

"Ocian in View O! the Joy"

Introduction

Canoeing cautiously down the Columbia River on a foggy November morning in 1805, Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark and the 31 members of the Corps of Discovery entered the broad estuary of the Columbia River. It was a stormy, wind-tossed, watery confluence--of the sea and the river, of a vast international network of exploration, and of cultural place names—Chinookan, European, and the United States.

As the Corps of Discovery settled into their camp near present-day Pillar Rock on the evening of November 7, 1805, Captain William Clark looked westward, to where he knew the ocean breakers crashed on the beach.¹ Behind the Corps, lay months of careful planning, a 19-month overland journey on inland waterways, and

¹Gary E. Moulton, ed., **The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition: Volume 1—Atlas** [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983], Map #82, Map #89.

The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition: Volume 6—November 2, 1805-March 22, 1806 [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990], 33-34.

Martin Plamondon II, **Lewis and Clark Trail Maps: A Cartographic Reconstruction, Volume III** [Pullman: Washington State University Press, 2004], 61-63.

The Corps' campsite on November 7, 1805, was opposite Pillar Rock, on the north [Washington] shore of the Columbia River, between the historic towns of Dahlia and Brookfield [Wahkiakum County, WA]. On this day, Clark noted in his journal:

"Great joy in camp we are in View of the Ocian, this great Pacific Octean which we been So long anxious to See. and the roeing or noise made by the waves brakeing on the rockey Shores (as I Suppose) may be heard distictly".

numerous confluences of rivers, cultures, and natural history.² In front of the Corps of Discovery lay the Pacific Ocean.

This confluence of land and sea and river was a landscape with many place names on it. By the time the Corps of Discovery arrived at the river's estuary in late 1805, many residents and explorers had already placed their own names on the rivers, mountains, bays and islands. Some of the place names were Chinook and Clatsop names; others were French, English, and Spanish. Some names were

²There are a number of well-written, beautifully-illustrated **and** historically accurate accounts of the Corps of Discovery's remarkable journey. A number of these accounts share the stories of the American Indians whose confluences of culture and life ways the Corps experienced:

Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns, **Lewis & Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery** [New York: Alfred Knopf, 1997].

Rod Gragg, **Lewis and Clark on the Trail of Discovery: The Journey that Shaped America—A Museum in a Book** [Nashville: Rutledge Hill Press, 2003]

The best website, for the same reasons, is www.lewis-clark.org.

controversial, the result of yet-unproven voyages.³ Other names appeared in great works of fiction.⁴

During their own 18-day stay on the north shore of the Columbia River, in present-day Pacific and Wahkiakum counties [Washington State], the Corps of Discovery recorded some of these place names in the pages of their journals; Clark incorporated other names on the maps he drew, as well as those he learned from the Chinook- and Cathlamet-speaking people. The Corps then added their own names to this confluence.

³William H. Goetzmann and Glyndwr Williams, **The Atlas of North American Exploration: From the Norse Voyages to the Race to the Pole** [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992], 42-43.

Henry R. Wagner, "Apocryphal Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America," **Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society**, XLI [1931]: 179-234.

⁴Herbert K. Beals, translator, **For Honor and Country: The Diary of Bruno De Hezeta** [Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1985], 5.

William D. Lyman, **The Columbia River: Its History, Its Myths, Its Scenery, Its Commerce** [New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1909] 46-47.

Jonathan Swift, **Gulliver's Travels Into Several Remote Nations of the World, in Four Parts** [Chicago: Donohue Brothers, n.d. (1796)], 129-132.

In Jonathan Swift's best-selling book, **Gulliver's Travels**, Lemuel Gulliver finds himself in Brobdingnag, a fictional country located in the Pacific Northwest, specifically, north of New Albion [present-day California] and Cape Blanco, Oregon. Swift's book [**Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, in Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of Several Ships**] is a four-part tale of adventure and political satire; it is in the second part, "A Voyage to Brobdingnag" that readers learn of this mysterious land in North America. A map was included in some editions.

Journals, Maps, and Charts

Some place names at this confluence of the Columbia River and the Pacific Ocean come from oral histories and traditions of the Chinookan-speaking Native Americans in the Pacific Northwest.⁵ Over the years, respected tribal elders have shared their stories of village locations and place names with early explorers, settlers and ethnographers. Some stories were told in full, with all the nuances of language and culture, others were passed down through interpreters or told in fragments, all that was recalled of a once rich and full story.

Maritime explorers kept official logs; often, other members of the crew kept personal journals, adding small sketches and maps of their own to their personal written records. The ships' officers also kept maps, or charts, of each harbor, island, river and shoal they sighted, adding new layers of information to the older maps they carried with them.

The Spanish government viewed these official logs, as well as the personal diaries of their captains, pilots, priests, and crew members, as government

⁵For a thoughtful analysis of American Indian place names and the stories behind some of them, see:

William Bright, **Native American Placenames of the United States** [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004], 3-15.

Ella E. Clark, **Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest** [Berkeley: University of California, 1953].

Dell Hymes, "Mythology," **Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 7—Northwest Coast**, edited by Wayne Suttles [Washington DC: Smithsonian, 1990], 593-601.

property. Spanish expeditions to the west coast of North America sailed from Acapulco or San Blas on the west side of present-day Mexico. When the sailing ships returned to their home ports, skilled copyists made two copies of the official log. The original was sent to Spain, for the archives there; the two copies went to the *Archivo General de al Nación* in Mexico City. Publication was slow and cumbersome, and many early journals and maps are still unpublished.

British maritime explorers were expected to turn their journals and maps over to their sponsors for prompt publication as carefully edited narratives. The sponsor might be the British government, a society to promote scientific knowledge, or a commercial venture seeking the profits to be made in the sea otter trade. Perhaps more than any other explorers, the British published their narratives in impressive multi-volume works, complete with illustrations and maps⁶

When two captains met, as Captain Robert Gray [USA] and Captain George Vancouver [Great Britain] did off the storm-tossed northwest coast in the spring of 1792, it was not uncommon for them to confer, to share their knowledge of the

⁶Beals, 44.

Erna Gunther, *Indian Life on the Northwest Coast of North America As Seen by the Early Explorers and Fur Traders During the Last Decades of the 18th Century* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972], preface.

Henry R. Wagner, *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca* [Santa Ana, CA: Fine Arts Press, 1933 (2002)], iii.

See for example:

George Vancouver, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean* [London, 1798].

coastline and to exchange charts. Despite language difficulties and international conflicts in Europe, these exchanges were both a courtesy and a necessity.

As the maritime maps, journals and narrations were published, they were quickly purchased by a public eager for stories of adventure, by scholars eager for the latest scientific knowledge,⁷ and by sea captains anxious to acquire the most up-to-date maritime charts and records for their own journeys.⁸ British mapmaker Aaron Arrowsmith regularly updated and revised his maps of North America, showing "*all the new discoveries.*" Each revision contained the latest information Arrowsmith could find in narratives and maps published by British, French, Russian, Spanish, and US explorers. His maps could be found in bookstores as large

⁷John Logan Allen, **Passage Through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest** [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975], 61-63.

Donald Jackson, **Thomas Jefferson & the Stony Mountains: Exploring the West from Monticello** [Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1993], 86-97.

In 1800, Thomas Jefferson had the largest and most comprehensive library in the nation, a library Meriwether Lewis would use to his advantage as Jefferson and he prepared for that expedition. The library included works from Spanish, French and British explorers and regional geographers, as well fictional accounts of exploration.

⁸J. Richard Nokes, **Almost a Hero: The Voyages of John Meares, R. N. to China, Hawaii and the Northwest Coast** [Pullman: Washington State University, 1998], 36-7. [Cited hereafter as Nokes, **Meares**].

individual sheets and as a part of North American geographies published by other authors.⁹

Delate Yaka Illahee¹⁰

Two Chinookan-speaking tribes, the Chinook and the Clatsop, lived near this confluence of the Pacific Ocean and the Columbia River, of river and land and sea. Two Kathlamet-speaking tribes lived a few miles upriver, beyond the Columbia River estuary, at a confluence of the estuary, the river, and countless islands. The Cathlamet, on the south side of the river, and the Wahkiakum, on the north side, established their villages along the Columbia River's shoreline, on the many islands, and around the confluences of smaller rivers [i.e., the Elochoman] with the Columbia. Using a variety of phonetic spellings, the Corps of Discovery called the

⁹Allen, 32-33, 78-79.

Donald Jackson, ed., **Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854** [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978], 27-28, 32-33, 55-56.
Moulton, **Atlas**, p. 4-5.

Lewis and Clark carried a copy of Arrowsmith's 1802 map with them. As they followed the Missouri River, crossed the Rocky Mountains, and followed the western rivers to the Pacific Ocean, they updated the map.

¹⁰George C. Shaw, **The Chinook Jargon and How to Use It** [Seattle: Rainier Printing Co., 1909], 12.

Chinook Wawa [Jargon] is a northwest trade language. It is a true confluence of cultures and languages, and includes words from tribal languages [Chinook, Salish, Chehalis, and Nootka], English and French. It is possible Chinook Wawa also included Russian and Spanish words. The Chinook Wawa phrase, "delate yaka illahee" means native land.

four tribes the Chin-nook, the Clât Sop, the Cath-lâh-mâh, and the Wack-ki-a-cum.¹¹

It is from the Chehalis people the Chinook get their name. The Chehalis called both the large Chinook village on Baker Bay and the village residents, *ćinúk*, or *t'sinu'k*.¹² The Chinooks' summer villages stood along the north shore of the Columbia River, from Kah'eese [Cape Disappointment] to Grays Bay.¹³ One of the largest villages was Qwatsamts, a large three-row village of solid cedar-plank homes on Chinook Point, a village Captain Robert Gray and his fifth officer, John

¹¹Moulton, **Volume 6**, 485.

¹²Moulton, **Volume 6**, 51 [fn. 7]

Robert H. Ruby and John A. Brown, **The Chinook Indians: Traders of the Lower Columbia River** [Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1988 (1976)], 4.

¹³Ruby and Brown, 4

Michael Silverstein, "Chinookans of the Lower Columbia," **Handbook of North American Indians: Volume 7—Northwest Coast**, edited by Wayne Suttles [Washington DC: Smithsonian, 1990], 533-534 [map], 544.

Boit called "Chinoak".¹⁴ Chinook winter villages could be found along the shores of Willapa Bay and the small rivers that emptied into that bay,¹⁵

The Clatsop people lived on the south side of the Columbia River, from Secomeetsuic [Tongue Point]¹⁶ to the mouth of the Columbia River, and south along the Pacific Ocean shoreline for about 20 miles. The English rendition of the Chinook language name for the tribe, tláćep, is Clatsop. One of their larger villages

¹⁴F. W. Howay, ed., *Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790 and 1790-1793* [Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1990 (1941)], 397, 436. Silverstein, 534.

¹⁵Rick Rubin, *Naked Against the Rain: The People of the lower Columbia River, 1770-1830* [Portland: Far Shore Press, 1999], 37-38.

For a detailed list of Clatsop, Chinook, Cathlamet and Wahkiakum villages, and the sources of information, see:

Becky Saleeby and Richard M. Pettigrew, "Seasonality of Occupation of Ethnohistorically-Documented Villages of the Lower Columbia River," *Prehistoric Places on the Southern Northwest Coast*, edited by Robert E. Greengo [Seattle: University of Seattle/Thomas Burke Museum, 1983], 169-193.

¹⁶Ruby and Brown, 98.

Lewis A. McArthur and Lewis L. McArthur, *Oregon Geographic Names* [Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 2003], 964.

When Lewis A. McArthur began his work on Oregon place names in the early 1900's, one of his most important resources for names along the lower Columbia River was a Clatsop County historian and author, Silas B. Smith. Smith was the son of an early Oregon pioneer, Solomon H. Smith and his wife, Celiast, the daughter of the Clatsop tribal leader, Cóboway [Joseph Mussulman, "Fort Clatsop Site, 1900," www.lewis-clark.org]. It was Smith who told McArthur the tribal place names the early explorers recorded for rivers and creeks were in all probability site-specific place names [McArthur and McArthur, 574].

was Neahkeluk, located on Point Adams.¹⁷ Another village was Nitl; Captains Lewis and Clark called the river the village sat near, the Netul River.¹⁸

The Chinook, Clatsop, Cathlamet and Wahkiakum people called the Columbia River, the "Wimahl."¹⁹

Three Centuries of Maritime Confluences

Who were some of the international explorers, who in three centuries, left their names and their stories on this confluence, overlaying those of the Chinookan-speaking Chinook and Clatsop people and the Kathlamet-speaking Wahkiakum and Cathlamet people?²⁰

¹⁷Rubin, 39-40
Silverstein, 533-534 [map], 345.

¹⁸McArthur and McArthur, 574-575.
Moulton, **Atlas**, Map #84
Moulton, **Volume 6**, 244.
Silverstein, 534.

¹⁹Rubin, 3.
Ruby and Brown, 4.

²⁰For a thoughtful look at these international confluences, see:

James A. Gardner, "International Interpretation & 'Internationalist's' Interpretation of the Lewis & Clark Expedition, or 'Where Was the Spanish Passport?'" **We Proceeded On** [November 1986]: 21-29.

Emma Sánchez Montañés, "Fronteras culturales de Norteamérica: ciencia, etnología y arte en las expediciones españolas del siglo XVIII a la costa del Pacífico" ["Cultural Frontiers in North America: Science, Ethnology, and Art in Eighteenth-Century Spanish Expeditions to the Pacific Coast"] in **Legacy: Spain and the United States in the Age of Independence, 1763-1848** [Washington DC: Smithsonian, 2007].

In the early 1500s, Spanish explorers cautiously probed the west coast of North America. Sailing from shipbuilding ports on the west coast of present-day Mexico, Spanish sea captains sought "*las ensenadas*"—small, safe harbors where their heavily-laden galleons sailing between Manila and Mexico could take refuge from storms and privateers, and take on wood and fresh water. They also sought their own northwest passage, which they called the Strait of Anian.²¹ By 1543, Spanish explorers had reached the southern coast of present-day Oregon.²²

For the next two centuries, Spanish interest in the northwest waxed and waned. In 1775, Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa, the viceroy of New Spain [Mexico] directed Second Lieutenant Bruno de Hezeta y Dudagoitia [Hezeta] to take the **Santiago**, a three-masted, 77-foot long frigate north along the west coast of North America. Hezeta's crew included 90 crew, two priests, and a doctor. His second-in-command was Juan Pérez, who had sailed the **Santiago** as far north as the Queen Charlotte Islands the previous year. Juan Francisco de la

²¹Allen, 30-31.
Beals, 6, 8-9.
Nokes, **Meares**, 62.
Goetzmann and Williams, 42-43.

²²Beals, 11; 15-18.
Goetzmann Williams, 38-39.

Bodega y Quadra, accompanied Hezeta in a second ship, the **Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe**, or as she was also known, the **Sonora**.²³

Hezeta and Bodega y Quadra departed San Blas in mid-March 1775. Five months later, the **Santiago** had reached the northern part of Vancouver Island. There, Hezeta's officers convinced Hezeta to turn around, concerned the ill and scurvy-weakened sailors might not be able to handle the ship in the dangerous, icy northern waters stretching beyond Vancouver Island to Alaska. The **Sonora** continued northward and the **Santiago** sailed south, hugging the shore as Hezeta charted the coastline. On August 17, 1775, near latitude of 46° north, Hezeta observed the turbulent water and heavy currents which convinced him he might have reached "*the mouth of some great river or some passage to another sea.*"²⁴

In his log, Hezeta wrote:

"On the evening of this day I discovered a large bay, to which I gave the name Assumption Bay, and a plan of which will be found in this journal. Its latitude and longitude are determined according to the most exact means afforded by theory and practice . . . [I] placed the ship nearly midway between the two capes

²³Beals, 31, 33-35.
Goetzmann and Williams, 128-129.

²⁴Beals, 86.
Lyman, 53.

*... These currents and eddies caused me to believe that the place is the mouth of some great river, or of some passage to another sea*²⁵

August 15 was an important Catholic holy day, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; August 17 was the feast day for Saint Roque.²⁶ Hezeta named the "bay" that stretched before him, Bahía de la Asunción. He called the north cape, Cabo de San Roque and the south cape, Cabo Frondoso.²⁷

²⁵Lyman, 53 [translated from the Spanish].

²⁶G. Cleary, "St. Roch," **The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 13** [New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1912]. www.newadvent.org/cathen

Frederick Holweck, "The Feast of the Assumption," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 2 [New York: Robert Appleton Co., 1907]. www.newadvent.org/cathen

Rev. James M. Keane, OSM, "The Assumption of our Lady," *Immaculata* [Libertyville, IL: Conventual Franciscan Friars/Marytown Press, 1980]. www.catholicculture.org/culture

In the Roman Catholic Church, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary celebrates the assumption [ascension] of the Virgin Mary's body into heaven; it the principal feast day for Mary, and is celebrated on August 15.

San Roque [St. Roque/Roch] was born c. 1295 in Montpellier, France. In the early 1300's, while on a pilgrimage in Italy, it is said he miraculously cured many people of a plague, including himself. St. Roch died on August 16, 1327. St. Roch is the patron saint of dogs, a variety of epidemic diseases, and pilgrims.

²⁷Beals, 22, 86-87.

Donald C. Cutter, **Malaspina & Galiano: Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast, 1791 & 1792** [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991], 122.

Traditionally, Spanish explorers used religious names as places names, especially a favorite saint, a patron saint, or as Hezeta did, the coincidental date of the saint's feast day with the sighting of the landmark.

Una bahía: a bay

un cabo: a cape

Una ensenada: a small harbor

un rio: a river

Una entrada: an entrance

Frondoso is a Spanish word meaning leafy or fern-like.

Spanish mapmakers would label the river, Rio de San Roque and the bay, Ensenada de Hezeta or Entrada de Hezeta. Other early maritime explorers would continue to believe, as Hezeta did, that the river's estuary was actually a large bay, and that the mouth of the river lay further up the bay.²⁸

Hezeta's original diary, **Diario de la Navegacion cha por el Teniente de Navio de la Real Armada, D. Bruno de Hezeta, a explorer la Costa Septentrional de Californias. Año de 1775** [the **Diary of the Voyage Made by the First Lt. of the Royal Navy, Don Bruno de Hezeta to Explore the Northern Coast of California in the Year 1775**] and one copy of the diary may be found in the *Archivo General de la Nación* in Mexico City. A second copy, certified, may be found in the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville, Spain.²⁹

Spanish explorers continued to probe the west coast, but so too did other nations. Ten years after Hezeta's voyage, King Louis XVI of France directed the French explorer, Admiral Jean François de Galaup, Comte de La Pérouse³⁰ [Lapérouse] to take two ships, the **Astrolabe** and the **Boussole**, and a crew of 200 skilled seaman and knowledgeable scientists to:

²⁸Beals, 63.
Cutter, 3, 11.
Lyman, 52.

²⁹Beals, 44-46.

³⁰Robert R. Hunt, "Of Rivers and Oceans," **We Proceeded On** [May 1987]: 20-27.

*" . . . reconnoiter those parts which have not been examined by Captain Cook, and of which the reports of the Russians and Spanish navigators have given no ideas. He will observe, with the greatest care, where in those parts not yet known, some river may not be found, some confirmed gulf which may, by means of the interior lakes, open communication with some part of Hudson's Bay."*³¹

Like many maritime explorers during these three centuries of exploration, Lapérouse and his crews were plagued by bad weather during the summer of 1786, and unable to sail close along much of the northwest coast. He did not, for example, sight Hezeta's Rio de San Roque because he sailed so far out to sea in early September 1786.

At various ports of call, Lapérouse sent his charts and logs, and the crews' scientific observations, sketches, and other records back to Paris. Despite the loss of Lapérouse, his two ships and his crews in the South Pacific in 1788, much of Lapérouse's journals would be published as a four-volume set, **Voyage de Lapérouse Autour du Monde**, in 1797.³²

When Lapérouse departed Brest, France, for his voyage around the world, Thomas Jefferson was living in Paris and serving as the United States minister to

³¹Hunt, 23.

³²Hunt, 20 [fn. 5].

France. Jefferson tried to learn all he could of Lapérouse's voyage, and as time went on, and the French explorer's reports trickled back to Paris, he avidly followed the news.³³

Following on the heels of the Spanish and the French, British naval expeditions and commercial ventures explored the northwest's coastal waters. In January of 1788, Captain John Meares, in command of the **Felice Adventurer**, set sail from Macao [China] on his second voyage of exploration and trade in the Pacific Northwest. To avoid the high costs and bureaucracies associated with trade between China and Great Britain, the **Felice** flew the flag of Portugal provided by João Carvalho, a Portuguese merchant living in Macao and one of the venture's partners.³⁴ Like many other maritime explorers, Meares' crew was an international one, and included seamen, carpenters, and blacksmiths from China, England, the Kingdom of Hawai'i and parts of Europe.

Meares spent the summer of 1788 in the Pacific Northwest trading for sea otter pelts. He then sailed out of Nootka Sound [Vancouver Island] in a southerly direction, seeking Hezeta's Rio de San Roque. He was also seeking £20,000! In

³³Hunt, 20-21.

³⁴Nokes, **Meares**, 41-42.

1745, the British Parliament had authorized a reward of £20,000 to the first British sea captain who could locate **and** sail through the Northwest Passage.³⁵

Meares carefully studied accounts of such a passage, including the journals, charts and maps of Spanish, British, French, and Russian explorers, and he came to believe that no maritime explorer had adequately surveyed the coastline.³⁶

On July 6, 1788, Meares sighted and then doubled Hezeta's Cabo San Roque.³⁷ The weather was clear, and Meares had "*a perfect view of the shore.*" In his log, he wrote:

"After we had rounded the promontory, a large bay, as we had imagined, opened to our view, that bore a promising appearance, and into which we steered with every encouraging expectation."

³⁵Nokes, **Mears**, 9.

Simply put, for three centuries, explorers sought a water route through North America: the French and Russians in Alaska, the Spanish in California and the British and United States in the northwest. To the best of their abilities, each sea captain carefully probed inlets, harbors, and the mouths of rivers, looking for that passage, and for many of the British, that reward!

³⁶Nokes, **Mears**, 36-37.

For a well-written and enjoyable atlas of these voyages in North America, from 577 A.D. to the early 20th century, see Goetzmann and Williams' **The Atlas of North American Exploration**.

³⁷A nautical term meaning to sail around a projection of land.

Sailing cautiously across the outer reaches of the mouth of the Columbia with an eye on the breakers, Meares too believed Entrada de Hezeta was simply a large bay, and not the mouth of a river:

"We can now with safety assert, that there is no such river as that of Saint Roc exists, as laid down in the Spanish charts . . ."

Disappointed he had not found Hezeta's river, and that he would not be the recipient of the promised £20,000 prize, Meares sailed south along the coast. Not knowing the Chinook called the northern headland, Kah'eese, Meares placed the name Cape Disappointment on the point, and named the "bay," Deception Bay, both names a reflection of his mood!³⁸

Meares returned to England in early 1790, and immediately began work on a narrative of his voyages. Some 350 people in Great Britain alone subscribed to Meares' book, **Voyages Made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America. To Which Are Prefixed . . . Observations on the Probable Existence of a North West Passage; and some Account to the Trade between the North West Coast of America and China; and the Latter**

³⁸Nokes, **Meares**, 68-69.

Country and Great Britain prior to its publication in November of 1790. **Meares' Voyages** proved to be very popular.³⁹

Less than 18 months after the publication of **Meares' Voyages**, Captain Robert Gray prepared to enter the same bay. On behalf of a group of wealthy Boston businessmen, Gray twice sailed to the Pacific Northwest on ventures both commercial and exploratory. Gray's second voyage, as captain of the **Columbia Rediviva**, began in September 1790, when the **Columbia** left Boston, Massachusetts bound for the northwest.

Portions of the **Columbia's** official log of Gray's second voyage to the northwest have been lost. However, on board the **Columbia** were at least three other journal-keepers--Third Officer Robert Haswell, Fifth Officer, 16-year old John Boit, Jr. and John Box Hoskins, the ship's clerk and supercargo. Each man's journal has been published in various forms over the years.⁴⁰

³⁹Nokes, **Meares**, 55, 158, 212.

⁴⁰J. Richard Nokes. **Columbia's River: The Voyages of Robert Gray, 1787-1793** [Tacoma: Washington State Historical Society, 1991], xv-xvi, 18-19, 134 [Cited hereafter as Nokes, **Gray**].

As the supercargo, Hoskins was responsible for the **Columbia's** cargo and for the partners' commercial ventures.

See for example:

F. W. Howay, ed., **Voyages of the Columbia to the Northwest Coast, 1787-1790 and 1790-1793** [Portland: Oregon Historical Society, 1990 (1941)].

The **Columbia Rediviva** was 83.5 feet long, with three masts, and the figurehead of a "*comely woman*," representing Columbia. It is said her name is associated with both Christopher Columbus and with a more poetic name for the United States of America. Rediviva is a Latin word meaning reborn.⁴¹

In all probability, Gray had access to charts from the voyages of Lt. Bruno de Hezeta and British Captains James Cook and John Meares. On April 28, while sailing near the Strait of Juan de Fuca, Gray met and conferred with Captain George Vancouver. The two captains may have discussed the Entrada de Hezeta, with Gray telling Vancouver he believed he had seen signs of a large river at the same latitude Hezeta had recorded his "entrada." Rough weather that month prevented Gray from entering the bay.⁴²

From the Straits of Juan de Fuca, Gray sailed south, and at 4 am on May 12, 1792, the masthead sighted the "*desired port*." Four hours later, the crew ran:

" . . . *east-north-east between the breakers, having from five to seven fathoms of water.*"

⁴¹McArthur and McArthur, 220-1.
Nokes, **Gray**, 14.
Ruby and Brown, 50.

⁴²Lyman, 63.

Once over the bar, Gray and the crew of the **Columbia Rediviva** found themselves in "a large river of fresh water."⁴³ Gray ordered the anchor dropped on the north side of the river, not far from present-day Point Ellice nor from the Chinook village of Qwatsamts on the same side of the river.⁴⁴ For the next nine days, Gray moved the **Columbia** several times, always seeking a better anchorage. On May 14, he noted they "had sailed upwards of twelve or fifteen miles," always finding a sandy bottom and from three to eighteen fathoms of water. During his cautious examination of the river, Gray directed the "seamen and tradesmen at their various departments." The men cleaned and filled the water casks, caulked the smaller boats' seams, and painted the sides of the **Columbia**. Not forgetting their commercial venture, Gray established a steady trade with the Chinookan-speaking people who visited the ship daily from their village on the north side of the river, a village Gray called "Chinouk."⁴⁵

⁴³Howay, 435.
Nokes, **Gray**, 190-1.

⁴⁴Howay, 435.

⁴⁵Howay, 435-6.

On May 14, Gray sailed as far up the Columbia River as present-day Grays Bay, WA.

On May 15, Gray and John Hoskins went ashore "to take a short view of the country." According to John Boit, he too accompanied Gray.⁴⁶ On May 19, as the crew readied the ship for departure the next day, Gray:

"... gave this river the name of Columbia's River, and the north side of the entrance Cape Hancock, the south Adam's Point."⁴⁷

Boit described the area in glowing terms:

"Shifted the Ship's birth to her Old Station abrest the Village Chinoak... This River in my opinion, wou'd be a fine place for to sett up a Factory... during our short stay we collected 150 Otter, 300 Beaver, and twice the Number of other land furs. the river abounds with excellent Salmon, and most other River fish, and the Woods with plenty of Moose and Deer... the Banks produces a ground Nut, which is an excellent substitute for either bread or Potatoes. We found plenty of Oak, Ash, and Walnut trees, and clear ground in plenty..."⁴⁸

⁴⁶Howay, 397, 436.

⁴⁷Howay, 397, 437.
Nokes, **Gray**, 194.
McArthur and McArthur, 772-773.

Gray named Cape Hancock [which did not retain that name] for the governor of Massachusetts, John Hancock. Adam's Point [or Point Adams] was named for the nation's vice-president, John Adams.

⁴⁸Howay, 397-8.

Boit's "ground Nut" is wapato [*Sagittaria latifolia*], a popular root vegetable and trade item. The Corps of Discovery thought they tasted like potatoes.

Five months later, on October 21, 1792, Captain George Vancouver directed Lieutenant William R. Broughton to take the smaller of the two ships, the **Chatham**, across the bar and explore the Columbia River.⁴⁹ Spanish explorers honored saints and important religious holy days in their place names; the British preferred to honor military leaders, government officials, members of their families and social circles, and their ship mates. Lt. Broughton was no exception.⁵⁰

Broughton anchored the **Chatham** in a sheltered bay on the north side of the Columbia River and ordered two smaller boats to be loaded with provisions, gifts, and crews for a week-long expedition up the Columbia River. Several of the crew, including Edward Bell and Master's Mate John Sherriff, kept journals of the trip.⁵¹ According to Bell, after pausing at Point Adams, the two boats:

" . . . kept the South shore onboard, and about three miles beyond Pt. Adams, Entered a River which at the mouth was little better than a quarter of a mile wide. . . . this river Mr. B[roughton] named Youngs River, after Sir George Young of the Navy."

⁴⁹Jim Mockford, "Before Lewis and Clark: Lt. Broughton's River of Names—The Columbia River Exploration of 1792," **Oregon Historical Society** 106, no. 4 [Winter 2006]: 5.

⁵⁰Mockford, 3-4, 51.

⁵¹Mockford, 9-11, 31.

Bell's note that Sir George Young was "*of the Navy*" was certainly an understatement. Young, who was Broughton's uncle, was a respected British naval commander who had served along the French, West African, Cuban and Canadian coasts from 1758 to 1778, and in countless British sea battles.⁵²

Broughton's party rowed up Young's River for about 17 miles, and then pitched their tents for the night.⁵³ They were lulled to sleep to sleep by the noise of hundreds of waterfowl and the sound of breakers on the beach.

On October 23, Broughton continued his exploration of the Columbia River, past Tongue Point, which he named for the point's resemblance to a "tongue" sticking out into the river.⁵⁴ The two-boat party passed Grays Bay on the north side of the Columbia River. Like Hezeta, Broughton considered the Columbia River estuary to be a large bay, with the Columbia River flowing into Entrada de Hezeta near Grays Bay. Bell noted they:

⁵²Mockford, 12, 14-16; see also fn. 13.

That Broughton's crew used Gray's name for the southern headland, Point Adams, is another indication maritime explorers shared their maps, charts, and logs with each other, despite international differences.

Mockford is the first historian to make the family connection between Lt. Broughton and Sir George Young.

⁵³Mockford, 12-13.

⁵⁴Mockford, 7, 18.
McArthur and McArthur, 964.

" . . . had now got to where, in coming along, we conceived to be, the head of the river, forming a deep bay, we entered a tolerably broad River of fresh water, running in an Eastern direction, its banks . . . for many miles up were low . . ." ⁵⁵

Noted Broughton:

" The Entrance of the fresh water river was distant 22 miles from Cape Disappointment, we entered it . . . with remarkable fine pleasant weather." ⁵⁶

Under the command of Lt. Thomas Manby, the crew on the **Chatham** collected firewood, filled wooden casks with fresh water, and continued to trade with the Chinookan-speaking people. The crews purchased fresh fish, a canoe, and more sea otter pelts. ⁵⁷

Broughton continued up the Columbia River, past a "*pillar rock*." Despite his attempts to honor crew members, his family, and naval heroes, few of the British names he placed on the creeks, islands, and prominent points remain. ⁵⁸ Broughton's map and journal became part of Vancouver's narrative, **A Voyage of Discovery to**

⁵⁵Mockford, 22-23.

⁵⁶Mockford, 23.

⁵⁷Mockford, 7, 19, 24-25.

⁵⁸Mockford, 26, 34, 51.

the North Pacific Ocean, which in turn found its way into the hands of both Thomas Jefferson and Meriwether Lewis.⁵⁹

In 1805, a new maritime explorer appeared near this confluence of sea and river. Count Nikolai Petrovich de Rezanov worked for both the Russian monarchy and the Russian-American Company in present-day Alaska, and his plan to sail south from Sitka to the mouth of the Columbia River combined exploration with settlement and business. Rezanov hoped to establish an agricultural colony and a fur-trading post at the mouth of the Columbia River, but like so many maritime explorers who preceded him, storms, scurvy-weakened crews, swift-flowing currents and poor visibility prevented Rezanov from sailing the **Juno** into the river's estuary. Rezanov sailed further south, to initiate contact between the Company and the Spanish government in San Francisco, to establish both a trading partnership between the two countries and an agricultural community to feed the Russian officials, traders, and priests in the various Russian colonies in Alaska.⁶⁰

Many of these early maritime explorers carried copies of maps and charts acquired from their predecessors; instructions from their governments and their sponsors or business partners included a mandate to update the maps they carried.

⁵⁹Mockford, 59.

⁶⁰Gardner, 22-23.

Kyrill T. Khelbnikov, **Colonial Russian America, 1817-1832** [Portland: Oregon Historical Society], 9, 106.

Ruby and Brown, 109.

Under sail along the coast, they expanded these maps, adding their own names to bays, mountains, and etc. By the time the Corps of Discovery arrived in the northwest, the area that was the confluence of the Columbia River and the Pacific Ocean was a United Nations of place names—Chinook, Kathlamet, Spanish, English, and farther north, Russian and French.

The Corps of Discovery

The Corps of Discovery's own place names at this confluence reflect the situation they found themselves in, in early November 1805—Dismal Nitch, Blustery Point, Point Distress, Stormy Point, to name a few! The weather was cool, rainy and windy; the beaches where the Corps set up camp were narrow and rocky, and strewn with drift logs. The campsites were often beset by winter gales blowing in off the ocean.⁶¹

The place names also reflect the Corps' conversations with the Kathlamet- and Chinookan-speaking people they met on both sides of the river. Despite their challenges to communicate with the various tribes, it was not uncommon for the

⁶¹For a careful study of the weather, tides, and river conditions the Corps dealt with, see:

Rex Ziak, **In Full View: A True and Accurate Account of Lewis and Clark's Arrival at the Pacific Ocean, and Their Search for a Winter Camp Along the Lower Columbia River** [Astoria: Moffitt House Press, 2002].

two captains to give tribal names to rivers, mountains, and islands. They were careful, Clark noted, "*to learn any name of the natives*" for a particular place and "*to make every letter sound.*"⁶²

The two captains' understanding of the answer to their question "what is this place called?" and the tribe's understanding of that question often produced interesting answers. But at the same time, Clark's maps are filled with tribal names, including several at this particular confluence.

On November 7, the Corps proceeded on, down the Columbia River, hugging the north shore in a "*fog So thick we could not see across the river.*"⁶³ They paused briefly to purchase food from the "War-ci-â-cum people" then with the help of a Wahkiakum guide, continued on their way, passing a large marshy island, now called Tenasillahee Island.⁶⁴

⁶²Jackson, **Letters**, 540.

Gary E. Moulton, ed., **The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition: Volume 7—March 23–June 9, 1806** [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991], 39.

⁶³Moulton, **Volume 6**, 31.

⁶⁴Moulton, **Atlas**, Map #81
Plamondon, 60-61.

Clark called these islands, "*Marshey Islands.*" In Chinook Wawa, tenas illahee means little land or little islands.

That night, the Corps set up camp on the rocky shore, near a rock Clark estimated was "50 feet high and 20 feet Diameter."⁶⁵ Before them, the Columbia River estuary, the Entrada de Hezeta, spread out. Looking west, Clark wrote,

*"Ocian in view! O! the joy."*⁶⁶

Adding

*"Great joy in camp we are in View of the Ocian . . . this great Pacific Ocean which we have been So long anxious to See. and the roreing or noise made by the waves brakeing on the rockey Shores (as I Suppose) may be heard distinctly"*⁶⁷

November 8 was another cloudy, rainy, windy day. The Corps canoed along the shore of a large, shallow bay Clark called "Shallow Nitch" or "Shallow Bay." When they reached the west side of the bay, the waves were so high they dared not proceed on. It was a miserable campsite. The beach was too narrow for 33 people, their canoes, and their baggage, the rain continued to fall, the river's water was "too Salt to be used," and several of the party were seasick, including Reuben Field, Peter Weiser, Hugh McNeal and Sacagawea. Clark called the point "Cape Swells" for the high waves, or swells, which battered the Corps' campsite for the

⁶⁵Moulton, *Atlas*, Map #82.
Moulton, *Volume 6*, 33.
Plamondon, 61.

⁶⁶Moulton, *Volume 6*, 58.

⁶⁷Moulton, *Volume 6*, 33.

next two days. The next day, after another cold, windy, rainy day, Clark also called the point, "*dismal point*."⁶⁸

On November 10, the Corps of Discovery moved about 10 miles down the Columbia River, to the far west side of Grays Bay. Here, Clark called present-day Point Ellice, "*Point Distress*," as well as "*Dismal Point*," "*Stormy Point*," and "*Point Blustery*."⁶⁹

Clark noted the mountains on the south side of the river were covered with snow, and several times during the winter, he would again remark on the high, snow-covered mountains south of the Columbia River, today's Coastal Range. The Clatsop people called the tallest of these mountains, Swallalah-oost. Today, the 3,257-foot mountain is called Saddle Mountain.⁷⁰

⁶⁸Moulton, *Atlas*, Map #82.
Moulton, *Volume 6*, 35-36.
Plamondon, 64.

Today, Clark's Shallow Bay is called Grays Bay, in honor of Captain Robert Gray. Many of the early names were written in the possessive [i.e., Gray's Bay, Young's Bay, Meriwether's Bay]. At the direction of the National Geographic Board of Names, that possessive designation has been dropped.

The large promontory Clark called Cape Swells now includes both Portuguese Point and Grays Point.

⁶⁹Moulton, *Volume 6*, 458.
Plamondon, 65.

⁷⁰McArthur and McArthur, 214, 835.

The weather remained stormy, and the ocean pounded the Corps' campsite

On November 12, Clark wrote:

*"A Tremendious wind from the S. W. about 3 oClock this morning with Lightineng and hard claps of Thunder, and Hail which Continued untill 6 oClock a. m. when it became light for a Short time, then the heavens became Sudenly darkened by a black Cloud from the S. W. and rained with great violence untill 12 oClock, the waves tremendous brakeing with great fury against the rocks and trees on which we were encamped."*⁷¹

On November 14, Lewis took four men—the Field brothers, George Drouillard, and Robert Frazer—to see if they could

*"find a Small Bay as laid down by Vancouver just out of the mouth of the Columbia River."*⁷²

While in Philadelphia in the spring of 1803, Lewis was able to examine a copy of Captain George Vancouver's three-volume narrative, **A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean**, and to make copies of some of Vancouver's maps. In a letter to President Thomas Jefferson on May 29, 1803, Lewis wrote:

⁷¹Moulton, **Volume 6**, 43.

⁷²Moulton, **Atlas**, p. 16; Map #89.
Moulton, **Volume 6**, 46.

*"You will receive herewith inclosed some sketches taken from Vancouver's survey of the western Coast of North America . . . The maps attached to Vancouver's voyage cannot be procured seperately from that work, which is both too costly, and too weighty, for me either to purchase or carry."*⁷³

Despite having a "sketch" of Vancouver's map of the Columbia River estuary, with the name Baker Bay on it, the Corps of Discovery would call that "*small bay*" "*Haleys Bay*", for "*a favourite Trader with the Indians which they Say comes into this Bay and trades with them.*"⁷⁴

When the winds finally died down on November 15, the Corps of Discovery quickly loaded their canoes, and proceeded on, around "*the blustering Point . . . [to]*

⁷³Jackson, **Letters**, 13, 53.

In January 1803, there was just one copy of Vancouver's work for sale in the United States, and that by a bookseller in Philadelphia for \$55.00.

⁷⁴Moulton, **Volume 6**, p. 29; 49-50.
Ruby and Brown, 88-90.

Lt. Broughton had named the bay for a British sea captain, Captain James Baker. Baker had anchored his ship, **Jenny**, in the bay in the fall of 1792, trading with the Chinook people. It is possible the Chinook's "*favourite trader*" was Captain Samuel Hill from Boston, Massachusetts. Hill brought his ship, **Lydia**, into the estuary to trade for sea otter pelts.

a butifull Sand beech." Nearby were a small, marshy bottom, a freshwater creek, and a village of 36 wood houses.⁷⁵

Now, the Corps of Discovery looked out over the mouth of the Columbia River, "*in full view of the Ocian from Point Adams to Cape Disappointment . . . This Bay we call Haleys Bay.*"⁷⁶ The Corps of Discovery remained at this campsite until November 24. When Lewis, with the Field brothers, Drouillard, and Frazer, returned from their exploration of Bakers Bay, Cape Disappointment and "*Some distance on the main Ocian to the N. W.*", Clark took 10 men on a similar trip.⁷⁷

⁷⁵Moulton, **Atlas**, Map #89.
Moulton, **Volume 6**, 48-50, 52 [map].
Rubin, 23.

On his map, Clark called present-day Point Ellice, "Point Distress."

The village, which Gray called "Chinoak" and the Chinook, Qwatsamts, was empty for the winter. The Chinook people had moved to their winter villages on Willapa Bay, where the weather was mild, and they were not battered by the storms blowing in from the Pacific Ocean.

⁷⁶Moulton, **Volume 6**, 50.

⁷⁷Moulton, **Volume 6**. 60-62.

Clark's party included York, Toussaint Charbonneau, Sergeants Pryor and Ordway and Privates Joseph and Reuben Field, George Shannon, John Colter, Peter Weiser, and François Labiche, and William Bratton.

Clark and his party hiked along Baker Bay, crossing two small rivers. Clark named the second, or western-most river "*Chin-nook River*,"⁷⁸ for the Chinookan-speaking people the Corps met in the area. They crossed Cape Disappointment, and continued up the coast, where the:

*"men appear much Satisfied with their trip beholding with estonishment the high waves dashing against the rocks & this emence ociar".*⁷⁹

On November 19, the party hiked north, following a long sandy beach through a "*rugged hilley country*." In the distance, Clark could see a point of land, which he named Point Lewis:

*"from the top of the hill above the Sand Shore to a Point of high land distant near 20 miles. this point I have taken the Liberty of Calling after my particular friend Lewis"*⁸⁰.

⁷⁸Moulton, **Volume 6**, 52 [map], 62.
Plamondon, 67.

Clark's unnamed river is now called the Chinook River, and his Chinook River, the Wallacut River, for a Chinook village there, wálxat [Silverstein, 534].

⁷⁹Moulton, Volume 6, 67.

⁸⁰Moulton, Volume 6, 69-70; 458.
James W. Phillips, **Washington State Place Names** [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1988], 77.

Clark's long, sandy beach is Long Beach; his Point Lewis, Leadbetter Point, named for Lt. Danville Leadbetter, a member of the United States Coast Survey of 1856.

Based on information the Corps received from the Clatsop people, they decided to spend the winter of 1805-1806 on the south side of the Columbia River. Knowing they could not safely cross the wide, wind-whipped Columbia River estuary in their dugout canoes, the two captains took the party back up the Columbia River to Pillar Rock on November 25. From there, they crossed the Columbia and threaded their way through the small marshy islands that make up today's Lewis and Clark Wildlife Refuge. Clark called the islands "*Seal Islands*."⁸¹

On October 23, 1805, as the Corps portaged around the "*Great Falls of the Columbia River*," they began to see "*Great numbers of Sea Otters in the river below the falls*." Conversations with the Chinookan-speaking people helped the two captains understand the animals were not sea otters, but rather, harbor seals [*Phoca vitulina richardii*]. Locally, the two captains named a rock, a river, and these islands on the south side of the Columbia River for the harbor seals they saw.⁸²

⁸¹Moulton, *Atlas*, Map #82
Moulton, *Volume 6*, 89, 459.
Plamondon, 68-69.

⁸²Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition: Volume 5—July 28–November 1, 1805* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1988], 327.
Moulton, *Volume 6*, 340, 341-2, 457.

The Great Falls of the Columbia River were also called Celilo Falls. The three harbor seal place names are: Phoca Rock [near present-day Bridal Veil Falls, OR], Seal River [today's Washougal River], and Seal Islands.

On November 27, the Corps proceeded on:

*"between many Small Islands passing a Small river which the Indians Call— [Kekemarle]. . . and around a verry remarkable point which projects about 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ Miles directly towards the Shallow bay . . . we call this Point William."*⁸³

Point William now had three names, Secomeetsiuc [Clatsop], Tongue Point [Broughton], and Point William [Lewis]! From Point William, Lewis, George Drouillard and Privates Reuben Field, George Shannon, John Colter and François Labiche took a small canoe down the Columbia River to

*"the place the Indians informed us by Signs that numbers of Elk were to be found near the river."*⁸⁴

⁸³McArthur and McArthur, 513.
Moulton, **Atlas**, Map #82, Map #92.
Moulton, **Volume 6**, 91, 105.
Plamondon, 69.

Today, Ke ke mar que Creek is known as the John Day River [in Clatsop County, OR]. The word, Ke ke mar que, may be Chinook or Kathlamet.

Point William was named for William Clark. It is one of the few place names with the captains' first, or Christian, name. Today, the point retains the name Lt. Broughton gave it, Tongue Point.

⁸⁴Moulton, **Volume 6**, 84-85, 92-93.

If a suitable place could be found, one that included, elk, fresh water, and access to seawater [salt], the Corps would establish their winter camp here, on the south side of the Columbia River.

Lewis and his party were be gone seven days, exploring Youngs Bay and the two small rivers which emptied into the bay, Youngs River and Netul River, before they found a suitable location for their winter camp, Fort Clatsop. The two captains called Youngs River, the Kilhowanahkle River. They held onto the Clatsop name for the Netul River, but today, it is called the Lewis and Clark River. Only the Skipanon River retains the name the two captains gave it, "*Skip â nor win Creek*."⁸⁵

On December 7, the Corps of Discovery proceeded on, around Point William and into Youngs Bay. Wrote Clark:

"... proceeded around this Bay which I have taken the liberty of calling Meriwethers Bay the Cristian name of Capt. Lewis . . . Meriwethers Bay is about 4 miles across deep & receves 2 rivers the Kil how-â-nah-kle and the Ne tul and Several Small Creeks."

The Corps canoed up the Netul River about three miles "*to the first point of high land on the West Side, the place Capt. Lewis had viewed . . .*"⁸⁶

For the next three and a half months, the Corps of Discovery would ramble over most of the northwest corner of present-day Oregon. The names they placed

⁸⁵McArthur and McArthur, 885.
Moulton, **Atlas**, Map #84.

⁸⁶Moulton, **Atlas**, Map #84.
Moulton, **Volume 6**, 114.

on the rivers, the islands, and significant points of land would appear again and again in their journals, sometimes, overlaying those of the Kathlamet-speaking Wahkiakum and Cathlamet people and the Chinookan-speaking Clatsop and Chinook people, as well as those of the early maritime explorers from Spain, Russia, France, and great Britain.

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