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We Proceeded On

LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Sacagawea

Wife and Mother
Guide
Diplomat
Proto-Suffragist
Indian Princess
Rorschach Test
Interpreter
Cultural Construct
Exemplar of Domesticity
Enigma

In this issue:

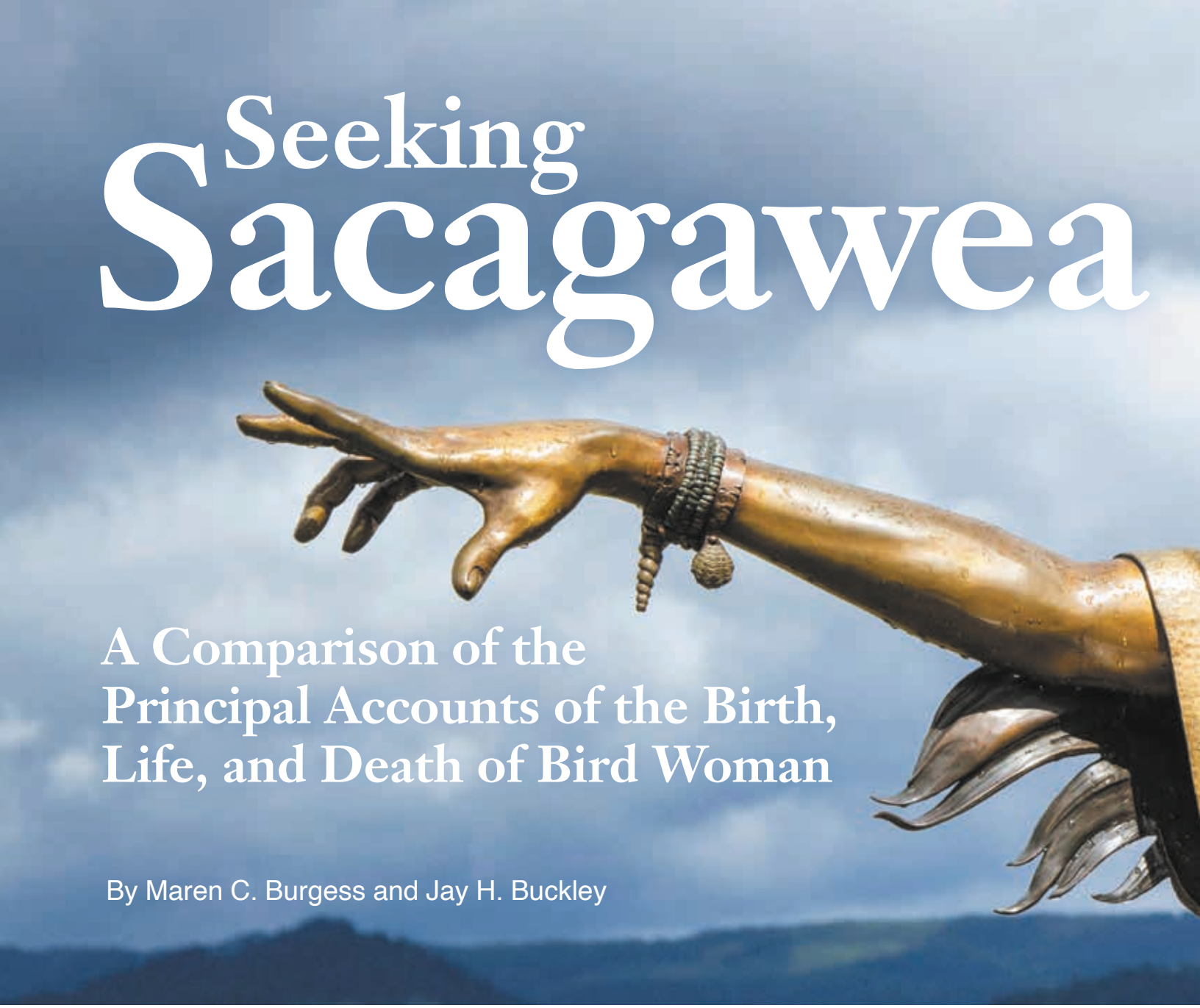
Covers
Front and back: Harry Jackson's *Sacagawea* (1998). Courtesy of the Tim Peterson Family Collection.

We Proceeded On welcomes submissions of articles, proposals, inquiries, and letters. Writer's guidelines are available by request and can be found on our website, lewisandclark.org. Submissions should be sent to Clay S. Jenkinson (701-202-6751) at editor@lewisandclark.org.

Seeking Sacagawea

A Comparison of the Principal Accounts of the Birth, Life, and Death of Bird Woman

By Maren C. Burgess and Jay H. Buckley



Sacagawea *(2011) by Heather Soderberg at Cascade Locks, Oregon.*

On Saturday August 17, 1806, Captain William Clark of the Lewis and Clark Expedition recorded: "we ... took our leave of T. Chabono, his Snake Indian wife and their Son Child who had accompanied us on our rout to the pacific Ocean in the Capacity of interpreter and interpretes."[1] This "Snake Indian wife" Sacagawea, also known as Sacajawea or Sakakawea, had proven her worth as a significant contributor to the Expedition not only through her services as "interpretes" but also through her diplomatic skills with Natives, knowledge of the land, food gathering abilities, and the symbol of peace she represented as a mother with a child among a party of men.[2] The journals kept by the explorers document her life, her tribal origins, and the ways she aided the explorers. Despite the information recorded in the journals, the details of her pre- and post-Expedition life have been greatly contested. Historical records, oral histories, and contradictory accounts present different accounts of nearly every feature of her entire life, including her tribal heritage, birth date, life experiences, marriages and children, and her death. In a perceptive book review in the November 2022 issue of *We Proceeded On*, Editor Clay Jenkinson framed the question this way: "Is it possible to know Sacagawea?"[3]

Three main accounts of Sacagawea's pre- and post-

Expedition life exist. Each will be analyzed for historical accuracy and concordance with information recorded about her in the Expedition journals. The existence of three differing accounts demonstrates the way in which various groups seek to claim Sacagawea as their own. It also compels researchers and the public to conduct a thorough and careful analysis and interpretation of primary sources, oral histories, tribal identities, and family relationships in seeking to know Sacagawea for themselves.

The three accounts of Sacagawea's birth, life, and death have ties to different Indigenous tribes, and each account is associated with a different rendition of her name.[4] Her death in 1812 at Fort Manuel and burial near the Missouri River in present-day northern South Dakota is considered the most historically accurate by scholars who rely on contemporary written primary sources of the early nineteenth century.[5] They support the Hidatsa derivation of her name "Sacagawea," meaning "Bird Woman," since she identified herself as such to Lewis and Clark. Many Lemhi and Eastern Shoshones prefer calling her "Sacajawea," which means "Boat Launcher."[6] The Eastern Shoshone-Comanche account chronicles additional journeys and adventures Sacajawea supposedly had while living with Shoshone and Comanche groups in Wyoming, Colorado, and Oklahoma

A Comparative Timeline of the Three Accounts of Sacagawea's Birth, Life, and Death

	1812 Fort Manuel, South Dakota, death date; account based on 19th C contemporaneous records from *Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, John Luttig *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition*, and William Clark list of Expedition members (1825-28) regarding Sacagawea or Bird Woman's fate.	1884 Wind River, Wyoming, death; account based on oral interviews from the late 19th and early 20th C with Eastern Shoshones and Comanches and published by Grace Hebard as the first full biography entitled *Sacajawea* in 1933.	1869 MT/ND death date; Account based on 19th, 20th, and 21st C oral interviews with Mandan, Hidatsa, Arikara, and Crow regarding Sacagawea/Sakakawea (Bird Woman), or Maeshuwea (Eagle Woman)'s history and published by the Three Affiliated Tribes as *Our Story of Eagle Woman* in 2021.
1787			Birth at a Hidatsa village in present-day North Dakota to Black Smoked Lodge (Strong Jaw) and Otter Woman.
1788	Birth around present-day Lemhi, Idaho, to Lemhi Shoshone [Agaidika] parents	Birth around present-day Lemhi, ID, to Lemhi Shoshone parents (Sacajawea or Porivo)	Living in Hidatsa country. (Maeshuwea or Eagle Woman)
1800	Captured by Hidatsas near Three Forks of the Missouri River in present-day Montana	Captured by Hidatsas near Three Forks of the Missouri River in present-day Montana	Living in Crow country, possibly captured by Shoshones for a time or lived among them; father may have adopted Cameahwait as his son
1803	Probably bartered to Toussaint Charbonneau as a wife by this time	Probably bartered to Toussaint Charbonneau as a wife by this time	Marries Charbonneau and travels to Shoshone country; may have adopted Cameahwait as brother
1804	Meets Lewis and Clark	Meets Lewis and Clark	Meets Lewis and Clark
1805	Lewis and Clark Expedition, birth of first child Jean Baptiste; May 20, 1805, Lewis wrote: "Sah cagah we ah or bird woman's River" now Sacagawea's River in Montana	Lewis and Clark Expedition, birth of first child Jean Baptiste; Porivo reunites with Shoshones and adopts her sister's son Basil	Lewis and Clark Expedition, birth of first child Jean Baptiste
1806	Lewis and Clark Expedition; leaves Expedition at Knife River Villages in August	Lewis and Clark Expedition; leaves Expedition at Knife River Villages in August	Lewis and Clark Expedition; leaves Expedition at Knife River Villages in August
1809	Arrival in St. Louis; baptism of Jean Baptiste on December 28	Arrival in St. Louis	
1810	Arrival in St. Louis	Arrival in St. Louis	Arrival in St. Louis
1811	Heads upriver with Charbonneau and Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company	Stays in St. Louis with Jean Baptiste while he attends school	Stays in St. Louis with Jean Baptiste while he attends school
1812	Gives birth to daughter Lisette in August at Knife River village; dies at Fort Manuel, Corson County, South Dakota, about age 25, on December 20 at Fort Manuel	Charbonneau's Shoshone wife Otter Woman dies at Fort Manuel	Charbonneau's other Shoshone wife (Sacagawea's sister Otter Woman, named after her mother) dies at Fort Manuel
1813	Clark adopts Sacagawea's children Jean Baptiste and Lisette in St. Louis	Still in St. Louis with Jean Baptiste	Moves back to Hidatsa Villages with Charbonneau
1815			Goes back to St. Louis with Charbonneau to check on Jean Baptiste
1816-17	Charbonneau accompanies Chouteau's fur trapping expedition on Arkansas River Jean Baptiste finishes school and becomes a trader at the Kansas Missouri confluence		She joins Charbonneau on Chouteau's fur trapping expedition on Arkansas River
1819	Charbonneau employed by William Clark as interpreter on the Upper Missouri		
1820		Charbonneau marries a Hidatsa woman, Eagle, and brings her to St. Louis to live with Sacajawea	
1823		The Duke of Württemberg meets Sacajawea, Charbonneau, and Jean Baptiste	

1823-29	Jean Baptiste accompanies The Duke of Württemberg on his travels including to Europe	Jean Baptiste accompanies The Duke of Württemberg on his travels including to Europe	
1825	In the front cover of William Clark's 1825-28 cash book and journal he made a list of Expedition members and writes: "Se car Ja we au Dead"		With Charbonneau at Knife River Villages where her father Smoked Lodge signed Atkinson-O'Fallon Treaty for Hidatsa
1829	Jean Baptiste returns to the west and becomes a trapper in the rockies	Charbonneau marries Ute woman who quarrels with Sacajawea. Charbonneau beats Sacajawea, who leaves him. Wanders until joining some Comanches; marries Jerk Meat. Gives birth to five children, including son Ticannaf and daughter Yaga-wosier	
1837			Survives smallpox epidemic at Knife River Villages; then moves to Fort Union
1838			Gives birth to Otter Woman
1839			Gives birth to Cedar Woman; Charbonneau heads to St. Louis for last paycheck and never returns
1840			Gives birth to Different Breast
1843	Toussaint Charbonneau dies in or before this year; Jean Baptiste goes to St. Louis to settle his father's estate	Jerk Meat dies; Sacajawea joins Shoshone; travels with John C. Frémont and others to Fort Bridger with two daughters	
1845	Jean Baptiste working at Bent's Fort		Moves to Like-A-Fishhook Village and lives with brother Cherry Necklace and daughters
1846-48	Jean Baptiste employed as a guide by Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke during the Mormon Battalion march from Fort Leavenworth to San Diego. Then appointed at Mission San Luis Rey November 24, 1847, serving for eight months		
1856		Visits Fort Laramie for first time, returning over the years	
1860-61	Jean Baptiste listed as a clerk in the Orleans Hotel in Auburn, California	Lives with Shoshone near present- day Virginia City, Montana	
1866	Jean Baptiste dies at Inskip Station and is buried near Danner, Oregon		
1868		Participates in treaty at Fort Bridger with Chief Washakie	
1869			Goes to buy coffee or visit relatives in present-day Montana with daughter Otter Woman and grandson Bulls Eye. Wounded in an attack, dies, and is buried near the Missouri River in MT or ND
1871		Travels with adopted son Basil, son Baptiste, and Chief Washakie's Eastern Shoshones to live out her life at the Wind River Indian Reservation	
1884		Death and burial, Fort Washakie cemetery, April 9, 1884, Wind River Reservation	
1885		Jean Baptiste dies on Wind River Reservation	
1886		Adopted son Basil dies on Wind River Reservation	

Sacagawea's Many Names

By Jay H. Buckley

Names found in the journals

Sah-kah-gar we â	William Clark, April 7, 1805 [later also used nickname Janey]
Sâh-câ-gar we-âh	Bird Woman (tsakaka wea), Meriwether Lewis, May 20, 1805
Sar kar gah wea	Bird Woman (tsakaka wea), William Clark's 1812-12 manuscript map
Sah ca gah we a	William Clark interlining of May 20, 1805 entry in Biddle mss
Sacajawea	1814 edition of the Lewis and Clark journals Biddle misspells it with a "j"
Se car Ja we au	William Clark's 1825-1828 List

Shoshone/Comanche and Hidatsa/Crow Names

Sacagawea	Hidatsa, meaning Bird Woman or Eagle Woman (tsakaka wea)
Sakakawea	Hidatsa, meaning Bird Woman or Eagle Woman (tsakaka wea)
Maeshuwea	Hidatsa, meaning Eagle Woman
Sacajawea	Shoshone, meaning Boat Launcher or Boat Pusher (saiki means boat)
Porivo	Comanche, meaning Chief Woman
Wadzewipe	Comanche, meaning Lost Woman
Nyah Suwite	Comanche/Shoshone, Flirt or Constant Lover
Ynbhebejoe	Comanche/Shoshone, meaning Old Woman
Bahribo	Comanche/Shoshone, meaning Guide to White Watermen
Pohenive	Comanche/Shoshone, meaning Grass Maiden
Avajemear	Comanche/Shoshone, meaning Went on a Long Journey
Basil's Umbea	Comanche/Shoshone, meaning Bazil's mother

Sources:

Anderson, Irving W. *A Charbonneau Family Portrait: Biographical Sketches of Sacagawea, Jean Baptiste, and Toussaint Charbonneau*. 1988; rev. ed. Fort Clatsop Historical Association, 2002.

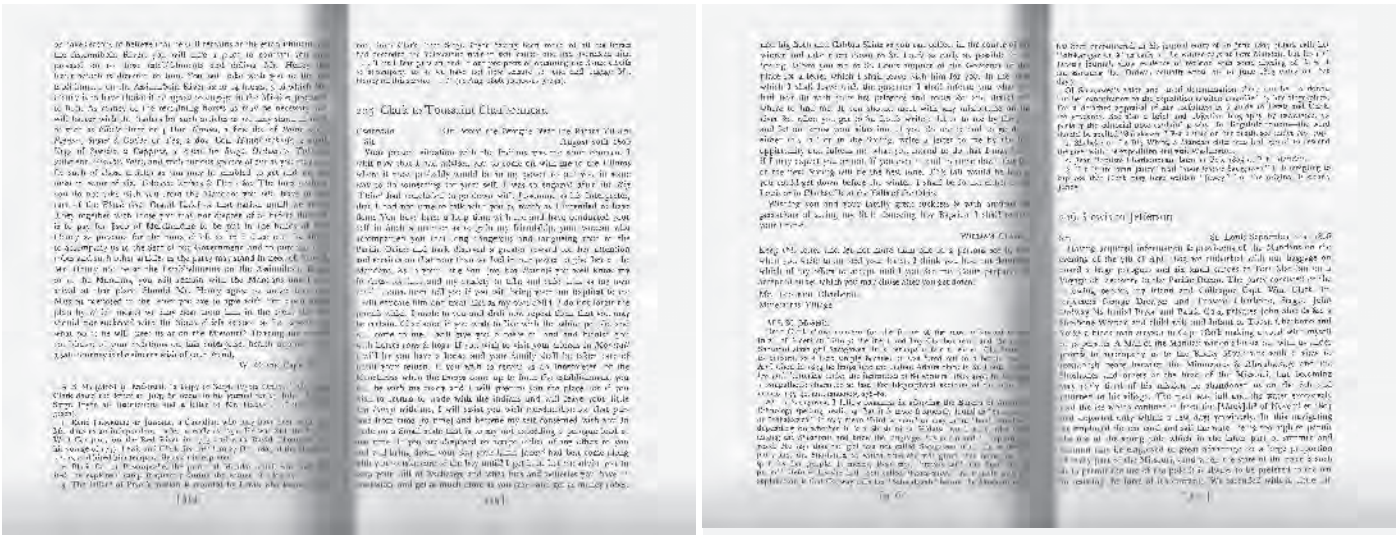
Worley, Ramona Cameron. *Sacajawea, 1788-1884: Examine the Evidence*. Lander, WY: Mortimore Publishing, 2006.

Sacajawea *(2005) by Agnes Vinten Talbot . Sacajawea Interpretive, Cultural & Education Center, Salmon, Idaho. Courtesy of National Park Service.*

over many decades. Oral histories claim she died in 1884 and is buried in the Sacajawea Cemetery in Fort Washakie, Wind River Indian Reservation, in Wyoming.[7] Finally, the Hidatsa-Crow account uses "Sacagawea" or "Sakakawea," both meaning "Bird Woman," or "Maeshuwea" meaning "Eagle Woman" as her name. Oral histories place her death in 1869 near the Upper Missouri River in Montana.[8] What follows below is a comparative summary of these three principal accounts of Sacagawea's birth, life, and death, and an analysis of the reliability of the primary sources and evidence supporting each account.

1812 Lewis and Clark/Lemhi Shoshone Account [Sacagawea or Bird Woman]

The Lewis and Clark journals record many notations about Sacagawea, the Bird Woman. They first met her during the winter of 1804-1805 and learned she was Lemhi Shoshone, could understand the language, and even knew somewhat about the geography of the Rocky Mountains. She had been captured by a Hidatsa raiding party and



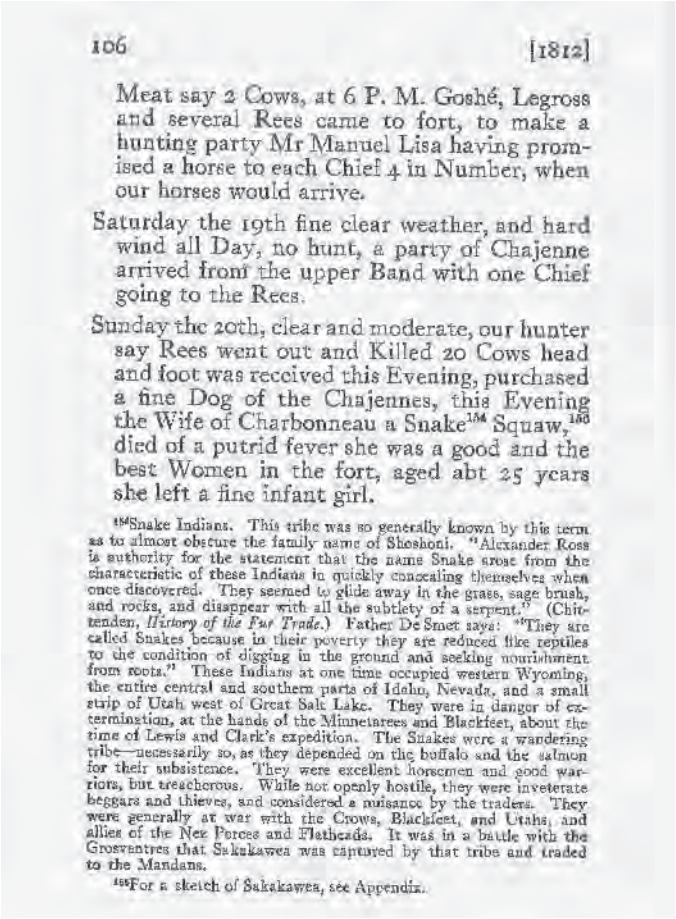
William Clark to Toussaint Charbonneau, August 20, 1806, page 1 and page 2. Courtesy of Jackson, Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

eventually bartered to Charbonneau as one of his Shoshone wives. Rene Jusseaume delivered Sacagawea's son, Jean Baptiste, on February 11, 1805. The captains hired Charbonneau and Sacagawea to accompany the party to the Rocky Mountains as interpreters. On Sunday April 7, 1805, Clark recorded that the Expedition's barge set out downstream for St. Louis while the permanent party continued up the Missouri in "2 perogues and 6 canoes." Among their party of thirty-three were three Charbonneaus –"Shabonah [Toussaint] and his Indian Squar [Sacagawea] to act as Interpreter & interpretress for the snake Indians…and Shabonah's infant [Jean Baptiste]." Clark spelled her name "Sah-kah-gar we â."[9]

Sixteen months later, at the same Knife River village, Sacagawea, Toussaint Charbonneau, and their son Jean Baptiste (nicknamed "Pomp" by Clark) took leave of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in August 1806. Captain Clark had grown very close to the family. In a letter to Toussaint he noted, "As to your little Son (my boy *Pomp*) you well know my fondness for him and my anxiety to take and raise him as my own child. I once more tell you if you will bring your son Baptiest to me I will educate him and treat his as my own child." He offered Charbonneau assistance, land, and a job as interpreter and closed the letter with an affectionate expression "Wishing you and your family great suckcess."[10] Charbonneau and Sacagawea said that Jean Baptiste was too young to leave his mother at that time. They assured Clark that in a year or so he would be old enough, and they would bring him down to St. Louis as requested.[11]

The Charbonneau family arrived in St. Louis in the fall of 1809, a few months after William Clark had left to visit his family in Virginia. Father Urbain Guillet baptized Jean Baptiste on December 28, 1809, in a log church on the banks of the Mississippi (at the site of the present Old Cathedral near the Gateway Arch).[12] Clark returned to St. Louis on July 7, 1810, and sold Charbonneau a plot of land in

Sacagawea and Lisette at Fort Manuel in 1812 *(2022) by Maren C. Burgess.*



106 [1812]

Meat say 2 Cows, at 6 P. M. Goshé, Legross and several Rees came to fort, to make a hunting party Mr Manuel Lisa having promised a horse to each Chief 4 in Number, when our horses would arrive.

Saturday the 19th fine clear weather, and hard wind all Day, no hunt, a party of Chajenne arrived from the upper Band with one Chief going to the Rees.

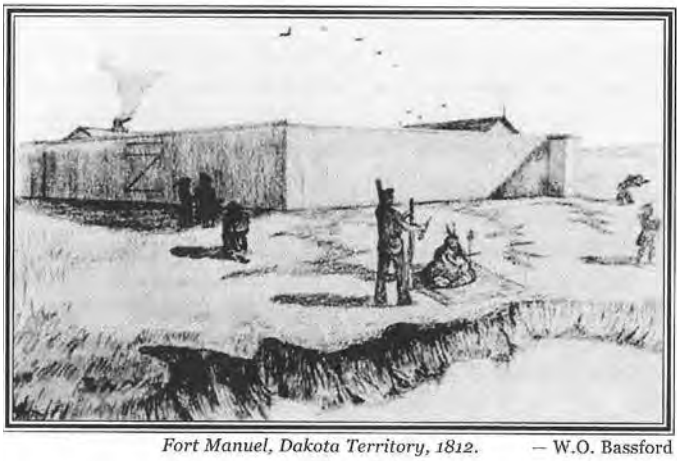
Sunday the 20th, clear and moderate, our hunter say Rees went out and Killed 20 Cows head and foot was received this Evening, purchased a fine Dog of the Chajennes, this Evening the Wife of Charbonneau a Snake[154] Squaw,[155] died of a putrid fever she was a good and the best Women in the fort, aged abt 25 years she left a fine infant girl.

[154]Snake Indians. This tribe was so generally known by this term as to almost obscure the family name of Shoshoni. "Alexander Ross is authority for the statement that the name Snake arose from the characteristic of these Indians in quickly concealing themselves when once discovered. They seemed to glide away in the grass, sage brush, and rocks, and disappear with all the subtlety of a serpent." (Chittenden, *History of the Fur Trade.*) Father De Smet says: "They are called Snakes because in their poverty they are reduced like reptiles to the condition of digging in the ground and seeking nourishment from roots." These Indians at one time occupied western Wyoming, the entire central and southern parts of Idaho, Nevada, and a small strip of Utah west of Great Salt Lake. They were in danger of extermination, at the hands of the Minnetarees and Blackfeet, about the time of Lewis and Clark's expedition. The Snakes were a wandering tribe—necessarily so, as they depended on the buffalo and the salmon for their subsistence. They were excellent horsemen and good warriors, but treacherous. While not openly hostile, they were inveterate beggars and thieves, and considered a nuisance by the traders. They were generally at war with the Crows, Blackfeet, and Utahs, and allies of the Nez Perces and Flatheads. It was in a battle with the Grosventres that Sakakawea was captured by that tribe and traded to the Mandans.

[155]For a sketch of Sakakawea, see Appendix.

Luttig, December 20, 1812, Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition*, 1920.*

the Sheheke-shote family, journeyed downstream to Manuel Lisa's newly constructed Fort Manuel, built on a bluff twelve miles south of the Arikara villages near modern-day Mobridge, South Dakota, arriving on August 27. The Charbonneau family lived at the fort, which was completed on November 19. Sacagawea experienced chills, fever, vomiting, diarrhea, and other symptoms. On a clear and moderate winter Sunday, December 20, 1812, John C. Luttig, the clerk at Fort Manuel, recorded that "this Evening, the Wife of Charbonneau a Snake Squaw, died of a putrid fever she was a good and the best Women in the fort, aged abt 25 years she left a fine infant girl."[16]



Fort Manuel, Dakota Territory, 1812. — W.O. Bassford

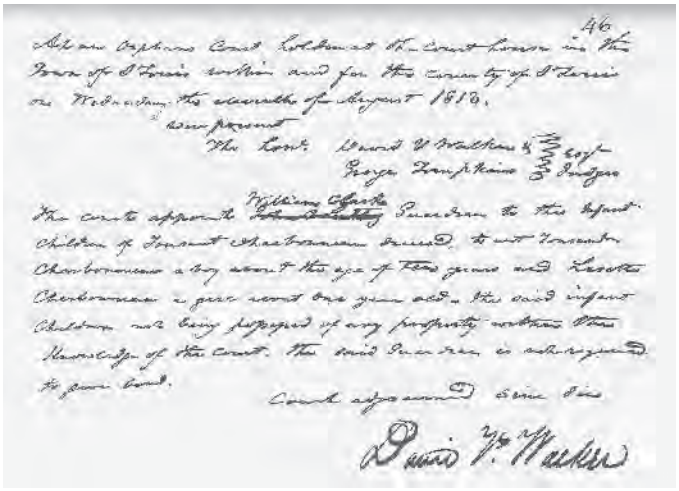
Fort Manuel 1812 *by W.O. Bassford. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.*

St. Ferdinand Township in St. Louis on October 30, 1810.[13] Perhaps Charbonneau and his family intended to remain in St. Louis while Jean Baptiste was enrolled in Catholic boarding school. But their plans changed, and when fur trader Manuel Lisa decided to head west in the spring of 1811, Charbonneau sold the land back to Clark on March 26, 1811, left their six-year-old Jean Baptiste in Clark's care, and bought provisions for the journey upriver.[14] On April 2, 1811, Henry Brackenridge, a man also accompanying Lisa, recorded that "we had on board a Frenchman named Charbonet, with his wife, an Indian woman of the Snake nation, both of whom had accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific, and were of great service. The woman, a good creature, of a mild and gentle disposition, greatly attached to the whites, whose manners and dress she tries to imitate, but she had become sickly, and longed to revisit her native country; her husband, also, who had become weary of civilized life."[15]

Toussaint and Sacagawea spent the winter at the Knife River village and she gave birth to a girl named Lisette. In August 1812, the Charbonneaus, likely accompanied by

On Monday March 1, 1813, Charbonneau left the fort with Joseph LeClaire and five others on a dangerous mission. A dozen traders had been killed in the past few months. Luttig stopped keeping his journal on March 5 and, a few days later, hostile tribes "persuaded" him and the remaining men to abandon Fort Manuel, which the Lakotas burned to the ground. With Charbonneau away and Sacagawea deceased, Luttig returned to St. Louis with Lisette to make plans to care for Sacagawea's orphaned children.[17] Luttig did not record why he reported Charbonneau dead (but Luttig had witnessed the scale of Indian hostility firsthand before and his men abandoned Fort Manuel). Court documents record the guardianship proceedings for two children of Sacagawea and "Tousant Charbonneau deceased": a ten-year-old boy named Toussaint [Jean Baptiste] and a year-old daughter named Lisette. The court record lists John C. Luttig as the initial guardian, but his name is stricken through with William Clark's replacing it. Absent from St. Louis at the time of the court proceedings, when Clark returned he assumed guardianship of Sacagawea's children.[18] Although

the court record lists the boy as ten and by his father's name, the child was probably eight-year-old Jean Baptiste since Luttig likely did not know Jean Baptiste's exact age.[19] Sacagawea's daughter Lisette remained in St. Louis for the rest of her life, where she died on June 16, 1832, and was buried at the Old Catholic Cathedral Cemetery in St. Louis.[20]



"Charbonneau Children Adoption Documents," August 11, 1813, Orphans Court Records, *page 46, St. Louis, Missouri.*

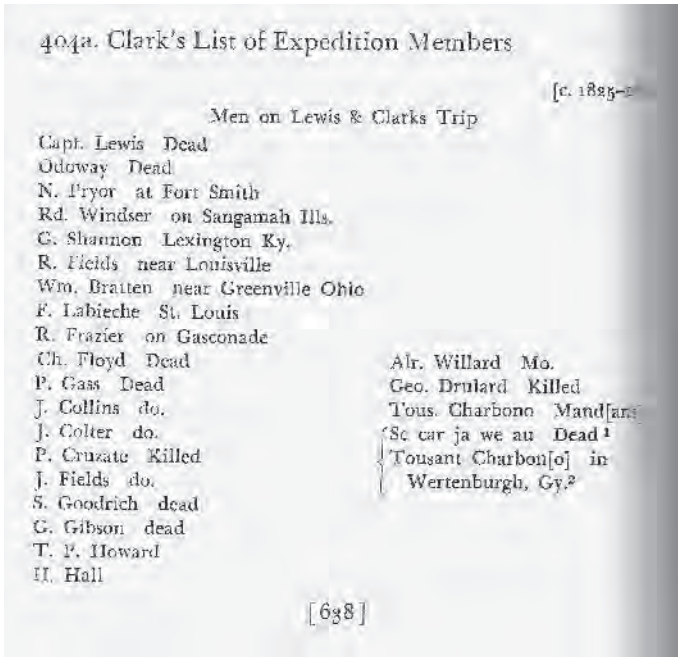
Transcription:

At an orphans court holden at the court house in the town of St Louis within and for the county of St Louis on Wednesday the eleventh of August 1813.

Was present the hon[orable] David V. Walker and George Tompkins, [esquire?] judges

The court appoints William Clark [John Luttig is crossed out] Guardian to the infant children of Tousant Charbonneau deceased, to wit Tousant [Jean Baptiste?] Charbonneau a boy about the age of ten years and Lisette Charbonneau a girl about one year old. The said infant children not being possessed of any property within the knowledge of the court. The said guardian is not required to give bond.
Court adjourned [?] [?]
David V. Walker

Toussaint Charbonneau continued to work as an interpreter through the patronage of William Clark while he served as Indian Agent and then Superintendent of Indian Affairs.[21] Charbonneau traveled to St. Louis periodically to retrieve his pay until he lost his job following Clark's death in 1838.[22] Jean Baptiste also remained in contact with Clark throughout his life. Records reveal Clark paid for Jean Baptiste's schooling and living expenses while he was in St. Louis, albeit with government funds.[23] After completing his schooling, Jean Baptiste worked as a trader for the Chouteaus at a Kansas River post. Friedrich Paul Wilhelm, Duke of Württemberg, a German nobleman, received permission to travel west from William Clark. Jean Baptiste met the Duke and accompanied him in his travels, including a six-



404a. Clark's List of Expedition Members

[c. 1825–8

Men on Lewis & Clarks Trip

Capt. Lewis Dead
Odoway Dead
N. Pryor at Fort Smith
Rd. Windser on Sangamah Ills.
G. Shannon Lexington Ky.
R. Fields near Louisville
Wm. Bratten near Greenville Ohio
F. Labieche St. Louis
R. Frazier on Gasconade
Ch. Floyd Dead
P. Gass Dead
J. Collins do.
J. Colter do.
P. Cruzate Killed
J. Fields do.
S. Goodrich dead
G. Gibson dead
T. P. Howard
H. Hall

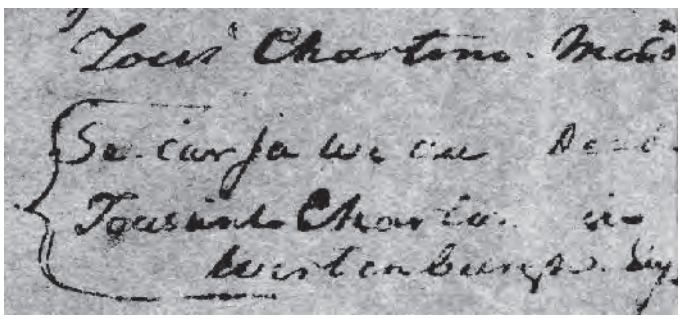
Alr. Willard Mo.
Geo. Drulard Killed
Tous. Charbono Mand[an]
Se car ja we au Dead[1]
Tousant Charbon[o] in Wertenburgh, Gy.[2]

[698]

Clark's List of Expedition Members. Courtesy of Jackson, Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

year stay in Europe.[24] Jean Baptiste returned to the west and worked as a trapper in the Rockies. He guided the Mormon Battalion in 1846 and was alcalde (town administrator) at Mission San Luis Rey de Francia in southern California. He then worked as a hotel clerk in Auburn in northern California and died on May 16, 1866, near Danner, Oregon.[25]

Clark was therefore in close enough contact with the Charbonneau family that he should have been aware of the whereabouts of Sacagawea just as he was of her husband and children. In William Clark's cash book and journal kept between 1825 and 1828, Clark made a list of the Expedition members and their current whereabouts according to his knowledge. He recorded: "Se car Ja we au Dead."[26] Clark, who employed her husband and served as the legal guardian of her children and met with the fur traders and tribal delegations who visited him in St. Louis, was in a position to know Sacagawea's fate better than anyone else.



Clark's handwritten list of Expedition members 1825-1828. Courtesy of Everett D. Graff Collection, The Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois.

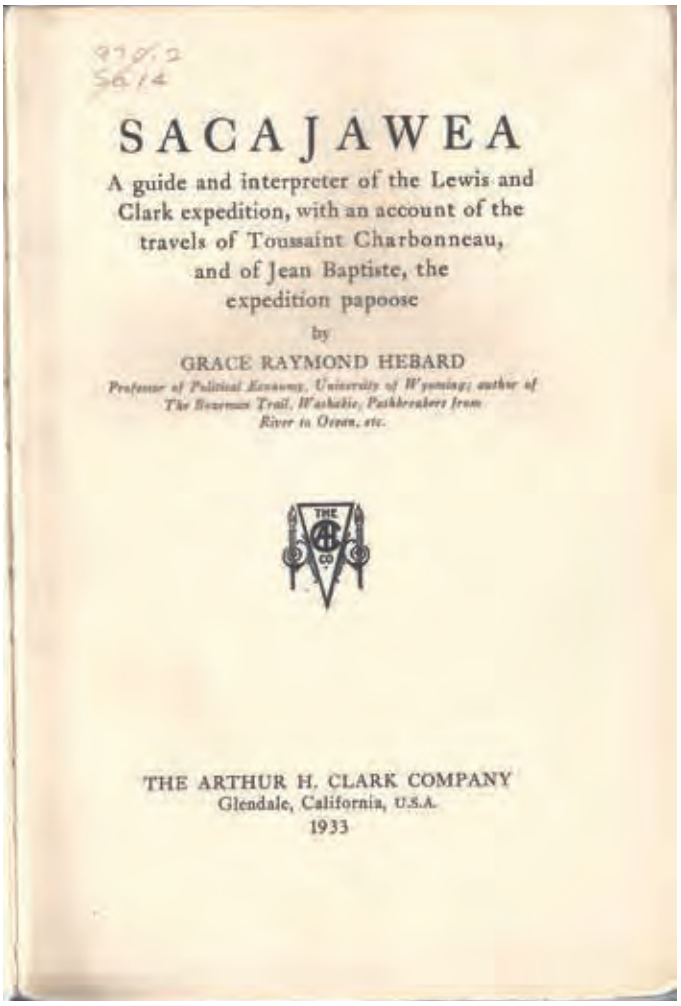
Sacajawea at the Wind River Reservation in 1884 *(2022) by Maren C. Burgess.*

SUSAN PERRY AND THE AUTHOR
On the Shoshone reservation, Wyoming, September 5, 1926. Te-ah-win-nic, one hundred years old, is seated on a pile of "squaw wood" recounting her experiences with Sacajawea.

Grace R. Hebard and Susan Perry at Fort Washakie. Courtesy of American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

1884 Eastern Shoshone-Comanche Account [Sacajawea, meaning Boat Launcher]

University of Wyoming historian Grace Raymond Hebard interviewed several Eastern Shoshones on the Wind River Indian Reservation in the early twentieth century. She also incorporated the research and oral histories gathered by Santee Dakota physician and writer *Ohíye S'a*, Dr. Charles Eastman. Hebard wove together interviews and suppositions, sometimes without corroborating evidence, about an astonishing one-hundred-year-old Shoshone named Porivo who actually claimed to be Sacajawea – the spelling and pronunciation Hebard privileged in her interviews, writing, and biography – into a narrative account published as *Sacajawea* in 1933.



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SACAJAWEA

A guide and interpreter of the Lewis and Clark expedition, with an account of the travels of Toussaint Charbonneau, and of Jean Baptiste, the expedition papoose

by

GRACE RAYMOND HEBARD

Professor of Political Economy, University of Wyoming; author of The Bozeman Trail, Washakie, Pathbreakers from River to Ocean, etc.

THE ARTHUR H. CLARK COMPANY
Glendale, California, U.S.A.
1933

Grace R. Hebard, Sacajawea. *Front Cover, Courtesy of Arthur H. Clark, 1933.*

Hebard's retelling of the Eastern Shoshone-Comanche account begins much the same as the 1812 account. After the Expedition ends in 1806, however, the stories diverge. Shoshone oral histories indicated that Sacajawea, Charbonneau, and Jean Baptiste, along with Charbonneau's other Shoshone wife Otter Woman and her son Toussaint, traveled downriver to St. Louis. The family stayed there until Charbonneau and Otter Woman headed upriver again in 1811, leaving Sacajawea in St. Louis with Jean Baptiste and Toussaint.[27] This account claims it was Otter Woman who died at Fort Manuel in 1812 and it was Otter Woman's daughter Lisette whom Luttig brought down to St. Louis. Luttig, and then Clark, assumed guardianship of Otter Woman's children Toussaint (or "Tessou") and Lisette, and not Sacajawea's Jean Baptiste, since Sacajawea was still living in St. Louis.[28] Sacajawea, the oral histories related, remained in St. Louis or lived with the Hidatsas off and on during the next few years.[29] Around 1820 Charbonneau married a Hidatsa woman named Eagle whom he brought to live with Sacajawea in St. Louis. Sacajawea

Grace Raymond Hebard (1861-1936). Courtesy of American Heritage Center, University of Wyoming.

accompanied her husband on their employment as interpreters.[30] She supposedly met Duke Friedrich Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg when he first encountered Jean Baptiste.[31]

At some point, the timing of which remains unclear in this account, Charbonneau married a young Ute woman with whom Sacajawea did not get along. After quarrelling, Charbonneau

Toussaint Charbonneau, pointing, in The Travellers Meeting with Minatarre Indians near Fort Clark *by Karl Bodmer in Volume I of* Travels in the Interior of North America *(1843).*

Grace Raymond Hebard

Born on July 2, 1861, in the Mississippi River town of Clinton, Iowa, to Presbyterian Rev. George Diah Alonzo Hebard and Margaret E. Dominick Hebard, Grace Raymond Hebard excelled at school. She earned a bachelor's degree in civil engineering from the University of Iowa in 1882, the first women to do so. She completed her master's degree from the University of Iowa in 1885 and a Ph.D. in political science from Illinois Wesleyan University in 1893.

In 1882 Hebard moved to Cheyenne, Wyoming Territory. In 1891 she was appointed a member of the University of Wyoming Board of Trustees in Laramie, Wyoming. Hebard soon added titles including university librarian, professor, and historian at the university. Hebard assisted with projects to mark the route of the Oregon Trail through Wyoming, research and write about the history of Wyoming and its inhabitants, and advance women's suffrage. Hebard traveled throughout Wyoming, conducting interviews with pioneers and Natives such as the Shoshones on the Wind River Indian Reservation. Her contributions to Wyoming's history are numerous and prodigious. Some of her research, however, has been criticized for lacking sound historical judgment.

Hebard's book, *Sacajawea: A Guide and Interpreter of Lewis and Clark* (Spokane, Arthur H. Clark, 1933) portrayed Sacagawea as an Indigenous heroine and female suffragist. Hebard's assumption that Sacajawea died in 1884 and was buried in the Sacajawea Cemetery in Fort Washakie, Wyoming, has been contested. Hebard's stature as a serious western historian gave her problematic account of the life and death of Sacagawea more credence than it deserved. It is the nature of "Sacagawea" to attract a wide array of biographical narratives, many of which lack historical verifiability.

Hebard was continually involved with the University of Wyoming until her death on October 11, 1936, at the age of 75. The Grace Raymond Hebard Papers (1829-1947) collection resides in the American Heritage Center at the University of Wyoming, Laramie, Wyoming. Her files on Sacajawea are in box 44 of the biographical series in the Hebard Papers.

sided with his new wife and beat Sacajawea. Humiliated, she left him, never to return.[32] She wandered around the west for an uncertain length of time until she joined with some Comanches. She married a Comanche named Jerk Meat with whom she lived and had five children, only two of whom survived to adulthood. Then, around 1843, Jerk Meat died, and Sacajawea no longer felt she had a place with the Comanches. She left with her two daughters, determined to return to her Shoshone people.[33] While looking for them, she traveled with John C. Frémont for a time until finding Eastern Shoshones at Fort Bridger in present-day Wyoming.[34]

Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, aged 18. Courtesy of WikiMedia Commons.

Although Sacajawea apparently moved around quite a bit, she eventually decided to remain with the Eastern Shoshones, led by Chief Washakie. Somehow, she reunited with her sister's son Basil, whom she had apparently adopted during the Lewis and Clark Expedition.[35] Her son Jean Baptiste also lived with this group. They were present at the 1868 treaty at Fort Bridger when the Eastern Shoshones were assigned their new home on the Wind River Indian Reservation in central Wyoming.[36] In 1871 she and her sons moved to the reservation and remained there for the rest of their lives (even though Jean Baptiste actually died in Danner, Oregon, on May 16, 1866).[37] Hebard's Shoshone informants knew Sacajawea by many names, including Porivo or Chief Woman, Lost Woman, Water-White-Man, and Sacajawea, meaning Boat or Canoe Launcher.[38] The Shoshones and Americans she lived around greatly respected her, and occasionally she told them stories about her journey to the ocean with the American explorers, although they sometimes thought her stories were unbelievable.[39] She was found dead in her teepee on the morning of April 9, 1884, and was buried in the cemetery that was eventually renamed the Sacajawea Cemetery in Fort Washakie, Wyoming.[40]

Sacagawea. *Courtesy of the National Mississippi River Museum.*

Sacajawea Gravesite, Fort Washakie, Wyoming. Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons.

1869 Hidatsa-Crow Account [Sacagawea/Sakakawea (Bird Woman) and Maeshuwea (Eagle Woman)]

The Hidatsa-Crow account of Sacagawea's story differs not only in the account of her post-Expedition life, but also in her pre-Expedition life and tribal identity. According to her alleged grandson Bulls Eye and others of the Three Affiliated Tribes of the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara nations, her name was "tSakakaweaish" and she was always Hidatsa, never Shoshone. They insist Lewis and Clark misunderstood her tribal identity owing to Charbonneau's poor interpretation skills. They relate through oral tradition that Sacagawea was born around 1787 in a Hidatsa village as the daughter of a Hidatsa man named Smoked Lodge and a Crow woman named Otter Woman. Hidatsa oral histories suggest Sacagawea may have been captured by the Shoshones and then escaped back to her Hidatsa people, this interlude aiding her in her ability to understand and speak the Shoshone language.[41]

A Village of the Hidatsa Tribe at Knife River *(1832) by George Catlin. Courtesy of Smithsonian American Art Museum.*

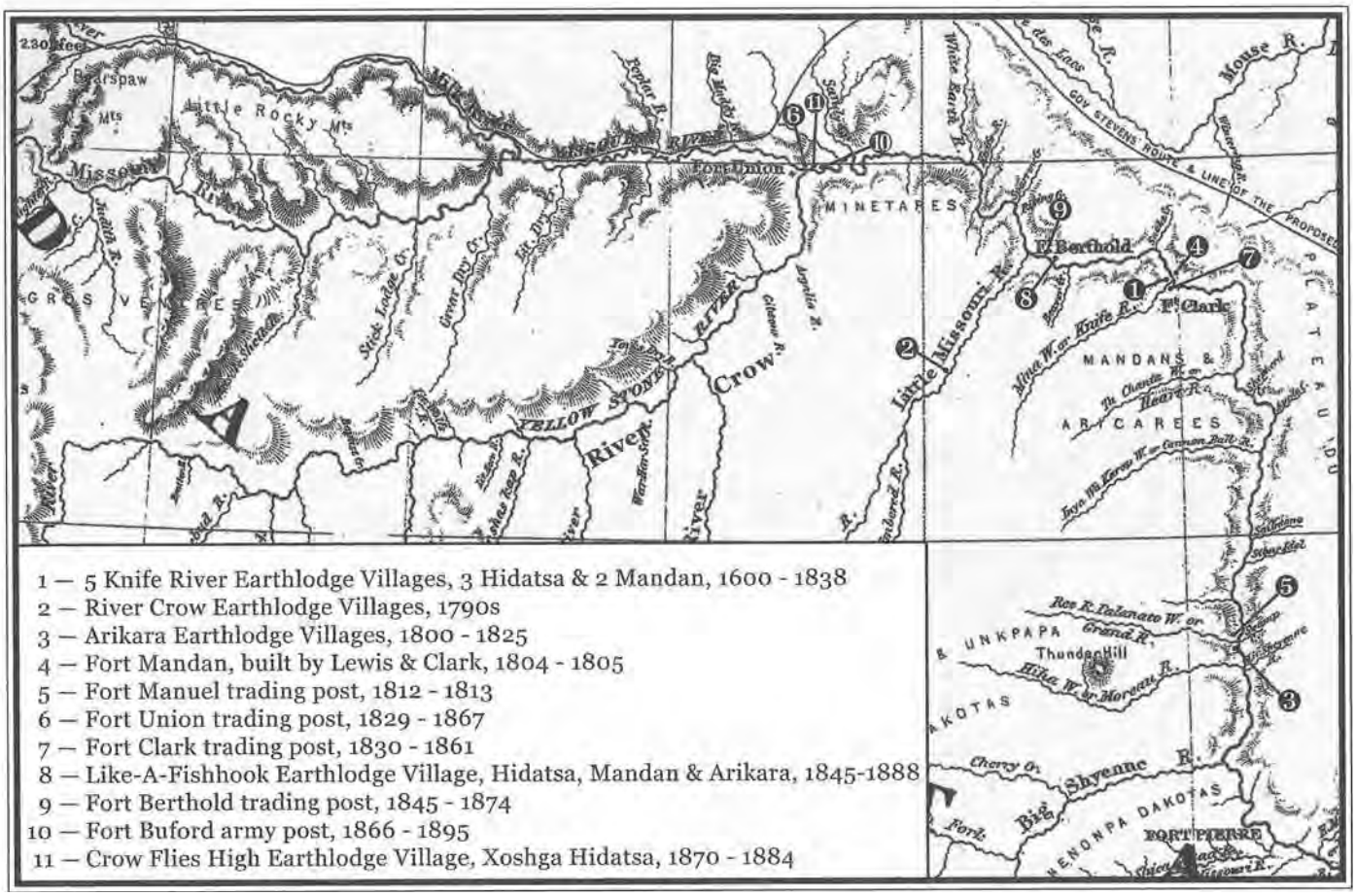
Big Hidatsa Village at Knife River. Courtesy of the National Park Service.

She then lived in Crow territory in the Yellowstone River Valley in Montana as a teenager until her marriage to a white man named "Shabonish" at age seventeen. After becoming his wife, the year before the Lewis and Clark Expedition arrived at the Knife River village, the two traveled west past the Three Forks of the Missouri River and across the Rocky Mountains. This journey afforded Sacagawea familiarity with some of the landmarks in Shoshone country. Either on this journey with Charbonneau or sometime before, she met with some Shoshones and became friends with a man whom she fondly referred to as a brother, although he was not related by blood. Bulls Eye's account concludes that this man was Lemhi Shoshone Chief Cameahwait whom the Expedition encountered in 1805 in Idaho and whom Sacagawea called her brother. Bulls Eye suggested that Charbonneau probably told the captains that Sacagawea had a Shoshone brother and

SACAGAWEA (MAESHUWEA) FAMILY TREE

Girl Woman - *sisters* - Otter Woman (Comes Out of the Water) - *sisters* - *Unnamed Crow woman*
+Smoked Lodge + Smoked Lodge +Medicine Bull
↓ ↓ ↓
Cherry Necklace Sacagawea (*Maeshuwea*, Eagle Woman) All Moves (Moves Along)
+Bug Woman - *sisters* - Red Head +Toussaint Charbonneau +Walks with Wolves
+Different Woman ↓ ↓
↓ Jean Baptiste Charbonneau (Pomp) She Kills
Children - and +Four Times
Long Bear Otter Woman Cedar Woman Different Breast ↓
High Rump +Lean Bull +Head or Pan Goes Between
Raises His Arm ↓ ↓ +James Walker
Pink - Female Bulls Eye Medicine Arm ↓
Many Comes Up - Female +William Parshall Mary Walker Whitman
White Face ↓ Nagle, Fredericks
Brown Bear George Parshall and
In the Water - Female ↓ Sarah Walker Pease
Plenty Medicine or Has Many Delores Parshall Sand and siblings and
Medicine - Female ↓ Susie Walker Young Bird
Many Bears Their descendants - ↓
↓ Their descendants -
Their descendants -

Maeshuwea Family Tree. Courtesy of Three Affiliated Tribes, Our Story of Eagle Woman*, 2021*



Hidatsa and Crow Territory. Map courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman.

knew the country there and that they mistakenly interpreted that to mean she was Shoshone by birth. According to Bulls Eye, however, "They got it wrong," and everyone among the Hidatsas knew her Hidatsa origins and "they knew her father and mother too."[42]

According to Hidatsa history, Charbonneau's other wife at the time Lewis and Clark arrived was Otter Woman, an older sister of Sacagawea. Otter Woman was the mother of Toussaint, a boy born a few years before the Expedition. Just as the 1884 account claims, they believe it was Sacagawea's sister Otter Woman who died in 1812 at Fort Manuel.[43] The Hidatsas insist that Sacagawea returned to the Knife River village with Charbonneau in 1813. In 1815 Charbonneau and Sacagawea traveled to St. Louis to visit their son before joining Auguste Chouteau's 1816-1817 fur-trapping expedition along the Arkansas River. By 1825 the couple were back among the Hidatsas. That same year her father Smoked Lodge signed the Atkinson-O'Fallon Treaty with Clark's nephew Benjamin O'Fallon.[44]

Charbonneau and Sacagawea survived the smallpox epidemic of 1837 that decimated the Mandan and Hidatsa and then moved to Fort Clark. Shortly thereafter, she gave birth to three daughters in an effort to rebuild the tribes' population. Sacagawea was in her early fifties when these children were born. Charbonneau headed downriver in 1839 to claim his last paycheck in St. Louis and died a few years later in 1843.[45]


Eagle Woman and Bulls Eye Traveling to a Trading Post in Montana in 1869*(2022) by Maren C. Burgess.*

Mandan Ceremonial Area at Like-A-Fishhook Village. Courtesy of State Historical Society of North Dakota.

Sacagawea apparently moved back and forth between living with her Crow relatives in Montana and Hidatsa relatives in North Dakota since the Hidatsas and Crows were cousins. Sacagawea lived near her daughters Otter Woman and Cedar Woman.[46] Bulls Eye – Sacagawea's grandson through her daughter Otter Woman – claimed to have been present when Sacagawea died. He recounted his grandmother became quite addicted to coffee and traveled great distances to trading posts to buy more when her supply ran low. On one such occasion in 1869 she traveled with her daughter Otter Woman and four-year-old grandson Bulls Eye along with a company of a few wagons to a trading post near present-day Wolf Point, Montana. Enroute, the company was attacked one night, and several of the party, including his mother Otter Woman, were killed. Sacagawea grabbed Bulls Eye and hid with him in a nearby gulch. In the process, a bullet hit Sacagawea in the side. Despite the injury, she took her grandson and walked to a nearby fort or trading post. Seven days later, his grandmother Sacagawea died from her wound. Oral histories disagree on her burial place along the Missouri River. One account suggests she was buried at a trading post near Wolf Point; another says it was near Culbertson, Montana; and a third believes it was near Fort Buford in North Dakota.[47]

Source Analysis and Reliability

Important differences exist in the interpretation of primary sources pertaining to the three principal accounts of Sacagawea's birth, life, and death. Proponents of each account have explained away or discounted sources that disagree with and advanced those that support their favored narrative. It is therefore necessary to analyze the

*Major Welch, Bulls Eye, and Interpreter Stanley Beane at Sanish, North Dakota, 1927. Courtesy of the Welch Family in*Three Affiliated Tribes, Our Story of Eagle Woman*, 2021 .*

Sacagawea Source Comparison

	1812 Fort Manuel, SD	1884 E. Shoshones, WY	1869 Hidatsa-Crow, MT/ND
1804	Lewis and Clark journals	Lewis and Clark journals	Lewis and Clark journals
1805	Lewis and Clark journals	Lewis and Clark journals	Lewis and Clark journals
1806	Lewis and Clark journals	Lewis and Clark journals	Lewis and Clark journals
1809	Baptismal record for Jean Baptiste in St. Louis		
1811	Charbonneau sells land to Clark; Brackenridge records Charbonneau and Sacagawea ascended Missouri with Manuel Lisa party		
1812	Luttig's journal records the death of one of Charbonneau's Shoshone wives on December 20, 1812, at Fort Manuel, South Dakota		
1813	Court records William Clark became legal guardian of Lisette and Toussaint (Jean Baptiste/).	Guardianship of Otter Woman's children Toussaint and Lisette	Guardianship of Otter Woman's children Toussaint and Lisette
1820	St. Louis school records list J.B. Charbonneau and Toussaint Charbonneau	St. Louis school records list J.B. Charbonneau and Toussaint Charbonneau	St. Louis school records list J.B. Charbonneau and Toussaint Charbonneau
1823		The Duke of Württemberg diary entry about Jean Baptiste, Charbonneau family	
1825-28	*Clark's List of Expedition Members* lists "Se car Ja we au Dead"		
1832	Lisette burial in St. Louis		
1843	Toussaint Charbonneau's probable death		
1866	Jean Baptiste death and obituary in Danner, Oregon		Jean Baptiste obituary states mother was of mixed Crow heritage
1905		John Roberts account	
1918		James Willard Schultz publishes *Bird Woman* based on his memories of accounts told by Hugh Monroe, Earth Woman, Crow Woman, and Rising Wolf	
1920s		Grace Raymond Hebard interviews Shoshones and Comanches	
1923			Bulls Eye oral history recorded by A.B. Welch; Joseph Packineau account
1924			Bulls Eye interviewed again
1925		Charles Eastman declares Sacajawea died on Wind River Indian Reservation. Interview of Mrs. Weidemann	
1930s		Hebard interviews more Eastern Shoshones at Wind River	Strong Jaw account as told by Joe Ward and Bears Arm
1933		Grace Raymond Hebard's *Sacajawea* biography published	
Unknown date			Helen Wolf Wilkinson account; Jim Driver's retelling of Bulls Eye account
2006			Gerard Baker's retelling of Strong Jaw account as linking to Sakakawea
2000s			Hidatsa, Crow, Mandan, and Arikara oral history interviews
2000s			DNA testing of Charbonneau, Cherry Necklace, Otter Woman, and Cedar Woman relatives

Sacagawea's Great Granddaughter Lucy Bulls Eye Evans. Courtesy of Three Affilifated Tribes, Our Story of Eagle Woman*, 2021 .*

available sources to understand the reliability of each and the differences in interpretation about things such as her tribal origins (Shoshone, Hidatsa, or Crow) or her possible husbands and children recounted in oral histories.

The 1812 account of Sacagawea's death comes entirely from the interpretation of contemporaneous written sources from the nineteenth century. Historians favor contemporaneous written sources because they were recorded at the time of the event or shortly thereafter. Written records, however, are not perfect and have their own flaws. They reflect the bias of the person who wrote them down or observed the events. Some of the primary documents were not known or not found until a later date. Luttig's *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition* recording the death of one of Charbonneau's wives was not published until 1920. Moreover, Luttig did not specify the name of which of Charbonneau's Shoshone wives – Sacagawea or Otter Woman – had died. Stella Drumm, the editor of Luttig's *Journal*, made additional editorial errors in interpreting the names and number of Charbonneau's children. William Clark's 1825-1828 list of Expedition members stating that "Se car Ja we au Dead" was found by historian Dale Morgan in 1955 and published by Donald Jackson in the first and second editions of his *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* in the 1960s and 1970s.

The 1884 and 1869 tribal accounts offer alternate interpretations of the written sources (many of which were not known or published at those times) and favor more recent oral histories and interviews conducted during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The oral histories and interviews were memories or accounts provided many years after the fact and few were told by individuals who personally knew Sacagawea around the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. This allows for the greater likelihood of mistakes in the historical record, as informants' recollections change over time.

Individual oral histories regarding events relating to both the 1884 and 1869 accounts also vary greatly in detail or conflict with one another, even when told by the same person on multiple occasions. Bulls Eye, for example, changed significant details when he related his account at different times. Supporters of the Hidatsa account acknowledge inconsistencies in the information members of their affiliated tribes gave to Dr. Charles Eastman about Bulls Eye at Fort

Hidatsa Burials Among the Cottonwoods. *Courtesy of National Museum of Natural History.*

Eva Emery Dye

Born in 1855 in Prophetstown, Illinois, to Cyrus and Caroline Trafton Emery, Eva Emery Dye worked as a schoolteacher and attended Oberlin College against her parent's wishes. At Oberlin she earned a bachelor's of art degree and was class valedictorian. In 1882 she married Oberlin alumnus Charles Henry Dye. In 1890 Eva and Charles moved to Oregon City, Oregon, where she taught school and published writings about Oregon history. Eva wrote poetry, historical essays, and historical fiction. Her historical novels romanticized western history although she claimed to base them on accurate historical research.

Dye published perhaps her most famous work, *The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark* (Chicago: McClurg) in 1902, which chronicled the period between George Rogers Clark's Revolutionary War exploits until William Clark's death in 1838. Dye was the first author to present Sacagawea as a historically significant character - heroine, pioneer mother, and Expedition guide. Later she wrote, ***"I struggled along . . . trying to find a heroine. . . . Finally I came upon the name of Sacajawea, and I screamed, 'I have found my heroine!'"***

Dye's portrayal of her guiding the Expedition to Oregon created a *cause célèbre* because Dye exaggerated Sacagawea's actual role. [Ronald Laycock, "The Sacagawea of Eva Emery Dye," *We Proceeded On* 38:3 (August 2012), 32.]

Dye used Sacagawea to advance the women's suffrage movement and the women's club movement. She championed the creation of the Sacajawea Statue Association, which raised funds to create and unveil the first statue of Sacajawea during the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition in Portland in 1905. [Sheri Bartlett Browne, *Eva Emery Dye Romance with the West* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press, 2004), 100-25.] The Sacajawea statue in Washington Park in Portland, Oregon, was viewed by over three million visitors that year and Sacagawea was a fitting stand in for lady liberty in the 1905 Exposition flag depicting Lewis and Clark's arrival at the Pacific. Dye resided with her family in Oregon until her death on February 25, 1947. Her papers reside at the Oregon Historical Society.

Berthold. They claim, however, that these inconsistencies existed because the statements "were adapted by him and/or the informants intentionally gave false information."[48] In an effort to maintain the integrity of their argument, they blame inconsistencies in the oral accounts on the interviewer and the editing of the interviewees rather than the imperfect memory of the informants.

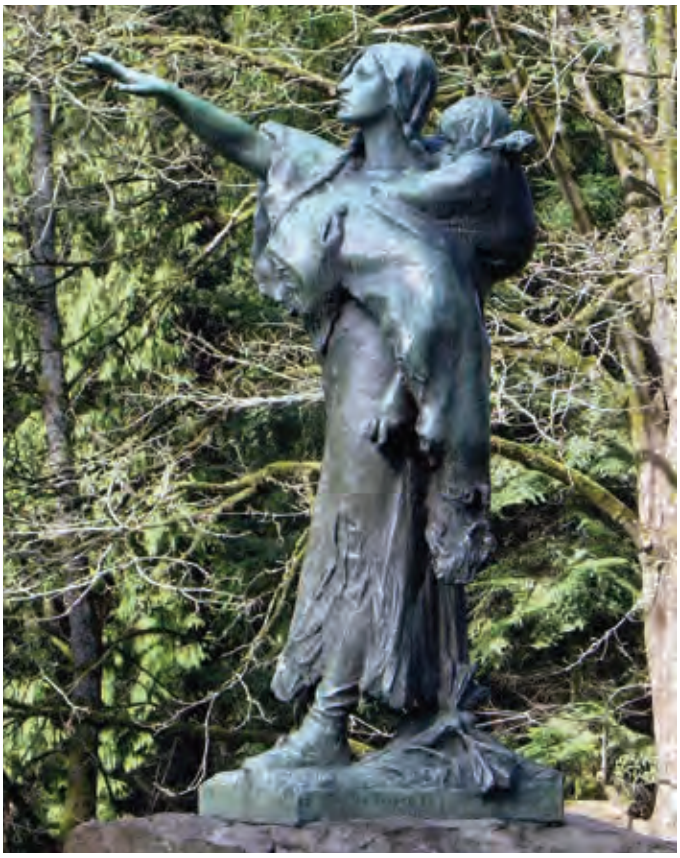
Another challenge presented by relying solely on the oral histories supporting the 1884 and 1869 narratives is that some of the accounts were not originally connected to Sacagawea by those relating the accounts, but listeners or later researchers assumed they related directly to her. For example, in the Hidatsa narrative recorded in *Our Story of Eagle Woman Sacagawea: They Got It Wrong*, several such oral histories appear to have been linked to Sacagawea after the fact to further strengthen their claim. One such example is about a Hidatsa man named Strong Jaw who had a son and a daughter taken captive by the Shoshones. The son later became the leader of that Shoshone band while the daughter escaped, led by a pack of wolves back to her Hidatsa family.[49]

Eva Emery Dye (1855-1947). Courtesy of WikiMedia Commons.

The authors of the book admit that Joe Ward and Bears Arm, who told the story, and ethnographer Alfred Bowers, who documented it, "did not tie the story to Sacagawea." Yet, it is quite easy to make a logical assumption that the story explains Sacagawea's Hidatsa origins and it "supports the story that the leader of the Shoshone was her brother, but makes a case for Sacagawea being captured by the Shoshone" instead of a Shoshone girl's being abducted by a Hidatsa raiding party.[50] Mandan-Hidatsa elder Gerard Baker recalled hearing older tribal members retell this story making direct connection to Sacagawea. While this may support their case in linking the Strong Jaw story to Sacagawea, the absence of that link in the earliest telling of the account calls for consideration.[51]

In many cases, the questions the interviewer asked the interviewee were not recorded, creating uncertainty as to what extent the prompting of the interviewer may have shaped the responses of the interviewee. Both the 1884 and 1869 oral histories hint at attempts by the interviewer to prompt their informants to provide certain responses. For example, Grace Raymond Hebard likely asked her Shoshone interviewees directly about Sacagawea's involvement in the 1868 treaty council negotiations rather than inquiring who was at the deliberations and having the informants provide Sacagawea's name. Hebard recorded several testimonies of individuals who attended. The differing accounts of each of her informants ranged from insisting that Sacajawea had a big role at the meeting to saying perhaps she was present.[52] Absent Hebard's direct questions, perhaps some of those interviewed would not have mentioned Sacajawea at all. Asking questions designed to elicit certain responses may have influenced those relating their oral histories.

It is also important to consider the motivations of both the interviewer and interviewee in obtaining and providing information. Hebard, a professor at the University of Wyoming and proud of the Equality State's territorial and state history – the first to grant women's suffrage in the world – supported Eva Emery Dye's interpretation of Sacagawea as a women's rights advocate. Dye's 1902 novel, *The Conquest*, painted Sacagawea as Lewis and Clark's guide and Indigenous heroine, a poster child for the suffrage movement.[53] Dye published a glowing review of Hebard's 1933 *Sacajawea* book in which she praised Hebard's research for telling the true story of Sacagawea, published just over a decade after the ratification of the nineteenth amendment.[54] Dye clearly exaggerated Sacagawea's role as guide when compared to the



Eva Emery Dye dedicated the first statue of Sacajawea *by Alice Cooper in Washington Park during the Lewis and Clark Exposition in Portland, Oregon, 1905.*

Expedition journalists and used this as part of her effort to promote women's suffrage.[55] The desire to advance women's rights through portraying Sacagawea as guide and emphasizing her chief-like status among her tribe in later years may have influenced Hebard to support (and perhaps even create) the 1884 account, even at the cost of assigning apparent truth to an incorrect story. According to the Hidatsas, Hebard's assistant admitted that Hebard gave her interviewees groceries in part to motivate them to tell her the story as she wanted to hear it.[56] They may have also felt the need to please their guest, or perhaps they realized that having a connection to Sacagawea could be of economic benefit to their tribe through government support and tourism.

In response to the 1884 account advocated by Eastman and Hebard, oral histories supporting the 1869 account began to be recorded in the 1920s. The United States government commissioned Dr. Charles Eastman to determine where Sacagawea was buried so that a monument could be erected at her final resting place. The Hidatsas, Bulls Eye among them, rejected the claim that she was Shoshone and began sharing their oral histories with individuals

such as A. B. Welch.[57] Bringing forth the Hidatsa 1869 account, therefore, was a direct reaction by the Hidatsas to correct what the Eastern Shoshone 1884 account "got wrong." Eastman and Hebard did not entirely reject the Hidatsa oral histories but rather appropriated elements of the Hidatsa account into the 1884 narrative. These include the name Otter Woman for Charbonneau's other Shoshone wife along with a Hidatsa wife named Eagle – who is Sacagawea in the 1869 account and just another Shoshone wife in the 1884 account.

While the reliability of some oral histories is questioned, written sources, even those created at the time of the event, also contain errors. Sacagawea did not speak English, and the information she provided Lewis and Clark about her life had to be translated from Hidatsa to French and then to English.[58] Her husband Charbonneau reportedly did not speak the Hidatsa language perfectly and, if Sacagawea were a Shoshone captive of the Hidatsa, perhaps she did not either.[59] Therefore information could have been miscommunicated to the captains or to others, such as Brackenridge, who specified that the wife of Charbonneau traveling up the river in 1811 had accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

In published works supporting various theories, conclusions may be based on speculation or perhaps misinterpretation of available sources. Sometimes authors have been so intent on establishing their claims that they neglect full scrutinization of their sources. Hebard's book contains many hasty conclusions backed by little or no evidence. For example, she states that John C. Frémont's journal entry about a Shoshone woman who journeyed to meet her people "gives every evidence of referring to Sacajawea." Frémont's journal, however, does not identify this woman as Sacajawea. There could easily have been some other Shoshone woman traveling in that part of the country. Furthermore, Frémont's account states that this Shoshone woman was the widow of a French *engagé* who had worked at a fort in Colorado and that she carried with her two "half-breed" children. To accept that this was Sacajawea, it must be assumed that after leaving Jerk Meat she married this Frenchman, adopted or had two more children, and then kept on her way. Additionally, Frémont said that this woman expected to find her relatives at Fort Bridger. How would Sacajawea have known she had relatives at Fort Bridger if she had not returned to her Shoshone people since the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition?[60] Such assumptions based on limited and contradictory evidence are likely erroneous.

Conclusions based on limited evidence are also present in the Hidatsa narrative. One such example is the claim that in 1825 "Sacagawea was reported to be at the Mandan village when her father Smoked Lodge or Black Lodge signed the Atkinson-O'Fallon Treaty."[61] Charbonneau acted as interpreter at the treaty signing and, apparently, Atkinson noted the presence of one of Charbonneau's wives at the meeting, but nothing in this entry identifies this wife as Sacagawea. Even if Sacagawea were still living in 1825 and still Charbonneau's wife, the wife present at the treaty may not have been Sacagawea.[62] In guiding readers to the most likely conclusion as to when Sacagawea died, the above analysis of the sources and their interpretation by the proponents of the three accounts leans toward Sacagawea's death at Fort Manuel in South Dakota in 1812 as corroborated by written contemporaneous evidence. The 1869 Hidatsa and 1884 Shoshone accounts were recorded many decades after the events they describe.

Sacagawea's Tribal Origins

A major discrepancy among the accounts of Sacagawea's life and death that significantly alters her story is the controversy over her tribal origins as either Lemhi Shoshone or Hidatsa-Crow. Records created by members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition claimed that Sacagawea was born to the Salmon-Eating *Agaidika* or Lemhi Shoshones, as does nearly every other contemporaneous written source. Despite this written documentation, the Hidatsas still claim Sacagawea was born Hidatsa-Crow and not Shoshone. They assume there was a mistake either in the interpretation process or through a deliberate lie created by Charbonneau in order to secure employment with the Expedition.[63] The Hidatsas argue Sacagawea's brother Cherry Necklace had "snake medicine," and perhaps she did too, and this may have been misinterpreted to suggest membership in the "Snake" or Shoshone tribe.[64] Another possible explanation they offered was when Charbonneau mentioned Cameahwait was Sacagawea's Shoshone "brother" the captains assumed she was also Shoshone, without considering he might be a ceremonially adopted brother.[65] The Hidatsa oral histories, including the Strong Jaw account, support the idea of Sacagawea's Hidatsa birth and subsequent capture by a Shoshone raiding party, reversing the capture story from what the captains understood.[66] Apart from oral histories, a few secondary sources also support the claim that Sacagawea was Hidatsa-Crow. One comes from Jean Baptiste's obituary, which stated his mother was "a half breed of the Crow tribe."[67] Statements by George B. Sanderson and James Beckwourth also identify Sacagawea as Crow.[68] All other written documentary evidence, however, supports her Shoshone origins.

The written documentation most unquestionably connected to Sacagawea comes from the Lewis and Clark Expedition journals. When Expedition members first met Sacagawea at the Knife River village, they reported that she "belonged to the Snake nation" and was from the Rocky Mountains.[69] The captains hired Charbonneau at least in part with the expectation that one of his Shoshone wives would accompany them on their journey in order to interpret for them to help procure horses from the Shoshones.[70] Throughout the journey, the explorers believed Sacagawea was Shoshone, as they relied on her language abilities and knowledge of the Shoshones' homeland, language, and customs.[71] If Charbonneau had lied to the captains about her tribal origins in order to obtain employment, he and Sacagawea must have taken that lie to an extreme, concocting convincing stories about her capture as a child and her Shoshone family connections. The explorers reported that she showed them the very spot in the river where she was taken by her captors, and they were moved by her reunion with another girl who had likewise been captured but later escaped.[72] Her connection as sister of Shoshone chief Cameahwait may have been more than just ceremonial, and Lewis and Clark even met the man she had been betrothed to as a girl but who no longer wished to marry her because she had had a child with Charbonneau.[73]

If the specifics recorded by the explorers about Sacagawea's childhood are not convincing enough to prove her Shoshone origins, they at least offer compelling evidence she had the ability to speak Shoshone as she successfully functioned as interpreter not only when the Expedition encountered Shoshones but on other occasions when Shoshone prisoners were found among other tribes. The captains did not necessarily need to bring a Shoshone along on the journey, but they did require a Shoshone speaker. Therefore, misrepresenting herself as a Shoshone would have been unnecessary so long as they knew she spoke the language.

After the Expedition, written sources continued to identify Sacagawea as Shoshone or Snake. Some examples include the baptism record of her son in St. Louis, in which the scribe did not attempt to write her name but rather noted her as a "sauvagesse de la nation des serpents."[74] The Duke

of Württemberg noted Jean Baptiste's mixed French-Shoshone heritage, and Brackenridge recorded that the wife of Charbonneau was of the Snake or Shoshone nation.[75]

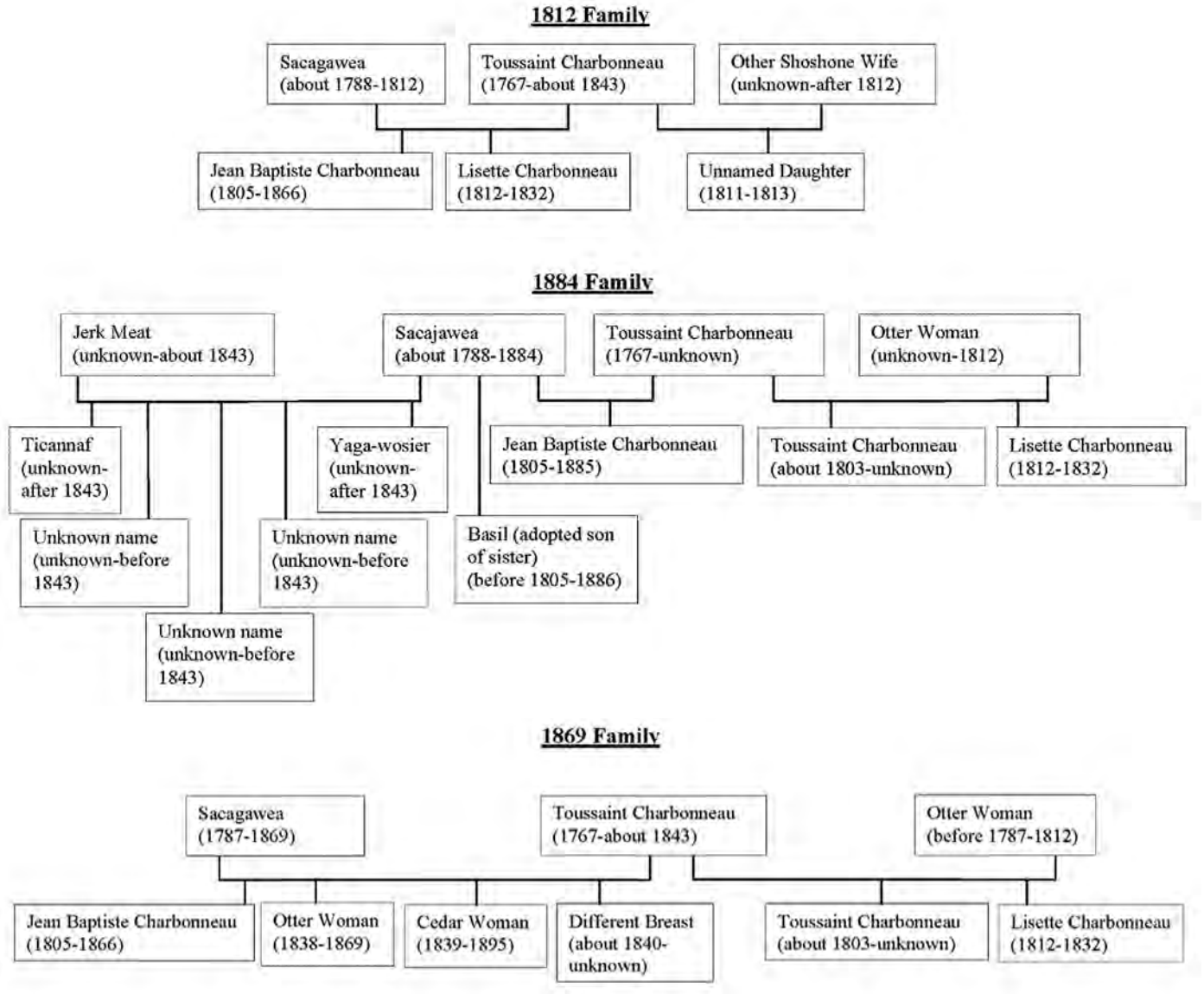
Analysis of primary sources recorded closest to the time of the events strongly supports the contention that Sacagawea was born Lemhi Shoshone and then captured by the Hidatsas and then known as Sacagawea or Bird Woman.

Family Relationships

Each of the accounts of Sacagawea's death has a distinct family tree showing different children and family relationships. Family traditions that maintain direct or collateral descent from Sacagawea have understandably led some to interpret sources in a way that supports their family account. It is therefore necessary to analyze the sources claimed to support possible family relationships, including connections mined from historical records, oral history, family tradition, and DNA testing.

The following family trees show Sacagawea with her husband(s) and children along with the other Shoshone wife (Otter Woman) and her children. Other wives of Charbonneau are not shown, and it should be noted that some variations in the trees may exist.

Lewis and Clark's journals provide evidence that Sacagawea had at least one child; as Lewis noted she delivered Jean Baptiste Charbonneau on February 11, 1805, at Fort Mandan.[76] Charbonneau did have another Shoshone wife at this time, but the explorers never mentioned Otter Woman or her children.[77] According to the 1884 and 1869 accounts, this other wife, Otter Woman, bore a son named Toussaint about two years before the Expedition arrived at the Knife River village.



William Clark grew fond of Sacagawea's son whom he called "my boy Pomp," and offered to raise and educate him as his own child.[78] After the death of Charbonneau's wife at Fort Manuel in December 1812, a court record on August 11, 1813, indicates that William Clark was appointed guardian of the children of Toussaint Charbonneau. The record listed a boy named Toussaint around ten and a daughter named Lisette aged one.[79] Both the 1884 and 1869 accounts maintain that the child Toussaint mentioned was not Jean Baptiste, but rather Otter Woman's son named Toussaint. The 1812 account assumes that the age and name of the child were in error and that in reality the boy was eight-year-old Jean Baptiste.[80] Although this assumption may not fully satisfy the discrepancy, Clark had written a letter to Charbonneau on August 20, 1806, offering to raise and educate Jean Baptiste.[81] If this Toussaint were a separate son from Jean Baptiste, then no records have been found documenting a formal adoption or guardianship of Jean Baptiste by Clark.

Although no evidence indicates that Clark had Jean Baptiste live in his home or that he formally raised him, evidence does show that Clark was involved with educating a Jean Baptiste Charbonneau by paying for his board along with school tuition and supplies. One entry in Clark's expenditures, however, also lists tuition paid for "Toussaint Charbonneau, a half Indian boy" making it unclear if this were Jean Baptiste or another Charbonneau son.[82] All other entries list J. B. Charbonneau or just Charbonneau. This entry for tuition paid follows about a month and a half after the previous payment for a quarter of the tuition and would complete the fourth quarter of tuition paid for that season, as the first three quarters were paid by Clark earlier that year. The tuition was, however, paid to F. Neil instead of J. E. Welch to whom the first three quarters fees were paid. But if these were two separate individuals, then Clark skipped paying for the final quarter of tuition for Jean Baptiste to pay for just one quarter of Toussaint's. Perhaps the other payments came from some other source, but no records of such have surfaced. It would appear these entries represent the same individual. Although the two-year age discrepancy remains unexplained, James Haley White, Jean Baptiste's classmate in St. Louis, knew of and mentioned Clark's guardianship of Jean Baptiste, adding support to this conclusion.[83] Historians Dale Morgan, Donald Jackson, Gary Moulton, Jay Buckley, and others concur that the Toussaint mentioned in the orphan court record was in fact Jean Baptiste, simply listed under the name of his father. This was the same "dancing boy Pomp" whom Clark had agreed to adopt and educate as his own son. He was now fulfilling his promise to Charbonneau and Sacagawea.

Evidence suggests that both of Charbonneau's Shoshone wives accompanied him to St. Louis. Catholic church burial records in St. Louis indicate that Charbonneau had two daughters born around 1811 or 1812. A burial entry in 1813 lists a one-year-old infant daughter of Charbonneau, a "sauvegess of the Snake Nation," buried on August 30, 1813.[84] The record did not name this daughter who was buried just a few weeks after the guardianship recorded by the court on August 11 of that year.[85] Evidence suggests this daughter was not Lisette, since a burial record years later on June 16, 1832, lists 'Lisette, female savage of the nation of snakes, aged twenty one years." This is most likely Lisette Charbonneau based on her name, the tribe of her mother, and her age.[86]

The evidence that two daughters were born during this time has interesting implications and raises important questions. The births of both daughters occurred around 1811 or 1812, although the months of their births are not known. When Luttig recorded the death of the wife of Charbonneau on December 20, 1812, he mentioned she left a "fine infant girl."[87] If that wife had had two daughters with her, both should have been noted. Brackenridge had not noted that any children accompanied Charbonneau and his wife upriver in 1811, making it likely that the daughter was born sometime during the voyage, in 1811, or 1812.[88] Since there were two daughters with Shoshone mothers born during this time period, both of Charbonneau's Shoshone wives must have been in St. Louis prior to his 1811 journey upriver, and one must have stayed in St. Louis along with Jean Baptiste, and perhaps a son named Toussaint, if he existed. This other wife must either have been pregnant at the time Charbonneau set out or had given birth in early 1811 before the voyage. The daughter Lisette was most likely born to the wife who headed upriver, as Luttig was initially the guardian for Lisette, and he would have helped to bring that infant girl from Fort Manuel to St. Louis.[89] Interestingly, at the time of the court case, even though both of Charbonneau's daughters were alive, only Lisette was appointed a guardian. The court did not require the guardian to pay bond because the children were not receiving any property from their supposedly deceased father, making it likely a guardian was appointed to take care of the children's needs rather than just represent them legally. If there had been property for the children to inherit, then all living children of

Charbonneau should have been appointed a guardian, including the daughter who died later that month. This suggests the other Charbonneau wife remained in St. Louis, and no guardian was necessary for her children, only for the children of the deceased mother. Therefore, the children in the guardianship record must have both been children of whichever wife died at Fort Manuel.

No historical records have surfaced after this time that identify at least one of Charbonneau's wives as Shoshone or Snake. Perhaps whichever wife was still living in 1813 quietly died in St. Louis without further mention in any records, or perhaps she was one of Charbonneau's wives briefly mentioned over the years by various western travelers. This leaves open the remote possibility that Sacagawea was not the wife who died at Fort Manuel and that perhaps her actual death story is not represented by *any* of the purported accounts discussed. Yet Brackenridge and Luttig's glowing impressions of the Shoshone woman who died in December 1812 as "a good creature, of a mild and gentle disposition," and "a good and the best Women of the fort" do seem consistent with the character of Sacagawea as represented in Lewis and Clark's journals.[90] The concordance of these characteristics alone, however, does not provide conclusive evidence.

Consideration of Sacagawea's children sheds light on a glaring error in the 1884 account. Ample historical documents trace Jean Baptiste's life up to his death in 1866 in Oregon.[91] Therefore, the Jean Baptiste who died in 1885 on the Wind River Reservation could not have been the son of Sacagawea as Hebard and her supporters aver.[92] As oral histories in Hebard's book claim him as Sacagawea's son, this major discrepancy casts doubt on the accuracy of the oral histories cited in her research and therefore on the identification of the Eastern Shoshone woman named Porivo who claimed to be Sacagawea and who died in 1884. Jean Baptiste fathered a son in Germany named Anton Fries who was born February 20, 1829, and died May 15 the same year.[93]

Proponents of the 1869 account make the family relationship claim based on an entirely different line of descendants. According to their story, Sacagawea gave birth to three daughters while in her early fifties. Two of them, Otter Woman and Cedar Woman, lived to adulthood and had offspring. The descendants of Sacagawea's Hidatsa brother Cherry Necklace claim a collateral relationship to her. The results of an autosomal DNA test of one of Cedar Woman's great-granddaughters showed she shared 48 cM of DNA with descendants of Cherry Necklace and 35 cM with some

DNA Testing

DNA testing has become a powerful genealogical research tool. DNA test results compare shared DNA between and among test takers for the purpose of determining common ancestors from whom shared portions of DNA originated. DNA evidence is used in connection with documentary research as an additional source in determining relationships.

Three types of DNA tests are used: Y chromosome DNA (Y-DNA), mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA), and autosomal DNA (atDNA). Y-DNA comes from a male's Y chromosome, inherited through the direct paternal line, and helps test takers identify relatives descended from the same paternal line. Meanwhile, males and females both inherit mitochondrial DNA from their mothers, passed down through their direct maternal line, which aids test takers in identifying relatives on their direct maternal line.

Autosomal DNA tests show results for twenty-two of the test taker's chromosomes. Each person inherits about half of the DNA from each parent, who in turn inherited half of that DNA from each parent, and so on back throughout history. DNA segments inherited recombine between each generation, causing unique inheritance of segments of DNA within the same family. Because of this recombination, atDNA is most reliable in determining relationships within the past five generations, although DNA could potentially be shared among test takers with common ancestors eight generations back or further.

The Three Affiliated Tribes (Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara) used autosomal or atDNA testing to prove that Eagle Woman and Sacagawea were the same person. They did not use Y-DNA because Sacagawea obviously did not pass that down and they could not find a suitable living candidate to examine mtDNA, nor a sample to compare it to. The atDNA test results of descendants of Cedar Woman, a possible daughter of Sacagawea, were compared to atDNA test results of Sacagawea's possible brother Cherry Necklace's descendants, Toussaint Charbonneau's great-great-grandfather Olivier Charbonneau's descendants, and possible descendants of Toussaint Charbonneau from Fort Totten, North Dakota. The Three Affiliated Tribes reported that a great-granddaughter of Cedar Woman did have atDNA matches with at least one person in each of these groups. [Sacagawea Project Board of the Mandan, Hidatsa & Arikara Nation, *Our Story of Eagle Woman Sacagawea: They Got It Wrong* (Orange, CA: Paragon Agency, 2021), 285-96.]

of his other Crow relatives. Moreover, she shared 22 cM of DNA with people who claim to be descended from Toussaint Charbonneau's great-great-grandfather. Furthermore, this descendant of Cedar Woman discovered she shared a very small amount of DNA, 7 cM, with matches from a Charbonneau family at Fort Totten, North Dakota, who claim to be descended from Toussaint, the son of Otter Woman and Toussaint Charbonneau.

The summary of these findings recorded in *Our Story of Eagle Woman Sacagawea: They Got It Wrong* only provided data on the amounts of DNA that one potential descendant of Sacagawea shared with the Cherry Necklace and Charbonneau family matches, leaving it uncertain if any of the other descendants of Cedar Woman also share these same matches.[94] Having a larger dataset for analysis could help to rule out the possibility that these matches share DNA on lines of their family tree other than the one in question. But if all these descendants do in fact share DNA in the same family line, then in all likelihood Cedar Woman was a daughter of Toussaint Charbonneau and a Hidatsa-Crow woman. This does not, however, automatically mean that Cedar Woman was a daughter of Sacagawea. No evidence exists to discount the possibility that Cedar Woman and her sisters were actually the children of one of Charbonneau's other wives, even a Hidatsa-Crow wife named Eagle. Perhaps over the years family stories comingled and meshed her identity with that of Charbonneau's most famous wife Sacagawea. Sacagawea's son Jean Baptiste fathered children, but no male living descendants of these children are known, making Y-DNA comparison with his descendants impossible.[95] If there were living descendants of Jean Baptiste who could be tested, it could help to either strengthen or weaken the Hidatsa DNA claim.[96] Thus, while analyzing Sacagawea's purported family relationships appears to discount the 1884 account, familial evidence for the 1812 and 1869 accounts also remains inconclusive.

Over the years, particularly since the time of the Lewis and Clark Centennial (1904-1906), varied opinions about Sacagawea emerged. Each of these accounts has been supported by claims from possible descendants, tribes, scholars, and even states. The controversy over the contested accounts of Sacagawea's birth, life, and death sheds light on the ways in which the lives of historical figures are sometimes altered and appropriated to fit various movements, values, or desired visions of the past. Yet such fanciful accounts of life stories do not change the reality of what actually happened

To assess the validity of these results and what they may or may not prove, some factors must be considered. First, it is important to analyze the amount of DNA (measured in centimorgans, or cM) shared between each match. Analysis tools such as the Shared cM Project provide data on how many cM of DNA can be shared between related matches. [Blaine T. Bettinger, *The Shared cM Project*, *DNA Painter* (https://dnapainter.com: accessed May 5, 2023).] While some matches found in the Three Affiliated Tribes research do fit within the expected range of shared DNA amounts, some matches below 10 cM were used as proof. Matches that share less than 10 cM could potentially be false matches, meaning the test takers may just share small segments of DNA common to an ethnic group or to humankind in general, rather than share a specific common ancestor. Comparing the DNA results of multiple descendants from each family would add further assurance that the tested individuals did indeed share common ancestors. Another factor that should be considered in analysis is whether the matches could share a common ancestor on a different family line than the one in question. If so, then the matches either are not both related to the common ancestor, or they may share common ancestors on more than one line of their family. This is especially common in groups of people that have lived and intermarried for generations, which include Native Americans.

If these DNA matches do share appropriate amounts of DNA, are analyzed in conjunction with a large enough sample of descendants of each family, and can eliminate with confidence the possibility of any other shared ancestors in each tree, then what these results likely indicate is that Cedar Woman was a daughter of Toussaint Charbonneau and a Hidatsa-Crow woman. It does not, however, provide certain proof that that Hidatsa-Crow woman was Sacagawea. Because these DNA matches cannot be compared to the DNA of Sacagawea herself, they would need to be compared to the DNA of someone who was definitively linked to her, which would have to be a direct descendant of her son Jean Baptiste. There are no known living descendants of Jean Baptiste, however, making it difficult if not impossible to solve this case using DNA. ∎

in an individual's life. To sort through all of the accounts to determine the true story of a person's life, it is essential to analyze all possible sources to determine their historical authenticity and whether they fit together to form a convincing whole. While analysis of known sources does not provide an incontrovertible answer as to Sacagawea's tribal origins, familial relationships, and death, the 1812 account substantiated by Expedition records and the letters and journals of fur traders and William Clark remains the most likely account owing to its concordance with contemporaneous and corroborative primary sources. ∎

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Notes

1. Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979-2001), 8:305. The authors would like to thank John Fisher, Jerry Garrett, Barb Kubik, Larry Morris, and Philippa Newfield for their helpful comments on draft versions of this article.

2. The authors use Sacagawea as the *de facto* spelling unless discussing the spellings associated with Hebard's Shoshone accounts.

3. Clay S. Jenkinson, "'Is it Possible to Know Sacagawea?' Review of *Our Story of Eagle Woman, Sacagawea: They Got it Wrong*," *We Proceeded On* 48:4 (November 2022): 32-37.

4. For an analysis of the various spellings and meanings of Sacagawea, see Irving W. Anderson and Blanche Schroer, "Sacagawea, Sacajawea, or Sakakawea: How Do You Spell Birdwoman?" *We Proceeded On* 38:3 (August 2012): 10-11.

5. William Clark made a list of the Expedition members between 1825 and 1828 and recorded that Sacagawea was dead. "Clark's List of Expedition Members," Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, 2nd ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 2: 638-39; John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813*, ed., Stella M. Drumm (New York: Argosy-Antiquarian, 1964), 106; Larry E. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps: What Became of the Lewis and Clark Explorers After the Expedition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 106-17; 210-13; 238-41.

6. Brigham D. Madsen, *The Lemhi: Sacajawea's People* (Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1990).

7. Grace Raymond Hebard, *Sacajawea: Guide and Interpreter of Lewis and Clark* (1933; reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover, 2002), 90, 93, 288-89. Hebard was one of her first biographers. Other biographies include: James Willard Schultz, *Bird Woman (Sacajawea): The Guide of Lewis and Clark; Her Own Story Now First Given to the World* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918); Harold P. Howard, *Sacajawea* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971); Ella E. Clark and Margot Edmonds, *Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979); and, most recently, Sacagawea Project Board of the Mandan, Hidatsa & Arikara Nation, *Our Story of Eagle Woman Sacagawea: They Got It Wrong* (Orange, CA: Paragon Agency, 2021). For an account of Sacagawea's legendary role in American history, see Donna J. Kessler, *The Making of Sacagawea: A Euro-American Legend* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996). For a brief account, see Jay H. Buckley, "Sacagawea," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Sacagawea, accessed May 11, 2023.

8. Sacagawea Project Board of the Mandan, Hidatsa & Arikara Nation, *Our Story of Eagle Woman Sacagawea*, 64.

9. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:11.

10. "William Clark to Toussaint Charbonneau, August 20, 1806, Jackson, *Letters*, 1: 315-17.

11. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 8:305-6. For biographies of the Charbonneau family, see W. Dale Nelson, *Interpreters with Lewis and Clark: The Story of Sacagawea and Toussaint Charbonneau* (Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2003); Susan M. Colby, *Sacagawea's Child: The Life and Times of Jean-Baptiste (Pomp) Charbonneau* (Spokane: WA: Arthur H. Clark Co., 2005).

12. Robert J. Moore, Jr., "Pompey's Baptism," *We Proceeded On* 26:2 (February 2000): 11-17.

13. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813*, 138.

14. Moore, "Pompey's Baptism," 11-17; Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition*,138.

15. *St. Louis Court Records*; Henry Marie Brackenridge, *Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri; performed in Eighteen Hundred and Eleven*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Coale and Maxwell, 1816), cited in *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, ed., Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company, 1904), 6:32-33.

16. John C. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition*, 106.

17. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, 117; Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition*, 117.

18. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, 107.

19. Frederick Taylor, *Pomp: The Long, Adventurous Life of Sacagawea's Son* (Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse, 2004), 45.

20. Robert J. Moore, Jr., "Lisette Charbonneau's Fate," *We Proceeded On* 31:1 (February 2005): 2.

21. Jay H. Buckley, *William Clark: Indian Diplomat* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

22. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, 171.

23. "Abstract of expenditures by William Clark, Governor of Missouri Territory, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, from 1st January to 31st December 1820," *American State Papers* 2, no. 5 (Washington: Government Printing Office, U.S. Congress, 1832), 289-93.

24. Robert Dyer and Hans Von Sachsen-Altenburg, *Duke Paul of Wuerttemberg on the Missouri Frontier, 183, 1830, 1851* (Boonville, MO: Pekitancui Publications, 1998).

25. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, 179-80.

26. Larry E. Morris, "The War and the Corps: An Expedition Roster, 1812," *We Proceeded On* 44:1 (February 2018): 12.

27. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 90, 93.

28. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 111-13.

29. James Willard Schultz, *Bird Woman (Sacajawea) The Guide of Lewis and Clark: Her Own Story Now First Given to the World*, (1918; reprint, Los Angeles: Enhanced Media Publishing, 2017).

30. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 153.

31. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 118, 121.

32. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 153-54.

33. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 154-55.

34. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 156-58.

35. Dr. Eastman thought that Basil was Toussaint's son Toussaint, the son of Charbonneau and Otter Woman. Clark and Edmonds, *Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 121.

36. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 166-69.

37. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 166-69.

38. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 292.

39. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 175.

40. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 207-8. To be fair to Hebard, Luttig's journal (published in 1920) had not specifically indicated which of Charbonneau's wives died in 1812 and Stella Drumm, the editor, had made a few suppositions about the wives and children that may have influenced Hebard's assumptions. William Clark's list of Expedition members noting that Sacagawea was dead *before* 1825 was not discovered until 1955 by Dale Morgan, twenty-two years after Hebard's biography of Sacajawea was published. Clark's vital list finally appeared in print in Donald Jackson's *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* in the 1960s and again in 1978.

41. According to the Strong Jaw account. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 20-27.

42. Summary of Sacagawea's grandson Bulls Eye account. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 48-51.

43. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 161.

44. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 274.

45. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 278.

46. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 278.

47. Calvin Grinnell, "Another View of Sakakawea," *We Proceeded On* 25:2 (May 1999): 16-19; Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 52-54, 61-62, 64-65, 67, 69-70, 280.

48. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 154, 163. The Bulls Eye account shared with Dr. Eastman and recounted to Major Welch and others contained inconsistencies the Hidatsas assume were not the interviewee's fault. Welch suggested Eastman did not obtain the complete account from those he interviewed because he was Sioux, traditionally enemies of the Hidatsas. An alternate version of the account appears on pages 130-34.

49. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 20-27.

50. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 27.

51. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 29-34.

52. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 166-69.

53. Eva Emery Dye, *The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark* (Chicago: McClurg, 1902).

54. Eva Emery Dye, "Book Review: *Sacajawea* by Grace Raymond Hebard," *Washington Historical Quarterly* 24:2 (April 1933): 149-50.

55. Ronald Laycock, "The Sacagawea of Eva Emery Dye," *We Proceeded On* 38:3 (August 2012): 32.

56. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 152.

57. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 56.

58. Clark and Edmond, *Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 65.

59. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 96.

60. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 156-58.

61. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 274.

62. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 157-58.

63. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 51, 161-63.

64. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 103, 105.

65. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 51.

66. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 20-27.

67. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 185.

68. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 172-73.

69. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 3:232-33, 9:95.

70. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 3:327-28.

71. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 4:415-17.

72. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 9:191-92, 5:109-13.

73. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 5:119-23.

74. Moore, "Pompey's Baptism," 11.

75. Brackenridge, *Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, 32-33.

76. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 3:291.

77. Moulton, ed., *Journals*, 3:232-33.

78. Clark and Edmond, *Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 89.

79. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition*, 107.

80. Howard, *Sacajawea*, 170.

81. "William Clark to Toussaint Charbonneau, August 20, 1806, Jackson, ed., *Letters*, 1: 315-17.

82. "Abstract of expenditures by William Clark," 289-93.

83. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, 178.

84. Moore, "Lisette Charbonneau's Fate," 2.

85. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, 117.

86. Moore, "Lisette Charbonneau's Fate," 2.

87. Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition*, 106.

88. Brackenridge, *Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, 32-33.

89. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, 117.

90. Brackenridge, *Journal of a Voyage Up the River Missouri*, 32-33; Luttig, *Journal of a Fur-trading Expedition*, 107.

91. Morris, *The Fate of the Corps*, and Taylor, *Pomp*, document this history.

92. Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 211.

93. Albert Furtwangler, "Sacagawea's Son: New Evidence from Germany," *Oregon Historical Quarterly* 102:4 (Winter 2001): 518-23; Hebard, *Sacajawea*, 254-60 relates the testimony of Andrew Basil, son of Basil.

94. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 285-96.

95. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 287-90. According to Hidatsa accounts, Jean Baptiste also fathered two daughters, Louise or Luisa, and Maria Catarina Charguana.

96. Sacagawea Project, *Eagle Woman*, 285-91.

Sacagawea in the Journals of Lewis and Clark

November 4, 1804	Sacagawea first appears at construction site of Fort Mandan
November 11, 1804	Charbonneau's wife (presumably Sacagawea) brings four buffalo robes as gifts (or trade items) to Fort Mandan construction site
December 7, 1804	Charbonneau's wives butcher buffalo calf
December 25, 1804	Sacagawea a passive observer of the Christmas events at Fort Mandan, including a dance
February 11, 1805	Gives birth to Jean Baptiste Charbonneau at or near Fort Mandan, Rene Jusseaume attending
April 7, 1805	Listed by Clark in year-two personnel list as Expedition departs from Fort Mandan
April 9, 1805	Digs Jerusalem artichokes and presents them to Lewis for scientific evaluation
April 29, 1805	Whitehouse reports that Sacagawea says bighorn sheep are common in Rocky Mountains
May 8, 1805	Digs up wild licorice and wild artichokes and presents them to Captain Lewis
May 14, 1805	Saves items floating out of White Pirogue
May 20, 1805	Lewis names river in Montana Sâh-câ-gar me-âh or Bird Woman's River
June 10, 1805	Sacagawea desperately ill for ten days at the Great Falls; Lewis fears she will die
June 29, 1805	Sacagawea, Clark, and Jean Baptiste caught in flash flood at the Great Falls of the Missouri
July 22, 1805	Recognizes the terrain around Three Forks from her childhood
August 8, 1805	Recognizes Beaverhead Rock in her Shoshone homeland
August 14, 1805	Charbonneau strikes Sacagawea at dinner; Clark rebukes him
August 17, 1805	Interprets for the Expedition at the Shoshone camp; recognizes her brother Cameahwait; dances for joy
August 24, 1805	Lewis gives trade items to Charbonneau so he can buy a horse for Sacagawea and Jean Baptiste
October 13, 1805	Clark declares that Sacagawea "reconciles" the Natives on the Columbia River to the presence and peaceful intentions of the Corps of Discovery
November 20, 1805	Captains convince Sacagawea to give up her blue-beaded belt so they can obtain robe of sea otter skins
November 24, 1805	Plebiscite at the Pacific Ocean; Sacagawea prefers a camp location with "potas"
November 30, 1805	Sacagawea gives Clark a piece of bread (from flour) she had been preserving long after the last baking of bread
December 3, 1805	Breaks up elk's shank bones and prepares a meal for ailing Clark of marrow and grease
December 25, 1805	Sacagawea gives Clark two dozen white weasel's tails for Christmas
January 6, 1806	Sacagawea challenges the captains, saying she wants to go on the whale excursion and will not be left behind
May 11, 1806	Sacagawea interprets in meeting with the Nez Perce
May 23, 1806	Jean Baptiste Charbonneau seriously ill with fever and swollen neck
July 13, 1806	Clark acknowledges that Sacagawea "has been of great Service to me as a pilot through this Country"
August 17, 1806	Expedition pays off and says farewell to the Charbonneau family

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