EXPLORERS OR ENTREPRENEURS:
MOUNTAIN MEN OF THE FAR WEST

by

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ABSTRACT

The men who explored, exploited, and wandered the American West during the first half of the 19th Century were a varied lot. Historians and fiction writers have romanticized the legends, lifestyles, and accomplishments of the first explorers and pioneers of North America’s western lands, but the lives of these individuals were often harder and more harrowing than ever depicted in history books, dime novels, and movie theaters. Washington Irving described the mountain men as leading a “wild, Robin Hood kind of life,” and Swiss artist, Rudolph F. Kurz, wrote that these men were “stared at as though they were bears.” They were members of military expeditions like Lewis and Clark (1804-06), Zebulon Pike (1806), and Charles Fremont. They were also men like Jedediah Smith and Joseph R. Walker who, as Bil Gilbert states in The Trailblazers, used beaver fur trapping as a way to support their explorations. Noting their variety, William H. Goetzmann, Exploration and Empire, describes most as “expectant capitalists”, seeking a way to make their fortunes. It was this “varied lot” and their dealings with an unknown landscape and peoples that Thomas Jefferson would require if his vision of an American empire extending to the Pacific Ocean were to be realized.

President Thomas Jefferson’s attention became focused on the far west while reading Alexander Mackenzie’s Voyages from Montreal. According to Robert M. Utley’s, A Life Wild and Perilous, it was Mackenzie’s explorations and writings of an overland crossing to the Pacific Ocean that caused Jefferson to consider the idea of the Corps of Discovery and explorations across the Louisiana Territory. The Louisiana
Purchase gave no claim to the U.S. of any lands west of the Rocky Mountains, as Jefferson acknowledged. David J. Wishart states in *The Fur Trade of the American West 1807-1840* that it was Captain Robert Gray’s discovery of the mouth of the Columbia River in 1792, the Lewis and Clark exploration of 1804-06, and the Pacific Fur Company’s settlement in Astoria from 1811 to 1813 that gave the United States even a tenuous claim on the Pacific Coast region.

It was Britain, Spain, France, and Russia, but mostly American Indian tribes who held the most valid claims to this region. Jefferson was not the only American interested in western lands, in fact, the westward surge of the inhabitants of the American frontier was beyond the control of the combined powers of the federal government as well as the resident Native American populations. As non-citizen Americans, the rights Native American tribes were not considered relevant to the U.S. federal policies nor to the dominant white American and European populations of the day. However, to those white explorers, traders, and trappers who dealt with tribal members on a regular basis, the relations with the native peoples were of paramount importance.

The explorers depended on the resident Indian populations for advice and trade. Trappers and traders often married tribal women and maintained positive relationships with Native Americans. Relationships were not always friendly and newcomers not always welcome. This project seeks to illustrate just how the explorers of Western America related to the Native American tribes and individuals as well as how these early contacts continued to influence those that followed.
As an eighth grade teacher of American history in a multiethnic classroom, I seek out historical events relating to the cultural history of my students. In the conflicts between Native American cultures and European-American culture, my students are often on both sides of this historical debate. The emphasis of curriculum development in this project will build an understanding of the fluid and diverse relationships between western explorers and Native American cultures. This fits within the California State History Standards 8.8 Students analyze the divergent paths of the American people in the West from 1800 to the mid-1800s and the challenges they faced.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Delores McBroom, Rod Sievers and Gayle Olson-Raymer challenged me to dig deeper in my journey to understand of our nation’s history, and opened new areas of that history to explore with my students. Their teaching styles and depth of knowledge allowed me to understand the variety of ways that history could be taught, researched and understood. Through the efforts of Dee, Gayle and Rod, hundreds of Humboldt County students have joined me in a better understanding of our history and fresh enthusiasm to learn more.

I am grateful for the mutual support offered by other participants in the Teaching American History project. Without our common goals and reassurances, this and several other essays would not have been completed.

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSTRACT</td>
<td>iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</td>
<td>vi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TABLE OF CONTENTS</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HISTORIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Mackenzie, (c.1755? – 1820)</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Thompson, (c.1770 – 1857)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jedediah Strong Smith, (c.1799 – 1831)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter Skene (aka Skeene, Skeen, and Skein) Ogden, (c.1790 – 1854)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Rutherford (aka Reddeford) Walker, (c.1798 – 1876)</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ewing Young (aka Joaquin Yong or Yoon) (c.1796 - 1841)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXPLORERS &amp; ENTREPRENEURS LESSON PLAN</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prior Content Knowledge and Skills.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hook: Jeremiah Johnson</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesson Content</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LITERATURE CITED</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDICES</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Introduction to Explorers or Entrepreneurs: Mountain Men of the Far West

After Christopher Columbus’s disappointing failure to find a shorter and thus more profitable path to the rich spice laden lands of Asia, others continued the quest. Chief among them was French navigator Jacques Cartier who led a search for a passage around or through the North American continent. In 1535, during the exploration of St. Lawrence River, impassable rapids blocked Cartier’s quest for an easy route to the Pacific Ocean approximately 550 miles from the river’s mouth. Discouraged, but not defeated, Cartier put ashore and began to trade in a native village at the future site of Montreal. In their eagerness to obtain metal objects from the French, the Indians traded anything of value, but it was the pelts of beaver that would have the greatest impact.

Cartier’s return to Europe with his trade goods sparked a revolution in the fashion industry that would last for over 200 years. Hat makers in France were delighted with the superior quality of felt that was produced from the fur removed from Cartier’s beaver pelts. The demand increased rapidly and the profits were so extreme that whole tribes were recruited to provide pelts. The trade grew and within a few decades the number of available beaver began to decline in eastern Canada - new territories to the west were required in order to feed the supply. By the turn of the 17th century, the center of the fur trade had shifted further inland to the west.

Continued demand and the depletion of the beaver populations within interior regions drove exploration farther across the North American continent. This project
investigates six of the earliest overland expedition leaders to gain access to the Pacific Coast of North America by overland routes. These were the “Mountain Men” and fur trappers of the United States and Canada. Their origins and experiences were as varied as their abilities, personalities and ambitions. Their predecessors were the European fur traders, but their lives were an amalgamation of American-European capitalism and Native American living conditions, culture and skills. By the end of the fifteenth century, these men did not even exist, but the creation and development of their kind would forever impact the lands they traveled and peoples they contacted.

In 1603, Samuel de Chaplain decided to bypass the Indians altogether by creating a new profession of free roaming voyageur to trade and trap beaver. A series of trading forts were built along the St. Lawrence River and by 1650, these voyageurs were exploring the Great Lakes region. However, the French were not alone in their desire to exploit this new market, and in 1610, British navigator Henry Hudson discovered a huge body of water extending farther west into central Canada than the Great Lakes; this body was named Hudson’s Bay (later renamed Hudson Bay).

In 1668, an English venture established Fort Charles, a trading post at the southern end of Hudson Bay. Two years later the British Crown granted a charter to “the Governor and Company of Adventurers of England Trading into Hudson’s Bay.”

This was the birth of the Hudson’s Bay Company, and it allowed the new company to trade in all lands drained by the streams flowing into Hudson’s Bay. In order to expand and develop British influence and open Canada to settlers, a series of forts was to be established where trade with the Indians could be centered. The forts
were built, and the fur trade continued, but the settlements in the interior failed to become established.

Hudson’s Bay Company’s biggest problem was that France also claimed this same area and French traders were in direct competition with them. British and French interests fought one another for decades in an attempt to control the Indian trade. After more than 35 years of sporadic fighting, French traders finally abandoned their effort to remove the English from Hudson Bay, but they still controlled the interior. Although the French were no longer a problem, a new competitor had been gaining ground, which prevented Hudson’s Bay Company from dominating the entire American fur trade.

Independent Scottish merchants were developing numerous small trading companies, mostly centered in Montreal. These “Pedlars,” as the British called them, were considered no threat because they competed against each other as much as they did against the Hudson’s Bay Company. Rather than being content to wait for Indians to bring furs to trade, the Scots employed voyageurs to travel to the north and west toward the edge of the known frontier. In 1775 several of these small companies joined together to form North West Company; a definite threat to Hudson’s Bay Company domination. Both companies expanded their explorations and penetration into uncontested territories in order to fully monopolize the fur trade in Canada and the Great Lakes region. At stake was Canada’s greatest fur bearing region; the Arctic watershed where no white man had ever tread. Eventually the Nor’Westers prevailed in the northwest and west, but the Hudson’s Bay Company remained a strong contender and both companies continued their
rivalry as the combined to open the Canadian frontier to the Pacific Coast. Finally, in 1821 the rival companies joined forces under the name Hudson’s Bay Company.

As with the fur trade north of the Great Lakes, the French also led the way overland south to the Mississippi River. A series of French trader/explorers traveled down the Mississippi led by Joliet and Marquette in 1673. Later, in 1682, La Salle explored the river to its mouth and claimed all lands drained by it for France. He also named the territory Louisiana to honor King Louis XIV of France.

Although there was considerable trade occurring along the Mississippi River and in the United States, no large companies developed to control the fur trade until early in the 19th century. In general, the American situation was unfavorable to the establishment of a profitable fur trade. The Americans were preoccupied with establishing a new nation, the Revolutionary War engaged the attention of the American public, Indians were more hostile under British influence, and Britain continued to hold posts in fur trade regions even after hostilities had ended.

On the west coast, the situation was very different. Most of the early white exploration of the present states of Washington, Oregon, and California was accomplished under the auspices of the Spanish, English, American and Russian governments. Each of these nations sent sailing ships along the Pacific Coast in order to determine the areas suitability for colonization or exploitation. The Spanish backed Catholic Church aggressively began to colonize California in 1769 when a mission was established in San Diego. Over the next fifty-four years, the Spanish built twenty more missions in a string along the coast. Although exploration continued, there were no
permanent white settlements between San Francisco and Russian towns on Alaska’s Kodiak Island until after the beginning of the 19th century.

Even though European nations held claim to the land, the American people were on the move west. The United States government was blocked from expansion by the claims of the British to the north (the French had relinquished all claims on Canada to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris on February 10, 1763), to the immediate west by French claims to the Louisiana Territory, and to the Pacific Coast by Spanish, Russian, and British territorial claims. Though the government was blocked, the Americans and European emigrants traveling through America were more than willing and able to transplant themselves onto new lands.

Whites were able to trade and travel into the Louisiana territory after French claims to the land were purchased by the United States government. They were not, however, legally allowed to trap. “The distinction between trading and trapping presented legal difficulties…obtained the federal trading license required by law, even though they intended to trap rather than trade. The Superintendent of Indian Affairs in St. Louis undoubtedly understood the difference but chose to overlook it; he was William Clark of Lewis and Clark renown.”1 With a de facto authorization from the American and British governments, trappers and traders began to move from the south along the Missouri River and from the north from Canada and the Great Lakes area.

The men who entered the fur trade had a social and economic class structure of their own. Most men worked for a fixed or agreed upon wage and were called engagés, employees of whichever trading concern employed them, and the engagé had a class
structure within the company. At the bottom of the structure were the common laborers, the so-called ‘pork eaters’ who performed the camp duties of tending fires, preparing food, tending stock, and completing any lowly task that others delegated. Higher in the structure were the ‘engaged’ hunters, trappers, and traders who supplied meat and furs to the company for an annual salary. The highest engaged trapped using company equipment and supplies and received a share of the profits at a stipulated price. The free trapper resided at the pinnacle of the social order. He equipped and supplied himself, traveled alone or with a small brigade, and sold his furs to whichever company or individual buyer suited his tastes.

This project investigates the lives, problems, conquests and ambitions of six men who led the way to the Pacific Coast of North America. They were a diverse lot, with a variety of backgrounds, ambitions, and abilities. Some were active businessmen in a lucrative trade, others worked as explorer-engagés for a variety of companies, still others were their own company; looking for opportunities to exploit the own abilities as they came available. Each of these men blazed trails and made conquests that others followed.

Alexander Mackenzie, (c.1755? – 1820)

The history of the expansion of the United States of America from a slender strip of land along the eastern seaboard of North America to its present size has been written and rewritten more times than I would like to consider. The fact that the exploration of the fur trade mountain men opened the western frontier to American and European emigrant settlement is well known. Academic as well as popular literature is full of ample collections of anecdotal descriptions of historic events concerning the trappers and
traders of the American frontier. The information in the stories is valuable as well as entertaining, but as with all stories, it is often incomplete. The mountain men walked, rode, and floated over much of the western United States, but why did they do it, especially knowing the extreme danger that unfamiliar territories and peoples could impart.

The first person to cross the North American continent north of Mexico presents a case in point. Alexander Mackenzie led several expeditions to the west of the Great Lakes in an effort to open new areas to fur trading and develop a Pacific coast center for the lucrative Oriental fur trade. He continually searched ways to increase profits and develop a better organization. In his two-volume work, *The Fur Trade*, Paul Chrisler Phillips states the situation well when he writes:

> In view of the great opportunities for trade which spread out before him, Mackenzie forgot the cautious policy he had been instructed to maintain, and was fired by the ambition for still greater expansion. He chafed at the boredom of remaining in a post to wait for Indians to bring in furs. It may be that his spirit was more that of an explorer than a trader. At any rate, he resolved to learn more of the fur country beyond his trading stations.  

The main point of Alexander Mackenzie’s expedition was to find a practical overland or waterborne path to the Pacific Ocean. Both of his most important explorations failed to yield this desired result. He had great hopes that the waters of Lake Athabasca were actually the headwaters of the Columbia River. Instead, on his first voyage, he traveled down stream and charted the entire length of the river that would bear his name from its headwaters to its ice bound mouth. The Mackenzie River is the second
only to the Mississippi River in its length and drainage size in North America. In his

*History of the Pacific Coast*, John Walton Caughey states:

Mackenzie ventured out into the ice-filled ocean to carry the search still farther. It was impossible to go beyond Whale Island, and as Mackenzie rightly concluded it was useless. He had “proved without a doubt that there is not a North-West Passage below this latitude,” and he believed that it would be “generally allowed that no passage is practicable in a higher latitude, the sea being eternally covered with ice.”

Although this exploration did not produce the immediate monetary success that he desired, it did not totally dissuade further attempts. “In this voyage,” Mackenzie wrote, “I was not only without the necessary books and instruments, but also felt myself deficient in the sciences of astronomy and navigation. I did not hesitate, therefore, to undertake a winter’s voyage in order to procure the one and acquire the other.” In his own words, Mackenzie could be interpreted as saying that he had neither the tools nor the training of an explorer.

Mackenzie’s second attempt to the Pacific Ocean, in 1793, was a mixture of success and failure. After considerable struggle, he managed to lead the first expedition overland to the Pacific Ocean since Cabeza de Vaca crossed Mexico, in 1535. Although he attained his desired destination, the path was unrealistic for commercial travel and the North West Company did not pursue Pacific Coast business for the next fifteen years. The frontier had been pushed back through Mackenzie’s exploits, but little is mentioned of him in most texts on the fur trade and American exploration.

There are probably several reasons why Alexander Mackenzie is not often discussed: he limited his explorations to Canada not the United States; not North
American by birth, Mackenzie came from Scotland; and he found no great new wealth in the territories explored. Of the twenty published books researched for this project, Mackenzie is mentioned in only eight, and only four of those mention his most important personal work: the fur trade business.⁴

Only three authors describe the business side of Alexander Mackenzie’s life. Phillips and Caughey illustrate industry aspects of Mackenzie’s trade. Both authors discuss the cooperative effort that Mackenzie called his Grand Design to eliminate the unproductive competition between the main fur companies in Canada. Phillips describes a man with an entrepreneurial vision of tapping into the extremely lucrative Oriental fur market when he states:

For such an undertaking, Mackenzie believed that a single great company was essential. The North West Company lacked capital and credit to finance such a venture, and some agreement with the Hudson’s Bay Company appeared necessary. Such a union might prove strong enough to wrest from the East India Company some relaxation of its monopoly of the trade of China.⁵

Phillips writes in considerable detail, dedicating a full chapter on “Business, Politics, and the Fur Trade.” Mackenzie is one of the most prominent individuals in struggles of three main companies: Hudson’s Bay Company, North West Company, and the short lived XY Company that was created by Mackenzie when the other two companies initially failed to merge.

Although Phillips depicts Mackenzie as a hard driving businessman, another point of view is expressed by Gordon Speck in his book, *Northwest Explorations*. Speck portrays Mackenzie as “a canny fur trader and the most indomitable explorer ever to ferret a secret from the interior of North America.” Speck is the only author to express
the view of Mackenzie that, “He never really cared for the fur business, however, always considering it merely a stepping stone to his real career, exploration.”

Ultimately, partly through Mackenzie’s pressure with trade conflicts in Canada, the fur trade was pushed into the American Rocky Mountains and American merchants were brought into prominence. The publishing of Mackenzie’s book, *Voyages from Montreal* received much recognition and interest in Europe and America, but it spurred little exploration in the coastal region between present-day Northern California and Alaska for several years. Thomas Jefferson, however, became very interested in the region after reading a print of the book, and a copy was included with Lewis and Clark on their famed Corps of Discovery. The British crown knighted Alexander Mackenzie after publishing the journals of his explorations. Becoming extremely wealthy as a fur trader, Mackenzie finally married and settled in his native Scotland.

David Thompson, (c.1770 – 1857)

David Thompson is described in many different ways in a variety of texts: great geographer, skilled astronomer, mathematician, fur trader, factor, indefatigable trader-explorer, great trader-explorer-geographer, British fur-trader, a peculiar Nor’wester, ornithologist, astronomer as well as a fur man. These are very shallow descriptions of a much more complicated individual. Other than naming Thompson as being the first to travel the Columbia River headwaters to the mouth, these authors make little mention of any other information about this important explorer. Several texts explore Thompson in greater detail.
Thompson served the Hudson’s Bay Company (hereafter, HBC) as an apprentice, starting at the age of 14, and as a trader, but his true ambitions were frustrated for ten years. He made it obvious to all that he was interested more in exploration than in the fur trade alone. HBC had no intention of allowing Thompson to explore new regions when they were making huge profits with their present procedures. Thompson finally left for the greater opportunities that the North West Company offered. HBC lost many of its most adventurous men due to its conservative attitude.

Phillips gives the most detailed description in his book, *The Fur Trade*. The Hudson’s Bay Company was content to trade in the areas that it controlled. In 1787, David Thompson, a trader for the company began to explore while stationed on the upper Saskatchewan River for several years. Later, in 1793, he was sent on a trading mission to the Churchill River, but as Phillips states:

Thompson again showed his interest in exploration and apparently neglected trade. For his efforts to explore, he was rebuked by the company officials, and in 1797 he resigned his post and entered the service of the North West Company. In his new service he found the kind of work best suited to his genius.  

The North West Company had expanded its control over Mackenzie River drainage after the initial exploration was completed, but was reluctant to establish connections to the Pacific coastal region. Not until 1805 did the company’s executives decide to heed Alexander Mackenzie’s words by sending Simon Fraser to the Pacific Ocean on the river that today bears his name in an attempt to create a profitable link to the sea. Fraser used basically the same route that Mackenzie had twelve years earlier and arrived at the same conclusions – it was an unrealistic route for commerce.
When the North West Company received an offer from American businessman, John Astor, to join in a venture on the Pacific Coast in order to access the North American to Orient fur trade, officials realized that the NWC was in danger of losing its significant advantage in the area. The NWC refused the offer and sent David Thompson to survey the Columbia River headwaters to the mouth in the spring of 1807. Over several years, Thompson explored toward the Columbia in a southwesterly direction from the upper Saskatchewan River.

By 1810, Goetzmann mentions that:

However, during these years, despite his great interest in exploration, Thompson seems to have been primarily concerned with establishing fur-trading posts among the transmontane tribes that would insure the Northwesterns against threatened competition from their arch-rival, the Hudson’s Bay Company. Thompson chose not to explore the Columbia to its mouth. Instead he concentrated on consolidating company gains by expanding as fast as possible his network of posts and trading alliances with the friendly Indians who live west of the Rockies in the drainage of the upper Columbia.\(^8\)

Phillips and Michael Golay are the only other authors to mention this period, but Golay also mentions that this delay allowed Astor’s company to reach the mouth of the Columbia first. Had Thompson continued to the mouth of the Columbia River and established a trading fort there, the United States would have had no claim to any territory along the Pacific Coast. The NWC wanted to have a preexisting claim on the region before Astor’s party arrived to establish a fort. David Thompson was sent to map, explore, and claim the Columbia River and its watershed for Britain and the NWC in order to eliminate any claims that the Americans might gain by being first to the
Columbia. As it was, Thompson arrived at the mouth of the Columbia River four months after the arrival of Astor’s ship, *Tonquin*, and thus lost a significant advantage.

In his book, *The Tide of Empire*, Golay states that:

The Canadian scholar Arthur S. Morton has argued that the North West Company had aspired to dominate the lower Columbia at least since 1801, and that word of the Astor venture lent renewed urgency to Thompson’s task. Morton faults him for “mistaken leisureliness and misjudgments” … The delay, Morton claimed, cost the North West Company – and Britain – the chance to be first in the field at the mouth of the Columbia.

The fact that Thompson made significant explorations especially in regards to commercial expansion of a large section of the Pacific Northwest does not impress at least one author. Gordon Speck states that:

The explorations of David Thompson do not, of course, rival those of Sir Alexander Mackenzie. Thompson did much of his work on routes and in territories already roughly outlined by others…He opened Athabasca pass for use. He left a map which served for a generation as the only safe guide to the Canadian West…If such a record places him just below the greatest explorers, it also elevates him far above the average.

More than anything else David Thompson was a servant of the companies that employed him. He spent more time building trading forts than any of the other well-known explorers of his day, not that he necessarily wanted to do so, but that he most likely felt that it would be advantageous to his company. He didn’t have the business ambitions of Mackenzie, but desired to put his scientific training and abilities to good use by zealously mapping much of the present Northwest United States as well as Western Canada. Although others explored further into unknown territories, no one kept nearly as accurate scientific records. Thompson’s work opened the Pacific Northwest to commerce and provided an important scientific foundation for further exploration.
In his book *Exploration and Empire*, William Goetzmann states that:

The most important explorer of all was David Thompson, who not only crossed the mountains but explored the entire Columbia River system as well. Though his main concern was perforce the fur trade, and much of his time was spent establishing trading posts west of the mountains, at heart Thompson was an explorer and mapmaker. Before he had joined the Northwest Company in 1797, Thompson had traveled over 9,000 miles in the service of the Hudson’s Bay Company, mapping its entire territory as he went along. As he made his maps, and thousands of careful astronomical calculations, they were forwarded to London and there were made available to the civilized world through the maps of great English cartographer Aaron Arrowsmith. Indirectly, Thompson’s early explorations and Arrowsmith’s maps led to the launching of the Lewis and Clark expedition, for they were one of the chief sources of inspiration that led President Jefferson to conceive of his policy of transcontinental exploration.  

David Thompson set the standard for scientific observation and expedition journals in the Pacific Northwest. His detailed records of the Columbia River along with Lewis and Clark’s observations farther to the east, completed the requirements for the creation of accurate maps of the region. No other man in the fur trade added so much to the scientific knowledge of the Pacific Northwest in general, and the Columbia River Basin in particular.

Jedediah Strong Smith, (c.1799 – 1831)

Of all of the well-known mountain men/fur traders, there are none that are written about more than Jedediah Strong Smith. Perhaps it is because he was the first American to travel through the new frontiers he entered, or simply his luck at surviving so many situations that others could not. His story reads more like a dime novel than a series of true-life adventures.
In 1822, Jedediah Smith answered the advertisement by the St. Louis *Missouri Gazette & Public Advertiser* that put the American fur trade into gear and promoted St. Louis as the center of the Rocky Mountain fur trade:

TO
Enterprising Young Men
The subscriber wishes to engage ONE HUNDRED MEN, to ascend the river Missouri to its source, there to be employed for one, two or three years.—For particulars inquire of Major Andrew Henry, near the Lead Mines, in the County of Washington, (who will ascend with, and command the party) or to the subscriber at St. Louis.

This is the advertisement that introduced many men to the annals of American history. Smith himself wrote many years later of his introduction to the fur trade:

In the spring I came down to St Louis and hearing of an expedition that was fitting out for the prosecution of the fur trade on the head of the Missouri by Gen Wm H Ashley and Major Henry I called on Gen Ashley to make an engagement to go with him as a hunter. I found no difficulty in making a bargain on as good terms as I had reason to expect.\textsuperscript{12}

As an American explorer, there are none that surpass his achievements. Those accomplishments speak for themselves. Several questions arise in attempting to determine Smith’s motivation for his westward explorations. Was it monetary gain, a desire to view the unknown, or a combination of the two forces?

Utley views Jedediah Smith as a businessman when he and two partners purchase William Ashley’s fur trade business:

The rocky course of Smith, Jackson & Sublette confirmed Ashley’s appraisal of how to make money in the fur trade. The supplier made the money. The trapper never got out of debt, never earned enough money to leave the mountains for the comforts of home. Those few who did often discovered that the mountains retained such power over them that they never found the happiness the money was intended to buy.\textsuperscript{13}
Several authors state unequivocally that Smith was determined to travel to California, and that was his soul purpose in to the southwest of the Great Salt Lake in August of 1826. Most adamant in his assertions is W. J. Ghent, who states: “With a view, no doubt, of finding a way to Southern California, the new firm resolved upon an exploration of the unknown country to the southwest of Great Salt Lake.”

Ghent adds a footnote on the same page to reinforce his assertion that Smith purposefully entered Spanish held territory by noting:

In his dealings with Echeandia [Jose Maria Echeandia – Governor-General of Alta California], Smith was not entirely candid. His plea, as well as that made for him by the ship captains, was that he had entered California solely because of the want of horses, provisions, and water. There can be no doubt that both entrances into California were deliberately planned.

There can be little doubt that Smith did not fully confide in Echeandia because rather than leaving the way he had promised, he traveled north into California’s central valley in order to wait out the winter months. After crossing the Sierra Nevada range in late spring and attending the summer rendezvous, Smith did purposefully return to California in order to gather the men that he had left there.

Chittenden seems to insinuate that Smith purposefully entered Spanish California when he describes his actions after talking to Echeandia:

Smith was not disposed to leave at once a country which he had come so far to see, and moving back from the coast he turned northwest and traveled some three hundred miles parallel with the coast, and at a distance from it which he estimated at one hundred and fifty miles. He spent a good part of the winter on this journey and turned it to advantage in trapping. Spring found him in the vicinity of the headwaters of the San Joaquin and Merced rivers.
The most likely reason for claiming Jedediah Smith’s intention to reach California is the existence of a single letter. A portion of the letter was printed in Dale Morgan’s book and quoted by Gloria Griffen Cline, who makes the assertion:

It seems clear, however, that Smith had in mind from the first to push on to the Pacific Coast. Daniel Potts, who was an accurate observer, wrote in a letter to his brother on July 16, 1826 that in a short time he expected “to explore the country lying S.W. or the Great Lake where we shall probably winter. This country has never been visited by any white person – from thence to what place I cannot say, but expect the next letter will be dated mouth of the Columbia River.”

Historical author, Richard Dillon, takes a noncommittal stand when unable to assess the truth. “To what extent this picture led Smith and his partners to initiate the California expedition, or how far it played upon the curiosity and imagination of the trappers who composed the company, must be left to speculation.”

Whether this was wishful thinking by Potts as he repeated talk around the campfire is not known. The existence of California was well known to the general public, and it was also common knowledge to the men in Smith’s party that California lay to the southwest of the Great Salt Lake. Goetzmann takes the opposite point of view and uses Smith’s own words as evidence:

He put it quite simply in a letter to General William Clark, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis: “I started about the 22nd of August, 1826, from the Great Salt Lake, with a party of fifteen men, for the purpose of exploring the country S.W. which was entirely unknown to me, and of which I could collect no satisfactory information from the Indians who inhabited this country on its N.E. borders.” At the outset, then, his object was, not to reach the Pacific, but to open up and explore new country.
Other authors reinforce Smith’s main assertion at the same time leaving the possibility that the ultimate goal may have been California in the first place. Among them is a statement by John Caughey:

… when a group at Jackson’s Hole in 1826 fell to discussing the possibility of expanding their efforts toward California, Smith was the logical choice for leader. He set out with a score of men to survey trapping possibilities toward the southwest and to seek a new outlet to market through California.\textsuperscript{20}

Harrison Clifford Dale continues this idea in his book and opens up the possibility that Smith and of course business partners, William Sublette and David Jackson may have been interested in the entrepreneurial ideas of John Jacob Astor:

Besides determining the fur-bearing resources of the new country, Smith may also have had in view the possibility of shipping furs from one of the Californian Ports. He would thus revive the project of John Jacob Astor, fifteen years earlier, but with a central or southern Pacific port.\textsuperscript{21}

Smith did indeed sell his beaver pelts at port along the Pacific coast: first in San Francisco to Captain John Bradshaw of the ship, Franklin out of Boston, he later sold to the Hudson’s Bay Company’s establishment at Fort Vancouver.

With the money that he attained in San Francisco, Smith purchased 150 horses and 100 mules. In a true businessman like fashion Smith attempted to find a silver lining to his California problems and was attempting to earn something out of what was becoming a rather unprofitable expedition. “He had paid $10 a head, expected to get $50 each at rendezvous, and hoped to begin a horse trade between California and the Rockies as a by-product of the fur trade.”\textsuperscript{22}

Smith’s true motives seem to indicate that he wanted to develop a strong business enterprise and that exploration was the way that he wanted to do it. Utley states it best:
Beaver made possible Jedediah Smith’s exploratory achievements. His trapping ventures sustained his compilation of geographic and scientific data. He mastered the art of catching beaver as well as any mountain man, yet exploration remained his central interest. Indeed, his greatest feats of discovery taxed his business associates with unsurpassed cost in lives and dollars. Shortly before his death, he revealed his true priorities to a friend: “I started into the mountains, with the determination of becoming a first-rate hunter, of making myself thoroughly acquainted with the character and habits of the Indians, of tracing out the sources of the Columbia river, and following it to its mouth; and of making the whole profitable to me, and I have perfectly succeeded.”

As for the ultimate destination of Smith’s 1826 expedition to the southwest of the Great Salt Lake, it would seem strange to me if Smith would have passed up a rich beaver producing area and kept heading toward California. That would seem to indicate that Smith would be jeopardizing the future of his company in his quest for the unknown. As it is, there was no such beaver region until the party reached central California. It is quite conceivable that the troop passed a point where they could safely return and thus had to travel forward in order to find food, feed, and supplies.

Jedediah Smith did manage to survive two expeditions to California. Survive is the correct statement in that with a slight twist, he could have ended his life much earlier than he did. During both expeditions, Smith was either detained or jailed by Spanish authorities (as a spy or at least an illegal trespasser), only to be helped by sea captains intervening in his favor. On his first excursion, he ran out of water on his return trip through the Great Basin to the point that the men had to bury themselves in sand to keep cool, and one man who could travel no further had to be left behind (Smith did find water and managed to travel back to save the man). Utley states, “Jedediah Smith had missed the Humboldt [River] on his return trek from California in 1827 and had almost perished
as a result.” On his second journey toward California, his party was attacked by Mohave Indians on the Colorado River. Smith had no difficulty with the Indians when he first traveled through their territory, but by the time he met them again, the Ewing Young party had harassed and killed Indians and generally destroyed hopes for a positive Indian/White relationship in the Southwest for many years. Smith decided not to risk a return trip through the harsh Great Basin or along the Colorado, but rather to stay along the Pacific Coast. On this leg of the passage, Smith’s party was attacked by Indians in Oregon; killing all but Smith and three others. All four found refuge at Fort Vancouver along the lower Columbia River.

Perhaps it’s the narrow escapes that are intriguing about Smith’s life, but that is not how he will be remembered. As his biographer Dale Morgan writes:

During his eight years in the West Jedediah Smith made the effective discovery of South Pass; he was the first man to reach California overland from the American frontier, the first to cross the Sierra Nevada, the first to travel the length and width of the Great Basin, the first to reach Oregon by a journey up the California coast. He saw more of the West than any man of his time, and was familiar with it from the Missouri River to the Pacific, from Mexico to Canada.

Van Every continues in a similar mode to Morgan, “Notable as were his achievements as leader, hunter, fighter, organizer, negotiator, explorer, and discoverer, his greater reputation rests upon his being unquestionably the most indefatigable traveler of all time.” Ultimately, although Jedediah Smith did forge new trails into uncharted regions, the explorations cost the lives of 26 of his men. He arrived back with his partners with little to show for all of the effort and expense. From a monetary point of
view, Smith always seemed to go a little too far with not enough profit. It would be left to those that followed him to reap the great rewards.

Peter Skene (aka Skeene, Skeen, and Skein) Ogden, (c.1790 – 1854)

Canadian Peter Skene Ogden wandered the frontier in much different circumstances than Jedediah Smith. He began working in the fur trade at a very young age. Beginning as a clerk in John Astor’s American Fur Company, Ogden soon transferred to the North West Company by the time he was fifteen or sixteen years old. An aggressive and combative man, he worked a variety of posts for about seven years until 1817. A year later he was given command of a post in what is now central Saskatchewan. By 1820 he had suitably impressed his superiors and was given command of a fur trapping brigade centered at Spokane House and Thompson’s River post.

1821 was an important year for Ogden and many others. It brought about the merger of the North West Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company. Ogden was not incorporated into the new company for two main reasons: he was outspoken critic of the HBC and he had escaped indictment for murdering an HBC Indian fur trader. After traveling to London to meet with high-level officials of the company, he was reinstated and put in charge of the Spokane House District through the recommendation of Sir George Simpson, the governor of the Northern Department. Ogden had made a positive impression on his superiors in London, but Simpson, for one, did not totally trust the man and saw him as a personal competitor.

Thus he badly misgauged Ogden as a man of boundless ambition who was superior to his colleagues, to be sure, but who was a cool, calculating fellow uninfluenced by any good or honorable principles! He thought that Ogden was
capable of doing anything to gain his ends. He wrote privately: “In fact, I consider him one of the most unprincipled men in the Indian country.” Yet he appreciated Ogden’s gifts of leadership and his rare appetite for exploration. He possessed a genuine geographical curiosity akin to that of Jedediah Smith. Ogden was also a far better journal keeper than most of his colleagues, since he was blessed with intellectual curiosity and was a keen observer and an interesting chronicler.27

After a few years in the Oregon territory, Ogden received his most important assignment – to lead a series of trapping and exploratory expeditions into the Snake River region in order to trap as much as possible in this highly contested area. “…handed responsibility for the Snake River territory to the veteran trapper Peter Skene Ogden, with explicit instructions to deplete beaver stocks along the eastern marches of the Oregon Country to keep the Americans out.”28 Simpson felt that the best way to stop the American westward movement was to create an area devoid of beaver.

With these orders, Ogden led six expeditions into the Snake River region from 1824 to 1830. On the first expedition, he was accompanied by about 75 members of his brigade, plus seven unwelcome Americans (Jedediah Smith among them) on their way back from the Pacific Coast to a rendezvous on the Green River. Ogden blamed the Americans for the bad luck that befell this expedition: it nearly ended in disaster when Ogden’s party was directly accused of trespassing into American territory by a brigade of American free trappers (both parties were actually trespassing on Mexican territory at the time) and nine trappers, stock, journals, and furs were lost in the rapids of the Columbia on the return trip. Speck is the only author who describes a rather doubtful situation with Ashley where he states, “About this time he jockeyed Ogden into selling him $75,000 worth of furs for next to nothing. No one knows why. With these in hand he took all of
his men and trade goods and tramped to the meeting at Henry Fork”. I say doubtful in that Ogden was a high ranking *engagé* and would not have willingly given anything advantageous to any of the troublesome American trappers with whom he had already had territorial conflicts.

Other authors do, however, discuss extensively the problems that Ogden faced with desertions of his men toward the American side. The Hudson’s Bay Company was hampered is several way by their organization. Due to several factors, including the expense of operating forts (vs. the American rendezvous system), the prices of trade goods and provisions were extremely high, and the prices offered for furs was exceedingly low. Because of the price discrepancies, many free trappers in Ogden’s brigade deserted, taking their valuable furs with them. Ogden’s own journal states how he felt about the problem.

Here I am… Surrounded on all Sides by enemies & our expectations & hopes blasted for returns this year, to remain in this quarter any longer it would merely be to trap Beaver for the Americans for I Seriously apprehend there are Still more of the Trappers who would Willingly join them indeed the tempting offers made them independent the low price they Sell their goods are too great for them to resist & altho’ I represented to them all these offers were held out to them as so many baits Still it is without effect.

Peter Ogden was impressed with the fact that the Americans would pay as much as eight times as much for beaver as his company was offering. He contacted his superiors and the end result was that the price of beaver pelts increased and provision prices dropped to more competitive levels in areas where Hudson’s Bay expeditions could come into contact with free trapping American concerns.
While Ogden was at Fort Vancouver preparing for his fifth expedition into the Snake River area, he became reacquainted with Jedediah Smith who had recently survived the massacre of his men on the Umpqua River in Oregon territory and sought sanctuary in the British fort. Ogden was fascinated by Smith’s journey to the southwest and Mexican California. In the summer of 1828, upon returning from the Snake River, he began preparing for his own expedition into the areas Jedediah Smith had described. Although Ogden and Smith worked for competing interests, it would seem likely that the two men would get along well in that they shared similar religious practices (very much atypical of mountain men). Each was a natural leader of men and a devout Christian.

That element, to which many of the leaders and responsible trappers belonged, was sober, literate, and often deeply religious, Peter Skene Ogden, one of the most illustrious of the explorers of the Far West, gathered his men together daily for public prayers when they were on the march. Jedediah Smith, perhaps the greatest of all the American mountain men, was as devout Christian as a Scotch Covenanter and as faithful in his prayers and daily reading of the Bible. ³¹

In September of 1829, Ogden led a brigade of approximately thirty men from the Columbia River in a southeastern direction across what is now eastern Oregon. This extremely dry terrain drained both men and horses. Many of the horses died and their emaciated bodies were eaten by the starving brigade. After a month of travel, they discovered what they called the “Unknown River” also known as the Ogden River or Mary’s River. The river (totally missed by Smith and later discovered independently by Joseph Walker) now bears the name that Fremont chose: the Humboldt River. Travel along this stream became the only practical way across the Great Basin.
Ogden proved to be such a prodigious explorer (“a man of great leg”) that, eventually, the doctor [McLoughlin, chief factor of Hudson’s Bay Company] (with amazing geographical assurance –and ignorance) asked the impossible of him: to tie the Snake to the Willamette. (Like Lewis and Clark, he was ignorant of the Cascade Range.) Amazingly, Ogden did just that. And, as a sideline, he investigated the Klamath Lakes basin, the Siskiyou and Shasta barrier, California’s Central Valley, and even “the Spanish River,” the Colorado! Easily the Company’s ablest field commander, he trapped more and explored farther than any other individual in the trade, with the possible exception of his American rival, Jedediah Smith.32

After leaving fresh water at the Humboldt Sink, Ogden’s brigade traveled southwest where the trail of Jedediah Smith was joined. They continued along this course guided by at least Smith’s writings and perhaps a survivor of one of the earlier Smith expeditions. Ogden’s troop traveled down the Colorado the very near the Gulf of California before doubling back and traveling northward in the California interior.

Ogden intended to avoid conflict with the Mexican authorities and succeeded by staying away from the coastal missions. He traveled northward to San Francisco, trapping as they went. Reentering the Central Valley, the brigade traveled and trapped along the Sacramento River until the Pit River tributary was discovered. The troop then headed northeast following a trail familiar to him from a previous expedition, returning by way of Fort Nez Perces.

This was to be Ogden’s last expedition into the Snake River region, and he was considering retirement, but once again, his superiors had their own plans for his future. Upon arrival at Fort Vancouver, he was relieved of his Snake River command and ordered to establish a trading post on the Nass River in northern British Columbia; then known as New Caledonia.
I have been a wanderer far and near, my perverse fate never permitting me to sojourn long in the same spot; but driving me about without cessation, like a ball on a tennis-court. While in the heyday of youth, this vagrant kind of life was not without its charms to one of my unsettled disposition; with advancing years, however, soberer tastes, and less adventurous desires have crept over me, until I could heartily wish for a life of greater tranquility. The potentates who rule my destiny seem, however, otherwise inclined, and I now discover, to my overpowering chagrin and discomfort, that what I began willingly, and regarded as amusement, I must continue in earnest and against the grain, like physic administered to one who might with it “to the dogs” – “le flux, m’amena le reflux m’meme.” When, oh, when, will this life of involuntary peregrination cease?\footnote{33}

After five successful years as commander of Fort Simpson (originally Fort Nass), Ogden was promoted to the rank of Chief Factor of the New Caledonia District. This was the highest field grade in the Hudson’s Bay Company. He served well in this position for nine years at his new headquarters at Fort St. James on Stuart Lake (B.C.).

In 1844, Peter Ogden left for a one-year furlough, which he devoted to visiting friends in a variety of locations in Canada, New York, and England. On his return, he accompanied the secret Warre-Vavasour military expedition that was attempting to assess the possibility of an American invasion from the west across the Rocky Mountains (the boundary between the U.S. and Canada was not nearly fixed at this point in time). The disguised brigade crossed the Rockies traveled to Fort Colville on the Columbia River. From there it continued exploring the region down river to Fort Vancouver. By June of 1846, the boundary was fixed at the 49th parallel and the Oregon territory became American property.

Although Fort Vancouver was in American territory, the fort itself remained Hudson’s Bay Company property, with Peter Ogden as Chief Factor in charge. In the final history making event of Peter Ogden’s long career, he negotiated the release of
forty-seven prisoners taken by the Cayuse Indians during a raid on a mission at Waiilatpu (near Walla Walla). It was only through Ogden’s experience, knowledge, personal relationships, and the respect that was held for the Hudson’s Bay Company that all forty-seven captives were returned. Through this effort as well as in business and personal dealings as Chief Factor at Fort Vancouver, Ogden engendered great popular support and was unofficially called “Governor Ogden.”

Through his sixty-year life Peter Skene Ogden left an indelible mark on the western frontier. He was the discoverer of the Humboldt River, the upper waters of California’s Sacramento River, Mount Shasta, and explorer of the Great Basin areas in Idaho, Utah, Nevada, and most extensively in the Snake River region. He was an aggressive competitor, explorer, and business manager who helped maintain a British presence in the Northwest even after the United States took control of the region.

Joseph Rutherford (aka Reddeford) Walker, (c.1798 – 1876)

Joseph R. Walker was probably the most competent of all of the American mountain men of his day. He was also one of the most multitalented of all the trailblazers of the 19th century. He was born in 1798 in the frontier area of Tennessee. He moved with his family to the Missouri territory in 1819. Walker was headed toward the mountains of New Mexico with a group of fur hunters by 1820 or 1821. New Mexico was not American territory and he was imprisoned for trespassing on Spanish land. In exchange for his freedom, Walker fought Indians in a Spanish–led campaign. Because of the assistance the Americans were granted trade concessions in New Mexico. This began the Santa Fe Trail and its trade (Walker was later hired by the U.S. federal government to
help survey the trail). Walker could have maintained a profitable trade on the Santa Fe Trail, but other opportunities interested him even more:

Perhaps most atypical, for Walker beaver were not the West’s main attraction. To be sure, he excelled at trapping. Among the earliest Americans to hunt the streams of New Mexico, he had worked off and on with a fellow Tennessean, Ewing Young, in the early 1820s. Other ventures, however, proved more appealing, as guide, hunter, drover, and trader – specialties in demand during the formative years of the Santa Fe Trail. As an able county sheriff on the Missouri frontier, Walker displayed still another side of his multifaceted character. Finally, in the tradition of Jedediah Smith, trapping furnished the means for Walker to find his true calling. As his biographer concludes: “What Walker wanted was to be a free-lance explorer, a private Meriwether Lewis or William Clark. With sufficient men, resources and freedom of action to travel and live for extended periods in the unsettled and, better, unexplored regions of the west.”

The full story about Joe Walker includes an individual of rather interesting and questionable intentions: Benjamin Bonneville. It has been a puzzle to historians whether Bonneville was an entrepreneur in search of wealth in the fur trade, or a spy for the U.S. government seeking information on strengths, weaknesses and numbers of British, Spanish and Indian tribes in the Pacific Northwest. He had taken a leave of absence from the U.S. Army, been financed by private individuals (even though he had now experience in the fur trade), and was reinstated into the military after he had overstayied his leave by two years only through an order from President Andrew Jackson. “Whether in addition to his stated purposes Bonneville was secretly employed as a government agent to report on British holding in the Pacific Northwest is a tantalizing hypothesis that cannot be absolutely affirmed or denied. To add more intrigue to the literature, Washington Irving wrote the popular book *The Rocky Mountains*, the first in-depth book about Bonneville and his expeditions where Bonneville was portrayed as an honest
entrepreneur and Joseph Walker as the villain. Even though nearly all authors mention Irving’s works, and some quote him, most note that his claims are not substantiated by other historians. Several authors stated that much of Irving’s information came from interviews with Bonneville himself and that either Irving or Bonneville may have attempted to skew the text. Edgeley W. Todd, a contributor to *Mountain Men and Fur Traders of the Far West* claims as fact many of Irving’s comments about Walker and Bonneville. In the same book, another contributor, Ardis M. Walker, disputes Irving’s assertion that Walker was only to investigate the Great Salt Lake only. Although his intentions may be questioned, what is known is that Bonneville hired Joseph Walker on an expedition that ultimately crossed the Great Basin to California.

With forty hired men and twenty adventurous free trappers, the expedition began traveling into uncharted region around the northern shoreline of the Great Salt Lake. Walker ignored the southerly course of Jedediah Smith after finding the area too inhospitable and instead began trapping north of the Great Salt Lake. The troop’s leader, Joe Walker is summed up well by the company clerk who traveled with him, Zenas Leonard, “Mr. Walker was a man well calculated to undertake a business of this kind. He was well hardened to the hardships of the wilderness – understood the character of the Indians very well – was kind and affable to his men, but at the same time at liberty to command without giving offense – and to explore unknown regions was his chief delight.”

Mainly because they carried a Mexican visa, (unlike Jedediah Smith) the expedition was greeted cordially by the Mexican officials, and the men were allowed to
travel freely, take whatever game they required, and stay through the winter months.

They were, however, forbidden to trade with the Indians and were also instructed not to
trap beaver.

The ban on trapping did not seem to bother Walker, for he probably had come to
do other things as well. While his men camped at the mission and village of San
Juan Bautista, Walker and Leonard toured the province, recording exactly the
information about the country and its people that General Macomb had instructed
Captain Bonneville to report.37

The expedition was an exploratory success, but a trapping failure. Walker did,
however, turn towards the Rockies with 315 head of valuable horses for trade, 47 cattle
and 30 dogs for provisions. The brigade had traveled to and from California with no
white casualties, although there were two deadly encounters where a combined total of
fifty-three Paiute Indians were killed. By July 1834, Walker and Bonneville were
reunited in the Rocky Mountains.

Joseph walker spent the next four or five years leading trapping brigades for
Bonneville (1834-35) and the American Fur Company. By 1840, the fur trade had
suffered a major downturn and there were no more rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains
after that summer. Although he continued to trap, trading began to occupy more of his
time. By 1843, Walker was guiding emigrant wagon trains along the trails to California.
He also guided for Fremont’s 1845 expedition to California – Walker’s third expedition
to the area.

After guiding Fremont’s party to California, Walker requested a release from
service, which was granted. He immediately purchased horses in southern California in
order to sell them to the U.S. Army. He made several horse-trading expeditions over the
next several years until gold was discovered in California.

With the coming of the gold rush, Joe Walker and his nephew, James Walker,
provided meat to the miners. But no single activity, not even the all-absorbing
quest for gold, could halt the restless feet of the aging pathfinder for long. The
measure of his wanderings, even after the gold rush, is fabulous. In 1850 he
headed an expedition to the Upper Virgin River and visited the Zuni and Hopi
Villages. In 1851 he returned to California, only to head back to Santa Fe to
purchase sheep for sale in California.\footnote{38}

For the next sixteen years until his retirement in 1867, Joseph Walker ranched,
fought Indians, guided explorations, and mined gold. He was one of the few men to have
lived the rise and fall of the Rocky Mountain fur trade. “No man shall ever match his
continental vision nor his innate perspective on the Great West.”\footnote{39}

\textbf{Ewing Young (aka Joaquin Yong or Yoon) (c.1796 - 1841)}

At the age of 28, Ewing Young arrived in Taos in 1822. Little mentioned by most
authors, Young is often only mentioned in relations with other men whom he met or
traveled with. Only a few inquire into him as an individual even though he had a large
impact on the exploration and use of what would be called the Old Spanish Trail between
New Mexico and southern California. Nothing is mentioned in any of the researched
literature about his early life or why he had come to the Southwest, but it is obvious that
he was going to do whatever it would take to succeed.

…none deserves more favorable recognition at the hands of the historian than
Ewing Young. In one respect, however, Young did history a great disservice. He
apparently kept no journals of any of his expeditions, left nothing in the way of a
biographical sketch, nor dictated a line of reminiscences. None of the traders and
trappers out of Santa Fe traveled farther or to better purpose than this “intelligent,
industrious, and scrupulously honest” representative of the Tennessee frontier.\footnote{40}
Utley illuminates Young’s demeanor better than other authors when in his statement:

… Young was a strapping six feet two, a man of rudimentary learning, ordinarily quiet but harboring a hot temper, a scrappy and fearless antagonist with Mexican officialdom and bothersome Indians, shrewd and sometimes devious, ambitious to prosper whether from trapping, trading, farming, milling, or droving, and endowed with a capacity to lead other men in any of these pursuits.\(^3\)

In Taos, Young displayed his inclination to become a trapper/trader even though he was in the carpentry business. He associated with the trappers of the region to the extent that his house became a part time trading post. He was in Taos less than a year before he joined into partnership with William Wolfskill, an experienced trapper, in order to trap the upper Pecos River in the fall of 1822. “I want to get outside of where trappers have ever been.”\(^4\)

By the year 1826, the partners planned an autumn beaver expedition to the Gila River, a tributary to the Colorado. Unfortunately for all involved, three or four other groups (all American or Canadian) also set to do the same. Each group was given a Mexican authorized “trading passport” even though it was known that trapping was the main aim of each mission. Much to the Mexican authorities’ irritation, there were too many foreigners together in Spanish territory. By 1824, the New Mexican governor, Manuel Armijo, attempted to put an end to the situation by outlawing foreign trapping on Mexican lands.

More than most, Ewing Young was not interested in getting along well with any of the Indian tribes that he encountered, or with dealing with government entities. His first two problems occurred concerning the winter-spring 1826-27 beaver season.
According to Young’s chronicler, Sylvestre Pattie, the three and a half month expedition covered an amazing amount of area:

Young had described a huge and pioneering arc through geography poorly known. The mountains and deserts of the Gila and the vast plateau country to the north had been penetrated by American trappers and a fortune in beaver skins harvested from virgin streams. The hunters may even have looked into the Grand Canyon from its north rim. The exploratory achievement had been immense, but the commercial results had been a failure.  

Although others mention the expedition itself, only Goetzmann discusses it in some depth. Because of the great distance covered and the short amount of time indicated, there is some doubt as to the accuracy of Pattie’s description. Goetzmann discusses possible reasons for the discrepancies without discounting the possibility that the journal may be accurate.

Whether the description of the route was accurate or not does not change the fact that Young’s furs were all confiscated upon his return to Taos. Milton Sublette, a member of Young’s brigade managed to escape with his furs, but all others were taken by Mexican authorities because they taken illegally on Mexican soil.

The second problem that Young encountered had to do with his severe dislike of Indians. Along the Colorado River, the expedition encountered several Indians from a variety of tribes. “Young cared little for tribal distinction: any Indians merited a mauling, for others would then take heed and avoid white men.” The brigade fired upon and killed several Indians after camping nearby and tricking the warriors into a trap. This led to continuing bad relationships between whites and Indians in the area.
Ewing Young decided that the difficulties that he found along the Gila and in Taos itself could be eliminated by a change in strategy. He decided that since sea captains along the Pacific Coast would purchase his furs to be sold in distant ports, he could trap along the Gila and Colorado, cross the desert to California, and trap along the San Joaquin River northward to San Francisco Bay. With this plan in mind, plans were made for an extended expedition to California.

Young’s 1829-31 expedition is charted on maps by both Utley and Goetzmann, but of all the resources, only the latter gives an in-depth description. Most authors describe only bits and pieces, or fail to mention the events at all. Essentially, Young headed north to deceive the authorities before traveling southwest along the Zuni, Silt, and Gila Rivers. The party then traveled upstream along the Colorado River before cutting west across to California along the Mojave River. They stopped at Mission San Gabriel for only a day before traveling north over the Tehachapi Mountains to the San Joaquin Valley.

Young found the San Joaquin very poor trapping because another party had recently trapped locally. Traveling north, he discovered that he had been following Peter Ogden’s large group from the Snake River Brigade. The parties trapped together for a time until Ogden’s brigade headed in a northeasterly direction at Pit River.

Always looking for an opportunity, Young saw a chance to ingratiate himself with the Mexican authorities during an Indian uprising. The Mexicans were attempting to punish a rebel Indian who was convincing mission Indians to escape to the hills. The local officials gave Young the authority to act against the renegades and he did so with
determination. Young sent a force, led by a young Kit Carson to find the escapees. After ruthlessly killing many and burning a village, Young’s men forced the return of the all of the deserters.

Dillon notes in his book that:

As he predicted, Young was very much persona grata after trouncing Estánislao. Father Narciso Durán was very happy with Joaquin Joon. Carson recalled that, shortly, “We traded our furs with him [Asero] and with the money we obtained, purchased as the Mission all the horses we required, and returned to our camp.” Young also bought mules. These were handsome brutes, much bigger even than the sturdy Missouri mules of American tradition. Young was sure that they would bring good money in the St. Louis market.

Ewing Young and his party traveled south to Los Angeles were his men quarreled among themselves at a cantina (this led to one of the group murdering another on the trail). Disappointed by troubles within his men including mutiny, fighting, desertion, and finally murder, Young decided to travel back to New Mexico with his remaining furs and trade stock. “Young told his amigo that he would return to settle permanently in California. He planned to trade horses and mules, hunt sea otter, and trap beaver.”

Young returned to California with a small troop of twelve men in the spring of 1832. Again he had trouble with his men in the form of a bullying incident that cost the bully his life. Dillon describes his short-lived attempt at hunting sea otters (which commanded a very high price):

After a go at sea ottering with some of his men and two kanakas [Hawaiian indentured workers], Ewing Young had his fill of seasickness and dumpings in the cold surf. He returned to beaver trapping in 1832, taking fourteen hunters over Tejon Pass and down Grapevine Canyon to check out marshy Tulare Lake before moving to the mouth of the Kings River, usually reckoned to be the end of the Siskiyou Trail, in October.
The troop attempted to trap the high Sierra Nevada Range, but found little or no beaver, and began to search the Sacramento Valley. He continued searching the valley as heavy rains stranded the troop in January of 1833. Traveling north of the Sacramento area and having little in the way of luck, Ewing Young decided to try the coastal streams. Dillon describes a chance meeting and coastal expedition during that winter:

On January 16, 1833, Young welcomed Jed Smith’s old companion, “Honest John” turner to his part. His knowledge of the lay of the land, picked up in Company service, was most welcome. But Young must have ignored his advice in one respect, since Turner knew that there were no more beaver on the California “outside” coast than in the Sierra. Young insisted on seeing for himself…Young departed for the coast. He ascended Putah Creek from the Winters area, entered Berryessa Valley and surmounted the Coast Range. His route lay along the southern and western shore to Clear Lake through a low jungle of resistant chaparral—scrub oak, buck brush, manzanita, chamiso, and Ceanothus or mountain lilac. The going was very slow, but he made the shore about seventy miles north of Fort Ross, where he found the deep-cut Noyo River as beaverless as all the other Redwood Coast streams. With great vigor, Young pushed northward through very difficult country to reach McKay’s old, abandoned Umpqua Fort…

No resource describes the exploration better than Dillon, but it is interesting to note that if Ewing Young stayed along the coast, then he may have been the first to find Humboldt Bay by an overland route – Josiah Gregg is usually given the credit for his 1849 trek from Trinity County. If Young did find the bay, his usual lack of journal writing will keep that accomplishment from historians.

Young was dissatisfied with his trapping returns in Oregon and California, Utley writes:

By the spring of 1834, Ewing Young despaired of trapping his way to wealth. The partnership with Jackson had not returned a profit and had fallen apart. The intense competition of the Hudson’s Bay Company for the beaver of the great
interior valley of California limited the catch there. The Gila and Colorado had proved equally discouraging.

Young returned to California in 1834 in order to start a sawmill. The project was never started due to economic and labor problems. While waiting for a good business opportunity in Los Angeles, Young met and was intrigued by Hall Kelley, a promoter of the Oregon territory. Kelley and Young decided to drive horses into the Willamette area to sell to settlers there.

The drive left the Monterey area with seven and was joined by nine others who added 56 horses to the 98 and 40 mules already in the herd. The men drove the stock northward in the central valley with little trouble. Along the way, the troop met several groups of Indians, and in his typical way Young attempted to kill as many as possible. Along the Rouge River (which Young named from his dealings with the Indians) he caused great ill will between the whites and the local tribes. “Hauxhurst correctly asserted that much of the blame for the Rogue River Wars must be laid at Ewing Young’s feet.”

The drive was successful in getting the animals into Oregon, but caused Young much angst when it was discovered that many of the added horses were stolen. Chief Factor of Fort Vancouver, Dr. McLoughlin, had received word that Young was part of a horse thieving gang and to avoid all dealings with him. Young felt that he was innocent in the matter, and was angered when Dr. McLoughlin refused to meet with him in any way. Without a market for his goods, Young knew that his goal of ranching in the region...
would be doomed. He decided that the whiskey business might be profitable and he purchased a cauldron from which to manufacture a suitable still.

This option was not popular with the Hudson’s Bay Company or the local Methodist Mission leader, Rev. Jason Lee. An enterprise was joined that stopped the distillery and satisfied all parties involved. Young was compensated for his business loss and investors financed a cattle drive from California, which Young would lead. Utley describes the success of the venture:

Jason Lee’s appeal “for the Divine blessing” launched the expedition to California. And blessed with success it was. Nine months later, in October 1837, Young and his tired, bedraggled cowboys herded 630 lean Spanish cattle into a corral on Young’s Chehalem Valley pasture. The Willamette farmers now also became stockmen. The Methodist mission received 80 head. Young’s share was 135. He had shown the way, moreover, for in years to come many a heard followed the Siskiyou Trail from California to Oregon.  

Young considered the Willamette area his home and he became a successful stockman there. He made several more trips along the Siskiyou Trail into California, always herding horses and cattle to needy farmers and ranchers who were rapidly settling in the Oregon territory. Cleland wrote of his lasting impact on the western frontier:

Young died on his Oregon ranch in 1841. By that time the fur trade was spoken of in the past tense and the trappers were referred to as a fast disappearing race. Farms were more sought after than beaver, and settlers were rapidly crowding out the last of the mountain men. But the settlers reached the West over the trails Young and his fellow trappers had explored…But Ewing Young was more than wanderer and explorer. He was symbolic of the settler in the clearing, the westward-moving caravans of covered wagons, the impact of the Anglo-American on the Spanish, French, and even English borderlands.  

Of all the men described in this essay, Ewing Young stands out as an individual with a nearly unrealized entrepreneurial quest. His early statement of wanting to go
where others have not been may have been more of a business plan for success than wanderlust. At nearly every avenue, he sought a way to turn a profit in one way or another; often with disappointing results. His lifelong quest for financial success led him to enterprises in carpentry, trapping, lumbering, droving, distilling, and finally ranching. Although he explored a wide area, the evidence seems to show Ewing Young not as an individual who wanted to see what was over the next ridge, but as one looking for a capital venture in which to invest his energies.

In many ways, Joseph R. Walker showed similar tendencies toward business as did Young, but Walker was able to make his living using his great skills as a leader and guide without needing a place to settle. When offered a sizable piece of property in California; he refused the invitation. Although he was more than adept at trapping and trading furs, his goal was not to ‘get rich quick,’ but rather to wander as long as it remained profitable. Walker wanted to be an explorer, and through his natural abilities, he managed to make it pay for itself.

Jedediah Smith was probably the perfect explorer-entrepreneur composite of all the elite men researched. He wanted to see unexplored lands in a desperate way, but he also realized that the way to fortune lay more in trading rather than trapping. He wandered further in a shorter period of time than any other man of his day. He understood that exploration would not pay the bills, and the trading of supplies and horses to mountain men, the U.S. Army, and perhaps even to the Indians would allow him the freedom fulfill his desire to travel and explore.
Peter Ogden was an aggressive and industrious “company man.” Among men researched in this thesis, Ogden was the closest to being a pure trapper. Most of his career was spent in the employ of the Hudson’s Bay Company and performing the tasks that were assigned him by his superiors. Except for a few exceptions, the goal of each expedition was the same; the collection of beaver pelts. In many ways he was neither an explorer nor an entrepreneur, but simply a man with amazing energy who would do whatever was required to get a job done.

Although he also worked for Hudson’s Bay Company, David Thompson was in a variety of ways the most pure explorer of the group. More than once, he was reprimanded for ignoring his trading/trapping position while he explored unknown territories. He was fortunate enough to work for a company that could afford to have an explorer/map-maker on its staff. Though he didn’t spend all his time exploring, he never had a need to look for ways to make his time pay for itself. For Thompson, the fur trade was just the industry in which he worked. Exploring is what he did.

Although because he was the first man overland to the Pacific Coast, Alexander Mackenzie would probably be thought of by most as a great explorer, he was the most driven capitalist of this elite collection. The reasons for Mackenzie’s explorations and business decisions were always the same; to maximize profits, open new opportunities, and develop new regions for trade. Although he became famous and wealthy as an explorer, his later years were totally devoted to the business side of the fur trade enterprise.
EXPLORERS & ENTREPRENEURS LESSON PLAN

Introduction

Developing an understanding of the lives, challenges and events of the people who explored the Pacific West is essential to understanding the business, social and political environments today in this same area. The theme of this unit is that the natural resources and environment of an area determine how mankind will live and thrive within that environment. This holds true for pre-exploration times when indigenous people were in control, through the exploration period of the mountain men and into the twenty first century. Many students are familiar with the Lewis and Clark Expedition, but there were many people involved in the transition from the wilderness explored by Lewis and Clark to the thriving cities of today. Natural resources, indigenous population centers, and commerce all contributed to the development of the Western states. This lesson plan will create opportunities for students to come to an understanding of the mountain men of the early and mid-1800s. Students will discover why some areas were developed before others, what impact natural resources had in both exploration and commerce and some implications from that information for the future.

This unit of study will incorporate research utilizing the Internet, provide hands-on experiential learning, utilize evaluation skills, and provide a basis for evaluation of future commerce. Teachers presenting this lesson plan will need two weeks for this unit.
Prior Content Knowledge and Skills

This lesson plan is intended for use with middle school and high school students enrolled in a multi-grade, multi-subject classroom within an alternative school setting. The curriculum materials of this lesson plan will address several California and National History standards for courses in US History and Economics as stated in Appendix A. As a community school teacher, my objective is to provide curriculum materials and methods that allow students with diverse levels of academic function and a variety of learning disabilities to become engaged in the educational process. As with all community schools, enrollment in my classroom varies each month with some students leaving and other entering as their living situations change. Students are in grades 7 through 12, with many students far below basic in their reading skill level and with huge gaps in knowledge, generally from truancy issues. For the most part, these are students for whom the mainstream educational process has failed and they are reluctant learners.

Students are expected to understand and comply with methods of respectfully expressing their opinions, interacting appropriately with others, and demonstrating good listening skills. Students are treated with respect and encouraged to improve their academic skills while continuing to practice compensatory skills, such as shared reading, and asking for assistance through modified assignments. All students identified as qualified for Special Education services have Individual Educational Plans (IEPs) and modifications are accommodated as needed.

This series of activities will lead to a shared understanding of the challenges and encounters that made up the lives of mountain men and breached the unknown western
frontiers of the United States. Students will have the opportunity to see how the mountain men exploited the natural resources and indigenous centers of commerce in this frontier. In understanding the historical information of explorers and entrepreneurs, students will be able to identify the basic business needs relating to natural resources, transportation, and human resources of an area. Prior to this unit, students will have studied US History through the Louisiana Purchase, including a geographical study of the United States. Students will have had prior opportunities to examine primary documents and maps and draw conclusions. Students will have prior experience using the Internet for research.

Hook: Jeremiah Johnson

This hook will introduce the Hollywood version of mountain men to the class and help students visualize the period in history when mountain men were active as well as providing a fictitious character for comparison with well-known mountain men of this period. *Jeremiah Johnson* is loosely based on *Crow Killer* written by R.W. Thorp and R. Bunker, about a mountain man known as “Liver Eatin’ Johnston” who took revenge on the Crow Tribe for the death of his wife and unborn child. This movie, originally released in 1972, provides a taste of the lifestyle of mountain men.

This hook will require two and one half hours of classroom time. The teacher should acquire the videocassette of the movie, *Jeremiah Johnson* (120 minutes) as well as the equipment to show the video.

The teacher will introduce the movie by asking students to share with the class how they would describe mountain men who explored the west and what challenges they
needed to overcome in their explorations. The discussion should include what they wore, how they obtained food, how they supported their explorations, with whom they came in contact, and why someone would want to become a mountain man. The discussion should also cover natural land features such as rivers and mountains, as well as what mountain men hoped to gain. The teacher will then show *Jeremiah Johnson*.

Following the movie, the teacher will explain that the fictional character, Jeremiah, is based on a mountain man known as “Liver-Eatin’ Johnston,” named by the Crow Indians he sought to exterminate in retribution for the murder of his wife. If students are interested in learning more about him, they should read *Crow Killer* written by R.W. Thorp and R. Bunker. The teacher will ask students to share with the class any aspects of a mountain man’s life that they found unrealistic in the movie portrayal and compare their previous mountain man descriptions.

**Lesson Content**

The “Explorers & Entrepreneurs Lesson Plan” is divided into three specific sections. The first will focus on the motivations and lifestyles of individual mountain men who explored the West. Geography and the environment will be studied in the second section and will provide students with the opportunity to make connections with what they’ve learned to the business and commerce of today. The final section evaluates how well students understood the information of this lesson plan.

In the first segment of the “Explorer or Entrepreneurs Lesson Plan”, students will focus on specific mountain men who explored the West. Students will work in pairs to briefly research an assigned mountain man and report back to the class. Pairs of students
will identify details about each man, including information about the routes they explored or areas they traveled, draw the routes out on a map for classroom display, present an oral report on their subject for the class, and develop test questions on their subject. This segment will require three hours of class time and computer access to the Internet for research. The teacher will need to prepare photocopies of the *Mountain Man Worksheet* [cf. Appendix B] and *Test Questions Worksheet* [cf. Appendix C] for each pair of students. Each pair of students will also need a large map of the United States, which will be used by the students to mark their explorer’s routes as the lesson plan progresses.

The teacher will pair up students and give each pair a *Mountain Man Worksheet* and map of the United States. Students will then be assigned a mountain man to investigate and will complete the worksheet based on their Internet investigation. In addition to completing the worksheet, they will be told to locate at least one route that their mountain man traveled or explored in the west and mark that route on the map provided. The worksheet they complete will include personal facts including when and where he was born and died, whether he was an explorer, guide, rancher, fur trapper, or trader, who traveled with him, what Native American tribes he encountered, and how the area in which he lived, worked and traveled shaped his life. The worksheet also asks what made that mountain man memorable and why we know who he was. The list of mountain men to be assigned should include: Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, John Colter, Jedediah Smith, James Bridger, Joseph R. Walker, Peter Ogden, Kit Carson, Joe Meek, and Benjamin L.E. Bonneville.
Students will work together using the Internet to gather the information needed to complete the worksheets. Once finished, they will use a colored marker to draw in the route or routes explored or traveled by their assigned mountain man on the United States map. The teacher will circulate to each pair of students and assist them in locating web sites to answer the worksheet questions. Pairs will also be given a Test Question Worksheet that they will use to develop three multiple-choice questions about their assigned mountain man. When all groups have successfully completed the worksheets and identified at least one route on the map, the class will reassemble to share what they’ve learned.

Each pair of students will tell the class what they’ve learned about their assigned mountain man and then show the route that man traveled in the west. Each pair’s worksheet will be posted on the wall along with the map showing that explorer’s route. When all presentations are completed, each pair of students will be asked to review their three multiple choice questions and confirm that they have covered the information needed in their presentations. These questions will be combined with the others submitted by the class and will make up the bulk of the test on this subject to be given at the end of the lesson unit.

The second section of the “Explorers & Entrepreneurs Lesson Plan” is focused on geography. Students will come to an understanding of why certain locations became popular routes of travel and areas of commerce. Students will compare the maps developed in the last segment and determine overlapping routes or locations. They will also determine what natural land features contributed to establishment of those routes and
trade/commerce centers. Students will be asked to investigate what Native American tribes and other nations’ explorers were present in these areas prior to the arrival of explorers from the United States. They will locate major fur trading outposts and companies on the map. Once located, they will be asked to theorize why the outposts were located in that specific place and what advantages the location provided. Students will also look at what is now located at former trade centers and routes and hypothesize why. This portion of the lesson will require two hours. The teacher will need to provide photocopies of Location, Location, Location! [cf. Appendix D] and the Test Questions Worksheet [cf. Appendix C] for each pair of students.

The teacher will begin this segment by reviewing the maps from the presentations of the mountain men. Students will be asked to identify any routes or locations explored or used by more than one mountain man. These routes and locations will then be listed on the board. Students will be paired up and asked to research an assigned route or location on the Internet to complete the Location, Location, Location! worksheet. When each pair has completed their research, they will develop three multiple-choice questions about their route or location using the Test Questions Worksheet and give a brief presentation to the class on what they discovered. When all presentations are completed, each pair of students will be asked to review their three multiple-choice questions and confirm that they have covered the information needed in their presentations. These questions will be combined with the others submitted by the class and will make up the bulk of the test on this subject to be given at the end of the lesson unit.
Evaluation

In this conclusion to the “Explorers & Entrepreneurs Lesson Plan,” students will have the opportunity to review the information they have learned and then take a test developed by the whole class on that same information. The teacher should allow one hour for this portion of the lesson plan. The teacher will have combined the questions developed and completed by the students on the Test Question Worksheets [cf. Appendix C] throughout this unit into a final test. The teacher will also include two short essay questions based on class discussions, including the Jeremiah Johnson videocassette. The original Test Question Worksheets will also be used in this portion of the evaluation.

The teacher will begin by dividing the class into two teams and asking each team to select a spokesperson for their team. Teams will then stand on opposite sides of the room ready to receive questions. The teacher will explain that only the spokesperson may answer the question. Team members may discuss possible answers and then the spokesperson will respond for the group based on their discussion. Each correct answer will result in a point being scored for the team and will be listed on the board. The teacher will read questions directly from the Test Question Worksheets completed by the students during the previous sessions. When all questions have been answered, the game will end with the winning team declared the victors by the teacher. Students will then return to their seats and be given the test developed from the Test Question Worksheets. The teacher will evaluate each student’s performance based on their participation in the research projects, oral presentations, and finally the written test.
Endnotes

5 Phillips, 111.
11 Goetzmann, 10.
12 Morgan, 23.
13 Utley, 85.
15 Ghent. 217.
19 Goetzmann, 130.
20 Caughey, 252.
21 Harrison Clifford Dale, ed. The Ashley-Smith Explorations and the Discovery of a Central Route to the Pacific 1822-1829. (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1941), 280-281.
22 Dillon, 90.
23 Utley, 40-41.
24 Utley, 124.
25 Morgan, 7.
26 Van Every, 206.
27 Dillon, 28-29.
28 Golay, 71.
29 Speck, 348.
30 Morgan, 151.
31 Cleland, 48.
32 Dillon, 32.
34 Utley, 118.
35 Hafen, 275.
36 Utley, 121.
37 Utley, 126.
38 Hafen, 307.
39 Hafen, 310.
40 Cleland, 215.
41 Utley, 103.
42 Utley, 105.
43 Utley, 107.
44 Utley, 106.
45 Dillon, 217-218.
46 Dillon, 219.
47 Dillon, 221.
48 Dillon, 224.
49 Dillon, 235.
50 Utley, 212.
51 Cleland, 245.
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Appendix A.

Standards Addressed in the Lesson

There are a series of California State History Standards and National History Standards addressed by this lesson. Since the lesson is designed to meet the needs of students in a multi-grade self-contained classroom, there are a great number of standards that are addressed from different grade levels.

California State History Standards

8.4 Students analyze the aspirations and ideals of the people of the new nation.

8.6 Students analyze the divergent paths of the American people from 1800 to the mid-1800s and the challenges they faced, with emphasis on the Northeast.

8.7 Students analyze the divergent paths of the American people in the South from 1800 to the mid-1800s and the challenges they faced.

8.9 Students analyze the divergent paths of the American people in the West from 1800 to the mid-1800s and the challenges they faced.

8.12 Students analyze the transformation of the American Economy and the changing social and political conditions in the United States in response to the Industrial Revolution.
California State Standards: Principles of Economics

12.1 Students understand common economic terms and the concepts and economic reasoning.

12.3 Students analyze the influence of the federal government on the American economy.

National History Standards

Era 4 – Expansion and Reform (1801 to 1861)

Standard 1: United States territorial expansion between 1801 and 1861, and how it affected relations with external powers and Native Americans.

Standard 2: How the industrial revolution, increasing immigration, the rapid expansion of slavery, and the westward movement changed the lives of Americans and led toward regional tensions.

Standard 4: The sources and character of cultural, religious, and social reform movements in the antebellum period.

Era 10 – Contemporary United States (1968 to the present)

Standard 2: Economic, social, and cultural developments in contemporary United States
Appendix B

Mountain Man worksheet

Name of Mountain Man:

Date & Place of birth:

Date & Place of death:

Did he have a wife and/or children? Did they travel with him?

How old was he when he died? How did he die?

Was he primarily an explorer, guide, rancher, fur trapper or trader? Explain.

What made him memorable as a mountain man? Why do we know who he was?

Who traveled with this mountain man?

What Native American tribes encountered this mountain man? Explain whether he was a friend or foe of each tribe and why.

Explain the geographical area in which he lived, worked, and traveled. Locate the area on a map.

How was his life shaped by the natural resources and environment in which he lived?

What impact did he have on the natural environment in which he worked?
Appendix C  

Test Questions Worksheet

Develop three multiple choice questions based on your presentation. Questions should be based on information that you presented and reinforced at least twice.

Question #1:

Possible Answers:
A.

B.

C.

Correct answer is _________

Question #2:

Possible Answers:
A.

B.

C.

Correct answer is _________

Question #3:

Possible Answers:
A.

B.

C.

Correct answer is _________
Appendix D  Location – Location – Location

Name of route or location:

Which of the mountain men we have studied used this location:

Describe the route or location (natural features, natural resources) the way it was during the era of the mountain men:

What changes or differences are there at the same location now:

How was the route or location important during the era of the mountain men?

How was the route or location important to Native Americans prior to exploration by the mountain men?

How is the route or location important in today’s world?

Do you believe it will be important in the future? Explain why or why not.