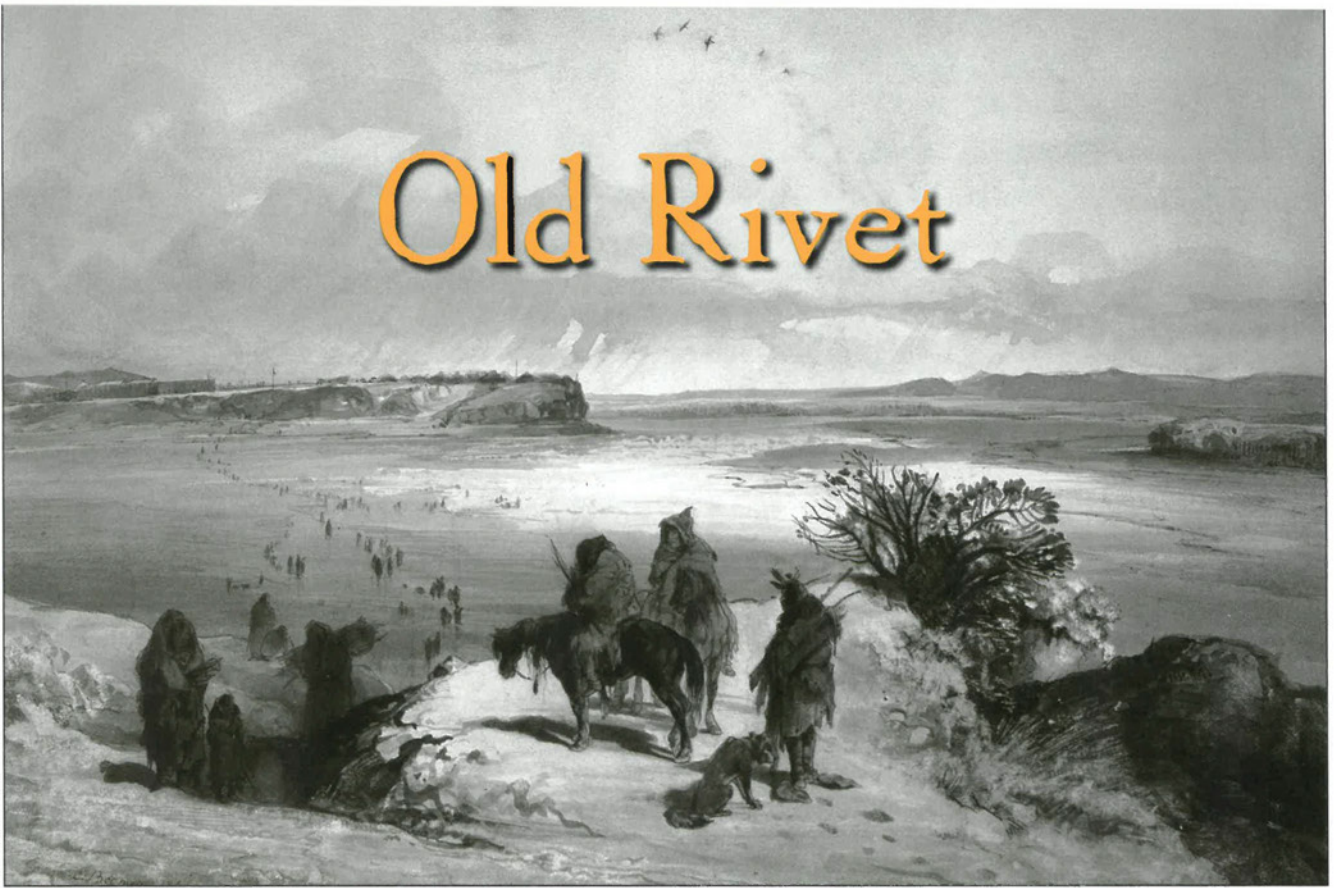


Old Rivet

Courtesy Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska



Two stone basalt pillars overlooked the wind-scoured, sandy flat near the mouth of the Walla Walla River where Fort Nez Percés sagged. After 12 years that place was already weathered and rotten. Launched from there, beaver trappers had worked the capillaries of the Snake River and brought the pelts they caught and skinned for shipment to distant markets. But sometimes, instead of soft gold, the disputed Oregon Country banked bones.

An intimation that the fur trade was ending came in late spring 1830 when the Hudson's Bay Company's chief trader, Peter Skene Ogden, turned the conduct of the hunting brigade over to fellow officer John Work. This corporate realignment came not long after a whirlpool at the lower part of The Dalles of the Columbia River sucked down a boat, drowning nine men, one woman, and two children. One of those lost was François Rivet, Jr. The promising 22-year-old was the half-brother of Ogden's wife Julia. It would be generous to consider that, after bringing a young ward back to Fort Nez Percés for burial, Ogden decided that the business just wasn't worth it.

Two years later a delegation came down the Columbia River from Fort Colville (formerly Spokane House) to see that young Rivet's grave was properly protected. Rivet's grieving mother, Therese Tete Platte, was accompanied by two younger sons, Antoine and Joseph, and her daughter Julia. When "Madame Ogden's" malarial husband was reassigned to the coastal trade, the pregnant Julia had returned up the Columbia to be with her parents. Another mourner was an aged Spokane woman who had been the consort of one of the first men to enter the Northwest. Now Madame Legace rightfully feared for her daughter Josette, whose husband, John Work, was the present conductor of the trappers. The burial party also included young George Montour, the son of a former clerk, who had been born on an earlier Snake brigade expedition and knew the deceased as a playmate.

Unwilling to stand in the way of three formidable women, the Fort Nez Percés trader Simon McGillivry, Jr., assigned a man to help them fence the graves in the post cemetery as protection against animals. The chore took five days to complete.

That sad incident had larger implications. The collective party represented a human history of the fur trade on the Pacific Slope, a good deal more than could be tidily consigned to a grave on a sandy flat. The father of the dead boatman was

The Surviving Member of the Corps of Discovery in the Northwest



BY JOHN C. JACKSON

ABOVE: The frozen Missouri River near the Mandan villages, where the Lewis and Clark expedition spent the winter of 1804-05 and where François Rivet parted ways with the corps. Painted by Karl Bodmer in 1833-34.

*By the time the
little flotilla passed
the mouth of the Platte
River the three French
boatmen had taught
the clumsy soldiers
how to row, pole,
and tow.*

The fortifications had been built anew by the time Paul Kane made this painting in 1846, but the barren plain surrounding Fort Walla Walla (previously known as Fort Nez Percés) had doubtless changed very little from the days when the Hudson's Bay Company ran a fur-trading post there and François Rivet brought in his share of pelts.

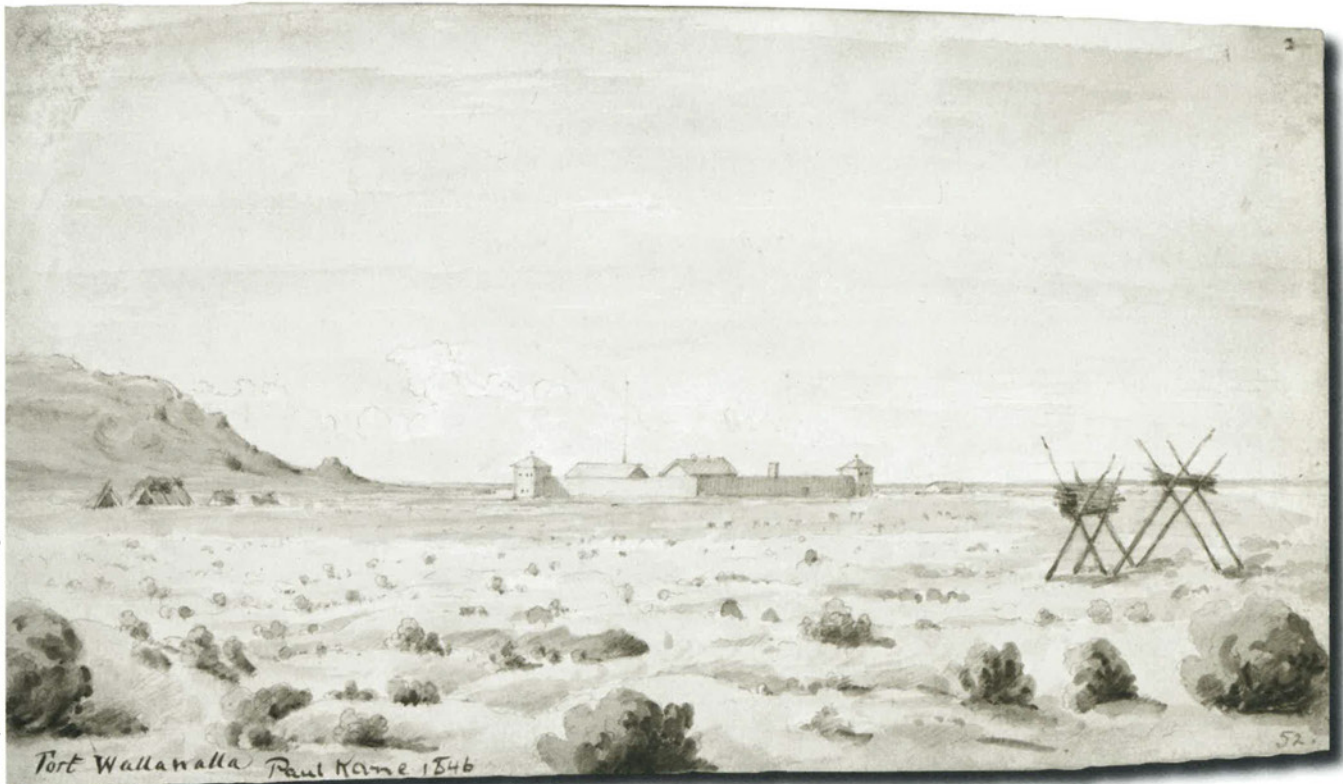
the only member of the Lewis and Clark expedition to have lived out his remaining years in the West.

François Rivet, Sr., the son of Pierre-Nicolas Rivet and Marie-Madeleine Gauthier dit Landreville of L'Assomption parish, Quebec, was baptized at the St. Sulpice Church on June 7, 1754. Just six years old when the English conquered New France, he was 23 when the Americans came with their high words about liberty. No matter what power pretended to authority in the Canadas, the inland trade went on, and young Rivet learned the names of distant places with his *soupe*.

When he was old enough to pull a paddle and carry two packs, he engaged to go voyaging. Instead of going to the *grand nord-ouest* as most did, Rivet crossed into the Mississippi drainage where well before the turn of the century Indian traders, beaver trappers, bear fighters, and deer skinners had worked up *le riviere Missouri*. Passing the Kansa and Omaha camps, passing Yankton Nakota and Teton Lakota to tribes as high on the river as the villages of the Arikara, Mandan, and Hidatsa, those hunters and Indian traders would not return until they ran out of powder and ball—or needed to confess accumulated sins that probably included having a winter wife and mixed-blood children.

In 1802-03 the St. Louis entrepreneur Regis Loisel took a trading adventure to the Teton Lakota. An *engagée* called “La Riviere” was nearly shot by the Bois Brulé band. If this was François Rivet, he then returned to St. Louis the following spring with Loisel.

During the winter of 1803-04 a party of United States soldiers, camped at the mouth of Wood Creek on the Illinois side of the Mississippi, was preparing to start up the Missouri River in the spring. The cooperative St. Louis entrepreneur Auguste Chouteau obliged Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark by engaging eight voyageurs to paddle a cargo pirogue. Three others were hired to assist the soldiers in working a keelboat. Pierre Cruzatte *le borgne* (one-eye) would be the bowman while François Labiche set the stroke as the first oar. The third, François Rivet, joined the



Courtesy Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas

expedition at St. Charles but agreed to go only as far as the Mandans. He may have set the pace for the bateau rowed by the soldiers.

By the time the little flotilla passed the mouth of the Platte River the three French boatmen had taught the clumsy soldiers how to row, pole, and tow. Keelboatmen put in days of wet misery and slept with the leaden smell of recently flooded beaches. The water they gulped was thick; long before Rivet reached the Stony Mountains, he had already filtered a good amount of it through his gut.

Because the Mandan/Hidatsa villages were as far as the Corps of Discovery was going that year, the economy-minded American captains immediately discharged the boatmen. With ice already rimming the shallows, a 600-mile return to St. Louis was not a good option. Rivet and others decided to build a house apart from the soldiers' little triangular fort where a freeman named François Grenier joined them. To welcome *le nouveau année* (the new year) they carried the traditional *La Guignolée* celebration to the nearest Indian town. With soldiers playing a drum and a pipe, and Cruzette fiddling, Rivet impressed the Indian girls by dancing on his hands.

When the ice broke in the spring, the expedition went on. Returning soldiers and some of the discharged boatmen took the keelboat back to St. Louis, with Rivet and his friend Grenier paddling a dugout. At the Arikara towns the boat took aboard a village chief who was being sent to meet Mr. Jefferson. An accomplished warrior and a linguist speaking 11 Indian dialects plus hand signs, the misnamed *Ankedoucharo* was also something of a geographer. Around the nightly campfires he related useful information about the upper country and the wealth of beaver on *Grosse Horne* (Big Horn Mountain).

Riding the freshet, the returning party swept into St. Charles where the inhabitants were eager for news about the Corps of Discovery. By midsummer, when the boatmen were paid off, lawyer Thomas Hempstead received Rivet's pay of \$87.50. Sometime after July, Rivet had been called into the office of the recently arrived territorial governor, General James Wilkinson. Wilkinson wanted to verify the information and map drawn on a buffalo hide by the Arikara chief. On September 8 the general described a pirogue party that departed St. Louis for the upper Missouri River. They were

...natives of this Town, and are just able to give us course and distance, with the names and population of the Indian nations and to bring back with them Specimens of the natural products—[They were] to ascend the Missouri and enter the River Piere jaune, or yellow Stone, called by the natives, Unicorn River, the same by which Capt. Lewis I since find expects to return and which my informants tell me is filled with wonders, this Party will not get back before the Summer 1807.

Although the names of other members of the party have been lost, Rivet and Grenier were two of them.

When Rivet and Grenier reached the Mandan villages they learned that a North West Company clerk had beaten them to the Yellowstone and returned. François-Antoine Larocque's travels with the *gens du Corbeaux* (Crow people) left him pessimistic about the prospects for trapping beaver. Nevertheless Rivet, Grenier, and an unnamed young man made a hunt up the Missouri. Returning downstream in the spring of 1806, they left their traps at the Mandan villages before going on to the Arikara towns. Low on powder by midsummer, they headed back to the Mandans to recover their gear before returning to St. Louis.

The hunters were not entirely surprised to meet the returning Corps of Discovery on 22 August. Their unnamed young companion took a government paddle, and Rivet and Grenier promised to follow after completing their business at the Mandans. In exchange for some powder and ball, they carried a letter from Captain

Come Join Us!

IN CONJUNCTION WITH its Lewis and Clark Bicentennial Exhibit Series, the Washington State History Museum is hosting these summer events:

"Fiddle Tunes of the Lewis & Clark Era," with Vivian and Philip Williams

July 15, 7 PM

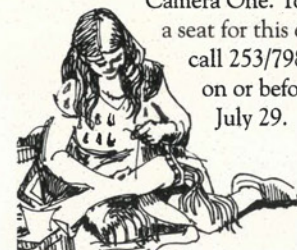
Lewis and Clark brought the first fiddlers to the Pacific Northwest of which we have any historical record. Considerable research by the Williams, and by Dr. Howard Marshall, professor emeritus of art history, University of Missouri, uncovered the tunes that were commonly played by fiddlers in the Mississippi-Missouri River drainage around 1800. Vivian and Phil present many of these tunes, along with quotes from the journals about the fiddling and dancing, the interchanges with the Indians, and the history of the tunes up to the present day. The music is played on two fiddles, guitar, frame drum, sounden horn, and jew's-harp—the type of instruments used by the Corps of Discovery.

Lewis & Clark: Confluence of Time and Courage Film Screening

August 5, 7 PM

This is your opportunity to see the full-length version of the film the History Museum previewed in April. The story of the Corps of Discovery is brought to life in this 90-minute film that beautifully depicts the landscape traversed by the Lewis and Clark expedition. *Lewis & Clark: Confluence of Time and Courage* is the official bicentennial film produced for the Army Corps of Engineers by Executive Production Services and

Camera One. To reserve a seat for this event, call 253/798-5877 on or before July 29.





Peter Skene Ogden was François Rivet's son-in-law by marriage to his stepdaughter Julia. This sketch of Ogden was made in 1845 by Henry J. Warre.

Fearing prosecution for excesses of competition, including a killing, the North West Company bully Peter Skene Ogden abandoned his Cree wife and son in the east.

Clark to the interpreter, J. B. Charbonneau, asking him to reconsider and bring his wife and child down to St. Louis.

Coming along, a week or more behind the descending corps, Rivet and Grenier met another boat party commanded by an officer whom they recognized was close to General Wilkinson. Captain John McClellan's intention to go to Santa Fe had been frustrated by Spanish intimidation of the Pawnee. Brushing aside their obligation to report to the general, McClellan convinced Rivet and Grenier to show him the way to the Unicorn River. He hoped to find a way of entering New Mexico by a back door. With no better prospects in sight, Rivet and Grenier agreed.

While McClellan and company wintered at the Yankton Nakota villages, two former members of the Corps of Discovery caught up. In the spring of 1807 they proceeded to the Mandan/Hidatsa villages where they met around 30 former British *engagés* who had lost their jobs after the 1804 merger of competing Montreal interests. Those freemen needed to trap to support their mixed-blood families and threw in with McClellan as a safe conduct to the upper Yellowstone beaver bonanza.

By July the party was near the head of the Yellowstone where McClellan wrote a long letter setting out United States trading regulations for upper Louisiana Territory, including the country beyond the mountains. Obliging Indians promised to carry it to British traders. By the end of August 1807 the party of 42 "nominal" Americans had reached the vicinity of present-day Missoula, Montana.

The Salish (Flathead) count of the Americans was accurate, but they would not have recognized Rivet. It was their better acquainted Sahaptian (Nez Perce) neighbors who recognized the two former corpsmen. After failing to broker a peace between the western tribes and their eastern enemies, McClellan explored the Clark Fork River and identified a practical route between the Missouri and Columbia rivers. Next spring that officer and 12 men followed the Salish road to the buffalo back across the mountains, hoping to encourage the peace initiative. That risked going into potentially hostile territory along the Missouri River, and on May 22, 1808, the captain and eight of his followers were killed by northern plainsmen hostile to any accommodation. As one of the four survivors, François Rivet tied in with Salish buffalo hunters and returned west. By next winter the survivors were short on ammunition and obliged to trade with the North West Company. The British leader, David Thompson, had set up an outpost at the falls of the Kootenay River. Intent on establishing primacy, he avoided mentioning the prior American presence.

Living by trapping beaver, Rivet soon formed a country relationship with a young Salish widow who was later identified in Catholic mission records as Therese Tete Platte. She had married a neighboring tribesman when she was about 19 and had a baby girl when she entered the relationship with Rivet. The couples' first child received his father's name, François.

In November 1809 the returning Salish buffalo hunters were accompanied by a band of trappers adhering to a Detroit trader named Charles Courtin. After being battered for two years by opportunistic plains raiders like those who killed McClellan, they hoped to spend a comfortable winter with the indulgent Salish in their accustomed camps at the south end of the Flathead Valley.

The North West Company expansionist David Thompson was building Saleesh House in a nice meadow above the falls of the Clark Fork River. One of Courtin's men came there on November 24, 1809, accompanied by the free trappers Bostonae and "Rive." In February Courtin accompanied the spring buffalo hunt in order to return to the Three Forks of the Missouri. He was killed in an ambush in the notorious Hellgate. On March 3, 1810, "Rive" arrived from the Horse Plains camp asking Thompson to come and adjudicate the dispersal of Courtin's recovered packs. Rivet was allowed six skins for the two days of hunting he lost arranging the meeting.

Thompson left in the spring with the best returns he had obtained in three years. His clerk, Finan McDonald, and one of Courtin's survivors, Michel Bourdon,

accompanied the summer buffalo hunt. In a fight with the Piegans, they sided with the Salish. Those alienated eastern tribesmen determined to block the sale of more arms to their enemies. The resulting blockade prevented Thompson from returning to the western posts, and the only goods brought into the Salish country that winter were those that Joseph Howse carried for the Hudson's Bay Company. Wintering near the Horse Prairie camps, Howse resupplied the Flathead freemen with ammunition, and Rivet had his first dealings with the London company.

When Thompson returned to Saleesh House in June 1811 he was under orders to descend the Columbia River and confirm an arrangement with the rival Pacific Fur Company. En route from Spokane House to the departure point at Kettle Falls, Thompson found the Rivet family camped along the trail with four tents of Indians. Competition between the North West Company and the rival Pacific Fur Company provided the Flathead freemen with a competitive market. Until the two staffs merged in 1813-14, François Rivet kept to a middle ground. In a list compiled at Astoria, he was described as a freeman hired for one year as an interpreter for 600 *livres* (former French currency replaced by the *franc*), an arrangement that continued at Spokane House until 1816.

The merger of the rival operations led to the introduction of a number of contracted Iroquois steel trappers to make up a trapping party strong enough to exploit the beaver resources of the Snake River. For the next two years most of the Flathead country freemen stayed apart from that dangerous undertaking, hunting independently as they had been doing since Thompson's time. Over half of the beaver traded at Spokane House in 1821 were brought in by them.

François Rivet's connections were Salish, and he and his family continued to tent and travel with those old friends. In the fall of 1818 that idyl was challenged by the arrival at Spokane House of a fugitive from British justice. Fearing prosecution for excesses of competition, including a killing, the North West Company bully Peter Skene Ogden abandoned his Cree wife and son in the east. Soon after he arrived at Spokane, Ogden set up with Rivet's young step-daughter, Julia. Their son Charles was born on September 5, 1819. Two years later the North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company finally gave up their unproductive rivalry and formed a new organization.

Three of the four Flathead freemen mentioned ten years before were still listed among those employed in North America from June 1, 1821, until June 1, 1824. The other had been killed by Indians. But Rivet's son-in-law Ogden was left out of the organization. He went to London in the spring of 1822 to convince management to give him a position. In late April, Rivet was helping pack Spokane House returns to the Columbia River for shipment down the river to Fort George, near present-day Astoria. As he rode with Ogden to meet the eastward-bound express, François realized there was no guarantee that his son-in-law would return. It was up to Therese to look after the pregnant Julia and two-year-old Charles.

As the Hudson's Bay Company pressed to exploit the Snake Country, interpreter Rivet became part of the brigade led by Alexander Ross in February 1824. The roster listed two guns in his lodge and fifteen horses in his herd, suggesting that Therese and the family accompanied him and young François Jr. was old enough to hunt. But Ross returned to Flathead Post trailed by seven Americans who were forerunners of a new era of competition.

In October 1824 Hudson's Bay Company Governor George Simpson and Chief Factor John McLoughlin became concerned about Rivet's origin of 17 years before. When Ogden took over the Snake Brigade on December 20, 1824, François Rivet went along as a rather expensive interpreter. But after the trip with Ross, Therese did not expect a pleasant family outing and elected to stay with their Salish friends. Julia Ogden accompanied her husband and gave birth to a daughter, Sarah Julia, on the brigade trail, a fact that the father neglected to mention in his field journal.

Other Corpsmen in the West

NEZ PERCE would not have recognized François Rivet as a former corpsman. But they did recognize two others who accompanied the 42 trappers and voyageurs following past Captain John McClellan to the Missoula area and wintering there in 1807-08. John B. Thompson, Pierre Cruzette, or Jean Baptiste LePage—a long shot—have been suggested. Another wild guess that goes against all previous versions is that one of the two men recognized by western tribesmen was John Colter. After dropping out of the returning corps, Colter accompanied Forest Handcock and Joseph Dickson to trap on the Yellowstone. His associates returned to the Arikara villages in June 1807, but Colter was not noticed. Previous speculation had him meeting the Missouri Fur Company, but there is no actual evidence. It is possible that he was swept up by the McClellan group as they came up the Missouri, wintered with them among the Salish, and was one of the trappers absorbed next spring on the Yellowstone by the Missouri Fur Company.



*Two years later,
when Joseph died, the
less-than-sympathetic
Ogden wrote, "Poor
Fabian is now without
Father or Mother, in
every sense of the
word an orphan.*

In a dramatic confrontation with a mob of American trappers at Mountain Green (Utah), Rivet supported his son-in-law. His influence did not prevent 22 of the Snake Brigade hunters from being lured away by better American prices. The interpreter was still with the brigade as Ogden retreated to the headwaters of the Jefferson Fork of the Missouri. After hunting in the Big Hole through the summer, Ogden's party was reduced to just 15, of which only 6 were freemen. Sometime during that trying autumn François Rivet returned to Therese at old Saleesh House and was not listed when what was left of the brigade arrived at Fort Nez Percés in November. Next March McLoughlin explained that

The Americans gave out they were to winter at Marias River and as Rivet the Flathead interpreter is free in the country and came here from St. Louis, didn't want to follow Ogden, and [might] take the Flatheads with him to Marias River if he were so disposed—I engaged him for one year at £25. . . ."

On March 19, 1826, Rivet helped take 62 laden horses to meet the boats at the mouth of the Spokane River. François and Therese allowed their oldest son, François, Jr., to join Ogden during the 1828-29 and 1829-30 expeditions. At the end of the last hunt, the boating disaster at The Dalles claimed the boy's life.

Answering American inroads forced Chief Factor McLoughlin to settle a good salary on Rivet. In September 1831 Rivet and the rehired "deserter," Nicholas Montour, were ordered to accompany the Flatheads and prevent contacts with Americans. From distant London the board of management cautioned "that we not send any of our people south of 49 [the boundary between United States and British possessions] on the east side of the mountains." In December McLoughlin was appalled to learn that instead of separating from the Indians, Montour and Rivet had accompanied them to the buffalo country, which violated the international boundary.

In early April 1833 the touring New England entrepreneur Nathaniel C. Wyeth "arrived at the Flathead post to find it being kept by Mr. Rivi and one man. . . ." He described the tribal world that the Rivets had known for the last quarter century. "This valley is the most romantic place imaginable, a level plain of two miles long by 1 wide . . ." surrounded by impressive mountains. About 200 horses were grazing around the 15 Indian lodges, ". . . now and then a half-breed on horseback galloping gracefully with plenty of gingling bells attached to all parts of himself and horse."

Wyeth joined the amiable Frank Ermatinger and his HBC outfit going to meet the Salish buffalo hunters assembling at Hellgate, near present-day Missoula. That camp of 120 lodges contained about 1,000 people and herded from 1,200 to 1,800 horses. In crossing the Big Hole the freemen—Pellow, Charloi, Nabesse, and "Rivey"—broke off "to hunt beaver in the Blackfoot country. . . ." The hunter may have been Rivet's son Antoine, as 79-year-old François was getting a bit long in the tooth for that kind of exertion. Two years later Rivet assisted Archibald McDonald at Fort Colville as those pioneer agriculturalists plowed and planted upwards of 140 bushels of fall wheat. The next January, McDonald described old Rivet as the

summer master and "deputy governor" at Colville while the resident was away to summer council.

All the while, a community of retired fur trappers and HBC servants was congregating in the lower end of the Willamette Valley. Most of the families that staked out claims on the French Prairies were actually mixed-bloods. After two Catholic priests passed down the Columbia in early



November 1838, the families of Nicholas Montour and François Rivet finally abandoned the fur trade and drove their accumulated wealth in horses and some cattle to the new settlements.

They were already established on January 13, 1839, when the Catholic missionary, Father Blanchet, described Antoine Rivet as “a farmer of this place.” Along with her two grown sons, 50-year-old Therese was baptized on the 21st. When his wife was properly received into the church, François was allowed to confirm their long relationship with marriage. At the same time, 25-year-old Antoine Rivet wed Ermine Pend Oreille and 23-year-old Joseph Rivet was united with Rose Lacourse.

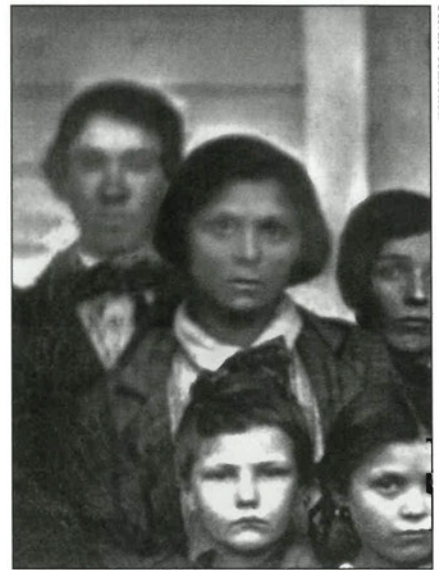
Thirteen couples were married that day. The brides and mothers of the uniquely integrated community were described as Tchinook, Tchelelis, Makah, Sook, Kaw-wichin, Clatsop, Calapooya, Tualatin, and Multnomah. Those coastal and valley women accepted as sisters their Colville, Okanagan, Spokane, Pend Oreille, and Flathead neighbors. What they shared was the common experience of the trading post and hunting brigade trail. After hearing mass in the ancient Roman words, they gossiped in the universal Chinook trade jargon and were a congregation unlikely ever to be seen again.

Because the Rivet family land claim adjoined the mission fields, their names often appeared in church rites. Two Rivet households were noted in the Protestant missionary Elijah White’s 1842 census of persons living south of the Columbia. But when a vote was taken on May 2, 1843, to form a provisional government for Oregon, the three Rivets were not among those voting. They paid their share when former mountaineer Joseph L. Meek collected taxes the next year. Joe managed to mangle the names of “Anturye Revit and Joseph Revit” but recorded that the family was doing well with a combined value in horses of \$950, cattle worth \$400, and \$180 in hogs. The new citizens paid a poll tax of \$2.92.

By early 1845 the Salish-speaking Father De Vos recorded baptisms made in St. Paul parish of Indian visitors from the upper Columbia country. That the godfather for all of those baptisms was Joseph Rivet suggests a continued connection to the Salish country. As time took its toll, old François liked to sit alongside the cabin, soaking up the sun and telling youngsters about past times in the mountains. The old couple lived with Antoine and, after the death of Joseph’s wife Rose, cared for the widower’s several young children. In 1850 eight-year-old Therese and five-year-old Faubien were living with their uncle, Chief Factor Ogden, to take advantage of the Fort Vancouver school. Two years later, when Joseph died, the less-than-sympathetic Ogden wrote, “Poor Fabian is now without Father or Mother, in every sense of the word an orphan. Joe accelerated his death by drink, nor did the intelligence surprise me. I hope the Old Lady will take care of his property. I allude to his cattle and horse, if any be remaining.” By “Old Lady,” Ogden meant his own wife Julia. But Ogden was not as hard as he pretended. When he himself died two years later there was a bequest of £100 to Faubien, to be allotted at £20 per annum.

The blow of Joseph’s death haunted the old couple. François was believed to be 95 years old when he died on September 25, 1852. Two weeks later 97-year-old Therese passed away as well. As the only man associated with the Corps of Discovery to live in the territory they explored, Rivet had had a remarkable life, one that spanned the continent and the first half of the 19th century. His marriage, tribal association, and mixed-blood descendants survived an in-rushing new world. Absent in most records, only a passing reference in others—the mark of François Rivet’s life was in its living.

John C. Jackson has published five books on fur trade, Metis, and Indian history. He is currently writing a series of articles peripheral to the Lewis and Clark expedition and cooperating on a biography of Meriwether Lewis.



Private collection

François Rivet’s grandson Faubien Rivet and his French Prairie schoolmates, 1859.

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COVER: Detail from "Mount Coffin and Mount St. Helens from the Columbia River....," by Henry J. Warre. Situated on the north bank of the Columbia River about five miles below the mouth of the Cowlitz, Mount Coffin (left foreground) served as a place for Chinook Indian burials. "All, excepting slaves, are laid in canoes or wooden sepulchers, and conveyed to some consecrated rock or thicket assigned for the dead."—Alexander Ross. See related article beginning on page 24. (Courtesy National Archives of Canada, #C026343)