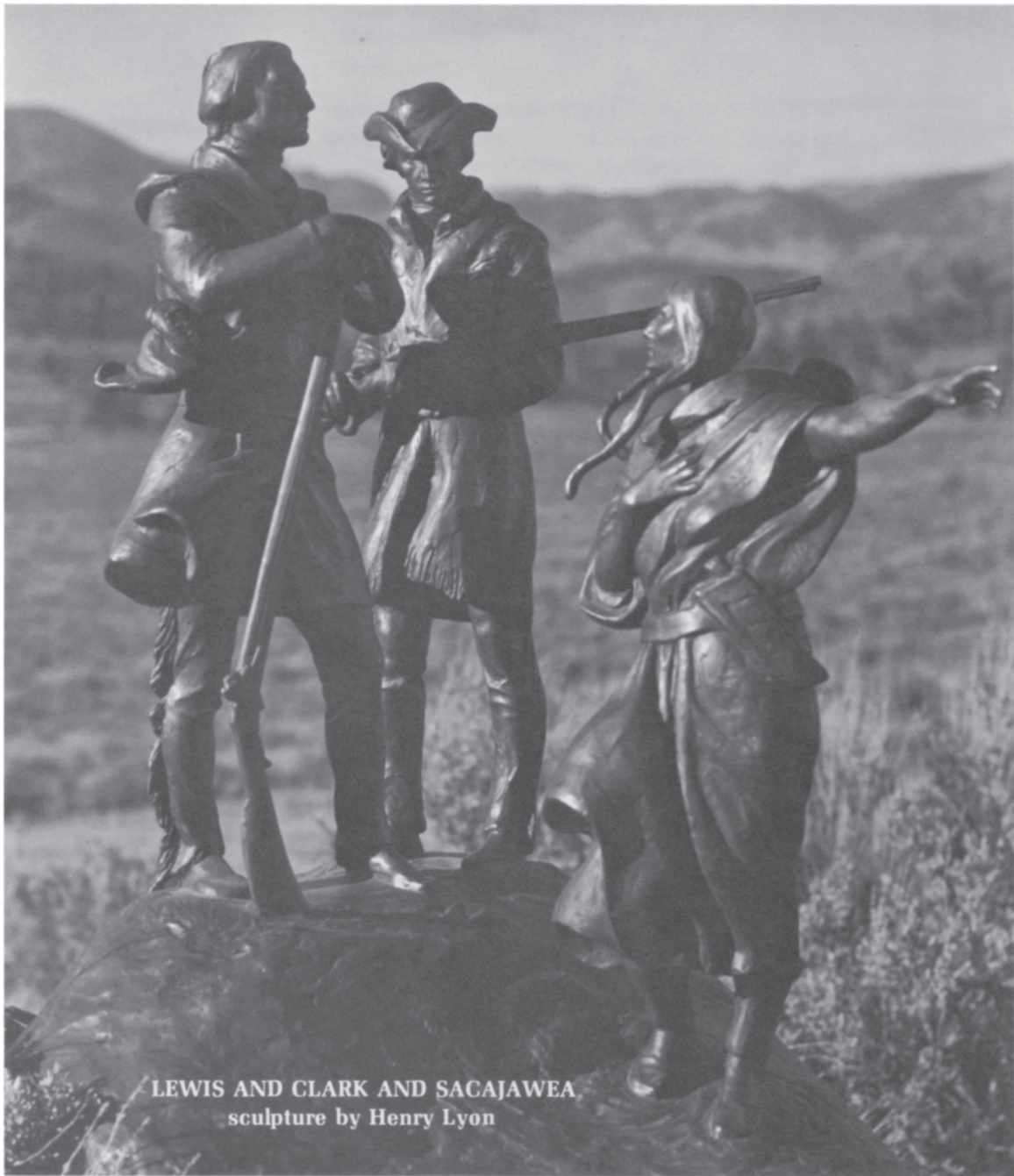


PROBING THE RIDDLE



LEWIS AND CLARK AND SACAJAWEA
sculpture by Henry Lyon

how long did Sacajawea live?

OF THE BIRD WOMAN

by IRVING W. ANDERSON

The Lewis and Clark Expedition of 1803-1806 is one of the great classical romances of American History. It is, indeed, the nation's epic. The exploring party which travelled west from its 1804-1805 winter camp at Fort Mandan (near Bismarck, North Dakota), to the Pacific (Fort Clatsop, Oregon), and return in 1806, was a heterogeneous group of thirty-three people who proved a remarkable blend of dedication, bravery, loyalty, and resourcefulness. By fate, the makeup of the members broadly represented multi-racial America and attendant social strata; by deed they significantly set the stage for what President Polk would later espouse as the nation's "Manifest Destiny."

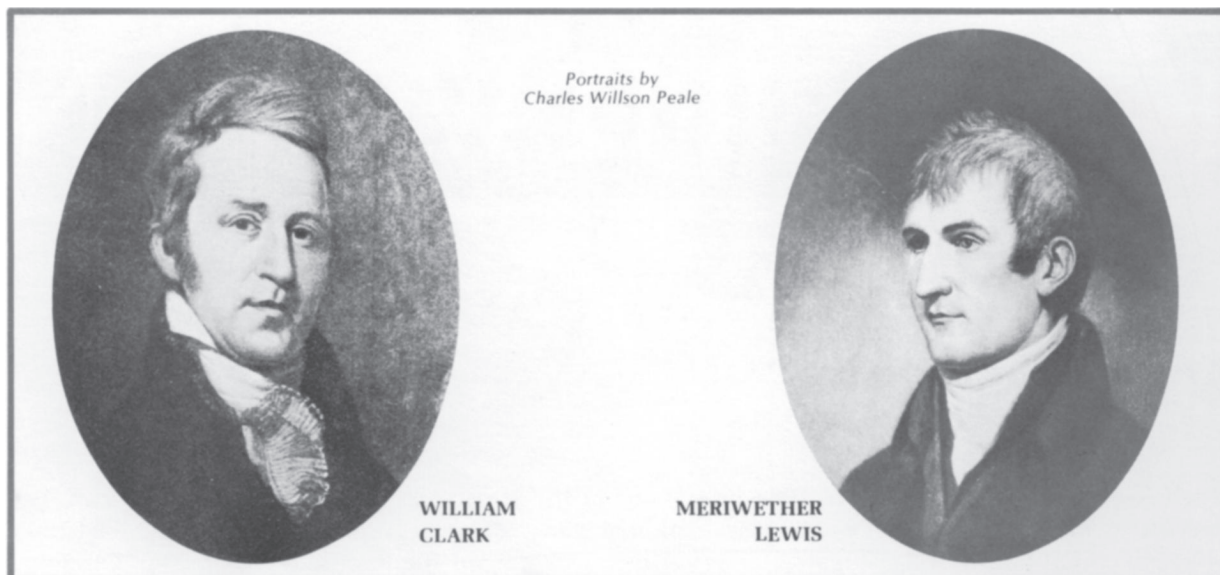
The permanent party of the "Corps of Discovery" was comprised of thirty-one men of widely diverse heritage, including one black, Clark's slave, York; there was one woman, a Shoshone Indian and her newly born infant, the halfbreed son of the expedition's French-Canadian interpreter, Toussaint Charbonneau. Rounding out the party was Scannon, Meriwether Lewis' Newfoundland dog.

Contributions made by this famous group have been a prideful legacy to Americans now for more than a century and a half. Yet, incredibly, persistent contradictions cloud the facts surrounding the personal lives of many of the participants in the years following the expedition, including their deaths and places of burial. Foremost of these is the mystery surrounding the death of Meriwether Lewis, co-commander of the Expedition. No conclusive cause of his untimely death under strange circumstances along the Natchez Trace in Tennessee only three years after the journey ended has ever been established. Similarly, several others perished on the frontier, and still more died in oblivion, with no recorded dates or places of death.

Paradoxically, two members of the corps have been attributed with two widely separated dates and places of death and burial. These were Sacajawea, the Shoshone woman, and her papoose, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. Both mother and son have been romanticized by several writers who believed each lived out his life on the Wind River Indian Reservation in Wyoming — the mother dying in 1884, the son in 1885. Recently discovered documents, however, provide conclusive evidence that the son, Baptiste, died on May 16, 1866, at present Danner, Oregon, where his grave is now formally recognized as a Registered National Historic Place.

As for the fate of Sacajawea, gradually emerging shreds of new evidence have come to light in recent years, which, when carefully examined within the context of related events of the period, leave little doubt as to the time and place of her death. The development of this new evidence into a chronological framework is the principal goal of the present effort. It is hoped that the historical research represented by this work, will, in turn, resolve identity contradictions which have persisted most of the present century concerning this remarkable Indian woman.

where and when did she die?



SACAJAWEA HAS been called "The girl nobody knows," by one writer.^{1/} Considering that the major documentation of her personality is contained in records embracing a mere 20 months of her life, this is indeed a truism. Although many treatises on her life have been published, we are actually indebted almost exclusively to Lewis and Clark for facts concerning Sacajawea's character and personal worth. That she was held in high esteem by both captains is clearly borne out in their journals. Consistently favorable, the journal entries cast insight as well into a bond of admiration and affection on the part of the two leaders which progressively expands throughout the journey.

The late Dr. Grace Raymond Hebard, Professor of Political Economy at the University of Wyoming, in 1932 published her comprehensive volume, *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.*^{2/}

Dr. Hebard's book represents several decades of extensive research and study of a theory concerning the life of Sacajawea after the expedition. Her volume has received many subsequent printings, and, in effect, has served as both the popular authority and standard biographical text in libraries and schools throughout the world. Since Dr. Hebard's work has this standing, it is appropriate that it serve as the principal reference from which departure may be made with respect to documents relating to the subject, some of which have been found since Dr. Hebard's death in 1936. This writer attempts to equate such documents against the Hebard text in the following narration, which, for the purpose of this publication, commences where the Lewis and Clark journals leave off.

¹ Frazier, Neta Lohnes, *Sacajawea: The Girl Nobody Knows*. New York, 1967.

² Hebard, Grace Raymond, *Sacajawea*, 1932. All excerpts published herein are reprinted by permission of the publishers, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, Calif.

ON AUGUST 17, 1806, as the homeward-bound corps prepared to depart the Mandan Indian Villages for the downstream voyage to St. Louis, William Clark wrote in his journal the last entry devoted to Toussaint Charbonneau, his wife, Sacajawea, and their son, Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. The entry states, in pertinent part:

Settled with Touissant Chabono for his services as an enterpreter the price of a horse and Lodge purchased of him for public Service in all amounting to 500\$ 33 1/3 cents . . .

we were visited by all the principal Chiefs of the Menetarras to take their leave of us at 2 oClock we left our encampment after takeing leave of Colter who also Set out up the river in company with Messrs. Dickson & Handcock. we also took our leave of T. Chabone, his Snake Indian wife and their child who had accompanied us on our rout to the Pacific Ocean in the capacity of interpreter and interprete(s)s. T. Chabono wished much to accompany us in the said Capacity if we could have provoided (upon) the Menetarre Chiefs to des(e)nd the river with us to the U. States, but as none of those Chiefs of whoes language he was Conversent would accompany us, his services were no longer of use to the U. States and he was therefore discharged and paid up. we offered to convey him down to the Illinois if he chose to go, He declined proceeding on at present, observing that he had no acquaintance or prospects of makeing a liveing below, and must continue to live in the way that 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 sufficiently old to leave his mother & he would then take him to me if I would be so friendly as to

raise the child for him in such a manner as I thought proper, to which I agreed &c.^{3/}

On August 20, 1806, Clark expressed again his deep affection for the Charbonneau family. As the descending party drifted past the mouth of the Cannonball River (North Dakota), and ironically approached the site of future Fort Manuel, where six years later Sacajawea would die, Clark wrote a confidential letter to Toussaint:

CHARBONO:

Sir: Your present Situation with the Indians givs me Some concern — I wish now I had advised you to come on with me to the Illinois where it most probably would be in my power to put you in Some way to do Something for your Self — I was so engaged after the Big White had concluded to go down with Jessomme as his Interpreter, that I had not time to talk with you as much as I intended to have done. You have been a long time with me and have conducted your Self in Such a manner as to gain my friendship, your woman who accompanied you that long dangerous and fatiguing rout to the Pacific Ocean and back, deserved a greater reward for her attention and Services on that rout than we had in our power to give her at the Mandans. As to your little Son (my boy Pomp) you well know my fondness for him and my anxiety to take and raise him as my own child. I once more tell you if you will bring your son Baptist to me I will educate him and treat him as my own child — I do not forget the promis which I made to you and Shall now repeet them that you may be certain — Charbono, if you wish to live with the white people, and will come to me I will give you a piece of land and furnish you with horses cows & hogs — If you wish to visit your friends in Montreall 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 procure 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 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 —. If you are desposed to accept either of my offers to you and will bring down your Son and your famn Janey had best come along with you to take care of the boy untill I get him — let me advise you to keep your Bill of Exchange and what furs and peltries you have in possession, and get as much more as you can —, and get as many robes, and big horn and Cabbra Skins as you can collect in the course of this winter. and take them down to

³ Reuben G. Thwaites, ed., *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804-1806* (New York, 1904-1905), V. p. 344.

St. Louis as early as possible in the Spring — When you get to St. Louis enquire of the Governner of that place for a letter which I shall leave with him for you — in the letter which I shall leave with the governer I shall inform you what you had best do with your firs peltrees and robes &c and dertect you where to find me — If you should meet with any misfortune on the river &c. when you get to St. Louis write a letter to me by the post and let me know your Situation — If you do not intend to go down either this fall or in the Spring, write a letter to me by the first oppertunity and inform me what you intend to do that I may know if I may expect you or not. If you ever intend to come down this fall or the next Spring will be the best time — this fall would be best if you could get down before the winter —. I shall be found either in St. Louis or in Clarksville at the Falls of the Ohio.

Wishing you and your family great suckcess & with anxious expectations of seeing my little dancing boy Baptist I shall remain your friend

WILLIAM CLARK

Keep this letter and let not more than one or 2 persons see it, and when you write to me Seal your letter. I think you best not determine which of my offers to accept untill you see me. Come prepared to accept of either which you may chuse after you get down.

Mr. Teousant Charbono, Menetarras Village.^{4/}

THIS LETTER is the last correspondence of record between the "kind red-head captain" and the Charbonneau family while they remained at Mandan. And it is from this time onward that the life of Sacajawea and her family becomes mysterious, both as to events in time and place, and as to the cast of family characters, as portrayed by Dr. Hebard.

Prior to this point in her book, the author develops an extensive hypothesis concerning the polygamous Toussaint Charbonneau, and off-spring. Thus, according to Dr. Hebard, Charbonneau, his two Shoshone wives — Sacajawea, and another she calls Otter Woman — and his two sons, Baptiste, and Toussaint, Jr., a son by Otter Woman — arrived in St. Louis in August 1806.^{5/} Hebard then states that Toussaint, Sr. deposited his family in St. Louis, and journeyed off on a trapping expedition to the rivers of the southwest for a period of four years.

Returning Charbonneau, Sr. to St. Louis, Dr. Hebard accurately documents his purchase of a tract of land from William Clark on October 30, 1810, as well as his transfer of the land back to Clark on March 26, 1811. Dr. Hebard then utilizes a series of documents that this writer also found of record,

⁴ *Ibid*, VII, pp. 329-330; Appendix LIX.

⁵ Hebard, *op. cit.*, p. 89. This is a truly remarkable accomplishment, considering that even the Lewis and Clark Expedition, which sailed from Mandan on an uninterrupted schedule, did not arrive in St. Louis until September 23, 1806!

including the following journal entry made by Henry M. Brackenridge on April 2, 1811, while accompanying Manuel Lisa's fur trading expedition up the Missouri River:

We have on board a Frenchman named Charbonet, with his wife, an Indian woman of the Snake nation, both of whom accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific, and were of great service. The woman, a good creature, of a mild and gentle disposition, was greatly attached to the whites, whose manners and airs she tries to imitate; but she had become sickly and longed to revisit her native country; her husband also, who had spent many years amongst the Indians, was become weary of civilized life.⁶

In commenting on these remarks by Brackenridge, Dr. Hebard states that the Snake (Shoshone) wife in company with Charbonneau was Otter Woman:

This woman, a Shoshone, was somewhat older than Sacajawea, with whom she was on friendly terms, and was the mother of one of Charbonneau's other sons, Toussaint, a lad a few years older than his half-brother, Baptiste. Toussaint in later years was also frequently called "Tessou."

When Charbonneau started on the expedition with Brackenridge, he left Sacajawea, Baptiste, and Toussaint in the care of Captain Clark at St. Louis. Captain Clark acted as guardian for the two boys, though not in a legal capacity . . .

In this account Brackenridge seems to identify the woman who accompanied his expedition with Sacajawea, but investigation shows this to be incorrect. Charbonneau at this time had at least three wives; two Shoshone and one Mandan, and the woman mentioned by Brackenridge was not Sacajawea but his other Shoshone wife, the mother of Toussaint. Baptiste was still too young to be left in St. Louis without his mother's care since he was only six years old, and Sacajawea remained to care for her son and also to have oversight of the older boy, Toussaint . . .⁷

Dr. Hebard eventually traces Charbonneau and his Snake wife mentioned by Brackenridge to Fort Manuel, the headquarters established by Manuel Lisa on the Upper Missouri in 1812. Alluding to the record kept by John C. Luttig, Lisa's clerk on this expedition, the author states:

On December 20, 1812, Luttig made the following entry in his journal:

*This evening the wife of Charbonneau, a Snake squaw, died of a putrid fever. She was the best woman in the fort, aged about twenty-five years. She left a fine infant child.
[sic]*

⁶ Brackenridge, Henry M., *Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri*, 1811, Thwaites, *Early Western Travels*, Vol. VI, p. 32.

⁷ Hebard, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-93.

This child, named Lizette, was born in August, and was thus about four months old at the time of her mother's death. It is evident, moreover, that this Indian mother was the "Otter Woman," referred to by Brackenridge, and that she had only the one child with her at the time of her death. Had it been otherwise the fact would certainly have been noted in Luttig's journal.

A number of Indian tribes were then hostile to American traders, and, as a consequence, Charbonneau left his motherless child with some of the Indian women at Lisa's headquarters when he accompanied the expeditions of the fur-traders. From one of these expeditions Charbonneau failed to return to the Mandan country and Luttig, therefore, supposing that he was dead, took Charbonneau's baby, Lizette, to St. Louis in the fall of 1813 to have a guardian appointed for her. Her brother, Toussaint, as we have already seen in a preceding chapter, was then already in St. Louis. When Luttig reached St. Louis, Clark was temporarily absent from the city. As a consequence, the court named Luttig temporary guardian of the two children, but when Clark returned to St. Louis, he relieved Luttig of this responsibility. The court record reads as follows:

The court appoints John A. [sic] Luttig (this name is crossed out and that of William Clark substituted) guardian to the infant children of Tousant Charbonneau deceased, to wit:

Tousant Charbonneau, a boy about the age of ten years; and Lizette Charbonneau, a girl about one year old. The said infant children not being possessed of any property within the knowledge of the court, the said guardian is not required to give bond.

At this time Sacajawea and her son Baptiste were also in St. Louis living under Clark's protection. Clark, however, did not assume the legal guardianship of Baptiste because the boy was still living with his mother and a guardianship was hence unnecessary. Sacajawea, indeed, had never left or abandoned her son to the care of anyone since his birth in the Mandan country eight and one half years before. It is also certain that Sacajawea had not returned with Charbonneau to the Mandans in 1811.⁸

Dr. Hebard predicates her latter conclusion upon a report made to the office of Indian affairs by Dr. Charles A. Eastman, in 1925. Written 112 years after the 1813 guardianship proceedings referred to, Dr. Eastman provides the following opinion:

The court record shows that Baptiste, the child of Sacajawea, was conspicuously absent. This means that Baptiste had been retained in St. Louis when Charbonneau and his other Snake wife had gone back to the Indian country as stated by Brackenridge. Baptiste was too young to be separated from his mother, and my

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-113.

Chajennes, 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, aged abt 25 years she left
 a fine infant girl.
 Monday the 21st, Clear and moderate, paid off our
 Indian hunters, and they left fort together with the
 Chajennes for their Village in the Evening, several Men
 came from the Mandan, and told us that Jommebram
 ing also from the Mandan, had been robbed and whipped
 by the Band of Chajennes at the River Bullet
 Tuesday the 22nd fine weather, Game and Deer went
 off early in the Morning to meet Jommebram, at 10.00 AM
 moved to be a Lie, it was told that he had a quarrel
 with the Chajennes, by refusing them their demands
 which he could not comply with, but they did for bear
 being only a few to do harm, seeing him on his
 Guards, at noon the Sleighs arrived as also 15
 Mandan with them, in the afternoon the three Men
 sent by Mrs McDaniel to meet Sanguinette re-
 turning blind, they found a track of
 a afraid to pass forwards.
 the Mandan set
 the noon, all

Left: John C. Luttig's journal for December 20, 1812, in which he records the death of Sacajawea. Below: W. O. Bassford's concept of Fort Manuel. Both from the Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.



after
 b.

knowledge of the Indian mother's traits and habits is such that she could not have permitted to be separated from her child at that age, especially those times. It would have been impossible for Clark to retain Baptiste without his mother, but as he determined either to adopt or educate the boy, the youngest member of the expedition across the continent, he had to provide for the Bird Woman in order to keep Baptiste in St. Louis so that he may see to his education. As he could not trust Tousant Charbonneau to take the child back up the Missouri, therefore he retains him, and this is why Baptiste was not mentioned in the Orphans Court when Luttig applied for guardian.

And again:

The evidence given by Wolfe, Chief of the Hidatsa, and Mrs. Weidemann shows that Charbonneau did have two Shoshone wives and a Mandan wife besides. They clearly stated that Charbonneau took both of his Shoshone wives with him when he visited St. Louis some time in 1807 to 1808, and it is evident that he had returned with but one Shoshone wife, who died on December 20, 1812.⁹

Dr. Hebard continues:

It is thus evident that, in 1811, Sacajawea and Baptiste were living in St. Louis under the protection of Captain Clark, and that Baptiste's half-brother and sister, Toussaint and Lizette, for whom Captain Clark was acting as legal guardian, were in 1813 also living in the same city.

In the fulfillment of his promise to Charbonneau, Clark assumed responsibility for the education of Baptiste, and apparently undertook the same responsibility for his ward, Toussaint. . . .¹⁰

Thus, Dr. Hebard lays to rest the alleged Otter Woman, as the Snake wife of Charbonneau who died on December 20, 1812. She then extensively relates the wanderings of Sacajawea, her son, Baptiste, and an adopted son "Bazil" over several decades, and ultimately traces them to their Shoshone people at Fort Washakie, Wind River Indian Reservation, Wyoming. Here, according to Hebard, they lived from the 1850's on, the mother dying in 1884, and Baptiste the following year. Dr. Hebard published the official death record of the person she identifies as Sacajawea as follows:

(Date) April 9, 1884, (Name) Bazil's mother (Shoshone), (Age) One hundred, (Residence) Shoshone Agency, (Cause of death) Old age, (Place of burial) Burial grounds, Shoshone Agency, (Signature of clergyman) J. Roberts.¹¹

This writer, in attempting to further document the identity of the Wind River woman, examined

⁹ Dr. Charles A. Eastman's report to the Department of Indian Affairs, Washington, D.C., 1925, recited in Hebard, p. 113.

¹⁰ Hebard, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-114.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 207.

extensive compilations of microfilm records containing official copies of the original census rolls and treaty documents of the Wind River Shoshone and Bannacks. Numerous documents, including treaties, articles of convention, census rolls, and similar documents were carefully examined.

The name Bazil (or Bazeel), appears on several documents, including the Census Roll of November 1, 1877,¹² which also shows that a "Bat-tez" lived in a lodge at the agency with two other men, four women and a boy. Also recorded on this document is "Bazil's Mother," who shared a lodge with one other woman and a boy. This census roll, together with Reverend Robert's death record, published by Dr. Hebard, *supra*, apparently are the only extant documents which identify the Wind River Woman, and these list her merely as "Bazil's Mother." I have found no official records embracing the period 1850-1884 which specifically identify the Wind River woman as Sacajawea. (Dr. Hebard also interpreted the name "Bat-tez" on the 1877 census to read "Baptiste." She then discusses at length the personality of this man, as described by persons who knew him on the reservation).

It is understood that Dr. Hebard commenced her research on the Wind River Sacajawea shortly after the turn of the century, and continued her work until publication of her volume in 1932. Her research was based in large measure upon the testimony of Indians, Indian Service officials, missionaries and others, some of whom were in their 80's and 90's, and who were relying entirely on memory for events which had occurred up to 45 years and more prior to their testimonials.

The late Russell Reid, superintendent of the North Dakota State Historical Society, commented upon such evidence as follows:

It was not until about 25 years later that a serious attempt was made to identify the old Shoshone woman as Sakakawea. In order to support this theory much evidence has been collected in the forms of interviews, statements and affidavits. Most certainly no one has a right to question the motives nor the honesty of individuals who gave such testimony, but it should be pointed out that evidence of this kind is not always reliable. Far too often individuals are apt to confuse fact with fiction and stories they have heard with some of their own experiences.¹³

These observations by Historian Reid are reinforced by a general maxim of the legal profession treating with testimony, which, paraphrased, states in effect that ". . . one scratch of the pen at the time of an event is worth tenfold the testimony of many witnesses relying upon memory subsequent to the event . . ."

¹² "Census Roll of the Shoshone Tribe of Indians, present at the Shoshone and Bannack Agency, Wyoming Territory, November 1, 1877." Source, Miscellaneous Files, Historical Research and Publications Division, Wyoming State Archives and Historical Department, Cheyenne.

¹³ Sakakawea, *The Bird Woman* (reprinted from North Dakota History, Vol. 30, 1963), 12.

*Census Roll of the Shoshone tribe of
Indians, present at the Shoshone and Rainier
Agency, Wyoming Territory November 1st 1877*

<i>Shon. dit. pe</i>	2	1	0	3	6	112
<i>Bat-tez</i>	3	4	1	0	8	113
<i>Mak-ve-ep</i>	1	1	0	0	2	114
<i>Andrew</i>	3	2	2	1	8	115
<i>Bazil</i>	3	2	1	0	6	116
<i>Bazilo Mother</i>	0	2	1	0	3	117

Census Roll of Shoshone
Indians, November 1,
1877, at the Wind River
Agency, Wyoming.
Dr. Grace Hebard identified
"Bat-tez" as Baptiste
Charbonneau and "Bazil's
Mother" as Sacajawea.
Wyoming State Archives
and Historical Department,
Cheyenne.

WE NOW TURN to the research of the present writer, commencing with the August 20, 1806 letter *supra*, that Clark wrote to the Charbonneaus at Mandan, while enroute downriver to St. Louis. Although this is the last correspondence of record found between Clark and the Charbonneaus, there must have been subsequent communications of some nature, because an important historical event occurred which surely became a prime factor in motivating Toussaint Charbonneau to travel to St. Louis with his family.

This was the Act of Congress, dated March 3, 1807 (2 Stat. 65-66; Private Laws, Ninth Congress, 2nd Session):

CHAP. XXXII. — An Act making compensation to Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, [sic] and their companions.

Be it enacted, &c., That the secretary of war be, and he is hereby directed to issue land warrants to Meriwether Lewis and William Clarke, for one thousand six hundred acres each; to John Ordway, Nathaniel Prior, the heirs or legal representatives of Charles Floyd deceased, Patrick Gass, William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, Pier Cruzatte, Joseph Field, Reuben Field, Robert Frasier, Silas Goodrich, George Gibson, Thomas P. Howard, Hugh Hall, Francis Labuiche, Hugh M'Neal, John Shields, George Shannon, John Potts, John Baptiste Le Page, John B. Thompson, William Werner, Richard Windsor, Peter Wiser, Alexander Willard, Joseph Whitehouse, George Drulyard, Tousaint Char-

bono, Richard Worfington, and John Newman, for three hundred and twenty acres each: which several warrants may, at the option of the holder or possessor, be located with any register or registers of the land offices, subsequent to the public sales in such office, on any of the public lands of the United States, lying on the west side of the Mississippi, then and there offered for sale, or may be received at the rate of two dollars per acre, in payment of any such public lands.

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, That double pay shall be allowed, by the secretary of war, to each of the before named persons, agreeably to the time he or they may have served, in the late enterprise to the Pacific ocean, conducted by Messrs. Lewis and Clarke, and that the sum of eleven thousand dollars be and the same hereby is appropriated to discharge the same, out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated.

APPROVED, March 3, 1807.

To a man of Toussaint Charbonneau's meager economic and social status, the dual attraction of 320 acres of land plus double pay surely represented a fortune. And, certainly, upon learning this news, he would have wasted no time getting to St. Louis to collect, which the record shows he did, packing Sacajawea and Baptiste with him.

Although it is not clear precisely when or how the Charbonneau family travelled to St. Louis, the

writer could find no evidence that they arrived there in August, 1806, as Dr. Hebard reported. This writer has found, however, a document which indicates Toussaint Charbonneau was in St. Louis on January 31, 1810. There are also numerous other records which provide evidences of association between Toussaint Charbonneau and William Clark during a period commencing in April, 1810, and extending through March, 1811. When these evidences are evaluated against other documented events which occurred on the Missouri River, focusing on the Mandan Indian Villages, specifically, it may be reasoned that the Charbonneau family came downriver late in the fall of 1809.

The 1809 date is predicated upon the circumstances surrounding the "military" expedition which returned Chief Shahaka and his retinue to the Mandan Villages in 1809. This expedition, which, by an unusual contract, in effect merged official government and private merchantile personnel, equipment and funds, was authorized for the government by Meriwether Lewis in his dual capacity as Governor of Louisiana and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Co-signers were officers of the Saint Louis Missouri Fur Company, an enterprise in which both Lewis and Clark were major principals.

Upon reviewing certain aspects of this affair, severe criticism was leveled against Lewis by Secretary of War William Eustis, who refused to honor Lewis' vouchers for certain expenditures.^{14/} In the end, this disgrace contributed to the chain of events which culminated in Lewis' tragic death at Grinder's Stand, Tennessee, on October 11, 1809.

Under the command of Pierre Chouteau, who served in a combined capacity of military officer, Indian Agent, and official of the company, the expedition was charged with returning Chief Shahaka (Big White) to Mandan. The chief, together with his family, and interpreter Rene Jesseaume and his family, had journeyed to Washington, D.C. with Lewis and Clark upon their return from the Pacific in 1806. A previous attempt to return Shahaka in a party led by former Expedition member Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor (now Ensign) had been turned back by hostile Arikara Indians in 1807. Pierre Chouteau's force, however, was well-manned, adequately armed and properly equipped for the task, resulting in the successful accomplishment of the mission in September, 1809, when Mandan was reached.^{15/}

Upon returning to St. Louis, Chouteau dispatched a report of the expedition to the Secretary of War. Among other things, Chouteau mentioned "... a white man who resides at the Mandan Village ..."^{16/} was helpful in furnishing information concerning activities of the (British) Northwest Company in the area. Since the principal place of residence of Toussaint Charbonneau for many years

was among the Mandans, it is conceivable that the "white man" encountered by Chouteau may have been Charbonneau. If this were the case, and considering that the safe delivery of Shahaka had now been accomplished, Chouteau's vessels would have had ample room to accommodate the Charbonneau family for the downriver trip. This, when coupled with: 1. the attraction of handsome remuneration owing to Toussaint under the Lewis and Clark Compensation Act; and 2. the long-standing invitation to the Charbonneaus by Clark to come to St. Louis, make it plausible that they accompanied Chouteau on the return trip. If so, they arrived in St. Louis in November, 1809.

This reasoning is reinforced by a War Department journal entry of January 31, 1810, which records that Toussaint cashed in a warrant "... dated Mandan Village August 17, 1806 drawn for the services of said Charbano as Interpreter on the expedition to the Pacific Ocean. \$136.33"^{17/}

Moreover, commencing about April, 1810, Charbonneau's name begins appearing in documents exchanged between William Clark and Nicholas Biddle, the man originally chosen to edit the Journals of Lewis and Clark. In his long list of questions concerning the expedition, Biddle makes the following note: "If women or men amorous. QU (query) Charbono."^{18/} This is followed later by: "Charbonneau. The Indians generally are not fond of women as we are. . ."^{19/}

Biddle's specific identity of Charbonneau in these two citations suggests that Charbonneau must have been available to Clark to furnish information desired by Biddle at that point in time. Moreover, since Charbonneau could neither read nor write, he would have had to be available in person.

The next several associations of record between Toussaint and Clark point directly to such personal contact. The first of these is the deed, dated October 30, 1810, referred to by Dr. Hebard, which apparently was executed by William Clark as Indian Agent, and which transferred to Toussaint Charbonneau a tract of land on the Missouri River, in St. Ferdinand Township, near St. Louis.^{20/} The second is found in a Clark letter to Nicholas Biddle, dated December 7, 1810. Clark, in responding to more questions from Biddle, states: "... I cant describe the Game among the Mandans mentioned in Ordways journal if Shannon cant no one in this country can *the Interpreter who is now with me* cant describe it, it resembles Billiards very much . . ." (Italics supplied).^{21/}

¹⁷ Account books of the Office of the Accountant of the War Department, Journal P, p. 8231, in custody of the National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C.

¹⁸ Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 506.

²⁰ Luttig, John C., *Journal of a Fur-Trading Expedition on the Upper Missouri, 1812-1813*, edited by Stella M. Drumm, *Missouri Historical Society*, 1920, p. 138. See also Howard, Harold P., *Sacajawea*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1971, p. 157.

²¹ Jackson, *op. cit.*, pp. 583, 584.

¹⁴ Jackson, Donald, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1962, p. 465.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, fn 2, p. 484.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 483.

To this writer, the latter citation involving "the Interpreter" connotes an interesting dimension concerning the rather infinite detail of information provided to Biddle by Clark in intricate matters of Indian custom. For it suggests that interpreter Charbonneau — and perhaps Sacajawea as well — may have provided much of the detail found in the myriad of statements concerning Indian customs on the Upper Missouri.

Since Clark had spent only five months with the Mandans, and that in the dead of winter five years before, it seems remarkable that he would have gained and retained so vast a knowledge of the habits, customs, mores, and general cultural behavior of the Indians. Toussaint and Sacajawea, on the other hand, had resided among the Indians on the Upper Missouri for many years, and would have had the intimate knowledge of their day-to-day activities and rituals represented in Clark's responses to Biddle.^{22/}

THE WINTER OF 1810-1811 was a season of bustling activity among the fur traders of St. Louis. Ambitious plans for extended trapping and trading expeditions were in progress, and large parties of *engages* were being recruited. Wilson Price Hunt, under the employ of John Jacob Astor, was vigorously competing against William Clark's Missouri Fur Company interests, under the leadership of the wily old Spaniard, Manuel Lisa, to be the first up the river in the Spring of 1811. The lusty life on the frontier was of magnetic attraction, and men of many walks of life joined the rough and tumble lot of trappers and hunters in one capacity or another.

Among others, the Hunt and Lisa parties were accompanied by men of letters. With Hunt was the English botanist, John Bradbury, and with Lisa was Henry M. Brackenridge, an American journalist. Both these men kept journals of experiences encountered on their respective voyages up the Missouri during 1811. These were later published, Bradbury in London in 1819, and Brackenridge in Pittsburgh in 1814.

We are indebted to Brackenridge for giving a most colorful identity to the men of the fur trade. This he relates in the closing remarks of his 1811 journal:

... The American hunters constitute a class, different from any people known to the east of the mountains. The life which they lead is exceedingly fascinating. Their scene ever changing — ever presenting something new. Confined by no regular pursuit — their labor is amusement. I have called the region watered by the Missouri and its tributaries, THE PARA-

²² Luttig, *op. cit.*, p. 137. Note comments concerning information on Indian customs given to Prince Maximilian by Charbonneau.

DISE OF HUNTERS; it is indeed to them a paradise. I have been acquainted with several, who, on returning to the settlements, became in a very short time dissatisfied, and wandered away to these regions, as delightful to them, as are the regions of fancy to the poet. . . .^{23/}

This description, it would appear, fits Toussaint Charbonneau precisely. And in keeping with his character, the Spring of 1811 probably found him chafing under the call of the wanderlust.

The infectious fur trade activities were altogether too compelling, no doubt, for Toussaint to resist. Obviously he was not of a temperament to till the soil, and March, 1811, saw him cutting ties with civilization and alternatively laying in provisions needed for an extended mission to the frontier. On March 26, 1811, he transferred the land he had acquired the previous October, back to Clark for \$100.00.^{24/}

That Charbonneau was disenchanted with civilized life and eager to return to his old haunts is confirmed by Brackenridge, who reported that not only Toussaint, but Sacajawea also, who was in poor health, wished to revisit the "big sky" country. In reporting the incident, Brackenridge on April 2, 1811, when the Lisa party was at St. Charles only a few miles upriver from St. Louis, states: "*We had on board, a Frenchman named Charbonnet and his Indian wife, who had accompanied Lewis and Clark to the Pacific. The woman, a good creature, of a mild and gentle disposition, greatly attached to the whites, whose manners and dress she tries to imitate, but she has become sickly and longed to revisit her native country; her husband also, who had spent many years amongst the Indians, was become weary of a civilized life . . .*"^{25/}

Brackenridge spent the next five months with the Lisa party, in close confinement on a barge also occupied by Toussaint and his Indian wife. Brackenridge nowhere in his daily journals of this period mentions Baptiste, or any child on board. Surely the presence of a six-year-old boy of Baptiste's reputed alertness and engaging personality would command the attention of the observant Brackenridge. In the absence of such mention, it must be assumed that Baptiste remained in St. Louis with Clark, to commence his education.

The 1811 Lisa party spent the summer on the Upper Missouri, and, according to Brackenridge, "*. . . had left trading establishments with the Sioux below the Cedar island, as well as with the Mandans and Arikaras. . . .*"^{26/}

²³ Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

²⁴ Luttig, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

²⁵ Brackenridge, *op. cit.*, p. 32. (Although previously recited by Hebard, *supra*, the writer believes it of sufficient import to repeat it here.)

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

THE LISA PARTY returned to St. Louis in October, 1811, and over the winter the indomitable Lisa was not idle in his St. Louis headquarters. To the contrary, he was utilizing this period to regroup the fur trading field organization, with sights set on ever loftier goals. Lisa was now assembling a large party of *engages*, for an extended furtrading mission upriver, and Spring, 1812, again found him pointing the prow of his barge into the current of the Missouri.

The plan for the 1812 party was to establish a permanent trading post among the Arikara, with the whole party wintering over in a fortification to be constructed for that purpose. (Such a fort was indeed built by the *engages* in the fall of 1812, and in a proper ceremony christened Fort Manuel. The site of Fort Manuel is near Kenel, on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, South Dakota.) Prior to departure, Lisa prepared a list of *engages* in his account book, covering the years 1812 and 1813.²⁷ Excerpted portions from two pages of the book, the original of which is in the Kansas State Historical Society in Topeka, appears on the page opposite. Here, among 86 listed members, we find Manuel Lisa, Reuben Lewis (brother of Meriwether), John C. Luttig and Toussain [sic] Charbonneau.

John C. Luttig, Lisa's clerk of the 1812-1813 party, kept a journal of daily happenings of the mission, commencing on May 8, 1812. The first mention of Toussaint Charbonneau in Luttig's journal is at Fort Manuel on September 17, 1812, when he rushes into the fort with the news of an Indian attack on one of the party. In all, Luttig mentions Toussaint fifteen times during the period September 17, 1812, through March 3, 1813, just two days before Luttig's last journal entry. On March 5, 1813, Indians launched a large scale attack on the Lisa party and Fort Manuel had to be abandoned.

That the identity of Charbonneau's Indian wife who was in company with him while in the employ of Manuel Lisa, was Sacajawea, we know from the descriptions provided by Brackenridge. The latter had been a travelling companion on Lisa's barge with Sacajawea and Toussaint for five months, and it is not likely that he could have confused Sacajawea with another of Charbonneau's wives, as Dr. Hebard suggests.

This becomes vital because John Luttig, in a most important journal entry at Fort Manuel, dated December 20, 1812, states: ". . . *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, aged abt 25 years she left a fine infant girl. . .*"²⁸

THAT THE DEAD WOMAN referred to by Luttig was Sacajawea cannot be treated as mere conjecture. The identity is too strongly reinforced by related documents of that era concerning her whereabouts. Brackenridge, who spent the summer of 1811 in close association with Toussaint and

Sacajawea, pinpoints her identity in relationship to the Lewis and Clark Expedition, and Luttig gives us her correct age. Both are consistent in favorably describing Sacajawea's personal character.

To this writer, these complimentary character descriptions of the Snake wife of Charbonneau by Brackenridge and Luttig serve as a virtual bond in cementing together in common all documents describing Sacajawea. Her "biography" comprises three sources only, written by men who observed her within the confines of closely structured social experiences, all under similar circumstances. Indeed, Lewis and Clark et al, Brackenridge, and Luttig all made it a point to record their personal views of the traits of our Indian heroine, and all were consistent in their favorable appraisal of her.

It becomes more than mere coincidence, moreover, that both Brackenridge and Luttig refer to Charbonneau's wife in the singular: "*his Indian wife*" (Brackenridge), and "*the wife of Charbonneau*" (Luttig) in their respective journal entries. To this writer, these references in the singular significantly testify that Sacajawea was reckoned as the *only* wife of Charbonneau with him during this period of patronage under William Clark. Considering, moreover, that Clark in his August 20, 1806 letter to Charbonneau, specifically invited Toussaint, his "*famn Janey*" (Sacajawea) and Baptiste to St. Louis, it is inconceivable that "the wife" of Charbonneau described by both above, was other than Sacajawea. Therefore, in the absence of documentation to support it, Dr. Hebard is not convincing in her position that Toussaint had two wives with him when he journeyed to St. Louis.

This reasoning is further strengthened by correlative evidence found by this researcher in two separate contexts. First, on March 5, 1813, shortly after Sacajawea's death, Fort Manuel had to be abandoned because of Indian attacks which killed fifteen members of the Lisa party. Lisa retreated downstream with survivors, and according to Chittenden, constructed Fort Lisa near Council Bluffs, before continuing on to St. Louis where he arrived in early June, 1813.²⁹ Related records show that Luttig and Sacajawea's infant daughter were also evacuated to St. Louis at this time.

The writer has found other correlative documents that place prominent members of the 1812-1813 Fort Manuel party in direct association with William Clark shortly after the survivors returned to St. Louis. Such members included Clark's business associates, Manuel Lisa and Reuben Lewis (following the interests of his deceased brother, Meriwether Lewis) who, "on the twenty second day of July 1813 at the Indian Office in the town of St. Louis" in the presence of William Clark signed documents in their respective capacities as officials of the Missouri Fur Company.³⁰

²⁷ Luttig, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106. (Also repeated for import.)

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 15, 16.

³⁰ Original document in Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

At a Meeting of the Members of the Missouri
 Fur Company on the Twenty second Day of July,
1813, at the Indian Office in the town of St. Louis
Members present, William Clark, President;
Peter Chouteau sen^r & Sylvester LaBbadie, Directors
Peter Menard, Andrew Henry, Reubens Lewis
Manuel Lisa & A. P. Chouteau, the following
 Resolutions were agreed to:

Resolved, that the Directors be
 authorized to do vertis in the Missouri Gazette
 equally to the 20th Article of Association for a
 Meeting of the Members at St. Louis on Friday
 the 10 day of September 1813. for the express
 purpose of dissolving the said Company.

Wm Clark
Sylvester LaBbadie
P. Chouteau
A. Henry
A. P. Chouteau
Pierre Menard
REUBEN LEWIS
Manuel Lisa

Minutes of July 22, 1813, Missouri Fur
 Company meeting. This document places
 two members of the 1812-1813 Fort Manuel
 party in direct association with William
 Clark shortly after survivors of the Fort
 Manuel massacre returned to St. Louis.
 Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka.

Another *engage* documented in association with Clark at about the same time, was Luttig himself. On August 11, 1813 John C. Luttig's name appears in association with William Clark on the appointment of guardianship of the two Charbonneau children, previously mentioned by Hebard. In addition, St. Louis businessman Christian Wilt, in a letter dated September 18, 1813, "tells of losing Luttig to Governor Clark, who could not do without him."³¹

To Lisa and the *engages* of his Fort Manuel party, the event of Sacajawea's death on December 20, 1812, was personal knowledge, and was of significant interest to these close associates of Clark. For these men knew of Clark's allegiance to the Charbonneau family and they obviously passed the information of Sacajawea's death along to Clark.

There must have been general belief among the surviving Lisa party that Charbonneau, who, although he was away from Fort Manuel at the time of the massacre, apparently perished also at the hands of the Indians. This was a reasonable assumption, since the War of 1812 was in progress and the English were gaining considerable influence with Indians along the Missouri by means of gifts and bribery, and were inducing them to form a confed-

eracy against the fur traders and other American "invaders" of sovereign Indian lands. It was in this climate that Toussaint Charbonneau had disappeared, and Luttig, apparently upon instruction from Clark who was away from St. Louis on business, after waiting nearly six months for Toussaint to show up, considered him dead, and initiated guardianship appointment of the two orphaned Charbonneau children on August 11, 1813.

The second context of correlative evidence developed by this writer bears directly upon the August 11, 1813 guardianship proceedings, which he has exhaustively evaluated. Because of its import, the guardianship document is repeated here:

The court appoints John C. Luttig (this name is deleted and that of William Clark substituted) guardian to the infant children of Tousant Charbonneau deceased, to wit: Tousant Charbonneau, a boy about the age of ten years; and Lizette Charbonneau, a girl about one year old. The said infant children not being possessed of any property within the knowledge of the court, the said guardian is not required to give bond.

The impact of this instrument lies in its recognition that the Charbonneau children were orphans. Luttig knew that their mother, Sacajawea, was dead, and that their father, Toussaint, was presumed dead. Accordingly, this court of "competent juris-

³¹ Luttig, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

*An Orphans Court holden at the Court house in the
Town of St. Louis within and for the County of St. Louis
on Wednesday the eleventh of August 1813.*

Present
The Court: David V. Walker *Jr* *Chief*
George Tompkins *J* *Judges*

*The Court appoints William Clark Guardian to the infant
Children of Tousant Charbonneau deceased, to wit: Tousant
Charbonneau a boy about the age of ten years and Lizette
Charbonneau a girl about one year old. The said infant
Children not being possessed of any property within the
knowledge of the Court. The said Guardian is not required
to give bond.*

Court adjourned sine die

David V. Walker

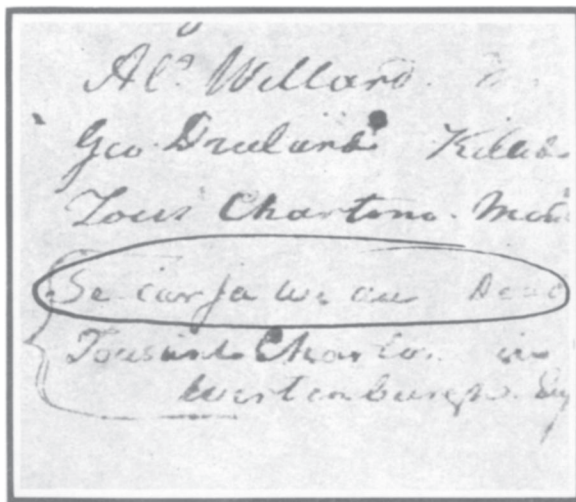
St. Louis Court Minute
for the guardianship of
Sacajawea's children.
Original in St. Louis
Probate Court archives.

diction" appointed Luttig (and later substituted William Clark) as their legal guardian. The instrument, however, contains two pieces of misinformation, apparently contributed by Luttig and supported by Clark. First, Old Charbonneau was not dead, and indeed, refuted this in person when he turned up very much alive some time later. And, second, the instrument lists the boy's name as "Tousant," when actually it should have read "Jean Baptiste Charbonneau."^{32/}

This, of course, was Clark's "little dancing boy, Baptist," the papoose of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, to whom Clark referred in his August 20, 1806 letter to Charbonneau: ". . . if you will bring your son Baptist to me, I will educate him and treat him as my own child. . ."

A most important feature of this adoption proceeding is that William Clark's name is substituted for that of John Luttig in the court's appointment of guardianship. Clark had been in Washington, D.C. at the time Luttig instituted the guardianship action, and upon his return to St. Louis, Clark legally took the two children under his wing. This extant document officially issued by an "Orphan's Court," in effect formally confirms the December 20, 1812 death of the children's mother, Sacajawea, at Fort Manuel. John Luttig is the key to such confirmation because he witnessed the two events and had a hand in substantiating both documents.

To this researcher, the two above constructive correlations of time, place, persons, and events, form the substantive credence of Clark's notation in his list of "Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip," shown on the cover of his account book for the period 1825-1828. Here, Clark, in his own hand, states whether the Expedition members were then living or dead. Without equivocation, Clark wrote simply: "SE CAR JA WE AU DEAD"^{33/}



Excerpted from original document in Newberry Library, Chicago

³² Luttig's listing of the boy as "Tousant" obviously was an inadvertence. In fact, this was a common error of Clark's, as testified to, both in Clark's record of Baptiste's education, and on Clark's "List of Men on Lewis and Clark's Trip." See Donald Jackson, *op. cit.*, fn 2, p. 640, for an explanation.

³³ Original document in Newberry Library, Chicago. See also Jackson, *op. cit.*, fn. 1, p. 639.

Toussaint Charbonneau lived 27 years beyond the fateful Luttig journal entry of December 20, 1812. During this period he had associations on the frontier with many literate personages. As observed by Stella Drumm:^{34/}

Almost every traveller and trader, clerk and bourgeois, who published accounts of visits up the Missouri River, or wrote letters of the events at the various trading-posts, after the Lewis and Clark expedition and up to 1839, mentioned Charbonneau. Surely, in view of the important part taken by the Bird Woman Sacajawea in the exploration of the West, reference would have been made to her by some of them, if she were living at the time.

SINCE SACAJAWEA was well known as "the wife of Charbonneau who accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition," it is no oversight on the part of the personages alluded to by Miss Drumm, that they omitted Sacajawea in their writings. For the Great Spirit had called the diminutive Indian woman on that December night in 1812 at Fort Manuel. Death claimed her in the prime of her youth, yet Sacajawea, as her contemporaries have reported, gave her nation a full measure of devotion. Her quiet, resourceful, dedicated manner marked her on the coarse, western frontier as a woman of unusual qualities.

But it remained for two well-meaning ladies, both ardent leaders in the Woman's Suffrage movement early in this century, to magnify the role and virtues of Sacajawea way beyond creditability and to attribute to her seven decades more of life than she actually lived. The well-respected and eminent Grace Raymond Hebard with whom this article has dealt was, of course, responsible for the latter.

The other was Eva Emery Dye, who was actually the first of the two to break into print. Her book, *The Conquest*, was published in Chicago in 1902 by A. G. McClurg and Company. In describing her efforts to find a woman in history who would best exemplify the objectives of the Suffrage movement, Mrs. Dye wrote:

I struggled along as best I could with the information I could get, trying to find a heroine . . . Finally, I came upon the name of Sacajawea and I screamed, "I have found my heroine!"

I then hunted up every fact I could find about Sacajawea. Out of a few dry bones I found in the old tales of the trip I created Sacajawea and made her a real living entity . . .

The world snatched at my heroine, Sacajawea . . . The beauty of that faithful Indian woman with her baby on her back, leading those stalwart mountaineers and explorers through the strange land, appealed to the world.^{35/}

³⁴ Luttig, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 135.

³⁵ History of Oregon Literature, Alfred Powers, Portland, Oregon, 1935, 410, as recited by Ronald W. Taber in "Sacajawea and the Suffragettes," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, January, 1967, p. 8.



SO, IN THE END, the intriguing real life mystery of America's most famous Indian heroine is unravelled from the cryptic chronicles of her peers, and the theory that she lived out her twilight years near the land of her birth becomes a classic case of mistaken identity. That Sacajawea's fame is deserving is evident from the records. It is ironic, however, that the very historians who immortalized her seriously contravened the disciplines of historical research in the process.

To Sacajawea's admirers who envision the place of her final hours as being in keeping with her frontier life-style, the present-day geographic setting of the Fort Manuel site should be appealing. Indeed, the site seems completely fitting in character with Sacajawea's heritage. Situated on the banks of the Missouri River within the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, the scenic South Dakota countryside embracing the Fort Manuel site excellently projects the Upper Missouri of Sacajawea's time.

Location of the fort has been determined by trained scientists through archeological excavations which have yielded up in-place hearth-stones and decayed log fragments traceable to the original fortification. In silent testimony, these evidences provide today's visual link to the place, where on December 20, 1812, the laconic John C. Luttig recorded for posterity, a eulogy: ". . . *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. . .*"

IRVING W. ANDERSON, who claims nothing more than amateur status as a research historian, is nonetheless both careful and diligent in gathering on-the-scene and archival facts about his favorite subject, the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Photographed (right) at the present-day site of Fort Manuel, covered part of the year now by Oahe Reservoir, Irving Anderson has a deep interest in the Charbonneau family, particularly the papoose of the expedition. His research has been published by the Oregon Historical Quarterly; OUR PUBLIC LANDS, Bureau of Land Management quarterly, and the Congressional Record. He is an officer in the National Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation and is vice president of the Oregon Lewis and Clark Heritage Foundation. Professionally, Mr. Anderson is chief of the Lands and Minerals Operations branch of the Bureau of Land Management in Portland. A native of Seattle, he graduated in 1949 from the University of Washington with a degree in geography. He began his BLM career in Alaska in 1949 and was Land Office Manager in Anchorage at the time of the first Alaskan oil and gas boom, and Alaska's move toward statehood. From 1953 through 1955, he served in Egypt on a Point 4 assignment, assisting that government in natural resources programs. For the next two years, he was an agricultural economist on the BLM director's staff in Washington, D.C. He was transferred to Portland in 1957, serving for a year as Land Office Manager before returning to Alaska for another two years. In 1960, he took his present post as chief advisor to the Oregon State BLM director on matters relating to some 15-1/2 million acres of public lands in Oregon and 275,000 acres in neighboring Washington. Anderson is professionally and personally interested in the protection of the environment, serving as chairman of Governor McCall's Committee for a Livable Oregon, and as a member of the other groups concerned with prevention of littering and other deprecations of the land.

