

SACAGAWEA, SUFFRAGE, AND MANIFEST DESTINY:
THE IRONIES OF AN ICON

Nicole Russo
Georgian Court University
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Twentieth century United States suffragists wanted a historical woman they could mold into a piece of propaganda. They chose Sacagawea, the Shoshone woman who, with her husband Toussaint Charbonneau and infant son, joined the Lewis and Clark expedition from 1805-1806. Suffragists wanted Sacagawea to represent the average American woman, and often twisted facts to turn her into the appropriate figure to represent their movement. The suffragists praised Sacagawea's character when discussing her womanhood while simultaneously ignoring or criticizing her Indigenous heritage and using her to glorify manifest destiny. Manifest destiny is the belief that the United States was intended by God to expand across North America. The suffrage movement has long been criticized for its failure to include women of color. White suffragists used Sacagawea to argue their right to vote but were not concerned about the political rights of Indigenous women. This paper focuses on the question: How did suffragists use Sacagawea to push multiple political agendas? The suffragists exploited Sacagawea's womanhood to make a case for advancing women's political power while also using her Indigenous heritage to spread the philosophy of manifest destiny.

Looking for a strong female figure whom American women could be proud of and whose story would further their campaign The National American Woman's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) landed on Sacagawea. Sacagawea's story was largely unknown by the public until the suffrage movement brought her to light. While the expedition was well discussed in the twentieth century, only eleven texts published in the nineteenth century made mention of Sacagawea. Sacagawea's story had been poorly recorded, which made it easier for suffragists to mold facts to fit both their pro-suffrage and manifest destiny narratives. Lewis and Clark were American heroes and the suffragists wanted to make Sacagawea their equal, they wanted a heroine. The suffragists brought new attention to Sacagawea and over the next several decades her life and role in the expedition

would be included in approximately two hundred texts. In the process they had turned Sacagawea into a household name.¹

Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, under orders of President Thomas Jefferson, sent out in the spring of 1804 to explore the newly purchased Louisiana territory and a passage to the Pacific Ocean. During their winter 1804-1805 encampment at fort Mandan, in present-day North Dakota, the expedition hired Toussaint Charbonneau, a French-Canadian, as an interpreter. Joining him was one of his young wives, Sacagawea, estimated to be around sixteen years old, and who was several months pregnant at the time. Sacagawea became an unofficial member of the expedition. On February 11, 1805 she gave birth to her son, Jean-Baptiste, often referred to as Pomp by other members of the expedition, who was only eight weeks old when the expedition continued in spring 1805.²

Sacagawea was born to the Shoshone tribe around 1781-1788. The Shoshones were a nomadic tribe that spent much of their time in present-day Idaho and Montana. During a battle with the Hidatsa, a tribe from present-day Montana and the Canadian Prairies also known as the Minitaree, Sacagawea was captured and taken prisoner around 12-14 years old, though some historians estimate that she may have been younger.³ Charbonneau had then bought or won Sacagawea from the Hidatsa and they lived among the Mandan, a tribe from the Great Plains that primarily occupied present-day North Dakota.⁴ The first published piece of information about Sacagawea comes from a letter written by Lewis to Jefferson which refers to her as an “Indian woman, wife to one of the interpreters.”⁵ Lewis also establishes the role they had envisioned for her, stating that “by means of the interpreters and Indians we shall be enabled probably to converse with all the Indians we shall meet on the Missouri.”⁶

While the original journals of Lewis, Clark, and other expedition members may seem like the most authentic portrayal of Sacagawea, many contradictions can be found as the writers struggled to confine her to the mold of a stereotypical Indigenous woman. Historian Donna Kessler explains that members of the expedition viewed Sacagawea through their preconceived biases about Indigenous women and transferred those biases into their journal entries. Kessler explained that this trend becomes very apparent when comparing earlier entries to later ones as the men became more acquainted with Sacagawea and saw that she was a unique and multidimensional person. One such stereotype was that Indigenous people were simplistic beings, content if their basic needs were met, and who lacked the ability to feel complex emotions. Sacagawea shattered this stereotype in several journal entries, notably during the very emotional surprise reunion with her brother. Lewis recorded that “the meeting of those people was really affecting.”⁷ Just a month earlier Lewis made a journal entry that proclaimed that Sacagawea was incapable of feeling such deep emotions. Commenting on her returning to the location of her kidnapping Lewis claimed, “I cannot discover that she shews any emotion of . . . joy in being again restored to her native country; if she has enough to eat and a few trinkets to wear I believe she would be perfectly content anywhere.”⁸ As Lewis became more acquainted with Sacagawea, he contradicted his previous descriptions of her as it was difficult to confine her to his stereotypes.

Sacagawea’s true thoughts and emotions are unknown, the best record is the interpretation made by the men of the expedition. While the suffragists attempt to explain Sacagawea’s thoughts and feelings, they are just interpreting an interpretation. The suffragists’ Sacagawea also suffers from their biases of Indigenous women. The suffragists also had to give Sacagawea back a personality which was not described by the original journals. This gave them some creative

freedom to make her fit perfectly into the figure they wanted but may not have been an accurate portrayal of Sacagawea's personality.⁹

For nearly a century the leading source chronicling the expedition was The History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark by Nicholas Biddle, commonly referred to as Biddle's edition. Biddle was hired by Clark to compile and edit the journals. Biddle frequently left out details he deemed uninteresting. This included Lewis and Clark's decision to include Sacagawea in a vote, a detail that was considered anything but uninteresting by the suffragists.¹⁰ When Lewis and Clark were determining where to set up their encampment for the winter of 1805-1806, they decided to consult the members of the expedition and held an election. Both Sacagawea and Clark's slave York were given a vote, a sign that their contributions were appreciated and that their opinions were valued. Upon discovering this in the original journals, the elated suffragists took this evidence and argued that if Lewis and Clark were able to reward Sacagawea's hard work with the right to vote, America should be able to do the same for its other brave and industrious women.¹¹

Biddle used specific language to shape the journals into an entertaining adventure story that painted Lewis and Clark as heroes and often downplayed the contributions of the other members of the expedition to do so. Biddle's Sacagawea therefore is juxtaposed to the suffragist's heroine that guided the expedition. Biddle gave Sacagawea a more casual role explaining "the Indian woman, who was acquainted with the country, recommended a gap more to the southward."¹² This recommendation is very different than the picture the suffragists painted of Sacagawea leading the expedition throughout the west. Biddle however understates the significance of this recommendation. Pointing out this gap on the return journey, present day Bozeman pass, was

Sacagawea's greatest guiding contribution and saved the group from taking a more treacherous path over the mountains.¹³

Biddle's edition is significant to the suffragist story for two reasons. First, Biddle's tone downed version of Sacagawea made her the perfect candidate for the suffragists to use. Sacagawea was a poorly known woman who was a part of a significant historical event that already had much public interest. Because her story was poorly known the suffragist's exaggerations and twisting of the truth were not immediately picked up by the public. Second, in Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, Grace Raymond Hebard's largest argument is dependent on information found in Biddle's edition that was not recorded in the original journals. There are conflicting records about Sacagawea's death date. Hebard argues that she lived to old age in Wyoming, continuing the theme that she helped the United States' government and white civilization take over the West. Hebard's main piece of evidence to prove this is by connecting another Indigenous woman by a different name to the identity of an orphaned nephew whose existence is only recorded in Biddle's edition.¹⁴

The suffragists carefully balanced Sacagawea's strong-will and vigor with her motherly gentleness. Often credited with bringing Sacagawea's story to light The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark by Eva Emery Dye inspired other suffragists to embrace Sacagawea as an example of the potential of American Women. In The Conquest, Dye claimed that "the presence of her child and herself gave a touch of domesticity to that Oregon winter" while in other parts of the text reminding the reader that "nor was Sacagawea idle with her baby on her back..." before delving into the ways Sacagawea's foraging skills were useful.¹⁵ The suffragists proved that Sacagawea was able to play a role in the success of the expedition while not neglecting her roles as a wife and mother. While the original journals had not been published yet, Dye was able to

consult them during her research. Despite this her account of the events clearly exaggerate Sacagawea's contributions to the expedition's success while other parts lacked supporting evidence.¹⁶

Sacagawea's determination and refusal to let men hold her back were the exact messages the suffragists had hoped American women would learn from and direct toward the campaign for voting rights. In The Conquest, Dye made Sacagawea's strength a key element of her story. For example, Sacagawea had wanted to join a small party to investigate a beached whale, but was denied by Charbonneau, Lewis, and Clark who cited that the trip would be too difficult for her and that she must stay behind to care for the baby. Dye explained that the denial was "a staggering blow to Sacajawea, but her woman's determination had become aroused and she took the rostrum, so to speak."¹⁷ Dye then explains how Sacagawea was able to convince Lewis and Clark to let her join the party, and that the captains had told Charbonneau that he would have to stay behind to care for the baby or carry him along. This story contains more fabricated details than what either Lewis or Clark had recorded in their journals, calling Sacagawea "importunate" and explaining that after such a long journey she had wished to see the ocean and a whale for the first time.¹⁸

Dye frequently included lines reminding readers of Sacagawea's femininity, one of NAWSA's desired traits as a model of femininity. These included an interest in domestic life: "Naturally, Sacagawea was interested in domestic utensils..." and "Sacagawea, with her beautiful dress and a husband who sometimes carried the baby...."¹⁹ As much as suffragists had wanted to expand women's roles into the public sphere, they were not advocating that woman stop being wives and mothers. Sacagawea's story helped them explain that women could handle more responsibility without having their ability to care for their family in the private sphere suffer.²⁰

Dye fabricated a conversation to insert Sacagawea's preference of white Euro-American culture and painted the idea that she supported manifest destiny. In describing an encounter between Sacagawea and a childhood friend, Dye wrote they, "...had been captured in the same battle ...; One had escaped to her own people; the other sold as a slave ...; they wandered off and talked of the wonderful fortune that had come to Sacagawea, the wife of a white man."²¹ While this encounter occurred and was recorded in the original journals, there is no record of what the girls discussed. In his original journal Lewis wrote, "the meeting of those people was really affecting, particularly between Sah cah-gar-we-ah and an Indian woman, who had been taken prisoner at the same time with her, and who had afterwards escaped from the Minnetares and rejoined her nation."²² Dye took advantage of this gap in information to insert her own assumption that Sacagawea must have preferred white Euro-American culture much more than that of the Shoshones, and that it made her grateful for being kidnapped from her family. The falsification of this encounter also contributed to the idea that Sacagawea favored Euro-American culture, purposefully welcoming it into the West, and that she viewed Indigenous cultures as inferior.²³

Towards the end of the book Dye pays tribute to Sacagawea's part in the fulfilment of manifest destiny. Having already exaggerated the expedition's success depending on Sacagawea it was easy for Dye to place great responsibility for the United States' ability to conquer the west on her shoulders as well. Dye wrote:

So had she stood in the Rocky Mountains pointing out the gates... Madonna of her race, she had led the way to a new time. To the hands of this girl, not yet eighteen, had been entrusted the key that unlocked the road to Asia ... Across North America a Shoshone Indian princess touched hands with Jefferson, opening her country.²⁴

In this passage Dye refers to Sacagawea as a "Madonna of her race" due to a dilemma that each suffragist encountered.²⁵ The suffragists wanted to praise Sacagawea and make her a role model for other women but struggled to cope with the fact that she was not white. Dye chooses to explain

that Sacagawea was among the most superior of Indigenous women and had accomplished something no other Indigenous woman could have done. Other suffragists followed Dye's approach which allowed Sacagawea to be an exception to their beliefs that Indigenous women were inferior to white women.²⁶

Dye also referred to Sacagawea as a princess and describes the West to be her country. This sentence is misleading and wrongly portrays how much power Sacagawea had. While Sacagawea's brother was a Chief, she held no leadership position within her tribe. Calling Sacagawea a princess and referring to the west as her country suggests that she had the authority to hand the land and its inhabitants over to the United States.²⁷ As historian Nancy Shoemaker described, this misconception is used to support the argument, "they, the conquered gladly assisted their own conquest" often made by defenders of manifest destiny. Portrayals like this caused Sacagawea to be criticized by other Indigenous Americans for being a traitor.²⁸

The suffragists have left a very physical impact on Sacagawea's legacy by constructing more statues of her than any other woman in the United States. The Woman's Club of Portland formed the Sacagawea Statue Association, unveiling the first statue at a joint ceremony held by the Lewis and Clark centennial exhibition and NAWSA in 1905.²⁹ Many notable suffragists were in attendance including Susan B. Anthony who gave the opening speech. Anthony proclaimed:

There have been statues in honor of philanthropists and others, but not for women who had done a patriotic duty. If it were not for that brave little Indian mother, there would be no Oregon or Portland... Next year the men of this proud Oregon, made possible by a woman, will have the opportunity of voting whether women are to have the rights that have been denied them so many years.³⁰

Suffragists embraced the fact that Sacagawea's story had been ignored by the nation for a century on deference to celebrating the strength and accomplishments of the expedition's men. The suffragists made the claim that the strength and accomplishments of these men were dependent on

Sacagawea's contributions, just as all of America's accomplishments were dependent on the unappreciated effort of its women. Through their commemoration of Sacagawea, the suffragists were also celebrating all the patriotic deeds of American women, deeds they argued were deserving of being rewarded with political power.³¹

One of the central themes of the suffragists' argument was that women could take on a larger public role without abandoning their duties as wives and mothers. In 1905 Kathrine Chandler published a supplementary reader for first and second graders titled The Bird-Woman of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Chandler consulted the original journals when writing her book, however her quotes are simplified paraphrases of what was written in the original journals and are not direct quotations. This simple language also makes her pro-suffrage messages obvious. When explaining that Lewis and Clark only paid Charbonneau and not Sacagawea Chandler commented, "in those days, people did not think of paying women."³² Chandler notes that Sacagawea is finally getting her deserved recognition and discusses the first statue recently unveiled in her honor in Portland. Chandler wrote, "This statue is put there because Lewis and Clark wrote in their books: 'The wonderful Bird-Woman did a full man's share to make the trip a success, besides taking care of her baby. She was one of the best of mothers.'"³³ Chandler is supporting the suffragist argument that women could handle more responsibility while still being excellent wives and mothers. She also expresses Lewis and Clark's appreciation for Sacagawea which the suffragists used to claim that the United States should be equally as appreciative of its hardworking women.

Chandler's manifest destiny theme is less obvious than other texts, but still influences her portrayal of Sacagawea and other Indigenous people. The most responsibility Chandler places on Sacagawea is in her sentence explaining that Sacagawea "showed the white men the way to the west."³⁴ Chandler's book however often discusses Indigenous people as simplistic beings, much

like the original journals do, and portrays them as inferior to white men. Commenting on Sacagawea's son, Chandler claims, "Indian babies do not laugh much and they do not cry much."³⁵ This simplistic portrayal follows many of the same stereotyped descriptions of Sacagawea and other Indigenous people found in the original journals.

The suffragists argued that increasing women's public involvement would be beneficial to the country. Laura Tolman Scott presented her paper, "Sacagawea (The Bird Woman): The Unsung Heroine of Montana 1805-1806" to the Montana Federation of Women's club in June of 1914. As the title suggests, Scott believed that Sacagawea had not received enough recognition for her contribution to the expedition and was therefore campaigning for Montana to erect a statue in her honor. Scott continues the theme that women could take on more roles explaining that "our first pioneer was a woman and a mother, bearing her child upon her back..."³⁶ Scott further argues that Sacagawea's actions were not unique, but the natural result of what women would do if given more responsibility. Scott describes, "Hers [Sacagawea] was the patient, untiring, faithful heroism of the woman that just performed her simple duty as it came to her day by day."³⁷

Many of Scott's reasons for honoring Sacagawea are attributed to her role in the achievement of manifest destiny. At the end of the paper Scott lists thirty-one reasons why Montana should erect a Sacagawea statue. Reason nine states, "She was the mascot of the first white men to cross America."³⁸ This reason has nothing to do with Sacagawea's contributions or accomplishments. It suggests that Sacagawea should be celebrated for simply being involved in an accomplishment of white men. Reason twenty-four states, "she was the first Rocky Mountain Indian to embrace Christianity and civilized ways."³⁹ This reason has nothing to do with suffrage, but Scott's decision to include was to persuade the group of white Christian women that an Indigenous woman was worthy of commemorating.

Many of these works discuss Sacagawea and manifest destiny with hindsight bias. This is especially apparent in Sacagawea the Indian Princess, a play written by Anna Wolfam in 1918. While the play portrays Sacagawea as a strong female protagonist, it does not push suffrage messages as heavily as the other texts do. The very last line in the play is spoken by Sacagawea excitedly proclaiming “the sea! The sea has met the sea at last.”⁴⁰ The United States had no official claim to the Oregon territory at the time of the expedition. While Jefferson wanted this land explored with hopes of eventually acquiring it, the expedition’s main goal in the territory was to identify the best trading routes. Wolfam and others have wrongly connected the expedition, and Sacagawea’s role in it, to the later acquisition of the Oregon territory.⁴¹

The suffragists and the public struggled to view an Indigenous woman as worthy of national celebration. Grace Raymond Hebard’s book Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1933) was her lifelong work, but her interest in Sacagawea was sparked during the suffrage movement. In 1907 Hebard published an article titled “Pilot of First White Men to Cross the American Continent.” Hebard’s article calls for the “recognition of Sacajawea as the women who guided the explored to the New Golden Empire.”⁴² Despite this, her title does not even mention Sacagawea by name. The title of Hebard’s article is reminiscent of one of Scott’s arguing points for erecting a statue. NAWSA picked Sacagawea due to her connection to Lewis and Clark but knew that the public would be hesitant to celebrate an Indigenous woman. Hebard may have felt that including Sacagawea’s name in the title of her article would have driven away potential readers.⁴³

Hebard portrayed Sacagawea as having a lifelong role in the realization of manifest destiny. Describing one of these scenarios Hebard claimed, “Sacajawea exercised great and beneficial influence over her people and was of inestimable service to the whites and to the American

government... Sacajawea made her influence felt in the council of 1868 at Fort Bridgers and that she sought to persuade her people to live at peace with the whites.”⁴⁴ This treaty established a reservation for the Shoshone. Hebard claims that Sacagawea was the one who convinced her family that they should move to the reservation. Hebard goes further than the other suffragists who focused on how Sacagawea’s role in the expedition helped the United States achieve manifest destiny. Hebard’s Sacagawea had actively worked her whole life to help the United States conquer the west, even at the expense of forcing her own tribe off their native lands.⁴⁵

Unlike the other suffragists Hebard spoke about Sacagawea being viewed by a traitor by some and a hero by others. Hebard explained that “She [Sacagawea] was naturally not inclined to boast of an exploit which, by bringing the first white men into the territory of her people, eventually destroyed their hunting grounds and brought an end to their freedom. In other words, that which might be regarded as worthy of great praise among the whites would be bitterly condemned by the Indians, and naturally she did not care to court such unpopularity.”⁴⁶ This statement demonstrates the impact the suffragists exaggeration about Sacagawea’s role in the expedition had on her legacy. The falsification that Sacagawea was responsible for bringing the white men into the west has led to wrongfully informed praise and criticism.⁴⁷

To argue that Sacagawea had lived to old age, and thus assisted the United States throughout her lifetime, Hebard cites multiple sources with questionable credibility. There are conflicting historical records surrounding the date of Sacagawea’s death however Hebard is adamant that records which claimed Sacagawea died a few years after the expedition confused her with Charbonneau’s other wife.⁴⁸ Among her questionable sources Hebard cites a diary entry from Prince Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg whom Jean Baptiste had worked with. In the entry Prince Paul explains the family’s connection to the expedition while referring to Baptists and

Charbonneau in the present tense but Sacagawea in the past tense, suggesting that she was no longer alive. Hebard however uses this diary entry to argue that Sacagawea was still alive when it was written.⁴⁹ She also cited information from Biddle's edition that was not recorded in any of the original journals and is unclear where the information came from.⁵⁰ Despite the flawed credibility of her written sources, Hebard's argument that Sacagawea had lived to old age gains credibility through her interviews with Indigenous people who have claimed to have known her. Hebard reminds us that "although the Indians have no written history, their memories are trained to a remarkable degree to retain tribal history; and Indian verbal testimony is, therefore, as much to be relied upon as the writings of any other race."⁵¹

In conclusion, the suffragists' portrayal of Sacagawea demonstrates both the argument the movement made for advancing women's political rights and its failure to consider women of color as equally deserving of those rights. Sacagawea's story has never and unfortunately can never be told authentically. The original journals are interpretations made by men who has strong biases about Indigenous women while Biddle's edition played down her importance. Sacagawea was portrayed as an average American woman, whose accomplishments while being a wife and mother were attributes of an average woman and an example of what the country could gain if women were given more political rights. But the suffragists often contradicted themselves when discussing Sacagawea's Indigenous heritage. Sacagawea suddenly was no longer average, but the best Indigenous woman in the nation and whose accomplishments were an exception to the potential of Indigenous women. The suffragists' considered the best Indigenous woman to be only as good as the average white woman, the mindset that is reflected in the exclusivity of the movement.

¹ Wanda Pillow, "Searching for Sacajawea: Whitened Reproductions and Endarkened Representations," *Hypatia* 22, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 1,4; Gail H. Landsman, "The 'Other' as

Political Symbol: Images of Indians in the Woman Suffrage Movement,” Ethnohistory 39, no. 3 (Summer 1992): 271, 273.

² Dawson, “Sacagawea: Pilot or Pioneer Mother?” pp. 22-28; Patricia Vettle-Becker, “Sacagawea and Son: The Visual Construction of America’s Maternal Feminine,” American Studies 50, no. 1 (Spring/ Summer 2009): 27-28, 37, 44; Nancy Shoemaker, “Native American Women in History,” OAH Magazine of History 9, no. 4 (Summer 1995): 10; Quig Nielsen, “Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition,” Wild West 12, no. 4 (December 1999): 37-38.

³ Sally McBeth, “Sacagawea” in American National Biography (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

⁴ Robert J. Miller, Native America, Discovered and Conquered: Thomas Jefferson, Lewis and Clark, and Manifest Destiny (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), pp. 103.

⁵ Meriwether Lewis, “A Letter from Captain Meriwether Lewis to the President of the United States. Fort Mandan, April 7th, 1805” Virginia Argus, July 24, 1805, p. 265.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Meriwether Lewis, and William Clark, The Journals of Lewis and Clark 1804-1806 (Salt Lake City, UT: Project Gutenberg, 2013), August 17, 1805.

⁸ Ibid., July 25, 1805.

⁹ Donna J. Kessler, The Making of Sacagawea: A Euro-American Legend (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1996), pp. 48, 54-5, 59.

¹⁰ Gunther Barth, “Timeless Journals: Reading Lewis and Clark with Nicholas Biddle’s help,” Pacific Historical Review 63, no. 4 (November 1994): 518.

¹¹ Harry W. Fritz, The Lewis and Clark Expedition (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2004), p. 46; Landsman, “The ‘Other’ as Political Symbol,” pp. 273-74; Patricia Vettle-Becker, “Sacagawea and Son: The Visual Construction of America’s Maternal Feminine,” American Studies 50, no. 1 (Spring/ Summer 2009): 34; Patrick Gass, A Journal of the Voyages and Travels of a Corps of Discovery (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), November 24, 1805; Lewis and Clark, The Journals of Lewis and Clark 1804-1806, November 24, 1805.

¹² Nicholas Biddle, The History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark to the Sources of the Missouri, Thence Across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River

Columbia to the Pacific Ocean. Performed During the Years 1804-5-6, (Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, and ABM. H. Inskeep, 1814), p. 375.

¹³ Fritz, The Lewis and Clark Expedition, p. 32; McBeth, “Sacagawea.”

¹⁴ Kessler, The Making of Sacagawea, pp. 55-6; 63-4; Grace Raymond Hebard, Sacagawea: 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, CA: Arthur H Clark, 1933), p. 64.

¹⁵ Eva Emery Dye, The Conquest: The True Story of Lewis and Clark (Salt Lake City, UT: Project Gutenberg, 2013), pp. 245, 209.

¹⁶ Jane Dawson, “Sacagawea: Pilot or Pioneer Mother?,” The Pacific Northwest Quarterly 83, no. 1 (January 1992): 24; Landsman, “The ‘Other’ as Political Symbol: Images of Indians in the Woman Suffrage Movement,” p. 271 Rebecca K. Jager, Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea: Indian Women as Cultural Intermediaries and National Symbols (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), p. 251; Pillow, “Searching for Sacajawea: Whitened Reproductions and Endarkened Representations,” p. 4; Vettle-Becker, “Sacagawea and Son,” p. 28; Kessler, The Making of Sacagawea, p. 67.

¹⁷ Dye, The Conquest, p. 250.

¹⁸ Dye, The Conquest, pp. 249-50; Vettle-Becker, “Sacagawea and Son,” p. 34; Lewis and Clark, The Journals of Lewis and Clark 1804-1806, January 6, 1806; Landsman, “The ‘Other’ as Political Symbol,” p. 273.

¹⁹ Dye, The Conquest, p. 252.

²⁰ Jager, Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea, pp. 249, 251; Dye, The Conquest, pp. 197, 245; Vettle-Becker, “Sacagawea and Son,” p. 28, 34, 37.

²¹ Dye, The Conquest, p. 277.

²² Lewis and Clark, The Journals of Lewis and Clark 1804-1806, August 17, 1805.

²³ Jager, Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea, p. 257.

²⁴ Dye, The Conquest, p. 290.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Kessler The Making of Sacagawea, pp. 82, 89.

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- ²⁷ Dawson, "Sacagawea: Pilot or Pioneer Mother?" p. 26.
- ²⁸ Shoemaker, "Native American Women in History," p. 10; Vettle-Becker, "Sacagawea and Son," p. 45.
- ²⁹ Pillow, "Searching for Sacajawea: Whitened Reproductions and Endarkened Representations," pp. 1,4; Landsman, "The 'Other' as Political Symbol," pp. 271, 273.
- ³⁰ Susan B. Anthony, Susan B. Anthony Scrapbook, April 12-July 6, 1905 (Lewis and Clark Special Collections and Archives, Lewis and Clark College), p. 18.
- ³¹ Dye, The Conquest, pp. 209, 290; Landsman, "The 'Other' as Political Symbol," pp. 273-74; Pillow, "Searching for Sacajawea: Whitened Reproductions and Endarkened Representations," p. 6; Jager, Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea, pp. 255-56; Tim Grove, "You Can't Write My History," History News 69, no.3 (Summer 2014): 12; Nielsen, "Sacagawea of the Lewis and Clark Expedition," p. 39.
- ³² Katherine Chandler, The Bird-Woman of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (San Francisco: Silver Burdett and Company, 1905), p. 107.
- ³³ Chandler, The Bird-Woman of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, pp. 108-9.
- ³⁴ Chandler, The Bird-Woman of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, p. 9.
- ³⁵ Chandler, The Bird-Woman of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, p. 22.
- ³⁶ Laura Tolman Scott, "Sacagawea (The Bird Woman): The Unsung Heroine of Montana 1805-1806," (Lewiston, MT: The Montana Federation of Women's Club, June 1914), p. 14.
- ³⁷ Scott, "Sacagawea (The Bird Woman): The Unsung Heroine of Montana 1805-1806," p. 7.
- ³⁸ Scott, "Sacagawea (The Bird Woman): The Unsung Heroine of Montana 1805-1806," p. 16.
- ³⁹ Scott, "Sacagawea (The Bird Woman): The Unsung Heroine of Montana 1805-1806," p. 17.
- ⁴⁰ Anna Wolfam, Sacajawea the Indian Princess: The Indian Girl Who Piloted the Lewis and Clark Expedition Across the Rocky Mountains. A Play in Three Acts, (Kansas City, MO: Burton, 1918), p. 31.
- ⁴¹ Miller, Native America, Discovered and Conquered, pp, 127-9, 138-9, 152.
- ⁴² Grace Raymond Hebard, "Pilot of First White Men to Cross the American Continent," Journal of American History 1, (1907): 467.

⁴³ Jager, Malinche, Pocahontas, and Sacagawea, p. 249.

⁴⁴ Hebard, Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, pp. 165-66.

⁴⁵ Kessler The Making of Sacagawea, p. 99.

⁴⁶ Hebard, Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, pp. 216-17.

⁴⁷ Shoemaker, "Native American Women in History," p. 10; Vettle-Becker, "Sacagawea and Son," p. 45.

⁴⁸ Hebard, Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, p. 111; Kessler, The Making of Sacagawea, pp. 100-01.

⁴⁹ Hebard, Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, pp. 121, 134.

⁵⁰ Hebard, Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, pp. 64, 67-68, n. 23.

⁵¹ Hebard, Sacagawea: A Guide and Interpreter of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, p. 20.

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