

## Toussaint Charbonneau

### In the Pacific North in 1805

#### By Chalk Courchane

Toussaint Charbonneau, son of Jean Baptiste Charbonneau and Marguete Deneau, was born about March 20, 1767 in Boucherville, Quebec (near Montréal), a community with strong links to exploration and the fur trade. Programme de recherche en démographie historique at the Université de Montréal and [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint\\_Charbonneau](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint_Charbonneau). His paternal great grandmother Marguerite De Noyon was the sister of Jacques de Noyon who had explored the region around Kaministiquia (Thunder Bay) in 1688.

“Charbonneau worked for a time as a fur trapper with the North West Company usually at Pine Fork on the Assiniboine River. John MacDonell' recorder of one of their expeditions, first noted Charbonneau in their historical journal. The Journal of John MacDowell, 1793-1795, which is in the Masson Papers in the Public Archives of Canada in Ottawa. MacDowell mentioned Charbonneau in many routine entries over the next couple of years, as he moved supplies from place to place, MacDonell wrote on May 30, 1795: "Tousst. Charbonneau was stabbed at the Manitou-a-banc end of the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba in the act of committing a Rape upon her Daughter by an old Saultier woman with a Canoe Awl—a fate he highly deserved for his brutality— It was with difficulty he could walk back over the portage." [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint\\_Charbonneau](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint_Charbonneau).

Charbonneau is said to have been married to two women at the same time. This came about when he purchased two captive Shoshone women: Sacagawea (Bird Woman) daughter of a Shoshone chief No Retreat and Fragrant Herbs (<http://familytreemaker.genealogy.com/users/h/i/b/Lynnette-A-Hibbert-carroll/WEBSITE-0001/UHP-0119.html>), who was born about 1788 in the Lemhi River Valley, Idaho, and "Otter Woman" also called a Shoshone, from the Hidatsa. The Hidatsas had captured these two young women on one of their annual raiding and hunting parties to the west. Charbonneau eventually considered these women to be his wives, though whether they were bound through custom or simply in the custom of the country. And third wife was Marie Lovelette. From A Charbonneau Family Portrait - by Irving W. Anderson, pp 1-20: Excerpt p-11. Toussaint's genealogy proves he was not a half-breed as Grace Raymond Hebard in her book Sacajawea indicated his parents were J. Baptiste and Marguerite Deniau. This is from the Dictionary of Charbonneau Marriages by Dominic Charbonneau, published 1973, it is in French and Toussaint was married 8 Feb 1805." In a Letter posted 22 Feb. 2000 by Paul Charbonneau .

“Toussaint Charbonneau, the "husband" of Sacagawea and the father of Jean Baptiste, was French-Canadian fur trader living among the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians when Lewis and Clark made their winter encampment at Fort Mandan in North Dakota near the end of 1804. Little is known of Charbonneau's early life except that he was born in the vicinity of Montreal, Canada

Toussaint Charbonneau

about 1759. Toussaint apparently led an itinerant life during his apprenticeship in the fur trade, shuttling from one post to another on the Canadian frontier. Fragmentary records show him employed as an engage [laborer] with the North West Company between 1793 and 1796, when he moved to Metaharta Village on the Knife River [North Dakota], and established himself as a free agent among the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians. At Metaharta, Charbonneau purchased two slave girls to be his wives, one of them being in the Shoshoni, Sacagawea.

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark's Corps of Discovery was commissioned by President Thomas Jefferson, they were to follow the Missouri River northwest to see if it connected to the Columbia River, and also to explore and map the country they traveled over which was acquired in the Louisiana Purchase. They were also to study the plants, animals, geography and natural resources. The expedition lasted from May, 1804 to September, 1806. They had wintered and trained at Camp Dubois, Indiana Territory which they left on March 14, 1804 to meet Captain Lewis in St. Louis and take off from there through country along the Missouri, River passing the future cities of Kansas City and Omaha. On August 20, 1804 Sergeant Charles Floyd died, he was the only member of the party to die on the expedition. On up the Missouri they had difficulties with the Sioux over a stolen horse. After nearly coming to war with the Sioux the expedition pushed on to the Arikara country.

Roster of Men in the Corps of Discovery:

1. Captain Meriwether Lewis (1774-1809)
2. 2<sup>nd</sup> Lt. William Clark (1770-1838)
3. Sgt. Charles Floyd (1782-1804)
4. Sgt. Patrick Gass (1771-1870)
5. Sgt. John Ordway (abt 1775-abt 1817)
6. Sgt. Nathaniel Hale Pryor (1772-1831)
7. Pvt. John Boley (no dates)
8. Pvt. William E. Bratton (1778-1841)
9. Pvt. John Collins (?-1823)
10. Pvt. John Colter (abt 1775-1813)
11. Pvt. Pierre Cruzat (no dates)
12. Pvt. John Dame (1784-?)
13. Interpreter George Drouillard (?-1810)
14. Pvt. Joseph Field (abt. 1772-1807)
15. Pvt. Reuben Field (brother of Joseph) (abt 1771-abt 1823)
16. Pvt. Robert Frazer (?-1837)
17. Pvt. George Gibson (?-1809)
18. Pvt. Silas Goodrich (dates unknown)
19. Pvt. Hugh Hall (ca. 1772-?).
20. Pvt. Thomas Proctor Howard (1779-?).
21. Pvt. Francois Labiche (dates unknown)
22. Pvt. Hugh McNeal (dates unknown)
23. Pvt. John Newman (ca. 1785-1838)
24. Pvt. John Potts (1776-1808)
25. Pvt. Moses B. Reed (no dates)
26. Pvt. John Robertson (ca. 1780-)
27. Pvt. George Shannon (1785-1836)
28. Pvt. John Shields (1769-1809)
29. Pvt. John B. Thompson (no dates)
30. Pvt. Ebenezer Tuttle (1773-?)
31. Cpl. Richard Warfington (1777-?).
32. Pvt. Peter M. Weiser (1781-?).
33. Pvt. William Werner (no dates)
34. Pvt. Isaac White (ca. 1774-?).
35. Pvt. Joseph Whitehouse (abt 1775-)
36. Pvt. Alexander Hamilton Willard (1778-1865)
37. Pvt. Richard Windsor (no dates)
38. York (ca. 1770-?).
39. *Engagé* E. Cann (no dates)
40. *Engagé* Charles Caugee (no dates)
41. *Engagé* Joseph Collin
42. *Engagé* Jean Baptiste Deschamps
43. *Engagé* Charles Hebert
44. *Engagé* Jean Baptiste La Jeunesse ( - 1806)
45. *Engagé* La Liberté
46. *Engagé* Etienne Malboeuf (ca. 1775-?).
47. *Engagé* Peter Pinaut (ca. 1776-)
48. *Engagé* Paul Primeau
49. *Engagé* Francois Rivet (ca.

## Toussaint Charbonneau

1757–1852)

50. *Engagé* Peter Roi
51. Interpreter Toussaint  
Charbonneau
52. Interpreter Jean Baptiste  
Lepage
53. Sacagawea
54. Jean Baptiste Charbonneau

(Private John Colter (ca. 1775–1813). Colter, probably the only member of the Corps whose fame does not rest primarily on his service with the expedition, was born in Virginia. As a youth, he and his family moved to Maysville, Kentucky, where he intercepted Lewis on the captain's voyage down the Ohio, becoming one of the nine young men from Kentucky. His enlistment dates from October 15, 1803. After some disciplinary difficulties during the winter at River Dubois, he proved useful to the expedition as a hunter. On the return journey he received permission to leave the party at the Mandan villages to join a small trapping expedition headed back up the Missouri. He spent an additional four years in the mountains as an independent trapper and working for Manuel Lisa's Missouri Fur Company. In his wanderings he was apparently the first white man to see the region of present Yellowstone Park, and his tales of hot springs and geysers led to derisive jokes about "Colter's Hell." His escape, naked, from the Blackfeet near the Three Forks of the Missouri has become a western legend. On his return to civilization in 1810 he was able to add information to Clark's great map of the West. Settling in Missouri, Colter married; he died in 1813 of jaundice. Clarke (MLCE), 46–48; Haines; Vinton; Harris.) [http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?\\_xmlsrc=lc.toc.xml](http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?_xmlsrc=lc.toc.xml)

(Private Pierre Cruzatte (dates unknown). Often referred to as "Peter Cruzat" and other variations in the journals, he was half French and half Omaha. His official enlistment date was May 16, 1804, at St. Charles, Missouri, but he may have been recruited earlier. He was an experienced Missouri River boatman who had already participated in the Indian trade as far as Nebraska and was hired for his skill and experience. Unlike the other French boatmen, he and Francois Labiche were enlisted as members of the permanent party. He was one-eyed and nearsighted, and his fiddle playing often entertained the party. At times he also acted as an interpreter. Lewis paid tribute during the expedition to his skill and experience as a riverman and to his integrity, but in the post expedition list of members he receives no special recommendation; this is perhaps because the myopic Cruzatte had accidentally wounded Lewis while the two were hunting in August 1806. Speculation places him with John McClellan's expedition to the Rockies in 1807. Clark lists him as "killed" by 1825–28. Clarke (MCLE), 62–63; Jackson (LLC) 1:371 n. 8; Clark's List of Expedition Members [ca. 1825–28], *ibid.*, 2:638; Majors 573.) [http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?\\_xmlsrc=lc.toc.xml](http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?_xmlsrc=lc.toc.xml)

(Engagé Francois Rivet (ca. 1757–1852). Born at Montreal, Rivet, also referred to as "Reevev" and such variations, came to the Mississippi Valley at an early age and engaged in hunting and trading in Louisiana. He may have left the return party of 1805 at the Arikara villages. He soon headed up the Missouri again, perhaps with Manuel Lisa's trading company, for about 1809 he was in the Flathead country of northwest Montana, where he married and fathered two sons. In 1813 he was employed by the North West Company among the Flatheads, and was still there in 1824, working as both trapper and interpreter. In 1829 he transferred to Fort Colville on the upper Columbia, and in 1832, at the age of seventy-five, he was placed in charge of the post by the Hudson's Bay Company. After retiring in 1838 he settled in the Willamette Valley in Oregon. Clarke (MLCE), 66–67; Munnick (FR).") [http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?\\_xmlsrc=lc.toc.xml](http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?_xmlsrc=lc.toc.xml)

“Engagé E. Cann (dates unknown). He appears in Clark's list of *engagés* under July 4, 1804. Elsewhere in the journals that name appears in versions that have been deciphered as "Carr," "Cane," and "Carn"; some of the variation may be due to Clark's handwriting, not his spelling. Cann was presumably with the return party of 1805. He has been identified as Alexander Carson (ca. 1775–1836), a relative of Christopher "Kit" Carson, on the basis of a second-hand account stating that Carson claimed to have come to the mountains with Lewis and Clark; there is no more direct evidence. Cann was perhaps born in Mississippi and wintered with the Arikaras in 1809–10. In 1811 he joined the overland Astorians led by Wilson Price Hunt, crossing the Rockies with them, and spent a number of years trapping in the mountains and on the Columbia, working for the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. In 1833 he settled permanently in the Willamette Valley in Oregon and was killed by Indians in 1836. Clarke (MLCE), 68–69; Jackson (LLC), 1:373 endnote; Stoller.” [http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?\\_xmlsrc=lc.toc.xml](http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?_xmlsrc=lc.toc.xml)

In the winter of 1804–05, the party built Fort Mandan, in North Dakota. In the Mandan territory they set up camp, and for several days Lewis and Clark met in council with Mandan Indian chiefs. Here they met a French-Canadian fur trapper named Toussaint Charbonneau, and his young Shoshone wife Sacagawea. When the Lewis and Clark Expedition left North Dakota in April of 1805 on its westward trek, Charbonneau was engaged as interpreter, accompanied by Sacagawea who was to act as interpreter through Toussaint.” Charbonneau Family Portrait - by Irving W.

Anderson, pp 1-20: Excerpt p-11.

Captain (Lt.) William Clark wrote:

“April 1st 1805 we have Thunder lightning hail and rain to day the first rain of note Since the 15 of October last, I had the Boat Perogus & Canos put in the water, and expect to Set off the boat with despatches in her will go 6 Americans 3 frenchmen, and perhaps Several ricarra Chief imediately after we Shall assend in 2 perogus & 6 canoes, accompanied by 5 french who intends to assend a Short distance to trap the beavr which is in great abundance highr up our party will consist of one Interpter & Hunter, one French man as an interpreter with his two wives (this man Speaks Minetary to his wives who are L hiatars or Snake Indians of the nations through which we Shall pass, and to act as interpretress thro him[)]— 26 americans & french my servant and an Mandan Indian and provisions for 4 months.” “Apparently the captains intended to take both of Charbonneau's wives along, but something unrecorded happening in the last few days at Fort Mandan resulted in Sacagawea's being the only one actually to make the trip.”

[http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?\\_xmlsrc=1805-04-01.xml&\\_xslsrc=LCstyles.xsl](http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu/read/?_xmlsrc=1805-04-01.xml&_xslsrc=LCstyles.xsl)

“They followed the Missouri to it’s headwaters, and over the Continental Divide at Lemhi Pass. In canoes, they descended the mountains by the Clearwater River, the Snake River, and the Columbia River, past Celilo Falls and past what is now Portland, Oregon at the meeting of the Willamette and Columbia Rivers.” [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis\\_and\\_Clark\\_Expedition](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lewis_and_Clark_Expedition)

“Charbonneau knew how critical Sacagawea would be to Lewis and Clark when dealing with the Shoshone, so he attempted to dictate the terms of his employment. When the captains told him he would have to perform the duties of enlisted men and stand regular guard, Charbonneau flatly rejected their offer. As Lewis recorded, Charbonneau’s replied, “[L]et our Situation be what it may he will not agree to work or Stand a guard...[In addition] If miffed with any man he wishes to return when he pleases, also have the disposial of as much provisions as he Chuses to Carry.” The captains’ response: “In admissable.” They told Charbonneau to move out of the fort with his family, and then promptly hired Joseph Gravelines as an interpreter.

Four days later, for whatever reason, Charbonneau offered his apologies and the captains signed him on. He was one of only five people on the expedition (York, Drouillard, Charbonneau, Sacagawea, Jean Baptiste) who were not in the military. Charbonneau and Drouillard were the only two official interpreters of the expedition.” <http://www.pbs.org/lewisandclark/inside/tchar.html>

“Except for some episodes during the course of the Lewis and Clark Expedition that drew attention to certain of his undesirable traits. Toussaint Charbonneau apparently discharged his prescribed duties in a satisfactory manner. Notwithstanding, virtually every recorder of the journey and the lives of its members, including producers of both fiction and non-fiction, has cast Toussaint as a ne'er-do-well scoundrel. Upon closer examination of the context of the time, place, and social values under which he lived, it is apparent that this characterization of Toussaint is overly critical. Instead, it appears that he was merely a product of his time, an opportunist who, throughout his life,

Toussaint Charbonneau

took advantage of favorable situations and turned them to his own personal gain.” Charbonneau Family Portrait - by Irving W. Anderson, pp 1-20: Excerpt p-11.

“Most of Charbonneau's positive contributions to the expedition itself were overshadowed by the incident with the "white pirogue." The party noted that on May 14, 1805, the pirogue guided by Charbonneau was hit by a gust of wind, to which he turned broadside. He lost control to the point that Pierre Cruzatte, in the boat with him, threatened to shoot him if he did not regain his composure, but to no avail. Charbonneau nearly capsized the boat, which would have meant the loss of valuable equipment and papers. Meriwether Lewis was irate, writing that Charbonneau was "perhaps the most timid waterman in the world." [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint\\_Charbonneau](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint_Charbonneau)

Also this: “In fact, Charbonneau’s lack of boating skills created two near disasters on the River. On April 13, just a few days after leaving Fort Mandan, Charbonneau was at the helm of one of the pirogues. When a sudden wind hit and rocked the boat, the French Canadian panicked and instead of bringing the boat into the wind, he laid her broadside to it, almost “oversetting the perogue as it was possible to have missed.” Drouillard had to take the helm to correct the situation. Despite this near-disaster, only a month later, as the Corps moved upriver from the Yellowstone, Charbonneau was again temporarily relieving Drouillard at the helm of the white pirogue. The boat contained papers, books, instruments, medicines, and many of the trade goods -- “almost every article indispensably necessary to further the views, or insure the success of our enterprise,” according to Lewis.

“Again, a sudden squall hit the boat obliquely and turned it. Charbonneau swung the rudder around so as to bring the full force of the wind against the square sail. The sail rope flew out of the hand of the person holding it, the pirogue turned over on its side, and the water began pouring in. By the time the crew took in the sail and righted the boat, it was filled with water to within an inch of the gunnels and articles had begun to float away. Cruzatte, a shipmate, threatened to shoot Charbonneau immediately if he did not take up the rudder and regain control. Sacagawea, who was in the back of the boat, remained calm and recovered most of the light articles as they floated past. The next two days were spent unpacking, drying and repacking the soaked supplies, papers, and medicine. Losses included some medicine, gunpowder, garden seeds and culinary articles. Afterward, Lewis did not overly fault Charbonneau’s inept steersmanship, writing: “...the waves [were] so high that a perogue could scarcely live in any situation.” <http://www.pbs.org/lewisandclark/inside/tchar.html>

“Afterward, Lewis did not seem to fault Charbonneau's behavior excessively in the boating accident, as he wrote: Charbono cannot swim and is perhaps the most timid waterman in the world...the waves [were] so high that a perogue could scarcely live in any situation." With respect to his image as a wife-beater, and Lewis's appraisal of him, Dennis R. Ottoson, in his article "Toussaint Charbonneau, a Most Durable Man" [1976], puts these two matters in perspective, in defense of Toussaint. As Ottoson notes, there is only a single entry in the expedition journals which refers to Charbonneau's striking Sacagawea. It was a domestic quarrel

and, in the circumstances of that time and place, has been blown out of proportion by romanticists. Similarly, Ottoson observes that only the two Canadian members of the expedition, Jean Baptiste LePage and Toussaint Charbonneau, who were recruited at Fort Mandan, were found by the "intensely xenophobic Lewis" to be entitled to "no peculiar merit." Toussaint may be unpopular in the minds of his present day critics for his unseemly antics, but in one pursuit, both during the expedition and in his later life, he was greatly admired. This was his artistry as a gourmet chef. Virtually every traveler to the upper Missouri who was in company with Toussaint for any length of time documented his culinary delight, boudin blanc. Meriwether Lewis, a man not normally inclined toward humor in any form, devoted two pages of his journal to his chef, indulging in a rare display of subtle banter while describing Toussaint's specialty, "a boudin (poudingue) blanc, a white pudding we all esteem one of the greatest delicacies of the forest". Charbonneau used about six feet of "the lower extremity of the large gut of the Buffaloe" which he stuffed with chopped buffalo meat and seasonings. This he "baptised in the missourie with two dips and a flirt," then boiled it and fried it "with bears oil untill it becomes brown, when it is ready to esswage the pangs of a keen appetite. "

Sergeant Patrick Gass wrote:

"Monday 1st July, 1805. A fine day. In the afternoon, Captain Clarke and the men came with all the baggage except some they had left six miles back. The hail that fell on the 27th hurt some of the men very badly. Captain Clarke, the interpreter, and the squaw and child, had gone to see the spring at the falls; and when the storm began, they took shelter under a bank at the mouth of a run; but in five minutes there was seven feet water in the run; and they were very near being swept away. They lost a gun, an umbrella and a Surveyor's compass, and barely escaped with their lives." And Whitehouse wrote on the same day:

"July 1st Monday 1805. pleasant and warm. we continued on with the Iron boat as usual. about 3 o'clock Capt. Clark and party arrived with the last canoe and the most of the baggage. the remainder left only out at the 6 mile Stake. they informed us that the wet weather was what detained them and that they were out in the hail Storm but as luck would have it, the hail was not So big as they were here. Capt. Clark was at the falls at the time had hunted a Shelter in a deep creek with out water when he went in but before the Shower was over the creek rose So fast that he and 3 more who were with him had Scarsely time to git out before the water was ten feet deep. Capt. Clark lost the large Compass a fusiee pouch & horn powder & ball, and Some cloaths &c. the party who were halling Some of them like to have lost their lives, being nearly naked and the most of them without any hats on their heads or anything to cover them and under went as much as any men could and live through it.

Monday July 1st This morning pleasant and warm; the party at the upper Camp were all employ'd in fitting out the Iron boat as usual.— About 3 o'clock P. M Captain Clarke & his party arrived, with the last of our Craft, and part of the baggage, the remainder being left, at the 6 mile stake, they informed us that they were detained by the wet weather, and that they had been out in the

hailstorm, but that the hail was not so large, as that, which fell with us at the upper camp; Captain Clarke was at the falls of the River, at the time the hail fell, and had hunted a shelter for himself, & party from the Rain & hail.— This sheltering place, was in a deep Creek, without any Water in it, at the time it first began raining; & he mentioned that before the shower was over; the Creek rose so fast, that he and those with him, had scarcely time to get out, before the Water was ten feet deep in that Creek— Captain Clarke had lost at that place, a large compass, a fusee, pouch & powder horn, powder, & Ball and some Cloathing &ca The party that was hawling the Crafts, had nearly all lost their lives, being nearly naked, and the most part of them without hats, (on their heads,) or any thing to cover them, They had no shelter & were Cut and bruised very much by the hail, and under went, as much as Men could possibly endure; to escape with their lives.”

Meriwether Lewis wrote on August 1, 1805:

“At half after 8 A. M. we halted for breakfast and as had been previously agreed on between Capt. Clark and myself I set out with 3 men in quest of the Snake Indians. the men I took were the two Interpreters Drewyer and Sharbono and Sergt. Gass who by an accedental fall had so disabled himself that it was with much pain he could work in the canoes tho' he could march with convenience. the rout we took lay over a rough high range of mountains on the North side of the river. the river entered these mountains a few miles above where we left it. Capt Clark recommended this rout to me from a belief that the river as soon as it past the mountains boar to the N. of W. he having a few days before ascended these mountains to a position from which he discovered a large valley passing between the mountains and which boar to the N. West. this however poved to be the inlet of a large creek which discharged itself into the river just above this range of mountains, the river bearing to the S. W. we were therefore thrown several miles out of our rout. as soon as we discovered our mistake we directed our course to the river which we at length gained about 2 P. M. much exhausted by the heat of the day the roughnes of the road and the want of water. the mountains are extreemly bare of timber and our rout lay through the steep valleys exposed to the heat of the sun without shade and scarcely a breath of air; and to add to my fatiegue in this walk of about 11 miles I had taken a doze of glauber salts in the morning in consequence of a slight desentary with which I had been afflicted for several days; being weakened by the disorder and the opperation of the medecine I found myself almost exhausted before we reached the river. I felt my sperits much revived on our near approach to the river at the sight of a herd of Elk of which Drewyer and myself killed two. we then hurried to the river and allayed our thirst. I ordered two of the men to skin the Elk and bring the meat to the river while myself and the other prepared a fire and cooked some of the meat for our dinner. we made a comfortable meal of the Elk and left the ballance of the meat on the bank of the river the party with Capt. Clark. this supply was no doubt very acceptable to them as they had had no fresh meat for near two days except one beaver Game being very scarce and shy. we had seen a few deer and some goats but had not been fortunate enough to kill any of them. after dinner we resumed our march and encamped about 6 m. above on the Stard side of the river.”

Sergeant John Ordway was to write on the same day:

“Thursday, August the first 1805. a fine morning we Set out as usual, and proceeded on. Some of the hunters killed a goose and a beaver. about 8 oClock A. m. we halted took breakfast under a handsome ceeder tree on S. Side. Capt. Lewis, Sergt. Gass, G. Drewyer and our Intrepter Sharbonoe Set out to go on by land 4 or 5 days expecting to find Some Indians. we proceeded on the current Swift. we find currents of different kinds as usual, and wild or choak cherries which are now gitting ripe. the hills & gin to git higher and more pine timber on them, and ceeder along the River. we passed clifts of rocks about 500 feet from the Surface of the water. considerable of pine timber along the Sides of the hills. Saw Some timber or trees along the Shores, resembling ceeder which Some call juniper wood. about noon Capt. Clark killed a Mountain Sheep out of a flock on the Side of a redish hill or clifts on L. Side he Shot it across the River and the rest of the flock ran up the clifts which was nearly Steep. the one killed roled down Some distance when it fell. we got it and dined hearty on it. we proceeded on. passed over a bad rapid at the upper end of an Island jest above high rough clifts of rocks. the towing line of the Captains canoe broke in the pitch of the rapid and the canoe was near turning over nocking again the rocks. little further up passed a creek or large Spring run, which came in on L. S. and ran rapid. came to a large valley which Capt. Clark had Seen before when he came up a fiew days ago. passed large bottoms covered with timber, on each Side of the River. Saw a white bear. took on board 2 Elk which Capt. Lewis had killed and left for us. the hunters killed in these bottoms 5 deer this evening. passed the mouth of a large creek on the Stard. Side and a Spring. came 13½ miles and Camped on the Lard. Side in a bottom of cotton timber. high hills on each Side, and Saw the mountain a Short distance to the South of us.”

Patrick Gass wrote on the same day:

Thursday 1st August, 1805. We set out early in a fine morning and proceeded on till breakfast time; when Capt. Lewis, myself and the two interpreters went on ahead to look for some of the Snake Indians. Our course lay across a large mountain on the north side, over which we had a very fatiguing trip of about 11 miles. We then came to the river again, and found it ran through a handsome valley of from 6 to 8 miles wide. At the entrance of this valley, which is covered with small bushes, but has very little timber, we killed two elk and left the meat for the canoes to take up, as the men stood much in need of it, having no fresh provisions on hand. We crossed a small creek on the north shore, and encamped on the same side.”

And on the same day Private Joseph Whitehouse writes:

Thursday 1st day of August 1805. a clear morning. we Set out as usual and proceeded on. Some of the men killed a goose & a beaver about 8 oClock A. M. we took breakfast under Some handsome ceeder trees on S. Side. Capt. Lewis Sergt. Gass Sharbonoe & Drewyer Set out by land to go on up the River to make discoveries &c expecting to find Indians &c. we proceeded on. find currents as usual and choak cherrys along the River. the current Swift the hills higher and more pine and ceeder timber on them. we passed high clifts about 500 feet high in many places. considerable of pine on the Sides of the hills all the hills rough and uneven. at noon Capt. Clark killed a mountain Sheep, on the side of a Steep redish hills or clifts the remainder of the flock run



up the Steep cliffs. the one killed roled down Some distance So we got it and dined eairnestly on it. it being Capt. Clarks birth day he ordered Some flour gave out to the party. we Saw Some timber along the Shores resembling ceeder which Some call Juniper, which had a delightfull Shade. I left my Tommahawk on the Small Island where we lay last night, which makes me verry Sorry that I forgot it as I had used it common to Smoak in. proceeded on passed verry high rigid cliffs, and a bad rapid at the upper end of a Small Island the toe rope broke of the Capts. perogue and it was in danger of upsetting. passed a Spring run or creek on L. Side. came in to a valley. passed bottoms of timber and the mouth of a large creek on S. Side, and a Spring also. we came 13½ miles and Caped opposite the Spring in a fine bottom covered with cotton timber and thick bushes &c. Saw a white bear. the hunters killed 5 deer we took on board 2 Elk which Capt. Lewis had killed and left on Shore for us. Saw Snow on the Mountains a Short distance to the South of us.

Thursday August 1st This morning, Clear & pleasant. We set out as usual, and proceeded on our Voyage, some of our party killed a Goose and a Beaver. We halted about 8 o'Clock A. M— where we stopped & took breakfast under some handsome Cedar trees, lying on the South side of the River. Captain Lewis, Serjeant Gass & George Drewyer, and Sharbono ((who) the latter of which men had joined us at the Mandan Village,) set out shortly after, to go by land, up Jefferson River, in Order to make discoveries, & to try & find out some Indians. We proceeded on, and found Currants, & Choke cherries growing along the Shores in great abundance. the current of the River still running very strong against us; and the hills appearing to us, to be much higher, and more Pine & Cedar growing on them, than those we have passed for several days past, We passed some very high Clifts, of Rocks which were in many places 1,200 feet high &— on the sides of the hills we saw considerable quantities of Pine & Cedar Trees growing. About noon Captain Clark killed a mountain Sheep or Ibex, out of a flock, which were on the side of Steep reddish hills or Clifts.

The remainder of the Flock of mountain sheep or Ibex, ran up the steep Clifts, out of Gunshot, and to such a heighth as is most incredible— The Mountain sheep that was killed, rolled down the Hill, and we got it.— We stopped at this place to dine, which was amongst the high Clifts, and it being Captain Clarkes birth day; he ordered some flour to be served out to the party, which with the mountain Sheep made us an excellent meal,— We proceeded on at 3 o'Clock P. M. and passed by some Trees, growing along the Shore; which resembled in look the Cedar Tree, but it was what is called the Wild Juniper, This Tree afforded a most delightfull shade. we also passed very high rugged Clifts, lying on both sides of the River, and a very bad Rapid, at the upper end of an Island; where the Tow Rope broke of the Canoe, that Captain Clarke was on board & it had nearly upset. We came by a Run or Creek, which lies on the South side of the River, and came in at a Valley, & bottoms of timber'd land, the Mouth of a large Creek, and a large Spring lying also on the South side of the River, We came 13½ Miles this day & encamped opposite this spring, in a bottom covered with Cotton wood Timber, & thick Brush.— We saw a White or brown Bear on the hills some distance from our Camp. The hunters who were on Shore since morning,

returned to us, and had killed 5 Deer which we took on board the Canoes & also 2 Elk which Captain Lewis & party had killed and left at this place for us, We also saw Snow on the Mountains, a short distance to the South of our Camp.”

“Two brief statements in Clark's 1805 journal hint at Charbonneau's having a quick temper, but give no details. On August 14, Clark said he "checked our interpreter for Strikeing his woman at their Dinner." (Yet, he had been concerned when she was very ill on June 15, to the point of begging to be released from his contract so he could take her home.) On August 25, at the height of crucial negotiations for Shoshone horses, he got crosswise with Lewis, who "could not forbear speaking to him with some degree of asperity." On October 10, 1805, Clark recorded that "a miss understanding took place between Shabono one of our interpreters, and Jo. & R Fields which appears to have originated in just [jest]." An unexplained statement by Clark on October 27 noted "Some words with Shabono our interpreter about his duty." <http://lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2664>

On August 14, 1805, Charbonneau struck Sacagawea during a domestic argument, and was told to stop by Clark. This one incident has led to Charbonneau's reputation as a "wife beater," although it was the only time during the expedition that this type of behavior was noted. Coupled with the rape incident described above, however, Charbonneau seems to have been a sometimes violent person with little regard for women. His consistent record of marrying Indian girls under age 16 also makes one wonder about a possible need to exhibit power over women. On October 27, 1805, at the "Fort Rock Camp" at the Dalles, Oregon, it was noted in the journals that Clark had to reprimand Charbonneau "about his duty," a statement which was not elaborated upon but perhaps referred to camp chores or guard duty.”

<http://www.nps.gov/jeff/historyculture/toussaintcharbonneau.htm>

His skill in striking a bargain came in handy when the expedition acquired much-needed horses at the Shoshone encampment. “Charbonneau was the oldest member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition's permanent party, and he would outlive most of his fellows as he followed the rigorous life of a fur trader, guide, and interpreter. In fact, the fur trade had put him in place to meet the captains and join their expedition.” <http://lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2664>

“The expedition faced its second bitter winter, and on November 24, 1805 voted on whether to camp on the south side of the Columbia river (modern Astoria, Oregon), building Fort Clatsop. Because Sacagawea and Clark's slave York were both allowed to participate in the vote, it may have been the first time in American history where a woman and a slave were allowed to vote. Lack of food was a major factor, the Elk, the partie's main source of food had retreated from their usual haunts into the mountains and they were now too poor to purchase enough food from neighboring tribes. Lewis was determined to remain at the fort until April 1 but was anxious to move on at the earliest opportunity. By March 22 the stormy weather had subsided and the following morning the Corps began their journey homeward using canoes, and later by land.”

Wikipedia

Lewis wrote January 1, 1806 at Fort Clatsop:

“The fort being now completed, the Commanding officers think proper to direct: that the guard shall as usual consist of one Sergeant and three privates, and that the same be regularly relieved each morning at sunrise. The post of the new guard shall be in the room of the Sergeants respectively commanding the same. the centinel shall be posted, both day and night, on the parade in front of the commanding officers quarters; tho' should he at any time think proper to remove himself to any other part of the fort, in order the better to inform himself of the designs or approach of any party of savages, he is not only at liberty, but is hereby required to do so. It shall be the duty of the centinel also to announce the arrival of all parties of Indians to the Sergeant of the Guard, who shall immediately report the same to the Commanding officers.

The Commanding Officers require and charge the Garrison to treat the natives in a friendly manner; nor will they be permitted at any time, to abuse, assault or strike them; unless such abuse assault or stroke be first given by the natives. nevertheless it shall be right for any individual, in a peaceable manner, to refuse admittance to, or put out of his room, any native who may become troublesome to him; and should such native refuse to go when requested, or attempt to enter their rooms after being forbidden to do so; it shall be the duty of the Sergeant of the guard on information of the same, to put such native out of the fort and see that he is not again admitted during that day unless specially permitted; and the Sergeant of the guard may for this purpose employ such coercive measures (not extending to the taking of life) as shall at his discretion be deemed necessary to effect the same.

When any native shall be detected in theft, the Sergt. of the guard shall immediately inform the Commanding officers of the same, to the end that such measures may be pursued with respect to the culprit as they shall think most expedient.

At sunset on each day, the Sergt. attended by the interpreter Charbono and two of his guard, will collect and put out of the fort, all Indians except such as may specially be permitted to remain by the Commanding officers, nor shall they be again admitted until the main gate be opened the ensuing morning.

At Sunset, or immediately after the Indians have been dismissed, both gates shall be shut, and secured, and the main gate locked and continue so until sunrise the next morning: the water-gate may be used freely by the Garrison for the purpose of passing and repassing at all times, tho' from sunset, until sunrise, it shall be the duty of the centinel, to open the gate for, and shut it after all persons passing and repassing, suffering the same never to remain unfixed long than is absolutely necessary.

It shall be the duty of the Sergt. of the guard to keep the kee of the Meat house, and to cause the guard to keep regular fires therein when the same may be necessary; and also once at least in 24 hours to visit the canoes and see that they are safely secured; and shall further on each morning after he is relieved, make his report verbally to the Commandg officers.—

Each of the old guard will every morning after being relieved furnish two loads of wood (each) for the commanding offercers fire.

No man is to be particularly exempt from the duty of bringing meat from the woods, nor none except the Cooks and Interpreters from that of mounting guard.

Each mess being furnished with an ax, they are directed to deposit in the room of the commanding offercers all other public tools of which they are possessed; nor (are) shall the same at any time hereafter be taken from the said deposit without the knowledge and permission of the commanding officers; and any individual so borrowing the tools are strictly required to bring the same back the moment he has ceased to use them, and no case shall they be permitted to keep them out all night.

Any individual selling or disposing of any tool or iron or steel instrument, arms, accoutrements or ammunicion, shall be deemed guilty of a breach of this order, and shall be tryed and punished accordingly.— the tools loaned to John Shields are excepted from the restrictions of this order.

Meriwether Lewis  
Capt. 1st U. S. Regt.  
Wm. Clark Capt. &c”

Lewis wrote on June 1, 1806, Sunday:

Yesterday evening Charbono an LaPage returned, having made a broken voyage. they ascended the river on this side nearly opposite to a village eight miles above us, here their led horse which had on him their merchandize, feell into the river from the side of a steep clift and swam over; they saw an indian on the opposite side whom they prevailed on to drive their horse back again to them; in swimming the river the horse lost a dressed Elkskin of LaPages and several small articles, & their paint was destroyed by the water. here they remained and dried their articles the evening of the 30th Ult. the indians at the village learning their errand and not having a canoe, made an attempt esterday morning to pass the river to them on a raft with a parsel of roots and bread in order to trade with them; the indian raft struck a rock, upset and lost thir cargo; the river having fallen heir to both merchandize and roots, our traders returned with empty bags. This morning Drewyer accompanied by Hohâst-illpilp set out in surch of two tomahawks of ours which we

have understood were in the possession of certain indians residing at a distance in the plains on the South side of the Kooskoske; the one is a tomahawk which Capt. C. left at our camp on Musquetoe Creek and the other was stolen from us while we lay at the forks of this and the Chopunnish rivers last fall. Colter and Willard set out this morning on a hunting excursion towards the quamash grounds beyond Collins's Creek. we begin to feel some anxiety with respect to Sergt. Ordway and party who were sent to Lewis's river for salmon; we have received no intelligence of them since they set out. we desired Drewyer to make some enquiry after the *Twisted hair*; the old man has not been as good as his word with respect to encamping near us, and we fear we shall be at a loss to procure from Traveller's rest to the waters of the Missouri.— I met with a singular plant today in blume of which I preserved a specimine; it grows on the steep sides of the fertile hills near this place, the radix is fibrous, not much branched, annual, woody, white and nearly smooth. the stem is simple branching ascending, 2½ feet high celindric, villose and of a pale red colour. the branches are but few and those near it's upper extremity. the extremities of the branches are flexable and are bent down near their extremities with the weight of the flowers. the leaf is sissile, scattered thinly, nearly linear tho' somewhat widest in the middle, two inches in length absolutely entire, villose, obtusely pointed and of an ordinary green. above each leaf a small short branch protrudes, supporting a tissue of four or five smaller leaves of the same apearence with those discribed. a leaf is placed underneath eah branch, and each flower. the calyx is a one flowered spathe. the corolla superior consists of four pale perple petals which are tripartite, the central lobe largest and all terminate obtusely; they are inserted with a long and narrow claw on the top of the germ, are long, smooth, & deciduous. there are two distinct sets of stamens the 1st or principal consist of four, the filaments of which are capillary, erect, inserted on the top of the germ alternately with the petals, equal short, membranous; the anthers are also four each being elivated with it's fillament, they are linear and reather flat, erect sessile, cohering at the base, membranous, longitudinally furrowed, twice as long as the fillament (and) naked, and of a pale perple colour. the second set of stamens are very minute are also four and placed within and opposite to the petals, these are scarcely persceptable while the 1st are large and conspicuous; the filaments are capillary equal, very short, white and smooth. the anthers are four, oblong, beaked, erect, cohering at the base, membranous, shorter than the fillaments, white naked and appear not to form pollen. there is one pistillum; the germ of which is also one, cilindric, villous, inferior, sessile, as long as the 1st stamens, and marked with 8 longitudinal furrows. the single style and stigma form a perfect monapetallous corolla only with this difference, that the style which elivates the stigma or limb is not a tube but solid tho' it's outer appearance is that of the tube of a monopetallous corolla swelling as it ascends and gliding in such manner into the limb that it cannot be said where the style ends, or the stigma begins; jointly they are as long as the corolla, white, the limb is four cleft, sauser shaped, and the margins of the lobes entire and rounded. this has the appearance of a monopetallous flower growing from the center of a four petalled corollar, which is rendered more conspicuous in consequence of the 1st being white and the latter of a pale perple. I regret very much that the seed of this plant are not yet ripe and it is proble will not be so during my residence in this neighbourhood.”

Clark wrote on the same day:

“Late last evening Shabono & Lapage returned, having made a broken voyage. they ascended the river on this Side nearly opposite to the Village Eight miles above us, here their led horse who had on him their Stock of Merchandise fell into the river from the Side of a Steep Clift and swam over, they Saw an indian on the opposite side whom they prevailed on to drive their horse back again to them; in swimming the horse lost a dressed Elk skin of LaPages and Several small articles, and their paint was destroyed by the water. here they remained and dried their articles the evening of the 30th ulto: the indians at the village learned their errand and not having a canoe, made an attempt Yesterday morning made an attempt to pass the river to them on a raft with a parcel of roots and bread in order to trade with them; the indian raft Struck a rock upset and lost their Cargo; the river having Swallowed both Merchandise & roots, our traders returned with empty bags. This morning Geo: Drewyer accompanied by Hohastillpilp Set out in Search of two tomahawks of ours which we have understood were in the possession of certain indians residing at a distance in the Plains on the South Side of Flat Head river; one is a pipe tomahawk which Capt L. left at our Camp on Musquetor Creek and the other was stolen from me whilst we lay at the forks of this and Chopunnish rivers last fall. Colter and Willard Set out this morning on a hunting excursion towards the quawmash grounds beyond Colins creek. we begin to feel Some anxiety with respect to Sergt. Ordway and party who were Sent to Lewis's river for salmon; we have received no intelligence of them since they Set out. we desired Drewyer to make Some enquiry after the *Twisted hair*; the old man has not been as good as his word with respect to encamping near us, and we fear we Shall be at a loss to procure guides to conduct us by the different routs we wish to pursue from Travellers rest to the waters of the Missouri.”

Lewis wrote on Tuesday, July 1, 1806:

“This morning early we sent out all our hunters. set Shields at work to repair some of our guns which were out of order Capt. Clark & my self consurted the following plan viz. from this place I determined to go with a small party by the most direct rout to the falls of the Missouri, there to leave Thompson McNeal and Goodrich to prepare carriages and gear for the purpose of transporting the canoes and baggage over the portage, and myself and six volunteers to ascend Maria's river with a view to explore the country and ascertain whether any branch of that river lies as far north as Latd. 50 and again return and join the party who are to descend the Missouri, at the entrance of Maria's river. I now called for the volunteers to accompany me on this rout, many turned out, from whom I selected Drewyer the two Feildses, Werner, Frazier and Sergt Gass accompanied me the other part of the men are to proceed with Capt Clark to the head of Jefferson's river where we deposited sundry articles and left our canoes. from hence Sergt Ordway with a party of 9 men are to descend the river with the canoes; Capt C. with the remaining ten including Charbono and York will proceed to the Yellowstone river at it's nearest approach to the three forks of the Missouri, here he will build a canoe and descend the Yellowstone river with Charbono the indian woman, his servant York and five others to the Missouri where should he arrive first he will wait my arrival. Sergt Pryor with two other men are to proceed with the horses by land to the Mandans and thence to the British posts on the Assinniboin with a letter to Mr.

Heney [NB: Haney] whom we wish to engage to (procure) prevail on the Sioux Chieftains to join us on the Missouri, and accompany them with us to the seat of the general government. these arrangements being made the party were informed of our design and prepared themselves accordingly. our hunters killed 13 deer in the course of this day of which 7 were fine bucks, deer are large and in fine order. the indians inform us that there are a great number of white buffaloes or mountain sheep of the snowy heights of the mountains West of this [NB: Clarks] river; they state that they inhabit the most rocky and inaccessible parts, and run but badly, that they kill them with great ease with their arrows when they can find them. the indian warrior who overtook us on the 26th Ult. made me a present of an excellent horse which he said he gave for the good council we had given himself and nation and also to assure us of his attachment to the white men and his desire to be at peace with the Minnetares of Fort de Prarie. we had our venison fleeced and exposed in the sun on pole to dry. the dove the black woodpecker, the lark woodpecker, the logcock, the prairie lark, sandhill crane, prairie hen with the short and pointed tail, the robin, a species of brown plover, a few curlews, small black birds, ravens hawks and a variety of sparrows as well as the bee martin and the several species of Corvus genus are found in this valley.

Windsor burst his gun near the muzzle a few days since; this Shields cut off and I then exchanged it with the Chief for the one we had given him for conducting us over the mountains. he was much pleased with the exchange and shot his gun several times; he shoots very well for an inexperienced person.

The little animal found in the plains of the Missouri which I have called the barking squirrel weighs from 3 to 3½ pounds. its form is that of the squirrel. its colour is an uniform light brick red grey, the red rather predominating. the under side of the neck and belly are lighter coloured than the other parts of the body. the legs are short, and it is wide across the breast and shoulders in proportion to its size, appears strongly formed in that part; the head is also bony muscular and stout, rather more bluntly terminated wider and flatter than the common squirrel. the upper lip is split or divided to the nose. the ears are short and lie close to the head, having the appearance of being cut off, in this particular they resemble the guinea pig. the teeth are like those of the squirrel rat &c. they have a false jaw or pocket between the skin and the muscle of the jaw like that of the common ground squirrel but not so large in proportion to their size. they have large and full whiskers on each side of the nose, a few long hairs of the same kind on each jaw and over the eyes. the eye is small and black. they have five toes on each foot of which the two outer toes on each foot are much shorter than those in the center particularly the two inner toes of the fore feet, the toes of the fore feet are remarkably long and sharp and seem well adapted to cratching or burrowing those of the hind feet are neither as long or sharp as the former; the nails are black. the hair of this animal is about as long and equally as coarse as that of the common grey squirrel of our country, and the hair of the tail is not longer than that of the body except immediately at the extremity where it is somewhat longer and frequently of a dark brown colour. the part of generation in the female is placed on the lower region of the belly between the hinder legs so far

forward that she must lie on her back to copulate. the whole length of this animal is one foot five inches from the extremity of the nose to that of the tail of which the tail occupyes 4 inches. it is nearly double the size of the whistleing squirrel of the Columbia. it is much more quick active and fleet than it's form would indicate. these squirrels burrow in the ground in the open plains usually at a considerable distance from the water yet are never seen at any distance from their burrows. six or eight usually reside in one burrow to which there is never more than one entrance. these burrows are of great debth. I once dug and pursued a burrow to the debth of ten feet and did not reach it's greatest debth. they generally associate in large societies placing their burrows near each other and frequently occupy in this manner several hundred acres of land. when at rest above ground their position is generally erect on their hinder feet and rump; thus they will generally set and bark at you as you approach them, their note being much that of the little toy dogs, their yelps are in quick succession and at each they a motion to their tails upwards. they feed on the grass and weeds within the limits of their village which they never appear to exceed on any occasion. as they are usually numerous they keep the grass and weeds within their district very closely grazed and as clean as if it had been swept. the earth which they throw out of their burrows is usually formed into a conic mound around the entrance. this little animal is frequently very fat and it's flesh is not unpleasant. as soon as the hard frosts commence it shuts up it's burrow and continues within untill spring. it will eat grain or meat.”

Clark wrote on Tuesday, July 1, 1805 on Clark's River:

We Sent out all the hunters very early this morning by 12 OClock they all returned haveing killd. 12 Deer Six of them large fat Bucks, this is like once more returning to the land of liveing a plenty of meat and that very good. as Capt. Lewis and Myself part at this place we made a division of our party and such baggage and provisions as is Souteable. the party who will accompany Capt L. is G. Drewyer, Sergt. Gass, Jo. & R. Fields, Frazier & Werner, and Thompson Goodrich & McNear as far as the Falls of Missouri at which place the 3 latter will remain untill I Send down the Canoes from the head of Jeffersons river. they will then join that party and after passing the portage around the falls, proceed on down to the enterance of Maria where Capt. Lewis will join them after haveing assended that river as high up as Latd. 50° North. from the head of Jeffersons river I shall proceed on to the head of the Rockejhone with a party of 9 or 10 men and desend that river. from the R Rockejhone I Shall dispatch Sergt. Pryor with the horses to the Mandans and from thence to the Tradeing Establishments of the N. W. Co on the Assinniboin River with a letter which we have written for the purpose to engage Mr. H. Haney to endeaver to get Some of the principal Chiefs of the Scioux to accompany us to the Seat of our government &. we divide the Loading and apportion the horses. Capt L. only takes 17 horses with him, 8 only of which he intends to take up the Maria &c. One of the Indians who accompaned us Swam Clarks river and examined the Country around, on his return he informed us that he had discovered where a Band of the Tushepaws had encamped this Spring passed of 64 Lodges, & that they had passed Down Clarks river and that it was probable that they were near the quawmash flatts on a Easterly branch of that river. those guides expressed a desire to return to



their nation and not accompany us further, we informed them that if they was deturmined to return we would kill some meat for them, but wished that they would accompy Capt. Lewis on the rout to the falls of Missouri only 2 nights and show him the right road to cross the Mountains. this they agreed to do. we gave a medal of the Small Size to the young man Son to the late Great Chief of the Chopunnish Nation who had been remarkably kind to us in every instance, to all the others we tied a bunch of blue ribon about the hair, which pleased them very much. the Indian man who overtook us in the Mountain, presented Capt. Lewis with a horse and said that he opened his ears to what we had said, and hoped that Cap Lewis would see the Crovanter of Fort De Prarie and make a good peace that it was their desire to be at peace. Shew them the horse as a token of their wishes &c.

“On July 3 [1806], before crossing the Continental Divide, the Corps split into two teams so Lewis could explore the Marias River. Lewis' group of four met some men from the Blackfeet nation. During the night, the Blackfeet tried to steal their weapons. In the struggle, the soldiers killed two Blackfeet men. Lewis, Drouillard, and the Field brothers, fled over 100 miles (160 km) in a day before they camped again.

Meanwhile, Clark had entered Crow territory. In the night, half of Clark's horses disappeared, but not a single Crow had been seen. Lewis and Clark stayed separated until they reached the Yellowstone and Missouri Rivers on August 11, along with Clark's. Before reuniting, one of Clark's hunters, Pierre Cruzatte, mistook Lewis for an elk and fired, injuring Lewis in the thigh. Once reunited, the Corps was able to return home quickly via the Missouri River. They reached St. Louis on September 23, 1806.” Wikipedia

The Corps met their objective of reaching the Pacific, mapping and establishing their presence for a legal claim to the land. They established diplomatic relations and trade with at least two dozen indigenous nations. They did not find a continuous water to the Pacific Ocean. On March 23 the journey home began. They made their way to Camp Chopunnishin Idaho, along the north bank of the Clearwater River, where the members of the expedition collected 65 horses in preparation to cross the Bitterroot Mountains, lying between modern day Idaho and western Montana, however the range was still covered in snow which prevented the expedition from making the crossing. On April 11 while waiting for the snow to diminish Lewis' dog was stolen by Indians and but was retrieved shortly.”

On August 14, 1806, the Corps arrived back at the Mandan villages. “After a year and a half of adventures, scaling the Rocky Mountains, visiting the Pacific Ocean and returning to North Dakota, on August 17, 1806, the expedition prepared to depart from the Knife River Villages, saying good-bye to Charbonneau, Sacagawea and Pomp. The Charbonneau family had crossed nearly 5,000 miles of the trek with the explorers, and endured the same hardships and privations as the rest of the Corps.” Charbonneau was given a voucher in the sum of \$500.33, his payment for his interpreter duties and “public services,” plus the price of a horse and lodge for his nineteen months with the expedition. Charbonneau resided among the Hidatsa and Mandans

## Toussaint Charbonneau

from 1806 until late fall of 1809. Then, he, Sacagawea and Pomp boarded a Missouri Fur Company barge and traveled to St. Louis, where he cashed in his voucher, and he, together with all of the enlisted men, were granted land warrants for a total of 320 acres each. Both captains were given 1,600 acres. "Charbonneau initially declined Clark's offer to relocate to St. Louis, as he preferred life with the Mandan and Hidatsa, and remained in the upper Missouri area for some time. However, by 1809, the family had indeed relocated to St. Louis. Charbonneau briefly took up farming for a living. He gave it up after a few months, leaving with Sacagawea and entrusting the care of Jean-Baptiste to William Clark. He sold Clark his 320-acre (1.3 km<sup>2</sup>) grant for \$100."

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint\\_Charbonneau](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint_Charbonneau) and <http://www.nps.gov/jeff/historyculture/toussaint-charbonneau.htm>



Statue of Sacagawea

"Although Lewis wrote lightheartedly and approvingly of Charbonneau's recipe for boudin blanc on May 9, 1805, by expedition's end his summary of the interpreter was partly negative. On the payroll he sent to Henry Dearborn on January 15, 1807, Lewis wrote by Charbonneau's name: "A man of no peculiar merit; was useful as an interpreter only, in which capacity he discharged his duties with good faith.

On the other hand, Clark grew to regard Charbonneau with considerable respect. "You have been a long time with me and have conducted your Self in Such a manner as to gain my friendship," he wrote in a letter to "Charbono" on August 20, 1806, shortly after leaving him at his home.

Evidently they had some congenial man-to-man talks sometime along the way, in which the French Canadian revealed some of his hopes and dreams for the future. "If you wish to live with the white people," Clark's letter continued

I will give you a piece of land and furnish you with horses cows & hogs. If you wish to visit your friends in Montrall [i.e., Montreal] I will let you have a horse, and your family shall be taken care of untill your return. If you wish to return as an Interpreter for the Menetarras when the troops come up to form the establishment, you will be with me ready and I will precure you the place — or if you wish to return to trade with the indians and will leave your little Son Pomp with me, I will assist you with merchendize for that purpose from time [to time] and become my self concerned with you in trade on a Small scale that is to say not exceeding a perogue load at one time.

It was Clark who, on August 17, 1806, "Settled with Touisant Chabono for his Services as an enterpreter the pric of a horse and Lodge purchased of him for public Service in all amounting to 500\$ 33<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> cents." Clark's spelling of Charbonneau's surname was simply phonetic for a person with little or no acquaintance with French orthography. The sum ending with "<sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> cents" reflected the comparatively high value of the dollar in that period. The "Lodge" was the leather tepee that was the nightly shelter for the captains, the Charbonneaus, and the civilian interpreter George Drouillard, although it barely lasted until Fort Clatsop was habitable. Clark lamented (December 17, 1805) that "our Leather Lodge has become So rotten that the Smallest thing tares it into holes and it is now Scarcely Sufficent to keep . . . the rain off a Spot Sufficently large for our bead." Nevertheless it had served them well." <http://lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2664>

“The Lewis and Clark Expedition gained an understanding of the geography of the Northwest and produced the first accurate maps of the area. During the journey, Lewis and Clark drew about 140 maps. Stephen Ambrose says the expedition "filled in the main outlines" of the area.” The expedition recorded more than 200 plants and animals that were new to science and noted at least 72 native tribes. Wikipedia

Toussaint Charbonneau



Lewis and Clark Expedition

150th anniversary issue, 1954

“In February 1954, the 150th anniversary of the expedition's departure, Congressman Charles B. Hoeven of Iowa introduced a bill to the U.S. Congress authorizing the Lewis and Clark commemorative postage stamp. Along with Lewis and Clark the Indian woman Sacagawea and husband Toussaint Charbonneau.” [Wikipedia](#)

“Although Charbonneau returned to the Hidatsa villages, traces of the rest of his life occur in journals and records from other frontier travelers.” <http://lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2664>

“After that he returned to the Knife River country. The Journal of Henry Brackenridge chronicled a fur trade voyage up the Missouri River in 1811 with Manuel Lisa. Brackenridge's entry for April 2, 1811 noted: "We had on board a Frenchman named Charbonneau, with his wife, an Indian 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 tried to imitate, but she had become sickly, and longed to revisit her native country; her husband, also, who had spent many years among the Indians, was become weary of a civilized life." <http://www.nps.gov/jeff/historyculture/toussaint-charbonneau.htm>

“He then took a job with Manuel Lisa’s Missouri Fur Company, and was stationed at Fort Manuel Lisa Trading Post in present-day North Dakota. Evidence suggests that, while Charbonneau was on an expedition with the company in 1812, Sacagawea died at the fort. The following year Charbonneau signed over formal custody of his son Jean Baptiste and daughter Lisette to William Clark.” [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint\\_Charbonneau](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint_Charbonneau)

“As Ottoson points out, one undocumented account claims Charbonneau was made prisoner by the British during the War of 1812, and taken in irons to Canada. Further conjecture has Toussaint on the American frontier again in 1814, but it was 1816 before a primary document conclusively placed him in Saint Louis. During this interim period, his son, Jean Baptiste, was attending parochial schools in Saint Louis under the guardianship of William Clark. It is uncertain whether Toussaint's daughter, Lisette, survived infancy. No conclusive records have been found as to her activities following her adoption by Clark in 1813.” *From A Charbonneau Family Portrait - by Irving W. Anderson, pp 1-20*

## Toussaint Charbonneau

“It is not clear what transpired with Toussaint during a period of several years following the Fort Manuel massacre of March 5, 1813.” From A Charbonneau Family Portrait - by Irving W. Anderson, pp 1-20

“In 1814 in a reprehensible move, Charbonneau persuaded mountain man Edward Rose to join him in buying female Arapaho captives from the Shoshones and selling them to trappers at upper Missouri posts.

In 1816 he traveled with traders to the upper Arkansas River, where he was captured by the Spanish and imprisoned at Santa Fe for forty-eight days.

In 1823 worked for Joseph Brazeau, heading toward the Mandan villages. Warring Arikaras ultimately diverted Charbonneau to Lake Traverse, near the South Dakota - Minnesota border.

In 1832 he interpreted for Prince Paul of Wurttemberg, Germany, when the Duke and his entourage toured the upper Missouri country. On this trip, Paul befriended Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, which resulted in the young man spending eight years in Europe as a guest of the Prince.

In 1833 he interpreted for Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian of the Prussian principality Wied-Neuwied, whose upper Missouri traveling party included the artist Karl Bodmer. The prince wrote: "Charbonneau was absent again. This 75-year-old man is always running after women." Charbonneau was still in his sixties, but blamed a life lived outdoors for his weathered appearance.

In 1834: Fort Clark trader F.A. Chardon recorded that "Old Charbonneau" cooked the Christmas Eve supper of "Meat pies, bread, fricassied pheasants[,] Boiled tongues, roast beef — and Coffee." Chardon was factor, or superintendent, of this American Fur Company post that served the nearby Mandan and Hidatsa villages.

“That Charbonneau was not well liked by the whites in the Upper Missouri region is evident from a number of sources, and his position was probably maintained only because of the influence of William Clark in St. Louis — upon Clark's death in 1838, Charbonneau's job as interpreter came to an abrupt end. As an example of Charbonneau's bad reputation, a clerk named Laidlaw at Fort Pierre wrote in an 1834 letter to James Kipp at Fort Clark: "I am much surprised at your taking Old Charboneau into favour after shewing so much ingratitude, upon all occasions (the old Knave what does he say for himself)". Apparently, Charbonneau jumped from one fur trading company to another, showing no loyalty to anyone during this period. Sometimes he

Toussaint Charbonneau

worked for Manuel Lisa and the Missouri Fur Company, sometimes for John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company. He abandoned Kipp at Fort Clark in 1834, according to Prince Maximilian. Yet we find him back at Fort Clark in 1837 in Chardon's Journal: "Old Charboneau, an old Man of 80, took to himself and others a young Wife, a young Assiniboine of 14, a Prisoner that was taken in the fight of this summer, and bought by me of the Rees, the young men of the Fort, and two rees, gave to the Old Man a splendid Chàrivèree, the Drums, pans, Kittles c& Beating; guns fireing &c. The Old gentleman gave a feast to the Men, and a glass of grog — and went to bed with his young wife, with the intention of doing his best — " Over the years Charbonneau had at least five young Indian wives, but there were probably more that went unrecorded by history.” <http://www.nps.gov/jeff/historyculture/toussaint-charbonneau.htm>

In 1838 his latest wife having died the previous year, Charbonneau took a fourteen-year-old Mandan bride.

In 1839: Superintendent of Indian Affairs (and former fur trader) Joshua Pilcher recorded that Charbonneau arrived in St. Louis from the Mandan villages, "1600 miles" away, "without a dollar to support him" and seeking pay for his work as a government interpreter among the Mandans. In 1837 the Mandans had been decimated by a smallpox epidemic that also killed about half of the Arikaras. Surviving Mandans had moved away from Fort Clark to the Hidatsa villages on Knife River.” <http://lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2664> ”Charbonneau was at Fort Clark near the Mandan-Hidatsa villages in 1837 when a smallpox epidemic struck, killing his Indian wife at the time and decimating the native population.” <http://franceshunter.wordpress.com/2011/05/16/a-man-of-no-peculiar-merit-toussaint-charbonneau/>

“Toussaint Charbonneau survived into his mid-seventies, outliving his friend William Clark, who died in 1838. A legal document from 1843 shows that Jean Baptiste Charbonneau was to receive \$320 "from the estate of his deceased Father.” <http://lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2664>

“During the period of 1811-1838, Charbonneau also worked for the Upper Missouri Agency's Indian Bureau (a federal agency) as a translator. He earned from \$300 to \$400 per year from the government. He may have gained this position by the patronage of William Clark, who was from 1813 the governor of the Missouri Territory; upon Clark's death, Charbonneau's employment with the government came to an abrupt halt.” [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint\\_Charbonneau](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint_Charbonneau)

“From 1816 to 1839, Toussaint's activities may be traced through a continuous chain of primary documentation. It is evident from the records that William Clark, in a sustained, lifelong friendship,

provided jobs for Toussaint both in the fur trade and in the Indian Service. Although Toussaint was engaged in various activities from time to time, he was by "profession" an interpreter, and the records confirm that it was in this capacity that he served many notable visitors to the upper Missouri. Among other Toussaint provided interpreting services to Colonel Henry Leavenworth, Prince Paul Wilhelm, General Henry Atkinson, Prince Maximilian, Karl Bodmer, George Catlin, William I. Sublette, Francis A. Chardon, Charles Larpenteur, and many others whose work or interest brought them among the Indians of the upper Missouri. Fur-trade records are replete with accounts of amorous relations between fur traders and Indian girls. Toussaint was no exception, as during his lifetime he took many young Indian girls as his "wives." Indeed, Sacagawea was barely in her teens when he purchased her from the Hidatsa. Even at eighty years, Charbonneau had young ideas and took a fourteen-year-old Assiniboine Indian girl as his bride. A humorous account of this "marriage", including a "splendid chariveree," held for him by the young men of the fort, may be found in Francis A. Chardon's Journal at Fort Clark, 1834-1839 (1932).

In 1838 William Clark died, and in 1839 Toussaint Charbonneau's services as an Indian department Interpreter were terminated. Upon learning this information, Toussaint made his way to the Indian Office in Saint Louis, to collect in person, back-pay owed to him by the government. Joshua Pilcher, then Superintendent of Indian Affairs, formally reported the termination of Toussaint's services to the Commissioner on August 14, 1839, in a letter which is the last document of record to mention Toussaint Charbonneau while he was still living. What happened to him after his visit to Saint Louis is unknown. He simply vanished, a fate that also befell several others of the Corps of Discovery. Whether he died in the Saint Louis area, or whether he set out again for the upper Missouri remains a mystery. He was dead by 1843, however, as his estate was settled at that time by his son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau." From A Charbonneau Family Portrait - by Irving W. Anderson, pp 1-20: Excerpt p-11, and "The Mystery of Sacagawea's Death, Helen Addison Howard, page 5, Reuben Gold Thwaites says Toussaint Charbonneau had three wives! All at Fort Mandan in 1805. See: Notebook on Toussaint Charbonneau, Clyde H. Porter, 1954.

Surviving records show that Charbonneau was widely disliked by others in the Missouri Territory. Part of the reason for this may be his casual attitude toward employment: he was variously hired by Lisa's Missouri Fur Company and by John Jacob Astor's American Fur Company's, bitter rivals. He is also said to have abandoned another employer, James Kipp, while on a fur expedition in 1834. Perhaps because of this, Charbonneau gained much of his work as a guide for people from outside the area, among whom were Karl Bodmer and Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied. For them he played up his experience with Lewis and Clark to its best advantage. "Toussaint was a product of the rough and tumble life of a fur trader. He has been maligned by virtually every writer of the expedition, in both fiction and non-fiction alike.. Considering the context of time, place, and social values under which he lived, his unseemly traits have been accentuated and embellished in those writings, influenced by behavioral standards socially enlightened two centuries after the expedition."

[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint\\_Charbonneau](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toussaint_Charbonneau)

"Of the three Charbonneaus, Sacagawea has emerged as the dominant historical figure, enjoying

fame and recognition for legendary accomplishments far exceeding those of her actual role..... The best reconstruction shows that Sacagawea was born about 1788. Her people were a semi-nomadic tribe of Shoshoni (Agaidukai) Indians whose activities centered in today's Lemhi River Valley, Idaho, immediately west of the Continental Divide. The precise place of her birth may never be determined, but very likely it was a village near present Tendoy, Idaho, approximately seventeen miles southeast of Salmon. Primary documentation of Sacagawea's childhood is limited exclusively to entries of Captain Lewis's journal on July 28 and August 19, 1805, Lewis wrote that when Sacagawea was about twelve years of age (in approximately 1800), she was taken prisoner near Three Forks, Montana, by the Hidatsa Indians and transported with other slaves to the Hidatsa village of Metaharta on the Knife River near the present town of Staton, North Dakota (central of the three Knife River Hidatsa villages). Sacagawea's first encounter with white men was during her captivity at Metaharta. There, sometime in the five-year interim between her capture and the arrival of Lewis and Clark, she and another Shoshoni slave girl were purchased by Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian fur trader. From the record of Charbonneau's employment, it is learned that he was engaged by the North West Company, a Canadian fur-trading enterprise formed in competition with the Hudson's Bay Company. Having been headquartered as a free agent among the Mandan and Hidatsa from 1796, Charbonneau was well established on the upper Missouri at the time of Lewis and Clark's arrival there on October 26, 1804. Virtually upon reaching the Mandan and Hidatsa villages, Captain Clark wrote the first journal entry concerning Toussaint Charbonneau and his Indian wives. The entry of November 4, 1804, indicates the role Sacagawea would play in the expedition: "a french man by Name Chabonah, who Speaks the Big Belly (Grosvente) language visit us, he wished to hire & informed us his 2 Squars were Snake (Shoshoni) Indians, we enga[ge] him to go on with us and take one of his wives to interpret the Snake language.

Sacagawea and Charbonneau represented vital links in an involved chain of interpretive measures that would be required to communicate with Indians whom the captains expected to encounter on the westward journey. The interpretive process would be complicated, however, because of the limited language knowledge of the parties involved. The Frenchman Charbonneau was conservant in Hidatsa, but spoke no English, which was a handicap to the English-speaking captains. Sacagawea spoke both Hidatsa and Shoshoni but neither French or English. The matter was resolved by securing the services of an expedition member of French and Omaha Indian extraction, Private Francois Labiche, who spoke French and some English. As later described by Clark when the expedition was among the Tushepaw (Flathead) Indians, the interpretive process went as follows [they] spoke ..... to Labiche in English - he translated it to Charbonneau in French - he to his wife in Minnetaree - she in Shoshoni to the [Shoshoni Indian] boy - the boy in Tushepaw to that nation."

Among the information that Lewis and Clark learned while wintering at Fort Mandan was that high mountains lay between the Missouri and any westward-flowing river.

Therefore upon reaching the headwaters of the Missouri, the expedition would have to cache its



dugouts and obtain horses to carry the men and heavy supplies and equipment over the mountains. The commanders also learned from Sacagawea that her Shoshoni people had horses and realized how helpful she could be if the expedition encountered her tribesmen and needed to negotiate with them.

Sacagawea had never before seen most of the route travelled by the expedition west bound to the Pacific, including the Missouri River route from Fort Mandan to the Three Forks of the Missouri (Montana). When Sacagawea's captors took her from Three Forks to the Mandan villages in 1800, they did not follow the Missouri River, but selected a path parallel to the Yellowstone River, past its confluence with the Missouri, and then southeast to Metaharta. But when the expedition reached Three Forks and neared Sacagawea's homeland straddling the Continental Divide in the present states of Montana and Idaho, she did identify significant landmarks that she remembered from her childhood. Actually, the most important guiding service credited to Sacagawea by the captains was performed during the return journey when she recommended to Captain Clark certain mountain passes in today's Big Hole Divide and the Bridger Range (Montana). Leading a detachment on a side exploration, Clark was then en route from the Bitterroot Valley to the Yellowstone River. His journal entries for that period praise Sacagawea's knowledge of that section of the country, citing her "great service to me as a pilot."

The captains' first attempt at spelling the Indian woman's name occurred on April 7, 1805, the date the expedition left Fort Mandan for the Pacific. Here, Clark listed all thirty-three members of the westward-bound party, including "Shabonah and his Indian squar ... Sah-kah-gar-We a." A month and a half later, in naming a tributary of the "shell" (Mussellshell) River in Montana after Sacagawea, Lewis gave not only his rendition of the spelling of her name but also its meaning. His journal entry of May 20, 1805, reads: "a handsome river of about fifty yards in width discharged itself into the shell river on the Stard or upper side; this stream we called Sah-ca-gah-we-ah (or bird woman's River), after our interpreter the Snake woman. At that same point, Clark gave cartographic reinforcement to the meaning of her name when he labeled the stream named for Sacagawea on two of his field maps "bird womans river."

In all, Sacagawea's name was recorded by the captains fifteen times during the course of the expedition. Although their flair for inspired spelling created some interesting variations, it is remarkable that in all fifteen instances, including Clark's spellings on his field maps, the captains were consistent in the use of a "g" in the third syllable. In addition, Sergeant John Ordway entered her name in his journal on June 10, 1805 as "Sah-cah-gah." Together with Clark's later notation of "Sar kar gah wea" on his 1810 manuscript map sent to editor Nicholas Biddle to accompany the 1814 narrative of the journals, this shows complete consistency in the use of the "g" in the third syllable of her name on the part of all the journalists who attempted to write it.

The "Sacajawea" spelling, popular in most western states during the twentieth century, derives from the 1814 narrative of the journey edited by Nicholas Biddle. Although Sacagawea was a Shoshoni by birth, her name, as spelled and translated by both captains, traces its ethnology to the

oral language of the Hidatsa Indian tribe, among whom she lived most of her adult life. The consensus of current Lewis and Clark scholars, together with the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, the U. S. Geographic Names Board, the U.S. National Park Service, the National Geographic, and the Encyclopedia Americana, among others, supports the adoption of the Sacagawea spelling and pronunciation. Over time, this spelling and pronunciation should become universal forms to perpetuate accurately the place of this Shoshoni woman in our history.

Numerous examples of Sacagawea's importance to the exploring enterprise are highlighted in the journals. One of the first of these occurred on May 14, 1805, when the pirogue in which she, Toussaint and their infant were riding, turned on its side due to Charbonneau's inept handling of the tiller. Many indispensable supplies and medicines washed overboard, and recording Sacagawea's calm presence of mind in salvaging them, Clark wrote, "the articles which floated out was nearly all caught by the Squar who was in the rear." In reflecting on the near tragedy two days later, Lewis was more eloquent "the Indian woman to whom I ascribe equal fortitude and resolution, with any person on board at the time of the accident, caught and preserved most of the light articles which were washed overboard."

Another example of the importance of Sacagawea was expressed by Lewis on June 16, 1805, when the Shoshoni woman lay critically ill. Lewis was prompted to write: "about 2 p.m. I reached the camp found the Indian woman extremely ill and much reduced by her indisposition. this gave me some concern as well for the poor object herself, then with a young child in her arms, as from the consideration of her being our only dependence for a friendly negotiation with the Snake Indians on whom we depend for horses to assist us in our portage from the Missouri to the Columbia river." (When the expedition reached Maria's River, June 16, 1805, Sacagawea became dangerously ill. She was able to find some relief by drinking mineral water from the sulphur spring that fed into the river.)

Through the vigilant medical administrations of the captains, Sacagawea recovered, and as it turned out, Lewis's comments were prophetic. By amazing good luck, not only did the expedition find Sacagawea's Shoshoni tribe, but also her own brother, Cameahwait, whom she had not seen since her capture by the Hidatsa five years previously. Sacagawea was the daughter of a Shoshoni chief, and after her father's death, her own brother Cameahwait succeeded to the chief's position. The reunion of the two is one of the most poignant events recorded in the Lewis and Clark journals. There is no doubt that Sacagawea's Shoshoni heritage, especially her relationship to the chief, and her ability to speak the language helped enormously in the success of the expedition at that point. The decision to take Sacagawea and her infant son on the mission into the unexplored Pacific Northwest proved to be a masterstroke of diplomacy. Indian groups encountered throughout the western end of the journey befriended the strange assembly of explorers when they sighted Sacagawea and her papoose.

Sacagawea aided in the conduct of the expedition in many other ways, also. Her knowledge of edible berries, roots and plants, which she collected for food and medicinal use, contributed importantly to the diet and health of the men. When the party was two days out from Fort

Mandan, Clark wrote that "the squaw busied herself serching for the wild artichokes which the mice collect and deposited in large hoards. This operation she performed by penetrating the earth with a sharp stick about some small collection of driftwood. Her labor soon proved successful and she procured a good quantity of these roots." Similarly, a few weeks later near present Brocton, Montana, Clark wrote "I walked on Shore to day our interpreter & his squar followed, in my walk the squar found & brought me a bush something like the currant, which she said bore a delicious froot and that great quantities grew on the Rocky Mountains."

Near the mouth of the Milk River (Montana) Clark noted. "In walking on Shore with the interpreter & his wife, the Squar Geathered on the sides of the hills wild lickerish, & the white apple as called by the engages [those hired as laborers] and gave me to eat, Indians of the Missouri made Great use of the White Apple dressed in different ways." Clark also noted her knowledge of medicinal plants "Sahcargarwea geathered a quantity of the roots of a species of fennel which we found very agreeable food, the flavor of this root is not unlike annis seed, and they dispell the wind which the roots called Cows and quawmash are apt to create particularly the latter ... the mush od [the fennel] roots we find adds much to the comfort of our diet."

None of the members of the Lewis and Clark Expedition left us a physical description of Sacagawea. The only reference of her appearance was Clark's remark to Biddle that Sacagawea's skin "was lighter than [Charbonneaus'] other [Shoshoni wife] who was from the more Southern Indians." However, we can construct a profile of Sacagawea's behavioral and character traits by piecing together diarists' comments about her during the expedition. She emerges as a faithful, capable, patient, and pleasant woman. On August 16, 1806, Clark wrote in his journal : "This man [Charbonneau] has been very serviceable to us, and his wife particularly useful among the Shoshones. Indeed she was borne with a patience truly admirable the fatigues of so long a route incumbered with the charge of an infant, who is even now only nineteen months old." From A Charbonneau Family Portrait by Irving W. Anderson, 20 pages: pages 2-11, NOTE: Dr. Grace Raymond Bedard's theory of Sacagawea's life after 1812 is discounted by this author.

Irving Anderson says: Using unsubstantiated recollections and hearsay testimonials provided by third parties more than a century after the death of Sacagawea, Hebard developed an erroneous theory concerning the Shoshoni woman's life and death that has become virtual legend. First published in the 1907 article... Hebard's conjecture was that Sacagawea lived a long and productive life, spending her final years on the Wind River Indian Reservation, Wyoming, where [Hebard] alleged] she died at 100.

In contradiction, two vital antiquarian documents cast a shadow on Hebard's theory. The first is a record placing Charbonneau and his Snake Indian wife on the upper Missouri with a party of fur traders in 1811. The second is an 1812-1813 Missouri Fur Company journal, edited and published under the auspices of the Missouri Historical Society in 1920, which documented the death of Toussaint's Snake Indian wife on December 20, 1812, at Fort Manuel, a fur-trading outpost on the upper Missouri. (Named for Manuel Lisa, the indomitable Missouri River fur trader, Fort Manuel was located on the west bank of the river near today's Kenel, Sourth Dakota, seventy miles south of present Bismarck, North Dakota.)

The 1811 record was written by Henry M. Brackenridge, an American journalist, while en route up the Missouri in company with Manuel Lisa in the summer of that year, Brackenridge reported: "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 manner and dress she tries to imitate, but she had become sickly, and longed to revisit her native country; her husband, also, who had spent many years among the Indians, was become weary of a civilized life." This documentation was reinforced by John C. Luttig, clerk of the Missouri Fur Company at Fort Manuel, who wrote in his journal on December 20, 1812: "this evening the Wife of Charbonneau a Snake Squaw, died of a putrid fever she was a good and the best Woman in the fort, age abt 25

## Toussaint Charbonneau

years she left a fine infant girl."

The Brackenridge and Luttig records raised skepticism among Hebard's contemporary historians regarding the validity of her Wind River thesis.

Thus, to fulfill the theory that Sacagawea lived out her life in Wyoming, it was necessary for Hebard to prove that it was not Sacagawea but another Snake wife - "Otter Woman" - who had been documented by Brackenridge and Luttig. In 1932, after a quarter-century of effort, Hebard published her comprehensive volume, SACAGAWEA, which set forth the complete text of her Wind River theory, contending not only that it was Otter Woman who had died at Fort Manuel in 1812, but that "Sacajawea" lived to the age of 100.

Since the journals of Lewis and Clark left no record of the name of Charbonneau's second Snake wife, Hebard sought evidence that would establish her identity coincident with the expedition's 1804-1805 winter encampment at Fort Mandan. She obtained this information from hearsay testimony collected through interviews, statements, and affidavits, not one of which was supported by antecedent written records of documents of any kind.....

After establishing to her own satisfaction that the wife of Charbonneau who had died at Fort Manuel was "Otter Woman," Hebard theorized that her Sacajawea had remained in Saint Louis during the 1811-1812 Brackenridge/Fort Manuel episodes." Hebard says Sacagawea leaves Charbonneau....

"Hebard maintained that Sacajawea took a new husband who was later killed in an Indian war. Thereafter, Hebard's Sacajawea wandered through the West for several decades, ultimately joining an eastern band of Shoshoni people at Wind River, Hebard contended, Sacajawea took the name Porivo, and was reunited with her "son, Baptiste" and an adopted son, Bazil. Wind River Agency documents show that Porivo (also known as Bazil's Mother) died in 1884, that a person named Bat-tez (whom Hebard claimed was Jean Baptiste Charbonneau) died in 1885, and that Bazil died in 1886.

Hebard pursued her theory for three decades. Notwithstanding her diligent search, she found no documentation linking the three Wind River Reservation persons to the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Nevertheless, during these years Hebard published numerous accounts of her Wind River Sacajawea, creating an aura of authenticity about her interpretation which has been widely accepted among several generations of Americans.

Contravening the Hebard theory are the findings of several recent exhaustive research involving the correlation of several documents, in addition to those noted above, recorded by contemporaries of Sacagawea who had witnessed or who had personal knowledge of her death at Fort Manuel in 1812. Included among these primary documents are Missouri Fur Company minutes of directors' meetings, Saint Louis orphans court proceedings [in which Clark adopted Sacagawea's children], and William Clark's personal records. Hebard acknowledged the existence of most of these antiquarian documents and gave her opinion as to the substantive value of many of them. But there was one that did not surface until after her death in 1936, the knowledge of which perhaps could have shaken her faith in her theory. This was William Clark's "List of Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip," recorded on the cover of his account book for the period 1825-28. Noting whether his exploring comrades were then living or dead, Clark wrote unequivocally, "Se car ja we au dead."

Over the years, extensive investigations by archaeologists have been made at Fort Manuel; however, no identifiable grave for Sacagawea has been found. It seems probable that no such burial plot ever existed. Rather, her remains may have been placed on a funeral scaffold, in accordance with the custom of the Indians of the upper Missouri among whom she lived during most of her adult life....."

Also see: The Mystery of Sacagawea's Death, Pacific Northwest Quarterly, January 1967, Volume 58, Number 1, pages 1-6; and Sacagawea and the Suffragettes, Ronald W. Taber, pages 7-13, same issue.

Toussaint died about 1839 in Missouri and was buried in 1839 in Richwoods, Missouri.

"In 1839, Charbonneau, described by Superintendent of Indian Affairs Joshua Pilcher as "tottering under the infirmities of 80 winters", appeared in St. Louis to ask the Indian Bureau for back salaries. This was the last entry about Charbonneau (discovered thus far) to appear in the official records. It is thought that he died sometime around the year 1843 at about 86 years of age, for it was in that year that his estate was settled by his son Jean Baptiste. The historical record concerning Charbonneau is paltry, and certainly does not paint a picture of a man with sterling character. Lewis' view was that Charbonneau had been hired to do a job, and he did it.

## Toussaint Charbonneau

Lewis obviously did not believe that Charbonneau went above and beyond what had been asked of him. Clark had a more benevolent view of Charbonneau's services, and wanted to do all that he could for Charbonneau and especially for his family, Sacagawea and little Jean Baptiste.”

<http://www.nps.gov/jeff/historyculture/toussaint-charbonneau.htm>

In 2003 W. Dale Nelson wrote “Interpreters with Lewis and Clark: The Story of Sacagawea and Toussaint Charbonneau.” “W. Dale Nelson offers a frank and honest portrayal of Toussaint, suggesting his character has perhaps been judged too harshly. He was indeed valuable as an interpreter and no doubt helpful with his knowledge of the Indian tribes the group encountered. For example, Toussaint proved his worth in negotiations with the Shoshones for much-needed horses, and with his experience as a fur trader, he always seemed to strike a better bargain than his companions.” <http://untpress.unt.edu/catalog/3216>

A message from Ron Strothman in The Charbonneau Surname Message Board:

"My grandfather was Charles Elmer Charbonneau he lived in Richwoods Missouri for many years then moved to St. Louis. He advised me that our family was related to Toussaint Charbonneau. My mother has additional information on this subject. Toussaint Charbonneau is buried in Richwoods Missouri I have seen his grave. There are many Charbonneau's in Canada and Oklahoma."



Lewis and Clark at Three Forks, by Edgar Paxton. Charbonneau is depicted on the far right.

<http://franceshunter.wordpress.com/2011/05/16/a-man-of-no-peculiar-merit-toussaint-charbonneau/>

His children with Sacagawea are:

1. Jean Baptiste "Pompy" Charbonneau (p. ) was born on 11 Feb 1805. He was adopted by William Clark in 1813.
2. Lisette Charbonneau

“Lisette did survive, there is a marriage record for her in Saint Louis I think she disappears from history after that.” Larry Cebula, May 21, 2011 <http://franceshunter.wordpress.com/2011/05/16/a-man-of-no-peculiar-merit-toussaint-charbonneau/#comment-1877>

His Children with Otter Woman, Shoshone are:

3 Toussaint Charbonneau, jr. married spouse unknown.

He also married Marie Lovelette.

Other wives he is supposed to have had are:

Corn Woman, a Mandan that died in 1806

Eagle, a Hidatsa woman, they had a son Otter.

An unknown Ute woman

An unknown Assiniboine girl

“All of my life I have been told that I am a relative of Toussaint Charbonneau but not of Sacajawea. What an uncle explained to me was that he moved to Missouri and married a woman named Marie Lovelette. I am very unsure of that spelling. She had two sons, who somehow whether legally or commonly, picked up the Charbonneau name. My grandmother's name was Henrietta Charbonneau. Maiden name to be specific. I remember her taking me to a graveyard in Richwoods MO that was filled with Charbonneaus. I am trying to start finding my ancestors so I am unsure how this fits me in. Michael Kaufman, miked@plantnet.com From The Charbonneau Message Board, Message #71, Saturday, March 18, 2000.

He also married Assiniboine girl who was born about 1825.

Jean Baptiste "Pompy" Charbonneau, son of Toussaint Charbonneau and Sacagawea (Bird woman), was born 11 Feb 1805 in Fort Mandan, and married spouse unknown. Jean Baptiste "Pompy" died on 16 May 1866 in Oregon.

"...A complete chronology of his activities dating from the Lewis and Clark Expedition to his death on May 16, 1866, is of record. Considering the facts of his mixed blood French-Canadian and Indian blood, and his meager economic, social, and cultural background, Baptiste led a remarkable life indeed. The infant member of the expedition obviously was a delight to his exploring companions. Although his presence with the party is referred to throughout the journey, only a few events underscore the role he occupied in the expedition and the affectionate place he held in the hearts of the explorers. Among the most notable was his birth on February 11, 1805, while the party was wintering at Fort Mandan; another was his uncertain fate during his mother's nearly fatal illness at the Great Falls of the Missouri, and concern over his illness during the return journey; a different dimension was the memorializing of Baptiste in American history by Clark's naming a prominent geologic formation in his honor during the descent of the Yellowstone River on the return trip; and lastly, Clark's fondness for the boy in offering to

"educate him and treat him as my own child."

“On Feb. 11, 1805, a few weeks after her first contact with the expedition, Sacagawea, a Shoshone, went into labor and gave birth to a baby boy. Her labor was slow and painful and so the Frenchmen, Charbonneau, with whom she arrived on the scene with, suggested that Sacagawea be given a potion of rattlesnake's rattle to aid in her delivery. Lewis happened to have some snakes rattle with him. A short time after administering the potion she delivered a healthy baby boy and was given the name Jean Baptiste Charbonneau.” Wikipedia

Lewis's concern for Baptiste during his mother's illness is referred to elsewhere in this article. Baptiste's own illness was a severe infection of the jaw and throat, incurred while the returning party was encamped near present Kamiah, Idaho, awaiting the melting of the deep snows of the Bitterroot Mountains which then barred their passage over the Lolo Trail. Responding favorably to the unusual pharmaceutical preparations of the expedition leaders, Baptiste recovered.....

During the course of the expedition, the boy was nicknamed "Pomp" or "Pompy" by Captain Clark, apparently for Baptiste's ostentatious "little dancing boy" demeanor. On July 25, 1806, Clark named an unusual rock formation on the south bank of the Yellowstone River (Montana) "Pompy's Tower" in honor of the boy. On the north bank of the river, opposite Pompey's Tower, Clark named a stream "Baptists Creek," also perhaps for the boy. As to the latter, however, Reuben Gold Thwaites editorialized that the creek was named for Baptiste Lepage, one of the party." In editing the 1814 narrative of the journals, Nicholas Biddle displayed his classical education by amending Clark's name for the rock formation to that of the granite column which stands in Alexandria, Egypt. Thus, today, the two features, located twenty-eight miles east of Billings, Montana, are called "Pompey's Pillar" and "Pompey's Pillar Creek." William Clark's name and date, July 25, 1806, carved by Clark, may still be seen etched in the rock, now protected by a heavy glass shield (next few paragraphs explain why Pomp is not a Shoshone word, as expressed by Grace Hebard...

Jean Baptiste Charbonneau struck a compelling fondness in the breast of Captain William Clark that would carry through Clark's death in 1838. Documentation of this relationship commenced on August 17, 1806, when the Charbonneau family was mustered out of the expedition and the Saint Louis-bound party was making final preparations for departure from the Mandan villages. Clark wrote in his journal: "Settled with Touissant Chabono for his services as an interpreter the price of a horse and Lodge purchased of him for public Service in all amounting to 500\$ 33 1/3 cents.... we offered to convey him down to the Illinois if he chose to go he declined proceeding on at the present, observing first he had no acquaintance or prospects of making a living below, and must continue to live in the way he had done. I offered to take his little son a butifull promising child who is 19 months old to which they both himself & wife wer willing provided the child had been weened. they observed that in one year the boy would be sufficently old to leave his mother & he would then take him to me if I would be so freindly as to raise the child for him in such manner as I thought proper, to which I agreed &c....

(On August 11, 1813 William Clark became guardian of the two Charbonneau children, Jean Baptiste & Lisette). When Baptiste was eighteen years old, his unusual combination of cultural attainment and frontier skills interested Prince Paul Wilhelm of Wuttemberg, who met the young man in an Indian village at the mouth of the Kansas River, while the Prince was on a scientific mission to America. In 1823, Baptiste accompanied the Prince to Europe where the young man was exposed to the sophisticated, aristocratic environment of a German court. Baptiste and Paul were inseparable companions for a period of six years, during which the two traveled extensively in Europe and also in Africa. It was in this important period of his life that Baptiste became fluent in four languages and received a background that would mark him as a cultural anomaly on the American frontier. Baptiste returned to his homeland in 1829. By this time the Louisiana Territory had entered the transition between the fur trade and agricultural settlement. Vigorous exploration of the far West was in progress. The call of the western wilds was irresistible, and Baptiste set aside his cultivated life-style and fell into the rough and tumble existence of the mountain man. He ranged the length and breadth of the American West, hunting, trapping, guiding, exploring. The journals of many important personalities involved in the exploration and settlement of the West mention this remarkable man and consistently testify to his "urbane, graceful, fluent" manner. Famous frontier figures with whom he shared associations included Joe Meek, Jim Bridger, Captain Nathaniel J. Wyeth, T.J. Farnum, Lieutenant John C. Fremont, William Clark Kennerly (nephew of Captain William Clark), Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, Jim Beckwourth, Kid Carson, and many others. The last important guide service performed by Baptiste was that of scouting the route west for the march of the Mormon Battalion from New Mexico to California in 1846-47, under the command of Colonel Philip St. George Cooke. Mustered out of the Mormon Battalion at San Diego in 1847, Baptiste was appointed Alcalde of San Luis Rey Mission, California, an office comparable to that of magistrate. Because of his concern, however, for human dignity in the treatment of certain Indians as virtual slaves he resigned his official duties. Historians have assigned the cause of Baptiste's resignation to "white dissatisfaction over his policy of treating Indians too kindly." In researching Baptiste's activities as Alcalde, however, it was found that a deeper reason must have motivated Baptiste to resign....

When Baptiste left San Luis Rey Mission, coincidences of time and events placed him in center stage of the California gold rush. James Marshall, a former colleague of Baptiste in the Mormon Battalion, discovered gold at Sutter's Mill in January of 1848, and Baptiste was upon the scene in the earliest days of the frantic gold fever stampede. Although it is recorded that Baptiste shared mining associations with old cronies Jim Beckwourth and Tom Buckner during the late forties and early fifties, he evidently did not strike it rich. At least it is assumed that he made no important find, since he was listed as a clerk in the Orleans Hotel, Auburn, California, in 1861.

Even at age sixty-one, Baptiste felt the compelling lure of the wilderness. Yielding to this urge in the spring of 1866, he joined a party heading for a new goldfield in Montana Territory. Traveling northeasterly from California, the party reached the Owyhee River in south-eastern Oregon the second week in May, 1866.....



Baptiste crossed the river at a ford immediately below the point where Jordan Creek empties into the Owyhee. He must have been obliged to cross the icy river on the back of his swimming horse. At the age of sixty-one, his system apparently could not combat the conditions of wet clothing and the cold spring weather. He contracted pneumonia, and was taken by his two partners to the nearest shelter, Inskip Station, twenty-five miles northeast of the Owyhee River. He failed to rally and died a short time later. Obituaries of the period place the date of death as May 16, 1866. He was buried a few hundred feet north of the station in what later became a burial plot containing Baptiste, two soldiers, and two children.

The burial site at Inskip Station is situated in the rural hamlet of Danner, three miles north of U.S. Highway 95 and approximately fifteen miles west of the community of Jordan Valley, Malheur County, Oregon. ..." From "A Charbonneau Family Portrait by Irving W. Anderson, 20 pages: pages 14-18

SEE: "J.B.Charbonneau, Son of Sacajawea", Oregon Historical Quarterly, vol. 71, September 1970 & vol. 72, March 1971.

He had a daughter named Mary Charbonneau who was born 8 Aug 1856, and in 1878, married Alexander (Alexis) Bouret .

"I am currently researching for a friend of mine, whose surname is Bouret. His grandfather's name was George Bouret, and great grandfather's name was Alexander. They were from the North Dakota area. Alexander's wife's name was Mary Charbonneau. It is rumored that her father was Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, born during the Lewis & Clark Expedition, by Sacajawea & Toussaint Charbonneau. I'm still trying to prove this." From The Bouret Surname Message Board, February 16, 2000 Posted by Tom Smith

"Hi There: I am doing some research on the Charbonneau family and found your posting at : <http://www.familyhistory.com/messages/ShowMsg.asp?id=478960>

My research has started here in Portland, OR area with the Bouret family. I found an old newspaper article from the Fargo Forum, dated October 9th, 1939. The article is titled "Granddaughter of Sacajawea Dies at 83; Father Was 'Mascot' For Lewis and Clark. This person's name was Mary Charbonneau, born Aug.8, 1856. She married Alexander Bouret in 1878 (my client's great grandfather). The article then goes on describing Mary (Charbonneau) Bouret's ancestry to Sacajawea. I'm not sure if this is true or not, but I am in the process of acquiring the necessary prove. If you have any information concerning this matter, I would greatly appreciate your assistance. I can supply you a copy of the article. You can reach me at: [tjsmith@teleport.com](mailto:tjsmith@teleport.com) ~Tom Smith, Portland, OR" From The Charbonneau Surname Message Board, 8 April 2000 Posted by Tom Smith

In response to the above: From The Bouret Surname Message Board Posted by Sarah Bouret:

"I am from Bismarck, North Dakota. My great-great grandfather is Alexis Bouret who married Mary Charboneau. My grandparents Darrel and Leona Bouret still live on the farm Alexis started in the late 1800's. It is 10 miles east of Sheyenne, ND and south of Fort Totten Indian Reservation. My grandmother has also heard stories of us being related to Jean Baptiste

Toussaint Charbonneau

Charbonneau and Sakakawea. We are not completely sure of this we are still trying to prove it. I will try to get more info from my grandmother. I am not aware of a George Bouret, but I am sure my grandma knows of one and I can get more info from her. If you give me more info, I could help you out."

