientist, President Jefferson's representative

Hugh McNeak: Army private, hunter

John Ordway: Army sergeant, third in command

John Potts: Army private; cut his leg badly on the Lolo Trail

Nathaniel Pryor: Army sergeant

Sacajawea: known as "Bird Woman"; aided the expedition as an interpreter and root gatherer and with friendly relations with her home tribe and pointed out landmarks in her home country

Seaman: Captain Lewis' Newfoundland dog

George Shannon: Army private

John Shields: Army private, blacksmith

John Thompson: Army private

Peter Weiser: Army private

William Werner: Army private

Joseph Whitehouse: Army private; one of the best journal-keepers for the trip over the Lolo Trail

Alexander Willard: Army private, blacksmith

Richard Windsor: Army private

York: Clark's black slave, a full member of the expedition

Native American tribes and individuals significant to the expedition

Listed by journal name, then modern name if there is a difference.

Chopunnish, Nez Perce: Indian tribes that inhabited the Clearwater River country

Hoote-lash-schute, Bitterroot Salish (Flathead): the original name and spelling used by Clark. Biddle rendered it as Oat-lash-shoot. In 1806, Clark used the spelling Oat-lash-shoots.

Flathead, Nez Perce or Bitterroot Salish: name sometimes applied to the Nez Perce in the Captains' journals

Hoh-bast-ill-pilp, Red Grizzly: the fourth most influential of four principal leaders of the Chopunnish living on the Clearwater River. His name has also been rendered as Hohots Ilppilp, meaning a bleeding grizzly bear. It is believed he was still alive in the 1840s.

Neesb-ne-park-ke-ook, Cut Nose: the second most influential of four principal leaders of the Chopunnish living on the Clearwater River. The journals say that his nose had been cut by a lance in a battle with the Snake Indians. There is some evidence that he was still alive in the 1830s.

Sba-lees, Salish: Probably the Nez Perce word that was applied to the Salish who lived on the Bitterroot River

Tun-nach-e-moo-toolt, Broken Arm: the most influential of four principal leaders of the Chopunnish living on the Clearwater River. In Clark's journal entry for May 8, 1806, he calls him the "Grand Chief."

Tush-she-pah, Salish: probably a reference to the Salish tribes of the Northwest

Twisted Hair: the leader to whom the Corps entrusted the keeping of their horses and saddles over the winter they spent at Fort Clatsop. According to Alvin Josephy, his Nez Perce name may have been Walamottinin.

We-ark-koomt: Nez Perce chief who was of great help to the Corps and for whom they had considerable respect and gratitude. His real name was Apash Wyakaikt, meaning "flint necklace."

Youm-park-kar-tim, Five Big Hearts: the third most influential of four principal leaders of the Chopunnish living on the Clearwater River. In the journals, he was called the One Eye chief.

Appendix 2: Gazetteer

Listed by the name used in the journals, in italics, followed by the modern name (if different).

2-Chiefs Creek, Cottonwood Creek: on the south side of the Clearwater River, upstream from Lewiston, Idaho, and above the mouth of Potlatch Creek.

Berry Creek, Indian Creek: on the Salmon River below the North Fork and above Shoup, Idaho.

Boiling Hot Spring, Jackson Hot Spring: at the modern community Jackson, Montana, in the Big Hole Valley; also known as Jardine Hot Spring.

Cannister Run, Jacks Creek: on the south side of the Clearwater River opposite Lenore, Idaho.

Cho-pun-nish River, North Fork Clearwater River: the mouth of the North Fork is at Ahsahka, Idaho, below Orofino.

Clark's River, Bitterroot River: in the Bitterroot Valley of Montana.

Collins Creek, Lolo Creek: tributary of the Clearwater River near Greer, Idaho.

Colt Killed Creek (formerly White Sand Creek): the mouth of the creek is about two miles above Powell Ranger Station on the Lochsa River.

Colter's Creek, Potlatch River: tributary of the Clearwater River about thirteen miles east of Lewiston; the journals report that there was a considerable salmon fishery up this creek.

Commearp Creek, Lawyer Creek: runs from the very western part of the Nez Perce Prairie all the way east to Kamiah, forming a very narrow, v-shaped gorge in an otherwise level high plateau; Broken Arm, the Nez Perce "Grand Chief," had a lodge on this creek.

Cottonwood Creek, Lapwai Creek: on the lower Clearwater River, east of Lewiston.

East Fork Jefferson's River, Red Rock River: eastern fork of the Beaverhead River south of Dillon, Montana.

East Fork of Lewis' River, Lemhi River: Lemhi Fork of the Salmon River; its mouth is at Salmon, Idaho.

Fish Creek, Eldorado Creek: branch of Lolo Creek, east of Weippe; the journals also called it Collins Creek.

Fish Creek, North Fork Salmon River: enters the Salmon at North Fork, Idaho.

Fishing Island, China Island: in the Clearwater River about a mile above the mouth of Orofino Creek; the north channel around this island was filled in when the railroad was built.

Flathead River, Kooskooske River: name given to the Clearwater River and its Middle Fork and Lochsa Fork.

Flathead River, Lochsa River (upper): one of the journal maps uses this labeling (Moulton, 7:150). The Bitterroot Salish have an extensive history of use of the upper Lochsa River for salmon fishing. Perhaps that is the origin of this

naming. Clark also referred to the lower Clearwater as the Flathead, and journals called the Bitterroot River both the Flathead and Clark's River.

Flour Camp Creek, Warm Springs Creek: on the upper Bitterroot River about three miles downriver from Sula, Montana.

Foot of the Great Mountain, Wendover Ridge: near Wendover Creek on the upper Lochsa about four miles downriver from Powell Ranger Station.

Foot of the Mountains, Wilson Creek: branch of Jim Ford Creek east of Weippe Prairie.

Fortunate Camp, Camp Fortunate: at the mouth of Horse Prairie Creek where it runs into the Beaverhead River south of Dillon, Montana. This area is now under the water of the Clark Canyon Dam.

Glade Creek, Pack Creek, Brushy Fork, Crooked Fork: Pack Creek, the lower end of Brushy Fork, and Crooked Fork between Brushy Fork and White Sands Creek (now called Colt Killed Creek) were given the name Glade Creek. The Corps also gave Pack Creek the alternate names of Quawmash Creek and Valley Creek.

Glades, Packer Meadows: on the Idaho-Montana border at Lolo Pass.

Horse Valley, Bitterroot Valley: southern part of the Bitterroot Valley around Hamilton, Montana.

Horse Valley Creek, Sleeping Child Creek: flows into the Bitterroot River about six miles south of Hamilton, Montana.

Hot Springs Nearly Boiling, Lolo Hot Springs: on Lolo Creek between Lolo Pass and Lolo, Montana.

Hotspring Creek, Lolo Creek: Lolo Creek in western Montana.

Hungry Creek, Obia Creek, Hungry Creek: branch of Fish Creek that flows into the Lochsa River west of the historic Lochsa Ranger Station. The incorrect spelling in the journals has been retained in the name. This creek used to be called Obia Creek.

Jefferson River: in western Montana.

Killed Colt Creek, see Colt Killed Creek.

Ki-moo-e-nem, Snake River: Nez Perce name for the Snake River above Lewiston, Idaho.

Koos Koos Ke River, Clearwater River: The Clearwater River east of Lewiston, Idaho, a tributary of the Snake River.

Kooskooskee River, Middle Fork of the Clearwater River: term applied to the drainage from the upper Lochsa River to the mouth of the Clearwater River; the watershed that paralleled the Lolo Trail.

Lewis' (or Lewis's) River, Snake River and Salmon River: name applied to all the Salmon River and the part of the Snake River between the mouth of the Salmon and the mouth of the Snake.

Mosquito Creek, Big Canyon Creek: at Peck, Idaho.

North Fork of Glade Creek, Crooked Fork of the Lochsa River: Crooked Fork above the mouth of Brushy Fork.

Plains of Columbia, Palouse: the Palouse country north of Lewiston, Idaho, and around Pullman, Washington.

Portage, Lemhi Pass: The crossing of the Continental Divide between Grant, Montana, and Tendoy, Idaho.

Quawmash Creek, *see* Glade Creek.

Quawmash Flatts [*sic*], Packer Meadows: meadows on Pack Creek south and east of Lolo Pass on the Idaho-Montana border.

Road to Missouri: name given to the trail that branched north from the Lolo Trail and went to Missoula, Montana.

Rock Dam Creek, Orofino Creek: flows into the Clearwater at Orofino; had rock weirs for catching salmon.

Scattered Creek, Burnt Fork Creek: north and east of Stevensville, Montana.

Small Prairie, Horsesteak Meadow: small wet meadow on upper Hungery Creek, north of Windy Saddle.

Small Prairie, Weippe Prairie: large prairie southeast of Weippe, Idaho.

Snake Indian Cove, Horse Prairie: in later years, called Shoshoni Cove before receiving its modern name.

Sweet [*sic*] *House (Creek)*, Woodman Creek: an earthen sweat house was located on this creek.

Travelers Rest, Lolo, Montana: expedition camp on the south side of Lolo Creek, south of Lolo, Montana.

Travelers Rest Creek, Lolo Creek: tributary of the Bitterroot River in Montana.

Valley Creek, *see* Glade Creek.

Valley Plain River, Clark Fork River: runs through Missoula, Montana.

Village Creek, Jim Ford Creek and Miles Creek: on Weippe Prairie.

West Fork of Clark's River, West Fork of the Bitterroot River: in western Montana; also called the Nez Perce Fork.

West Fork of Lewis' River, Salmon River: the Salmon River in north central Idaho.

Willard Creek, Divide Creek: runs from the Carroll Hill eastward to Grasshopper Creek, in Montana.

Wisdom River, Big Hole River: runs through the Big Hole Valley and eastward to the Jefferson River in southwest Montana.

Appendix 3: Plants along the Trail

If you hike the route of Lewis and Clark, you may be interested in the plants you will see along the way. The following is a list of the plants along the trail, nearly all of which were noted in the journals. The list is alphabetized by scientific name because there are so many different common names for the same plant; that is followed by the common name(s) and the plant family.

The basic list was developed and provided by Glenda King of the Idaho State Historical Society. She compiled a list of the plants that were recorded in the journals and can be found in Idaho. Modifications to the King list were made using Cutright, Phillips, Moulton's Herbarium volume, and the author's personal research records.

- Abies grandis* (Dougl. ex D. Don) Lindl., grand fir, Pine Family
- Abies lasiocarpa* (Hook.) Nutt., subalpine fir, Pine Family
- Acer glabrum* Torr., Rocky Mountain maple, Maple Family
- Achillea millefolium* L., common yarrow, Aster Family
- Agastache urticifolia* (Benth.) Kuntze, nettleleaf giant hyssop, Mint Family
- Alectoria jubata* (*Bryoria fremontii*), "Black Moss," Fremont's horsehair lichen, Parmeliaceae Family
- Allium douglasii*, Douglas's onion, Lily Family
- Allium geyeri* S. Wats., Geyer's onion, Lily Family
- Allium tolmiei* (Hook.) Baker ex S. Wats., Tolmie's onion, Lily Family
- Alnus incana* (L.) Moench, mountain alder, Birch Family
- Alnus viridis* ssp. *sinuata* (Regel) A. & D. Love, Sitka Alder; Wavyleaf Alder, Birch Family
- Amelanchier alnifolia* (Nutt.) Nutt. ex M. Roemer, Saskatoon Serviceberry, Rose Family
- Anemone piperi*, Piper's Anemone, Buttercup Family
- Anemone quinquefolia* L., nightcaps, Buttercup Family
- Angelica arguta*, Angelica, Parsley Family
- Angelica lyallii* Wats., Lyall's Angelica, Parsley Family
- Aquilegia formosa* Fisch. ex DC., Northwest Crimson Columbine; Western Columbine; Red Columbine, Buttercup Family
- Argentina anserina* (L.) Rydb., silverweed cinquefoil, Rose Family
- Asarum caudatum* Lindl., Long-Tailed Wild Ginger; British Columbia Wildginger, Birthwort Family
- Bazzania trilobata*, Braided Liverwort, Lepidoziaceae Family
- Bromus carinatus* Hook. & Arn., California brome, Grass Family
- Bromus marginatus* Nees, Large Mountain Brome Grass, Grass Family
- Calochortus elegans* (Pursh), Cat's Ear; Mariposa Lily, Lily Family
- Calypso bulbosa* (L.) Oakes, Fairy Slipper; Fairyslipper Orchid, Orchid Family
- Camassia quamash* (Pursh) Greene, Camas: Blue Camas; Small Camas, Lily Family
- Camissonia subacaulis* (Pursh) Raven, Long-Leaved Evening Primrose; Diffuseflower Eveningprimrose, Evening Primrose Family
- Ceanothus sanguineus* (Pursh), Buckbrush; Chapparal; Redstem Ceanothus, Buckthorn Family
- Ceanothus velutinus* Dougl. ex Hook., Sticky Laurel; Mountain Balm, Buckthorn Family
- Chenopodium fremontii* S. Wats., Fremont's goosefoot, Goosefoot Family
- Chrysothamnus viscidiflorus* ssp. *viscidiflorus* (Hook.) Nutt., Green Rabbitbrush, Aster Family
- Cicuta douglasii*, Water Hemlock, Parsley Family
- Clarkia pulchella* Pursh, Ragged Robin; Clarkia; Pinkfairies; Elkhorns, Primrose Family
- Claytonia lanceolata* Pursh, Western Spring Beauty; Lanceleaf Springbeauty, Purslane Family
- Clematis hirsutissima* Pursh, Sugarbowls; Hairy Clematis, Buttercup Family
- Cornus canadensis* L., Bunchberry; Bunchberry Dogwood, Dogwood Family
- Cornus sericea* L., redosier dogwood, Dogwood Family
- Crataegus columbiana* T. J. Howell, Columbian hawthorn, Rose Family
- Crataegus douglasii* Lindl., black hawthorn, Rose Family
- Cypripedium montanum*, Mountain Lady's Slipper, Orchid Family
- Elymus canadensis* L., Giant Rye-Grass; Canada Wildrye, Grass Family
- Erigeron compositus* Pursh, cutleaf daisy, Aster Family
- Eriophyllum lanatum* var. *lanatum* (Pursh) Forbes, Oregon Sunshine; wooly eriophyllum, Aster Family
- Erysimum asperum* (Nutt.) DC., plains wallflower; Western Wallflower, Mustard Family
- Erysimum capitatum*, Rough Wallflower, Mustard Family
- Erythronium grandiflorum* (Pursh), Glacier Lily; Dogtooth Lily; Yellow Fawn Lily, Lily Family
- Escobaria vivipara* var. *vivipara*, spinystar, Cactus Family
- Festuca idahoensis* Elmer, Idaho fescue, Grass Family
- Festuca spicata*, Blue Bunch Wheatgrass, Grass Family
- Fragaria virginiana* Duchesne, Virginia strawberry, Rose Family
- Frangula purshiana* (DC.) Cooper, Pursh's buckthorn, Buckthorn Family
- Frasera fastigiata* (Pursh) Heller, Clustered Elkweed, Gentian Family
- Fritillaria pudica* (Pursh) Spreng., Missionbells; Yellow Bells, Lily Family
- Geum triflorum* (Pursh), Prairie Smoke; Old Man's Whiskers; Tassles, Rose Family
- Helianthus nuttallii* Torr. & Gray, Nuttall's sunflower, Aster Family

- Hierochloe odorata* (L.) Beauv., sweetgrass, vanilla grass, Grass Family
- Holodiscus discolor* (Pursh) Maxim., Oceanspray; Creambush Oceanspray, Rose Family
- Ipomopsis aggregata* ssp. *aggregata* (Pursh) V. Grant, skyrocket gilia, Phlox Family
- Koeleria macrantha* (Ledeb.) J.A. Schultes, Prairie Junegrass, Grass Family
- Larix occidentalis* Nutt., Western Larch; Tamarack, Pine Family
- Lepidium virginicum* L., Virginia pepperweed, Mustard Family
- Lewisia rediviva* (Pursh), Bitterroot; Rock Rose, Purslane Family
- Lewisia triphylla* (S. Wats.) B.L. Robins., Three-Leaved *Lewisia*, Purslane Family
- Leymus cinereus* (Scribn. & Merr.) A. Love, basin wildrye, Grass Family
- Ligusticum verticillatum* (Hook.) Coult. & Rose ex Rose, northern licoriceroot, Carrot Family
- Lomatium cous* (S. Wats.) Coult. & Rose, Cous; Cous Biscuit-root, Parsley Family; probably used for "mush of Cows"
- Lomatium dissectum* (Nutt.) Mathias & Constance, common *lomatium*; Fern-Leaved Desert-Parsley, Parsley Family
- Lomatium triternatum* (Pursh) Coult. & Rose, Nine-Leaved Bisquit-Root; Biscuit Root; Lewis's *Lomatium*, Parsley Family
- Lonicera ciliosa* (Pursh) Poir. ex DC [collected twice], Orange Honeysuckle; Trumpet Honeysuckle, Honeysuckle Family
- Lonicera utahensis* S. Wats., Utah Honeysuckle, Honeysuckle Family
- Lupinus sericeus* Pursh, Silky Lupine, Bean Family
- Luzula glabrata* var. *hitchcockii* (Hamet-Ahti) Dorn, Hitchcock's smooth woodrush, Rush Family
- Matricaria discoidea* DC., disc mayweed, Aster Family
- Matricaria matricariodes*, Pinapple Weed, Aster Family
- Melica bulbosa* Geyer ex Porter & Coult., oniongrass, Grass Family
- Menziesia ferruginea*, Fool's Huckleberry, Heath Family
- Mertensia paniculata* (Ait.) G. Don, tall bluebells, Heath Family
- Mimulus lewisii* (Pursh), Lewis's Red Monkey-Flower, Figwort Family
- Mimulus luteus* (Pursh), Large Monkey Flower, Figwort Family
- Nicotiana quadrivalvis* Pursh, Indian Tobacco, Potato Family
- Opuntia fragilis* (Nutt.) Haw., brittle pricklypear; Brittle *Opuntia*, Cactus Family
- Opuntia* sp., pricklypear, Cactus Family
- Orobanche* sp., broomrape, Broom-rape Family
- Orthocarpus tenuifolius*, Thin-Leaved Owlclover, Figwort Family
- Paxistima myrsinites* (Pursh) Raf., boxleaf myrtle, Bittersweet Family
- Penstemon fruticosus* (Pursh) Greene, bush penstemon; Shrubby Penstemon, Figwort Family
- Penstemon serrulatus*, Cascade Penstemon, Figwort Family
- Penstemon wilcoxii* Rydb., Wilcox's penstemon; Wilcox's Beardtongue, Figwort Family
- Perideridia gairdneri* (Hook. & Arn.) Mathias, Yampa; Gairdner's Yampa; "Fennel," Parsley Family
- Perideridia montana*, Yampa, Parsley Family
- Petasites sagittatus* (Banks ex Pursh) Gray, arrowleaf sweet coltsfoot, Aster Family
- Phacelia heterophylla* (Pursh), Virgate *Phacelia*; varileaf *phacelia*, Waterleaf Family
- Philadelphus lewisii* (Pursh), Syringa; Mock Orange; Lewis's Mockorange, Hydrangea Family
- Phlox speciosa* (Pursh), Showy Phlox, Phlox Family
- Phragmites australis* (Cav.) Trin. ex Steud., common reed, Grass Family
- Phyllodoce empetriformis*, Red Mountain Heather, Heath Family
- Picea engelmannii* Parry ex Engelm., Engelmann's spruce, Pine Family
- Pinus albicaulis* Engelm., whitebark pine, Pine Family
- Pinus contorta* Dougl. ex Loud., lodgepole pine, Pine Family
- Pinus monticola* Dougl. ex D. Don, western white pine, Pine Family
- Pinus ponderosa* Dougl. (P. & C. Lawson), Ponderosa Pine, Pine Family
- Poa secunda* J. Presl, Sandberg's Bluegrass, Grass Family
- Polemonium caeruleum* L., western polemonium, Phlox Family
- Polemonium pulcherrimum*, Showy Jacob's Ladder, Phlox Family
- Polygonum bistortoides* (Pursh), American Bistort, Buckwheat Family
- Populus angustifolia* James, narrowleaf cottonwood, Willow Family
- Populus balsamifera* ssp. *trichocarpa* (Torr. & Gray ex Hook.) Brayshaw, Black Cottonwood, Willow Family
- Prunus emarginata* var. *emarginata* (Dougl. ex Hook.) Walp., bitter cherry, Rose Family
- Prunus virginiana* L., common chokecherry, Rose Family
- Prunus virginiana* var. *melanocarpa* (A. Nels.) Sarg., black chokecherry, Rose Family
- Pseudoroegneria spicata* (Pursh) A. Love, Bluebunch Wheatgrass, Grass Family
- Pseudotsuga menziesii* (Mirbel) Franco, Douglas fir, Pine Family
- Rhamnus purshiana*, Cascara Buckthorn, Buckthorn Family
- Rhus glabra* L., smooth sumac, Sumac Family
- Rhus trilobata* Nutt., skunkbush sumac, Sumac Family
- Ribes hudsonianum* Richards., northern black currant, Currant Family
- Ribes niveum* Lindl., snow currant, Currant Family
- Ribes oxycanthoides* ssp. *irriguum* (Dougl.) Sinnott, Idaho gooseberry, Currant Family

- Ribes viscosissimum* (Pursh), Sticky Currant, Currant Family
Rosa nutkana K. Presl, Nootka Rose, Rose Family
Rosa woodsii Lindl., Woods' rose, Rose Family
Rosa woodsii var. *ultramontana* (S. Wats.) Jepson, Woods' rose, Rose Family
Rubus leucodermis Dougl. ex Torr. & Gray, whitebark raspberry, Rose Family
Salix sp., willow, Willow Family
Sambucus sp., elderberry, Honeysuckle Family
Scutellaria angustifolia ssp. *angustifolia* (Pursh), narrowleaf skullcap, Mint Family
Sedum lanceolatum, Lance-Leaved Stonecrop, Stonecrop Family
Sedum stenopetalum Pursh, wormleaf stonecrop, Stonecrop Family
Sorbus scopulina Greene, Greene mountainash; Cascade Mountain-Ash, Rose Family
Symphoricarpos albus var. *laevigatus* (Fern.) Blake, common snowberry, Honeysuckle Family
Synthyris missurica (Raf.) Pennell, Tailed Kittenstails; Mountain Kittenstails, Figwort Family
Thermopsis rhombifolia var. *montana* (Nutt.) Isely, Mountain Thermopsis; Mountain Goldenpea, Bean Family
Thuja plicata Donn ex D. Don, Western Red Cedar, Cypress Family
Trifolium microcephalum (Pursh), Small-Headed Clover, Bean Family
Trillium petiolatum Pursh, Idaho trillium; Purple Trillium, Lily Family
Tsuga mertensiana (Bong.) Carr., mountain hemlock, Pine Family
Typha latifolia L., broadleaf cattail, Cat-tail Family
Vaccinium membranaceum Dougl. ex Torr. (*Vaccinium globulare* Rydb.), blue huckleberry, thinleaf huckleberry, Mountain huckleberry, mountain bilberry, black huckleberry, tall huckleberry, big huckleberry, globe huckleberry, or Montana huckleberry, Heath Family
Vaccinium scoparium Leib. ex Coville, grouse whortleberry, Heath Family
Veratrum californicum Dur., California False Hellebore, Lily Family
Xerophyllum tenax (Pursh) Nutt., common beargrass, basket grass, Lily Family

Bitterroot flower in bloom in the Bitterroot Valley.



Notes

1. GIS is a computer method of relating many different databases of information together on one map. For example a map of the prices of houses can be plotted along with the income data of the home owners. GIS maps can record highways, electric power lines, buried phone and sewer lines, etc. GPS is a satellite method of telling a user where his or her receiver is located on the earth. It gives position in latitude, longitude, and elevation. GPS often provides the location data that are used on GIS maps.

2. The low-cost units were Trimble Ensign, Trimble Scoutmaster, Garmin 12XL with differential beacon receiver, and Garmin Etrex Vista with WAAS receiver. ARCVIEW is a high-end GIS tool that is widely used by government agencies for land and resource management. It enables trail paths to be documented to a very high accuracy and plotted on USGS topographic maps or aerial photos. TOPO! is a National Geographic Society computer map product that allows plotting of lines, points, and text over topographic maps of varying resolution; the newest edition also offers 3D views with “fly-through” capability, split screens so the viewer can look at both 2D maps and 3D projections, and other new tools.

3. The GPS unit was a Trimble Pathfinder Pro XRS with GPS Pathfinder Office 2.90 software. This unit has been especially designed to log waypoint and feature data for forested mountain environments. It has differential beacon inputs for WAAS, Coast Guard, and Satellite. It functions in several multipath environments—in which one satellite signal bounces off mountains, water surfaces, and other objects to create multiple copies of the same satellite signal at the receiver. That is the major cause of signals degrading in the mountains.

4. For remote parts of the Bitterroot Mountains, topographic maps have been created using stereo pairs of aerial photos and hand-drawing methods. This process can result in significant topographic distortion at the detailed accuracy provided by GPS, and some places along the trail have errors of up to 100 meters. The trail can in some cases appear to be on the right-hand side of a ridge when it is actually on the left-hand side, as occurs east of Snowbank Camp. Another example is the placement of creeks: just west of Fish Creek Meadows, a creek is shown crossing a ridge!

5. Information on the president’s instructions can be found in James P. Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp. 3-4.

6. The members of his party were George Drouillard (Drewyer), John Shields, and Hugh McNeal.

7. Lewis was looking for the tribe to which Sacajawea belonged, the Lemhi Shoshoni. The name is variously spelled Shoshoni or Shoshone.

Sacajawea is famous in American history as the woman who accompanied the Corps of Discovery from the Mandan

villages of North Dakota to the Pacific Ocean and back. She was the wife of one of the expedition interpreters, Toussaint Charbonneau. During the arduous trek, she gave birth to a son, Jean Baptiste, and helped the expedition in many ways—including identifying landmarks in her native land, gathering roots and herbs as medicine and food, and cementing a good relationship with her own tribe. She was not a guide for the expedition, as some literature has reported. For an interesting and novel account of her history, see Harold P. Howard, *Mystery of Sacajawea* (Stickney, South Dakota: the author, 1969).

The origin and spelling of her name are not agreed upon. Gary Moulton discusses the spelling and pronunciation of her name in detail in his edition of the journals (4:175). Crooked Creek, a tributary of the Musselshell River in central Montana, is shown on one of Clark’s maps (Moulton, 1:Map 51) with the name Sar kar-gah We â Fork or Bird Woman Fork. The way the words are placed on the map implies that Sar kar-gah means “Bird” and We â means “Woman.” Thus the popular interpretation that her name meant “Bird Woman.” Elsewhere (5:109) Moulton has transcribed her name from Lewis’ May 20, 1805, journal entry as Sâh-câ-gar-me-âh. The journals also call her “the Snake woman” in reference to her tribal heritage as a member of the tribes that lived on, and near, the upper Snake River and its upper tributaries.

8. Where there is a different modern place name, place names from the journals are italicized in parentheses at first reference.

9. Lewis gives us a great description of this location with its handsome, open, level valley and a high rocky mountain sticking out of the plain about half a mile south of the forks. Today this valley is under the waters of Clark Canyon Reservoir, but it once held abundant farmland.

10. In order to place the trail in this area, I consulted old GLO maps showing the section lines, creek locations, and the town of Armstead, Montana. Using these old maps, I placed the trail on the north side of the creek. In the summer of 2001, the reservoir was so low that I was able to see the old roads and creek culverts and made a better estimate of the location of the trail.

11. The gap cannot in fact be seen from the campsite. The entry was likely made the next day or later, after the gap at Red Butte could be seen from the trail.

The distance estimates to Red Butte are inaccurate in the journals, and all the journal authors quoted the same wrong number. However, the location of Lewis’ first camp and the unmistakable location and description of Red Butte made it easy to calculate the correct distance. The error may have been caused by estimating from a location further west than is implied in the journals. The error does not affect identifying either the campsite locations or the trail location because there are a variety of other geographic clues in the journals.

12. Horse Prairie was called Snake Indian Cove on Clark's map (Moulton, 1:Map 67). Elliott Coues called it Shoshoni Cove. Lewis said it was "one of the handsomest coves I ever saw."

13. The Shoshoni man was probably using a diversion maneuver to draw Lewis and his party away from the main Shoshoni encampments on Coyote Creek and from the camas gatherers so he could warn them to flee. The location where Lewis encountered the Lemhi Shoshoni man is fairly easy to determine from the journal distances. The escape route of the Shoshoni to the north and then west was approximated except for where Lewis talked about an island created by two equal divisions of the creek and the bog. An old GLO map in the Beaverhead National Forest office shows the bog and numerous springs that still exist.

14. Lewis reported the distance from the last camp as 10 miles on a direct line and 20 miles by the circuitous route they followed. The actual airline distance is 12½ miles. My on-the-ground research, with permission of the landowner, convinced me that Lewis camped on Painter Creek about where the historic Hughes Ranch is located today. Lewis was following not a well-established trail but rather the trail of the Shoshoni, which had been obliterated by an overnight rain.

15. This was the main trail from the Lemhi Valley and upper Shoshoni Cove to the Beaverhead River. It went on the northwest side of Bachelor Mountain to Reservoir Creek and down it to Grasshopper Creek. From there it went along the same route as the old stagecoach road past Road Agent Rock, through a gap, and down to Rattlesnake Creek. The trail went in nearly a straight line toward Beaverhead Rock, which was the major landmark in the Beaverhead Valley. A branch of this major trail, going from Bloody Dick Creek to Bannock Pass, is shown on original GLO survey maps of the area. Lewis had followed a less traveled trail from Dillon to the forks of the Beaverhead River and up Horse Prairie Creek. He continued to be faithful to President Jefferson's instructions to follow the Missouri River to its most distant source.

16. Lewis drank from Trail Creek where the trail starts its last ascent of four tenths of a mile to Lemhi Pass—the same point at which the old Red Rock Stage road left the creek and climbed the pass. The Forest Service has incorrectly interpreted the location where Lewis drank as being the Sacajawea Spring at Sacajawea Memorial Camp. The spring is a beautiful place for a campground away from the trail and for interpretation of the events of August 1805. In 2004, an interpretive trail was built to the south and the campground was modernized.

17. Today's popular literature has overdramatized this disappointing discovery compared with Lewis' journal entry for the day: "After refreshing ourselves, we proceeded on to the top of the dividing ridge from which I discovered immense ranges of high mountains still to the west of us with their tops partially covered with snow."

18. This is the first campsite of the Corps of Discovery in Idaho. Some researchers have placed this camp at Flume

Creek. The geographic situation is similar at the two sites, and both have water and willows. Either location is supported by journal courses and distances, but the camp at the spring better fits the preponderance of journal evidence. In Lewis' August 26 journal entry, he describes this location as a hillside that is moistened by the water of the spring to form a patch of fine green grass. The grass elsewhere is dry and parched by the sun. Today, this spring and hillside can still be found as Lewis described it. However, the trail tread disappeared long ago beneath the hooves of sheep and cattle that have grazed this hillside for more than 100 years.

19. The valley cannot actually be seen from the lowest point in this saddle but is visible from the sidehill about 500 feet to the north.

20. The Clark map shows Fortunate Camp below the forks of the Beaverhead on the east side. The camp is under the waters of the reservoir a little west of the campground just off Interstate 15. I located the campsite by comparing Clark's map of the area (Moulton, 1:Map 66) with old Government Land Office (GLO) survey maps compiled before the reservoir was built.

21. They had been following the main trail, which stayed on the north side of Trail Creek. At sunset, they needed to find a campsite; but the grass to the north of the creek was burned, so they crossed over to the south side. Lewis records the location as being near willow brush and about four miles west of the narrow gap at Red Butte.

22. Lewis reported that the bloody and frantic scene would have ruined his appetite had he not been so hungry himself.

23. Fortunate Camp and Camp Fortunate are used interchangeably in the literature. Clark's map used "Fortunate Camp."

24. This was Clark's slave, York. Many stories are told about the impressions York made on the various tribes they encountered, who had never seen a person with black skin.

25. It was in fact the extreme *western* source of the Missouri. Red Rock River to the east is longer than Horse Prairie and Trail Creeks. The Corps had no way of knowing about this, because they did not explore the eastern fork: it flowed in the wrong direction.

26. Moulton (5:116) says that these men were John Collins, John Colter, Pierre Cruzatte, Patrick Gass, Nathaniel Pryor, George Shannon, Richard Windsor, and four others who remain unidentified. Gass is the only one of this group for whom we have an additional journal, a viewpoint supplementary to Clark's.

27. Clark's camp at the narrow gap was easy to find because he gave a good description of the south point of Red Butte and marked the location on his map. Clark gives two entries for the courses and distances from Fortunate Camp to the evening camp. His first is nine miles at 270 degrees magnetic, which places him a mile east of Grant, Montana, and north of the main creek. The second—which is correct—is six miles at 300 degrees magnetic, which places the camp two miles north-

east of Bachelor Mountain. The actual camp, on the creek south of Red Butte, is almost seven miles southwest of the false location. The journals have many errors of this type—a major reason why we must consider all journal data and not just courses and distances. Accurate journal entries for the day's travel would have been nine miles at 261 degrees magnetic and nine miles at 256 degrees magnetic. In modern terms, the airline distance and course is 18.0 miles at 273.4 degrees true north.

28. Lewis gives a short account of this massacre in his journal entry for August 25 (Moulton, 5:168). He says that it occurred six years earlier and was done by the "Minnetaries" (Minitari or Hidatsa Indians).

29. This is an example of trade between the tribes of the Northwest and the Southwest.

30. It is interesting to note that, while Lewis was separated from Clark, he recorded information about Clark's travels at the end of each day's entries. This is the main evidence we have that the journal entries were sometimes written several days after the recorded date. The delay in keeping the journals up to date may explain some of the errors we see.

31. Moulton (5:131) reports that this man will guide them down the Salmon River and over the mountains all the way to the Clearwater River. He is referred to by name on May 12, 1806, when Lewis states that "our old guide Toby and his son each took a horse of ours when they returned last fall."

32. It probably went up Carmen Creek and crossed the Continental Divide to Lake Creek on the Montana side. Going down Lake Creek, it would cross the Big Hole Valley and go down the Big Hole River to the Jefferson River.

33. It is difficult to comprehend how the horses could carry the party over such high, steep hills along the river. The river makes several serpentine bends in this area, and it was not possible to create a trail along it like U.S. Highway 93.

34. On this day Lewis again gave a detailed account of Clark's travel, and he noted that a trail went up the North Fork and over to the Missouri. This trail went eastward on Dahlenega Creek, crossed the Continental Divide at Big Hole Pass, and continued down the Big Hole River to the Jefferson River.

35. Dump Creek today looks as if it has been heavily washed for mining operations. The washed gravel piles are obvious as you travel by. Some people have reported that this was caused by a landslide or a flash flood.

36. This is just the first of an increasing number of impassible places along the river. The Shoshoni seldom went down the river this far because there was no reason for them to do so. However, the Salish ventured to the river below this point by coming over the mountains from the north.

37. This "bad place" is about one and a half road miles east of Indian Creek. Even today, you can tell this was a very bad place to take horses. When the CCC road was built down the Salmon River, all of these rock bluffs were blasted, so their appearance today is not what Clark saw. It was also common practice to blast bad rapids in the river so supply boats could

travel up and down to the mines. Such blasting and the recent drought in the Northwest have changed the appearance of these places considerably.

38. Clark's map of this area (Moulton, 1:Map 68) calls Indian Creek "Berry Creek" and the North Fork of the Salmon "Fish Creek." The Salish visited this part of the Salmon River, and parts lower down, to fish for salmon. Their homeland on the Bitterroot River had no salmon because of the falls on the Clark Fork River. They could use this part of the river and avoid conflict with the Shoshoni. Clark's map shows trails up the North Fork, Indian Creek, and Squaw Creek. Clark reported the distance from where he left the main party to this point as 12 miles, but it is only 2 miles. Clark was probably reporting the distance from the North Fork to Indian Creek (a distance of 11-12 miles) but somehow didn't get it properly said in the journal.

39. There is strong evidence that this trail was created by the Salish because Clark called it a "well beaten path" but called the trail down the river a "Wolf path." His journal reported traveling up the creek for six miles, but this is incorrect. Not only does the distance not agree with the geographic clues in the journal, but Squaw Creek turns northward away from the river after two miles. To follow it for six miles would take the party more than four miles north of the river. Fortunately, this sort of error in the journals is easy to detect because of the topography of the area.

40. In 1832, four men from a fur-trapping expedition led by John Work of the Hudson's Bay Company tried to float down the river. After several days, the main party encountered two of them on the lower end of the river, naked and cold. The river had stripped their clothing off. The other two men never returned and were apparently drowned.

41. Papoose Creek does not run water today but may have in Clark's time. The logging-access road now forks where the campsite was located.

42. Many researchers have speculated on why the Corps did not follow the same southern trail that existed in the 1830s and later. Perhaps this trail was not developed until white men started fur trapping and gold mining.

43. Clark was fond of carving his name into trees and other objects such as Pompey's Pillar. He used his initials on trees.

44. This is probably Carmen Creek. Ordway records this stop in his journal.

45. Originally this was called Boyle's Creek, but the name was changed.

46. The largest buffalo herds were in central Montana, on the Musselshell River. This was land contested by the Blackfeet and the River Crows, and it was very risky to travel there except in large parties.

47. More incorrect estimates of courses and distances creep into the journals for their travels this day. The estimated 20-mile distance is only 10 miles. This will happen on the Lolo Trail also, especially along Hungry Creek. It seems the distances are overestimated by as much as a factor of two-to-

one when the travel is difficult. The estimated six miles to the mouth of the North Fork is really only three miles. If the reported distances were correct, the party would be several miles west of the North Fork.

48. Historians and trail researchers have always wondered about the route chosen by the party. They took a direct route to the Bitterroot Valley over a large mountain with no trail. Some writers blame Toby for this, but I believe the Captains thought it would be best to go by the shortest, most direct route. Some researchers have criticized them for not taking the Southern Nez Perce Trail, which was shorter than the Bitterroot Valley and Lolo Trail route and was conveniently accessed from the North Fork. However, there is no clear evidence that this trail was established in 1805; we don't hear about it until Samuel Parker crossed it in 1835. It would have been a combined Salish and Nez Perce trail. The most obvious route for them to take was the main trail up Dahlenega Creek to the Big Hole and then up Trail Creek to Gibbons Pass and down to the Bitterroot Valley. This was the route most used by the local tribes and was just as fast as the route over Lost Trail Pass. These questions will likely always invite speculation.

49. The actual location of the September 3 camp is not agreed upon by the various researchers. John Peebles and James R. Wolf place the camp at the very head of Shields Creek, half a mile southwest of Saddle Mountain. Robert N. Bergantino and others place the camp at the head of Colter Creek, just across a small saddle to the west of where I have placed it. Hadley B. Roberts and J. Wilmer Rigby place the camp on the North Fork about seven tenths of a mile down the creek from where I have placed it. Fred Crandall places the camp down Colter Creek, apparently at a superb meadow about half a mile west of Bergantino's location. I've hiked to this meadow, and it would be a very nice place to camp. A workshop was held in July of 1997 to bring several researchers together to discuss the route and location of the campsite, but no consensus could be reached.

50. Nicholas Biddle rendered this name as Oat-la-shoot in his early edition of the journals.

51. The camp was about half a mile east of the Sula Store on the east side of Camp Creek. At low water, people could camp in many places in the meadow. At high water, the Salish camped on the west side of the creek. Recent highway construction has destroyed the high-water campsite. A lifelong Ross Hole resident, John McClintic, told me his ancestors had cleared the old campsite of its large pine trees and gathered up all the teepee-ring rocks and dumped them in the creek. He also said that the East Fork had changed its course many times and probably washed away some of the Salish camps that might have existed north of the Lewis and Clark camp.

52. The method of communicating with the Bitterroot Salish is an intriguing story. Clark mentions in his journal that what they said had to pass through several languages and a few years later reported that Salish was translated to Shoshoni, then Minitari, then French, and finally English.

53. Olin D. Wheeler investigated this route for his book and included a photo of the trail in this area. The trail had to go over this ridge because the route down the Bitterroot River was too difficult. Homesteaders built a road down the river and needed to fill in some of the river to make the wagon road. Segments of this old road can still be seen today. In one place, someone had painted on a big rock bluff "Jim's Hell." It is now known as Jim Hell Rock. Recent road construction has destroyed many of the old landmarks.

54. Sleeping Child Creek was originally called Weeping Child Creek. Olin D. Wheeler published an interesting Salish story about this creek in his book. It seems that a traveler passing the creek would hear a weeping child. Upon investigation, a small child would be found and an attempt made to comfort it. Should the traveler stick his or her finger in the child's mouth to give it something to suckle, it would immediately eat all the flesh off the bones of the stranger, leaving only a skeleton.

55. There were two trails along the Bitterroot River, one on each side. They merged at McClain Creek and continued northward to Lolo, Montana.

56. They named this Travelers Rest Creek, but it was never really called this except by the expedition. In the mid-1800s, it was called Lou-Lou Creek in honor of a man who lived on the creek many years and died there; his grave is in a large meadow a short distance up Grave Creek. The name was changed to Lolo Creek by the U.S. Board of Geographic Names in the early 1900s.

57. Lewis referred to these men as being from the Flathead nation, which would lead us to believe they were Salish; but the location of the guide's relatives is strong evidence that at least one of the men was actually Chopunnish (Nez Perce). In Clark's journal entry for September 10, he called the three men "Tushapaw Indians"—which implies they were Salish or Flatheads. In later journal entries, Clark also refers to the Nez Perce as Flatheads. This creates several instances of confusion when trying to trace the tribal affiliation of the people mentioned in the journals.

58. The Bitterroot Salish remained good friends with the European immigrants for the next several decades. Even during the Nez Perce War of 1877, they remained peaceful and living in their traditional homeland. They were eventually forced by the U.S. government to move from their homeland in the Bitterroot Valley north to the Flathead Valley in northwestern Montana. Prominent citizens of the Bitterroot Valley tried to support the Salish and prevent this from happening, but the government ignored them.

59. We have other documentation of this trail because it was followed by Captain John Mullan, Olin Wheeler, and others. Mullan drew a map of the trail in the valley, but the scale is too large for us to determine an accurate location. In addition, Mullan did such a poor job of mapping the Northern Nez Perce Trail (Lolo Trail) westward that it calls into question the accuracy of the trail portrayal in the Bitterroot Valley.

60. There is no precise and universally agreed upon definition of the Lolo Trail. Its early names were Lou-Lou Fork Trail and Northern Nez Perce Trail. I've come to define it as the trail between the Bitterroot Valley at Lolo, Montana, and the Clearwater Valley at Kamiah, Idaho.

61. The concoction was the early 1800s military version of "Meals Ready to Eat," purchased by Lewis in Philadelphia and probably a powder to which liquid was added. The men disliked portable soup so much that they would rather eat rancid tallow candles and boiled roots.

62. Clark says "Flathead Indian," but it is pretty clear that he is referring to a Chopunnish man.

63. This large un-named meadow is along Lolo Creek below Lolo Hot Springs.

64. This sweathouse must have been well constructed and frequently used. The next May, the Corps would use a sweathouse at Kamiah to help cure an old man of paralysis.

65. These branches would be Woodman, Camp, Bear, Smith, Sheldon, and Clark Creeks. They considered Grave Creek to be a major fork of Lolo Creek.

66. Journal records are not sufficient to place this camp accurately. Spring Gulch is as far west as the camp could have been. It may have been as much as one mile further east.

67. There has been some speculation that nearby Granite Hot Springs were the hot springs they encountered, but the 1806 journal entries make it pretty clear that the location was at Lolo Hot Springs. Today the spring is much cooler. Perhaps earthquakes or other geological effects have caused more cool water to be mixed underground with the hot.

68. A mineral springs attracts both people and animals to its waters. The elk and deer came from all compass directions to drink the water and lick at the deposited minerals. Other mineral springs in these mountains still have similar trails, most of which have been worn deep and would confuse most every traveler.

69. The old Nez Perce trail they were following did not go through Lee Creek Campground. The trail up the ridge, as seen today, was created as a stock driveway in the early 1900s. The old stock driveway intermingled with the Northern Nez Perce Trail near Wagon Mountain and the trail west to Packer Meadows.

70. Highway 12 and the Lolo Pass Visitor Center are not located at the original pass. The pass crossed by the Northern Nez Perce Trail is about one mile northeast of the visitor center. The center is an excellent place to stop and see trail displays and obtain literature about the Lewis and Clark Trail. Guides at the center can direct visitors to the meadows and the Glade Creek campsite.

71. The name Pack Creek started being used in government maps around 1911. The Lewis and Clark journals actually gave it three different names: Glade, Quawmash, and Valley Creek.

72. This trail was very faint even 100 years ago (Wheeler, 2:94) and would have been hard to trace. With the construc-

tion of a Forest Service trail and heavy use by hunters along the same route, there is little remaining evidence of the old tread.

73. Because Clark was in the lead trying to find the trail, we are led to believe that Toby was unfamiliar with the detailed route over the Lolo Trail. I believe Toby was generally familiar with the trail but did not have a current, detailed knowledge of it.

74. An old map from the 1890s labels this location "Indian Monuments," so we know they were there at that time. The builders of the 1866 Bird-Truax Trail did not mention rock cairns but they did describe the lakes. I am inclined to believe that rock cairns did not exist at Indian Postoffice until the Nez Perce War of 1877. The trail drops off the ridge to the west too soon for the Corps to have observed the lakes.

75. The route of the trail here was described by the survey party for the 1866 Bird-Truax Trail, and the Gravey Creek canyon was called Snowbridge Gulch.

76. Whitehouse has been misquoted in some modern sources, which has led to a misplacement of the campsite. The Moulton edition of the journals gives both statements by Whitehouse about the Sinque hole. The first is: *Came about [blank] miles this day, and Camped at a Small branch on the Mountain near a round deep Sinque hole full of water.* The second is: *We came about 16 Miles this day, & encamped at a small branch on a Mountain; near a Round deep Sink hole which was full of water.* The Thwaites edition of the journals has him writing: *Came about [MS. torn] miles this day, and Camped at a Small branch on the Mountain near a round deep Sinque hole full of water.* Some researchers and modern sources quote Whitehouse as saying that they camped at a round Sinque hole, which contributes to an incorrect placement of the camp. The Sinque Hole is about six tenths of a trail mile east of the actual camp at Indian Grave.

77. It was also a critical site for a lookout—so critical, in fact, that the Clearwater National Forest started building a road from Musselshell Meadows to Indian Grave in 1926. This original effort would eventually be expanded and become the Lolo Motorway. A detailed account of this road construction can be found in a research report by Steve F. Russell, *Lolo Motorway Construction History: The Western End* (Pioneer Trail Research Monograph; Ames, Iowa: the author, 1993, revised 1995).

78. It is about 47 airline miles to Grangeville and 50 airline miles to Cottonwood. The guide is much too optimistic about reaching it the following day. In fact, they would not even reach Eldorado Creek the following day.

79. A Forest Service trail leads from the 500 Road up to Willow Ridge and southward to Willow Point and Hungry Creek. Earlier researchers (including John Peebles) have placed the trail along this route, south, and down Willow Ridge and into Hungry Creek. It appears that later researchers continued to accept the earlier assumptions and placed the trail on that route. Extensive hiking of Hungry Creek convinced me that the Corps overestimated the distance

by a factor of 2 to 1, as they did on the North Fork of the Salmon. There is a general tendency in the journals to overestimate distances when the travel is difficult. An excellent 1805-06 trail tread leads from Willow Ridge, through Deep Saddle, and over Bowl Butte. The trail is heavily brush-choked and steep, but it still makes for a great experience. The second and third locations where the party might have seen the Nez Perce Prairie are Willow Ridge and Bowl Butte. I believe it is possible the Clark and Lewis parties might have seen it from different points.

80. The boys had probably come from a camp on a nearby creek. John Miles, a local pioneer, informed me that the Nez Perce (Chopunnish, to Lewis and Clark) women and children still camped at this location when he was a small boy.

81. After Lewis and Clark, fur traders from the United States, England, and Canada came to the ancestral land of the Nez Perce. From what we have as recorded history, it seems these groups coexisted in a fair degree of harmony. It was not until the 1850s and the advent of peace treaties and reservations that mutual respect and coexistence eroded into mutual distrust, dislike, and warfare. What happened here parallels what happened elsewhere: the white men wanted Nez Perce land and its natural resources. They also wanted the Nez Perce to adopt Euro-American land-ownership concepts, culture, religion, and government. Ultimately, the Nez Perce were confined to a reservation whose boundaries were then reduced. The unwillingness of some to leave their ancestral lands in Oregon led to the Nez Perce "War" of 1877—an effort by non-reservation Nez Perce, chased by the U.S. Army, to reach safety in Canada. A few made it; the rest were confined to a reservation in Oklahoma for many years.

82. Some authors have claimed that the Corps were saved from starvation, but this is far from the truth. They still had many horses to eat when they arrived at Weippe Prairie. They had been on such a low-carbohydrate diet that they were ill, and the Nez Perce provided carbohydrates in the form of camas and other roots. Some of the party became seriously ill from eating the Nez Perce food, but this was probably a reaction to suddenly eating a carbohydrate-rich diet. Also, the blue camas they were eating contains saponin, which will irritate the stomach if too much is eaten.

83. The Fishing Island became just a rock bar on the river after the railroad was built and the northeast river channel filled in. Prior to the railroad, it had been called China Island.

84. The Corps carried with them medals with portraits of President Jefferson and President Washington, which they gave to the chiefs they met en route.

85. Rush's Pills were a powerful, fast-acting laxative. They were nicknamed Rush's Thunderbolts. Purgatives and bleeding were popular medical remedies two hundred years ago.

86. This large flat or river bottom has been heavily inhabited by the Chopunnish for thousands of years. It is now covered with roads and houses. The current location of Canoe Camp State Park is accurate.

87. Clark makes an interesting cultural observation in his journal entry for the day. He remarks that the guards were necessary to protect the goods from the Indians because they had already stolen several small articles. In the very next sentence, he praises the Indians for giving him every assistance in their power during the Corps's distress. Apparently the Chopunnish were more than willing to help when they could but were also inclined to take goods left lying around.

88. The journals' river-naming conventions are somewhat confusing at this point. At Lewiston, it was not easy for the explorers to estimate and rank the major drainage sizes and their relative water volumes. On a map in the journals circa April, 1806 (Moulton, 7:150), the lower Snake River is labeled as Lewis's River. The North Fork of the Clearwater is labeled as the Chopunnish River. The Lochsa Fork of the Clearwater is labeled as Flathead River, but it is also called the Koos Koos Ke River—a name that survived for several decades. The Clearwater River from the upper Lochsa to Lewiston was also called the Kooskooskee River. The Salmon River was called Lewis's River. The main part of the Snake River, in southern Idaho, was not named because the explorers never saw it.

89. Cut Nose was, they determined, one of four major leaders of the Chopunnish.

90. Nez Perce oral tradition tells us that there were discussions about killing the white men. This incident may be part of the tradition.

91. Some modern Nez Perce state that their ancestors never wore shells through their nose. Thus the Americanized French word for pierced nose, Nez Perce, may not be accurate. However, there must have been a significant number of people living in these areas that did pierce their noses with the wampum shell.

92. Technically, this is a lichen; but local people in Idaho still call it moss. This black moss can also be used for making rope. Some Nez Perce say that it boils up into an oatmeal-like consistency and is not bad eating.

93. Researchers disagree about where this camp is located. Ralph Space located it in Wheeler Draw because of the artifacts found at a spring there. John Peebles shows it on one of his maps, but the detail is insufficient to place it with any reasonable accuracy. I believe it was near an old camas meadow and a spring located north of the old abandoned townsite of Russell, Idaho.

The existence of the meadows was revealed to me by Richard Albers, whose family has farmed and lived on this land for generations. The map in this volume shows the campsite at a spring and abandoned farmhouse on the west side of the main road. The actual campsite is nearby but on private land, and its location is indicated as it is precisely for reasons of privacy and historic preservation.

94. Tun-nach-e-moo-toolt or Broken Arm had been given a flag the previous fall. When the party rode up, the flag was flying on a pole outside the main lodge.

95. His name may have meant Five Big Hearts.

96. This camp was about one-half mile below the river crossing and not far from the main trail that went northward to the Weippe Prairie. Lewis reported that it was about 40 paces (100 feet) from the river. Olin D. Wheeler reported that it still existed in 1902 when he visited the site, although he also said that it was at the north end of the railroad bridge—somewhat farther downriver than my location. In later years, a sawmill was constructed at the site and the pit destroyed. Today, the pit location is occupied by a road and a log-unloading yard.

97. The journals say they were a species of fennel. Moulton (7:266, n.1) reports that the plant was most likely Gairdner's Yampah (*Perideridia gairdneri*) but, because of its licorice candy (anise) taste, the plant could also have been Sweetroot (*Osmorhiza occidentalis*).

98. The journals remark that the descent down into Lolo Creek was deep and extremely difficult. High water in the spring makes this crossing difficult: the steep trail down into Lolo Creek is muddy in the wet season. It sometimes becomes a virtual beaver slide—as the U.S. cavalry discovered during the Nez Perce War.

99. There are a couple of major unsolved journal mysteries for June 15: a distance anomaly and a description in Clark's journal that does not apply to the route. The distance between the crossing of Lolo Creek and the camp on Eldorado Creek above the mouth of Lunch Creek is quoted as 10.5 miles but is really only 5.6 miles. Why is there an error of five miles? No amount of research has yet provided an answer. The journal distance would require them to travel north almost to Chamook Saddle, six miles, and then back south five miles. This has never made sense and remains a mystery to me.

Clark's journal entry talks about passing a high mountain where he could see distant surrounding mountain ranges, the Nez Perce Prairie, and the valley of the North Fork of the Clearwater. There is no place anywhere near the route they traveled where this can happen. The nearest places are Bowl Butte, Willow Ridge, and Sherman Peak. This journal entry clearly belongs to another day.

100. The journals identify this as a small branch of Hungery Creek, which it is. Today, the lower creek is called Fish Creek and Hungery Creek is designated a branch of Fish Creek.

101. The first two passes of the creek are between one and two miles below Horseteak Meadow Camp, in the same area where Lewis and the main party had camped on September 19. These crossings are relatively easy and located in such a way as to pose minimum danger for the horses during high water. The next two crossings are about four tenths of a mile down from the mouth of Obia Creek, and one is very dangerous during high water because the creek is confined against rocks and debris there. Even in late summer, the crossing is a challenge. The Corps stayed on the north side of the creek and crossed over a high, very steep and rocky ridge, well above the

creek. I hiked this route and found it passable but also somewhat dangerous.

102. It is clear that they intended to use the name Collins Creek for Eldorado Creek at the mouth of Dollar Creek, but they also called it Fish Creek.

103. This plant has been identified as the western spring beauty (*Claytonia lanceolata* Prush).

104. The main trail does not go through this flat; it crosses the hillside to the north. It is about the only place to camp along the creek that is not brush choked. It must have been a major camping spot with a well-worn side trail, or the party would never have noticed it. Today, it is possible to hike down to this authentic campsite and puzzle over how to get all the people and horses into such a small area.

While this site is called Jerusalem Artichoke Camp, the Jerusalem artichoke was seen at Fish Creek Meadows, not at this site on Hungery Creek.

105. Travel over the hard-packed snow is actually easier than travel during the summer. The major advantage is that the horses can travel above the brush and windfalls. We can see they are covering many more miles per day than they did the previous fall. Clark gives a good description of travel over the hard-packed snow in his journal entry for June 28.

106. They followed the main divide between the Lochsa and the North Fork. They would have crossed water at Green Saddle and been near water at Sherman Saddle, Sherman Peak, and No-See-Um Meadows. This comment is still puzzling, but perhaps the water sources were under heavy snow and could not be seen or heard.

107. Bald Mountain was the site of one of the first ranger stations on the Clearwater National Forest. In 1910, Ranger Roy Monroe built a one-room cabin near the Corps's campsite. The cabin has long since disappeared. In the old journals, nearly everyone stopped to camp at Bald Mountain because it had good horse feed and water. It is one of the points that can be clearly verified in the journals of Lolo Trail travelers. Apparently, bear grass and horse-feed grass were competitively balanced in 1806. The journals use the term "greensward" to describe the grass, but we have no indication as to the various species that might have been growing.

In the early homesteading years, Bald Mountain was used for grazing sheep (and perhaps cattle) with access to it from the sheep driveway at Cook Mountain and Windy Ridge. This grazing has badly eroded the hillside and has significantly changed the local ecology. The bear grass remains but the luxurious grass has mostly been replaced with plants unsuitable for horse feed.

108. The cairn at Smoking Place has never been reported in the journals of later travelers on the Lolo Trail. There has never been so much as a pile of rocks or even a concentration of rocks to denote its location. The journals say it was 6 to 8 feet high and had a pine pole about 15 feet long sticking out of the top. In all the years I traveled this area, there was no rock cairn until a small one was built sometime in the mid-1990s.

The USGS topographic map labels Smoking Place a “camp,” but the Corps never camped there. It is a place held in high regard as a spiritual site by the Nez Perce. Contrary to the practices of some of the plains tribes, smoking the pipe is primarily social, not spiritual, with the Nez Perce.

109. The nearest side trail to the river left the Lolo Trail near Howard Camp and went down Ashpile Peak to Weir Creek and then up the river. A trail also went down Jerry Johnson Ridge to the Lochsa River.

110. The trail and road both pass near the June 27, 1806, camp on the side of Spring Mountain. You can hike up to the campsite, but it has been used for many years as a hunting camp and its historic nature has been altered. The small spring along the road, once called Swan’s Spring, was the traditional water source for this campsite. Between Cayuse Junction and Moon Creek, the only convenient water is at Moose Lake, Swan’s Spring, and a small spring on the west side of Indian Postoffice, just above the saddle.

111. Mountain goats were still living on the cliffs south of Cayuse Junction in the 1950s. Elk were still common in the upper Lochsa in the late 1800s. They wintered over on the river bars between Weir Creek and the mouth of Crooked Fork above Powell. After the forest fires between 1910 and 1933, elk were transplanted from Yellowstone Park and prospered greatly along the Lolo Trail until the trees re-established and started choking out the best of the grass.

112. This is the trail on Wendover Ridge. The lack of good historic trail tread on this ridge is explained by comments in the journals that the young men would go on foot (rather than on horseback) to the salmon fisheries on the upper Lochsa.

113. Three locations have been named Powell Junction since the 1920s. The original trail from the Lolo Trail to Powell Ranger Station went down the ridge above Parachute Hill. That junction was the original. When the Lolo Motorway was being constructed in the 1930s, and the road to Rocky Point Lookout was completed, the road junction just east of the Corps’s June 28 camp was named Powell Junction. More recently, the junction where the Lolo Motorway leaves Highway 12 near Lochsa Lodge has been named Powell Junction.

114. Even today, in a much dryer climatic period, the snowbanks will persist until early to mid-July. In 1806 the snowfall would have been heavier and the climate colder, and the snowbanks must have lasted most, if not all, of the summer.

115. Bighorn sheep were a favorite food of the early trappers, miners, and explorers. They were killed in such large numbers that it is now rare to see one.

116. Lewis took the following men in his party: George Drouillard, Joseph Fields, Reubin Fields, Robert Frazer, Patrick Gass, Silas Goodrich, Hugh McNeal, John Thompson, and William Werner. All the rest of the party went with Clark.

117. Clark estimated 36 miles, which might be a good estimate after taking into consideration the winding nature of the trail to achieve the best stream crossings and avoid the most swampy areas. The trail tread he followed does not exist today; it has been obliterated by roads and agricultural activity over the past 100+ years.

118. This makes a total of twelve large creeks and six small ones that they crossed during the entire day. It is difficult to tell today where these large and small creek beds were located. We may be able to tell by the deep canyons to the west where the large creeks came out of the mountains. However, in the last 100+ years of ranching and farming the valley, there have been many changes in the water flow from the mountains. Creek beds have been filled in, rerouted, and replaced with ditches. During the summer irrigation season, almost no water flows in many of the streambeds as they near the Bitterroot River. To estimate stream size and water volume, it is necessary to go into the deep canyons above where the ditches remove water. One summer I did this and was amazed at the volume of water being captured and diverted for agriculture.

119. The creeks they crossed are, in order: Blodgett, Canyon, Owings, Sawtooth, and Roaring Lion.

120. The camp area has been totally modified by highway construction. The old alluvial fan of the creek was removed, the old channel of Camp Creek completely filled in, and a new channel built about 200 feet to the east.

121. They were not following a trail when they crossed Lost Trail Pass the previous fall. If they had followed the trail up Dahlenega Creek, they could have come northward on the trail Clark now followed and had much easier travel. Gibbons Pass was named for Col. John Gibbon, in command of a military party that pursued the Nez Perce across this pass in 1877. The interpretive sign for Gibbons Pass on the Forest Service road is about a quarter-mile to the northeast of the actual site.

122. Clark’s comment about old buffalo roads indicates that they were no longer being used but still quite visible. Today, there are still faint traces of the old buffalo roads in the meadow south of Hogan’s Guard Station (Cabin) and Hogan Creek. This area still has frequent forest fires that keep huge areas of small lodgepole pine (*Pinus contorta*) burned off.

123. There is more than one Big Hole Pass. The other is on the Montana-Idaho border between Gibbonsville, Idaho, and Wisdom, Montana. Local people call the pass crossed by Clark “Carroll Hill.”

124. The hot spring has been developed since the time of Lewis and Clark.

125. Clark estimated a distance of 164 miles in his journal. The estimates of the shorter distances are much less accurate.

Annotated Bibliography

Published Books

Aegerter, Mary, and Steve F. Russell. *Hike Lewis and Clark's Idaho*. Moscow: University of Idaho Press. 2002.

A compilation of trails to hike along the historic Lolo Trail corridor followed by Lewis and Clark. The book contains numerous topographic maps and historical information about the expedition and the trail they followed.

Appleman, Roy E. *Lewis and Clark: Historic Places Associated with Their Transcontinental Exploration (1804-06)*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service. 1975.

Roy Appleman covered the entire trail and the story of the expedition in this 429-page book. It is good reading for casual interest in the expedition but is not intended to be highly detailed. Many interesting photos illustrate some of the most well-known sites. Appleman appears to be the source of the error that places the head of the Missouri River at Sacajawea Memorial Park at Lemhi Pass.

Cutright, Paul Russell. *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1969.

Paul Cutright wrote the definitive book on the natural history of the expedition. It has been widely quoted and used by numerous researchers. This book is an essential source for anyone studying this topic.

Coues, Elliott. *History of the Expedition under the Command of Lewis and Clark*. Reprint edition. 2 volumes. New York: Dover Publications. 1965 (1893).

Coues's two-volume edition of the journals was widely used until the Thwaites edition of the journals became available in 1905. He puzzled over the route and natural history and made significant contributions to our knowledge of both.

Fazio, James, editor. *The Mystery of Lost Trail Pass*. Great Falls, Montana: Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation. 1997.

This publication was the result of a workshop held in Salmon, Idaho, by the Salmon-Challis National Forest under the direction of Mary Hayden. Researchers who made presentations and submitted manuscripts for this publication were Robert N. Bergantino, J. Wilmer Rigby, Hadley B. Roberts, Steve F. Russell, and James R. Wolf.

Fazio, James, Mike Venso, and Steve F. Russell. *Across the Snowy Ranges: The Lewis and Clark Expedition in Idaho and Western Montana*. Moscow, Idaho: Woodland Press. 2001.

This coffee-table book provides a highly accurate historical and geographical account of the route of the expedition across the Bitterroot Mountains. It is noted for Fazio's carefully researched text, Venso's beautiful photos, and Russell's geographically accurate maps and other data.

Howard, Harold P. *Mystery of Sacajawea*. Stickney, South Dakota: the author. 1969.

This self-published book is sold in stores along Interstate 90 across South Dakota. It is a well-researched book presenting a strictly factual account of Sacajawea, based on the journals rather than folklore. It is a "must-read" for anyone doing scholarly research on Sacajawea.

Joseph, Alvin M., Jr. *The Nez Perce Indians and the Opening of the Northwest*. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1965. Mariner Books edition, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1997.

This is without a doubt the best researched and most informative book on the history of the Nez Perce and the clash of cultures as their land was taken over by westward expansion. Joseph was one of the premier scholars on the Nez Perce. This book should be used in any significant study of Nez Perce culture.

Moulton, Gary E., editor. *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. 12 volumes. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1986-1999.

This edition of the journals is a consummate work by Gary Moulton and is, by far, the best available resource for original information about the expedition. Volume 1 is an oversize atlas containing all the existing historical maps pertaining to the expedition. Volumes 2-11 contain the journals of the expedition members: Clark, Lewis, Whitehouse, Ordway, Gass, and Floyd. Volume 12 is an oversize volume of the herbarium of the expedition. Moulton was able to incorporate many additional sources of information unavailable to or unused in the Thwaites edition. Some of the text is available on the publisher's website, but only the books themselves have the complete information.

Peebles, John J. *Lewis and Clark in Idaho: Trail and Campsites in Idaho*. Idaho Historical Series, Number 16. Boise: Idaho State Historical Society. 1966.

John Peebles wrote his version of the route and campsites in Idaho for the Idaho State Historical Society. His work has been widely used and quoted in the last three decades, and many subsequent researchers have based their work on the results in this publication. It is no longer in print.

Ronda, James P. *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press. 1984.

Ronda's excellent, well-researched book has been widely used and referred to. It is a "must-read" for those interested in this topic.

Russell, Steve F. *Lewis and Clark-Lolo Trail Precision Survey*. Ames, Iowa: Historic Trails Press. 2005.

An annotated atlas and hiking guide containing 29 topographic maps showing the precise location of the Lewis and Clark trail between Weippe, Idaho, and Lolo Pass on the

Montana-Idaho border. The precision survey was conducted during the summers of 2002 and 2003 and was based on the author's extensive field research.

Russell, Steve F., editor. *Virginia City and Lewiston Wagon Road: Microfilm Records 1865-1870*. Ames, Iowa: Historic Trails Press. 2005.

A transcribed and edited version of the original microfilm records, which are written in longhand. These records include information on the Bird-Truax and Lolo Trails. It is available in searchable electronic form and in hardcopy.

Space, Ralph S. *The Lolo Trail: A History of Events Connected with the Lolo Trail since Lewis and Clark*. Orofino, Idaho: the author. 1970.

Space's small (65-page) book on the trail has been reprinted several times. For further information on its availability, contact the Clearwater Historical Society, Orofino, Idaho. Space was a career Forest Service employee and supervisor of the Clearwater National Forest from 1954 to 1963. He was an avid hiker and, after his retirement, also an avid student of the Lolo Trail.

Space, Ralph S. *The Clearwater Story*. Missoula, Montana: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Forest Service, Northern Region. 1979.

Space's book contains information on a variety of topics concerning the history of the upper Clearwater River and the mountains surrounding it. It is a good source of information on local Forest Service history and the history of the Lolo Trail from Lewis and Clark to the time of its publication.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, editor. *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806*. 8 volumes. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. 1904-1905. Reprint, limited edition, New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd. 1959.

Reuben Gold Thwaites produced the first extensive, unabridged compilation of the journals during the centennial celebration of the Corps of Discovery. Until the Moulton edition became available, this was the most authoritative source of information about the expedition. Thwaites also produced a map volume that for the first time gave the public easy access to the remarkable maps produced by Clark. This edition was also carefully researched to provide the best possible information about the actual location of the trail through the Bitterroot Mountains. Thwaites consulted various other journals and sources so he could have the most up-to-date information.

Wheeler, Olin Dunbar. *The Trail of Lewis and Clark 1804-1904*. 2 volumes. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, Knickerbocker Press. 1904. Reprint edition, New York: AMS Press. 1976.

Olin Wheeler wrote one of the most interesting books on the expedition—but it contains numerous errors. Wheeler had good photos and told many good stories. He was the first Lewis and Clark author to actually travel over the Lolo Trail.

Materials Not Readily Available

Harlan, John (Jack). "History of the Lolo Trail and the Nez Perce Indians."

Harlan published a series of articles in the *Clearwater Republican* and *Clearwater Tribune* between 1921 and 1938. These are available in the newspaper archives.

Russell, Steve F. Bitter Root Valley Trail Maps. Steve F. Russell, Iowa State University, Ames, Iowa, 1989.

This large-scale annotated map atlas shows the evolution of trails in the Bitterroot Valley from Lewis and Clark to 1889. It utilizes the author's newly developed techniques for distortion correction in historic maps. The Lewis and Clark maps are reproduced with topographically correct hachure drawings and scrivener drawings. The atlas was produced in celebration of the 1989 Montana centennial. Only two copies are available to the public. One is at the Ravalli County Historical Museum in Hamilton and the second is in the St. Mary's Mission Museum in Stevensville.

Russell, Steve F. *Lolo Motorway Construction History: The Western End*. Pioneer Trail Research Monograph. Ames, Iowa: the author. 1993, revised 1995.

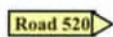
This is a detailed report on the construction of the Lolo Motorway from Musselshell Meadows to Indian Grave Peak during the years 1926-1934. U.S. Forest Service reports and newspaper articles were used as primary sources. It is available in the heritage resources archives of the Clearwater National Forest, Orofino, Idaho.

Space, Ralph S. *Lewis and Clark Through Idaho*. Lewiston, Idaho: Tribune Publishing Company. No date.

This appears to be a compilation of a series of articles by Space published in the *Lewiston Tribune*. The text traces the events of the Corps of Discovery as they traveled between Lolo, Montana, and Weippe, Idaho.

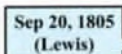
Map Legend

 Lewis and Clark Trail

 Road or Highway Marker

Road or Highway Marker

 Other Trail

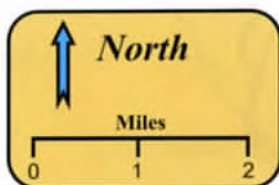
 Encampment

Encampment

 Canoe Route



Direction of Travel



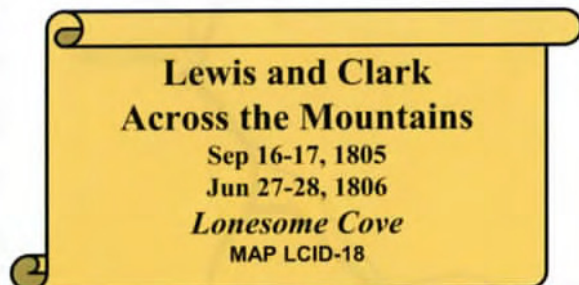
Map Scale
and Direction



Modern Place Name

Nooned
Sep 20, 1805 L
Jun 16, 18, 20,
1805 P

Significant Place



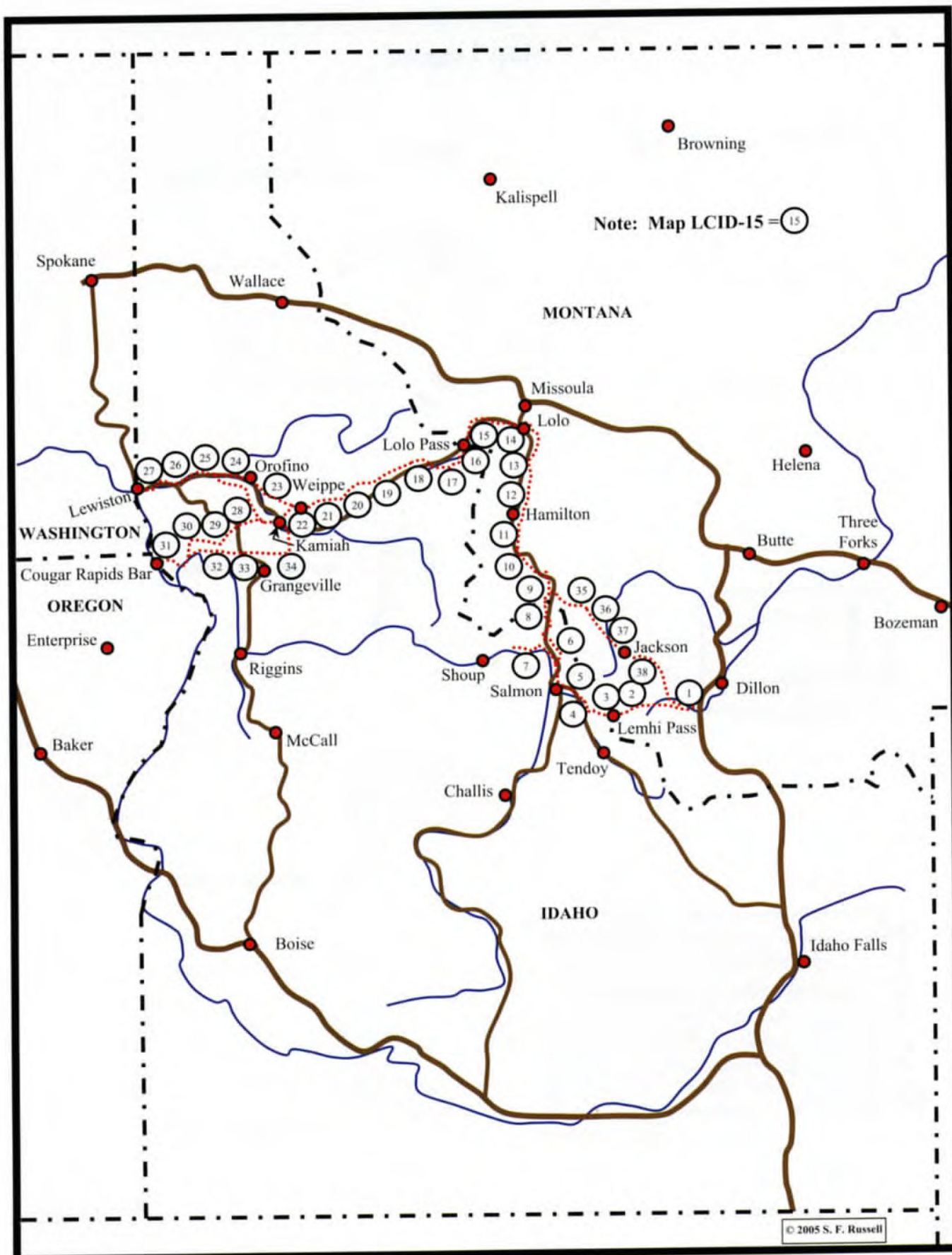
Map Title Block



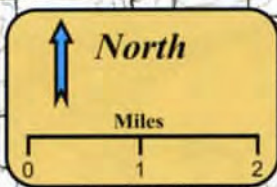
Journal Comment

© 2005 S. F. Russell

Map A. Legend of map symbols showing the meaning of the symbols used on the USGS topographic maps.



Map B. Large-scale map of the entire route that illustrates the route segment covered by each individual topographic map.



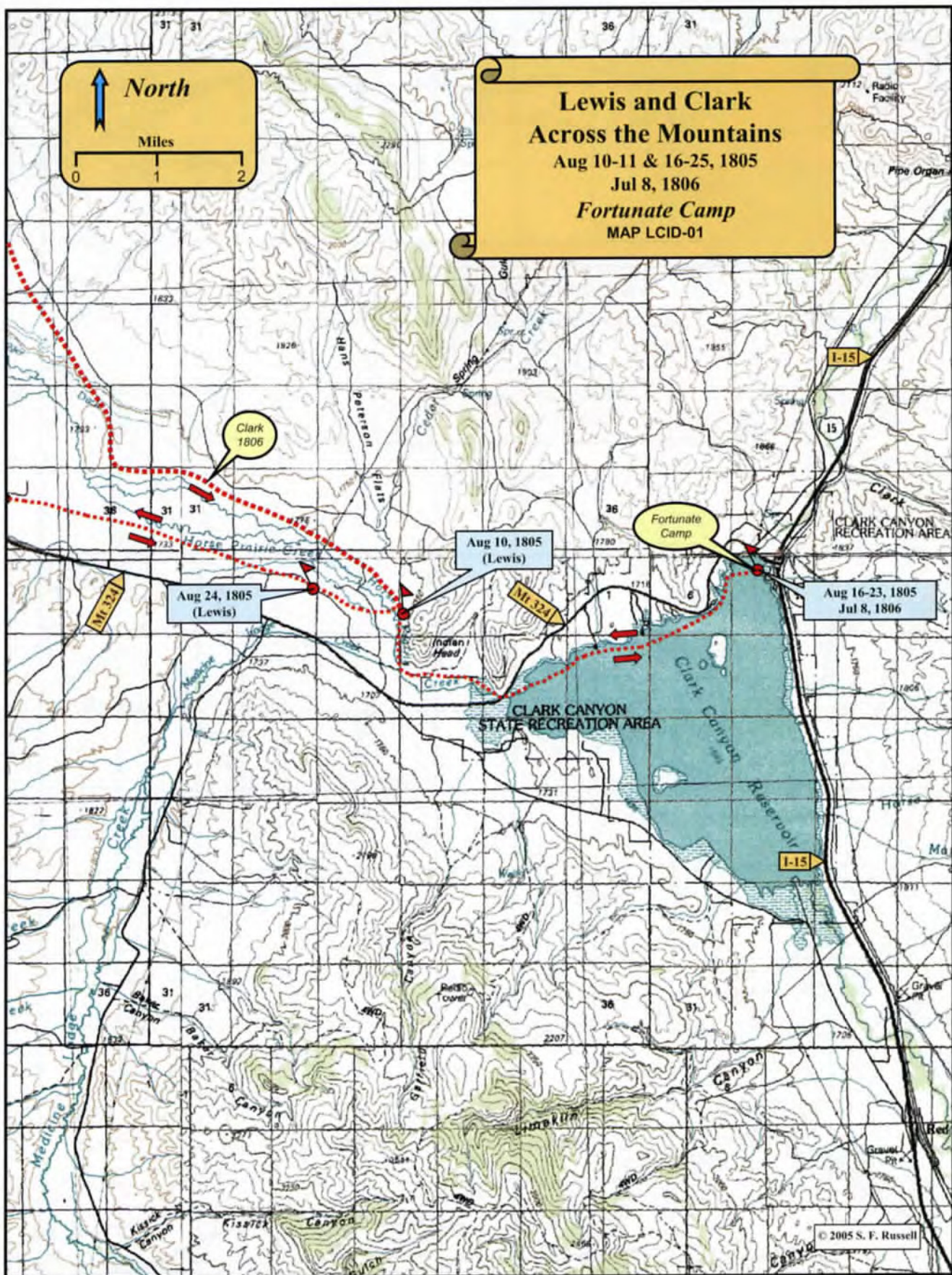
Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

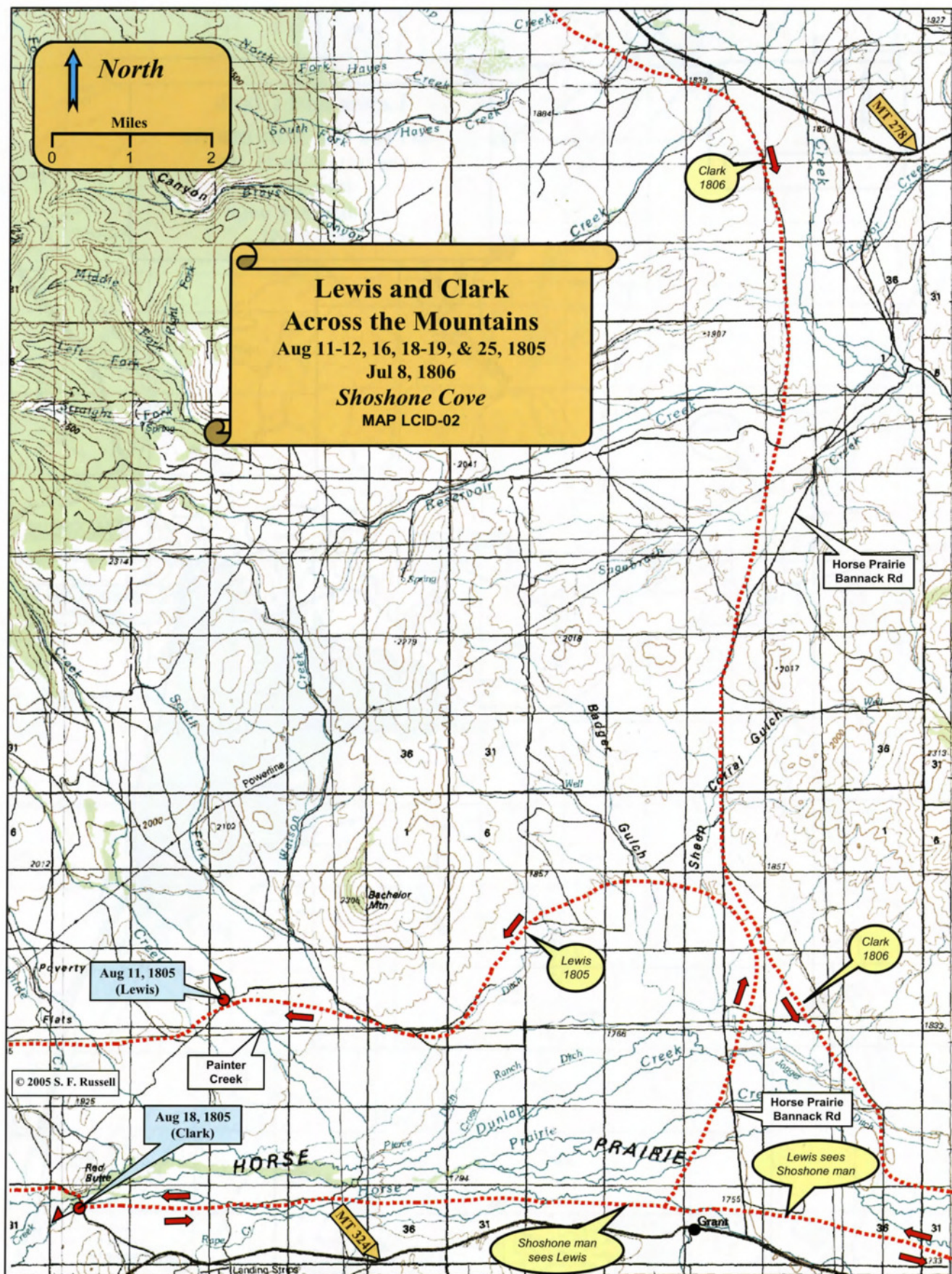
Aug 10-11 & 16-25, 1805

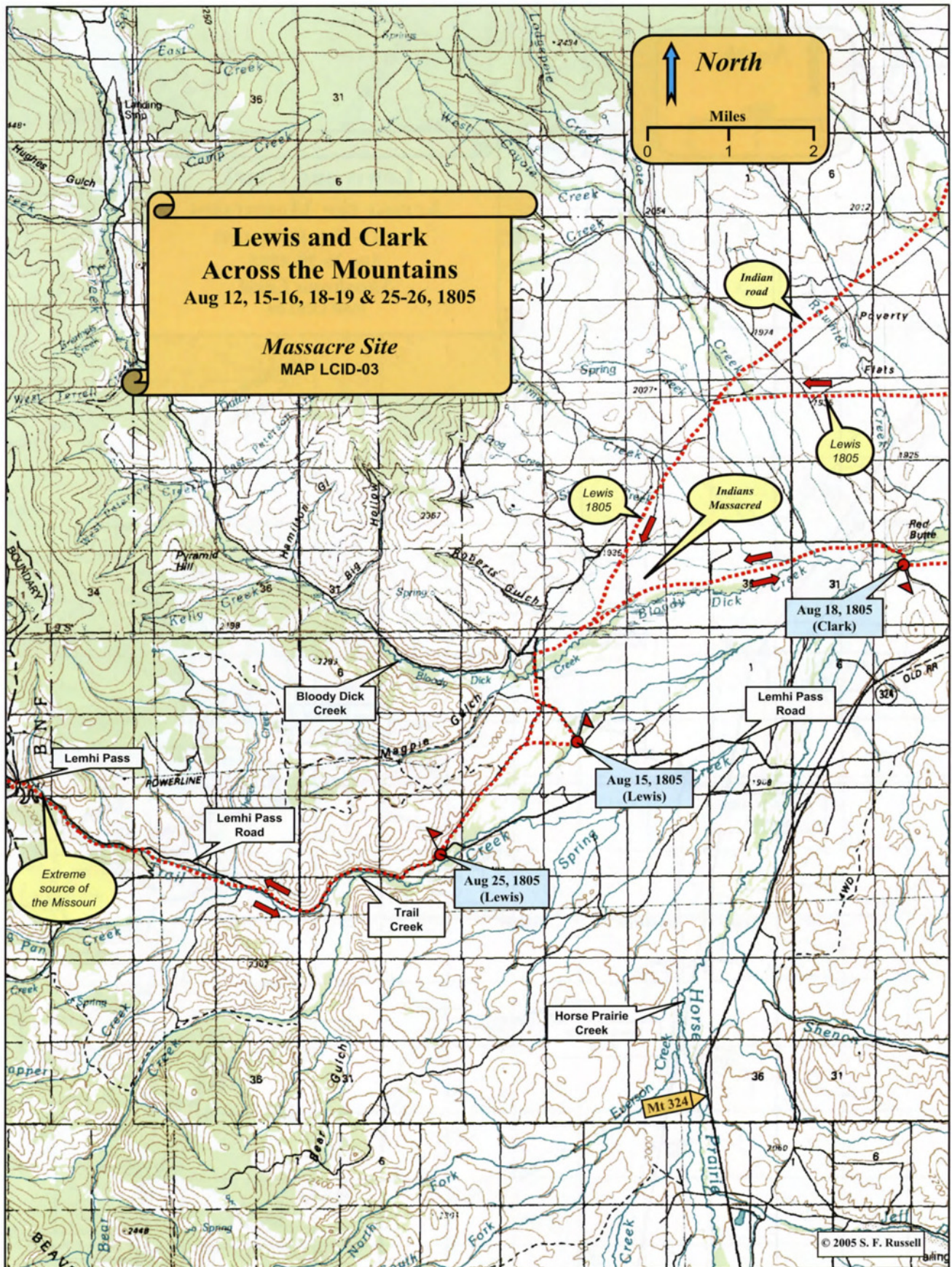
Jul 8, 1806

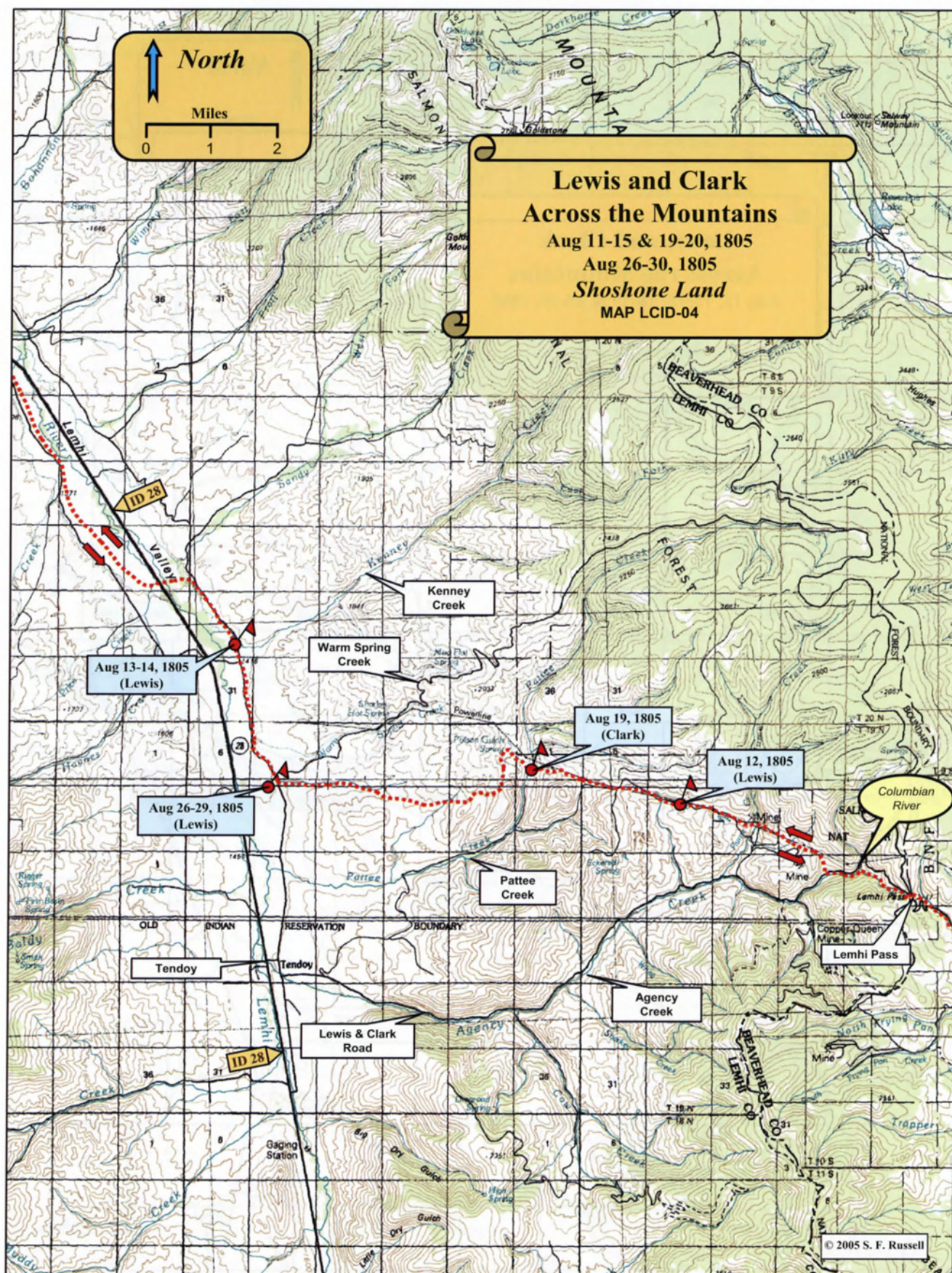
Fortunate Camp

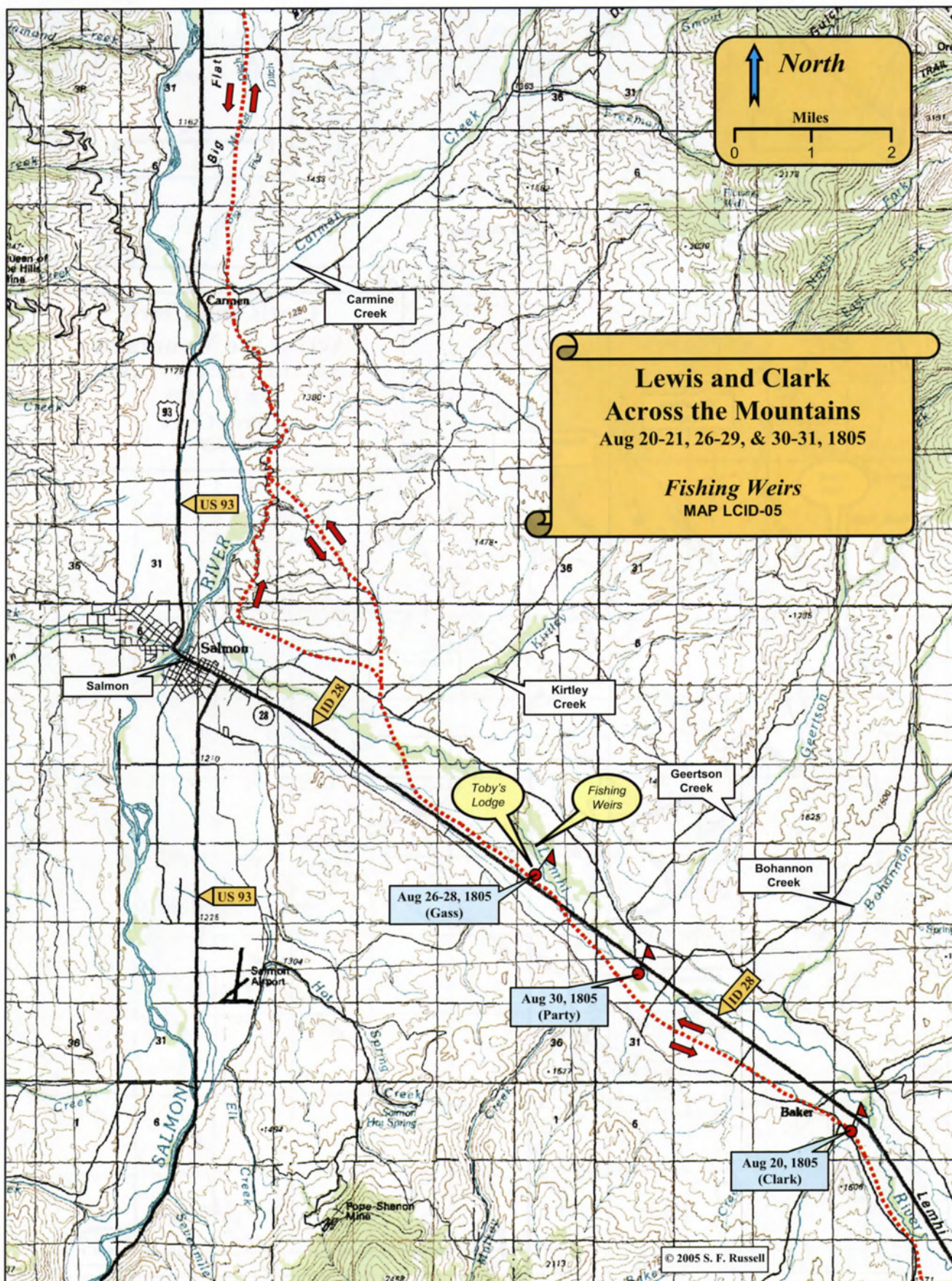
MAP LCID-01

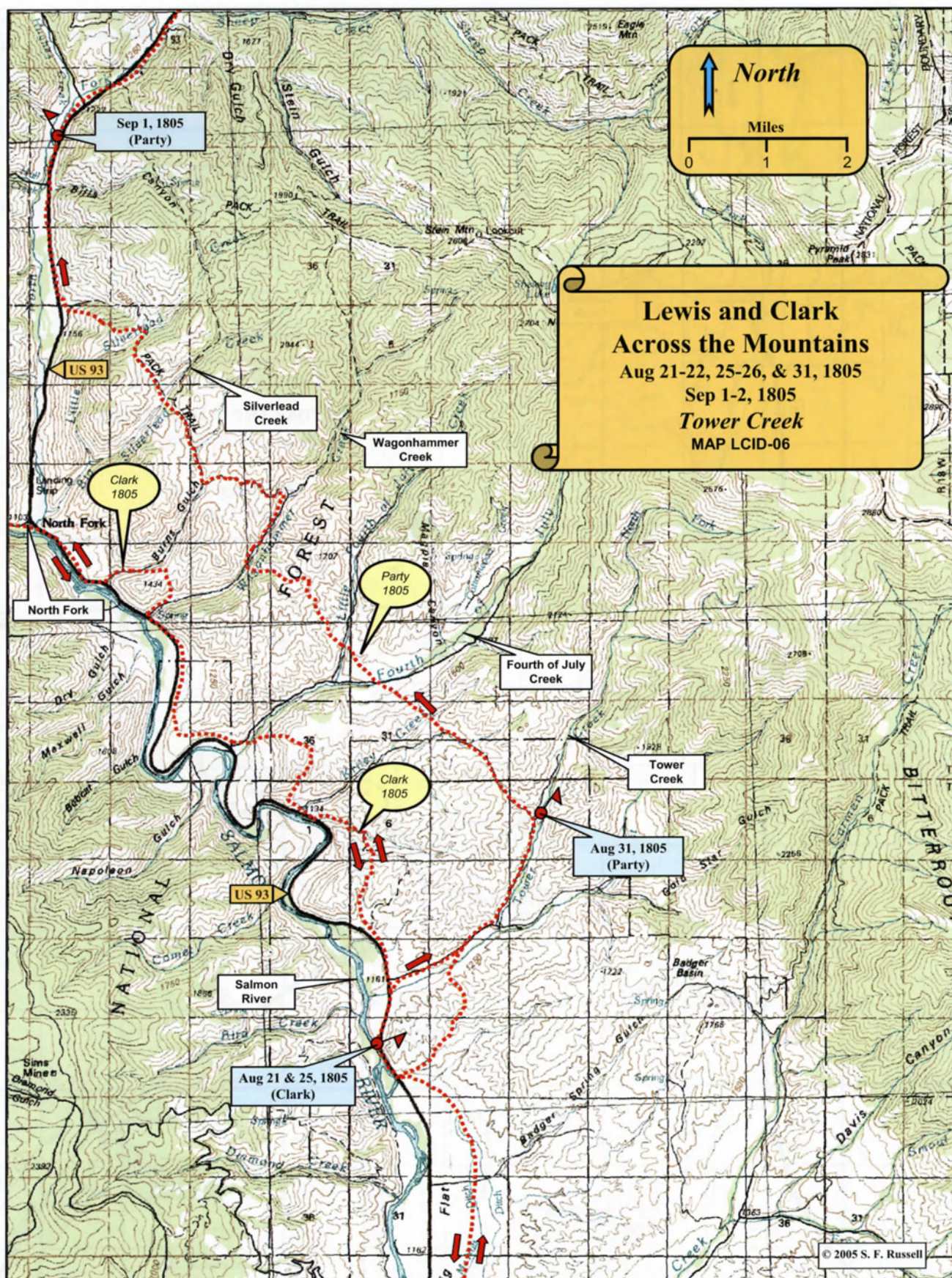


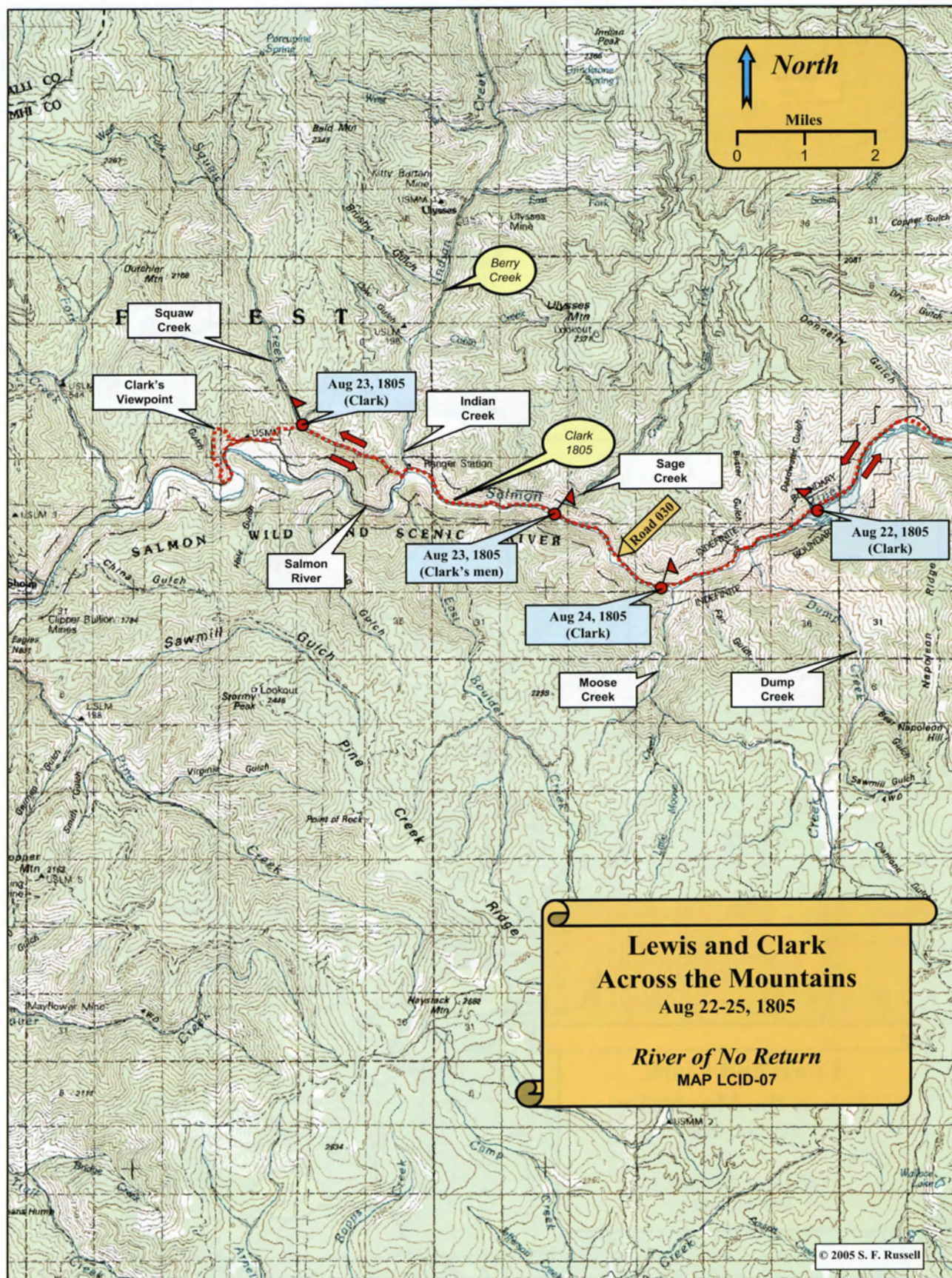


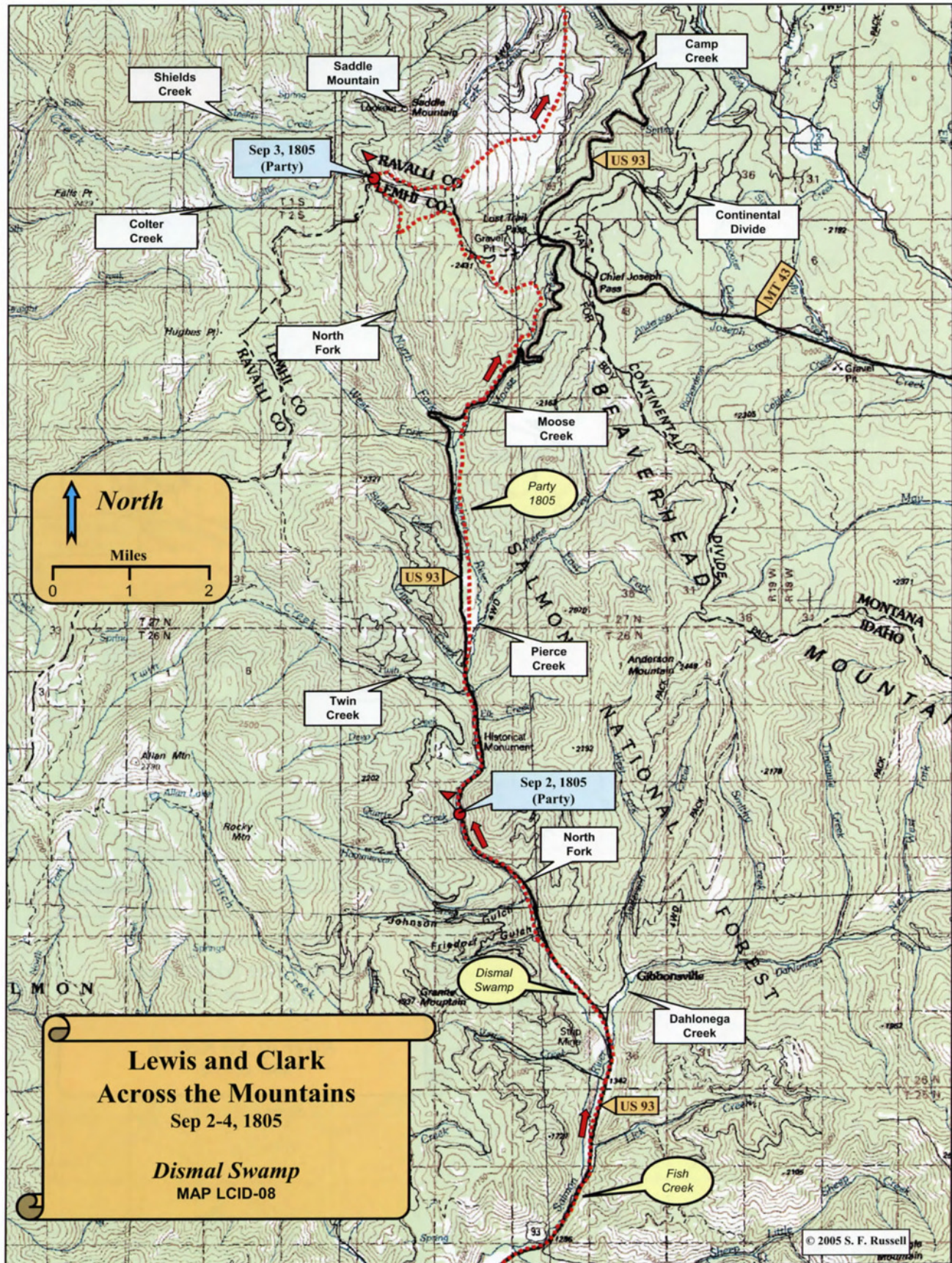


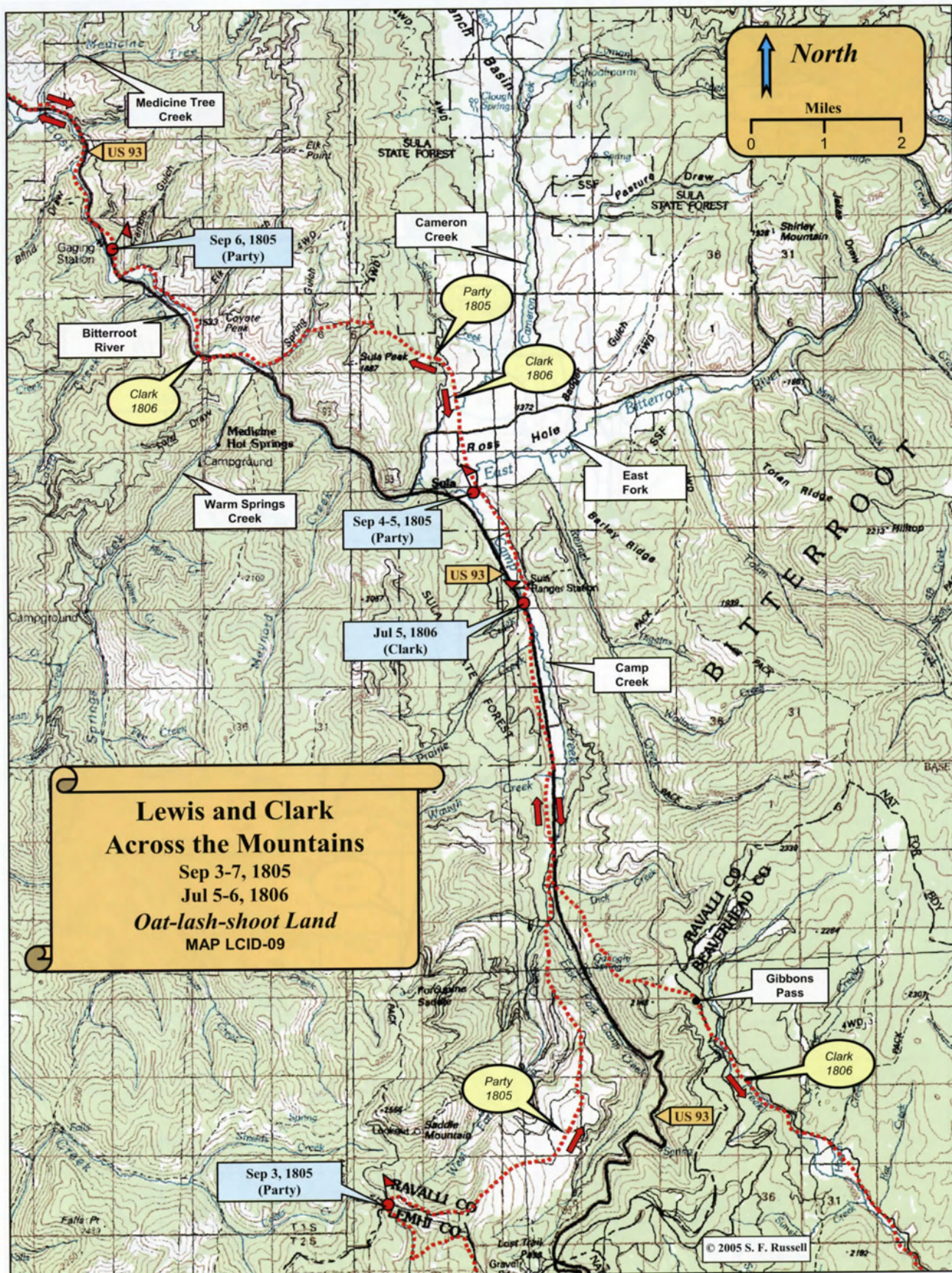


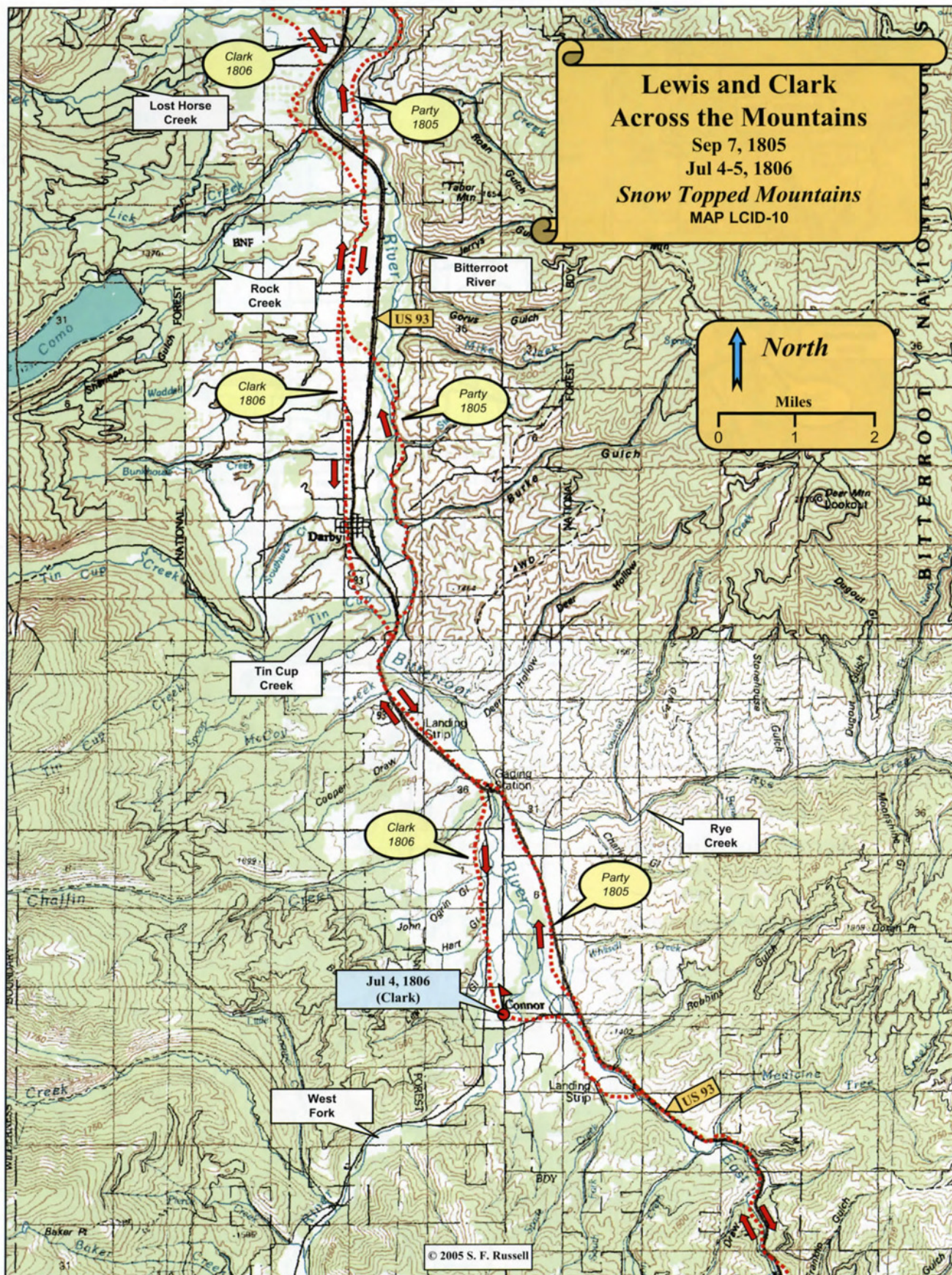












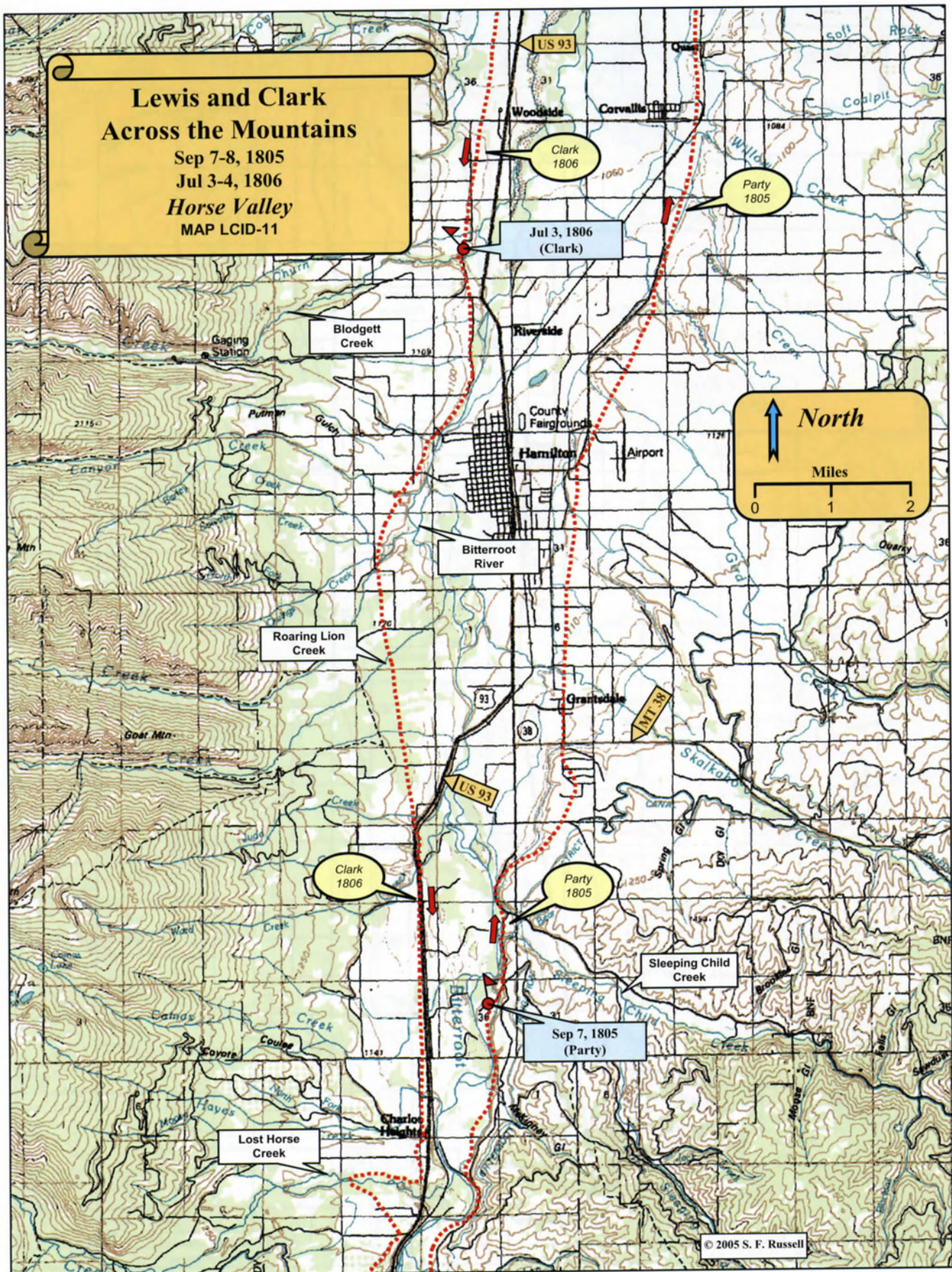
Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

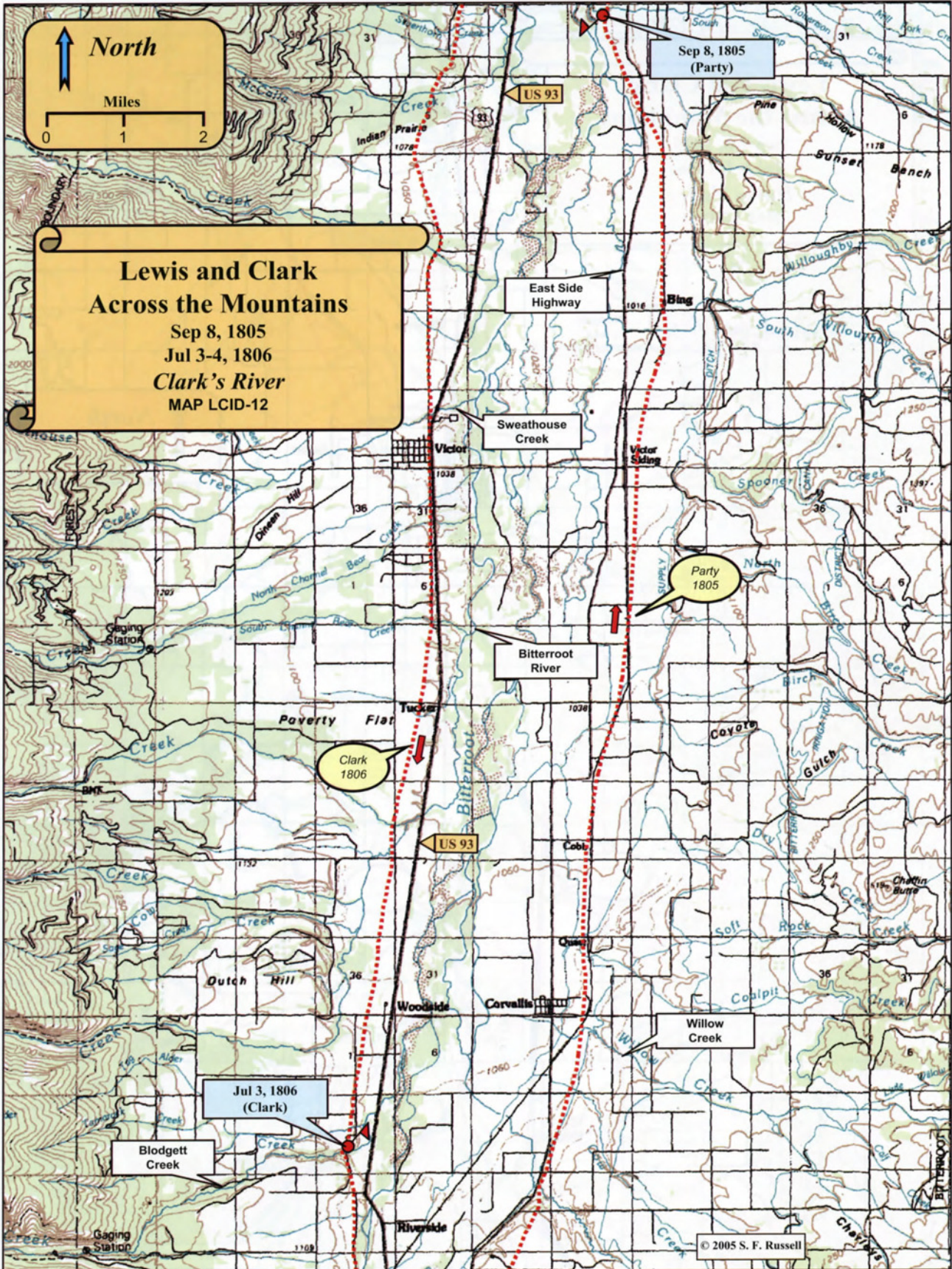
Sep 7-8, 1805

Jul 3-4, 1806

Horse Valley

MAP LCID-11





North

Miles

0 1 2

Lewis and Clark
Across the Mountains
Sep 8, 1805
Jul 3-4, 1806
Clark's River
MAP LCID-12

Sep 8, 1805
(Party)

East Side
Highway

Sweathouse
Creek

Bitterroot
River

Clark
1806

Party
1805

Jul 3, 1806
(Clark)

Blodgett
Creek

© 2005 S. F. Russell

Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

Sep 9, 1805

Jul 3, 1806

Scattered Creek

MAP LCID-13

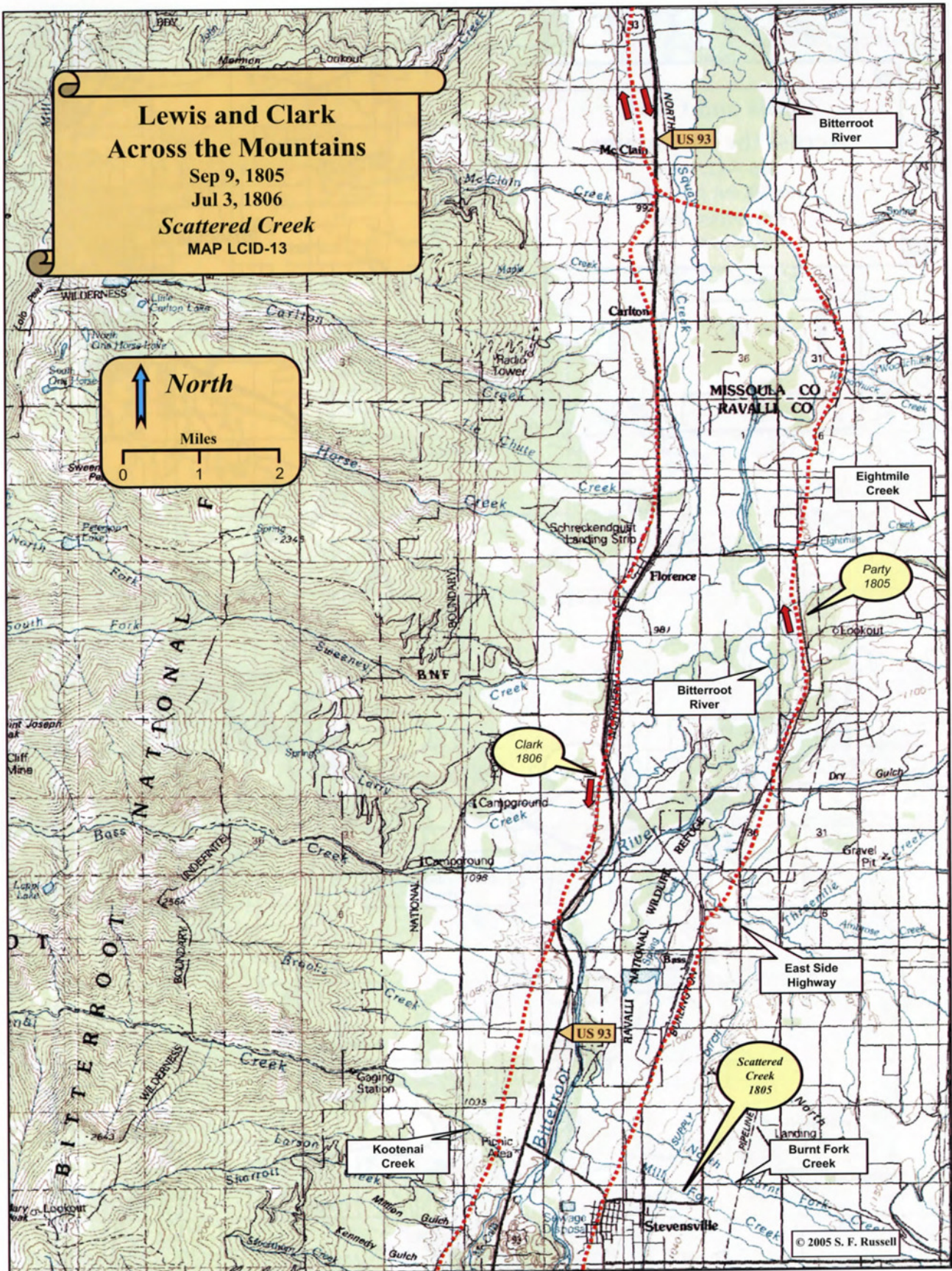
North

Miles

0

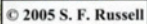
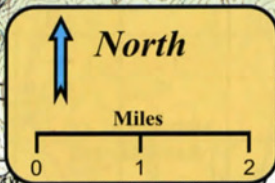
1

2



Travelers Rest

MAP LCID-14



**Lewis and Clark
Across the Mountains**
Sep 12, 1805
Jun 30, 1806
Hot House
MAP LCID-15

North
Miles
0 1 2

Steep stony mountains

Howard Creek

Nooned
Sep 12, 1805
& Jun 30, 1806

Grave Creek

Crossed 6 branches

Party 1805-06

Hot house

Lolo Creek

US 12

MISSOULA CO
RAVALLI CO

© 2005 S. F. Russell

MAP LCID-15

Miles

0	1	2
---	---	---

Grave
Creek

*Crossed to
branches*

Howard

Nooned
Sep 12, 1805
& Jun 30, 1806

Party
1805-06

Hot house

Lolo Creek



West Fork Butte
Lookout

Ward Lode
Mine

MISSOULA CO
RAVALLI CO

© 2005 S. F. Russell

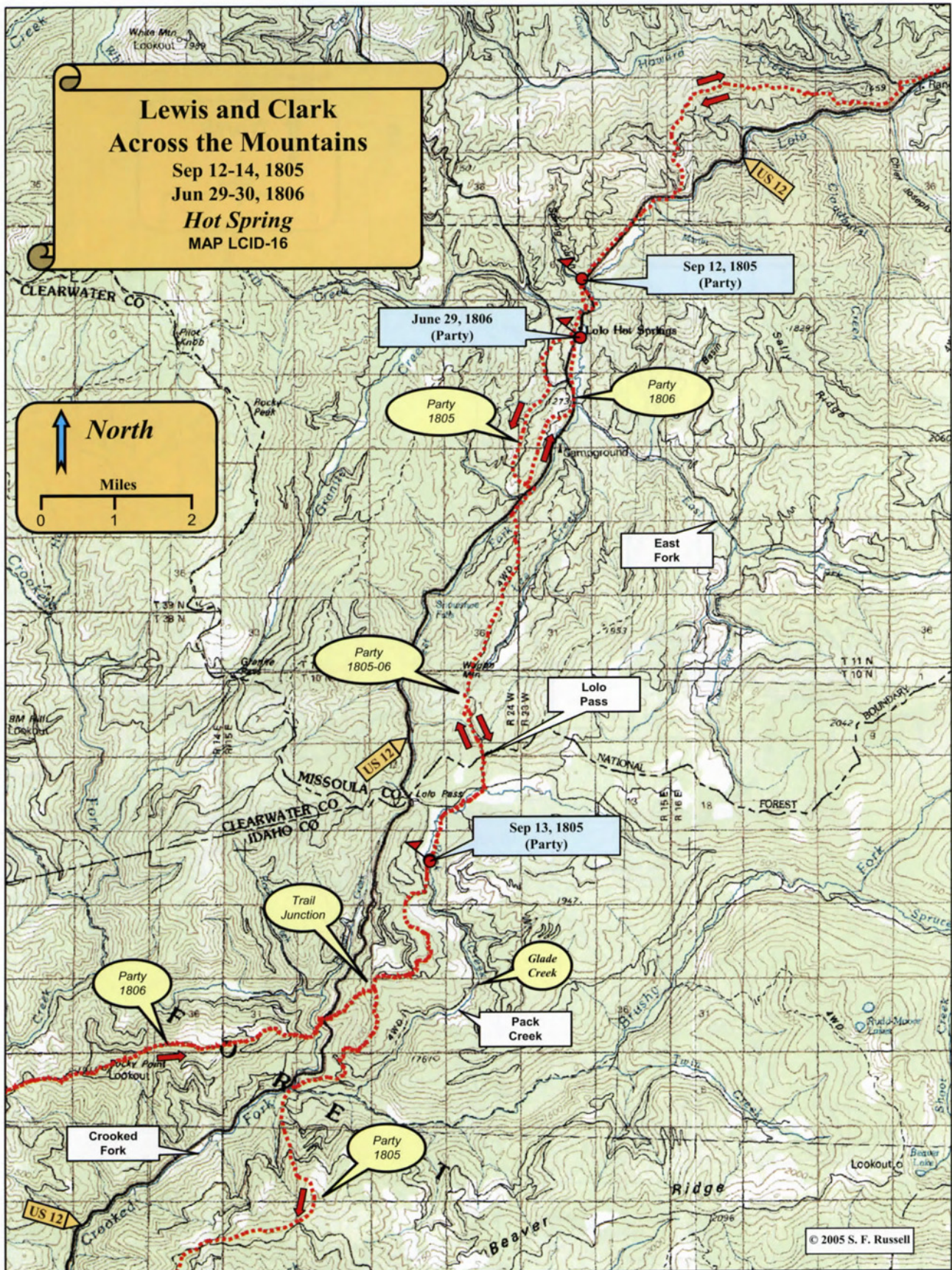
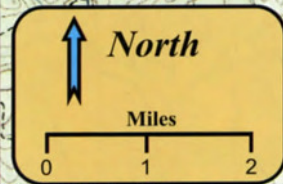
Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

Sep 12-14, 1805

Jun 29-30, 1806

Hot Spring

MAP LCID-16



Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

Sep 14-16, 1805

Jun 28-29, 1806

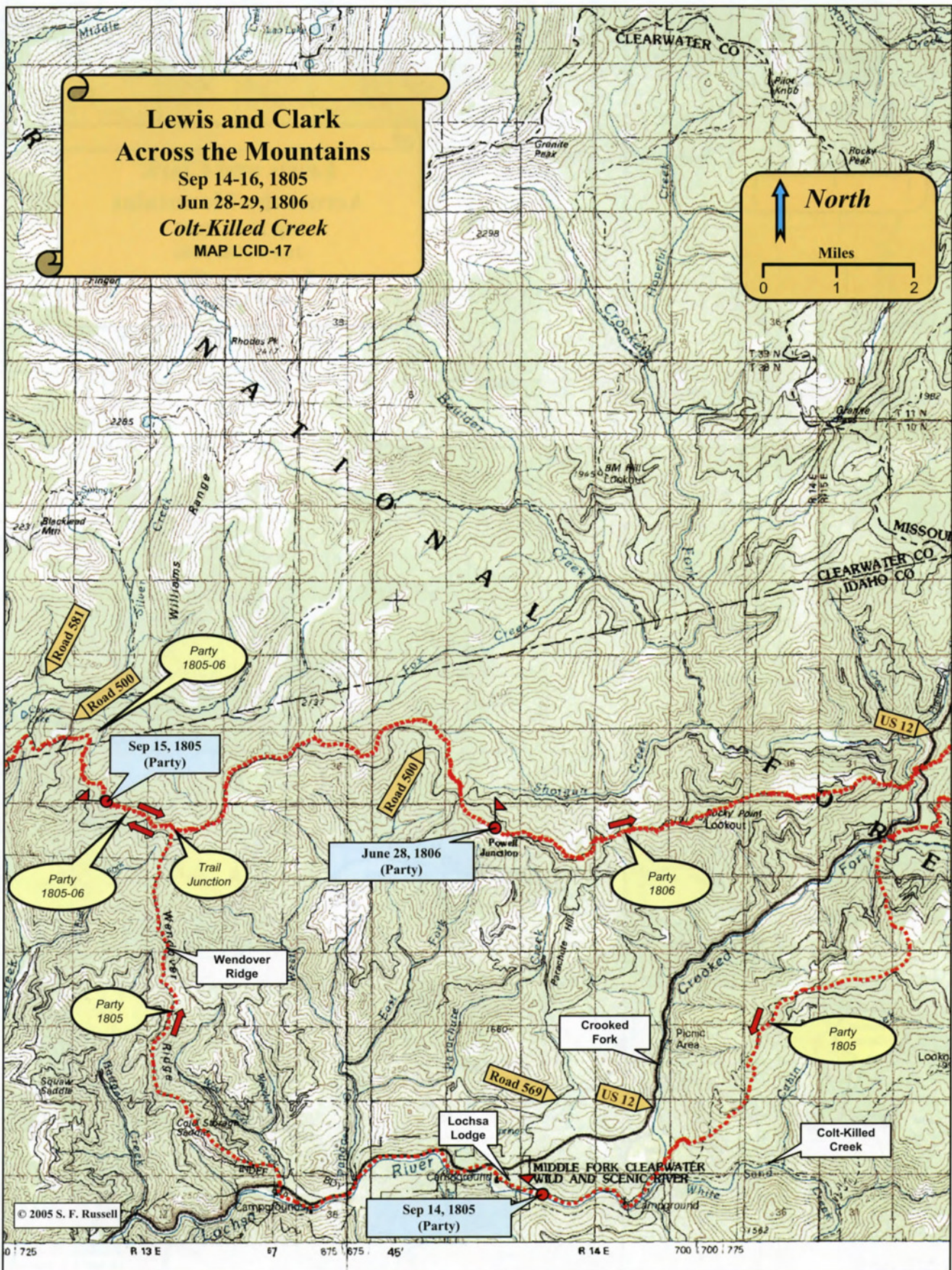
Colt-Killed Creek

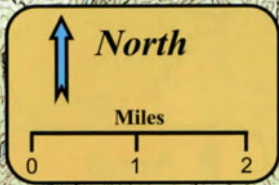
MAP LCID-17

North

Miles

0 1 2





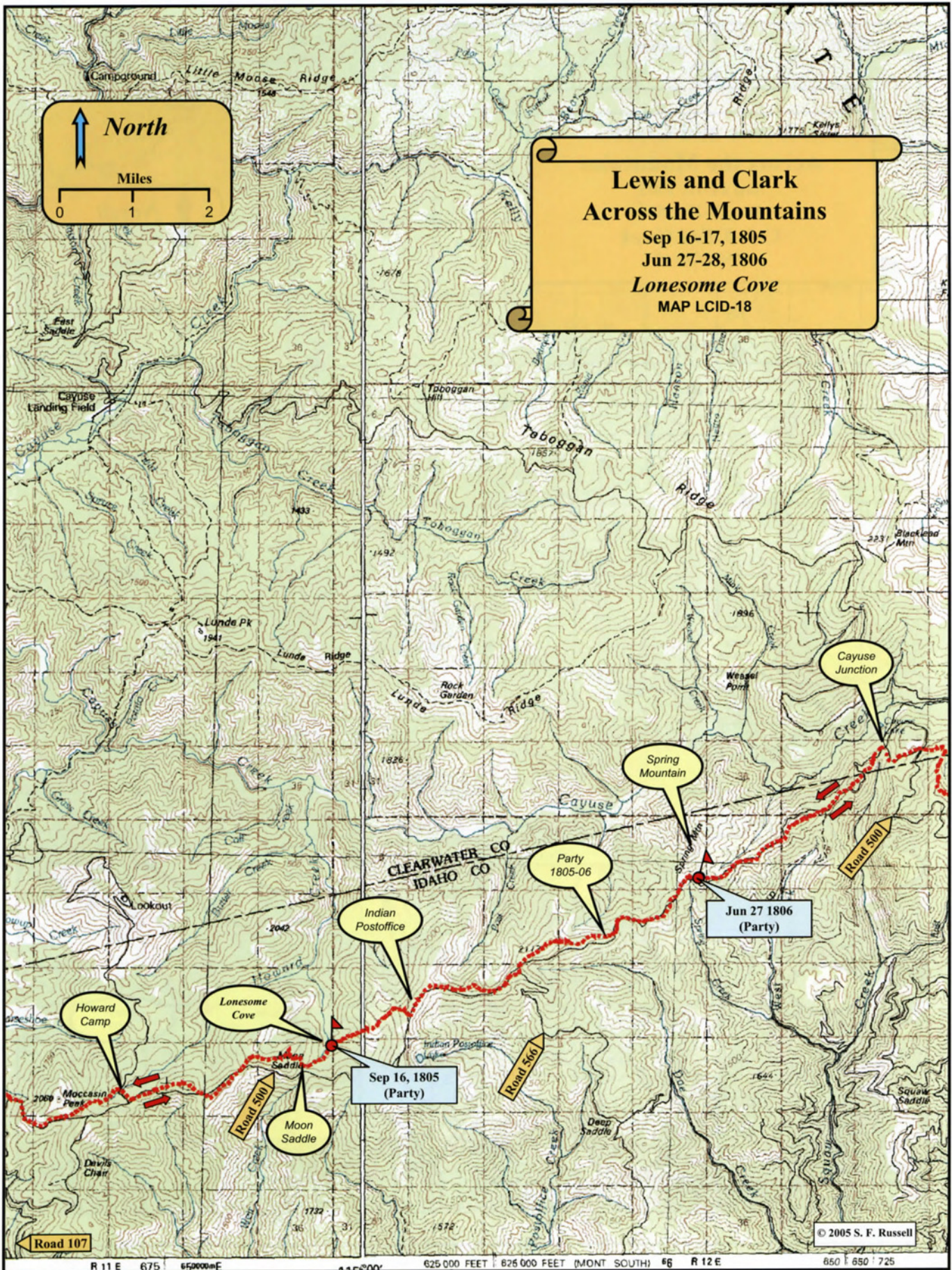
Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

Sep 16-17, 1805

Jun 27-28, 1806

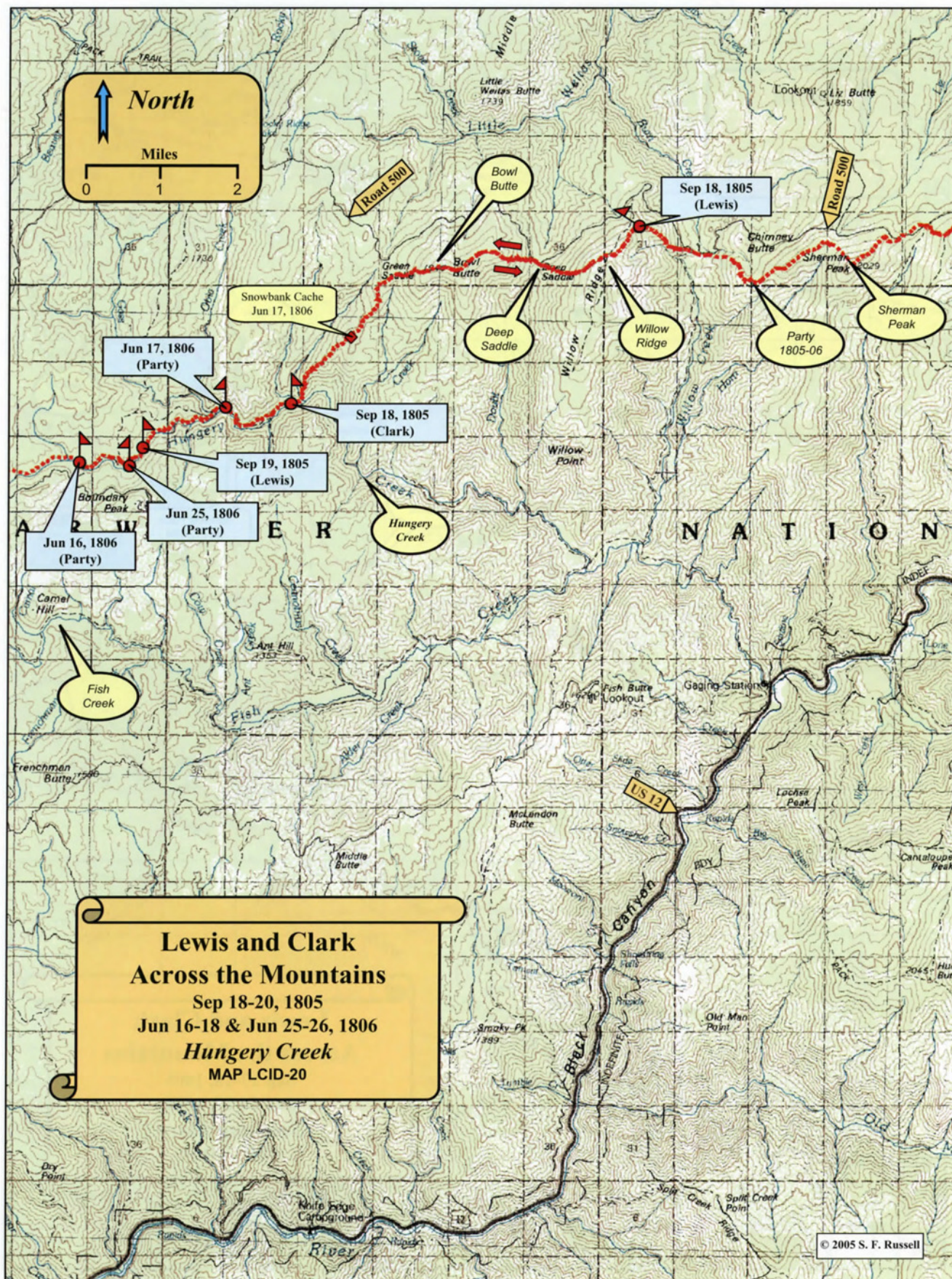
Lonesome Cove

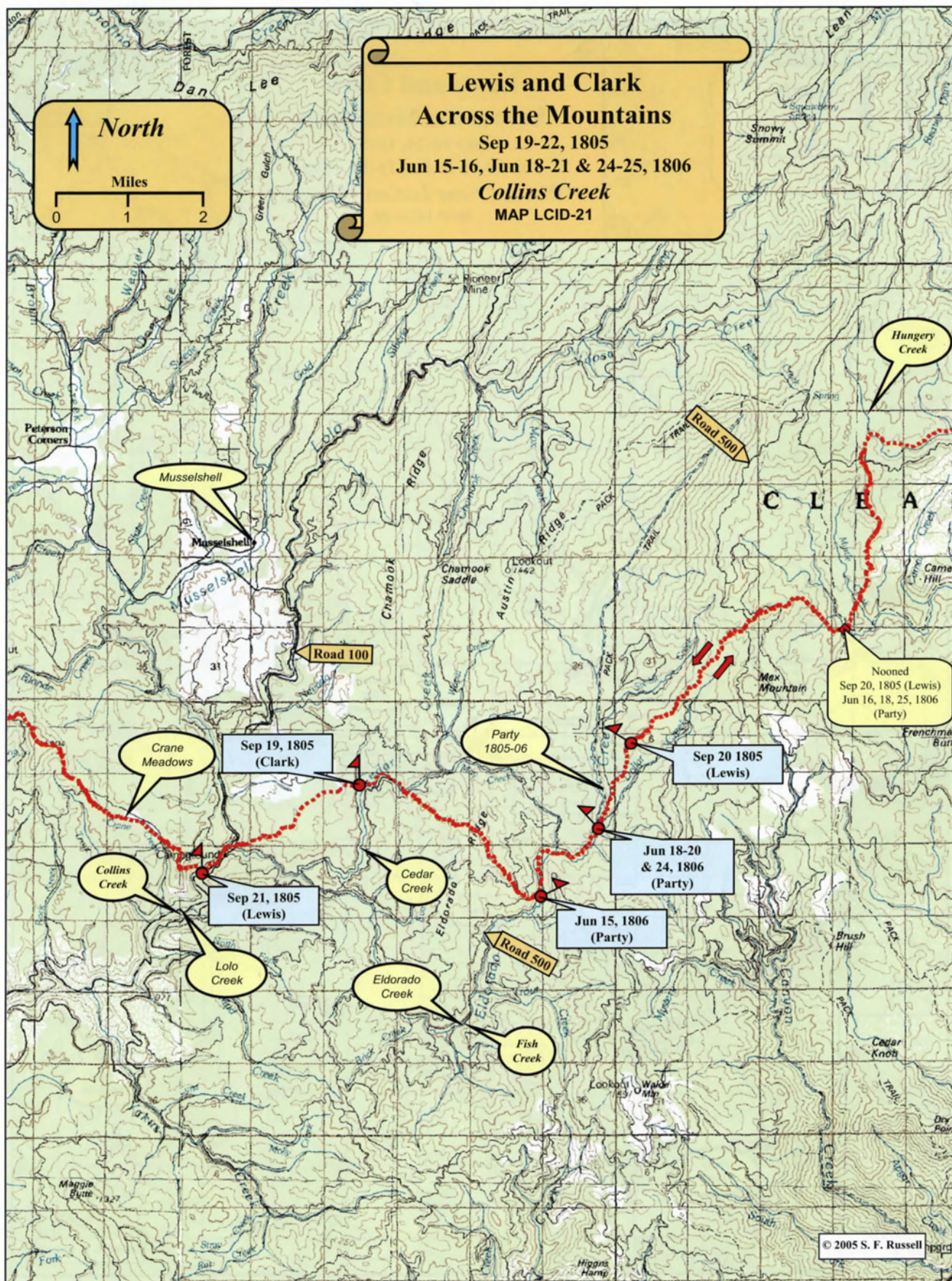
MAP LCID-18



© 2005 S. F. Russell

R 11 E 675 650000E 445200 625 000 FEET 626 000 FEET (MONT SOUTH) 66 R 12 E 650 650 725





Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

Sep 19-22, 1805
Jun 15-16, Jun 18-21 & 24-25, 1806

Collins Creek

MAP LCID-21

North

Miles

0 1 2

Hungry Creek

Musselshell

Musselshell

Road 100

Sep 19, 1805 (Clark)

Party 1805-06

Sep 20 1805 (Lewis)

Nooned
Sep 20, 1805 (Lewis)
Jun 16, 18, 25, 1806 (Party)

Collins Creek

Sep 21, 1805 (Lewis)

Lolo Creek

Cedar Creek

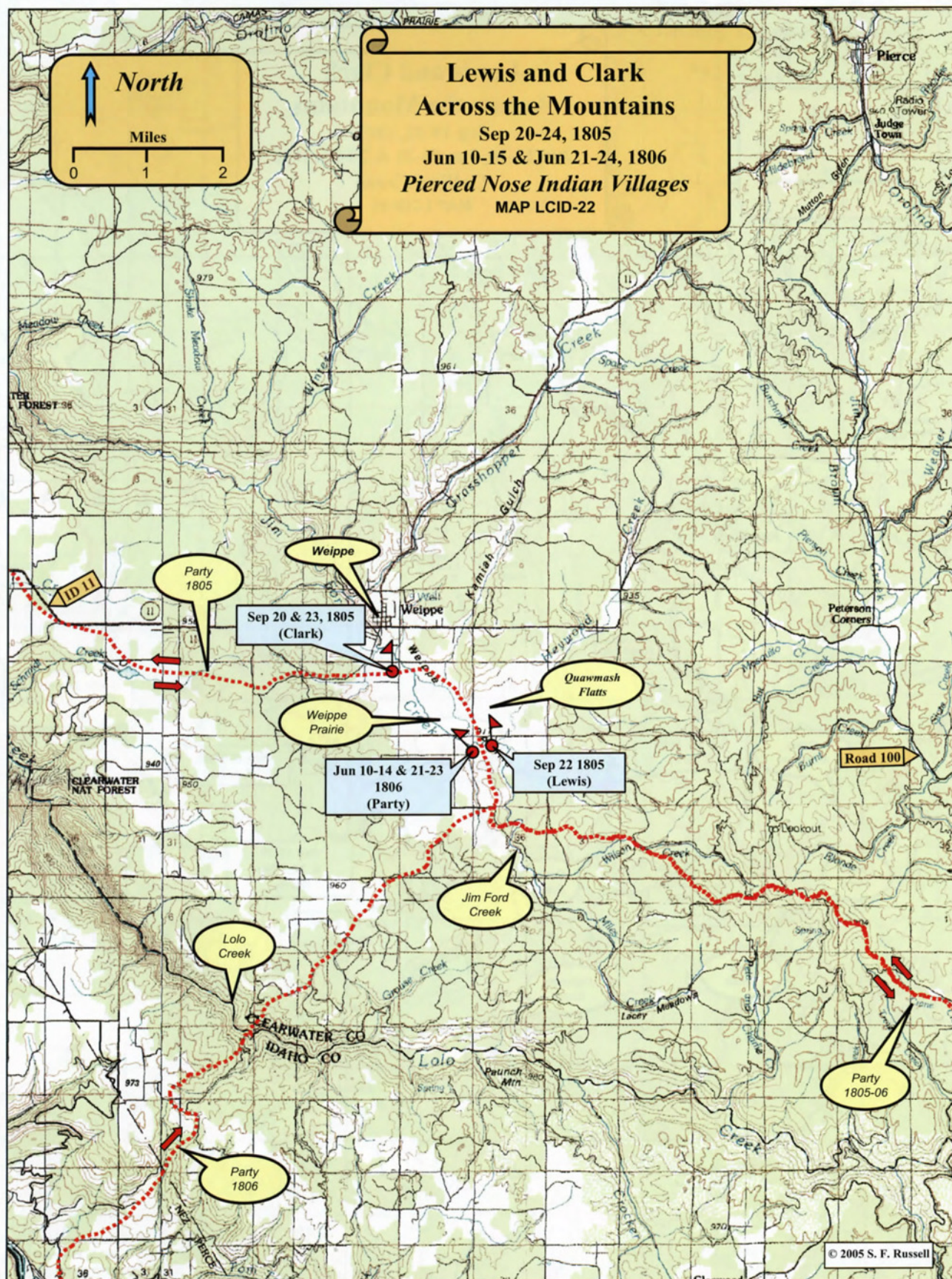
Eldorado Creek

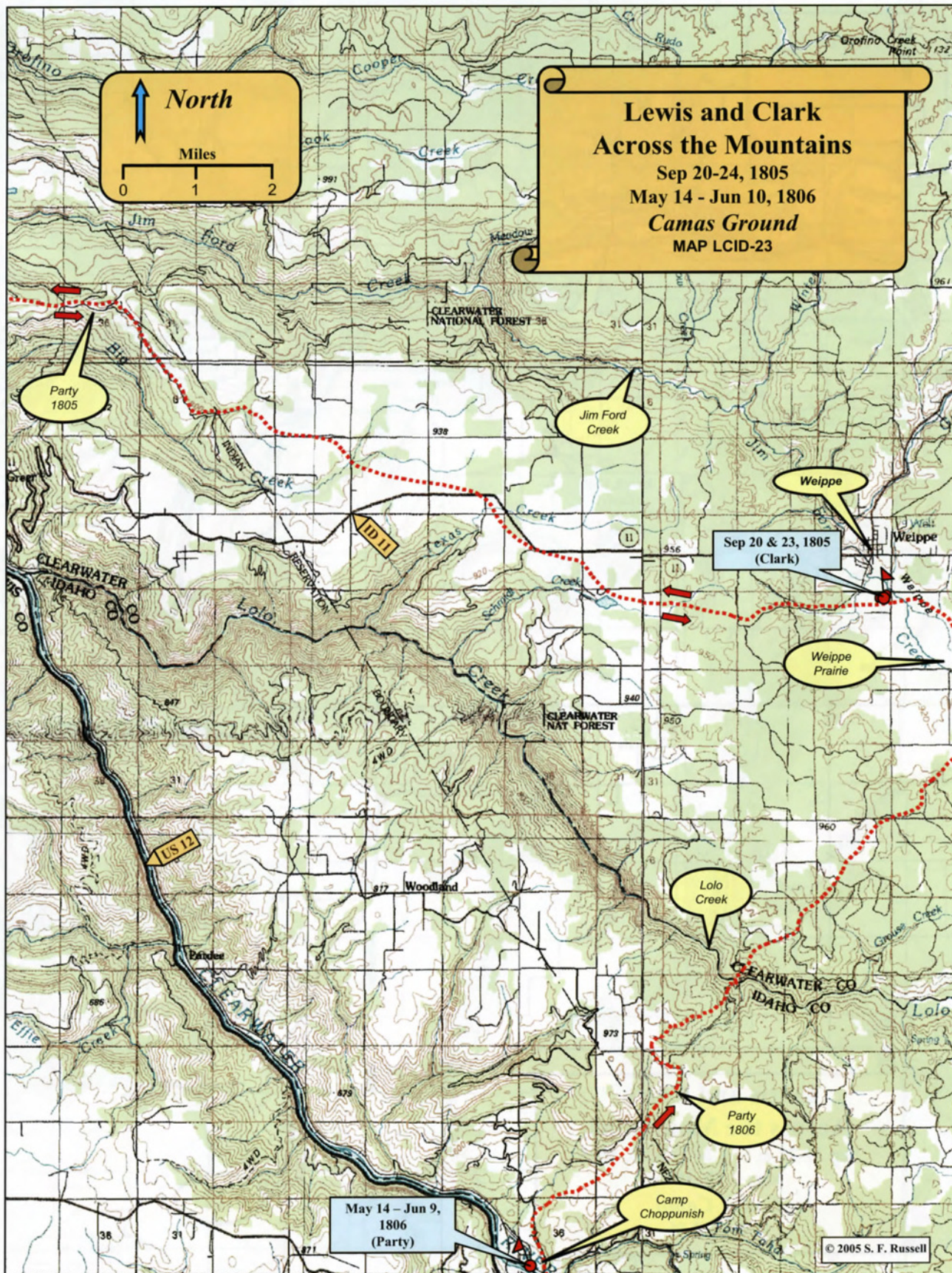
Jun 15, 1806 (Party)

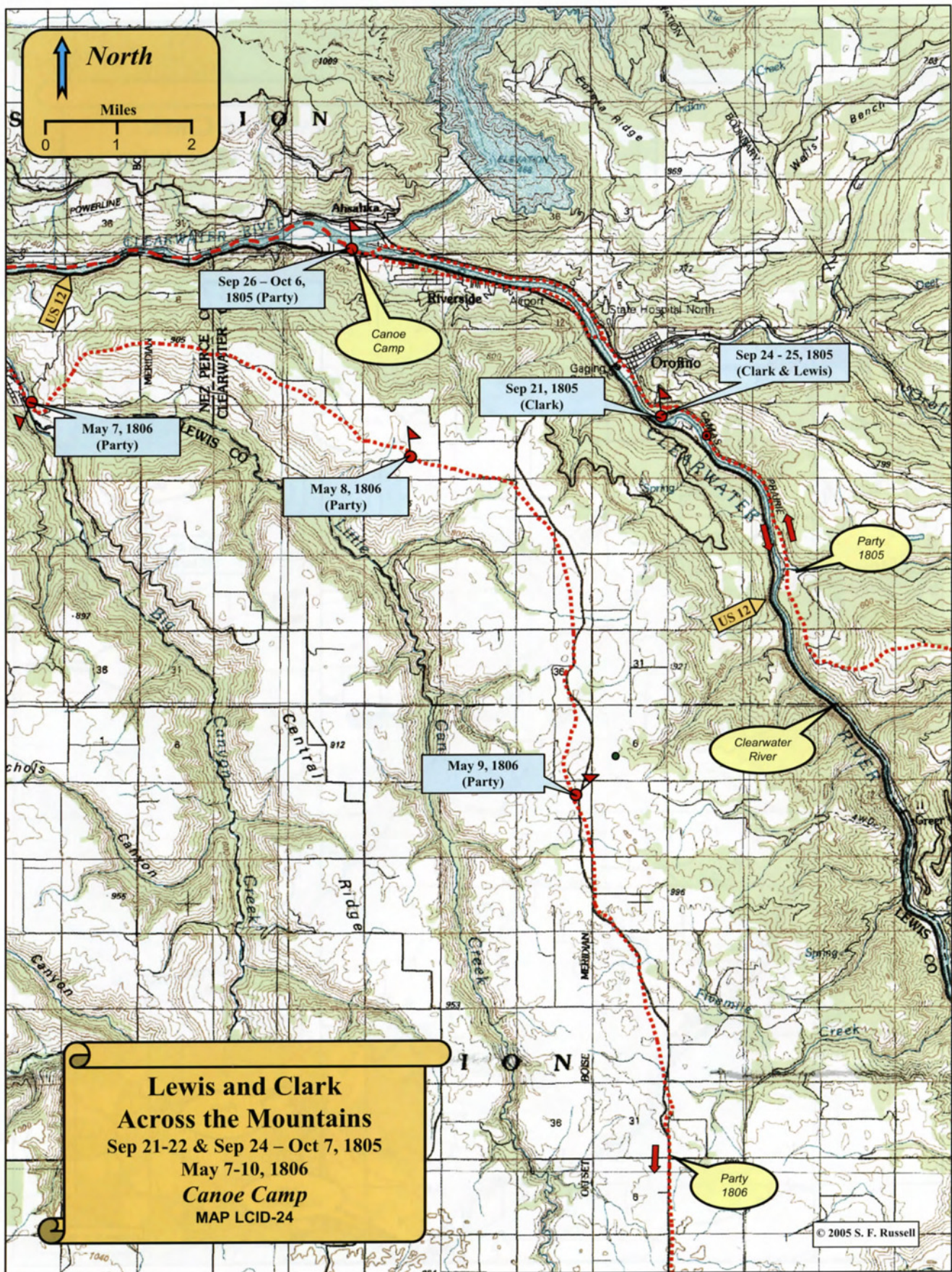
Road 500

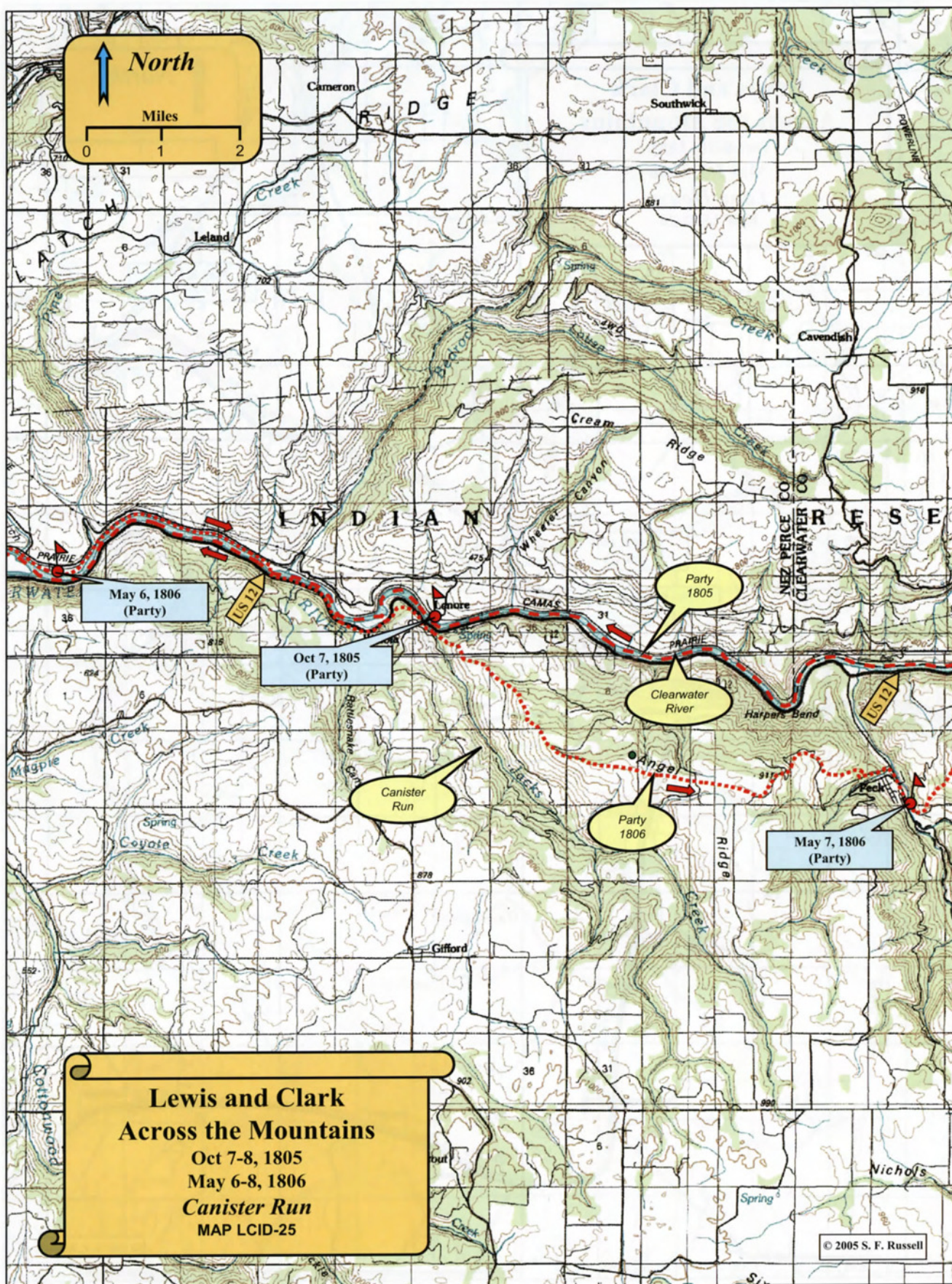
Fish Creek

© 2005 S. F. Russell









Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

Oct 8-10, 1805

May 5-7, 1806

Long House

MAP LCID-26

North

Miles

0 1 2

May 6, 1806
(Party)

Party
1806

May 5, 1806
(Party)

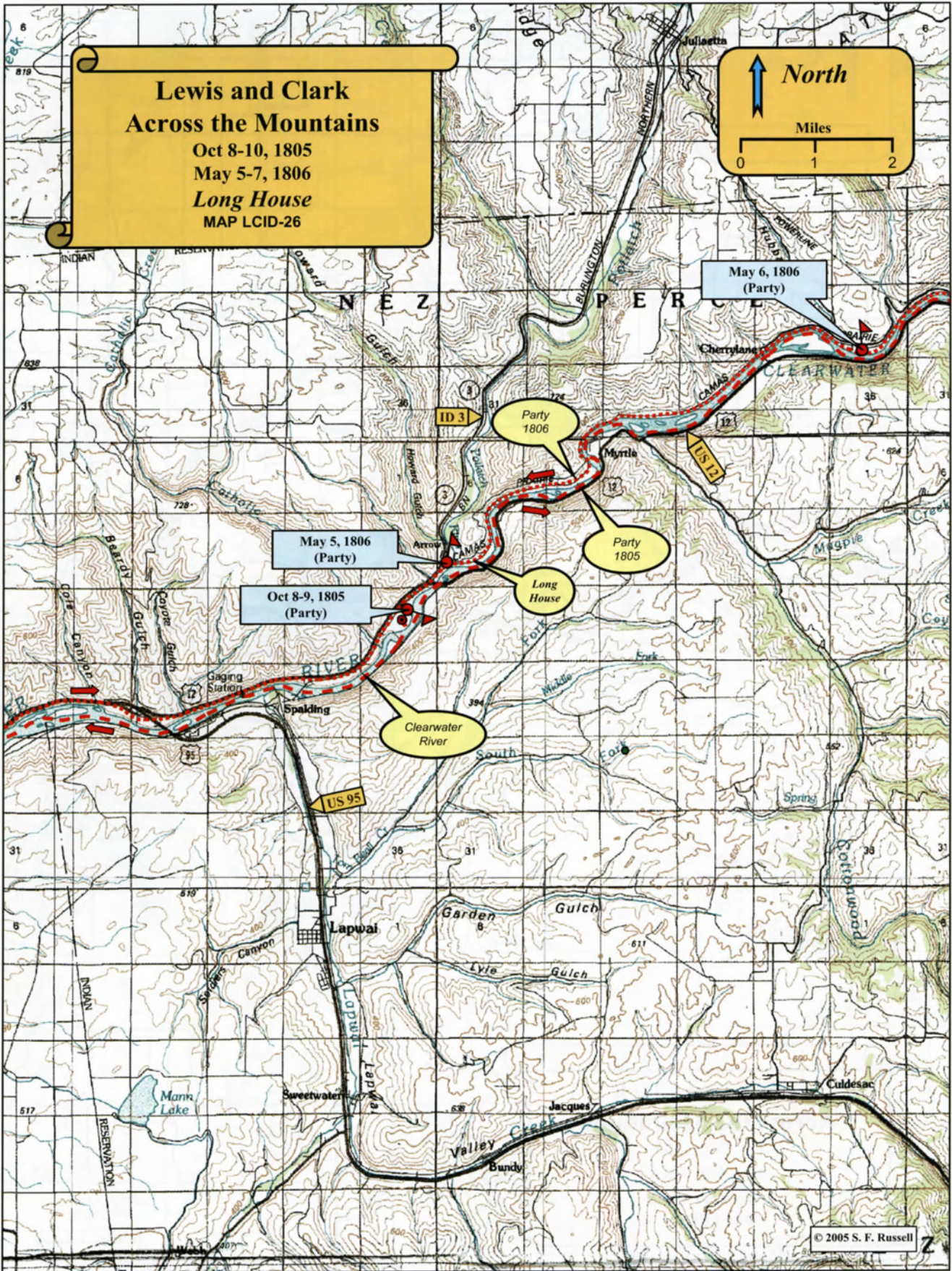
Oct 8-9, 1805
(Party)

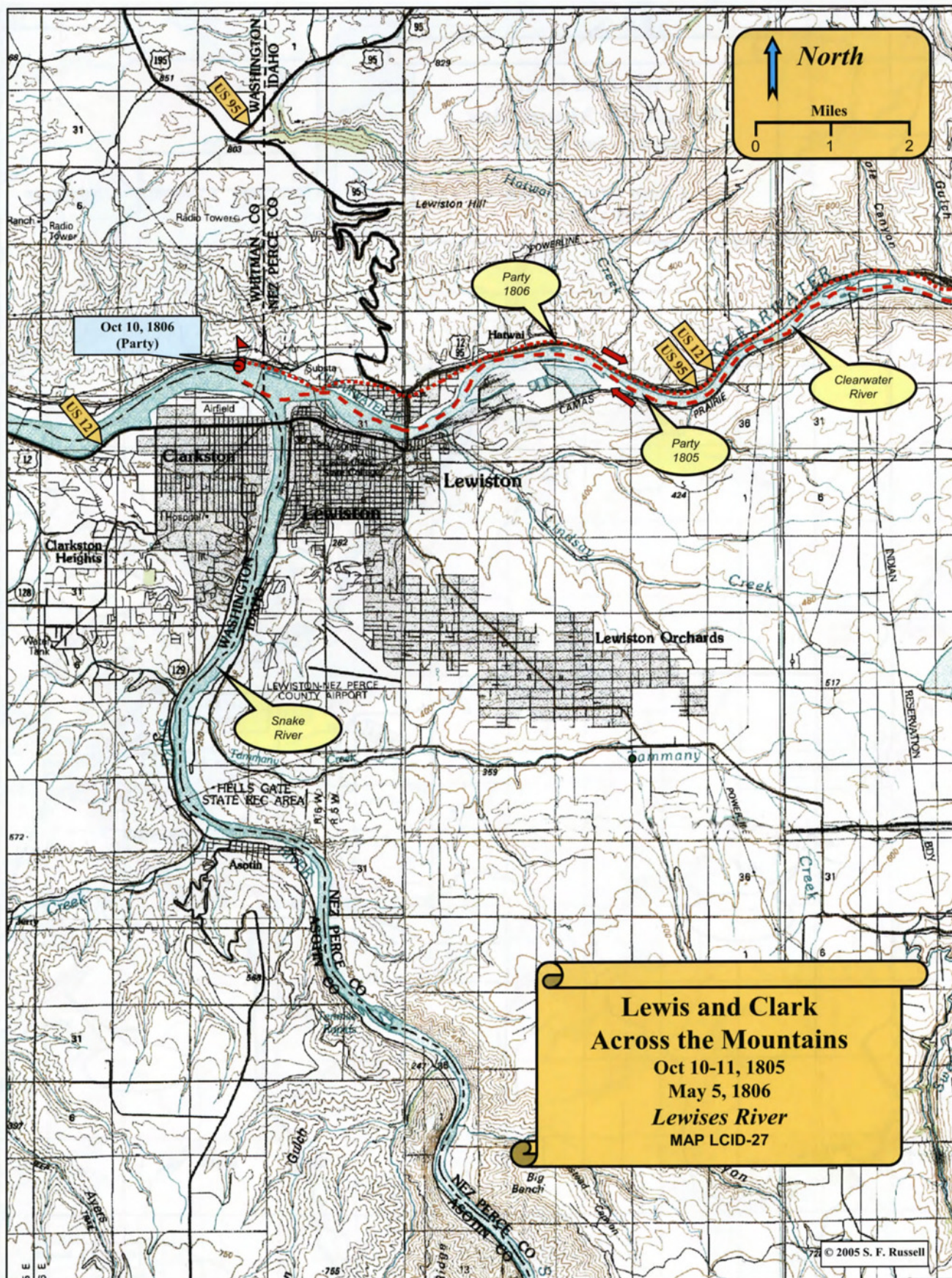
Long House

Clearwater River

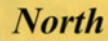
Lapwai

© 2005 S. F. Russell

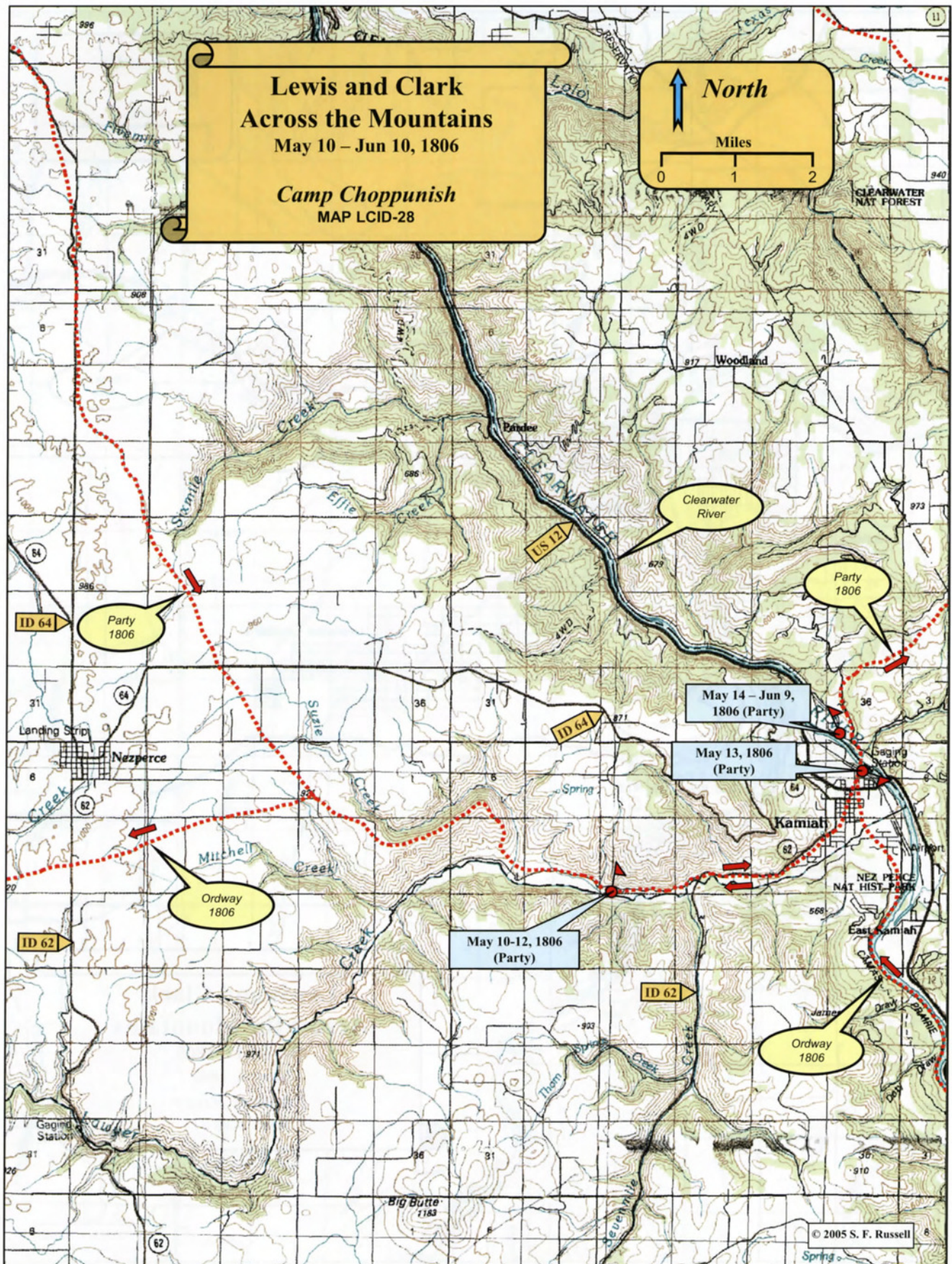
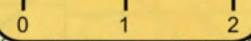




Camp Choppunish
MAP LCID-28



Miles



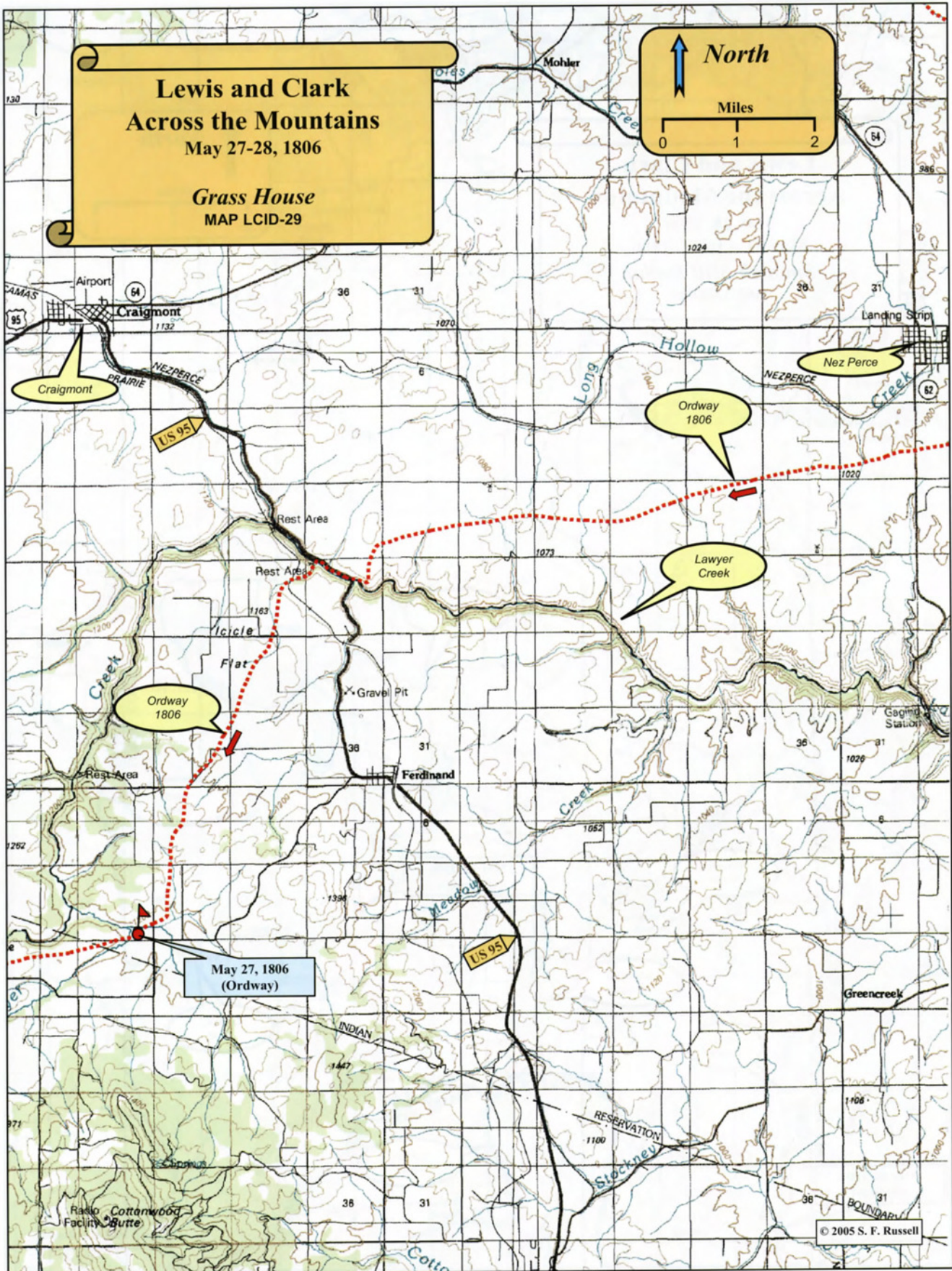
**Lewis and Clark
Across the Mountains**
May 27-28, 1806

Grass House
MAP LCID-29

North

Miles

0 1 2



Lewis and Clark Across the Mountains

May 28, 1806

May 31 – Jun 1, 1806

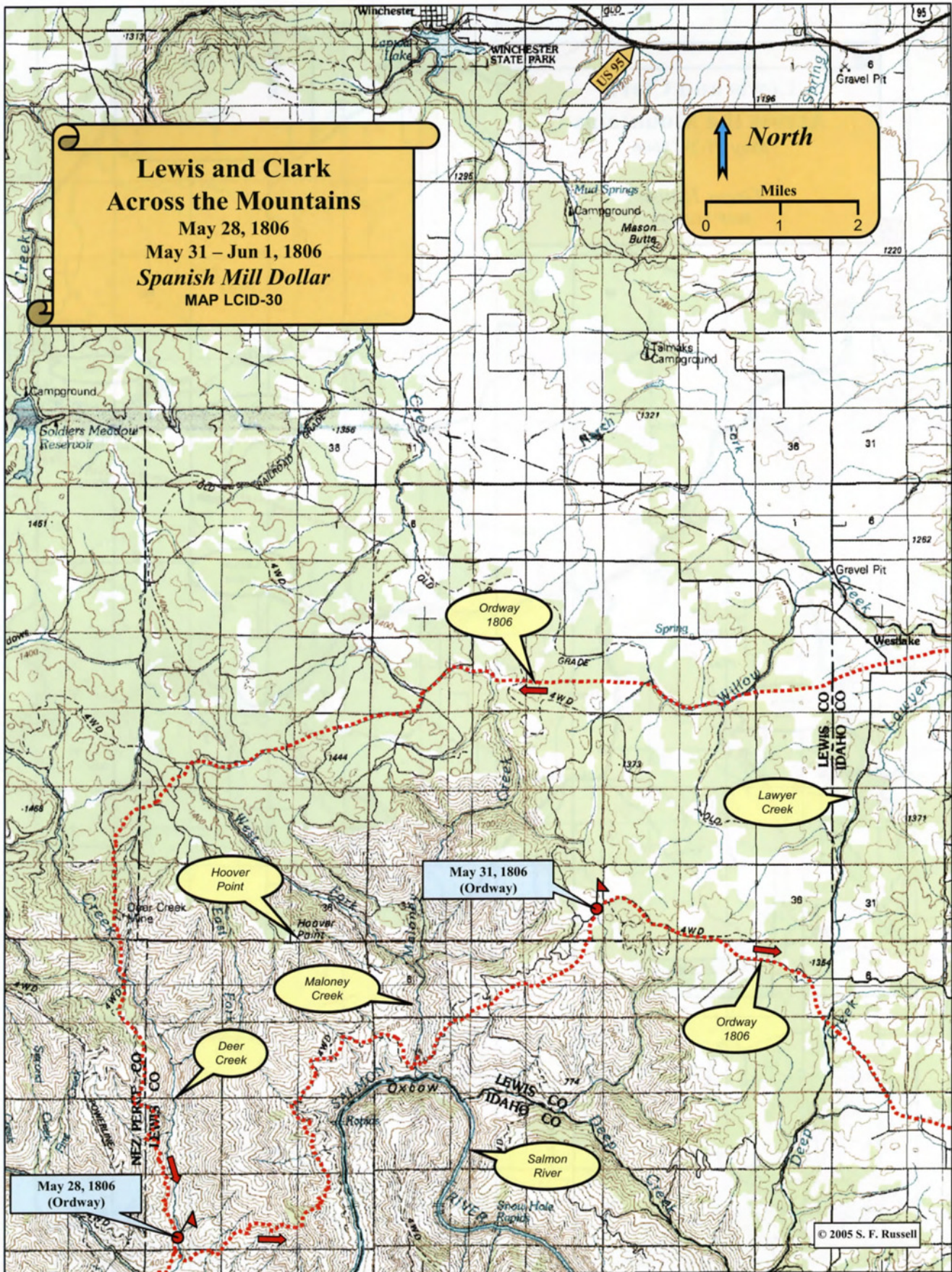
Spanish Mill Dollar

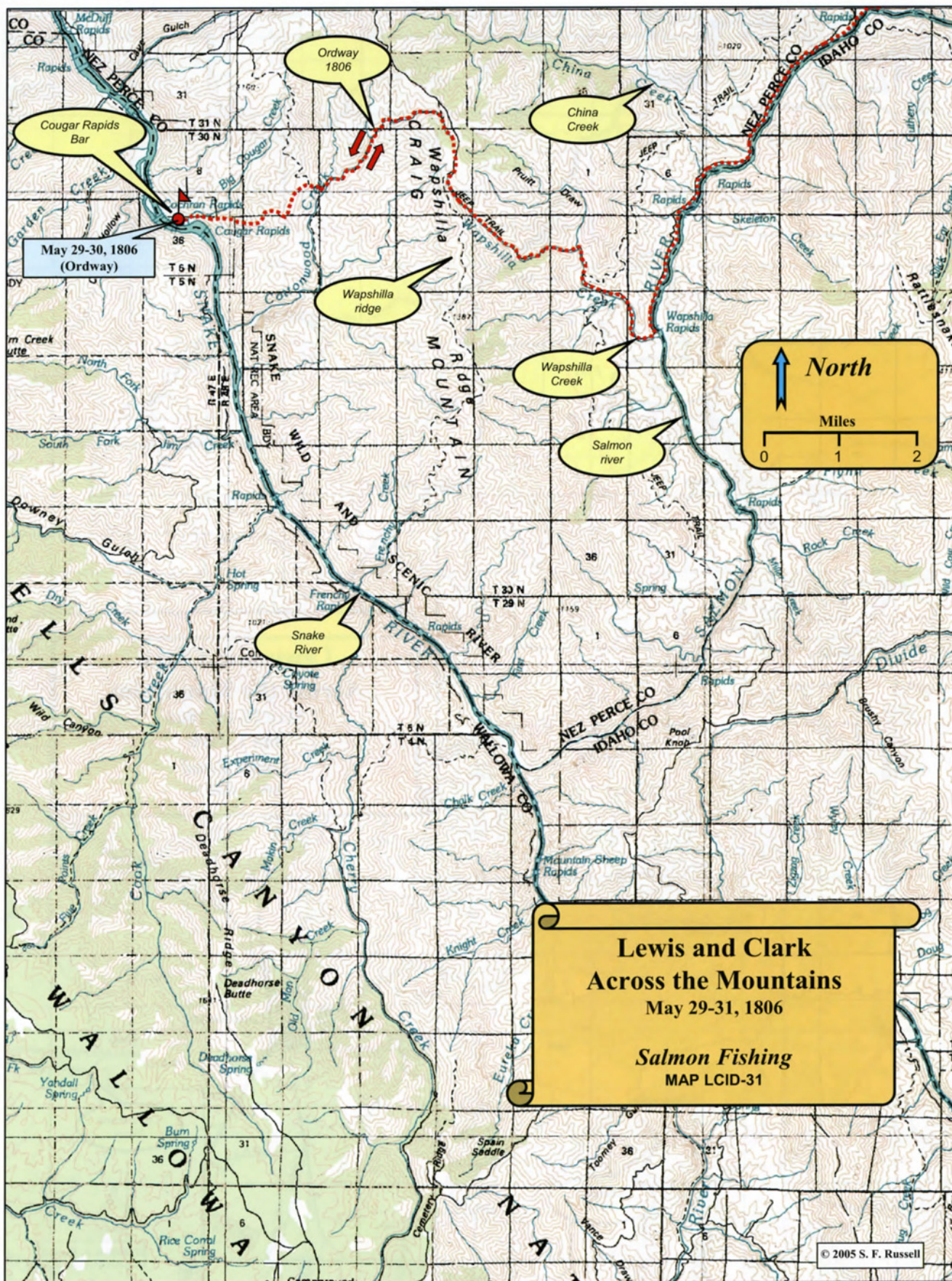
MAP LCID-30

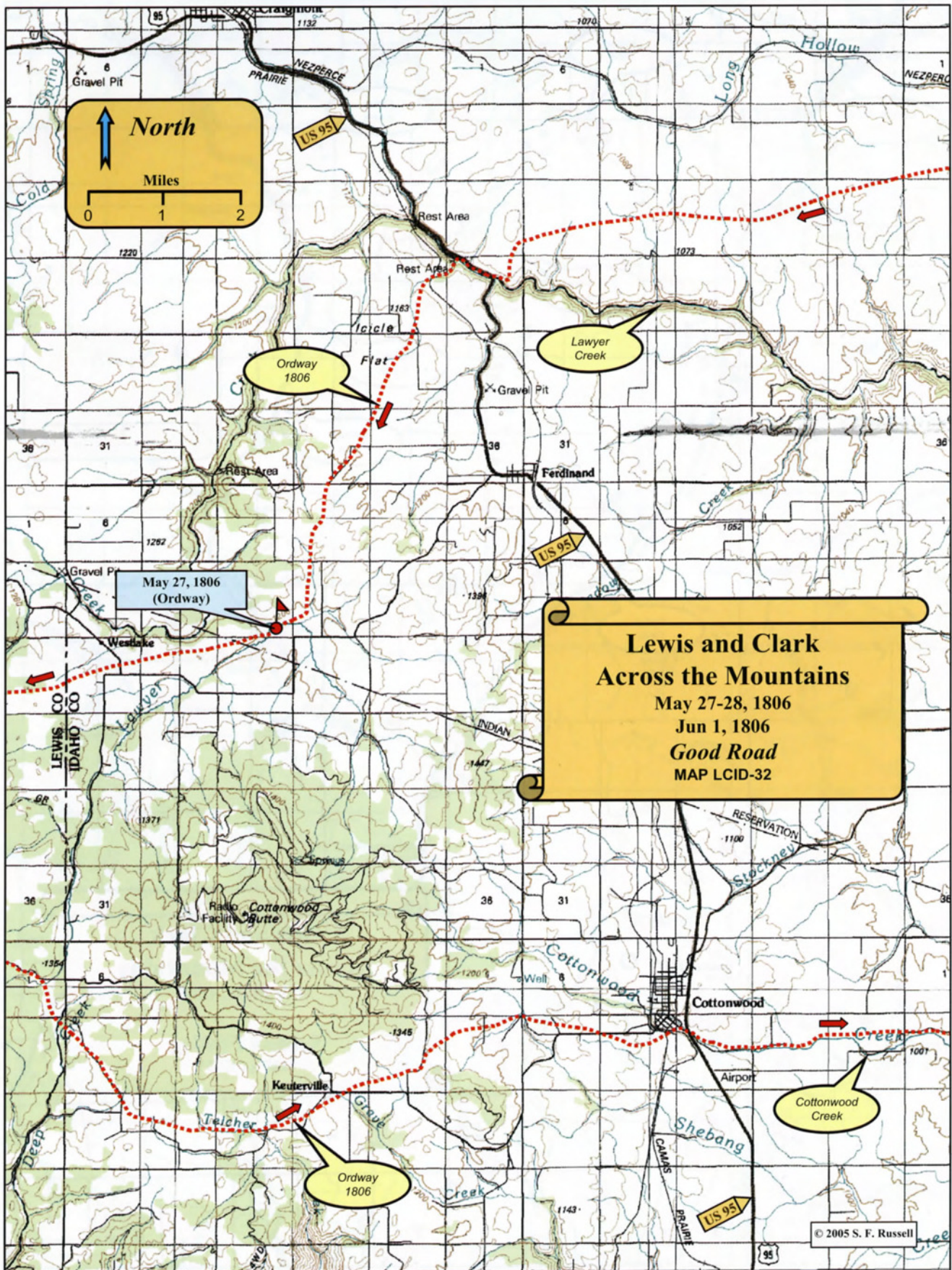
North

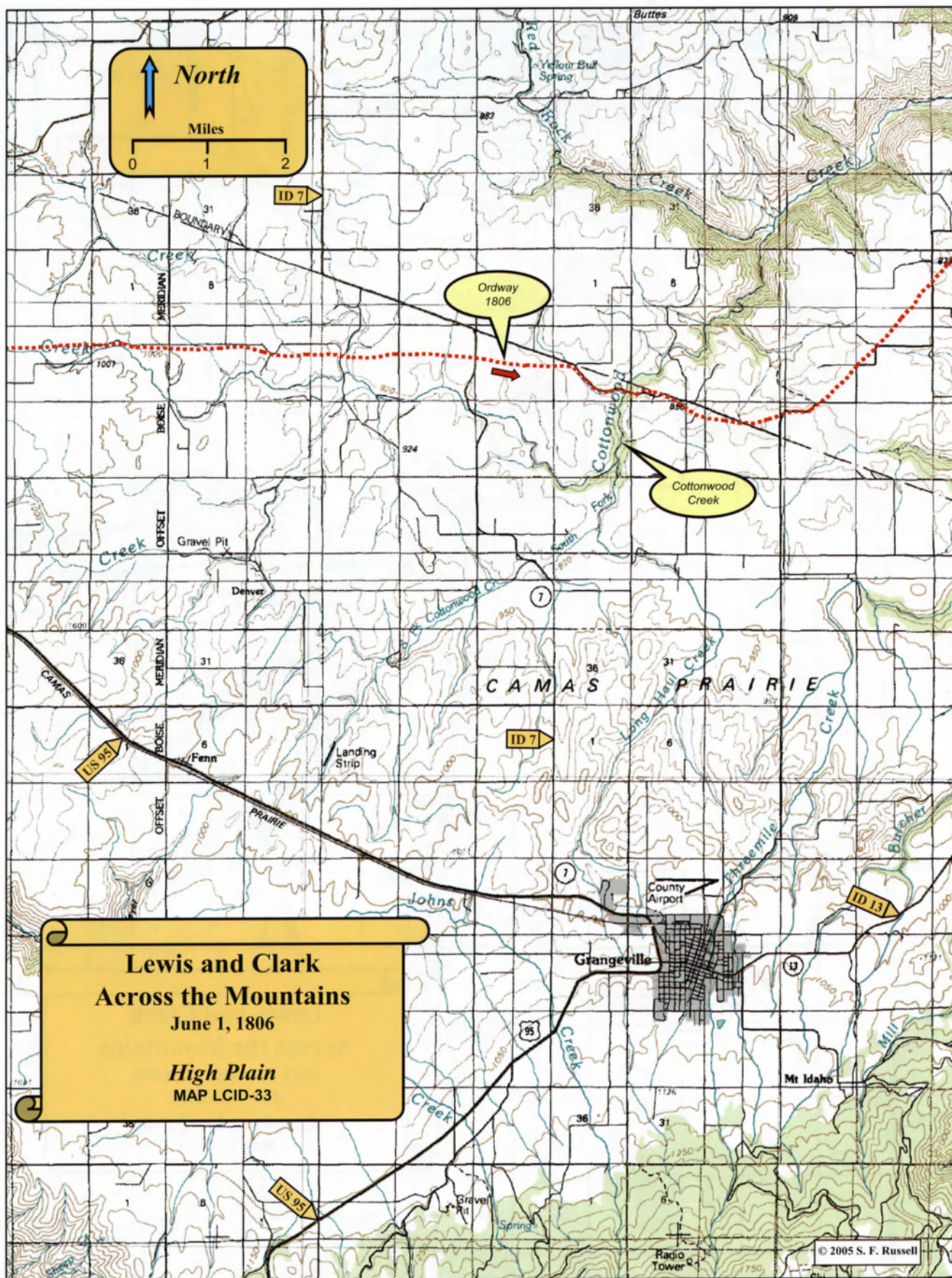
Miles

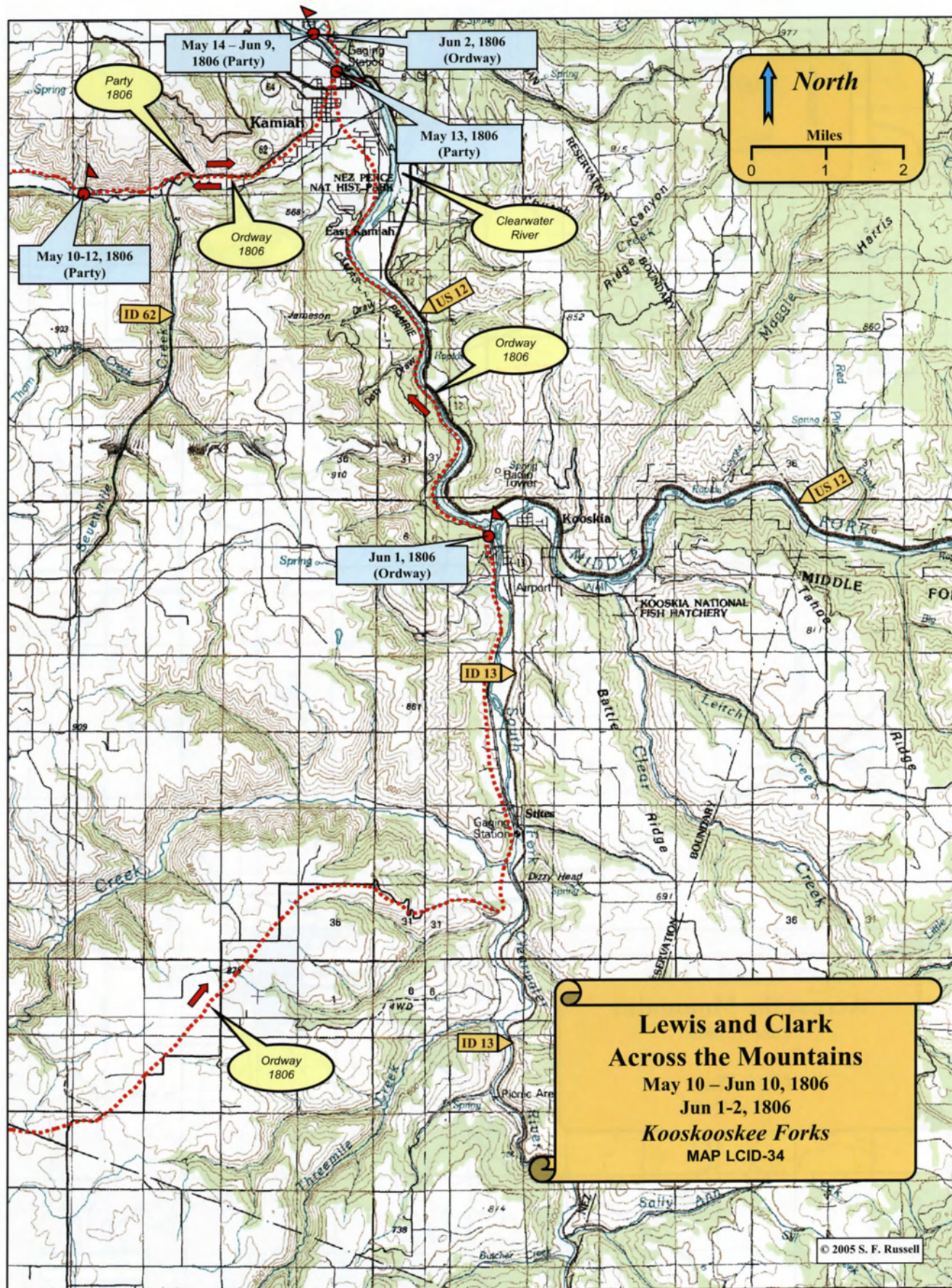
0 1 2

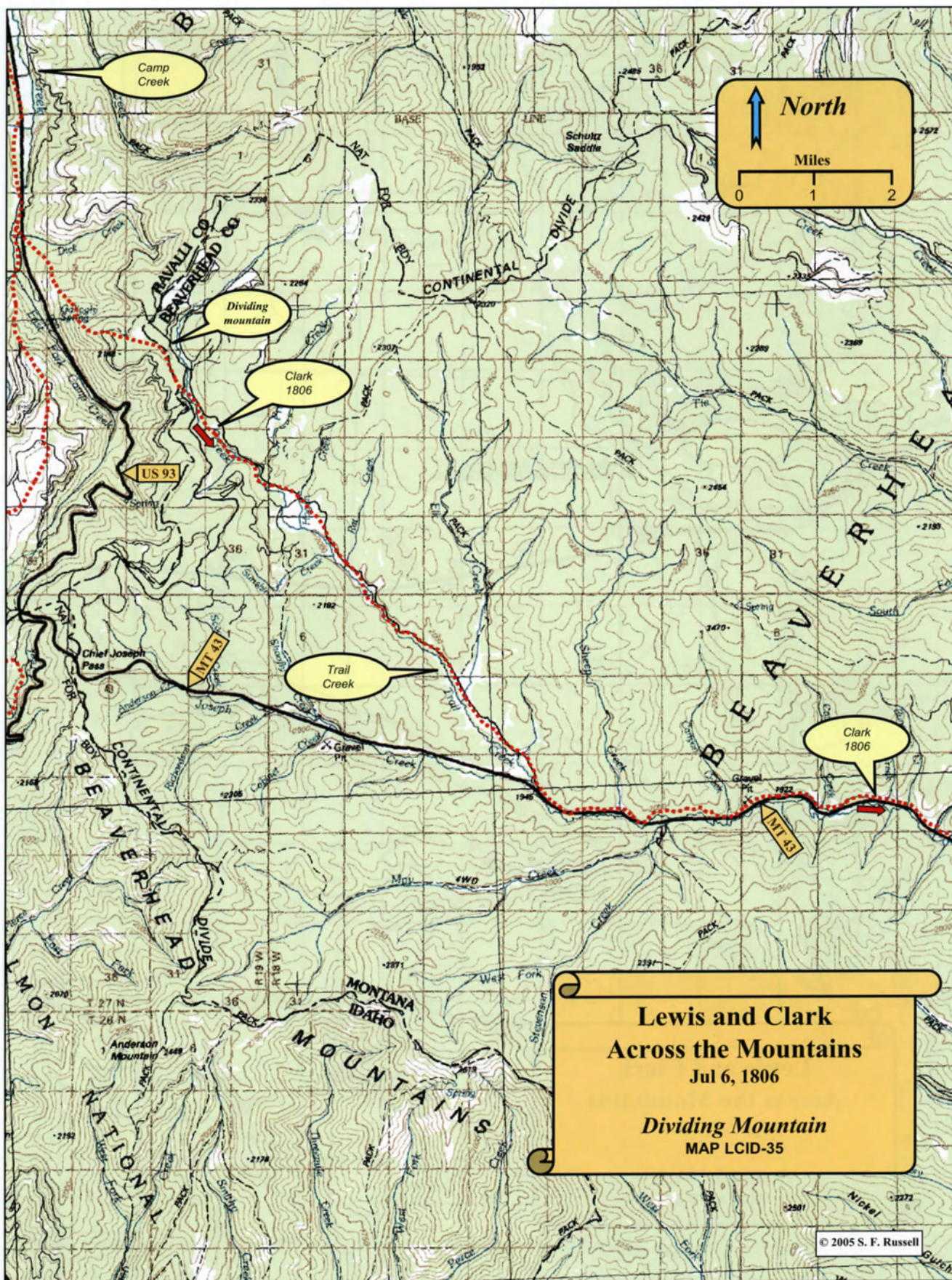


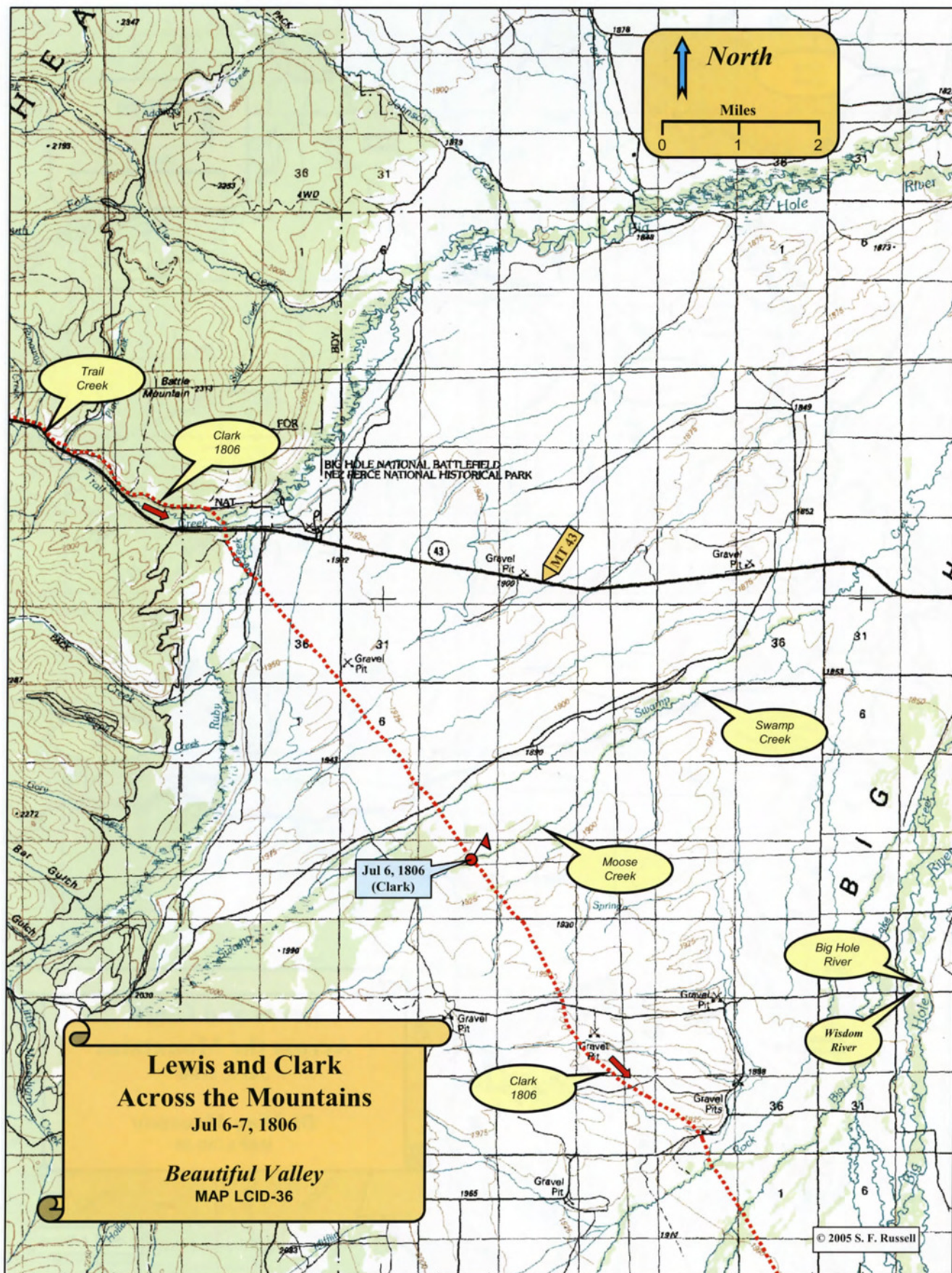


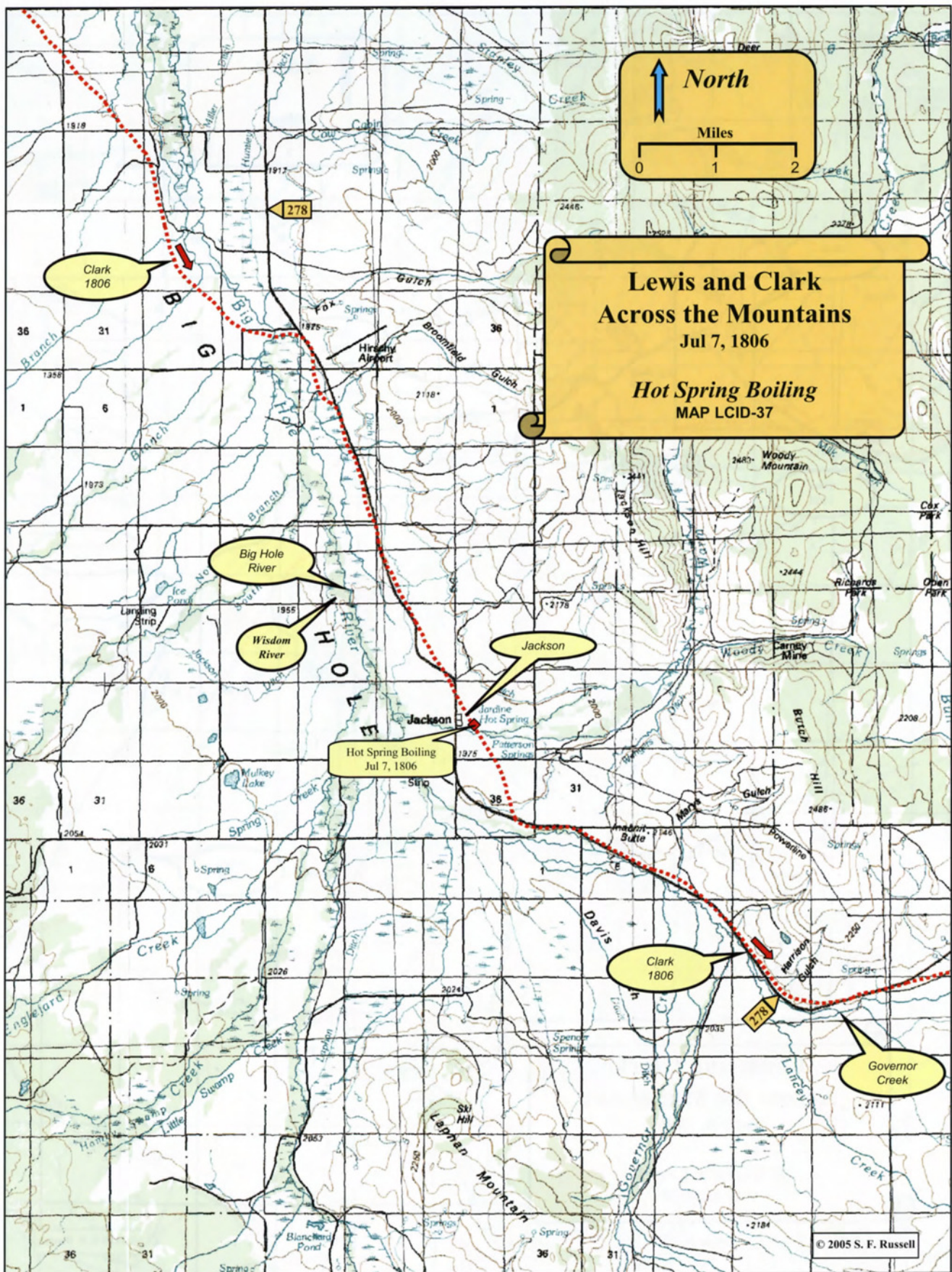


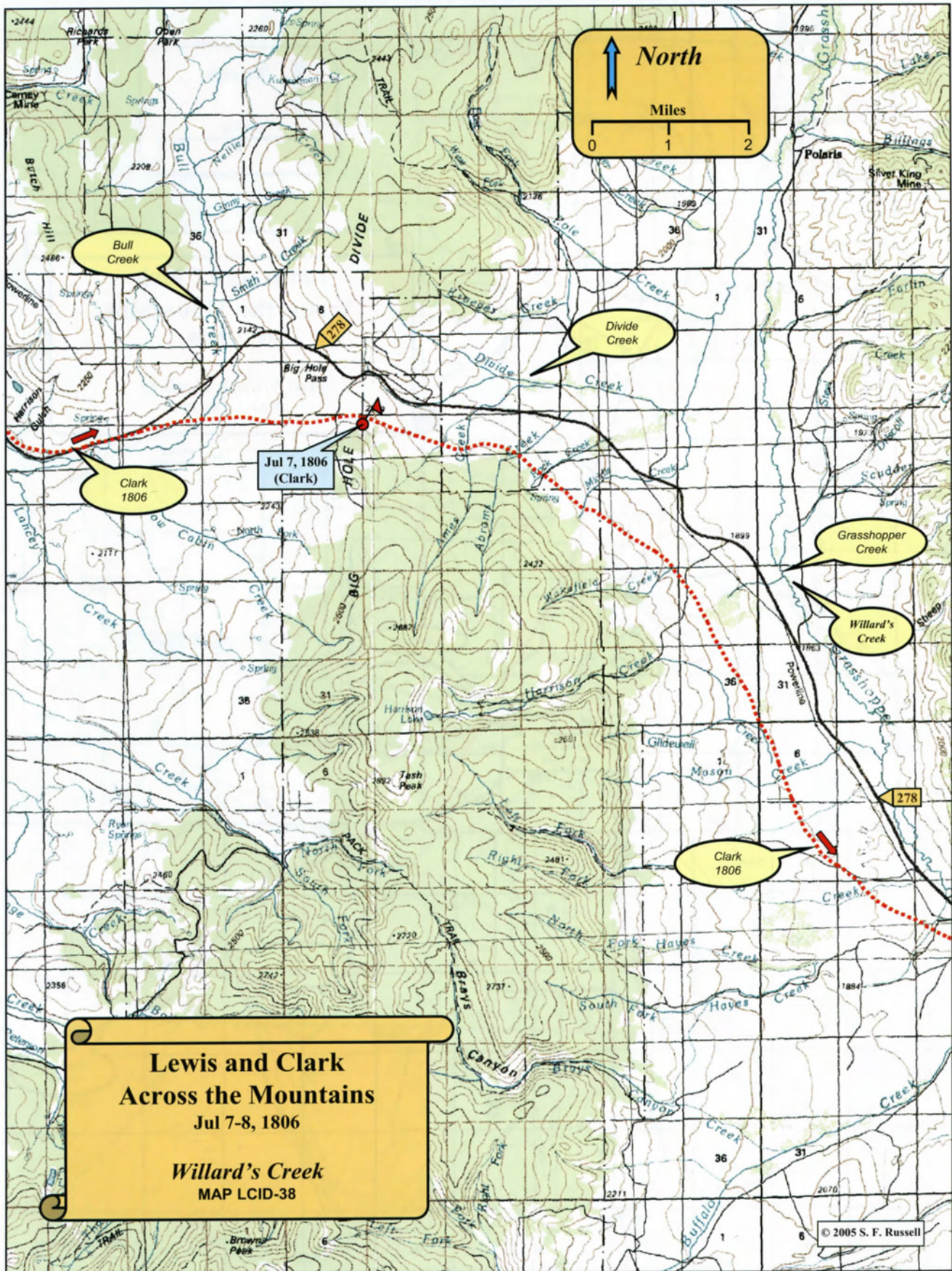












Lewis and Clark across the Mountains

Mapping the Corps of Discovery in Idaho

Steve F. Russell, PhD, PE

This book contains the history, with accurate topographic maps, of the travel of the Corps of Discovery led by Lewis and Clark, across the mountains of Idaho.

It has been out of print for several years and I have decided to make it available, for free, in digital form on the World Wide Web. If you chose to use any of my research in subsequent published works, please credit me.

Steve F. Russell 2022

This document is a digital copy of the book. It has been scanned and turned into a PDF file. Whenever possible, the gray-scale photos have been replaced by color ones. This document is not searchable because it has not been processed with Optical Character Recognition. To do so, created too many errors to correct. However, if you want a searchable OCR version of the document, please click on the following link:

Lewis and Clark across the Mountains 2022-02-08 (OCR).pdf

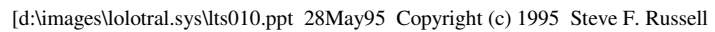
Many of the photos and maps are high resolution, so please use the zoom function on your PDF reader to see more detail.

**Published in 2007 by the Idaho State Historical Society
2205 Old Penitentiary Road
Boise, Idaho 83712
2007
ISBN: 0-931406-16-1**

© 2005 by Steve F. Russell

Large-Scale Map

SCALE
1/2 inch = 5 Miles



About the Author



Steve F. Russell was born in Lewiston, Idaho, and grew up along the Lewis and Clark Trail in north central Idaho and western Montana. He is on the faculty of Electrical and Computer Engineering at Iowa State University, which gives him several weeks in the summer to explore the historic trails of the inland Northwest. In 1984, he began a seventeen-year research project to determine the exact location of the Lewis and Clark Trail between the rivers. Spending summers hiking and documenting the old trails and winter evenings processing the data and making maps, he has now amassed the largest collection of Lolo Trail research materials in existence. He has done research on other historic trails such as the Virginia City and Lewiston Wagon Road, the Mullan Wagon Road, the Northern and Southern Nez Perce Trails, and the Carroll Trail.

ISBN: 978-0-931406-16-4

