

299. HBRS XXVIII, 11. The editors of this volume are undoubtedly correct in suggesting that "Day's River" was the John Day River rather than Little Lost River, then also known as "Day's River" or "Day's Defile."

300. Ibid., 17.

301. When these men left camp, Ogden gave their number in his journal as six. Ibid., 19. However, he also said (ibid.) that his remaining party numbered twelve, and he repeated this number in other entries. Since his total party before the division was given as seventeen, only five men must have left. This deduction is confirmed by his entry for December 11, 1827, in which he says he left five men on the Big Wood. Ibid., 34.

302. Ibid., 22.

303. Ibid., 31.

304. Ibid., 33.

305. Ibid., 38.

306. Ibid., 38, 38ⁿ, 41-42, 43-45, 46, 56, 68.

307. Ibid., 39-40.

308. Ibid., 33-34.

309. Ibid., 45-46.

310. Ibid., 64.

311. Ibid., 52. See also pp. 55-56.

312. Ibid., 49.

313. Ibid., 57.

314. Ibid., 49, 53.

315. Ibid., 50.

316. Ibid., 53.

317. Ibid., 60-61.

318. Ibid., 62-65.

319. Ibid., 72.

320. HBRS XXVIII, 72, 72n, 81-82, 81n.
321. Ibid., 81n.
322. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 286-287, 294-295.
323. HBRS XXVIII, 84.
324. Ibid., 85.
325. Ibid., 88.
326. Ibid., 90.
327. Ibid., 92.
328. HBRS IV, 66.
329. HBRS XXVIII, 94.
330. FBRS IV, 66, 66n.
331. HBRS X, 53.
332. HBRS IV, 66. The two men were Louis LaValle and Baptiste Spokan, "a slave." Francis Ermatinger, Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 44, typescript in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.
333. HBRS XXVIII, 97n.
334. [Peter Skene Ogden], Traits of American Indian Life & Character, by a Fur Trader (San Francisco: The Grabhorn Press, 1933), 8.
335. HBRS IV, 68-70; Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 268-269.
336. HBRS X, 60; Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 299.
337. Except where otherwise indicated, this account of the arrival of Smith and his men and of McLoughlin's reaction is based on HBRS IV, 68-70; Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 268-269, 274.
338. HBRS XXVIII, 97. In 1829 Ogden left Fort Vancouver on or about August 18, and he is known to have been at Fort Nez Percés by August 29. Thus it is possible that Ogden left Fort Vancouver in 1828 as late as about September 6. Burt Brown Barker, ed., Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin . . . 1829-1832 (Portland, Oregon: Binford & Mott, 1948), 46; John Warren Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for August 29, 1829, in Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

339. HBRS XIII, 221.

340. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 6.

341. Ibid., 6-7. Compare with the more accurate account in Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 239-241.

342. HBRS X, 59; Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 208. Smith's hunt in the same region in the spring of 1828 seems not to have been so successful, since he was more interested in getting to the rendezvous than in trapping. Smith had about 1000 beaver at the time of the Umpqua massacre, but it is not clear that they were all gathered during the spring of 1828. HBRS X, 59.

343. HBRS X, 59. Alice Bay Maloney, in her article, "Peter Skene Ogden's Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-30," in California Historical Society Quarterly, XIX (December, 1940), 308-316, states "it is claimed that Ogden's interest in California streams was due to a desire to reach and trap these waters before American hunters received word of Smith's explorations." Unfortunately, no source for this statement is supplied. See also Alice Bay Maloney, ed., Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura: John Work's California Expedition, 1832-1833 . . . (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1945), xiv. John Scaglione, "Ogden's Report of his 1829-1830 Expedition," in California Historical Society Quarterly, XXVIII (January, 1949), 119, also says that Smith's visit to California aroused Simpson "to renew his 1824 project of denuding all the territory south of the Columbia River of every fur-bearing animal." Again, no clear source for this statement is given.

344. HBRS XXVIII, 97.

345. Thirty men and lads, including one Iroquois Indian cook, are named in the reconstructed list of party personnel printed in ibid., 96. Governor Simpson in March, 1829, said the party consisted of 32 men. HBRS X, 53. Ogden himself appears to have counted the number as 29 plus three Indians. HBRS XXVIII, 98-99. For evidence of the presence of families, see ibid., 120, 121.

346. HBRS X, 52-53; HBRS XXVIII, xxxv.

347. HBRS X, 63.

348. Little or nothing seems to be known about the activities of this detached party. There is some evidence that Payette may have come off second best in a brush with Indians on the northern fringe of the Snake Plains east of Wood River in the present Idaho. John Work, The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831: John Work's Field Journal, ed. by Francis D. Haines, Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), 33.

349. HBRS XXVIII, 98-99.
350. Ibid., 107.
351. Ibid., 111.
352. Ibid., 120.
353. Ibid., 121-123.
354. Ibid., 129.
355. Ibid., 138.
356. Ibid., 145.
357. Ibid., 149.
358. Ibid.
359. HBRS IV, 75.
360. HBRS XXVIII, 152-154.
361. Ibid., 164.
362. Ibid., 166.
363. HBRS IV, 74.
364. Ibid., 75.
365. HBRS XXVIII, 166n.
366. HBRS X, 65.
367. Ibid., 63.
368. D. W. Meinig, The Great Columbia Plain: A Historical Geography, 1805-1910 (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1968), 88.
369. HBRS X, 50.
370. Ibid., 64-65.
371. Ibid., 50.
372. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 299.
373. Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 344-345.

374. HBRS X, 64.
375. Ibid., 50, 55.
376. Ibid., 55-56. The Americans may not have done as badly in the Snake Country as Simpson imagined. See Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 306-308.
377. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 307-308.
378. For a table of comparative prices, see Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 232.
379. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 301-302, 309.
380. Ibid., 309.
381. Ibid., 301.
382. HBRS X, 65.
383. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 309.
384. HBRS X, xlv, 104-106. The date of the wreck is here given as stated in the correspondence of Simpson and McLoughlin. The log of the American brig Owhyhee, which was near the mouth of the river at the time, gives the date as March 11. The difference may possibly be due to the use of sea time for the log. The Owhyhee's log shows that a small portion of the William and Ann's cargo was recovered. F. W. Howay, "The Brig Owhyhee in the Columbia, 1829-30," in OHQ, XXXV (March, 1934), 11.
385. Simpson and McLoughlin gave various dates for the arrival of the Owhyhee, but the vessel's log indicates that the entrance was made on February 22, 1829. Ibid., 10. For the description of the Convoy, see Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 6.
386. HBRS IV, 78; HBRS X, 103.
387. HBRS X, 103-104.
388. Ibid., 113.
389. HBRS IV, 73, 77.
390. HBRS X, 115.
391. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 8-9.

392. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 34. For proof that Ogden was born in 1790 instead of 1794 as usually stated, see Gloria Griffen Cline, Peter Skene Ogden and the Hudson's Bay Company (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 9.
393. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 2.
394. HBRS XXVIII, 154.
395. HBRS X, 63-64.
396. HBRS XXVIII, xxxv.
397. Ibid.
398. HBRS X, 52.
399. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 3.
400. Ibid., 8-9.
401. HBRS IV, 76-77.
402. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 46.
403. Ibid.
404. Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for August 29, 1829.
405. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 54.
406. Ibid., 52-53. 54-55. See also HBRS XXVIII, 177n.
407. Dease, Memorandum Book, 1829, MS, entry for October 3, 1829.
408. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 58, 61; Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 3.
409. HBRS XXVIII, 177.
410. Ibid., 177n. In his Traits of American Indian Life (p. 3), written many years later, Ogden also said his men were "well appointed."
411. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 3. On March 20, 1830, McLoughlin told Governor Simpson that Ogden's party then numbered 30 men. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 95.
412. Christopher Carson, Kit Carson's Autobiography, ed. by Milo Milton Quaife (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, n.d.), 14.

413. For examples see Archie Binns, Peter Skene Ogden: Fur Trader (Portland, Ore.: Binfords & Mort, 1967), 232; Scaglione, "Ogden's Report of his 1829-1830 Expedition," in California Historical Society Quarterly, XXVIII, 120.

414. Binns, Peter Skene Ogden, 232. Binns evidently based his statement to this effect upon family documents and tradition not cited in detail.

415. HBRS XXVIII, 177. A party of Company trappers was sent to hunt on the north side of Snake River, evidently on the Weiser and Payette Rivers, "late" in 1829 but had disappointing results. It is possible that this group was a part of Ogden's expedition dispatched to make the best of the month required to assemble the horses. Work, The Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831, pp. 12-13. See also OHQ, XIII (December, 1912), 366.

416. HBRS XXVIII, 177.

417. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 3.

418. HBRS XXVIII, 177.

419. Ibid., 178; Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 4.

420. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 4.

421. HBRS XXVIII, 178.

422. Ibid.; Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 4-5.

423. HBRS XXVIII, 178. This view of Ogden's route from Humbolt Sink is espoused by the editors of the volume cited here and by Gloria Cline in her Exploring the Great Basin, 126. These scholars were well acquainted with Great Basin topography. For another view, placing Ogden much farther east, see Scaglione, "Ogden's Report of his 1829-30 Expedition," in California Historical Society Quarterly, XXVIII, 121-122.

424. The basis for the thesis expressed in this paragraph will be found in HBRS XXVIII, 178-179 and in the excellent exposition given in note 2, p. 178, of that work.

425. Ibid., 178.

426. See ibid., 178n; and Robert Glass Cleland, This Reckless Breed of Men: The Trappers and Fur Traders of the Southwest (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), 326-327.

427. HBRS XXVIII, 179-180.
428. See ibid., p. 179, note 4, for a detailed discussion of this subject.
429. Joseph Grinnell, Joseph S. Dixon, and Jean M. Linsdale, Fur-Bearing Mammals of California . . . (2 vols., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1937), II, 634-635, 636 (fig. 259), 724-727.
430. HBRS XXVIII, p. 179, note 4.
431. Washington Historical Quarterly, I (1907), 262-263.
432. HBRS IV, 86. See also Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 119, 137.
433. For information on the presence of beaver on the Colorado, see Grinnell, Dixon, and Linsdale, Fur-Bearing Mammals, II, 724-727. Other early trappers reported that beaver were numerous along this river; their scarcity in 1830 may have been due to the fact that American hunters such as Ewing Young and Sylvester Pattie had already trapped this stream intensively.
434. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 5-6.
435. For evidence that the Mojaves possessed horses, see Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 238.
436. This account of Ogden's clash with the Indians is based on the only known available source, his Traits of American Indian Life, 5-6, 9-10.
437. HBRS IV, 86.
438. HBRS XXVIII, 180.
439. Tehachapi Pass is favored, for example, by the editors of HBRS XXVIII (p. 180, note 1); and Cline, Exploring the Great Basin, 127. Among the advocates of Walker Pass are Harry Laurenz Wells, History of Jackson, Josephine, Douglas, Curry and Coos Counties, Oregon (Portland, Oregon, 1884), 122; and H. O. Lang, History of the Willamette Valley . . . (Portland, Oregon, 1885), 200.
440. HBRS XXVIII, 180.
441. HBRS IV, 86.
442. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., ed., The Hudson's Bay Company's First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley . . . (Sacramento, California: Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1968), 43.
443. HBRS XXVIII, 180.

444. Joseph J. Hill, "Ewing Young in the Fur Trade of the Far Southwest, 1822-1834," in OHQ, XXIV (March, 1923), 25.

445. For a discussion of this anomaly, see Erwin G. Gudde, California Place Names (rev. ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960), 235-236.

446. HBR8 XXVIII, 180.

447. For a discussion of this route, see HBR8 XXIII, p. lvi, note 2.

448. HBR8 IV, 86.

449. Source materials made available in recent years now make it clear that Ogden did not return to Walla Walla after a long detour eastward to Great Salt Lake as several historians have assumed to have been possible. For one expression of this possibility see Alice Bay Maloney, "Peter Skene Ogden's Trapping Expedition to the Gulf of California, 1829-30," in California Historical Society Quarterly, XIX (December, 1940), 308-316.

450. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 80.

451. HBR8 XXVIII, 181n.

452. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 82.

453. HBR8 IV, 85.

454. Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 83.

455. HBR8 XXVIII, 175, 181n.

456. HBR8 IV, 85-86; HBR8 XXVIII, 181.

457. HBR8 IV, 85; Ogden, Traits of American Indian Life, 83.

458. HBR8 XXVIII, 181n.

459. HBR8 IV, 86.

460. HBR8 XXVIII, 180. For another expression of Ogden's disappointment, see ibid., 176.

461. Simpson to Governor and Committee, July 18, 1831, as quoted in Nunis, First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley, 20.

462. Simpson to Governor and Committee, August 10, 1832, as cited in ibid., 21-22.

463. Simpson to Governor and Committee, August 26, 1830, as quoted in HBRS XXVIII, xxxv.

464. Ogden to John McLeod, Vancouver, March 10, 1831, in Washington Historical Quarterly, I (July, 1907), 262-263.

465. Cline, Exploring the Great Basin, 86.

466. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 101.

467. Ogden to John McLeod, March 10, 1831, in Washington Historical Quarterly, I, 262-263.

468. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 116.

469. Ibid., 138.

470. Ibid., 113.

471. HBRS XXVIII, xxxv.

472. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 113.

473. This letter is printed in ibid., 125-128; and in Work, Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831, 154-157.

474. These numbers are as given in the manuscript copy of Work's journal in the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, HBCA, B.202/a/9 and B.202/a/10. In his personal copy, Work gave the total number as 115, but he included himself.

475. Cline, Exploring the Great Basin, 128.

476. Work, Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831, 12-13.

477. Ibid., 38.

478. Ibid., 94.

479. Ibid., 95.

480. Ibid., 96-97. For a somewhat different account of this confrontation, with confirmation of the fact that a disaster was very close, see W. A. Ferris, Life in the Rocky Mountains . . ., ed. by Paul C. Phillips (Denver: The Old West Publishing Company, 1940), 78.

481. Work, Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831, 114-115.

482. Ibid., 122.

483. Work, Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831, 137-139.
484. John Work, The Journal of John Work . . . During his Expedition . . . to the Flatheads and Blackfeet . . ., ed. by William S. Lewis and Paul C. Phillips (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1923), 177.
485. Lois Halliday McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger . . . (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980), 144.
486. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 185.
487. Work, Journal, p. 16, note 5.
488. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 195.
489. Ibid., 206, 210. Since McLoughlin did not believe McGillivray could supply "one hundred and thirty two" horses, he asked Chief Trader Heron at Fort Colville to assist in gathering any deficit number. Heron was also requested to provide a listed number of leather items -- saddles, apchemons, pack cords, etc. Ibid., 206-207.
490. Ibid., 214.
491. Work, Journal, 178.
492. Ibid., 179.
493. Ibid., 77.
494. Ibid., 63-66.
495. Ibid., 178.
496. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 185: Work, Journal, 178.
497. Work, Journal, 178.
498. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 185, 212.
499. Work, Journal, 178.
500. Ibid., 93.
501. Ibid., 78-79a.
502. Ibid., 93.

503. Work, Journal, 95.

504. Ibid., 97.

505. Ibid., 106.

506. Ibid., 123.

507. Ogden's wife, Rosette, was along on the trip, but she was a Spokane mixed blood and thus not the "house-keeper" in question. A male Walla Walla Indian who was wounded during the battle died on February 2; he undoubtedly was the housekeeper.

508. Ibid., 130.

509. Ibid., 140.

510. Ibid., 174.

511. Ibid., 152.

512. Ibid., 157.

513. Ibid., 158.

514. Yankee Fork Herald (Bonanza City, Idaho), November 22, 1879, p. 1, col. 5; p. 4, cols. 1-2.

515. Work, Journal, 158-159.

516. The editors of Work's journal believe that Work left Stanley Basin by way of Meadow Creek, crossing the ridge and descending Trail Creek to the South Fork of the Payette. Ibid., 160-161. However, the rugged range in that vicinity cannot be reconciled with Work's "little height of land." The route given in the text above corresponds to the opinion of Dr. Merle Wells, dean of Idaho historians.

517. Work, Journal, 66n.

518. Except where otherwise indicated, this account of Work's 1831-1832 expedition is based on his Journal, as cited above.

519. HBRS IV, 103.

520. Ibid.; Work, Journal, 180.

521. HBRS IV, 104.

522. McLoughlin also neglected to tell Governor Simpson of this violation of Company policy. McLoughlin to Simpson, Fort Vancouver, September 12, 1832, in HBCA, B.223/b/8, MS, fols. 13d-17.

523. Work, Journal, 179.

524. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 264.

525. Ibid., 279.

526. Ibid., 283.

527. John Work, Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura: John Work's California Expedition, 1832-1833 . . ., ed. by Alice Bay Maloney (San Francisco: California Historical Society, 1945), 106-107; HBRS IV, 104.

528. Work, Fur Brigade, 1, 106.

529. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 292-293.

530. Work, Journal, 181.

531. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 89.

532. McLoughlin to P. C. Pambrun, Fort Vancouver, October 10, 1832, in HBCA, B.223/b/8, MS, fols. 20d-21.

533. Work, Journal, 181.

534. Work, Fur Brigade, 9, 106.

535. Ibid., 11.

536. Ibid., 16.

537. Ibid.

538. Ibid., 20.

539. Ibid., 24.

540. Ibid., 31.

541. Ibid., 36.

542. Ibid., 38.

543. Ibid., 39.

544. Ibid., 56.

545. Ibid., 60.

546. Work, Fur Brigade, 63.
547. Ibid., 66.
548. Ibid., 67.
549. Ibid.
550. Ibid., 72.
551. Ibid., 74-75.
552. Ibid., 77.
553. Ibid., 76-77.
554. Ibid., 79.
555. Ibid., 81.
556. Ibid., 83. Except where otherwise indicated, the account of the 1832-1833 Snake Expedition is based on Work, Fur Brigade to the Bonaventura.
557. HBRS IV, 111.
558. Work, Fur Brigade, 107.
559. McLoughlin to Duncan Finlayson, Fort Vancouver, April 6, 1834, in HBCA, B.223/b/10, MS, fols. 3-3d.
560. Work, Fur Brigade, 107.
561. HBRS IV, xcv.
562. John McLeod, Journals and Correspondence of John McLeod, Senior . . . , typescript, 183-184, in Oregon Historical Society, Portland.
563. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 173.
564. Work, Journal, 59. The journal of this trip is printed in OHQ, XXIV (September, 1923), 238-268.
565. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 172.
566. McLoughlin to Finlayson, April 6, 1834, in HBCA, B.223/b/10, MS, fols. 3-3d.

567. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 280; McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 150.
568. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 161, 164n.
569. HBRS IV, 108-109.
570. Ibid., xcvi; McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 161.
571. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 161, 166.
572. Good summaries of activities in the Snake Country after 1833 can be found in HBRS IV, xciv-xcvi, cvii-cxiii; and John S. Galbraith, Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 101-110.
573. Galbraith, Hudson's Bay Company as an Imperial Factor, 95.
574. Fort Vancouver, Fur trade Returns . . . , MS, in Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Victoria, B. C. (hereafter cited as PABC).
575. OHQ, XXXV, 121.
576. David Lavender, "Thomas McKay," in LeRoy R. Hafen, ed., The Mountain Men and the Fur Trade of the Far West (10 vols., Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1965-1971), VI, 266; HBRS XXIII, xxx.
577. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 87-89.
578. Ibid., 267.
579. Ibid., 124, 135.
580. HBRS IV, 347.
581. HBRS XIII, 259n; Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 253.
582. HBRS IV, 10-11; HBRS XIII, 97n; HBRS XXIII, xxxii-xxxiv. See HBRS XIII, 258-259, for McLoughlin's instructions.
583. HBRS XXIII, xxxiv-xxxv.
584. For an example, see ibid., xlii.
585. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 274.
586. HBRS IV, 33.
587. HBRS XXIII, 220.

588. HBRS IV, 30; HBRS XXIII, 148.
589. HBRS XXIII, 143, 148-149.
590. Ibid., 149.
591. Ibid., 159.
592. Ibid., 162.
593. This account of McLeod's first Umpqua expedition is based almost entirely on his journal published in ibid., 143-174.
594. HBRS IV, 30; HBRS XXIII, 174n; Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 290.
595. HBRS XXIII, 220.
596. Ibid., 175.
597. Ibid., 177.
598. This account of McLeod's 1826-1827 trip is based on his journal printed in HBRS XXIII, 175-219.
599. Ibid., 219n.
600. Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., "Alexander Roderick McLeod," in Hafen, The Mountain Men, VI, 283-284.
601. Richard Dillon, Siskiyou Trail: The Hudson's Bay Company Route to California (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1975), 148.
602. Ibid.; Nunis, "Alexander Roderick McLeod," in Hafen, The Mountain Men, VI, 284.
603. Dillin, Siskiyou Trail, 148; Nunis, "Alexander Roderick McLeod," 286.
604. HBRS IV, 66.
605. Ibid., 173.
606. Ibid., 68-70.
607. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLaughlin, 77; Doyce B. Nunis, Jr., The Hudson's Bay Company's First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley: Alexander McLeod's 1829 Hunt (Sacramento, California: The Sacramento Book Collectors Club, 1968), 10, 27. Where these two sources are not in agreement, the first has been followed here.

608. HBRS IV, 70.
609. McLoughlin to McLeod, Fort Vancouver, 6th [sic] August, 1828, in HBCA, B.223/b/4, MS, fols. 17-27d. This letter could not have been written on August 6, since it was written after the arrival of Smith at Fort Vancouver.
610. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 77.
611. Ibid.
612. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 303.
613. Maurice S. Sullivan, The Travels of Jedediah Smith . . . (Santa Ana, California: The Fine Arts Press, 1934), opp. p. 116.
614. For the journal of this portion of McLeod's expedition, see ibid., 112-135.
615. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 73.
616. HBRS X, 62-64.
617. Except where otherwise indicated, this account of McLeod's 1828-1829, expedition is based on his report printed in Nunis, First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley, 31-43.
618. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 73.
619. This controversy is well presented in Nunis, First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley, 16-18.
620. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 30.
621. HBRS IV, 86.
622. Nunis, First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley, 15, 20.
623. HBRS X, 65-66.
624. HBRS IV, 87.
625. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 187. McLeod's family seems to have gone East the previous fall. Ibid., 87.
626. Nunis, First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley, 20.
627. Ibid., 21-22.
628. HBRS IV, 86.

629. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 152.
630. Ibid., 177.
631. Ibid., 187-188.
632. Ibid., 266-269.
633. Ibid., 270-272, 274, 293, 295.
634. Work, Fur Brigade, 99.
635. Ibid., 52.
636. HBRS IV, 111-112. Laframboise seems to have told McLoughlin that he went up the coast as far as "McLeods of Toutanie [?] River" before turning inland. McLoughlin to Francis Heron, July 20, 1833, in HBCA, B.223/b/9, MS, fols. 15d-16. Evidently this stream was the present Rogue River. But on September 13, 1833, Work came across Laframboise's homeward track on the Klamath River near Mount Shasta! Work, Fur Brigade, 77.
637. Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 230.
638. HBRS IV, 112. McLoughlin seems to have forgotten that McLeod had also reported: "The Country that we have hunted has been drained of Beaver and to make another hunt [we] would have to select other hunting grounds." Nunis, First Fur Brigade to the Sacramento Valley, 43.
639. Nunis, "Michel Laframboise," in Hafen, The Mountain Men, V, 153n.
640. Work, Fur Brigade, 81.
641. OHQ, XXIV (September, 1923), 253, 255-256, 258; McLoughlin to John Work, Fort Vancouver, May 21, 1834, in HBCA, B.223/b/10, MS, fol. 11.
642. OHQ, XXIV, 257; Nunis, "Michel Laframboise," 153-154; Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 235-236. See also E. E. Rich, ed., The Letters of John McLoughlin . . . Third Series, 1844-46 (Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. VII, London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1944) (hereafter cited as HBRS VII), 278-279.
643. HBRS IV, 156n.
644. Nunis, "Michel Laframboise." 154-155.

645. HBCA, B.223/c/1, fols. 46-48d.
646. HBRS IV, 156-157. In another letter McLoughlin gave the date of Laframboise's arrival as May 10. HBCA, B.223/b/15, fols. 37d-38.
647. McLoughlin to Simpson, Fort Vancouver, September 5, 1836, in ibid.; Nunis, "Michel Laframboise," 156. On another occasion McLoughlin said the party numbered 25 men and was sent to hunt "South of the Umpqua." HBCA, B.223/b/15, MS, fols. 74d-78d.
648. McLoughlin to Governor Simpson, Chief Factors, and Chief Traders, Fort Vancouver, August 30, 1837, in HBCA, B.223/b/17, MS, fols. 31-32d; Nunis, "Michel Laframboise," 156; HBRS IV, 202. From the last reference it would appear that Laframboise remained out during the winter and may even have been in California at that season.
649. HBRS IV, 279.
650. Ibid., 202, 216.
651. For the "many dangers" quotation, see HBCA, B.223/b/22, MS, fols. 19d-20. The July 8 date is also from this source and seems more accurate than the July 9 he recalled on a later occasion.
652. This account of Laframboise's expedition to this point is largely based on HBRS IV, 251-254.
653. Douglas to Laframboise, Fort Vancouver, July 17, 1838, in HBCA, B.223/b/22, MS, fols. 21d-22; Douglas to Chief Factors and Chief Traders, September 1, 1838, in ibid., fols. 25d-26.
654. HBRS IV, 288-290. See also Nunis, "Michel Laframboise," 159-161.
655. HBRS VI, 217-219; Nunis, "Michel Laframboise," p. 163, note 60; James Douglas to J. B. Alvarado, Fort Vancouver, July 9, 1839, in HBCA, B.223/b/24, MS, fols. 26-26d.
656. Douglas to Pambrun, Fort Vancouver, April 30, 1839, in HBCA, B.223/b/24, MS, fols. 11-11d.
657. HBRS VI, 25n.
658. Douglas to Alvarado, July 9, 1839, in HBCA, B.223/b/24, MS, fols. 26-26d.
659. Douglas to James A. Forbes, Fort Vancouver, July 10, 1839, in ibid., fols. 26d-27.
660. Douglas to Laframboise, Fort Vancouver, July 14, 1839, in ibid., 27d-28.; HBRS VI, 219-220.

661. HBR VI, 220.
662. Ibid., 25n; McLoughlin to James M. Yale, Fort Vancouver, July 6, 1840, in HBCA, B.223/b/27, MS, fol. 26.
663. HBCA, D.5/5, MS, fol. 119b.
664. Nunis, "Michel Laframboise," 162.
665. McLoughlin to Laframboise, Fort Vancouver, September 14, 1840, in HBCA, B.223/b/27, MS, fol. 39d.
666. Ibid.; HBR VI, 25.
667. George Foster Emmons, Journal Kept While Attached to the South Sea Surveying & Exploring Expedition . . . , MS, III, entry for October 16, 1841, in Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
668. James Douglas, James Douglas in California, 1841 . . ., ed. by Dorothy Blakey Smith (Vancouver, B.C.: The Library's Press, 1965), 9.
669. HBR VI, 25n. Apparently these are the final figures. Governor Simpson, when he was at Fort Vancouver in November, 1841, estimated the 1840-1841 "Buena Ventura trapping expedition" brought back "about 1200 beaver and otter" derived principally "within tide range from the Bay of San Francisco." He believed the profits of these "indifferent hunts" amounted to only "about £350." Glyndwr Williams, ed., London Correspondence Inward from Sir George Simpson, 1841-42 (Publications of the Hudson's Bay Record Society, vol. XXIX, London: The Hudson's Bay Record Society, 1973) (hereafter cited as HBR XXIX), 77.
670. HBR VI, 233. See also Nunis, "Michel Laframboise," 165-167.
671. Emmons, Journal, MS, III, entries for September 5, 10; October 28, 1841.
672. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger. 24.
673. Ibid., 236-237, 241; HBR VII, 30.
674. HBR VI, 251-252, 256, 257.
675. Ibid., 257-258.
676. HBR XXIX, 58.
677. Ibid., 33.
678. Ibid., 60.

679. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 237-238, 252.

680. Ibid., 237; HBRS VI, 314; HBRS XXIX, 74 (Simpson returns to Fort Vancouver from NW Coast and Sitka); George Simpson, An Overland Journey Round the World . . . (2 vols. in 1, Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1847), I, 193 (Ermatinger left "about the time of our return from Sitka). One reason for Ermatinger's late start was the need to first close his Snake Country accounts.

681. Emmons, Journal, MS, entry for October 28, 1841.

682. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 241.

683. Simpson, Overland Journey, I, 193-194.

684. John Bidwell, A Journey to California . . . , ed. by Herbert Ingram Priestly (San Francisco: John Henry Nash, 1937), 30.

685. Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 356.

686. Simpson, Overland Journey, I, 194.

687. HBRS XXIX, 118.

688. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 252. For more on Ermatinger's visit to San Francisco, see Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 244-245.

689. HBRS VI, 267, 279; HBRS XXIX, 117.

690. HBRS XXIX, 77.

691. Ibid., 119.

692. Simpson, Overland Journey, I, 194.

693. Simpson to McLoughlin. Red River, June 21, 1843, in HBCA, B.223/c/1, MS, fols. 197-197d; HBRS VI, 81-82, 314-315.

694. HBRS VI, 81.

695. Ibid., 267-268.

696. Ibid., 275, 279, 284, 286-287.

697. Ibid., 123.

698. Ibid., 258.

699. Isaac Cowie, ed., "The Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department . . . 1830 to 1843 . . .," in Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. IV (1913), 818.

700. McDonald, Fur Trade Letters of Francis Ermatinger, 247-249; HBRS VI, 160.

701. OHQ, XVII (September, 1916), 223.

702. HBCA, B.223/d/161, MS, p. 73.

703. HBRS VI, 123.

704. HBRS XXIX, 119n. In a letter of July 4, 1844, McLoughlin stated that the party left San Francisco in May, 1843. HBRS VI, 194.

705. HBRS VI, 123.

706. OHQ, XVII, 223. In another place in the same letter McLoughlin seems to indicate that the gain was only \$31.18.0. Ibid., 238.

707. Ibid., 223. At its meeting on June 10, 1843, the Council of the Northern Department, with Governor Simpson present, had designated Laframboise to head the "Buena Ventura" expedition for Outfit 1843, but it appears this appointment was refused. Cowie, "Minutes of Council," 833.

708. HBRS VII, xxvii. It is sometimes said that Laframboise did not retire until 1845, but personnel records for Outfit 1843 mention him only as a Willamette "settler" with a debt of \$79.15.0. HBCA, B.223/g/8, MS, p. 2.

709. HBRS VI, 123.

710. HBCA, B.239/1/14, MS, p. 53.

711. HBRS VI, 194.

712. Fort Vancouver, Fur Trade Returns, MS, in Public Archives of British Columbia, Victoria.

713. OHQ, XVII, 238.

714. HBRS VI, 120, 123, 298.

715. HBCA, B.239/1/14, MS, p. 53.

716. HBRS X, 233-237.

717. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 34, 45-46.

718. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 55-56.
719. HBRS X, 68.
720. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 60-61.
721. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade, I, p. 42, note 2.
722. For what appears to be an example of such use, see John Owen, The Journals and Letters of Major John Owen . . ., ed. by Seymour Dunbar and Paul C. Phillips (2 vols., New York: Edward Eberstadt, 1927), II, 175.
723. This distinction was not continuous, at least in the personnel records, which are the only ones which have been examined in their entirety for the present study. For certain years the Southern Party personnel were lumped in with the personnel of the Fort Vancouver Indian Trade; for at least one year (Outfit 1833) neither expedition was listed separately, the Snake Party employees being included with those of Fort Colville. This may have been the case with the Snake Party for one or two other years also.
724. HBRS IV, 156n.
725. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 88, 129.
726. Ibid., 3.
727. "Agrès" was a voyageur term for "outfit," and it was also applied to the equipment of canoes and boats. Malcolm McLeod, ed., Peace River: A Canoe Voyage from Hudson's Bay to the Pacific . . . 1828 (Ottawa, 1872), 44.
728. HBRS XXIII, xliv, 144, 154n; Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 44, 207, 263-264, 351.
729. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 129.
730. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 208.
731. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 45.
732. Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 30; HBRS XXVIII, 31.
733. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 209.
734. For these topics, see HBRS XXIII, 144-150; OHQ, XXIV, 240-242; Sullivan, Travels of Jedediah Smith, 113; Charles Wilkes, Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition during the Years 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842 (5 vols., Philadelphia, 1845), V, 218.

735. HBRS X, 51.
736. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 206-207.
737. For an example of a call upon Colville for Southern Party horses, see ibid., 113.
738. HBRS XXVIII, 22, 22n.
739. HBRS XXIII, 147.
740. Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 31.
741. HBRS XXVIII, 31.
742. Ibid.
743. For detailed lists of the "outfits" issued to two Snake expeditions, see HBRS XXIII, 227-234; HBRS XXVIII, 182-188.
744. HBRS XXIII, 177.
745. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 209.
746. John Dunn, The Oregon Territory, and the British North American Fur Trade (Philadelphia: G. B. Zieber & co., 1845), 108.
747. OHQ, XXIV, 240-243.
748. George B. Roberts, Recollections, MS, 100, in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
749. HBRS XXVIII, 22.
750. Sullivan, Travels of Jedediah Smith, 113-114.
751. For example, see HBRS XXIII, 230.
752. For definitions of the various ranks of boatmen, see Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 334-335.
753. HBRS XXIII, 4n; Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 290.
754. Douglas to Ross, Fort Vancouver, May 4, 1838, in HBCA, B.223/b/22, MS, fols. 9d-11.
755. HBRS XXVIII, 33n. The amount paid for freemen's furs had been raised to 11 shillings by 1831. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 199.
756. HBRS XXVIII, 33.

757. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 199.
758. HBRS XXVIII, 33n.
759. HBCA, B.223/b/22, MS, fols. 9d-11.
760. HBRS XXIII, 72.
761. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 208.
762. HBRS XXIII, 72.
763. HBRS XXVIII, 32.
764. HBRS XXIII, 72.
765. Ibid., 167-168.
766. Ibid., 229.
767. Work, Fur Brigade, 2.
768. HBRS XXIII, 148.
769. Ibid., 22.
770. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 128.
771. HBRS XXIII, 120.
772. Ibid., 162.
773. For evidence of the use of a 12-ell tent, see HBRS, XXIII, 230.
774. Work, Fur Brigade, 2.
775. HBRS XXIII, 60.
776. For example, see Work, Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831, 59.
777. Work, Fur Brigade, 49.
778. For a description of the lodges used by the Snake parties, see John Kirk Townsend, Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains to the Columbia River (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 115.

779. In 1827 at his winter camp on Snake River, Ogden spoke of his "leather hut." HBRS XXVIII, 32.

780. For John Work's list of the messes in his 1832-1833 party, see Work, Fur Brigade, 99-103.

781. For example, see HBRS XXVIII, 96.

782. Dunn, The Oregon Territory, 222-223.

783. Work, Fur Brigade, 99.

784. HBRS XXVIII, 181. Incidentally, expedition leaders had to share their rations with their cooks, guides, and other personal attendants, if any.

785. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 356. For the full text of Slacum's report a convenient source is OHQ XIII (June, 1912), 175-224.

786. For example, see the opinion of Ross, in his Fur Hunters of the Far West, 209.

787. Work, Fur Brigade, 99.

788. Townsend, Narrative, 115.

789. HBRS XXIII, 144-147.

790. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 209.

791. HBRS XXVIII, 9.

792. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 127-128.

793. Townsend, Narrative, 116.

794. HBRS XXIII, 5.

795. A. J. Allen, Ten Years in Oregon (Ithaca, New York: Mack, Andrew and Co., 1848), 119, as quoted in Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 269-270.

796. Carl Landerholm, trans., Notices & Voyages of the Famed Quebec Mission to the Pacific Northwest . . . (Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1956), 29.

797. D. Lee and J. H. Frost, Ten Years in Oregon (New York: J. Collard, printer, 1844), 121-122. Evidently some of the Canadians did employ bows and arrows for hunting. See Townsend, Narrative, 124-125.

798. H. S. Lyman, "Reminiscences of F. X. Matthieu," in OHQ, I (March, 1900), 97-98.

799. Work, Fur Brigade, iv.

800. British and American Joint Commission for the Final Settlement of the Claims of the Hudson's Bay and Puget's Sound Agricultural Companies, [Papers] (14 vols., Washington; Montreal, 1865-1869), [VIII], 64.

801. HBRS XXVIII, 185-187.

802. John Sebastian Helmcken, The Reminiscences of Doctor John Sebastian Helmcken, ed. by Dorothy Blakey Smith ([Vancouver]: University of British Columbia, 1975), 123.

803. Clifford Merrill Drury, ed., First White Women over the Rockies . . . (3 vols., Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1963-1966), I, 104.

804. Wilkes, Narrative, IV, 317.

805. Ibid. Wilkes gives a good description of the process of preparing buckskin for use in clothing.

806. XXIII, 155.

807. Ibid., lxxii.

808. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 216.

809. OHQ, XIV, 376.

810. Merk, Fur Trade and Empire, 45.

811. HBRS XIII, 157-158.

812. Work, Fur Brigade, 4.

813. Rich, History of the Hudson's Bay Company, II, 594.

814. HBRS XIII, lxxii-lxxiii.

815. Ibid., 102-103.

816. Ibid., 265.

817. Ibid., 103.

818. Ross to Ogden, October 14, 1824, in HBCA, B.202/a/1, MS, as quoted in Cline, Exploring the Great Basin, 100.

819. HBRS XXIII, 18.

820. HBRS. XIII, lxvi-lxvii.

821. HBRS XXIII, 32.

822. Ibid., 84.

823. Ibid., 161.

824. Ibid., 40.

825. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 283.

826. Townsend, Narrative, 119.

827. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 283.

828. HBCA, B.233/c/1, MS, fol. 21.

829. HBRS XXIII, 65.

830. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 128.

831. Work, Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831, 75.

832. HBRS XXVIII, 62.

833. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 173-174.

834. Ibid., 282.

835. HBRS XXIII, 106-107.

836. Ibid., 77.

837. For examples of these procedures, see ibid., 128, 129.

838. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 153.

839. Ibid.

840. Work, Fur Brigade, 7-8.

841. Evan Jones, Trappers and Mountain Men (American Heritage Junior Library, New York: American Heritage Publishing Co., Inc., 1961), 99; Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 127.

842. Fort Vancouver, Fur Returns, MS.

843. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 153-154.

844. The present writer has as yet found no detailed description of specific trapping techniques employed by Hudson's Bay Company trappers, but although there were certain variations, all of the mountain men in the Far West used the same general method. There are a number of good accounts of the practices of the American beaver hunters, a sampling of which are listed in Carl F. Russell, Firearms, Traps, & Tools of the Mountain Men (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1967), 145n. The above account is based mainly on that work, pp. 102, 144-150; Chittenden, The American Fur Trade, II, 809-810; and Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 43-44.

845. HBRS XXIII, 71.

846. Ibid., 72.

847. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade, II, 810; Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 43.

848. Ross, Fur Hunters of the Far West, 153.

849. HBRS XXIII, 90.

850. Ibid., 76.

851. Barker, Letters of Dr. John McLoughlin, 127.

852. This account of the skinning and dressing of beaver is based largely on Russell, Firearms, Traps, & Tools, 150-154.

853. Morgan, Jedediah Smith, 44.

854. Ross Cox, The Columbia River . . ., ed. by Edgar I. Stewart and Jane R. Stewart (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1957), 194.

855. Except where otherwise indicated, this account of making packs is based on Russell, Firearms, Traps, & Tools, 156-157.

856. For a description of these presses, see ibid., 156-159.

857. HBRS XXIII, 106.

858. Chittenden, The American Fur Trade, I, 40-41.

859. Cleland, This Reckless Breed of Men, 16-17.
860. HBRS VI, 284.
861. Simpson, Overland Journey, I, 27.
862. OHQ, XIV, 380.
863. HBRS XXIII, 45.
864. Ibid., 19.
865. Ibid., 10.
866. Ibid., 44.
867. Ibid., 6n.
868. Ibid., 18.
869. David Douglas, Journal Kept by David Douglas During his Travels in North America, 1823-1827 (New York: Antiquarian Press Ltd., 1959), 200.
870. HBRS XXIII, 73-74.
871. Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 126.
872. Bernard DeVoto, Across the Wide Missouri (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), 329.
873. Work, Journal, 125.
874. Dillon, Siskiyou Trail, 126.
875. Work, Journal, 118.
876. Work, Snake Country Expedition of 1830-1831, 60.
877. Ibid., 41.
878. Work, Journal, 119.
879. Work, Fur Brigade, 24.
880. See Rich, History of the Hudson's Bay Company, II, 476-480.
881. HBRS XXVIII, 184, 188. On the use of rum in the Snake Country, see ibid., 54-55n.

882. HBRS XXVIII, 54.

883. HERS VI, 29.

884. HBRS XXVIII, 44.

885. HBRS XXIII, 94. Punctuation has been added to the quotation as transcribed above.