NEXT MEETING:
May 14th, 8:00 PM, Student Union Building (check Bulletin Board for room assignment), University of Washington Campus, Seattle.

Speaker: KENT WEEKS

Subject: Egyptian and Nubian Salvage Archaeology.

IN THIS ISSUE:
April and July issues have been combined to present the complete manuscript of:

HOWSE'S HOUSE, AN EXAMINATION OF THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE......A. Barry Braunberger & Thain White....2

ANNOUNCEMENTS:
The Burke Memorial Washington State Museum at the University of Washington had its official opening May 4th, 1964. The museum is open to the public from 10:00 AM to 5:00 PM, Tuesday thru Saturday, 1:00 PM to 5:00 PM on Sunday and closed on Monday.

The annual meeting of the Montana Archaeological Society will be held on May 16th and 17th on the campus of the Northern Montana College in Havre Montana with the Milk River Archaeological Society acting as host. The program will concentrate on northwestern plains prehistory with both professionals and amateurs presenting papers. The banquet address will be presented by C. G. Nelson who will describe some of the activities and problems of the Washington Archaeological Society.
ABSTRACT: Joseph Howse is given credit for having established the first Hudson's Bay Post west of the Rocky Mountains during the winter of 1810-1811. The Arrowsmith map locates Howse's House at the head of present-day Flathead Lake presumably on or near the Flathead River. The Hudson's Bay Archives no longer retain any of the records by Howse concerning his actual journey. Howse's personal papers may still exist but their whereabouts are unknown. The maps which Howse furnished Arrowsmith were sold with the other Arrowsmith maps at public station. The scant references made by other Hudson's Bay personnel to Howse and his activities creates questions rather than establishing a firm time and place relationship. The problem that becomes apparent is the actual route Howse and his party followed and the location of the Hudson's Bay House Howse constructed in the winter of 1810-1811. A thorough archaeological survey of the delta region of the Flathead River (lower Flathead Valley) with limited testing did not locate any structure that could possibly be considered Howse's House. Nine of these sites are described and illustrated. The conclusion reached is that Howse's House was not located as shown on the Arrowsmith Map but is probably located further west along the present Clark Fork River above present Lake Pend Oreille.

The Appendices demonstrates the thoroughness of the research and in themselves record information of value. There is both historical and ethnographic data presented which adds to the knowledge of the early contact period. There are maps showing the Indian trails and wintering camping areas which will be of value in future archaeological research. Data on log house construction methods will be useful in future historical archaeological research. The bibliography is comprehensive and in itself constitutes a worthwhile reference.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS: A. Barry Braunberger is a practicing optometrist in the city of Kalispell, Montana. He has for many years been a student of local history and his research in this field has been very fruitful. In recent years he has teamed up with Thain White to work on these problems. Thain White is a successful business man currently operating the Flathead Lake Lookout. The 'White' name, i.e. family, is better known in the field of ranching and sheep production. As an amateur historian, ethnographer and archaeologist, Thain White has contributed extensively to the various series of papers published by Montana State University at Missoula, Montana.
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PART II  HISTORICAL. Discussion of the name Flathead, in relation to rivers and streams in Montana; Flathead Indian travel routes from the Bitterroot valley; Howse's probable route southward from the Kootenai River; Lake Pend Oreille versus Flathead Lake as the site for Howse's House, and conclusion.

PART III  ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES. A discussion with illustrations of eleven archaeological sites located and tested by the authors within the Flathead Valley; listing artifacts recovered, concentration points and general information.

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PREFACE

The material compiled and presented within this paper was the result of four years of search, study and investigation concerning the life and travels of one Joseph Howse, in his service with the Hudson's Bay Company.

The primary intent of this study was to locate, or at least approximate, the site of the winter camp established by Howse during the winter of 1810–11 and referred to as "Howse House" in the company records.

Howse was by no means one of the most outstanding men of his era, but he undoubtedly accomplished an outstanding and singular achievement in the performance of his duties. He had the enviable distinction of living in a fast moving and colorful generation. A generation shadowed by constant insecurity, but one which allowed unrestrained freedom to those accepting the challenge of the wilderness. All of this tempting and abundant opportunity vanished in the early 1840s when the market for beaver dwindled and vanished.

The fur trader was a highly individualistic person who lead a lonely but most self-sufficient life. He was constantly subjected to, and readily accepted, many and unique experiences in the remoteness of his hunting grounds; he was more than willing to accept great land distances to achieve his prime purpose, but he was definitely not a pioneer consciously clearing the way for others to follow—he was only hunting beaver and unknowingly exploiting the remote wilderness for which he gave little in return.

As was most often the case, the fur trader was not an articulate individual, and cared even less to burden himself with a notebook and pen with which to record his travels for the sake of posterity. It is this lack of record, the void, and the uncertainty of purpose, that provides the incentive and the necessary stimulus to the historian—and for this manuscript.

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Joseph Howse, is properly given credit, the singular honor, of having established the first Hudson's Bay Post west of the Rocky Mountains. The biography of Joseph Howse as contained in the Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book reveals that Howse lived to be 78 years of age, was a native of Cirencester, Gloucestershire, England. Here he was born, raised, and lived most of his life with the exception of a rigorous twenty years in the Canadian wilderness in the service of the Hudson's Bay Company. Howse began his service with the Hudson's Bay Company as a writer at the age of 21 in the year of 1795, and his advancements during the following eight years proved him to be an alert and comprehending individual, and a literate one as well. There would be small reason to doubt that he possessed these qualities; not only in regard to his record in Canada, but because of his painstaking

endeavor to preserve the grammar of the Cree language by a publication in 1844.
(This publication was accompanied by an analysis of the Chipewyan dialect.)

Although Howse left active service of the Hudson's Bay Company in the fall of 1815,
to return to England, it is not clear from his biography whether he left the Hudson's
Bay Co. of his own volition or was discharged by his superiors. The conditions con-
cerning his departure for England are open to casual speculation, as the record shows
Howse was, to some extent, discredited in the correspondence of his superiors.

H. B. Auld, one of Howse's superiors at York Factory, accused Howse of aiding and
intensifying the Flathead-Piegan hostilities during the summer of 1810 by giving
the Flathead Indians firearms. This accusation, directed at Howse, would seem to
be premature and quite unjustified, as Howse did not depart on his expedition to the
Columbia until June of 1810, and if he did possess firearms for trade with the
Indians, it is unlikely this equipment reached the hands of the Flatheads in suf-
ficient time to assist this tribe in their encounter with the Piegans.

Defense of Howse against this unfair accusation, is contained in the Thompson
Narratives where David Thompson in his discussion of the Saleesh-Piegan battle of
July 1810 states: "The Saleesh Indians during the winter (1809-10) had traded
upwards of twenty guns from me, with several hundreds of iron arrow heads, with
which they thought themselves a fair match for the Piegan Indians in the battle
on the plains." 2

2 "In the country about the Athabasca Lake, where McKenzie principally resided, the
Cree or Chippewyan language is, in some measure, a mixed dialect; and it is far
less pure, than that which is spoken by the inhabitants of the plains. The words,
also, are spelled by McKenzie, much according to the French sound of the letters,
which is frequently calculated to mislead an English reader." See A Journal of
Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America. Harison, Daniel Williams,
Daniel Haskel (ed.), New York, 1820.

3 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/9; B.42/6/50.

4 J. B. Tyrrell, David Thompson's Narratives of His Explorations in Western America,
1784-1812, (Toronto, 1916, The Publication of the Champlain Society XIII, Toronto),
p.123-425. See also A History of Montana, Burlingame & Toole, Vol I, p 80 Lewis
Historical Publishing Co., 1957 New York. In his Chapter on the Fur Trade, Paul
C. Phillips states: "McDonald equipped the Indians with firearms and made plans
to accomplish them across the mountains to the buffalo country. In July, 1810)
this expedition started out. It passed by Flathead Lake (Salish) and then by a
"wide defile of easy passage" passed through the mountains and out into the buf-
falo country. This was probably the Marias Pass, and McDonald and his companions
were doubtless the first white men to pass through it."

The Daily Inter Lake of Kalispell, Mont., in its progress edition of Sunday,
April 24, 1960, carried an article on page 11O, Marias Pass Played Important Part
in Early Park Exploring. In part the article states essentially the same informa-
tion as above, but goes on to add: "at a spot believed to be just below the old
railroad siding of Skyland on Bear Creek, the party was attacked by 170 Piegan
(Blackfeet) and a furious battle followed." Despite the above information, the authors in compiling information for
Appendix B (Indian Roads in the Flathead Lake Region) of this paper would contend
that the two main Indian east-west travel routes in this area were Aeneas Pass and
day present Logan Pass. Aeneas Pass being the closer to Flathead (Salish)
Lake was probably the "wide defile of easy passage."
Another effort to discredit Howse appears in a portion of a letter from (Colin) Robertson directed to (Mr.) Irving about the end of December of 1817. Robertson states:

"I only know him from a futile attempt to establish a post at Ile-a-la-Crosse, where a brave young man lost his life and his shameful retreat from that place in the spring; his name I believe is Howse."

The material presented in this paper is garnered reluctantly from both second and third-hand information, as there are no specific journals or records available for reference.

Much of the Indian information contained in this paper has never before appeared in writing and we feel it is a reasonable premise to assume the information is authentic as it was obtained directly from our Indian informants.

Included to supplement the basic presentation are eight appendices. Herein is entered a discussion of the Indian Roads in the Flathead Lake area, archaeological sites, information from local residents, from Indian informants, data on scarred trees, etc.

A substantial portion of the presentation comes under the heading of Archaeological Sites. This material is presented to supplement the surveyed and numbered archaeological sites as shown on the map of archaeological sites in the Flathead Lake region by listing and describing the sites we have personally visited and have made appropriate notations as to our observations.

In all, a total of eleven sites are listed under the archaeological section, and these areas of investigation are presented because the topography, the convergence of Indian Roads, the early settlements, reports of artifacts, and information from informants made these sites likely prospects for investigation.

5 H. B. C. Arch. A.10/1, fos 135, 140.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are deeply indebted to many people in the preparation of this paper; in particular we would like to give deserved recognition to Dr. Merrill Burlingame of Montana State College for his many and valuable suggestions; to Mr. Hugh A. Dempsey, Archivist, of the Glenbow Foundation, for his most helpful suggestions in directing us to publications, both new and old, which helped immeasurably in our search for information. We are under obligation to Mrs. Virginia A. Deeter and Mr. Bruce Schuyler of the Bureau of Land Management in Billings for their kindness and attention to our many and detailed requests for information from their office. We are indebted also to Mrs. Emmett Avery, Archivist, of Washington State College for preparing numerous photostatic copies of documents; to Mr. Pierre Nove and Mrs. Leslie Sterling (of Bigfork and Kalispell) for their valuable assistance in the translation of French phrases and idioms to the English language. Our further obligations are extended to Mrs. Florence I. Vinal, Circulation Librarian, of the
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We are most grateful to the services and information provided by Mr. John Hove, of Francis Edwards Ltd. (antiquarians & export booksellers) of London, England; to Dr. W. Kaye Lamb, Dominion Archivist, of the Public Archives of Canada for information and for preparing photostatic copies of the Arrowmith maps.

Our acknowledgements extend to both Frank and Ed Trippet of Trippet's Printing Co. who were most helpful and considerate in providing back copies of the Kalispell Times for our use.

We are deeply indebted to Miss Alice N. Johnson, Archivist, of the Hudson's Bay Company in London, England. Miss Johnson not only directed the search for the information we most desired, but was most gracious in acknowledging our correspondence in request for information from the Hudson's Bay Archives.

In addition, we are under obligation to many people in the preparation of this paper: to land owners, the Indians who assisted us, and to many others who have taken a genuine interest in our work. Unfortunately, it is impossible to give individual acknowledgment to everyone, but we are most sensible to everyone who gave of their time and knowledge.

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Editor's Note: A manuscript of this size of course taxes the capability of both staff and resources. Mona Bedall typed the stencils with Linda Kimball assisting. The talents of Del Nordquist were pressed into service for the illustration of the artifacts. Your editor had the pleasure of being Col. Mitty, chief cartographer.
In the years immediately preceding Joseph Howse’s crossing of the Rocky Mountains, the Hudson Bay Company’s posts along the Saskatchewan River, in what was called the Saskatchewan district, were in charge of James Bird. His headquarters were at Edmonton House on the North Saskatchewan River, very near to Fort Augustus (or Fort des Prairies) of the North West Company. At that time the rival posts were on the site of the present city of Edmonton, Alberta.

At the end of trading season 1808-09 James Bird, accompanied by Peter Fidler and Joseph Howse who had spent the season at subordinate posts in the district, took their fur returns to York Factory, the Company’s depot on Hudson Bay. They arrived at York on 29 June 1808 and left on their return to the Saskatchewan district with the trading goods for outfit 1808-09 on 11 July following.1

Alexander Henry, the Younger, in his journals first mentions Joseph Howse under the journal entry of Sunday, 28 August 1808.2 In August of 1808 Henry was on the lower Saskatchewan in the vicinity of Birch Island proceeding westward up the river, and Howse was on his return journey en route from York Factory to Carlton House. Henry’s 28 August journal entry states:

"...we passed the remains of an old establishment, abandoned many years ago. At dark we overtook Mr. Howse of the H. B. Co. from York Factory, bound to the South Branch of the Saskatchewan, with a large boat containing about 20 pieces, worked by eight Orkney men."

Henry continues the following day (29 August):

"Before day we were on the water, leaving our H. B. Co. gentlemen still sound asleep."

While he was at York Factory Mr. Bird evidently had some discussions with his superior officer, John McNab, about the possibility of sending an expedition to the west of the Rocky Mountains, for in a letter written to McNab from Oxford House on 20 July 1808 he remarked:

"I arrived here with Messrs. Howse & Fidler in three Canoes the 25th inst..."

The Expedition across the Rocky Mountain does not seem to be quite relinquished by the N. W. Co. though their success last year appears not to have been encouraging.

A Canoe manned by five Iroquois & carrying sixteen pieces of Goods, they have again sent there, principally as it appears with a view of drawing their Freemen & Iroquois to that Quarter & to obtain from them those beaver they have in vain hoped to receive from the natives.

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1 H. B. C. Arch. B. 239/2/114
2 Elliot Coues (editor) New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest New York, 1897, II.
I shall expect to hear by the fall Canoe your wishes with regard to the west side of the Mountain in every point of View; it must always however be understood, that a few extra men will be required for such an Undertaking should it appear eligible..."  

To this McNab replied from York Factory on 30 August 1808:

"I received your letter of the 30th July...

You know my sentiments respecting the Rocky Mountain accord with yours, as our wishes depend on the aid of extra men they must remain unfulfilled..."  

According to H. B. records, Howse wintered at Carlton House on the South Branch of the Saskatchewan River during 1808-09 and in May 1809 he was en route to Edmonton House where he was to take charge while James Bird paid his annual visit to York Factory. Bird wrote from Oxford House to Howse on 25 July:

"You will herewith receive an adequate Supply of Trading Goods &c &c and a sufficient Number of Men for every requisite Undertaking..."

and added:

"As you are acquainted with the Nature & Extent of the Honble. Company's Concerns at Edmonton, & as I have already given you every Information that I could conceive to be requisite, I shall add nothing further on the subject, than to say that I have the utmost Confidence in your Zeal and Ability, and to wish that your Exertions may meet with the success I know they will merit..."

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3 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/8, fo. 1-1d., or B.239/b/75, pp. 53-4.


James Bird undoubtedly remained about 2 months longer at Oxford House than did Howse as the Henry journals note Bird's arrival at Fort Vermillion on 23 Oct. 1809, stating that he left York in September (?).

5 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/8, 23 August 1808: Coues op. cit., p. 479.

Henry, in his journey up the North Saskatchewan, mentions his arrival at Monte; or the Crossing Place. The present town of Carlton is nearby. This was a terminal point of an Indian road between the North & South Saskatchewan Rivers—one day's journey across. H.B. records list the location of Carlton House as just below the junction of the North & South Saskatchewan Rivers on the South Saskatchewan.

6 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/8, 14 and 18 May 1809.

7 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/8.
James Bird's remarks suggest that Joseph Howse was to do something more than the usual routine duty of looking after the business of Edmonton House during the summer of 1809, but of this we have no confirmation because the most likely sources of information for trading season 1809-10 are missing from the H. B. Company's archives and no mention of Howse's movements have been found in the journals of Alexander Henry, the Younger.

According to both Elliott Coues and J. B. Tyrrell (though there is a slight discrepancy in the facts they give), David Thompson met Joseph Howse in the summer of 1809 returning from an exploring journey into or towards the Rocky Mountains. In the York Factory Account Books for outfit 1809-10 Joseph Howse was listed as being stationed at Edmonton House during that trading season, and his hope that his salary would be raised from the amount of £65 to £80 per annum was recorded. The recommendation reading:

"...the readiness with which this Gentn. undertook the expedition across the Rocky Mountain merits some attention." 9

must have been added by James Bird, and this recommendation, in turn confirms David Thompson's statement that Howse had made a journey into the Rocky Mountains in the summer of 1809.

According to Elliott Coues:

"A Mr. Howse is noted by Thompson at Fort Vermillion July 18, 1809, and Thompson met him [Howse] in the Rocky Mts. near the head of the N. Saskatchewan August 8th of that year, with one man [white] and an Indian. Mr. House left Fort Vermillion for Fort Augustus 23 September 1809." 10

This statement is corroborated by an entry in the Henry journals of the same date (23 September) stating:

"Mr. House set off for Fort Augustus on horseback."

The occasion for Henry to further note the activities of Joseph Howse is on 18 May 1810 while Henry is still in residence at Fort Vermillion. On this date he mentions:

"Mr. House arrived from Terre Blanche in the boat Mr. Hallett went up in."

Again, because of the most likely sources of information are missing from the H. B. Company's archives, reference is made to Alexander Henry's journal for the exact date in 1810 on which Howse began the journey that was to take him into present-day Montana. According to Henry, the Hudson's Bay Company men began their journey on 19 June in two canoes.

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8Coues, op. cit., II, 479, n. 41; J. B. Tyrrell (editor), David Thompson's Narratives of his Explorations in Western America 1734-1812 (Toronto, the Champlain Society, 1915), p. 111. See also pp. 1-11.

9H. B. C. Arch. B.239/d/147, pp. 113-114, 128.

10Coues, op. cit., II, 479, n. 41. It seems extremely likely that Howse's white companion was James Whiteway, interpreter, but of this there is no definite proof.
"...for the Columbia, with nine men including the two Pacquins".11

Henry continued:

"They embarked four yells of tobacco, two kegs of high wine, powder, several bags of balls, a bag of shot, pemmican etc. ... June ... Mr. House, Mr. John Parks, Willcock with four Cree guides and hunters, the youngest of the Pacquins,12 and a number of horses, off by land; the whole H. B. Co. Columbia expedition consists of 17 persons, including the four Indians..."11

The party of 17 was thus made up of ten Company employees, four Cree Indians and three members (brothers) of the Pacquin family. The "youngest" refers to the last or youngest member of the family. Coues refers to David Thompson's journals of 23 June 1810 when Thompson was coming down the Saskatchewan River from the Columbia, and had proceeded below old Fort Augustus.

"...we passed two H. B. canoes, well arranged for the Columbia".

The only direct record in the H. B. Archives of Howse's venture during 1810-11 is an account book15 headed:

"S[askatchewan] F[actory]
Columbia or Flathead River
Accounts
1810-11",

11 Coues, op. cit., II, 605. Howse and his men started from Edmonton House which, at that date, was situated at the forks of the [Lower] Terre Blanche and Saskatchewan Rivers. Both the Hudson's Bay and North West Companies and removed from the second site (at the present city of Edmonton) to this third site of White-Earth River, eight miles northeast of the present-day Pacan (formerly Victoria), Alberta. The move to site No. 3 began on 31 May 1810 (Coues, op. cit., II, 600 et seq., and H. B. C. Archives files).

12 In view of the evidence we have found it would appear that this name about which the copyist of Henry's journal was doubtful, was Whiteway. James Whiteway (or Whitequay, as his name is sometimes written) was an interpreter and, as will be seen, accompanied Howse's party, Whiteway was a native of Burra in the Shetland Islands.

13 According to Pierre Nove: "Pacquin is a family name. The reference is directed towards three brothers of the family, one of which is the youngest member of the family." They were presumably freemen. See Coues, op. cit., II, 656. Their names are not included in the "Saskatchewan Factory Hudson's Bay List of Servants and State of Their Accounts", 1810-11, in H.B.C. Arch. B.60/3/2a., fos 23,26.

14 Alexander Henry names two of the Crees. They were Le Cardinal and Mawkoose. See Coues, op. cit., II, 627, 656.

15 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/2/2b
and this makes no reference to the Pacquin family or the Cree Indians. The men under contract to the Company who accompanied Joseph Howse were, according to this account book:

John Ashburn
William Bruse
William Harper
John Howrie
Joseph Lewes (alias Levi Johnston of Canada)\(^\text{16}\)
John Morwick
John Park
William Taylor
James Whitquay

Confirmation that these were the only men under contract to the Company and in receipt of annual wages who were in "the Columbia" during 1810-11 can be found in the Edmonton House account book.

Other writers have speculated and even stated categorically that Jaco Finlay accompanied the Howse expedition to the Columbia as a freeman. The evidence does not support this contention. Rather, it would appear that Jaco Finlay was engaged by David Thompson and was assisting Finan McDonald with the building of Spokane House during the winter of 1810-11.\(^\text{17}\)

Alexander Henry at Terre Blanche House Fort Augustus, No. 3 on the North Saskatchewan River learned on 22 October 1810 from the returning Cree, Mawkoose, who had started off with Howse, but was returning to look for his family, that the Hudson's Bay people had gone "to the old Kootenay house" on the Columbia River.\(^\text{18}\)

While Howse made final preparations and ultimately got his Columbia expedition under way, James McMillan, of the N. W. Co., whose travels in the succeeding months were to be intimately associated with those of Howse, was returning with David Thompson up the Kootenay River from Kullyspell House.\(^\text{19}\) On 14 June 1810 during the return trip McMillan was delegated by Thompson to attend to the packs together with Messrs. Methode and Vandette at the Kicking Horse rapids on the Columbia River while Thompson, in obvious haste, crossed the mountains to the eastward.

\(^{16}\) H. E. C. Arch. A. 16/31, fo 1149. Whiteway (Whitequay), was a Zetlander; the remaining seven men came from the Orkney and Shetland Islands, from Scotland and from Hudson Bay. Joseph Howse was from Cirencester, Gloucestershire.


\(^{18}\) Coues, op. cit., II, 611, 627, 656. J. B. Tyrrell placed "Kootenay House" on the west side of the Columbia River, in latitude 50° 32' 15" N., longitude 115° 51' 40" W., variation 24° East. This point is just north of the mouth of Toby Creek near Invermere, B. C. (Tyrrell, op. cit., p. lxxxvii). Howse had obviously not reached his eventual destination when Mawkoose left him.

\(^{19}\) It was at Saleesh House on the present Clark Fork River, that McMillan suffered the incredible misfortune of severely injuring the forefingers of both hands by gun-shot wound and later amputation of the left digit by Thompson.
The arrival of James McMillan from the Columbia was noted by Henry at Terre Blanche on 5 July 1810 and after four days of rest he was instructed to take off again and "to watch the motions of the H. B. ..." When he began his journey on 9 July McMillan was nineteen days behind the Howse party. It is apparent that McMillan caught up with the Howse expedition at the old Kootenay House, and, according to the returning Cree, Mawkoose, the rival H. B. and N. W. parties had, at the time he left, been "prevented from descending further by the Piegan and Fall Indians" who were watching the Northwest People on McGillivray's Kootenay River.

Meanwhile, James Bird had arrived at Carlton House en route to Edmonton House on 18 October 1810 and there entered in his Journal:

"Received also Letters from Mr. Howes and party who are well; and had Embarked safe on the Cootana [Columbia] River on their way to the Columbia." 20

Bird reached Edmonton House on 31 October following and recorded in his Journal on that day:

"Received letters from Mr. Howes, dated Cootana River 20th Augt. 1810, in which he says that, having been informed by some Cootanaha's that a Battle had been fought between a party of Flatt Head Indians, with whom a Mr. McDonald clerk to the N.W.t. Coy. was in company, and a party of Muddy river [Missouri] Indians, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of 14 Men killed; 7 according to Thompson's Narratives; and that the Muddy River Indians in consequence were laying in ambush to intercept him or any white Man, who might attempt to convey Goods to the Flatt Heads, he had determined on remaining some time at the place where this Letter was dated to gain further intelligence, after which, he should determine on his future proceedings. The News Mr. Howes had received has been seriously confirmed by the Muddy River Indians themselves who stopped 4 French canoes, which were bound for the Columbia, a Little above old Acton House; 21 and this band of Indians that stopped the Canadians declare that, another is laying on the banks of the River (called by Mr. Thompson Macgillivray's River) which Mr. Howes intended to descend, to intercept them there in case they had serious apprehensions for the Safety of Mr. Howes & party without a probability of being able to render them any assistance or, having it in my power to obtain any intelligence of their present situation. Mr. Thompson it appears after a Settlement had been formed & Goods left for the Muddy River Indians at Acton House set off privately with twenty Men & Horses conveying a few Goods, to go by another way towards his last years

20 H. B. C. Arch. b/60/a/9. At this time, due to the influence of David Thompson, the Columbia River above Canoe River (viz., that part of its course which flows northerly) was known as Kootenay River. See Coues, op. cit., II, 694, n. 10.

21 Acton House was the Hudson's Bay Company's post which competed with the Nor'Westers' Rocky Mountain House on the North Saskatchewan River.
abode near the Columbia..."22

The following extracts from Bird's Edmonton House journal also refer to David Thompson and Joseph Howse during the winter of 1810-11:

**1811**

Jan. 14 "It appears that Mr. Thompson is passing the winter close to the rocky Mountain in one of the Branches of the Athapuskow River, from whence he expects to find a Passage to some Branch of the Columbia next spring: Out men from Acton House met seven of his Men on their way to that place who were going as we suppose for a supply of provisions..."

Feb. 17 "Two Canadians Arrived at our Neighbours who brought us Letters from Acton House. From these letters and from the information of our Neighbour, I am Acquainted that two of the Mr. Hallett Clerks23 Arrived at Acton House the 23rd Jan., from the place at which Mr. Howse is Wintering which they left on the 12th Dec., they have brought no letters from Mr. Howse; but we have the Satisfaction of Knowing that he reached the place of his Destination in safety, and that they left him & Party in good health."

Mar. 25 "Sent off two Men to go to Acton House, and from thence with horses & Pemican to Meet Mr. Howse at the Coothana River, on the West side of the Rocky Mountain..."

May 10 Extract from a letter to J. P. Pruden at Carlton House: "As it had become necessary to Occupy Acton House during the summer and as Mr. Hallett will in a short time leave the Service, your presence is necessary here, for the managing the affairs of this place till Mr. House arrives..."

May 13 Men arrive from Acton House. Wm. Flett and four men remain there to pass the summer. "...A desire to conciliate the minds of the Indians, and to dispose them as much as in our power to behave friendly towards Mr. Howse, and party should they, as is too probable, meet with him in their war Excursions, had induced us, and the Canadians to comply with the urgent Solicitations of the

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22 H. B. C. Arch. B,60/a/9. For more complete discussion see Tyrrell, op. cit., pp. 423-425. In retrospect it is amazing to consider the rapidity of the messenger service in this era. The Piegan-Flathead battle took place in July 1810 probably in the neighborhood of Badger Pass, and Howse had the news in August 1810 despite the fact that about 205 airline miles separated the approximate site of the skirmish and that of the old Kootenay House.

23 Messrs. McMillan and Montour who, according to Alexander Henry (Coues, op. cit., II, 671), reached White Earth House on 26 January 1811 "from Flat Head Lake, which they left Dec. 12th", and where "the H.B. Co." were "also settled".
Indians to leave Men and Goods at this Settlement during the Summer; and on this Acct. (and a few freemen making their Spring hunts in that Quarter) only could this place have been thought worth maintaining. The Muddy River Indian Chiefs have promised not to molest Mr. Howse on his return from the flat head Country; but declared that, if they again met with a white Man going to supply their Enemies, they would not only plunder & kill him, but that they would make dry Meat of his body...”

On May 27, 1811, James Bird wrote to Joseph Howse remarking:

"...all that is necessary to be said, is, that if a trade to the flat head country should prove to be sufficiently valuable to justify us in continuing it, through the additional dangers and Difficulties, with which it must now be Attended, I rely on your making use of every Means in your power to Accomplish so Desirable an object... I confess that I have but little hope of our being able to recross the Mountain with advantage; I have however notwithstanding, Left several Extra Men, to be at your disposal, if past success had induced you to form a different opinion...”

But Howse, after returning safely to Edmonton House, considered it too dangerous to recross the Rocky Mountains. He returned apparently to Acton House in February of 1811 and "To Edmonton House by 30 July 1811, with thirty-six bundles of good furs, and convinced also that it would be folly to repeat the venture in the winter of 1811-12. The route of travel went through the lands of the Piegan Indians to those of the Flatheads, and a fierce war having broken out between the two, any white man who tried to traverse the country did so at his peril.”

During the summer a shortage of provisions developed at Edmonton, so that although Auld dutifully asked the Committee if they wished Howse to resume his expedition to the Columbia, it was already out of the question for a year at least. Bird, at Edmonton, none the less went on planning the attack. He hoped to find a new route through the mountains, a route which begins "near a principal source of the Athapascon River and terminates on the west side of the Mountains at the Cootakna River which, rising nearly west of the Head of the South Branch of the Saskatchewan, runs a very considerable distance in a northerly direction,

24 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/9.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid., 3, July 1811.
27 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/9, fos. 16d and 17; B.12/6/50, fos. 19-20. "It was Auld's opinion that Howse himself had created the trouble of giving the Flatheads arms.” E. E. Rich & R. H. Fleming (editors), Colin Robertson's Correspondence Book, September 1614 to September 1822 (Toronto, The Champlain Society, 1939), pp. xii, xliii, xliii.
28 H. B. C. Arch. A.11/76, fo. 31d.
makes a circuitous bend and turning Southward joins the Flat Head and other rivers which together are supposed to form a very considerable part of the Columbia."29

Bird's plan was put into cold storage while Howse visited England in the winter of 1812-13. Here he (Howse) was interviewed by the Committee and was given a present of 150 for his services "in proceeding from York Factory to the Stony Mountains in the years 1810 and 1811...as a gratuity for his past and encouragement for his future exertions."30

According to J. B. Tyrrell, Howse had used a route followed by David Thompson in previous years. Howse ascended the North Saskatchewan, crossed over Howse Pass, and in the interests of his assignment, began his ascent of the Kootenay [Columbia] River, which he ascended to its head. From there, according to Tyrrell, he had gone to the Flathead River north of Flathead Lake, "not far from the site of the present town of Kalispell in Montana," where he wintered.31 Alexander Ross, when on his Snake country expedition of 1824, halted on 14 February 1824, for his party to smoke "at a spot on which some faint traces of civilization were to be seen." This spot was on Riviere aux Marons, or Wild Horse River (now called Jocko River).32

Ross added:

"I believe this is the first and only instance in which any of the servants of that Company had penetrated so far to the west, prior to the country falling into their own hands in 1821."33

A map of the Columbia River by Alexander Ross dated Red River Settlement, 1 August 1819, is in the collection of Additional Manuscripts in the British Museum (Reference Add. Map., 31, 358B). This map located, in spite of Ross's remarks quoted above, "Mr. Hows 1810" on the west shore of Flathead Lake, towards the northern end, and not on "Riviere aux Maron", which is also marked on the map.

Both Joseph Howse and William Hemmings Cook, the Governor of York Fort, apparently kept in touch with Joseph Colen, a former H. B. Company officer retired to Cirencester. Letters from both men to Colen referring to the crossing of the Rockies in 1810-11 must have been sent to England by the ship which sailed from York in the autumn of 1811 for on 29 December 1811 Colen informed Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society, of the undertaking. Colen quotes Cook as saying

29 H. B. C. Arch. B.42/6/55, fo. 19d.

30 H. B. C. Arch. A.6.18, fo. 094 and A.1.50, fo. 149.

31 Tyrrell, op. cit., 1-11.

32 Not to be confused with Wild Horse River emptying into the Kootenai at Fort Steele, British Columbia.

33 The Fur Hunters of the Far West by Alexander Ross. Vol. II, p. 9. There is no mention of stopping to smoke, or to Joseph Howse, in the official journal (H. B. C. Arch. B.202/a/1) which was sent to the Governor and White, op. cit., p. 163, n. 91.
that Howse had travelled "across the Stoney Mountains and explored a Country that European feet had never Trod..." Coles also mentioned that Howse had not "laid
down his tract" as he was "not provided with Astronomical Instruments".34

However, the following maps are listed in the Catalogue of Archives,35 which was
brought up to date annually as records arrived from North America.

No. 58x "Rocky Mountains Sketch of showing
the connection of the Athapescow,
Saskatchewan & Missouri Rivers by
J. Howes 1812",

and No. 82 "Columbia River Sketch of by Josh.
Howes 1815".

A footnote explains that the x against No. 58 means that the map was sent to
Arrowsmith, the mapmaker. Like many others sent to the Arrowsmiths, this was
presumably never returned. No. 82 had also been missing from the H. B. Company's
archives for at least forty years.

When Howse finally returned to England in the Autumn of 1815 Governor Robert
Semple of the Hudson's Bay Company wrote from York Factory on 11 September to
Thomas Douglas, fifty Earl of Selkirk, and founder of the Red River Settlement;

"...Mr. House who goes home in the Prince [of Wales] appears to be a
plain sensible man and may perhaps be able to give Your Lordship some
useful information. As everybody has not been at Corinth so neither
has everybody been across the Rocky Mountains..."36

Howse's journals or letters written during his stay west of the Rocky Mountains
have not survived in the H. B. Company's archives. In the early part of 1843
when Sir George Simpson, the H. B. Company's overseas governor, was in London
the Oregon Boundary Question was obviously much to the fore because he wrote to
Joseph Howse and James McMillan requesting them to supply him with information about
the early crossings of the Rocky Mountains. Copies of Simpson's letters have not
been found in the H. B. Company archives so the exact questions asked are not known,
but on 9 February 1843 Joseph Howse replied from Cirencester as follows:

"I hasten to answer your queries as follows:

First I crossed the Rocky Mounts, in the Summer & Autumn of 1810 by the
North Branch of the Saskatchewan - ascended the Kootenay [Columbia]
River - carried into the Flat Bow [Kootenay] River - descended the

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35 H. B. C. Arch. A/64/52, pp. 183, 185.
most Southly Bight of it - crossed (portage poil de Custer)\(^{37}\) to Flathead River (above the Lake - see Arrowsmith "Howse Ho."\(^{38}\) where we built. In Decr. with a couple of my Men I accompanied the Flat-heads to the head branches of the Missouri - returned to our House - in Feby. 1811 and then to the Saskatchewan - the follg, Summer -

Second None Certainly I was myself the first in the H. Bay Co.'s Service

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\(^{37}\) "Poil de Castor; a contraction of des pouillle de castor, meaning - beaver hair. The term refers to a cache located on a high outside bank of a meander in a river. The cache was usually concealed by long grass, but positioned in such a manner that the site could be seen by approach from either direction on the river. Such a location served as a reminder to those who know of its whereabouts. The trappers would beach their canoe on the flat side of the river and wade the river to the site of the cache. Often times canoes would be concealed in the river at the same place by weighting them down with rocks. When a French trapper caught a damaged beaver he took the hair off the hide and put it in bags. This hair was used to make high quality felt for hats. The quality of the hats is determined by the amount of thickness of beaver hair; the young beaver, the winter or Muscovite beaver which comes from the winter hunting (this is the best and reserved for expensive neckpieces and decoration) and there is the low grade beaver called 'castor-veule' which comes from summer hunting and is also used for making hats. Also there is 'castor-gras' which is the beaver skin that contracted an oiliness from handling or wear by the Indians. The trappers separated the hair in different bags in an effort to recuperate the hide or hair. Castor also signifies a hat manufactured with just beaver skin. While a demi-castor is one in which there is a combination of beaver skin and another type of material or fur. Today still a quality hat is called by the amount of thickness of beaver hair in the making. In our days it is marked by a number followed by an x and ordinarily the color is the natural one of the beaver hat—silver belly, tan, and dark brown-black was the highest priced. Stetson hats 5x are worth $100 and 1x is worth $12 to $20. In old times trappers separated the hair in different bags. Some of the Indian pelts were in pretty bad state and were recuperated this way." See Dictionnaire Universel de Commerce (Paris, 1805), 374. With acknowledgment for the capable assistance in translation by Mrs. Leslie L. Sterling of Kalispell, and for the information supplied by Mr. Pierre Nove of Bigfork, Montana.

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\(^{38}\) There is (in H. B. C. Arch. G.3/88) part of the Aaron Arrowsmith map of North America on which Governor George Simpson added the dates of his arrival at different places on the route from York Factory to Fort George, Columbia River, in 1824 (See F. Mark, Fur Trade and Empire (Cambridge, Mass., 1931). That part of the map bearing the date and other particulars is missing, but the portion used by Simpson clearly shows that Aaron Arrowsmith marked "Howse Ho." at the north end of "Saless or Flathead L." However, it is noted that "Howse Ho." is not on the reproduction of the Arrowsmith map of 1795 bearing additions to 1811, 1813, 1819, 1820, and 1821 which accompanies Fur Trade and Empire.
Third NW. Co. had already established themselves among the Kootonays and had not proceeded so far as I was viz. among the Flatheads — (see enclosed papers) 39

Fourth I am not aware of any

In rummaging over my H. B. papers which I have not done before for a great many years I have found the enclosed 40 which are at least curious — I know not how they came into my possession — but they may throw some light on our Subject.

I shall be most happy to give you any further information in my power. Congratulating you most heartily on your safe return to Old England...

PS. You seem to say that the Country in dispute lies between Lats 42° & 51°. Did not McKenzie make the Sea between these latitudes?

See also David Thompson's Lieut. Broughton

D. T. formerly in H. B. service was in that of the N.W. Co. when these letters were written —

Could you send me the "Spectator" alluded to? 41

McMillan's reply did not make reference to Joseph House. 42

39 These papers have not been traced.
40 Not traced.
41 House's letter is in H. B. C. Arch. D.5/3, fo. 85.
42 Ibid., fos. 135-136d.
Historians, who attempt to pursue early day exploration, are frequently confronted with the tiring and sometimes impossible task of determining a specific location because of the name changes in the topography of the land.

The name, Flathead, of particular interest here, may serve to illustrate as the name was applied to several lakes and streams in Montana; and was used perhaps so freely that any effort to identify a particular locale by this name became a most perplexing task.

The issue, in this instance, is whether or not present day Lake Pend d'Oreille (when the Northwest Co. sought trade in this area) was ever referred to as Flathead Lake. Both the Thompson and Arrowsmith maps identify Lake Pend d'Oreille, as it was originally referred to by Thompson, as Kulyspalam Lake. Coues, however, is categorical in stating that present Lake Pend d'Oreille, as well as present day Flathead Lake and the present Clark Fork River, were all referred to as ... Flathead.

Coues states:

"Premising thus far regarding names, Thompson's movements in 1809-10 may be here outlined, in so far as they relate to the "Flathead" l. of our text: "...here is where he [Thompson] built what he called the Saleesh house, sometimes Flat Head House, which we now see has nothing to do with our Salish or Flat Head r., or our Salish or Flat Head l., or his Saleesh or Flat Head l., but was on his Saleesh or Flat Head r., i.e., our Clark's Fork, in Montana."

The name, Flathead, is found throughout the Alexander Henry journals and is often used by Thompson in his journals and narratives. Both the journals of Henry and Thompson note that the Flatheads called themselves the Salish. Thompson used "Saleesh" for the main part, and Henry "Saleeish".

"Lewis and Clark in their expedition to the Northwest used the term 'Foot-last-schute' in referring to the Flatheads. This name is peculiar to and recorded in the journals of Lewis and Clark, and of Patrick Gass for September, 1805. Lewis and Clark seldom used the name, Flathead, but on one occasion of note referred to the Tushepaw-Flatheads when they were at Traveler's Rest Creek."

3 Partoll, op. cit., p. 45.
Partoll, in his discussion of the Flathead-Salish Indian name, speculates that "Eoot-last-schute" was probably a phonetic misrepresentation of "In-schute-schun", a tribal term meaning red willow (dogwood), which grew in great abundance in the Bitterroot Valley and served to identify the Flatheads. The name Flathead, according to Partoll, as applied to the Flathead-Salish Indians, was in "translation of their tribal sign, which meant natural head, [as opposed to the Clatsops and Chinooks] signifying that there was no implication of physical mutilation." 5

Howse, in his reply to a letter directed to him by Simpson in 1843, said in part: "...crossed to Flat Head River..." But where was the Flathead R.? Arrowsmith did not give a name to the present Clark Fork River (above present Lake Pend d'Oreille), but placed the name, Flathead R., alongside the present Pend d'Oreille River which flows between present Lake Pend d'Oreille and the Columbia River. By contrast, Thompson, on his map, labels the entire river system (the present Flathead, Clark Fork, and Pend d'Oreille Rivers) as the Saleesh River. Neither the Thompson or Arrowsmith maps gave a name to the rivers emptying into Saleesh Lake, the present Flathead Lake.

The Arrowsmith map unmistakably labeled present day Flathead Lake, as Saleesh or Flathead Lake and Thompson used, Saleesh Lake.

At the time Howse wrote his letter to Simpson in 1843 the main river system emptying into present day Flathead Lake was referred to as De Smet River. 9 Apparently the rivers emptying into the present Flathead Lake did not receive their current names until about 1870 as the map of the Territory of Montana in 1865 and the DeLacy map of the same date show the 'Maple River' north of Flathead Lake and 'Flathead River' south of the lake. 10

The Clark Fork of the Columbia River named in honor of Captain Clark of the Lewis and Clark expedition, has had many local names, some of them still in use. The Clark Fork is formed in the Deer Lodge Valley by the meeting of Silver Bow and Warm Springs Creeks and is known there as the Deer Lodge River. Through the canyon, before it emerges at Missoula, it is called the Hell Gate River in local parlance.

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5 Partoll, op. cit., p. 45.
6 Ibid., p. 45.
7 H. B. C. Arch. Ds/5/8, fo. 85.
10 See map of the Territory of Montana - "To accompany the report of the Surveyor General, 1871". General Land Office.
### SOURCE PLACE NAMES & LIMITS

#### David Thompson Map 1799-1814
- Saleesh River **A-E**
- Nemissoolatakoo River **D-G**
- Courter's River **F-H**
- McGillivray's River **I-L**
- Kullyspi Lake, **2** - Saleesh Lake

#### Arrowsmith Map 1795-1819
- Flathead River **A-E**
- Tus-he-pah River **D-F**
- Clark's or Main Fork **F-G**
- McGillivray's River **I-J**
- Coo-too-nay or Flat Bow River **K-L**
  1 - Kullespelm L.
  2 - Saleesh or Flathead L.
  3 - Flat bow (sic) Lake

#### Charles Wilkes Map 1841
- Flat Head or Clark's River **A-E**
- Kootanie or Flat Bow River **I-L**
  Note: No other place names shown
  1 - Kullespelm or L. Pend Oreilles
  2 - Flat Head L.
  3 - Flat Bow Lake

#### Pacific R. R. Surveys Map 1854-1857
- Clark's Fork **A-E**
- Bitter Root River **D-F**
- Bitter Root or St. Mary's Fork **F-G**
- Hell Gate River **F-H**
  1 - L. Pend Oreille
  2 - Flat Head Lake

#### U. S. Geological Survey Map 1961
- Pend Oreille River **A-B**
- Clark Fork **C-H**
- Flathead River **D-E**
- Bitterroot River **F-G**
- Kootenai (in U.S.) Kootenay (in Canada) River **I-L**
  1 - Pend Oreille Lake
  2 - Flathead Lake
  3 - Kootenay Lake

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**PLATE NO. 1 - Evolution of place names of the Pend Oreille - Clark Fork & Kootenai Rivers.**
It then becomes the Missoula River for old timers until it absorbs its big tributary, the Bitterroot River, after which it is finally accepted as the Clark Fork.11

Thompson's map shows the present Clark Fork above its confluence with the Flathead River as a continuation of the Bitterroot River. This is the stream referred to by Thompson as the "South Branch". The Clark Fork above its confluence with the Bitterroot River is designated "Courters River" and was considered a tributary of the "South Branch".12

Thompson's Saleesh or Flathead River, as he referred to it, began at the outlet of present Flathead Lake, was joined by the "South Branch" (Clark Fork), and from this point on to where it joined the Columbia was known as the Saleesh River.13

In an effort to pursue the travels of Howse west of the Rocky Mountains a brief discussion of the habits and locale of the Indian tribes in the upper Columbia Drainage is necessary although in this manuscript no detailed analysis of Indian habits and culture will be attempted.

Malouf, in his manuscript, Economy and Land Use by the Indians of Western Montana, U.S.A., includes maps in his discussion to show the land domain of the Kutenai, Upper Pend d'Oreille, and the Flathead Indians. These maps show the Upper Pend d'Oreille (ear bobs) or Kalispells frequented the area along the present Clark Fork River and this tribe was closely allied with the Flatheads (Salish).14

The Kutenai domain, large in extent, encompassed the area now known as the Flathead Valley and roughly the northern half of Flathead Lake.15

To date there are no calendar records available of the Kutenai tribe to confirm or disprove Howse's presence in the Flathead. Malouf and White's work in conjunction with Baptiste Mathias on the Calendar records of the Kutenai, go back to 1826 and any records or method the Kutenai may have had in preserving their history prior to this time have not been uncovered.16

11 Northwestern Montana Tour No. 3. The Sperry Hutchinson Co., 1962.
12 White, Catherine, op. cit., p. 97, n. 91.
13 The present Clark Fork River was frequently referred to as the Saleesh or Flathead River by other trappers. See Men & Trade on the Northwest Frontier. Weisel, George F., Vol. II, Montana State University Press, 1955, P. 153. Bibliography of Neil McLean McArthur (Frontiersman). "From 1846 to 1847 he [McArthur] was an apprentice clerk with the Hudson's Bay Co., in charge of the old Flathead Post on the eastern bank of the Flathead River above Thompson Falls." Ross Cox also refers to the present Clark Fork R. as the Flathead R. in his Adventures on the Columbia p. 103 "... and taking leave of Farnham on the 18th of December, descended the Flathead River on my return to Spokane."
15 Ibid.
16 See Kutenai Calendar Records, Malouf and White, Montana Magazine of History, Vol. III, 12; also appendix on Indian Informants this ms.
The main camps and routes of travel of the Flatheads, Kutenai, and Upper Pend d'Oreille, in and about their respective domains and over the mountains to the buffalo are of particular interest, as the Indian guides employed by the early traders, would undoubtedly follow the respective tribes' most common routes of travel. In the interests of this paper a listing of the travel routes most frequented by the Flatheads (Salish) follows.17

The following extracts from Malouf's *Economy and Land use by the Indians of Western Montana, U.S.A.* refer to the Flathead Indians travel routes leading from the Bitterroot Valley:

1 "To Deer Lodge valley via Shalkaho pass."
2 "To this Big Hole country."
3 "Via Missoula up the Clark Fork."
4 "To follow up Burnt Creek to the east to emerge on the Clark Fork at Bonner."
5 "To follow up Pattee Canyon to join the Clark Fork at Bonner."
6 "As it is today, Garrison was a junction of two roads (the junction of two important river valleys). From here one could travel up to Deer Lodge valley along the Clark Fork, or they could travel up the Little Blackfoot and over the continental divide to Helena. From the Deer Lodge Valley the Indians could go on to Butte for fishing and cross over Pipestone Pass, or cross the divide at a point between present Boulder and Butte, and emerge in the vicinity of Three Forks for hunting. The route through Helena also provided access to the Three Forks area."

7 "Trails to the upper South Fork of the Flathead River from the Jocko valley, near Arlee, and from the Flathead valley near St. Ignatius were routes to the White River country and beyond to the Missouri River drainage."

The center of the Flathead Indian life was the Bitterroot valley. When traveling from the Bitterroot valley to the eastern areas the Flatheads had a choice of routes. The selection depended of course upon the time of year and the prospects for food and other advantages the particular route would afford.18

PROBABLE ROUTE

Thompson, according to his journals, ascended the Fisher River in May of 1811 to what probably is now known as McKillop Creek, and having followed up this stream, no doubt crossed over to what is now Loon Lake.19

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17 Malouf, op. cit., pp. 36, 37, 38, 39.
18 Ibid.
Howse may have followed much the same route as Thompson, ultimately to descend the course of the Thompson River. Other possible routes would include following up the course of the Fisher River and to follow one of its three tributaries; the East Fisher, the Silver Butte Fisher, or the Pleasant Valley Fisher.20

Another route to be considered would be the Wolf Creek drainage with the possibility of passage over the divide to the headwaters of Ashley Creek, or into Pleasant Valley; although if Howse chose to go eastward from the Fisher River, the route now followed by Hi-way #2 would be more in agreement with the Indian Road of his day.21

If Howse wintered on the present Clark Fork River, the chances are good that he departed from this area by going up the Clark Fork River with the Flatheads (Salish) and followed one of the Indian Roads described on a preceding page. This departure route would be in agreement with Howse's letter to Simpson when he said: "{... I accompanied the Flat Heads to the head branches of the Missouri...}".22

Henry's Journal mentioned that McMillan and Montour had left Flathead Lake on Dec. 12th, where they note "{... the H. B. Co. are also settled".23 Howse also contended that he left his winter location in December to return to the eastern plains. However, neither the Howse or McMillan parties, despite the fact that they were returning to the eastern plains during the same month, mentioned the activities of their rivals with regards to the return journey.

The most eminent reporter of that day, David Thompson, had, in the course of his duties, gone to Rainy Lake House during the summer of 1810 and consequently did not have contact or immediate knowledge through the messenger service of the fur trading era as to the whereabouts of his H. B. contemporaries (Howse) to report in his journals. The other prominent journalist, Alexander Henry, made a detailed report of the departure of the Howse expedition, but there is no mention of Howse's return to Acton House as Henry was at this time on a strenuous journey of his own up the Saskatchewan and over Howse Pass into the Rocky Mountains.

Alexander Ross while on his Snake River country expedition of 1824 speculates or concludes as to the whereabouts of the Howse party in his narratives, not his journals, when he mentions the "faint traces of civilization" at some point on the present day Jocko River.24

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20 "If I were an early day trapper desiring the easiest route across this area, I would ascend the East Fisher R., cross over, and follow down the Vermillion River to the Clark Fork," Statement by Willis Johns, Geologist, State Bureau of Mines & Geology.

21 Kutenai Camps of Western Montana, Thain White, 1953, MS not published.

22 H. B. Arch. D.5/8, fo 85.


Thompson, in his journals (May 1811), made note that he received information to the extent that the "H. B. are in the lake", but no further mention is made with regards to the Howse party. The brief notation, "in the lake", would apparently refer to an area well within the acquaintance of the writer, and must have been in reference to the present day Lake Pend d'Oreille (Kulyspellum), as Thompson, on this date, has not yet seen present Flathead Lake. Thompson's notation together with the statement of McMillan in the Henry journals, would be substantial evidence that the Howse party was established on or above present Lake Pend d'Oreille, and not north of present Flathead Lake.

James Bird must have expected Howse to return in the same manner or route that he had taken into the Columbia as Bird's 25 March journal entry of 1811 states that he sent two men to Acton House and from there to proceed to Cootanha River with horses and supplies for Howse.

Bird's Edmonton House Journal entry of 17 February 1811 reflects virtually the same news as reported by Henry:

"...two of the Nwt. Coy. Clerks Arrived at Acton House on the 23rd Jany. from the place at which Mr. Howse is Wintering which they left on the 12th. Decr."27

Note the time consumed for the trip was 42 days.

Howse left his winter quarters sometime in December, and his return trip took him about twice as long as it did for McMillan, as Howse reports he arrived back "at our house in Feb. 1811, and returned to the Saskatchewan in July 30 of the same year."29

Bird at Edmonton House, however, did not appear to be aware of Howse's return to Acton House, for Bird reports approximately three months later from Edmonton House in his journal entry of 13 May 1811:

"Men arrive from Acton House. Wm. Flett and four men remain there to pass the summer. A desire to conciliate the minds of the Indians, and dispose them as much as in our power to behave friendly towards Mr. House, and party should they, as it too probable, meet with him in their war excursions....."31

Howse in his letter to Simpson mentioned that only a couple of his men returned with him. He states:

25 M. Catherine White, op. cit.
26 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/9.
28 H. B. C. B.60/a/9
29 H. B. C. Arch. D.5/8, fo. 85.
30 See discussion of Indian Roads in appendix this MS.
31 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/9.
"In Deer, with a couple of my men I accompanied the Flatheads to the head branches of the Missouri."32

Presumably the freemen with the Howse party, by virtue of their status went their respective ways when their services were no longer required. But what happened to the other seven men listed on the H. B. Co. payroll?

Bird's Edmonton House journal may serve to explain:

"Received letters from Mr. Howse, dated Cgotana River 20th Augt. 1810, in which he states that..."33

Howse may have attempted to correspond with Bird at Edmonton House and dispatched some of his men as messengers.

CONCLUSION

There remains but scant evidence from which to speculate upon the actual journey taken by Joseph Howse beyond the southernmost point of latitude on the Kootenai River. The maps Howse made in 1812 and 1815 and consigned to the map maker, Aaron Arrowsmith, were never returned to the Hudson's Bay Co. All of the Arrowsmith maps were sold at public auction on 28 July 1874 following the death of John Arrowsmith in May 1873.34 The Hudson's Bay Archives no longer retain any of the material concerning the actual journey of Joseph Howse and the personal papers of Howse were consigned, undoubtedly, to one of the five beneficiaries of his will and their whereabouts today are unknown.35

Howse received little or no credit for his contributions to the Arrowsmith maps. Two of his maps are listed as being sent to the Governor and Committee in London.36

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32 H. B. C. Arch. D.5/8, fo. 85
33 H. B. C. Arch. B.60/a/9
35 Ibid. (July 21, 1961)
36 H. B. C. Arch. A.64/52, pp. 183, 185. Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Vol. 64, pt. 1, Apr. 21, 1951, p. 86. "In the Oregon area, however, the map [Arrowsmith] is remarkably well executed, with many named tributaries along the Snake, and with the entire Columbia basin better portrayed than on previous maps. Arrowsmith was profiting from the explorations of Ogden and associates." Mapping the Transmississipi West 1540 - 1861, Chap. XV (Arrowsmith to Long 1811-1823), Wheat, Carl I. With reference to the Arrowsmith map of 1811: "Particularly noteworthy is the fact that the upper Columbia is shown much better than by Lewis and Clark, who had not seen it and therefore had to take it from what was available."
There remains the report of McMillan and Montour from the Alexander Henry journals upon their return to Rocky Mountain House wherein they state that: "...the H. B. Co. is also settled on Flat Head lake." 37

If Howse wintered on the present Clark Fork River, he most likely departed for the plains country via McDonald, Cadotte, or Rogers Pass, as Howse stated:

"I accompanied the Flat Heads to the head branches of the Missouri..." 38

According to Alexander Henry, McMillan & Howse were together at the old Kootanae House and each of the men certainly had some knowledge of the other's whereabouts between September and December of 1810. Strangely, however, when Howse and McMillan departed for the eastern plains, each chose to go by a different route; McMillan traveled back up the Kootenai R. and Howse traveled eastward to cross the Rockies.

Despite the fact that the Arrowamiths placed Howse House on their map at the head of present Flathead Lake, the evidence weighs more heavily in favor of Howse House having been established along the present Clark Fork River (above present Lake Pend d'Oreille). Howse's apparent relationship with the Flatheads is in keeping with the established domain of the Flathead Indians. The report of McMillan and Montour would point to a Clark Fork River location, as well as Thompson's reference to the H. B. "in the lake" 39 Howse's own report that he came out on the plains in the vicinity of the headwaters of the Missouri is in agreement with the long established route of the Flatheads (Salish) in their migrations to obtain the buffalo, and the Flathead River, by definition, was the river system between the mouth of Flathead Lake and the Columbia River.

From the information available, Howse was detained at the old Kootenay House by the belligerent Piegans and resumed his journey southward sometime in September. 40

Allowing the expedition two weeks to arrive at their destination—either present day Flathead or Lake Pend d'Oreille—there would remain only about two months to establish a trading site. Should this premise be correct it is not likely that Howse House was a building of a permanent nature.

37 Coues, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 671
38 H. B. C. Arch. D. 5/6, fo. 85.
40 H. B. C. Arch. B. 60/a/9.
There are a total of nine archaeological sites surveyed and numbered in the area around Flathead Lake. This includes a site now covered by the Hungry Horse reservoir, one on the Swan River and one at the head of Swan Lake. This includes all listings up to and including 1953. The Smithsonian Institution sent a group of trained archaeologists to Flathead County and they established a site near the present Hungry Horse dam. This survey by the Smithsonian Institute was conducted before the reservoir was filled, presumably in the 1940s. The number of the site is 24FH1. The number 24 designates Montana; the F.H. denotes Flathead County, and the last number signifies the specific location. The survey number, 24FH3, is located on the Sudan farm and was reported by Miss Sudan several years ago.

It is uncertain just how many sites have been surveyed in Flathead County by conscientious amateurs and reported to the proper authorities (the Smithsonian Institute, or the archaeological or anthropological staff at Montana State University). There are, of course, the sites that are never reported and the 'loot' disturbed and scattered in such a manner that any evidence that did exist is beyond the reconstruction of the trained archaeologist. The authors of this manuscript intend to list herewith their own personal observations in the field and to describe their findings in eight separate locations in what is known as the 'lower valley' (the area bordered by Kalispell, Montana, to the north, Flathead Lake to the south, by the mountains on the east and west of the valley.)

ASHLEY CREEK (WEST SIDE) SITE NO. 1, PLATE 4

This site is located on the west side of the mouth of Ashley Creek (Flathead County) and is situated in Section 25, Township 28N, Range 21W. This site is located about six miles north of Flathead Lake.

The search for artifacts at this site produced a rather limited yield. A few badly scattered and broken hearth stones were uncovered and a muzzle loading flint lock pistol barrel was plowed up by Mr. Henry Ballenger in 1955. The pistol barrel was located about 100 yards south of the present log cabin which is located immediately west of the mouth of Ashley Creek on the south bank of the Flathead River. The point of discovery was on one of the higher terraces that runs parallel with Ashley Creek in a north-south direction. The following map presents the general conditions existing there today (1960).

H. D. LOCKHART SITE SITE NO. 3, PLATE 5

This site is located on the H. D. Lockhart farm and is in Section 34, Township 28N, and Range 21W., and borders the south bank of the Flathead River. This site covers a rather large area. By estimate it is about a half-mile long by several hundred feet wide.

Our survey commenced near the Lockhart farm buildings and followed through in a semi-circle over into Section 35 to the eastward. See traced map on preceding page.

During the last 60 years there have been many lithic artifacts found on this farm land. Prior to the advent of farming this area was probably a light stand of pine
ATE NO. 2 - Archaeological Sites, Flathead Lake Region, Montana. Compiled up to 1953.
Vicinity Map

Outline of area below

PLATE NO. 3 - New sites located in Flathead Valley.

1. West Side of Ashley Creek
2. East Side of Ashley Creek
3. H. D. Lockhart Site
4. Pete Brosten Site
5. Heming Brosten Site
6. Therrault Ferry Site
7. T. W. Wagner Site
8. Hetland Springs Site
9. Meuli Site
A. Potential area not surveyed
Plate No. 4 - Site No. 1, West Side of Ashley Creek. Scale: 1" = 1000'
and fir and was cleared in the 1890's or slightly later than this date.1

The likelihood of this area being one of the possible locations for "Howse House" will be considered. First of all, the Lockhart property has yielded many artifacts since farming was introduced to the area and it is quite possible that many artifacts have been found, lost, or not reported. Nevertheless, the Lockhart property represents a focal point of habitation established many years ago. For our purposes it could be considered as well within the area used as a winter camp by the Kutenais.

When a surface survey was conducted from the Lockhart farm buildings to the county road (south-east of the farm buildings about 1/2 mile), many broken hearth stones, chips, flakes, and a few burned and broken bones were found along the higher ridges along with pebbles and rocks which are foreign to the cultivated land on this farm.

South of the concentration of hearth stones and thence eastward along the ridges the survey revealed more lithic material. The concentration of lithic material seemed to lie in two places. One was about 46 yards southwest of power pole B, and the other about 60 yards west of the north-south county road, and at right angles to the ridges or terraces. This particular site has revealed from previous years, 1 grooved hammer, 2 flint rocks, 1 new weight and several knives or projectile points. These artifacts have been collected by several parties over the past years and it is impossible to determine the full extent of the collections from this area. In addition to the previously mentioned artifacts, our survey produced a few fragments of bone, some of which were charred.

A good percentage of the broken hearth stones were found on the southern edges of the gentle sloping terraces south and east of the Lockhart farm. These hearth stones could possibly indicate a winter camp facing towards the sun amid the openings in the timber on the heights of the terraces. This presumption would include that the area to the north amid the slight swells and troughs contained considerable undergrowth or heavy timber, thus forming a natural shield to the cold north winds of winter. There are indications along these terraces of the remains of large trees as there are many fragments of heavy roots apparently of pine, tamarack, and fir. The northern edges of these terraces seem to contain (on the surface) many fragments of these roots.

To the west of the terraces (about 100 yards) there is a concentration area yielding evidence of an old homestead or living quarters which is probably not old enough to associate any of its artifacts with "Howse House". The location of this 'homestead' is perhaps significant as it was probably established in the 70's or 80's, and "Howse House" only preceded these dates by fifty to sixty years. It is then entirely possible that the settler or squatter could have chosen for his home or quarters a previous spot of habitation if the area provided adequate space in the timber.

To date there are not any remains of structures such as piles of stones which could have been used for foundations. The survey, however, produced many pieces of window glass, crockery, broken bottles, broken pieces of horse farm machinery, and nails both square cut and round.2

1 The photo-copy of the plat surveyed by Mr. Rakowicz in 1891 for the General Land Office indicates the area has brush and perhaps open stands of timber.

2 Personal observations in Flathead valley. The round nail replaced the square cut nail at about the turn of the century.
PLATE NO. 5 - Site No. 3, H. D. Lockhart Site.

Area of broken hearth stones

Concentration points 1 & 2

Old homestead? 1889 (?)
A good metal detector was used at the site of the old home and many pieces of metal were detected, including many unidentified portions of farm machinery. Also, there was an amazing absence or lack of tin cans either large or small. It is possible, but not likely, that the tin cans were removed to a dumping grounds; or the homestead existed before tin-can days, or it was entirely possibly the survey did not locate any cans. There was not a fragment of a tin can to be found. Every piece of glass found was very highly iridescent and similar to the glass that was found at historic Fort Owen. The glass found at Fort Owen was probably brought in before 1890.

In an effort to determine if there was any record of a homestead or house in this area a letter was directed to the U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Land Management, Billings, Montana. Their reply follows:

"No mention is made of any homestead or house or cabin in Section 34, Township 28N, Range 21W. I have looked this section up in the docket section of the land office and there is only one entry for NE1/4, SEC. 34, Township 28N, Range 21W. This particular subdivision was a cash entry (No. 166) and was patented to Ira B. Brun (or Brum) Feb. 1, 1893.

Signed: Mrs. V. A. Deeter, Clerk"

ARTIFACTS FROM THE LOCKHART SITE

The Lockhart property has yielded many objects of archaeological interest beginning with the clearing of the land many years ago and the subsequent yearly cultivation to produce a rather sizeable collection of artifacts. These items will be listed and discussed.

1. A quartzite stone of measurements: 3 x 4 x 1/2 inches. This is a natural water washed purple stone bearing three notches and appears to have been used as a fish net weight. Two of the notches oppose each other on opposite sides of the stone and appear to be of the same age, while the third notch appears to be more recent and no doubt is the result of the impact from some farm implement. The side of the stone which faced uppermost revealed a considerable deposit of calcium as well as one of the older notches. The more recent notch does not possess this deposit.

3 The authors do not know when light iron was introduced toward the manufacture of such articles.


2. This stone, presumably a sinker, was found 60 yards west of the north-south county road near the top of the southernmost terrace among some broken hearth stones. At this location there appeared to be a concentration of lithic material, and there have been reports of the discovery of several of these stones or sinkers along these terraces by other parties.

Across the Flathead River from the Lockhart property and to the north on the Sibelrud farm about 35 of these sinkers were found in 1941; all of the sinkers were found in a pile when a new field was broken for farm use. This site is not described in this manuscript.

Outline of Sinker—See Plate No. 8 for details.

3. Two flat, water washed "cooking" stones, about one foot in diameter and one 7-1/2 inches thick were found at the same location on the Lockhart farm as was the "net weight" in 1941 by Mr. Ernest White.7

A number of stones of the same shape were observed at a site on the Columbia River (east side) north east of Vantage, Washington, by the authors in 1955. This is an archaeological site on the high levels of the Columbia River.

Mr. William Gingras, a younger Kutenai historian, viewed these two rocks before his death in 1955 or 1956 and his remarks follow:

"No, these stones are not for cooking. They are for the same as white man's hot water bottle. You understand that among the early Kutenai, in older days, they designated a person within the camp to have such things. They are to be heated and used as a hot rock. You people call that a hot water bottle. You call that person a nurse. The Kutenai had such people in many of their camps. Sometimes this person would go ahead of the main group

7 At the Flathead Lake Lookout Museum. Lakeside, Montana.
when traveling and get these stones hot to be used on the person that might be sick, when that person arrived with the main group."

4. A small grooved hammer of dimensions: 3-3/4" x 2-3/4" was found at the same location the cooking stones were located by Ernest White in 1941. This is a natural water washed red quartzite stone and was found near the 1/2 concentration point. (See sketch of Lockhart site.)

5. Projectile points. These points, three in number, are simple medium sized (1-3/4" to 1-1/4" long) and stemmed barbed convexed base. They are about 1 to 1-1/4 inches wide and all are made of basalt. The points, slightly retouched on the forward 3/4 surface, were found by Ernest White, Harold Prouty, and Mrs. Ernest White on the Lockhart site somewhere between the power line and the north-south county road.

EAST SIDE - ASHLEY CREEK SITE SITE NO. 2, PLATE NO. 10
This site retains considerable interest not only because of its potential in archaeological information but because of the historical significance of this area. A careful surface survey should be conducted in this area. To date nearly all of the area is under farm practices. Our personal observations revealed a few broken hearth stones.

PETE BROSTEN SITE SITE NO. 4, PLATE NO. 11
This site is located along the west side of the Flathead River in Section 33, Township 28N., Range 20W., and runs parallel with the river from Mr. Brosten's farm buildings up to and including a portion of Section 28. Nearly all of this area is being farmed, but some of the area in Section 28 is just being cleared.

A simple surface survey was made from just north of the farm buildings up to the recent land clearing. During the past decade many lithic artifacts have been found on this site. One old pistol (its whereabouts unknown) was reported as having been located at the concentration point (see sketch). At the concentration point numerous broken hearth stones were found, along with two or three simple water washed stones that were used as pounders or smashers. Also there were flakes, chips and bone fragments at the concentration point.

Considerable time was spent in the newly cleared land but nothing of interest was observed. The concentration point is next to the river on a low terrace that runs east and west. This site warrants a more complete survey, as it appears to be the most recent of the sites described in this manuscript. The lithic industry aspects would testify to this effect.

HEMING BROSTEN SITE SITE NO. 5, PLATE NO. 12
This site consists of a scattering of broken hearth stones on the west side of the Flathead River, located just north of the old Therriault Ferry landing in Section
Long before this manuscript was considered (in 1950) a man brought the hatchet shown above to the Flathead Lake Lookout Museum stating: "I found this over by Lockharts." It is indeed interesting to note the stamp on it. Could it be Hudsons Bay? It is encased heavily with rust and clay and weighs $1 \frac{1}{2}$ pounds.

Plate NO. 6 - Hatchet Tracing.
DESCRIPTION: Muzzle loading pistol barrel with dimensions as shown, weight 1-3/4 lbs. A no. '4' is located on the left side, a pair of matched 7's and the letter 'C' on the bottom (shown).
a. Net Weight Sinker – FULL SCALE

b. Grooved Hammerstone – FULL SCALE

PLATE No. 8 – Artifacts from Lockhart Site.
PLATE NO. 9 - Heating stones from the Lockhart Site.
To the Flathead River Crossing according to William Gringas

Area of broken hearth stones

Location of Frenchman's House according to Baptise Mathias

Indian trail according to Baptise Mathias

Plate No. 10 - Site No. 2, East Side of Ashley Creek. Scale: 1" = 1000'
Site No. 5
Heming Brosten Site
Area of broken hearth stones

Site No. 6
Therrault Ferry
Open hearth stones (broken)

Heming Brosten

Therrault Ferry Crossing
1920's to 1955

Site of Salish Post Office
1883 (?) to 1904 (?)

Bill Lynch

Plate No. 12 - Site No. 5 & Site No. 6.
Scale: 1" = 1000'

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No concentration point was located at this site. However, several artifacts have been found north of the Brosten home along the river bank. In addition, there are a few broken hearth stones along the river bank. In addition, there are a few broken hearth stones along the river bank in the fields now being farmed. The artifacts as described were doubt grooved hammers, arrow heads, war clubs, and the usual run of artifacts sought by arrowhead collectors. None of these items were available for inspection. A metal detector was used in Mr. Brosten's garden south of his home with negative results.

**Therriault Ferry (East Side) Site**

This site is located close to the river bank and there does not appear to be a concentration point in this particular area. This site is located in Section 1, Township 27N, Range 20W. The only articles found at this site were a few scattered broken hearth stones.

**Sudan Farm Site #24FH3**

This site is mentioned as it has been surveyed and assigned a number, and it is not too far removed from the Therriault Ferry site and is located just north of the northernmost meander of the Swan River below Swan Lake. To the best of our knowledge this area has not been surveyed with a metal detector.

For a complete description and list of artifacts located at this site see Archaeological Sites in the Flathead Lake Region, p. 38-43 Anthropology and Sociology Papers #15, Montana State University, Missoula, Montana, G. Griswald (editor).

The Sudan farm site could very well be one of the main camps on the cross-trails (see Indian Roads appendix, this manuscript).

**Sand Pit Site**

The Sand Pit site is located on the north edge of the paved highway between Big Fork and Somers (Big Fork - Somers cut-off). Specifically, in the south eastern corner of Section 18, Township 27N, Range 20W. Considerable sand has been removed from this area for road construction and it is reported that several projectile points have been recovered from this semi-sand dune before it was hauled away. These items were reported to be surface finds. The authors have not visited this area.

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8 Heming Brosten reported: "There was an old man here in 1958 who said that when he was a boy he used to buy candy at the store that was here. I do not know the name of it." Informants have maintained that this was "Salish." However, the correct location of Salish is at the present Bill Lynch farm buildings about 1-1/2 miles north of Holt or about 3/4 mile south of Therriault ferry landing (west bank). Salish is indicated on USDI-GLO US 1904. Scale: 1" = 37M.
In February of 1961 in the company of Mr. T. W. Wagner and his son, Robert, of Route #2, Kalispell, and Dr. Bruce Allison also of Kalispell, the remains of a former log structure were visited in the area proximate to the mouth of Ashley Creek. This site is located near the west bank of the Flathead River (see tracing of aerial photo), in the SE 1/4, NW 1/4, Section 30, Township 28N, Range 20W.

Both Mr. Wagner and Mrs. M. E. Emmert (who lives immediately south of Mr. Wagner and who homesteaded this area with her husband in about 1900) tell of the remains of a cellar type structure, the walls of which were lined with logs placed horizontally to form a cache or container of approximately 15 x 10 feet dimension.

The site as pointed out by Mr. Wagner is today nothing more than an indentation in the ground surrounded by an impressive stand of birch trees. Mr. Wagner stated:

"When we started breaking the brushy ground to the west of this structure in 1932 we discovered, when we plowed, 40 or 50 places where there were many broken small rock piles. It looked as though the rocks had been placed in post holes. The size of the rocks probably averaged about the size of 2 or 3 inches. Every time we plowed these rocks would come to the surface. They looked as if they had been placed in some sort of a pit or hole in the ground. We also found a broken grooved stone hammer near the structure (described above)."

In 1962 the Hetland Springs Site (in reference to the cabin described by R. J. Ball in his letter on page 3) was visited and a surface survey was conducted. Mr. Harry Hetland, on whose property this site lies, described and pointed out the spot where the cabin as described by Ball was located.

This site is on an open bench facing northward and is about thirty feet above the water level of a swampy area created by a run-off from the Hetland Springs. The area investigated is noted by an X and circle on the tracing of this area from an aerial photograph.

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9 Mr. Wagner stated the logs were of fir when he first saw the site in 1932.

10 There are probably two explanations of these piles of rocks as Mr. Wagner described them:
(a) Open fire hearths.
(b) Cooking pits: Some of the Indians of the plateau used pits to cook certain wild roots of plants for food. One of these plants is the camas (Quamash). For a more complete description of the plant see p. 22, Plants of Glacier National Park, F. C. Standley, U. S. Govt. Printing, Washington, D.C., 1926.

Plate No. 13 - Site No. 7, T. W. Wagner Site.

Remains of log structure?

T. W. Wagner

Victor Bjornrud

Emmert

Ashley Creek

Flathead River

Site: Scale: 1" = 1000'
Possible building site 1885?
Old dug out? 1880-1910?

This spring is the one known as Hetland's Spring.

Plate No. 14 - Site No. 8, Hetland Springs Site. Scale: 1" = 1000'
This site produced the following items: 1 hand made (thumb portion) of a door latch which by estimate was made somewhere between 1890 and 1910; 1 dozen cartridges (1873-1900); 1/2 dozen cartridges (1873-1879); some of these cartridges were Winchester, some Frankfort Arsenal, and some Remington.

This site, as well as the open land across the swamp (to the north), appears to be one of the most likely spots for early day habitation in the Flathead valley.

THE MEULI SITE  SITE NO. 9  PLATE NO. 15 & 16

On May 21, 1963, a survey was conducted on a portion of untilled land at the southeast corner of the Selmer Meuli property (Section 35, T28N, R21W) by Thain White, Dr. B. A. Allison, and A. B. Braunberger.

The central portion of the acreage surveyed contained two large mounds of earth, each of which approximated 625 sq. ft. in dimension. These mounds of earth presented a curious and most impressive sight as they were bordered by trenches approximately 25 ft. on a side, and it was apparent that the trenches were at one time considerably deeper than they were on the date of the survey.

The trenches, mounds, and surrounding areas were thoroughly surveyed with a metal detector and two .12 gauge Winchester, and two .16 gauge Remington shot gun casings were extracted from the soil together with a portion of a single bladed axe head. The soil cover was of sufficient depth to prevent a more accurate appraisal of the metal content of the area.

Linear measurements were made of the trenches and recorded for the diagrams shown to accompany this discussion. Two sample cores were removed by an increment bore from a cottonwood tree growing from the west trench of Meuli Site #2.

Meuli Site #2 (see sketch) was located approximately 55 to 60 feet from the west bank of Ashley Creek and both Sites I and II were undoubtedly surrounded at one time by birch trees and the predominant chokecherry bushes which are most common to this area.

Selmer Meuli, on whose property the mounds of earth are located, said that the area contained the trenches and mounds when he was a boy (early 1900's) and that numerous rocks of tubular shape were removed from there some years ago and some of them were stored in his granary. Meuli contended that the area in question was referred to by old timers as 'The Trading Post', and to the best of his knowledge no one had made an intensive investigation of the mounds of earth. Further, that he was quite familiar with most of the farm land bordering Ashley Creek but he had no knowledge of any similar sites, along other lands adjacent to Ashley Creek.
PLATE NO. 15- Site No. 9, Meuli Site.

Scale: 1" = 1000'

Area of search

Meuli
Plate No. 16 - Map, plan & cross section of Meuli Site.
a. Meuli Site No. 1 looking east, note trench and mound.

b. Allison & Braunberger inspect Meuli Site No. 2.
Plate No. 17- Scenes at Meuli Site.
APPENDIX A

DERIVATION OF THE NAME KUTENAI

As the domain of the Kutenai tribe was centered mainly within the area known today as northwestern Montana, the derivation of the name, Kutenai, and the variations in its spelling will be considered in this appendix.

The name, Kutenai, has been spelled, to the best of our knowledge, nine different ways:

- KOOTENAI
- KOOTENAY
- KOOTENAE
- COOTANIE
- COOTENAI
- COOTENEY
- KOOTANAIE
- KOOTANE
- KUTENAI

The appropriate, but perhaps offensive name, acquired by the Kutenai tribe is strange and unrelated to their own vocabulary. The name arose as a means of unmistakable recognition; to denote a physical characteristic common to this tribe and it was traced to the Blackfoot tongue.¹

The Kutenai name is a mocking and derisive term denoting..."big stomach". The Flathead Lake band of Kutenai refer to themselves as the senka (sen-ka’ or sinka) tribe.

¹ Paul C. Baker, in his monograph, The Forgotten Kutenai, Boise Junior College, Boise, Idaho (1955) Chap. I, p. 8, quotes his informant, Simon Francis, who would spell Kutenai...Kataggay and pronounces it - tunaxa. The "big stomach", or "pot-bellied", as used by the Blackfeet, was in reference to the distinctive difference in stature between the Blackfeet and the Kutenai. The Blackfeet being tall and slender while the Kutenai were short and stocky. See Turney-High, Ethnography of the Kutenai; - "All informants but one agree that Kutenai is a Blackfoot word derived from the Piegan habit of calling them Ktonai or Ktunai."


For several variations in the spelling of the word, Kutenai, see Coues, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 550, n. 8.

In Alvin M. Josephy Jr.’s article, A Man To Match The Mountains, American Heritage - The Magazine of History, Vol XI #6, p. 82, asteride note: "Note the many absurd differences in the modern spelling of this word KOOTANAE Canadian and American officials who were unaware of Thompson’s original version, Kootanae, stamped approval on all sorts of later local preferences."
The Indian trails (roads as they are usually called by the Kutenai) in this area apparently had been used for many generations. These roads were the lines of commuting (other than canoe) to and from their camping places, hunting grounds and many other localities pertaining to the economy and land use within their domain.

Even today some portions of these trails can be traced for several miles. Civilization had destroyed many of them. Many of the roads were used by the Kutenai up until about the time of World War I.

To illustrate, these trails that are drawn on the following pages are laid out based upon many sources of information too numerous to list. The information about the roads was gathered by Mr. William Gingras before his death in 1951 or 55. Mr. Gingras was compiling the names of camp sites and trails with the authors when his untimely death occurred. Some of this information he left with us is included here and portions of his maps are in the Flathead Lake Lookout Museum.

A list of Kutenai and mixed blood Indians is given here as our informant sources. Many interviews have been with these people by the authors since we have become interested in their history and folklore. Some of these interviews, as we might call them, were perhaps our early acquaintanceship with them for nearly 30 years. Some over a longer period of time.

LIST OF INDIAN INFORMANTS

Mr. William Gingras, Mr. Babtie Mathias (Last Sun Dance Chief of the Flathead Lake Band), Tony Mathias, Mitch Mathias, Mose Mathias, Lasso Stess, Mr. Left Hand (elder), Mr. Auld, Mrs. Josephine Martin, Mrs. William Gingras, Mr. Babtie Left Hand, Mr. Basil Left Hand, Mr. Jerome (Nickolas) Hawahorn, Mr. Abraham Bull Robe, Mr. Angus McDonald (Young Angus), Mrs. John Cachere, Mr. Alex Cachere, Mr. and Mrs. Joe Stockum, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Andrews, Mr. and Mrs. Joe Antiest, Mrs. Walt Reidle, Jr., Mr. Walt Reidle, Mr. Walter McDonald and several others whose names have slipped our memory.

Many other people that Mr. William Gingras had told us about while he was compiling material for his manuscript on The History of the Kutenai.

It is unknown where this unfinished manuscript is now. It certainly contained an amazing amount of Kutenai history. Unfortunately, the manuscript was not finished before Mr. Gingras died.

Noting from conversations and interviews with local Indians the regions of departure from their winter camping ground; (around the head of Flathead Lake) many of the

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1 See Kutenai Canoe Experiences, White, M. S., Montana State University, Missoula, Montana.
PLATE NO. 18  Indian Trails in the Flathead Lake Region.

Scale 1" = 8 Mils
trails they consistently used seem to originate from very near the mouth of Ashley Creek.

INDIAN TRAILS AND THE EXPLANATION GIVEN TO US BY MR. WILLIAM GINGRAS:

1. The road up and down the Little Bitterroot River from Perma to the Thompson's Lakes region and north down the Fisher River to Libby and Jennings. (This trail or portions of it were probably used by David Thompson. See p. 50 D.T.J.)

2. The trail from Perma up Camas Valley to Hot Springs to Niarada then to Hog Heaven Hill, over the old cattle and sheep trail on Hog Heaven Hill to the head of Mount Creek on Browns Meadow then to Kila.

2A The trail up the Flathead River to White Earth Creek then to the Big Draw near upper Battle Butte School.

3. A trail from Kila to the old Ashley Creek Store (the site of Ashley Creek Store is nearly within the city limits of Kalispell).

4. The trail from Pot Holes to Tobacco Plains.3

5. The trail from Elmo through the Big Draw to a place where Niarada is now.

6. A short trail across the foot of Flathead Lake.

7. The trail from the Jocko River through the Mission (St. Ignatius) and to Fort Connah4 to the foot of Flathead Lake.

8. A trail between Polson and Elmo going over Whisky Gap.5

9. The trail from Flathead River Crossing just north of the Winter Camps (mouth of Ashley Creek) to near Martin City on the South Fork of the Flathead River.

---

2 Even Mr. Gingras would say "Road" instead of trail. Many early fur traders called these trails roads. Perhaps in some cases a travois was used where practical. This might be the reason they were called roads.

3 Sec. 25T29R22. See Pictographs in Western Montana. M. S. White, Missoula, Montana. (Gingras account).


5 Just southwest of Jetty Lake Lookout.
10. The trail from Martin City to Canada via the North Fork of the Flathead River to mountain passes for buffalo. Gingras stated: "I have heard the older people talk about these, but I do not know their names that you white people call those passes."6

11. The trail from near West Glacier (known as Belton before Gingras died), up McDonald Creek to Logan Pass.7 This trail was used when going after buffalo, I have heard the older Kutenai talk about that," said Gingras.

12. A trail from near West Glacier (Belton) to Bad Rock Canyon on the Flathead River.

13. The trail that ran from West Glacier (Belton) and followed up the Middle Fork of the Flathead River to Marias Pass.8

14. The trail from near Echo Lake that goes over Aeneas Pass9 to Birch Lake then down to the South Fork of the Flathead River, to the Tobacco Plantations at Spotted Bear, then up to the Spotted Bear River, to Badger Pass.10

Possibly Crow's Nest Pass could be one of them; the other could be Brown's or Jefferson Pass on the head waters of Bowman Creek. Evidence of Tipi Rings have been found in the close vicinity of the corners of Sections 7/12/13/18, T35, R20 and R21. See Tipi Rings in the Flathead Lake Area, Thain White. Anthropology and Sociology Papers No. 19, Montana State University, Missoula, Montana.

Baptise Mathias added that Logan Pass, in Glacier National Park, was one of their (Kutenai) main routes over the mountains. See Economy and Land Use by the Indians of Western Montana, C. I. Malouf. MS University of Montana, Missoula, Montana, page 146. See also Glacier National Park Montana. The National Parks Portfolio (Fifth Edition), U. S. Government Printing Office: 1928, p. 11, which states: "Indian Pass, the divide between the Middle Fork of Belly River and Little Kootenai Creek (Glacier National Park) which is a tributary to Waterton Lake, is not on the continental divide, but is, nevertheless, one of the most beautiful and historic passes in the park. Travelers on this trail, by observing closely, can see traces of the old Indian trail traveled by generations of Indian hunters."

Many references state that Marias Pass was used as an Indian Road but the writers do not state where they obtained this evidence. In all of our interviews, not one of the 4 or 5 older Kutenai have mentioned Marias Pass. They say Logan or Badger Pass. In Paul C. Phillips' MS 1952, History of the Confederated Salish and Kootenai Tribes of the Flathead Reservation Montana, he states: "Logan and Marias, in what is now northern Montana, were crossed by the Kutenai in the early eighteenth century on their way to the buffalo country. Later, when the Blackfeet retaliated by crossing these passes to the west, the Kootenai declared the Marias Pass was haunted by dangerous spirits." Page 3.

This is the pass named after Chief Big Knife Aeneas of the Flathead Lake band of Kutenai from about 1846 to 1890.

The Kutenai maintained tobacco growing practice up until about 1826. There was a Kutenai growing area very close to present day Spotted Bear Ranger Station. Consequently from this area one of the main routes of travel to the east was over Badger Pass (the headwaters of Spotted Bear River). See Kutenai Pipes, Thain White, Western Anthropology Paper #1, C. I. Malouf (ed.), Montana State Univ., Missoula, Montana.
Pass is about 22 miles southeast of Marias Pass.

15. The trail from near Echo Lake to Swan Lake then on south to Cadotte Pass.  
16. A trail on the east lake shore of Flathead Lake.  
17. The short-cut trail across the Aeneas trail.  
18. Another cross trail when going to Swan Lake and up the Swan River.  
19. A trail from Flathead River crossing when going east, e.g., when traveling southward down the east lake shore of Flathead Lake.  
20. The same as number 4.  
21. A short trail from Ashley Creek to the Tobacco Plains Road.  
22. A shorter trail from Ashley Creek to the Tobacco Plains Road.  
23. The trail on the west lake shore of Flathead Lake. Between Elmo or Dayton, Montana, and the head of the Lake. Medicine Rock, or 'Skinkoots', is on this trail.  
24. The lower level trail going over Killawatt Hill used more than Whiskey Gap. According to Gingras: "You know the place I told you about where the Kutenai man froze to death a long time ago." The reference to the frozen Kutenai Man by Gingras is used to illustrate or point out a location on the lower level trail, viz., a point near the top of the hill northwest of Polson, Montana, where U.S. Highway #93 starts on the level before going down hill towards Big Arm, Montana.  
25. The same trail as number 3 going to the Fisher River country and the same country as trail number 1 on to the Tobacco Plains country.  
26. The trail from near Martin City to near Aeneas Creek on the south fork of the Flathead River. This trail went up the north side of the river most of the way, and was used when there was too much snow on the Aeneas trail. Nearly all of this trail is covered by water as the result of Hungry Horse Dam.  

The intersection of these trails would be the logical areas to investigate with regards to early day habitation, as the Indian Roads undoubtedly date back into prehistoric times, even before the horse entered into this area.

According to the map (page ) there would appear to be four or five trail intersection sites. Mainly the Flathead River Crossing, the Sudan Farm site, the mouth of Ashley Creek, the old Ashley Store location, and near the mouth of the Swan River and slightly west of this point.

11 Cadotte Pass — Pass referred to be Gingras when interviewed by the authors.
PLATE NO. 19 - Indian Trails & Winter Camping Areas

Scale: 1" = 8 Miles
12 Medicine Rock. On the divide between Big Lodge Flats and Forey Creek. The Indians when passing this 10 or 12 ton boulder left many articles as sort of an offering to the spirits, similar to a wishing well. See Medicine Rock Papers, nos. 1 to 3, Thain White, Montana State University, Missoula, Montana. This boulder has been nearly destroyed by pothunters. Skinkoots (coyote) was a great mischiefous figure among the Kutenai myths, and was exceeded in stature only by the fox. Skin'nu-kt...page 359, Bulletin 59, Kutenai Tales, F. Boaz. U. S. Government Printing, 1918.

13 Ashley - an early day settlement existing before Demersville and Kalispell. Ashley was located at the south end of what is now Meridian Road (Kalispell) and just across the Ashley Creek bridge (southwest of present Kalispell, Montana). Apparently the only building existing in 1892 was a bakery. See G. L. O., Plot #1794. This bakery was located in the SE corner of NE 1/4, of 813, T28N, R22W. Before T. J. Demers established Demersville (1887) he visited Ashley and tried to secure a lot in Ashley, but the price was beyond reason. See The Importance of Railroads in the Development of Northwestern Montana. F. M. B. Isch, p. 21, n. 6, Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 4, No. 1. See also Recollections of Lasso Stasso. Malouf & White, page 4, No. 4, Flathead Lake Lookout Museum, Lakeside, Montana.
APPENDIX C

EARLY DAY LAKE AND RIVER TRANSPORTATION

In the preparation of this paper, the authors had occasion to observe the remarks of several historians regarding the dimensions of streams and bodies of water within the area concerned in this discussion. Mainly the statements were concerned with the natives' mode of travel in traversing the Flathead River and the possibility of crossing portions of Flathead Lake.

It was apparent from the statements that the myth or concept prevails, and perhaps justifiably, that the Indians east of the Mississippi River used the canoe mainly as a means of travel and the western Indians transported themselves over water, their families, and their baggage, only of necessity; to get from one point to another.

However, and in contrast to the above statement, it is evident that the bark canoe was used throughout the Canadian plateau; also in this country by the Colville, Spokane, Kalispell, Coner D'Alene and the Western Flathead tribes. These Indian tribes used two distinctive canoes; the sturgeon (nose type) and one designed with an undercut bow and stern. There was also a third canoe used by these tribes with the bow and stern lines almost vertical.

The Kutenai and Flathead tribes used the Plains Bullboat. The Klikitat tribe placed hides over a frame of uncertain form. The former bullboat was constructed by placing or lacing parfleches (rawhide envelopes) around the paraphernalia to be transported. On occasions brush was added for buoyancy. The Flathead bullboat was usually pulled by a horse, but among the Kutenai a swimmer tows the burden.

Ferris speaks of the Pend d'Oreille Indians that he encountered on the banks of the Clark Fork:

"In a few moments the lodges disappeared, and the bosom of the river was studded with bark canoes conveying whole families and their baggage down the stream with surprising velocity. I was greatly deceived in their canoes, for the squaws would lift them from the water on to the bank, and again set them into it, with such ease that I imagined they must be quite insufficient to the transportation of any heavy burden. Some of them, however, appeared loaded until there was no longer room for anything more, and still floated securely. They were managed by the squaws, who, with paddles, direct their course with great steadiness, astonishing rapidity, and apparent east and dexterity."  

1 Ray, V. F., Cultural Relations in the Plateau of Northwestern America, Los Angeles, Southwest Museum, 1939, p. 142 & 144.
Throughout the spring of the year when the sap of the yellow pine was commencing to run the Indians found the cambium or growing layer of the tree to their liking and utilized this stratified growing layer as a means of nourishment and a tonic as well. The abrasive process of removing this commodious layer together with the protective bark usually left a deep and characteristic scar upon the trunk of the tree. On occasions the Indians completely girdled the trunk and caused an untimely demise of the tree.

The valley floor in the immediate vicinity of the mouth of Ashley Creek yields sufficient evidence today that this area, before the coming of the white man, was abundant with the stately growth of the ponderosa pine. However, this majestic tree reluctantly gave way to progress; the axe, saw, and agricultural machinery. With the exception of an occasional lonely tree to be found along a slough or river bank, there are few stands or groves of ponderosa pine remaining. The surviving yellow pine trees; those untouched, and those with scars upon them, are today old and mature trees well over 150 years old.

An increment-borer was used in this study to determine the date the trees were peeled by the Indians for food. The increment-borer is an instrument used to remove a small core from the tree, and is fashioned quite similar to the coring machine as used in a diamond drill. The small core obtained from the tree is removed from the device and the rings are counted.

The age of one of the younger trees not scarred by the Indians was $142$ years. In the yellow pine grove on the Wcahl property it is evident that many trees have been cut and removed; many of these trees may have yielded evidence of peeling as practiced by the Indians.

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1. For a more complete description of Scarred Trees see Scarred Trees In Western Montana. Paper #17, 1954, Montana State University and Scarred Trees In Western Montana, Paper #8, Flathead Lake Lookout Museum, Lakeside, Montana.
New growth
Old growth

New growth made since tree was peeled

Original size of tree when peeled
Area of tree that was peeled

Path of borer

a. Diagram of measurements.

b. Tree No. 1

c. Trees No. 2 & 3

d. Tree No. 4

PLATE NO. 20—Scarred Trees. See page 65 for detailed captions.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tree Number</th>
<th>Date Peeled</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Edge of Church Slough, near NW 1/4 of Sec. 36, T28N, R21W. See remarks in caption.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1917</td>
<td>The nine trees in this group are located on Louis (Pete) Woll's farm. All of these trees are in the grove in the NW 1/4 of Sec. 15, T27N, R26W.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>Entries shown for trees 6 &amp; 7 are two scars on the same tree.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1877</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1848</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1857</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>1846</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>1851</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE 1 - Data on Scarred Trees - Ashley Creek Area.**

**CAPTIONS FOR PLATE No. 20, page 64**

a. **Diagram of measurements.** Procedure is described on page 63.

b. **Tree No. 1.** The Church Slough (Horseshoe) tree was peeled in 1868. As a rule the scars made by the Indians do not run to the ground line. The scar on this tree does not run to the ground line at present. It appears that the scar on this tree was enlarged by fire and/or cutting at a later date.

c. **Trees No. 2 & 3.** Tree No. 2 bearing the 1917 (?) scar is to the left. Tree No. 3 is on the right and shows the scar made in 1896. The date of 1917 given to the scar on Tree No. 2 is questionable as the junction of the scar and the new growth was difficult to determine.

d. **Tree No. 4.** Braunberger is holding the increment-borer alongside the scar of tree number 4. The new growth rings revealed 124 rings of the cambium layer which would put the date of the scar at 1837. If this tree continues to live for another 20 - 30 years this scar will probably be covered with new growth. Many scars have completely healed over.
The Woll farm indicates that this area was a rich source of cambium layer food; possibly as far back as 1800. However, the oldest scar revealed by this survey would appear to have been cut during the year 1828; just 18 years following the visit of Howse to Montana.

APPENDIX E

KUTENAI INFORMANT SITES

The Indian Informant sites are included in this manuscript because of their historic importance, archeological significance, and their relation to the intent of this paper.

The Kutenai historian and patriarch, Baptise Mathias, because of his knowledge of the early day Kutenai camping grounds, was convinced by Thain White that he should journey once again to the upper Flathead valley and revisit and most certainly point out the Kutenai camping sites.

This trip was made in the summer of 1959 and the first stop on the journey northward was a point slightly north and east of the present town of Somers, Mont. Here Mathias exclaimed:

"Baptise Lapoo lived here near water...1884 or 1885. Him first white man ne see. Maybe no five or six...log house."

Continuing northward, the next stop was approximately half way between the present towns of Kalispell and Somers, Mont., on Highway #93 and thence about a mile westward on a road leading to the foothill road. Here Mathias again reminisced:

"Joe Ashley...him name for creek...maybe his daddy. Me no know. Log house over hill from big spring. Me there long time ago. Maybe me eight years old. Him good man."

At this point Mathias and White engaged in a lengthy discussion in sign language and pidgin English and ultimately it was concluded that the approximate site of the Ashley cabin was near or on the site where an old log cabin, the remains all but rotted away, were evident in the early 1930s. This site is about 1/4 mile west of the old Patrick Creek dam (used for sawmill), and about 3/4 mile south of the present Kessler ranch buildings. This site is located in Section 5, SW 1/4, SE 1/4, T27N, R21W. Again, and apparently referring to Joe Ashley, Mathias said:

1 This location is on the east side of the bayou; about 1/2 mile south of the Bigfork - Somers cut-off Highway, and about 1/5 mile east of the railroad tracks, and roughly 1/2 mile north of the northern edge of the Glacier Park Co. tie yard at Somers, Mont. This site is situated in S23, T27N, R20W.

2 Baptise Mathias refers to the first white man that he saw in the early 1880s; calling him Baptise Lapoo (Lapoo is phonetic spelling). He is probably referring to Hean Baptise LeBeau. Flora MacBellefleur Isch losts the first pioneers to migrate to the upper Flathead valley from Frenchtown in the 1870s in her MS The Importance of Railroads in the Development of North Western Montana, Pacific Northwest Quarterly, Vol. 41, pp. 19-29. She states: "In the first group, which came in 1871, were Gaspard Deschamps, Joseph Marion, Louis Brown, Jean Baptiste LeBeau, Francis Grevelle, Harry Birney, and John Cunningham."
"Him first white man me seeum. That's all me know about that place. Ne tired."\(^5\)

Frequently, and because of Mathias' age and difficulty in communicating with him, it was most difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty the details that were most desired, especially with regards to the site of the Ashley cabin and the derivation of the name - Ashley Creek.

Following this conversation Mathias was driven eastward to the area immediately bordering the mouth of Ashley Creek. The Ashley Creek site, according to Mathias, is the place where the two Frenchmen had a house and danced.\(^6\) The aged Mathias, apparently to make certain of his recollections, or because of diminishing vision, inspected the area to the east of the mouth of Ashley Creek intently. Then, while walking back and forth, he proceeded in the downstream direction along the Flathead River for a distance of about 300 yds. Mathias stopped and said:

"Lotea brugh."

Mathias said on more until turing back and was about half way between the mouth of Ashley Creek and the Bjornrud farm buildings to the south east. He remarked:

"Here creek," and pointed in a westerly direction in a south to north gesture.

Mathias continued:

"Old Indian road."\(^7\)

Then pointing to the ground he said:

"Come here good place to dance. You know 2 Frenchman come, Have house, dance lots. Yes? You know him? I showed you. Four Frenchmen come... two years. Yes, you know him?"

Mathias and white continued their discussion in sign language and Pidgin English Mathias digressing for the moment to discuss and make certain that his calendar records would serve to explain much of this discussion.\(^11\)

\(^{n.2}\) \((\text{cont.})\) remained throughout the winter." Mathias dates of 1884 or 85 do not coincide with Mrs. Isch's date of the early 1870s. However, it may be a reasonable premise to assume that the names, Lapoo and LeBeau, refer to one and the same person. Mathias states that both of these men, Joe Ashley and Baptise Lapoo (Baptise Le Beau) were the first white men that he could remember seeing. From the interview with Mathias it is not certain whether Ashley and Le Beau were the first white men he had seen or merely the first white men he had encountered in the upper Flathead country.

3 The maps of A.J. Everly, an official surveyor for the General Land Office, Helena, Mont. show the name of Ashley Creek in 1872. See map #434. By contrast the map of the Territory of Montana to accompany the report of the Surveyor General in 1871 - labels this creek, Cottonwood Fork.

4 Hetland's Spring in Sl, T27N, R21W.

5 Mathias would say, "Me tired" when he wanted to go home.

6 Why Mathias refers to 'the dance', is uncertain. Possibly the Frenchmen had a fiddle and supplied music for a dance. Mathias in his younger days was considered one of the best singers and drummers among the Kutenai. He also played a home made flute.

7 The older Kutenai Indians always used the term, road, rather than trail; even though the road may have been the poorest trail in the country.
Mathias continued:  
"Have same house. Same place. My daddy showed me. My daddy told me. Maybe me eight...maybe six." "Lotsa brush," said Mathias pointing along the creek. "Open here, him good. We no seeum house...all gone. My daddy says here. Hoy yeal. Soyepie all over now. Kutenai all gone. Him land belongs to Kutenai." "Me too old...tired. Taxas."  
Mathias was questioned with regards to a store or trading post in this area and after looking back across the river he stated:  
"Boat come here to us. Him come from over there. Lotsa chokecherries here. Now all farm."

Mathias was then asked as to the placement of the Kutenai winter camps. He replied:  
"You seeum all round here. Good place for winter. Long time Kutenai use these places. Him good - Taxas."

In his talks with Mathias during the past decade White has made many pointed inquiries as to trading posts in Northwest Montana. In particular, of course, to Howse House; and Mathias has always referred to Fort Connah or to the Catholic Mission at St. Ignatius. Neither Mathias or his calendar records reflect any knowledge as to a Hudson Bay Post north of Flathead Lake.

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8 For location see sketch map - East Side Ashley Creek Site--Archaeological sites - this MS.

9 Kutenai Calendar Records record the entrance of two white men in 1845. They were described as "Frenchmen", who built a cabin on Ashley Creek, and were referred to as "Longwhiskers". After one year they left the Kutenai country.

10 Mathias was referring to his calendar records.


12 The elder Mathias was born in 1826. The conversation above was based mainly on what had been told to Mathias by his father.

13 Mathias was born in either 1877 or 1879. The date to which he refers (the first time he was at the mouth of Ashley Creek), would be about 1886.

14 "Hoy yeal," as expression used to get another person's attention. "Soyepie all over now......land belongs to Kutenai." Mathias here shows his resentment towards the white man for taking over the Kutenai domain. "Soyepie" means Englishmen or white people.

15 "Taxas": the Internal Revenue Dept. must have borrowed this term from the Kutenai as it means . . . the end . . . that's all . . . enough. See p. 5, line 10, Kutenai Tales, F. Boas, U. S. Printing Office 1918, Washington, D. C. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bul. #59.
Present day evidence would tend to support the Ashley Creek area as being a favorable wintering area for the Indians. The prevailing winds from the south apparently are warmed in their passage over Flathead Lake and tend to favor this area with a more temperate winter climate than the adjacent areas.\textsuperscript{17}

Remaining in this area today are many old yellow pine trees with scars upon them that the Indians made when removing the cambium layer for food. This practice has been discontinued, but the growth of each year can be counted to determine the exact date when the bark was removed.\textsuperscript{18}

This practice of removing the cambium layer was conducted in historic times only in May and June. To confuse the issue there is evidence of trees being scarred in the spring at the winter camps which would tend to confirm the speculation that some of the tribe did not accompany the migratory movements to other areas.\textsuperscript{19}

\textbf{KUTENAI WORDS USED BY BAPTIZE MATHIAS}

These words were noted and recorded in the field during the trip described on the preceding pages.

\begin{quote}
Ka-pole-kan\textsuperscript{--}-an-nitook\textsuperscript{---}This Kutenai word refers to the winter camping ground at the mouth of Ashley Creek, and no doubt refers to all of the area along the south side of the Flathead River from the old town of Demersville to near Holt.\textsuperscript{20}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{16} There is no record of a store being located in a northwesterly direction from the mouth of Ashley Creek. Further questioning revealed nothing concerning the precise location. Possibly Mathias was referring to Egan which was an early day farm community, and located almost directly north from the mouth of Ashley Creek. Also, it is possible that Mathias was referring to Demersville which was located on the south bank of the Flathead River. Moreover, the boat, he said, "came across the river". See Demersville, D.R. Conway, Kalispell Times, Nov. 26, 1892, L.J. Knapp. Both of these settlements (Demersville & Egan) flourished before the Great Northern Railroad entered the valley on Jan. 1, 1892.

\textsuperscript{17} Telephone conversation with Kalispell Weather Bureau (1959).

\textsuperscript{18} Scarred Trees in Western Montana, White, Thain. Flathead Lake Lookout Museum, Lakeside, Montana. Paper #8

\textsuperscript{19} See map V in Economy and Land Use By The Indians of Western Montana USA, C.I. Malouf, MS Montana State University, Missoula, Montana. 1952.

\textsuperscript{20} Holt was an early day boat landing located about 21/2 miles upstream from the mouth of the Flathead River. Holt was formerly known as Lee's Landing.
Akom'-non-ok----Refers to a camping place on the Northwest shore of Flathead Lake in Lot 1, S26, T27N, R21W.

Kookp/-Kousal-ouis----This term refers to the camp ground where the only water was available before arriving at Forey Creek (southbound).\footnote{Forey Creek is on the west shore of Flathead Lake in Lake County, and is about 7 miles south of the present community of Lakeside. The creek is named for an early day homesteader who lived near the creek.} This camp was located at the south end of Glacier Bay on the west shore of Flathead Lake.

Yak'at-oul-ka----Refers to the camp at the mouth of Stoner Creek (Big Creek). This point is also referred to as Archaeological Site #24FH2 and is located at the present Lakeside community.

The authors compare their spelling of the Kutenai words used with those in Kutenai Tales, Bulletin 59, Boas, 1918.

Soya'pe----"Whiteman. This spelling is correct according to Boas, op.cit.

Nu la'quana----Frenchmen. This is nearly correct. However, our letter, L, is too harsh and our third A is too broad. Nu la'quana. Boas, op.cit., p 363.

APPENDIX F

In the booklet, Historic Adventure Land of the Northwest, by Grace Flandrau put out by the Great Northern Railwas, there is a folding map titled Historic Adventure Land of the Northwest drawn by W. H. enier 1926 and Copyright by the Great Northern Railway 1927. The map is about 18" x 7 1/2" and shows the routes of early fur traders, the Great Northern Railway portions of the Great Lakes, Canada, California, Nevada, Nebraska and many, many locations of early day trading posts, forts, and major cities. The map is well executed and many posts, etc. are very accurately established considering the scale it covers.

Howse House is one of the points listed and its location is on the east side of Flathead River about where present day Holt is.
Appendix G is included in order to consider the variety of log cabins and their structure which were used for habitation and storage mainly between the years 1800 and 1900 with considerations toward the rudimentary structure of Howse House.

Had Howse taken it upon himself to erect a winter quarters hewn from native timbers it is not likely the building materials would endure more than 15 to 20 years before rotting off at the ground line.

Several species of trees, if used for substantial construction, would not deteriorate as readily as others providing they were peeled and held in some manner above the ground line. The pitch of the pine and lower portions of the trunks of tamaracks survive the elements rather well. Had Howse chosen larch for a building material and covered the structure with soil, the timbers would be subject to more rapid deterioration.¹

During the past three years, many sites in the Flathead valley have been explored and surveyed by the authors. However, none of the sites visited revealed any physical evidence of a fireplace, chimney, logs, posts or piles of earth.² Rather, most sites were indentations in the earth revealing little surface evidence as to their previous earthly status.

As previously recorded in this manuscript (Historical Part II); Howse House could hardly have been a building of rigorous stature, for it is doubtful this structure was occupied any longer than three months during the latter months of 1810. Perhaps it was only a teepee, a leather tent, or an unglamorous storage cover.³

Howse House may have been similar in structure to the buildings at Saleesh House or those at Kulyspell House, and from the description given, it is apparent these buildings had posts set into the ground to establish the four corners, and the house brought to completion by shoring-up the walls with 'needles' or props to secure the timbers.⁴

Another laborious method of construction in this era employed the 'troughing' of the corner poles (notching the entire length) and the walls put in place by placing the timbers horizontally between the two upright corner poles.

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¹ For a more detailed description of a building of this era, see David Thompson Journals Relating to Montana and Adjacent Regions, White, M. Catherine (ed), P. 44, n. 5.

² An excellent color photo of an early day cabin with fireplace chimney can be found in the article, "Citizen of New Salem", Paul Morgan (ed), The Saturday Evening Post, March 4, 1961.

³ In the Story of Tobacco Plains, O. Johnson (ed) 1950, Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, Dr. Weydemeyer is quoted: "If this existed it could have been no more than a for-collection outpost used that winter or spring."

⁴ White, M. Catherine, op. cit., p. 43, n. 3.
There are two other methods of achieving the same result as illustrated in Figs. 2 and 3 below.

**Fig. #1**
- Corner post
- Horizontal poles laid one atop the other.

**Fig. #2**
- Posts are joined to corner post and serve as lateral supports for horizontal poles.

**Fig. #3**
- Corner posts
- Pins held horizontal logs in position.

As illustrated in Fig. #2, the corner posts and horizontal posts joined to it are either pinned or lashed to each other. These three methods were most commonly used in the early day log constructions, but undoubtedly there were structures assembled in a fashion that best suited the mood and ability of the builder.

Despite the record of cabin walls being fabricated by means of placing logs in a vertical position for a stockade enclosure, such type of construction was seldom used.

In the logical process of preparing this Appendix many photographs, sketches, plans of log cabins, houses, etc., have been consulted, yet none of these items revealed a satisfactory explanation as to the type of structure known as Howse House.

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5 The method of construction shown in Fig. #1 is discussed by Ida C. M. Thompson in her article, "Where Was Henry House", in the Autumn 1960 issue of the Alberta Historical Review. On page 19 in discussing the ruins of Jasper House the Second (1829) she says: "The original building was of Red River Frame—that is, logs dovetail at intervals into an upright log."

a. Square ends cut done by Fletcher in 1902-1905. Cabin in Sec. 32, T26N, R20W.

b. Dovetail cut. Date of construction not known.

c. Cramer's cabin was built in 1892-93. Located in Lot 3, Sec. 35, T27N, R21W.

d. Detail shows square ends type of construction.

Plate No. 21 - Log cabin construction details.
a. Log cabin built in 1902 or 1903 and last occupied in 1933. Illustrates weathering of modern log structure in the Flathead Lake area.

c. Log cabin built in 1879 or 1881 at Old Fort Belknap showing square ends.

d. Inside detail of log cabin built in 1900 to 1902.

Plate No. 22 - Log cabin details.
In the *Montana Magazine of Western History*, Vol. VI, No. 1, p. 1, there is a sketch reproduction of an early day scene drawn by I. Shope, 1952. This scene depicts a group of Indians and white men near a cabin and supposedly represents Ross Cox in 1813. The cabin, however, appears to be by present day standards, quite modern; for it has a very neat chimney and cross members as used today in our modern windows.

The quest for information on a local basis included interviews with the old timers, their sons and daughters, a search of local newspapers, but little if any knowledge could be determined from memory as many people did not recall nor had they heard of an early day trading post in the Flathead Valley. Most information obtained was contemporary; viz., regarding the early day homesteaders.

The Columbia River Historical Expedition of 1926, which was sponsored by the Great Northern Railway in cooperation with the historical societies of several states made the only effort to our knowledge to possibly establish the location of Howse House in the Flathead Valley.

On July 24, 1926, an exploratory journey was made by historians, Dr. J. B. Tyrrell, and T. C. Elliott; Ralph Budd of the Great Northern Railway, Sidney M. Logan and Sam Johns. This entourage apparently looked for the site of Howse House, but for more intensive purposes sought the point of land where David Thompson first saw Flathead Lake on March 1, 1812. Tyrrell and Elliott established the promontory from which Thompson looked down upon Flathead Lake by data garnered from the Thompson journals. This point is just south of the present town of Poleon, Montana.

The same evening Elliott addressed an assemblage at the Elks' temple in Kalispell and cited not only their findings for the day, but a detailed description of Northwestern Montana history.

In his address Elliott discussed the Arrowsmith map of 1814:

1 The Columbia River Historical Expedition began on Thursday, July 15, 1926, at Chicago and was sponsored by officials of the Great Northern Railway in cooperation with the Governors and historical societies of Minnesota, North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon. The expedition was organized for the purpose of preserving historical memories by suitably marking the many points made historically famous by the early day explorers, adventurers, and fur traders. The Kalispell Times, July 15, 1926, p. 3.

2 "Ralph Budd, served as president of both the Great Northern and Burlington Railroads and gained international reputation as a builder and rehabilitator of railroads. Budd was elected president of the Great Northern in 1919 and held that position until January 1932, when he became president of the Burlington system." Missoulian - Sentinel Vol. 2, N. 43, Feb. 3, 1962.

3 The Johns Collection, Kalispell Public Library.

4 Who First Saw Flathead Lake? an address by T. C. Elliott on July 24, 1926, concerning the coming of the white man to Flathead Lake. This talk was arranged by Sidney Logan in 1925 upon meeting Elliott on the Upper Missouri Historical Expedition. Kalispell Times, August 12, 1926.
PLATE NO. 23 - Enlargement of a portion of the Arrowsmith Map.
"The map of 1814 [Arrowsmith] was the first to show Flathead Lake and a place named Howse House, just north of the lake where we have been looking today.\(^5\) Mr. Tyrrell, with the help of Thompson's map, determined that this may have been at the mouth of Ashley Creek. Now that map of the winter of 1814 ought to be accurate record that Howse was here and traded during the winter of 1810 and 1811, but we have no copy of Howse's journal. It may be possible that we find that journal and know what he did over here, but the record of that map is that Howse, a white man and intelligent, saw Flathead Lake in 1810."\(^6\)

To supplement the information obtained from the Flathead portion of the Columbia River Historical Expedition, Ernest White was interviewed in September of 1959:

"The Lockhart farm, where the old homestead is out in the middle of the field,\(^7\) is where I understand Sid Logan\(^8\) and perhaps a man by the name of Tyrrell, perhaps some others came to look for Howse House. This, I believe, was in 1926. I have looked in this field several times and nearly every time I have found some Indian artifacts."

Lennox Edge, when interviewed in January of 1960, told of guiding a group of interested citizens to the mouth of Ashley Creek; however, he was uncertain whether this was the July 24, 1926, expedition.

The Columbia River Historical Expedition presumably sought the general location of Howse House with a brief excursion into the lower Flathead valley. From the statements of Ernest White and Lennox Edge the area of search must have been somewhere between the Lockhart farm and mouth of Ashley Creek. The distance between these two points is about 2½ miles. A surface survey was not conducted (by the authors) between these two points; only to follow portions of the old wagon road that connected these two areas.

The S. E. Johns collection in the Kalispell Public Library contains several interesting recollections with regard to the possible existence of an early day trading post in the Flathead Valley. Mrs. Emma H. Ingalls, a prolific contributor, states:\(^9\)

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5 This is the only mention that a search was made for Howse House.

6 The Kalispell Times, August 12, 1926, p. 1.

7 Southeast of the Lockhart farm building about 1/4 mile. See the Lockhart site this MS.

8 Following the address by Elliott, Sidney Logan wrote several feature articles for the Kalispell Times (a weekly). The first article preceded the release of the Elliott address by one week. On August 5th, the article by Logan appeared entitled: "David Thompson and Flathead Lake". The text of the Elliott address appeared in the Kalispell Times the following week, on August 12th, and was followed by an article on September 2nd, by Logan entitled: "The Coming of the Star Man (Koo-Koo-Sint)", in which Elliott's address, with a preface by Logan, is reprinted together with illustrations and photographs.

9 S. E. Johns Collection, Montana History - Explorations in Western Montana and Flathead County, 1943, Over Trails of the Past, Ingalls, Vol. II, p. 124.
"Joe Ashley, from whom the creek and town take their name, came to the valley in 1857 and took up a homestead where there were the ruins of an old trading post, supposedly built by the Hudson Day Co. Later he abandoned it and Eugene McCarthy Sr. homesteaded there. Eugene Jr., tells of tearing down the logs and chimney and filling in the excavation. It is now the David R. Griffith Home."

Tyson D. Duncan, whose numerous recollections are documented throughout the volumes of the Johns collection states:

"Joe Ashley had located (on the old McCarthy place) in 1857 but could see nothing in the valley for him and sold his claim for $10. He never returned."

Again, from the pen of Emma Ingalls:

"Ashley Creek was named for Joe Ashley who settled on the old Eugene McCarthy place south of Kalispell in 1857. He left there for the reservation in 1883 and Eugene McCarthy, who had come in as a laborer on the N.P. Ry., then took the place. The remains of the old trading post established in about 1803 were still in evidence. Eugene McCarthy (Police Magistrate) with the scrapers and mules his father had salvaged from the construction work on the N.P. Ry. tore down the old chimney and filled in the excavations, and where this historic building once stood Mr. Griffith has a grain field."

In 1932 Mrs. Ingalls together with Mrs. E. E. Day compiled their vivid memoirs in a pamphlet entitled: Extracts From History of the Flathead Valley, Dec. 31, 1932. With reference to the Ashley-McCarthy land:

"About 1811, David Thompson, of the N/W Trading Co., came into the Flathead and built on what is known as the McCarthy place, south of Kalispell, a trading post, the ruins of which was still to be seen in 1882. It did not prove successful and was soon abandoned. In 1857, Joe Ashley came into the valley and settled on this land and used these buildings."

Duncan McCarthy of Kalispell (son of Eugene McCarthy), was interviewed on February 13, 1961. McCarthy contended that the site his father tore down was, to


11 Emma A. Ingalls, Early Flathead History, Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 6.

12 The Government Land Office map #1709 surveyed by Newton Orr in 1892 locates the McCarthy building in the NW corner of Lot #1, Section 5, T27N, R21W. However, the Government Land Office map #1749 surveyed by D. P. Mumbrue shows no residences in Section 32, just north of Section 5. Section 32 in this particular area is in T28N, R21W. Mumbrue surveyed Section 32 in 1892.
the best of his knowledge, the remains of the store established by Andrew Swaney and Leo Walkup.  

The following statement by James K. Lang in the Johns Collection was also reflected by Sidney Logan in his article, David Thompson and Flathead Lake.  

"The Hudson Bay Co. established a trading post in the Flathead Valley along about 1844 and placed as manager, Mr. Angus McDonald. This post was located in the lower west side valley near the Brocken school house is now standing, and was maintained for several years after which it was transferred to Post Creek on the Flathead Indian Reservation and conducted by Mr. McDonald for many years. This change was made necessary by the fact that much of the trade with the Indians was being lost as they passed over the mountains to eastern Montana trading posts via the Missoula River route."

Pursuant to factual and authentic information on the cabin, the following letter by R. J. Ball to T. D. Duncan is more specific and informative:

"Mr. T. D. Duncan

My dear Friend:

Your welcome letter about the log cabin received. The log cabin you wish information about, was a short way south of my preemption. It was on what became D. J. Lambert's homestead. When the McCarthy family moved here in 1883, then took the cabin and lived there until McCarthy located and built his home at the point of the mountain, where D. Griffith now lives. I was told the cabin was the remains of an old Indian trading post. You know the old Indian trail used to go around the foot of the mountain by where the cabin stood and kept on until it came to the prairie; around where Andrew Swaney's store, then on to where Ashley Creek bridge is now, was the ford across Ashley Creek, it was impossible to cross over the swamp below Lambert house until someone cut the willows out and made a trail across there.

Gene McCarthy, Andrew Swaney and John Foy should be able to give you valuable information about the cabin. It must have stood there a good many years, and one of the first built in the Northwest. It is a pity such old timers as Savaho Ramond Bros., Karl Fisher, John Dooley and others should have passed on and not left valuable information.

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13 Tyson D. Duncan, Early Settlers of the Upper Flathead give their First Experiences in a new land, *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 16. "Just west of the McCarthy ranch two young men, Andrew Swaney and Leo Walkup, from Missoula were building a log store (1883)."

14 The Kalispell Times, August 5, 1926.

15 "M. R. (?) Ball and wife located in 1891 on a plot of land about midway between present Kalispell and Somers, Montana. They grew into the dairying business along with the growth of the population. Their place was noted for having the largest barn in the valley." The Johns Collection, Vol. IX, from Flathead Journal - Society of Montana Pioneers - Old Time Flathead Tales, G. Houtz, p. 64.
That old fellow who ran the ferry at Polson when we first came here, how much history he could have given. I remember one time his telling me with Fremont in the early forties from St. Louis west, to the Salt Lake, then leaving the party and traveling North until he came to the Flathead. It would be nice, I think, for you to mention our first Fourth of July gathering at Foy Lake, 1884. There were just a few of us at that time, and how few of that bunch is here now.

Wishing you success
Yours sincerely,

Robert J. Ball"

Lester Foy told of arriving in the Flathead valley together with his parents (Mr. & Mrs. John M. Foy) and two brothers and five sisters on September 10th, 1883, and spending the winter at a point somewhere between the present road which leads from Ball's crossing to the foothill road and Ashley Creek. Foy added that the Eugene McCarthy family arrived in October of the same year (1883). Foy stated:

"I can remember the Indians who were on their way north, and settled just south of us. I remember them pounding their tom-toms all night and all day; taking turns, working for a chinook."

Foy said he was nine years old at the time, and did not remember a cabin in the vicinity of which Ball mentions above, but recalled that it took his father and McCarthy a total of three weeks to make a round trip to Missoula for supplies.16

The following is a portion of a letter addressed to W. H. Lawrence, Supt. of the Water Department, Kalispell, Montana:

"Now as all fur traders, fur buyers and fur companies came from the north, this being a good fur and buffalo country, they thought the boundary [49th parallel] was much farther south of where it is now. I know, for I have found at Lary & Lynch ranch, near the mouth of Flathead River, what proved to be the ruins of an old Hudson's Bay Trading Post. Mr. Lary came here over 50 years ago and he told me then that the old boundary line was the north end of Flathead Lake."17

HENRY BOSE

Considering the repeated but reliable testimony offered by the early settlers, some credence must be given to the statements relating to an early day trading post on the Ashley-McCarthy-Criffith, or the Lambert property. A discerning observation among archaeologists would conveniently rule in this instance; "that settlement can be predicted where previous habitation has existed". According to the record, Ashley settled in the alleged trading post, and was followed in turn by McCarthy Sr.

16 From an interview with Mr. & Mrs. Lester Foy on May 10 & 19, 1962. The Foys came to the Flathead from Salesville (Gallatin Gateway), and previous to that lived in Ogden City.

17 From the Thirteenth Annual Report of the Water Department, City of Kalispell, Montana. The year ending December 31, 1926. p. 64.
who also utilized the building as a pro tem residence. The fact that both of these parties found this area agreeable, and accessible, is not to be overlooked. Further, the early roads and/or trails in this particular area followed more or less the high ground to avoid the circuitous route imposed by the numerous and impassable swamps on the valley floor. The spacious and accommodating terrace provided by the slope of the foothills in this area, not only afforded ready access to wood, but an abundant water supply from the present Hetland springs, Patrick Creek, and nearby Ashley Creek. All of this would tend to confirm that this area was the most favorable for existence under the most primitive conditions.
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