

Sacagawea: An Annotated Bibliography

by: Barb Kubik

About the Historian: Barb Kubik was a 23-year resident of the Tri-Cities. As a historian, she has worked for the Franklin County and the East Benton County Historical Societies, CREHST, the Department of Energy, Kennewick General Hospital and the Tri-Cities Visitor & Convention Bureau. For 13 years, she was the interpretive assistant at Sacajawea Interpretive Center.

Her current areas of expertise center around the stories of the Corps of Discovery in the Pacific Northwest; the Corps' interpreter, Sacagawea, and of the history of Sacajawea State Park. As a part of her ongoing work with the Tri-Cities area bicentennial activities, she developed this comprehensive, annotated bibliography of Sacagawea.

There is no single definitive biography of this most popular member of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. In this annotated bibliography, readers will find 90+ years worth of biographies in varying degrees of accuracy and scholarship. The best biographical works should incorporate:

1. verbatim entries from the five original journals
2. an understanding of the roles and responsibilities of Agaiduka Shoshoni and Hidatsa women
3. an understanding of marriage between fur traders/trappers and Native American women
4. additional primary source documentation
5. an understanding of the oral histories of the Agaiduka Shoshoni and the Hidatsa people.

Additional biographical information can also be found in the original journals of the Corps of Discovery, in the Charbonneau family histories, in the essays and in the other materials in this bibliography. Blanche Schroer's article, "The Legend and the Truth" and Dr. E. G. Chuinard's article, "The Actual Role of the Bird Woman" are both good examples of well-developed essays with biographical material.

This annotated bibliography is a comprehensive list of Expedition journals, biographies, and historic and contemporary studies. It is not an endorsement of any one particular work or philosophy, nor is it all-inclusive. Readers may find it helpful to examine the bibliographies in these particular books, journal articles and magazine for additional resources and suggested readings.

Many of the articles appear in WE PROCEEDED ON, which is published quarterly by the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation, Inc. Individual copies of WE PROCEEDED ON may be purchased for \$7.00 from the Foundation:

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The reader may wish to become familiar with several terms used in this ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY.

Annotate: To add a critical or explanatory note; may appear as a part of the endnote or footnote [resource], or as a stand-alone endnote or footnote.

Bibliography: List of resources used/consulted. Many works listed here include bibliographies.

Edit: To revise, correct, arrange and/or eliminate parts of the original work; to correct spelling or grammar.

Endnote: A reference note and/or explanatory comment that appears at the end of the document; it is sequentially keyed to a specific part of the text.

Footnote: A reference note and/or an explanatory comment that appears at the bottom of a page; it is keyed to a specific part of the text on that page.

Journals

Contemporary [c. 1800-1815] information about Sacagawea may be found in the journals of the Corps of Discovery, as well as in letters and journals associated with the fur trade and other explorations. There are several versions of the journals of the Corps of Discovery, each one informative.

Biddle, Nicholas, ed. HISTORY OF THE EXPEDITION UNDER THE COMMAND OF CAPTAINS LEWIS AND CLARK TO THE SOURCES OF THE MISSOURI . . . DURING THE YEARS 1804-5-6. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814. Biddle developed the first publication of the two captains' journals. He had the assistance of several former members of the Corps of Discovery, including George Shannon, William Clark and Toussaint Charbonneau. Two volumes, heavily edited for grammar, spelling and content. Index. Frequently reprinted.

Coues, Dr. Elliott, ed. THE HISTORY OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION, VOLUMES 1-3. New York: Dover Publications, 1965 [1893]. Coues edited the two captains' original journals for grammar, spelling and readability, and used chapter headings to emphasize points he viewed important. This three-volume set from Dover includes maps, comprehensive index [VOLUME 3] and annotated footnotes. Much annotated material is dated [place names, scientific names].

Jackson, Donald, ed. LETTERS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION WITH RELATED DOCUMENTS, 1783-1854. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978. Original letters, memorandums, and other correspondence from scientists, government officials, members of the Corps of Discovery that relate to the story. Each item has a carefully annotated footnote, identifying the writer/recipient, circumstances of correspondence, location[s] of original materials. Includes bibliography and index. Includes Captain William Clark's letter of 20 August 1806 to Toussaint Charbonneau, with his various offers of employment for Charbonneau and an education for young Jean Baptiste Charbonneau [p. 315-7].

Luttig, John C. JOURNAL OF A FUR-TRADING EXPEDITION ON THE UPPER MISSOURI, 1812-1813. Edited by Stella M. Drumm. St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society, 1920. Luttig served as the Missouri Fur Company's clerk at Fort Manuel [South Dakota]. He recorded the death of "the Wife of Charbonneau" at the fort on 20 December 1812. Includes index, copy of court-ordered guardianship of Charbonneau's children, map, bibliography. Appendices include biographical sketches of Sakakawea, Charbonneau, and children.

MacGregor, Carol Lynn. THE JOURNALS OF PATRICK GASS, MEMBER OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION. Missoula: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 1997. Gass's original journal was published with the assistance of David M'Keehan in 1807, who carefully and thoroughly edited Gass's writing.

McGregor's work is an annotated version of the Gass/M'Keehan work, with endnotes, index and bibliography. Gass's original journal is no longer in existence.

Moulton, Dr. Gary E., ed. THE JOURNALS OF THE LEWIS & CLARK EXPEDITION, VOLUMES 1-13. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2002. Most recently completed work, with maps, illustrations and journals of the six men whose journals have been located--Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, Sergeants Patrick Gass, John Ordway and Charles Floyd, and Private Joseph Whitehouse. Strengths of Moulton's work lie with his annotated endnotes and depth of resource materials. Each volume includes introduction, bibliography and index. VOLUME 13 includes comprehensive index for Volumes 1-12, and corrections/addendums for previous works.

VOLUME 1, ATLAS OF THE LEWIS & CLARK EXPEDITION includes Clark's map of May 19-24, 1805, showing "Sar-kah-gah-we-a or Bird Woman's Fork or R" [Map #39].

Osgood, Ernest S., ed. THE FIELD NOTES OF CAPTAIN WILLIAM CLARK, 1803-1805. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964. Clark's original notes for 13 December 1803 through 3 April 1805, including the winter at Fort Mandan. Here, the two captains met and hired Toussaint Charbonneau and his wife, Sacagawea, as interpreters. Clark frequently maintained a rough draft he called his "field notes," which he later developed into his daily journal entries. Excellent sidebar annotations and footnotes. Copies of pages of original "field notes;" index, sketches. Osgood's work is often used as a companion to Moulton's work or Thwaites' work.

Thwaites, Dr. Reuben Gold, ed. ORIGINAL JOURNALS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION, 1804-1806, VOLUMES 1-8. New York: Arno Press, 1964 [1904]. Completed in 1905; similar to Moulton. Some annotated materials; [site names, scientific names] are dated. Journals of two captains, Floyd and Whitehouse [through early-November 1805] only. Index in Volume 7; maps in Volume 8. Appendices include many letters found in Jackson.

Biographies of Sacagawea

Anderson, Irving W. A CHARBONNEAU FAMILY PORTRAIT. Astoria: Fort Clatsop Historical Association, 1988. The single most accurate biography of the Charbonneau family; lacks annotations and footnotes/endnotes. Bibliography. May be purchased from Fort Clatsop Historical Association at www.nps.gov/focl/catalog.htm Originally published as "A Charbonneau Family Portrait" in THE AMERICAN WEST: THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY March/April 1980.

Clark Ella E. and Margot Edmonds. SACAGAWEA OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. Biography in two parts--the Corps of Discovery and Sacagawea, and her life after 1806. Analysis of existing biographies and journals, her role with Expedition, her death in 1884 [Wind River Reservation, WY]. Endnotes, bibliography, index, list of "Sacagawea Memorials" [1979], map.

Crawford, Helen. "Sakakawea." NORTH DAKOTA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY 1, no. 3 [April 1927] : 4-15. Dated, but accurate. Footnotes.

Defenbach, Byron. RED HEROINES OF THE NORTHWEST. Caldwell: Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1930. Carefully researched, but very ethnocentric biography of three Native American women, including Sacagawea.

Frazier, Neta Lohnes. SACAJAWEA: THE GIRL NOBODY KNOWS. New York: David McKay and Company, 1967. Romanticized biography in two parts--the Corps of Discovery and Sacagawea, and her life after 1806. Explores various stories about her life, her relationship with Charbonneau, and her death. Dated. Bibliography, index.

Hebard, Dr. Grace R. SACAJAWEA: A GUIDE AND INTERPRETER OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE TRAVELS OF TOUSSAINT CHARBONNEAU, AND OF JEAN BAPTISTE, THE EXPEDITION PAPOOSE. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1957 [1932]. Well-researched; first to detail Sacagawea's post-expeditionary life and her death on the Wind River Reservation, WY in 1884, and young Charbonneau's travels in Europe. Author based conclusions on own work on Wind River Reservation and that of Dr. Charles Eastman of the Bureau of Indian Affairs [BIA]. Annotated footnotes, index; appendices include testimonies [of residents of Wind River reservation], analysis of name, memorials; bibliography. A must read to understand subsequent biographies, essays and discussions re: the many stories about her post-expeditionary life and death, and that of her son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau.

Howard, Harold. SACAJAWEA. Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1972. Sound, two-part biography. Analysis of life/death at Fort Manuel in 1812. Brief biographies of husband and son. Maps, bibliography, index, annotated footnotes; appendices ["Memorials to Sacajawea"].

Hunsaker, Joyce Badgley. SACAGAWEA SPEAKS: BEYOND THE SHINING MOUNTAINS WITH LEWIS & CLARK. Guilford, CT: TwoDot/The Globe Pequot Press, 2001. Based upon author's first-person presentation of Sacagawea. Interprets role of Sacagawea as a Native American woman, as a wife/mother, and as a member of the Corps of Discovery. Colorful illustrations, journal quotes, maps, timeline, biographies of Corps of Discovery, Shoshoni vocabulary, endnotes, bibliography.

Rees, John E. MADAME CHARBONNEAU: THE INDIAN WOMAN WHO ACCOMPANIED THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION, 1804-6. Salmon, ID: Lemhi County Historical Society, 1970. Dated [c. 1925] biographical sketch [as a letter from the author to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs]; analysis of name, "Sacajawea" [a Shoshoni word meaning "boat launcher"]. Footnotes.

Reid, Russell. SAKAKAWEA: THE BIRD WOMAN. Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 1986 [1950]. Brief biographical sketch and analysis of controversies surrounding her life. Illustrations, bibliography.

Saindon, Bob. "The Abduction of Sacagawea." WE PROCEEDED ON 2, no. 2 [Spring 1976] : 6-8. Examines route Sacagawea's captors may have used returning from the Three Forks area to the Knife River area. Footnotes.

Schultz, James Willard. BIRD WOMAN [SACAJAWEA]: THE GUIDE OF LEWIS AND CLARK; HER OWN STORY NOW FIRST GIVEN TO THE WORLD. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918.

Thomasm, Kenneth. THE TRUTH ABOUT SACAJAWEA. Jackson, WY: Grandview Publishing Company, 1997. Uses heavily edited entries from two captains' journals to describe, interpret young woman's role. Maps, illustrations, "Sah-kah-gar-we ah": The Spelling and the Meaning of Her Name [Maybe] (1) There is much scholarly, regional, and popular debate about the spelling of her name, and its meaning--Sacagawea? Sakakawea? Sacajawea? Readers will find additional information about her name, the spelling of it, and the various meanings of it in some of the essays [i.e. Anderson and Schroer, "Sacagawea: Her Name and Her Destiny"].

Anderson, Irving W. "Sacajawea? - Sakakawea? - Sacagawea?: Spelling, Pronunciation, Meaning." WE PROCEEDED ON 1, no. 3 [Summer 1975] : 10-11.

Saindon, Bob. "Sacajawea: Boat Launcher--The Origin and Meaning of A Name . . . Maybe." WE PROCEEDED ON 14, no. 3 August 1988 : 4-10.

Rees, John E. "Footnotes to History." IDAHO YESTERDAYS 2, no. 2 [Summer 1958] : 34-5. Brief review of

spelling and meaning of her name, Sacajawea. Originally published in 1923; footnotes.

Saindon, Bob. S'E-KAKA-WI'A: THE ETYMOLOGY OF AN INDIAN NAME. Privately Printed, 1998. Works of both Anderson and Saindon are thorough, scholarly, and well respected. All have endnotes, illustrations.

Shaul, David L. "The Meaning of the Name Sacajawea." ANNALS OF WYOMING 44 [Fall 1972] : 237-240. Briefly discusses validity and sources of both names, Sacajawea and Sakakawea. Footnotes, bibliography. Essays There is as much debate about Sacagawea's role as a member of the Corps of Volunteers for Northwest Discovery and her death, as there is about her name. You will find these essays thought provoking. Many of them contain detailed biographical materials, additional resource materials and copies of primary sources [letters, government documents].

Anderson, Irving W. "Probing the Riddle of the Bird Woman: How Long Did Sacajawea Live and Where Did She Die?" MONTANA: THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY 23, no. 4 [October 1973] : 2-17. Well-researched, careful analysis of the stories of Sacagawea's death. Footnotes, illustrations, copies of original documents.

Anderson, Irving W. and Blanche Schroer. "Sacagawea: Her Name and Her Destiny." WE PROCEEDED ON 25, no. 4 [November 1999] : 6-10; see also page 30. Careful analysis by two foremost scholars of Sacagawea. Endnotes; copies of some original documentation. All of Anderson's and Schroer's works are highly recommended.

Chuinard, Dr. E. G. "The Actual Role of the Bird Woman: Purposeful Member of the Corps or Casual 'Tag Along?'" MONTANA: THE MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY 26, no. 3 [Summer 1976] : 18-29. Careful analysis of role of Sacagawea, based on journals. Uses three columns, "eulogizers," "disparagers," and "moderates," to examine biographers/authors interpretations; includes bibliographies for each. One of best analysis of both her role and later interpretations of that role.

Dawson, Jan C. "Sacagawea: Pilot or Pioneer Mother?" PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY January 1992 : 22-27. Examines works of early "middle-class white women" who helped create the myths surrounding Sacagawea and her family. Footnotes.

Grinnell, Calvin. "Another View of Sakakawea." WE PROCEEDED ON 25, no. 2 [May 1999] : 16-21. Thoughtful view of her through eyes of Mandan-Hidatsa elders.

Howard, Helen Addison. "The Mystery of Sacagawea's Death." PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY 58, no. 1 [January 1967] : 1-6. Examines many of the controversies surrounding the young woman, including her role with the Corps of Discovery, her name, and the date/place of her death. Footnotes.

Karttunen, Frances. BETWEEN WORLDS: INTEPRETERS, GUIDES, AND SURVIVORS. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994. See "Over the Continental Divide: Sacajawea [ca. 1790- 1812 or 1884]." Overview of story; analysis of two captains' views of Native Americans, native women, Charbonneau and Sacagawea, as well as of conflicting views of her role and her life after the expedition.

Kessler, Donna J. THE MAKING OF SACAGAWEA: A EURO-AMERICAN LEGEND. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1996. One of most interesting and well-written analysis of our fascination with the story of Sacagawea; examines the various ways authors tell her story and explore her roles as a member of the Corps of Discovery, an "interpreters," and a wife and mother. Links authors' interpretation of her roles and personality with national events. Annotated endnotes, index, bibliography.

Kingston, C. S. "Sacajawea as a Guide: The Evaluation of a Legend." PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY 35, no. 1 [January 1944] : 3-18. One of early comparisons of Sacagawea's role as a "guide," as is described in the journals and in stories such as Dye's THE CONQUEST. Well-written; footnotes.

Large, Arlen J. "The Clark-Sacagawea Affair: A Literary Evolution." WE PROCEEDED ON 14, no. 3 [August 1988] : 14-18. A humorous look at the purported romance between Captain William Clark and Sacagawea, as it appears in fictional accounts. Endnotes.

Mumey, Nolie. SACAJAWEA: THE GREAT AMERICAN INDIAN HEROINE. Denver: Denver Brand Book. Essay supporting the story of her death on the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming. Footnotes, illustrations. "Sacajawea: A Symposium." ANNALS OF WYOMING 13, no. 3 [July 1941] : 162-94. Series of articles re: Sacagawea's life on the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming. Illustrations, footnotes. Includes rarely-seen copy of Dr. Charles Eastman's report [1925] re: her death.

Schroer, Blanche. "Boat Pusher or Bird Woman? Sacagawea or Sacajawea?" ANNALS OF WYOMING 52, no. 1 [Spring 1980] : 46-54. "Sacajawea: The Legend and the Truth." IN WYOMING 10, no. 5 [December-January 1978] : 20-44. Both are impeccable, well-researched, thoughtful material with footnotes. Excellent biographical material.

Taber, Ronald W. "Sacagawea and the Suffragettes." PACIFIC NORTHWEST QUARTERLY 58, no. 1 [January 1967] : 7-13. Analyzes relationship between two authors/suffragettes, Dye and Hebard, the suffrage movement in the west, and the development of the myth of Sacagawea. Dye described Sacagawea as the "faithful Indian woman with her baby on her back, leading those stalwart mountaineers and explorers . . ." both women believed her the perfect role model for the suffrage movement. Native American Resources.

Madsen, Brigham D. THE LEMHI: SACAJAWEA'S PEOPLE. Caldwell, ID: Caxton Printers, Ltd. 1990. There are very little well-written, sensitive materials about the Agaiduka [Lemhi] Shoshoni. Madsen's book tells their story in the years after the Corps of Discovery. Endnotes, illustrations, bibliography, index, appendices.

Ronda, James P. LEWIS AND CLARK AMONG THE INDIANS. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. Remains one of the finest analysis of Corp of Discovery. Includes chapter about relationship between Shoshoni and Corps, information re: role of Sacagawea. Endnotes, bibliography, index, illustrations.

Ruby, Robert H. and John A. Brown. A GUIDE TO THE INDIAN TRIBES OF THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992 [1986]. Brief histories of northwest tribes, including Bannock, Shoshone-Bannock Tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation [Idaho], and Shoshoni. Illustrations, maps, index; "Suggested Readings" for each tribe helpful.

Sturtevant, William C. ed. HANDBOOK OF NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS, Volume 11, THE GREAT BASIN, edited by Warren L. D'Azevedo. Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1986. In this volume, see especially: Malouf, Carling I. And John M. Findlay. EURO-AMERICAN IMPACT BEFORE 1870, p. 499-516.

Murphy, Robert F. and Yolanda. NORTHERN SHOSHONE AND BANNOCK, p. 284-307.

Shimkin, Demetri B. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE HORSE, p. 517-524. Well-written, scholarly works. Illustrations, maps, footnotes, bibliographies. Essential for any library.

Walker, Deward E., Jr. INDIANS OF IDAHO. Moscow: University of Idaho Press, 1982 [1978]. Information on subsistence, cultural, language and social organization of Shoshone-Bannock [including Agaiduka Shoshoni] in southern Idaho. Bibliography, illustrations, maps, glossary, index. No footnotes/endnotes.

Wilson, Gilbert L. BUFFALO BIRD WOMAN'S GARDEN: AGRICULTURE OF THE HIDATSA INDIANS. St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1987 [1917]. The Agaiduka Shoshoni were nomadic fishers, gatherers and hunters; the Hidatsa were farmers and hunters. It is important to understand both worlds Sacagawea grew up in. First hand account of traditional farming and preserving methods among Hidatsa women in 19th century. Other Materials Chuinard, Dr. E. G. ONLY ONE MAN DIED: THE MEDICAL ASPECTS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION. Glendale: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1980. Despite title, detailed and entertaining history of medical care by two captains. (2) Overview of journey, medical practices of early 19th century, those who trained Captain Meriwether Lewis. Footnotes, bibliography, index.

Clarke, Charles G. THE MEN OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION: A BIOGRAPHICAL ROSTER OF THE FIFTY-ONE MEMBERS AND A COMPOSITE DIARY OF THE ACTIVITIES FROM ALL KNOWN SOURCES. Glendale: Arthur H. Clark, 1970. Van Kirk, Sylvia. MANY TENDER TIES: WOMEN IN FUR-TRADE SOCIETY, 1670-1870. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980. Author explores social, economic, diplomatic ties that marriage brought to Euro-American [British, French] and métis traders and trappers and Native American women in Canada. The marriage of Charbonneau and Sacagawea was of this kind. Essential to understanding that relationship. Endnotes, bibliography, index, illustrations. Fiction

Blevins, Winfred. CHARBONNEAU: MAN OF TWO DREAMS. Ottawa, IL: Jameson Books, 1975. Story of Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. Bruchac, Joseph. SACAJAWEA: THE STORY OF BIRD WOMAN AND THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION. San Diego: Silver Whistle, 2000. Creative story, told through the words of Sacagawea and "Uncle" William Clark as a story to Jean Baptiste Charbonneau in 1811. Uses Native American legends, journal entries and first-person accounts. Bibliography.

Dye, Eva Emery. THE CONQUEST: THE TRUE STORY OF LEWIS AND CLARK. Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1902. Romanticized account of Expedition; emphasizes Sacagawea's role as guide, mother-figure leading the way into the wilderness.

Emmons, Dell Gould. SACAJAWEA OF THE SHOSHONES. Portland: Binfords & Mort, 1943. Movie, FAR HORIZONS, based on this book; frequently illustrated with black and white stills from movie. Bibliography.

Waldo, Anna Lee. SACAJAWEA. New York: Avon Books, 1979. Well-researched, with introductory notes and bibliography. Romantic fiction at its best. Popular best seller for years. 1. 1 This is the spelling as it first appears in the journal of Captain William Clark on 7 April 1805. Between the five journal keepers, there are at least 17 different spellings of her name. 2. 2 On the return journey [July 1806], Lewis and his small party fought with a small party of Blackfeet warriors; one Blackfeet warrior was killed and another may have died later of his injuries. Today, expedition scholars and aficionados are mindful of those deaths, and do not use the phrase "only one man died."