Dancing For Peace

Dancing the Way to Peace 1493—1872

Umoⁿhoⁿ Tribal Government: Then and Now

M'kaçi: Coyote and Te: Buffaloes

Proposed Constitution for the Umoⁿhoⁿ Nation: Nebraska - Iowa

A Native American Point of View

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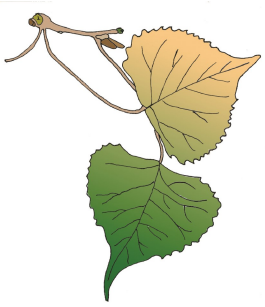
Umo^{n}ho^{n} Tribe traveling along the ridge next to Nishu'de Ke: Missouri River
Smithsonian

Front Cover photograph: Nishu'de Ke: Missouri River Jeff Mohr, OTHRP Archives

OTHRP NOTE: The treaties, background information and discussion about them, were taken from the work of both Dr. Hastings and Dr. Coffey including their research and writing for their joint PhD dissertation: "Completely Illustrated: **Grandfather Remembers — Broken Treaties/ Stolen Land: The Umo^{n}ho^{n} Land Theft,**" unpublished, 2009. Other material has been taken from the following Hastings and Coffey's manuscripts: "**Umo^{n}ho^{n} Cultural Anthology**," 2017 "**Dancing the way to Peace Umo^{n}ho^{n} Government: Then and Now**," 2017, "**Mi'kaçi: Coyote and the Te: Buffaloes,**" 2016, Omaha Tribal Historical Research Project, Inc. All Rights Reserved



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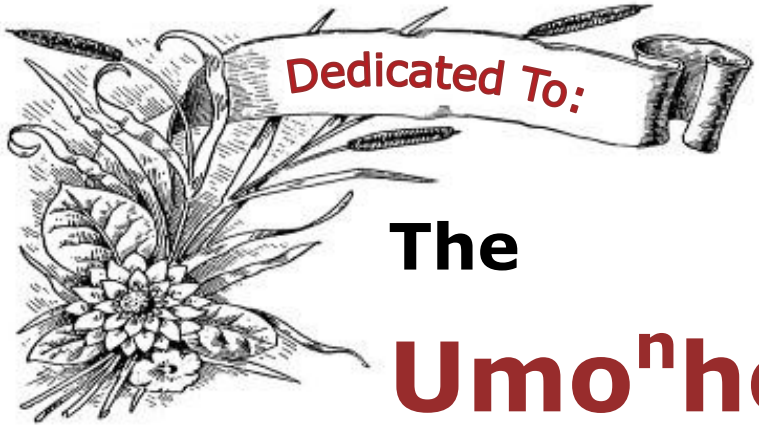

The Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation

(above) Bouquet, Dover, Cottonwood leaves, Coffey, OTHRP Archives,
(below) Umo^{n}ho^{n} Woman Cooking Smithsonian

Acknowledgements:

Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation: on and off the reservation

The legacy of the ***Umo^{n}ho^{n}*** **Nation** that managed to survive through centuries of cultural genocide.

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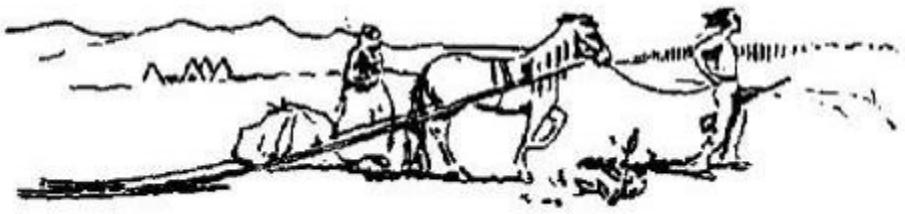
The many people who reached out to help **OTHRP** along this cultural journey. We couldn't have done it without you: family, friends, and complete strangers.

Wi'bthaha^{n} Ewithe Wo^{n}githe

Thank you all my relatives



Umo^{n}ho^{n} travois
I^{n}shta-theamba: Bright Eyes: Susette La Flesche Tibbles
Fannie Reed Giffen and Susette La Flesche Tibbles, with illustrations by Susette
Oo-Mah-Ha Ta-Wa-Tha (Omaha City), published by authors, Lincoln NE, 1908, p. 23

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"Eyonia," Ilka Hartman, OTHRP Archives

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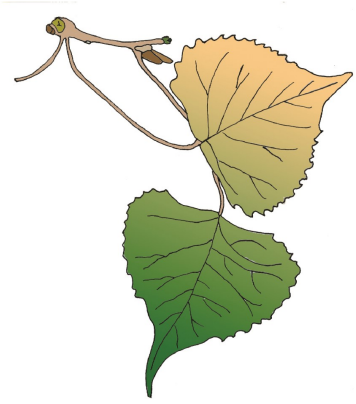
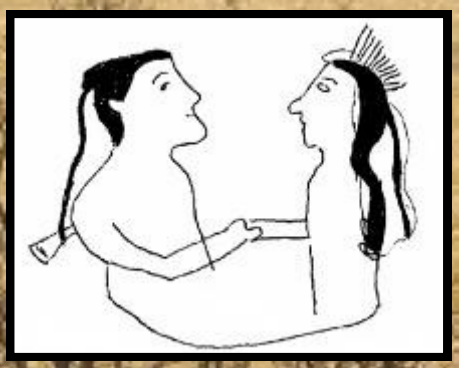


Unknown Umo^{n}ho^{n} boy and girl, OTHRP Archives

Dancing the Way to Peace

1493 — 1872



"The Umoⁿhoⁿ and Oglala made peace."
Cloud-Shield's winter count 1791-1792

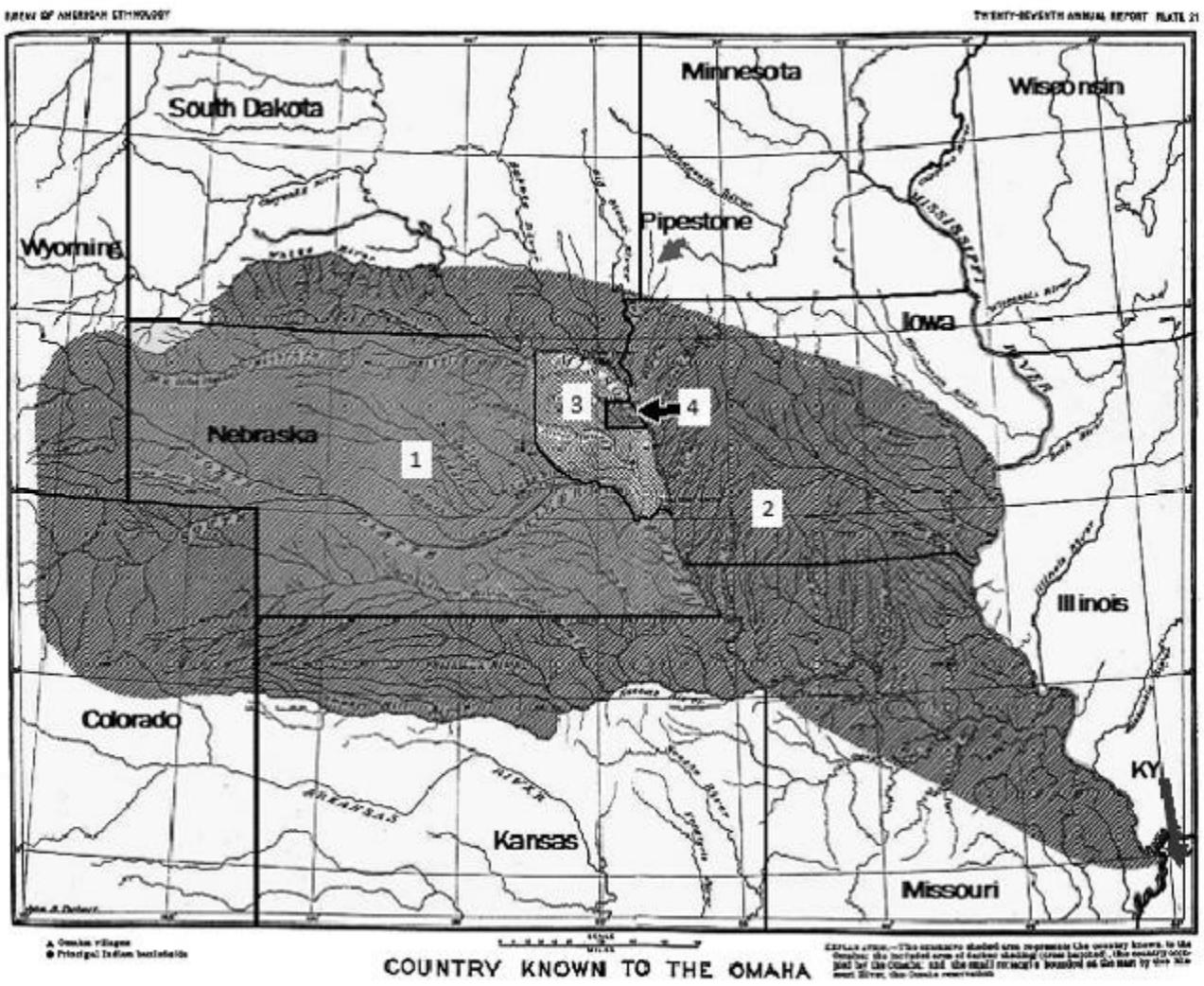
The Umoⁿhoⁿ and the Oglala danced their way into a peace treaty in 1791-1792 as depicted in this pictograph.

The Umoⁿhoⁿ is on the left and the Oglala on the right.

OTHRP Archives

Section One

Missouri River on the Reservation, Jeff Mohr, OTHRP Archives



"**Explanation:** The extensive shaded area represents the country known to the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}]; the included area of darker shading (cross hatched), the country occupied by the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}]; and the small rectangle bounded on the east by the Missouri River, the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] reservation." Dr. Francis La Flesche, Esq. and Alice Cunningham Fletcher. "Omaha Tribe" **27, Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution**, **1905-1906**, Washington DC. 1911, Insert

Country Known to the Umo^{n}ho^{n}

OTRP has superimposed the outline of the states on this map, shading Nebraska (1), to place the lands in perspective; (2) corresponds to the country known by the Umo^{n}ho^{n} after they left the Ohio River valley. It was shared hunting territory with related nations and nations who were friends. It includes almost all of Nebraska; the "area of darker shading." The country exclusively used by the Umo^{n}ho^{n} is (3) and (4) is the Umo^{n}ho^{n} reservation. The date of the map is ca. 1906.

The area known to the Umo^{n}ho^{n} was not recognized by the United States; arbitrary boundaries were drawn. The Umo^{n}ho^{n} claims of the lands in Iowa and Missouri were conceded in 1830 and 1836 treaties. The Umo^{n}ho^{n} rightful claim to a portion of South Dakota was totally ignored. Section (3) should cross the Missouri and include large portions of northern Iowa and parts of Kansas and Missouri as well. The Iowa portion was recognized in the 1830 treaty, Missouri 1836 treaty. Colorado, Wyoming, Kansas and South Dakota portions are still not recognized. Umo^{n}ho^{n} got their pipestone from Minnesota so there is a claim, too.

Dancing The Way To Peace
1493 — 1872

Introduction

The Umo^{n}ho^{n}, a sovereign Indigenous People of the Americas, are one of the most documented Aboriginal People of the North American Continent. Starting with French traders in the 17th Century and prominently noted in the 1804-06 Corps of Discovery, military expedition of Lewis and Clark, which documented the He'dewachi Harvest celebration now known as "Powwow", the Umo^{n}ho^{n} have been consistently spoken of in both Euro-American scholarly and historic literature.

While many rituals and much of the ancestral practice has been lost due to diseases, wars and cultural genocide, enough has survived to be able to restructure and rebuild a successful way of life from the past into a new modern, uniquely, Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation of the 21st Century.

The current mode of tribal government does not work for the people. A few tribal families dominate and the majority's needs are not addressed. Why? An imposed Federal system based upon and controlled by the United States Government, which, after a mere 240 years, is collapsing from the same problems that were built into both the U.S. and the "make-believe" tribal infrastructures.

Flawed from the beginning, this system creates inequality. While both the Continental Congress and later U.S. Constitution itself used as a model the Law of Great Peace of the Six Nations Confederacy — the U.S. Congress acknowledged as such in 1988 — the Euro-Americans had left out two vital parts: abolition of slavery and equality for women. This tipped the balance to the Euro-American male landowners, who later provided landless Euro-American males parcels through the Homestead Act to move up the system and the middle class was born. All others were forced into poverty. In order to have value, there must be no-value as well.

The U.S. Constitution also took much of its content from earlier European governmental and legal systems which date back to antiquity, dealing primarily with economic issues. This is how Capitalism originated upon the American continent, and the resultant practice and the inequitable policies it follows kept much of the failed concepts with it. Ultimately capitalism created class systems where a few become fabulously wealthy while the vast majority is forced into a peasant or poverty class.

A system based upon creating "Value" automatically creates No-Value as a by-product. A system based instead on "Nurture" serves *all* the people. It is the exact reverse of Capitalism.

The second flaw "in the ways of governance" imposed by Euro-Americans upon tribal people is a small book called **Robert's Rules of Order**, which lays out a voting system presented "as the fairest way to make decisions." It is not. The

structure is highly corruptible and leaves an unhappy minority who is not heard. A much older tribal system called **Consensus** is far more equitable and creates a united people with no disgruntled minority. That is often what ancestral tribal government used to ***solve*** problems rather than to make a profit off of **creating** problems.

A major stumbling block for the Umoⁿhoⁿ and several other tribes as well, is the constitution they were forced to accept in 1934. It is a "cookie cutter" document that does not reflect Native American wisdom but instead reinforces the corrupt Indian agent's schemes of the 19th century by creating a paper chief system that has absolute power and no method to appeal a decision. This codified the government into looting the monies that came into the poorest Nations with a highway for officials to loot the treasury for their own personal gain complete with corrupt lawyers and government agents to assure that the system continues. Many Native Nations have rejected such a sloppy and nonproductive document for locally created ones. The Umoⁿhoⁿ are working towards a similar solution to stop the massive corruption and to help heal their people.

The first section of this book, Dancing The Way To Peace 1493 — 1872, is based upon OTHRP's Umoⁿhoⁿ studies over its 40 year existence. It shows the possibility of returning to the original Umoⁿhoⁿ government in 21st Century terms.

The first article is drawn from La Flesche and Fletcher in 1911, [**27th Annual Report**] and has been changed from the original. Old-fashioned words and phrases have either been removed or modernized, such as "gens" and "gentes" replaced with "clan". This is because Euro-American scholars emphasize inheritance and distinguish "gens" as patriarchal — "clan entry" determined by the father's gens — and the term "clan" is then given to the matriarchal tribes who determine "clan entry" through the mother's clan. Umoⁿhoⁿ are considered patriarchal by this thinking and therefore would be "gens." The Umoⁿhoⁿ do not use the word "gens" at all but instead use "clan," and their inheritance is not distributed according to Euro-American beliefs.

The "proper" language used to describe another culture at the turn of the 19th century is no longer appropriate in the 21st century. Words like "squaw" and "chief" have become insults, logos and jokes, not respectful terms for either women or men. The use of "tribe" instead of "Nation" is also a put down. Even rendering the words of sacred songs are put in the terms "Christians" understand instead of understanding the real definitions of sacred items for Native Americans. The English language, certainly as Americans define it, is made up of many languages and most of them negative or overly dramatic terms. OTHRP takes care in finding alternative terms that will be readily understood that reflect the spirit of the beauty of simplicity of ancient songs. When we make such changes we put our choice in [brackets].

After the La Flesche/Fletcher section, there is a brief showcase of a pivotal point in history where the Indian Agent of record threw an Umoⁿhoⁿ leader off his own reservation. Thus the beginning of agent approved leaders only and the term for it became "paper chiefs."

This is followed by a discussion of the Consensus process which is how decisions were made prior to the Euro-American. There is a brief discussion as to how a new constitution can change the focus from self to community by using the ancient system as a blueprint.

The first attempt to create a legal definition for stealing land came from Rome. Pope Alexander VI on May 4, 1493 created a Papal Bull at the urging of Christopher Columbus. This document gave Euro-Americans the "right" to take the lands of non-Christians for their own. A license to steal was what it became. We show the history and a copy of the document as well as the rescinding pronouncement from Pope Francis in 2015.

This book then presents a copy of all the documents that were used to toss the Louisiana Territory back and forth between France and Spain ending up with the Louisiana Purchase. This sets up the Lewis and Clark's famous "Corps of Discovery" which highlights major differences from the "official" point of view.

After Lewis and Clark we have added portions from a Master Thesis by Tamie Sawaged in 2001 at the University of Nebraska. Sawaged created a nice overview of 19th century Umo^{n}ho^{n} life based upon James Owen Dorsey, Dr. Francis La Flesche, Esq. and Alice Fletcher. It gives a good contrast to the "Corps of Discovery" by understanding that there was an Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation that functioned very well before the Euro-Americans invaded their lands.

There were nine treaties that were signed officially with the Umo^{n}ho^{n} along with an illegal treaty created by the Mormons as they passed through Umo^{n}ho^{n} country. There was also a precursor to the 1854 treaty called the Gatewood Treaty which was never signed by either side and then finally the first Act, a form that replaced the treaties in 1872.

The second section is an Umo^{n}ho^{n} traditional folk tale of Coyote and Buffalo. Umo^{n}ho^{n} words and their meaning are used in within the text and a pronunciation guide by Dr. La Flesche follows. There are games to play.

The third section, Constitution for the Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation: Nebraska — Iowa, contains a proposed constitution that OTHRP created at the request of some of the elders of the tribe. An appendix follows with the Declaration of Indigenous Rights created by the United Nations and passed September 13, 2007. The U. S. adopted it in December 17, 2010.

The book ends with the listing of Indian Police Force at the Umo^{n}ho^{n} and Winnebago Agency from 1892-1902. Many of these men also served in World War I, in spite of the fact that they were not U. S. citizens.

The Umo^{n}ho^{n} people's story lies unfolding across these pages. They are the reasons that Native Americans cannot let go of the genocide experienced at the hands of the Euro-Americans. It is the example as to why war will never solve problems, it only makes a bad situation worse. When people are wronged, they never forget. It is passed on both genetically and generationally.

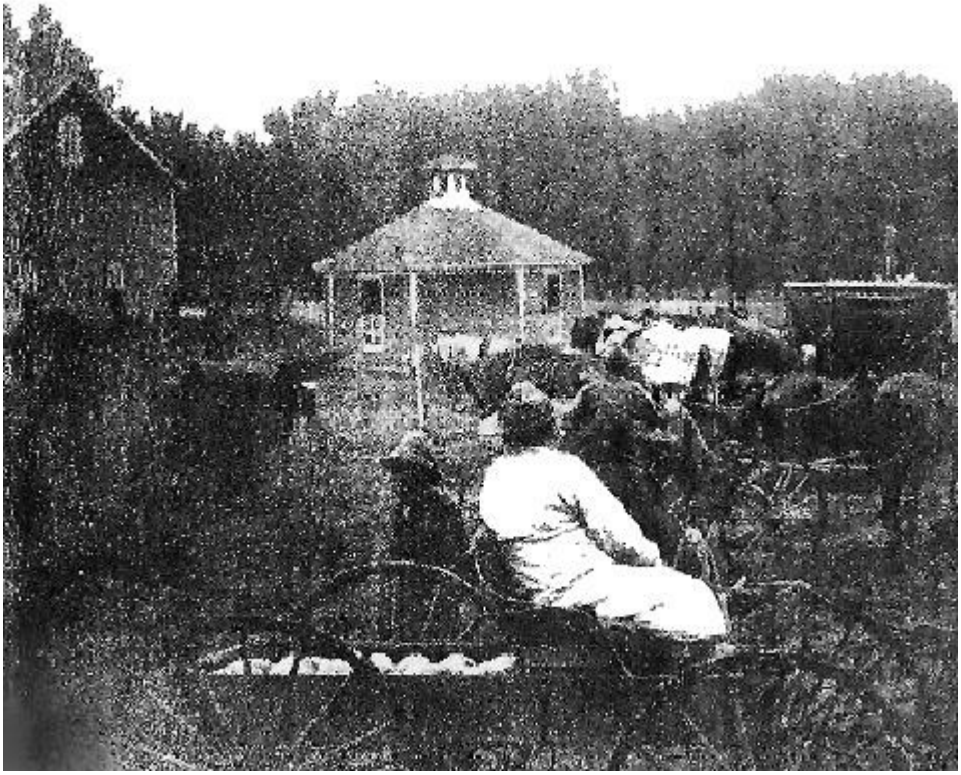
If the United States is going to survive at all, it must end the current collapse of a failing capitalism that cannot succeed because its failure is built into the system. When fabulous wealth is created within a society, devastating poverty is also created. In order to define value, non value must exist. When this is applied to sexual orientation, gender, race, religion or even township, etc. its very destruction is built into the prosperity of a few.

It has been a privilege to work with the historical record of a Native American Nation. The treatment of the Native Americans is the point where everything went wrong. It will not return to balance until this is faced and changed. It can never go back to what it was, but it will be able to at long last begin the ancient healing practice that will eventually spread throughout the world.

Wi’bthaha^{n}

Iⁿe-çka [Dennis Hastings]	Margery Coffey [Mi'oⁿbathiⁿ]	richard chilton
		
His Mark [L. S.]	Her Mark [L. S.]	His Mark (L. S.]

[L. S.] stands for “Legal Signature.



Waiting for Rent Money OTHRP Archives

Umo^{n}ho^{n} TRIBAL GOVERNMENT: Then

Development of Political Unity

The tribal organization of the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] and [related nations], as it stood in the early part of the nineteenth century, shows that a tendency had existed toward disintegration because of a lack of close political organizations, and that various expedients for holding the people together had been tried. This weakness seems to have been especially felt when the people were in the buffalo country; groups would wander away, following the game, and become lost. Occasionally they were discovered and would rejoin the main body, as has been shown in the case of the Ho^{n}'ga utanatsi of the Osage tribe. The environment of the people did not foster sedentary habits, such as would have tended toward a close political union; therefore the nature of the country in which these [related nations] dwelt, added to rather than lessened the danger of disintegration.

Gahi'ge
an Old Umo^{n}ho^{n} [Leader]
La Flesche/Fletcher, **Ibid.**
insert between pp. 204-205

Some form of organization had long existed among the people, but the frequent separations that took place emphasized the importance of maintaining the unity of the tribe, and the problem of devising means to secure this essential result was a matter of serious concern to the thinking and constructive minds among the people. The Sacred Legend. . .says:

And the people thought,
How can we better ourselves?

The ideas [are] fundamental to the tribal organization of the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] and their [related nations connected] to the creation and perpetuation of living creatures. The expression of these ideas in the dramatic form of rites seems to have been early achieved and those which symbolically present the connection of cosmic forces with the birth and well-being of mankind seem to have persisted in whole or in part throughout the various experiences of the five cognate tribes, and to have kept an important place in tribal life. These rites constitute what may be regarded as the lower stratum of religious ceremonies — for example, in the

recognition of the vital relation of the Wind, as shown in the ceremony of Turning the Child, performed when it entered on its tribal life; in the names bestowed on females, which generally refer to natural phenomena or objects rather than to religious observances; in the ceremonies connected with Thunder as the god of war and arbiter of the life and death of man. There are indications that other rites relating to cosmic forces have been lost in the passage of years. Among the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] certain articles still survive rites long since disused, as the Cedar Pole and the Sacred Shell, both of which were preserved until recently in the Sacred Tent of War in charge of the We'zhi^{n}shte [clan]. It is probable that the rites connected with the Sacred Shell were the older and that they once held an important place and exercised a widespread influence in the tribe, as indicated by the reverence and fear with which this object was regarded by the people of every [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] clan. Other [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] rites, as has been shown, have ceased to be observed — those connected with the thunder, the stars, and the winds. The disappearance of former rites may indicate physiographic changes experienced by the people, which affected their food supply, [job]s, and other phases of life, thereby causing certain rites to be superseded by others more in harmony with a changed environment. Thus life in the buffalo country naturally resulted in rites which pertained to hunting the buffalo finally taking precedence over those which pertained to the cultivation of the maize.

There are indications that under these and other disturbing and disintegrating influences certain ceremonies were instituted to counteract these tendencies by fostering tribal consciousness in order to help to bind the people together. The Hede'wachi ceremony is of this character and seems to date far back in the history of the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] tribe. It is impossible to trace as in a sequence the growth of the idea of the desirability of political unity, for there were many influences, religious and secular, at work to bring about modifications of customs and actual changes in government. The efforts to regulate warfare and to place it under greater control and at the same time to enhance the honor with which the warrior was to be regarded seem to have been among the first steps taken toward developing a definite governing power within the tribe. The act of placing the rites pertaining to war in charge of one clan was probably the result of combined influences. When this modification of earlier forms was accomplished a new name seems to have been given to the clan holding this office, and thus the present term We'zhi^{n}shte came into use. The former name of this kinship group is not known, but judging from analogy it probably had reference to one or the other of the lost ceremonies connected with the sacred articles left in its care. While the segregation of the war power may have tended to stay some of the disintegrating tendencies it did not have the positive unifying force that was desired. If other devices were tried to bring about this result nothing is known of them.

The Sacred Legend and other accounts tell the story of the way in which a central governing body was finally formed and all agree that it was devised for the purpose of "holding the people together." One version speaks of seven old men who, while visitors to the tribe, inaugurated the governing council. The Sacred Legend declares that the council was the outcome of "thought" and "consultation among the wise old men," their purpose taking form in the plan to establish a Nini'bato^{n}* subdivision in some of the clans, each subdivision to furnish one member to the council, which was to be the governing authority, exercising control over the people, maintaining peace in the tribe, but having no relation to offensive warfare. According to the Legend account of the formation of the Nini'bato^{n}, "two old men," one from the Ho^{n}'ga clan and the other from the I^{n}ke'çabe clan, were commissioned to carry out the plan of the "wise old men." The term "old" is one of respect and indicates that these men had gained wisdom from experience, and that their plan was the result of knowledge and thought concerning actual conditions in the past and in the present, rather than one based on speculative notions. The "two old men" were entrusted with the two Sacred Tribal Pipes; as they passed around the hu'thuga they would stop at a certain [clan], designating a family which was to become a Nini'bato^{n} and making this choice official by the presentation of a pipe. For some unknown reason in this circuit of the tribe the "old men" passed by the I^{n}gthe'zhide [clan] and did not give them a pipe. Nor was a pipe given to the We'zhi^{n}shte [clan] or to the Ho^{n}'ga [clan]. It was explained concerning these latter omissions that the We'zhi^{n}shte had already been given the control of the war rites of the tribe, while the duties of the council formed from the Nini'bato^{n} subdivisions were to be solely in the interest of peace, and to the Ho^{n}'ga [clan] was to belong the duty of calling together this governing council.

The two Sacred pipes carried by the "two old men" were their credentials. The authority of these two pipes must have been of long standing and undisputed by the people in order to have made it possible for their bearers to inaugurate such an innovation as setting apart a certain family within a [clan] and giving it to a new class of duties — duties that were to be civil and not connected with the established rights of the [clans]. These new duties did not conflict with any of such rites, nor did they deprive the Nini'bato^{n} families from participating in them. A new class of obligations to Wako^{n}'da and to all persons composing the tribe were laid upon the Nini'bato^{n} and the new council.

*The word nin'bato^{n} means "to possess a pipe." The origin of the significant use of the pipe lies in a remote past. Among the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] and [related nations,] the pipe was regarded as a medium by which the breath of man ascended to Wako^{n}'da through the fragrant smoke and conveyed the prayer or aspiration of the person smoking; the act also partook of the nature of an oath, an affirmation to attest sincerity and responsibility. The pipe was a credential known and respected by all.

[Leader]ship

The earliest tradition among the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] as to the establishment of leaders is contained in the story already recounted concerning the formation of the Nini'bato^{n} and governing council, which was to be composed of hereditary leaders. How long the hereditary character was maintained and what had previously constituted leadership in the tribe are not known, nor is there any knowledge as to how the change from hereditary to competitive membership in the council came about. It may be that the change was the result of increasing recognition of the importance of strengthening the power of the governing council by making it both the source and the goal of tribal honors, thus enhancing its authority and at the same time emphasizing the desirability of tribal unity. All that [La Flesche/Fletcher] have been able to ascertain concerning the change in the composition of the council from hereditary to competitive membership has been that it took place several generations ago, how many could not be learned.

Orders of [Leaders]

The period of the establishment of these orders is lost in the past, but internal evidence seems to point to their formation after the council with its Nini'bato^{n} membership had been fully established and accepted by the people.

There were two orders of [leader]s, the Ni'kagahi xu'de and the Ni'kagahi sha'be. The name of the first (ni'kagahi, "[leader];" xu'de, "brown") has reference to a uniform color, as of the brown earth, where all are practically alike, of one hue or rank. The Ni'kagahi xu'de order was unlimited as to membership, but admittance into it depended upon the consent of the Ni'kagahi sha'be (ni'kagahi, "[leader];" sha'be, "dark"). The word sha'be does not refer to color, but to the appearance of an object raised above the uniform level and seen against the horizon as a dark object. Men who had risen from the Ni'kagahi xu'de into the limited order of the Ni'kagahi sha'be were regarded as elevated before the people.

Wathi^{n}'ethe: performance of certain acts

Entrance into the Ni'kagahi sha'be was possible only when a vacancy occurred, and then only to a member of the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de after the performance of certain acts known as withi^{n}'ethe (from wa, "thing having power;" thi^{n}, from thi^{n}'ge, "nothing;" the, "to make" or "to cause," the word meaning something done or given for which there is no material return but through which honor is received). Wathi^{n}'ethe stands for acts and gifts which do not directly add to the comfort and wealth of the actor or donor, but which have relation to the welfare of the tribe by promoting internal order and peace, by providing for the [leaders] and keepers, by assuring friendly relations with other tribes; they partook therefore of a public rather

than a private character, and while they opened a man's way to tribal honors and position, they did so by serving the welfare of all the people. Entrance into the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de was through the performance of certain wathi^{n}'ethe;in this instance the gifts of the aspirant were made solely to the Seven [Leaders].

The election of members to the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de took place at a meeting of the Ni'kagahi sha'be called by the leaders of the Ho^{n}'ga clan for this purpose. After the tribal pipes had been smoked the name of a candidate was mentioned, and his record and the number and value of his gifts were canvassed. The prescribed articles used in making these gifts were eagles, eagle war bonnets, quivers (including bows and arrows), [pipestone] pipes with ornamented stems, tobacco pouches, otter skins, buffalo robes, ornamented shirts, and leggings. In olden times, burden-bearing dogs, tents, and pottery were given; in recent times these have been replaced by horses, guns, blankets, blue and red cloth, silver medals, and copper kettles. It is noteworthy that all the raw materials used in construction, as well as the unmanufactured articles of the early native type, were such as required of the candidate prowess as a hunter, care in accumulating, and skilled industry. A man often had to travel far to acquire some of these articles, and be exposed to danger from enemies in securing and bringing them home, so that they represented, besides industry as a hunter, bravery and skill as a warrior. Moreover, as upon the men devolved the arduous task of procuring all the meat for food and the pelts used to make clothing, bedding, and [tipis], and as there was no common medium of exchange for labor in the tribe, such as money affords, each household had to provide from the very foundation, so to speak, every article it used or consumed. It will therefore be seen that persistent work on the part of a man aspiring to enter the order of [leader] was necessary, as he must not only provide food and clothing for the daily use of his family, but accumulate a surplus so as to obtain leisure for the construction of the articles to be counted as wathi^{n}'ethe. The men made the bows and arrows, the war bonnets, and the pipes; the ornamentation was the woman's task. Her deft fingers prepared the porcupine quills after her husband or brother had caught the wary little animals. For the slow task of dyeing the quills and embroidering with them she needed a house well stocked with food and defended from lurking war parties, in order to have time and security for her work. A lazy fellow or an impulsive, improvident man could not acquire the property represented by these gifts. There was no prescribed number of gifts demanded for entrance into the Xu'de order but they had to be sufficient to warrant the [leaders] in admitting him, for the man once in the order could, by persistent industry and care, rise so as to become a candidate for the order of Sha'be when a vacancy occurred.

When a favorable decision as to the candidate was reached the [leaders] arose and followed the Sacred Pipes, borne reverently, with the stems elevated, by the two leading [leaders]. Thus led, the company walked slowly

about the camp to the lodge of the man who had been elected a Xu'de and paused before the door. At this point the man had the option to refuse or to accept the honor. If he should say" "I do not wish to become a [leader]," and wave away the tribal pipes offered him to smoke, thus refusing permission to the [leaders] to enter his lodge, they would pass on, leaving him as though he had not been elected. When the man accepted the position he smoked the pipes as they were offered, whereupon the [leaders] entered his lodge, bearing the pipes before them, and slowly passed around his fireplace. This act signified to all the tribe that the man was thenceforth a [leader], a member of the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de. He was now eligible to other honors — all of which, however, depended upon further efforts on his part.

Eligibility to enter the order of Ni'kagahi sha'be depended upon the performance of certain graded withi^{n}'ethe. Vacancies occurred only by death or by resignation of very old men. A vacancy was filled by the one in the Xu'de order who could "count" the most withi^{n}'ethe given to the [leader]s or who had performed the graded acts of the withi^{n}'ethe. The order and value of these graded acts were not generally known to the people, nor even to all the [leaders] of the Xu'de. Those who became possessed of this knowledge were apt to keep it for the benefit of their aspiring kinsmen. The lack of this knowledge, it is said, occasionally cost a man the loss of an advantage which he would otherwise have had.

There were seven grades of withi^{n}'ethe the performance of which made a man eligible to a place in the order of Ni'kagahi sha'be. They ranked as follows:

First. Washa'be ga'xe (washa'be, "and official staff;" ga'xe, "to make"). This grade consisted in procuring the materials necessary to make the washa'be, an ornamented staff carried by the leader of the annual buffalo hunt. These materials were a dressed buffalo skin, a crow, two eagles, a shell disk, sinew, a pipe with an ornamented stem, and, in olden times, a cooking vessel of pottery, replaced in modern times by a copper kettle. The money value of these articles, rated by ordinary trading terms, was not less than $100 to $130. The performance of the first grade four times would constitute the highest act possible for a man. No [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] has ever accomplished this act so many times.

Second. Bo^{n}'wakithe ("I caused the herald to call"). The aspirant requested the tribal herald to summon the Ni'kagahi sha'be together with the keeper of the ritual used in filling the Sacred Pipes, from the I^{n}shta'çu^{n}da clan, to a feast. Besides providing for the feast, gifts of leggings, robes, bows and arrows, and tobacco were required as gifts for the guests. If it chanced that the aspirant for honors was not on friendly terms with the keeper of the ritual, or if from any other motive the keeper desired to check the man's ambition, it lay in his power to thwart it by allowing the pipes to remain unfilled, in which case the gifts and feast went for nothing.

Third. U'gashkegtho^{n} ("to tether a horse"). A man would make a feast for

the Ni'kagahi sha'be and tie at the door of his [tipi] a horse with a new robe thrown over it. The horse and the robe were gifts to his guests. A man once gained renown by "counting" seven acts of this grade performing four in one day.

Fourth. Gaçi'ge no^{n}shto^{n} wakithe (gaçi'ge, "marching abreast;" no^{n}shto^{n}, "to halt;" wakithe, "to make or cause", "causing the people to halt." This act was possible only during the annual hunt. As the people were moving, the Sacred Pole and the governing [leaders] in advance, a man would bring a horse or a new robe and present it to the Pole. The gift was appropriated by the Waxthe'xeto^{n} sub[clan] of the Ho^{n}'ga, who had charge of the Pole. During this act the entire tribe halted, while the herald proclaimed the name of the giver. This act should be repeated four times in one day.

Fifth. Te thishke' wakithe (te, "buffalo;" thishke', "to untie;" wakithe, "to make or cause"), "causing the Sacred White Buffalo Hide to be opened and shown." During this ceremony of exhibiting the White Buffalo Hide a shell disk or some other article of value was presented to the Hide, the gifts becoming the property of the Waxthe'beto^{n} sub-[clan] of the Ho^{n}'ga, who had charge of this sacred object. This act had to be repeated four times in one day.

Sixth. Wa't'edo^{n}be (wa, "things having power and purpose;" t'e, "dead;" do^{n}be, "to see"). This act consisted in taking gifts to the family of a [leader] when a death occurred. The costliest donation remembered to have been made under this class was on the occasion of the death of the son of old Big Elk, who died of smallpox in the early part of the nineteenth century, when a fine horse on which was spread a bearskin was offered in honor of the dead.

Seventh. When a person had been killed accidentally or in anger the [leaders] took the Sacred Tribal Pipes to the kindred of the man, accompanied by gifts, in order to prevent any revengeful act. All those who contributed toward these gifts could "count" them as belonging to the seventh grade. If the aggrieved party smoked the pipe and accepted the gifts, bloodshed was averted and peace maintained in the tribe.

All of the gifts constituting these seven grades were made to the [leaders] of the governing council in recognition of their authority. They were for a definite purpose — to enable the giver to secure entrance into the order of Ni'kagahi sha'be whenever a vacancy should occur in that body.

It will be noticed that the act constituting the first grade differed from the other six in that it was not a direct gift made to the [leaders], but was connected with the ceremonial staff of the leader of the annual buffalo hunt. It was, however, a recognition of authority, an authority which held the people in order and made it possible for each family to secure its supply of food

and clothing. It was therefore, in its intrinsic character, in harmony with the purpose of the other six graded withi^{n}'ethe.

Waba'ho^{n}, designated an act not belonging to the regular withi^{n}'ethe, but esteemed as a generous deed that redounded to the credit of the doer. The term means "to raise or push up," and refers to placing a deer, buffalo, or elk on its breast and putting bits of tobacco along its back, all of which signified that the hunter had dedicated the animal as a gift to the [leaders]. A [leader] could not receive such a gift unless he had performed the act of waba'ho^{n} four times. If he had not performed the acts and desired to receive the gift he could call on his near of kin to help him to "count." If he was able to "count" four waba'ho^{n} himself, he could then keep the entire animal for his own use.

In admitting a man to either order of [leaders] his personal character was always taken in-to consideration. If he was of a disputatious or quarrelsome nature no amount of gifts would secure his election to the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de or make possible a place for him in the Ni'kagahi sha'be. The maxim was: "A [leader] must be a man who can govern himself."

The Council of Seven [Leaders]

The origin of this governing council as given in the Sacred Legend and elsewhere has been recounted and the change from the early form of hereditary membership mentioned. The institution of a small body representing the entire tribe, to have full control of the people, to settle all contentions, and to subordinate all factions to a central authority, was an important governmental movement. The credential of this authority both for the act of its creation and for the exercise of its functions was the presence and ceremonial use of the two Sacred Tribal Pipes. The two stood for the fundamental idea in the dual organization of the hu'thuga. This was recognized also in the ceremonial custody and preparation of the Pipes. The keeping of them belonged to the I^{n}ke'çabe [clan] of the southern (earth) side of the hu'thuga; the office of ceremonially filling the Pipes, making them ready for use, was vested in the I^{n}shta'çu^{n}da [clan] of the northern (upper) realm of the hu'thuga, representative of the abode of the supernatural forces to which man must appeal for help. Through the ceremonies and use of the two Sacred pipes the halves of the hu'thuga were welded, as it were, the Pipes thus becoming representative of the tribe as a whole. The prominence given to the Pipes, as the credential of the "old men," as their authority in the creation of [leader]s and the governing council, seems to indicate that the institution of the Nini'bato^{n} and the establishment of the Council, although a progressive movement, was a growth, a development of earlier forms, rather than an invention of arbitrary arrangement of the "old men." The retaining of the two Pipes as the supreme or confirmatory authority within the council rather than giving that power to a head [leader] was consonant with the fundamental idea embodied in the tribal organization! The number of the council

(seven) probably had its origin in the significance of the number which represented the whole of man's environment — the four quarters where were the four paths down which the Above came to the Below, where stood man. The ancient ideas and beliefs of the people concerning man's relation to the cosmos were thus interwoven with their latest social achievement, the establishment of a representative governing body.

Whether the ornamentation of the two Tribal Pipes was authorized at this time is not known; but it is probable that in this as in every other arrangement there was the adaptation or modification of some old and accepted form of expression to meet the needs of newer conditions. It is said that the seven woodpecker heads on one of the Tribal Pipes stood for the seven [leader]s that composed the governing council, while the use of but one woodpecker head on the other pipe represented the unity of authority of the [leaders]. This explanation explains only in part. The reason for the choice of the woodpecker as a symbol lies far back in the history of the people, and it may be that it did not originate in this linguistic group. In myths found throughout a wide region this bird was connected with the sun. It was used on the calumet pipes, which had a wide range, covering almost the whole of the Mississippi drainage. It is not improbable that the woodpecker symbol was accepted at the time the calumet ceremony became known to the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] and adopted as a symbol of peaceful authority, but a definite statement on the subject [in 1906] is impossible.

The seven members of the council belonged to the order of Ni'kagahi sha'be, in fact they may be said to have represented that order in which each man held his place until death or voluntary resignation. Five other persons were entitled to attend the meetings of the council, being of an ex officio class: The keeper of the Sacred Pole; the keeper of the Sacred Buffalo Hide; the keeper of the two Sacred Tribal Pipes; the keeper of the ritual used when filling them; and the keeper of the Sacred Tent of War. None of these five keeper$_{s}$ had a voice in the decisions of the council, the responsibility of deciding devolving solely on the Seven [Leader]s who composed the council proper.

At council meetings the men sat in a semicircle. The two [leaders] who could count the greatest number of withi^{n}'ethe were called Ni'kagahi u'zhu (u'zhu "principal"); these [leaders] sat side by side back of the fireplace, facing the east and the entrance of the lodge. They represented the two halves of the hu'thuga, the one who sat on the right (toward the south) representing the Ho^{n}'gashenu, the one who sat on the left (toward the north), the I^{n}shta'çu^{n}-da. The other members sat in the order of their "counts" on each side of the principal [leaders], the highest next to those [leaders] and so on to the end of the line. The position assigned each member on entrance into the council remained unchanged until a death or resignation took place. In the case of a vacancy in the u'zhu, the place was taken by whoever could count the most withi^{n}'ethe; he might be an old member of the council or a new man from the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de. Any vacancy occurring was likely to cause a

change in the places of the members, according to the "count" of the new member, but the place and position of u'zhu were affected only by death or resignation. An u'zhu held his rank against all claimants.

The manner of deliberating and coming to a decision in the Council of Seven is said to have been as follows: A question or plan of operation was presented by a member; it was then referred to the [leader] sitting next, who took it under consideration and then passed it on to the next person and so on around the circle until it reached the man who first presented it. The matter would pass again and again around the circle until all came to agreement. All day was frequently spent in deliberation. No one person would dare to take the responsibility of the act. All must accept it and then carry it through as one man. This unity of decision was regarded as having a supernatural power and authority. Old men explained to the writers that the members of the council had been made [leaders] by the Sacred Tribal Pipes, which were from Wako^{n}'da; therefore, "when the [leaders] had deliberated on a matter and had smoked, the decision was as the word of Wako^{n}'da."

The Ceremonial Manner of Smoking the Sacred Pipes was as follows:

After the members of the council were in their places the keeper of the Sacred Pipes laid them before the two principal [leaders], who called on the keeper of the ritual to prepare the Pipes for use. As he filled them with native tobacco he intoned in a low voice the ritual which belonged to that act. He had to be careful not to let either of the Pipes fall. Should this happen, that meeting of the council would be at an end, and the life of the keeper would be in danger from the supernatural powers. After the Pipes were filled they were again laid before the two principal [leaders]. When the time came to smoke the Pipes in order to give authority to a decision, the I^{n}ke'çabe keeper arose, took up one of the Pipes, and held it for the principal [leader] sitting toward the north, to smoke. The assistant from the Te'pa sub[clan] of the Tha'tada [clan] followed, taking up the other Pipe and holding it for the principal [leader] sitting toward the south, to smoke. The Pipes were then passed around the council, the I^{n}ke'çabe keeper leading and carefully holding the Pipe for each member to smoke, the assistant following and serving the other Pipe in the same manner. The principal [leader] sitting toward the south was the last to smoke from the Pipe borne by the I^{n}ke'çabe keeper, who then laid the Pipe in the place from which he had taken it. When the Te'pa assistant reached the [leader] to whom he had first offered the Pipe he laid it down beside the other. The keeper of the ritual from the I^{n}ke'çabe clan then arose and cleaned the Pipes, after which he

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*All the other sacred articles used in tribal ceremonies have been turned over to [La Flesche/Fletcher] for safekeeping, but no arguments could induce the leading men to part with the two Sacred Pipes. The answer was always, "They must remain." And they are still with the people. La Flesche/Fletcher **Ibid.**, p. 209

laid them back before the two [leaders], who then called the keeper from the I^{n}ke'çabe clan to take them in charge.*

"The seven must have but one heart and speak as with one mouth," said the old men who explained these things to [La Flesche/Fletcher], adding: "It is because these decisions come from Wako^{n}'da that a [leader] is slow to speak. No word can be without meaning and every one must be uttered in soberness. That is why when a [leader] speaks the others listen, for the words of a [leader] must be few." When a conclusion was reached by the council the herald was summoned, and he went about the camp circle and proclaimed the decision. No one dared to dispute, for it was said; "This is the voice of the [leaders]."

Among the duties of the Council of Seven besides that of maintaining peace and order within the tribe were making peace with other tribes, securing allies, determining the time of the annual buffalo hunt, and confirming the man who was to act as leader, on whom rested the responsibility of that important movement. While on the hunt the Seven [Leaders] were in a sense subordinate to the leader, their duties being advisory rather than governing in character; and place the entire tribe under the control of one man, Wa'baçka, who led the people against the Pawnee. This exception to all tribal rule has been preserved in both story and song. When a man desired to perform the Wa'wa^{n} ceremony and carry the pipes to another tribe or to a man within the tribe, permission from the [leaders] had first to be obtained.

The consent of the Seven [Leaders] was also necessary to the admission of a candidate to the Ho^{n}'hewachi.

There were no other governing [leaders] in the tribe besides those of the council. No clan had a [leader] possessing authority over it, nor was there any council of a [clan], nor could a [clan] act by itself. There was one possible exception; sometimes a [clan] went on a hunt under the leadership of its [leaders], for there were [leaders] in every [clan], men who belonged to the order of Ni'kagahi xu'de or who had entered the ranks of the Ni'kagahi sha'be; but none of these men could individually exercise governing power within a [clan] or in the tribe. The [clan], as has been shown, was not a political organization, but a group of kindred, united through a common rite. The leading men of a [clan] were those who had charge of its rites; those who could count many withi^{n}'ethe, and those who had been designated to act as "soldiers." Such men were invited on various occasions to sit with the Council of Seven, as in the communal tent when the ceremony of anointing the Sacred Pole took place, There was no tribal assembly or tribal council. All power for both decision and action was lodged in the Council of Seven.

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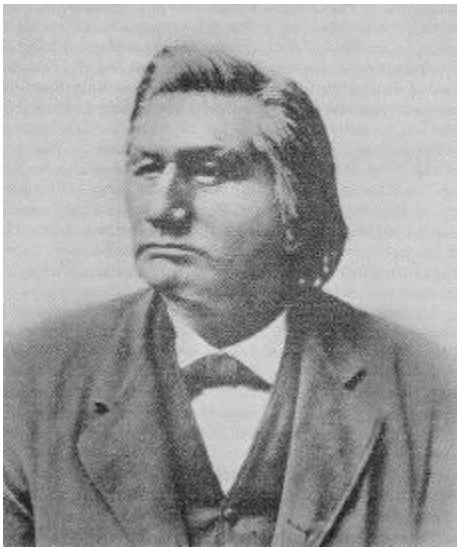
The old [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] men, who are the authority for the interpretations of tribal rites and customs contained in this memoir, have earnestly sought to impress upon [La Flesche/Fletcher] that peace and order within the tribe were of prime importance; without these it was declared neither the people nor the tribe as an organization could exist. War was secondary; its true function was protective — to guard the people from outside enemies. Aggressive warfare was to be discouraged; any gains made by it were more than offset by the troubles entailed. It was recognized that it was difficult to restrain young men; therefore restrictions were thrown about predatory warfare, and all who went on the war path should first secure permission, while the special honors accorded to those whose brave acts were performed in defense of the tribe tended to make war secondary to peace.



Kaxe'no^{n}ba,
Who frequently served
as a "soldier"
La Flesche/Fletcher **Ibid.**
p. 210

"Plentiful food and peace," it was said,
"are necessary to the prosperity of the tribe."

In later years, under the influence of traders and of United States Government officials, the old order of [leader]ship lost much of its power. Men who were pliant were enriched by traders and became unduly important, and the same was frequently true of the men who were made "[leaders]" by United States Government officials. Some of these have been men who had no rightful claim according to tribal usage to that office. [Leaders] made by the Government were called "paper [leaders]." These men sometimes exercised considerable influence, as they were supposed by the people to be supported by the government, but their influence was that born of expediency rather than that growing out of the ancient belief that the [leader] was one who was favored by Wako^{n}'da and who represented before the people certain aspects of that mysterious power.

[Compensation] of [Leaders] and Keepers

Entrance into the order of [leader]ship was secured through certain prescribed acts and gifts called withi^{n}'ethe. All of the gifts, except those belonging to the first and second grades, were made to the Seven [Leaders]. The two exceptions were contributions to ceremonies connected with the maintenance of order and the consequent welfare of the tribe. While all the withi^{n}'ethe were in a sense voluntary, they were obligatory on the man who desired to rise to a position of prominence in the tribe. It was explained that "the gifts made to the [leader]s were not only in recognition of their high office and authority as the governing power of the tribe but to supply them

with the means to meet the demands made upon them because of their official position." It was further explained that — "[Leaders] were expected to entertain all visitors from other tribes, also the leading men within the tribe and to make adequate gifts to their visitors. Both [Leaders] and Keepers were often deterred from hunting by their official duties and thus were prevented from securing a large supply of food or of the raw material needed for the manufacture of articles suitable to present as gifts to visitors. The gifts made by aspirants to tribal office therefore partook of the nature of payment to the [Leaders] and Keepers for the services they rendered to the people."

Not only did the withi^{n}'ethe accomplish the purpose as explained above, but the custom stimulated industry and enterprise among the men and women, and thus indirectly served the cause of peace within the tribe.

Beside their use as stated above, gifts were demanded as entrance fees to the various societies. Those requisite for admission to the Ho^{n}'hewachi were particularly costly. More over, the meetings of the societies made demands on the accumulated wealth, so to speak, of the family. Food was required for the "feasts" of the members, and gifts were expected as a part of some of the ceremonies. All these had to be drawn from the surplus store, a store that had to be created by the skill of the man as a hunter and by the industry of the woman. No one gave feasts or made gifts which left the family in want of food or of clothing.

At the anointing of the Sacred Pole a supply of meats of the cut called tezhu' was expected from every family in the tribe except from those of the Ho^{n}'ga sub[clan], that had charge of the Pole and its ceremonies. While there was no penalty attached to the non-fulfillment of this tribal duty, as it was considered, yet from a series of coincidences a belief had grown up that a refusal would be punished supernaturally.

These customs in reference to gifts made as withi^{n}'ethe show that the people had progressed to the recognition that something more was required of a man than merely to supply his own physical needs; that he had social and public duties to perform and must give of his labor to support the [leaders] and keepers, officers who served and promoted the general welfare of the people.

Offenses and Punishments

The authority of the [leaders] and social order were safeguarded by the following punishment:

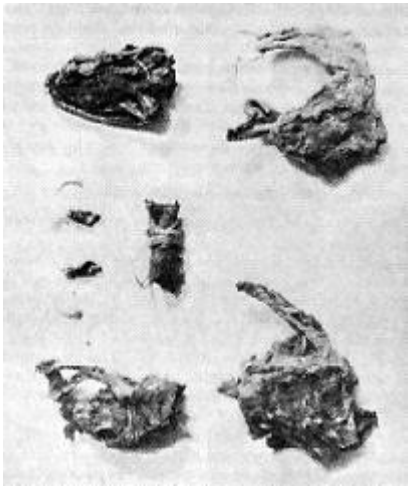
Within the Tent Sacred to War was kept a staff of ironwood, one end of which was rough, as if broken. On this splinted end poison was put when the staff was to be used officially for punishment. In the pack kept in this tent was found a bladder, within which were four rattlesnake heads, and with them, in a separate bundle, the poison fangs. These were probably used to

compound the poison put on the staff. As men's bodies were usually naked, it was not difficult when near a person in a crowd to prod him with the staff, making a wound and introducing the deadly poison, which is said always to have resulted in death. This form of punishment was applied to a man who made light of the authority of the [leaders] or of the wain' waxube, the packs which could authorize a war party, such a person being a disturber of the peace and order of the tribe. The punishment was decided on by the Council of Seven [Leaders], which designated a trustworthy man to apply the staff to the offender. Sometimes the man was given a chance for his life by having his horses struck and poisoned. If, however, he did not take this warning, he paid the forfeit of his life, for he would be struck by the poisoned staff end and killed. Thieving (wamo^{n}'tho^{n}) was uncommon. Restitution was the only punishment. Assaults were not frequent. When they occurred they were settled privately between the parties and their relatives.

In all offenses the relatives stood as one. Each could be held responsible for the acts of another — a custom that sometimes worked injustice, but on the whole was conducive to social order.

Running off with a man's wife or committing adultery was severely punished. In this class of offenses the husband or his near relatives administered punishment. The woman might be whipped, but the heavy punishment fell on the guilty man. Generally his property was taken from him, and if the man offered resistance he was either slashed with a knife or beaten with a bludgeon, the revenge taken by a husband on a man making advances to his wife was called miwa'da.

A wife jealous of another woman who was attentive to her husband was apt to attack her with a knife. An assault of this kind, called no^{n}'wo^{n}çi, was seldom interfered with. If a man's wife died and left children, custom required that he marry his wife's sister. Should he fail to do so, the woman's relatives sometimes took up the matter and threatened the man with punishment.



Rattlesnake heads and fangs La Flesche/Fletcher, **Ibid.**, p. 214

The term wano^{n}'kathe was used in reference to murder, or to any act which caused personal injury to another, even if it was unpremeditated. in the latter case the act would be condoned by gifts made to the injured party or his relatives. Deliberate murder was punished by banishment. When the knowledge of such a deed was brought to the notice of the [leaders], banishment was ordered, the offender was told of the decision and he obeyed. Banishment was four years, unless the man was sooner forgiven by the relatives of the murdered man. During this period the man had to camp outside the village and could hold no communication with anyone except his nearest kindred, who were permitted to

see him. He was obliged to wear night and day a close fitting garment of skin, covering his body and legs, and was not allowed to remove this covering during his punishment. His wife could carry him food but he was obliged to live apart from his family and to be entirely alone during the period of his exile.

It was believed that the spirit of a murdered man was inclined to come back to his village to punish the people. To prevent a murdered man from haunting his village he was turned face downward, and to impede his steps the soles of his feet were slit lengthwise. The return of a spirit to haunt people was called wathi'hide, "disturbance." such a haunting spirit was supposed to bring famine. To avert this disaster, when a murdered man was buried, besides the precautions already mentioned, a piece of fat was put in his right hand, so that if he should come to the village he would bring plenty rather than famine, fat being the symbol of plenty. Even the relatives of the murdered man would treat the body of their kinsman in the manner described.

The sentence being passed on a murderer, the [leaders] at once took the Tribal Pipes to the family of the murdered man and by gifts besought them to forego any further punishment upon the family of the murderer. If they accepted the gifts and smoked the pipe, there was no further disturbance connected with the crime.

The offense of wathi'hi, that of scaring off game while the tribe was on the buffalo hunt, could take place only by a man slipping away and hunting for himself. By this act, while he might secure food for his own use, he imperiled the food supply of the entire tribe by frightening away the herd. Such a deed was punished by flogging. Soldiers were appointed by the [leaders] to go to the offender's tent and administer this punishment. should the man dare to resist their authority he was doubly flogged because of his second offense. Such a flogging sometimes caused death. Besides this flogging, the man's tent was destroyed, his horses and other property were confiscated, and his tent poles burned; in short, he was reduced to beggary.

The punishment of a disturber of the peace of the tribe, by the exercise of washi^{n}'agthe, the placing of will power on the offender by the [leaders], was a peculiar form of chastisement by which the person was put out of friendly relations with men and animals. For a similar placing of the mind on an offender.

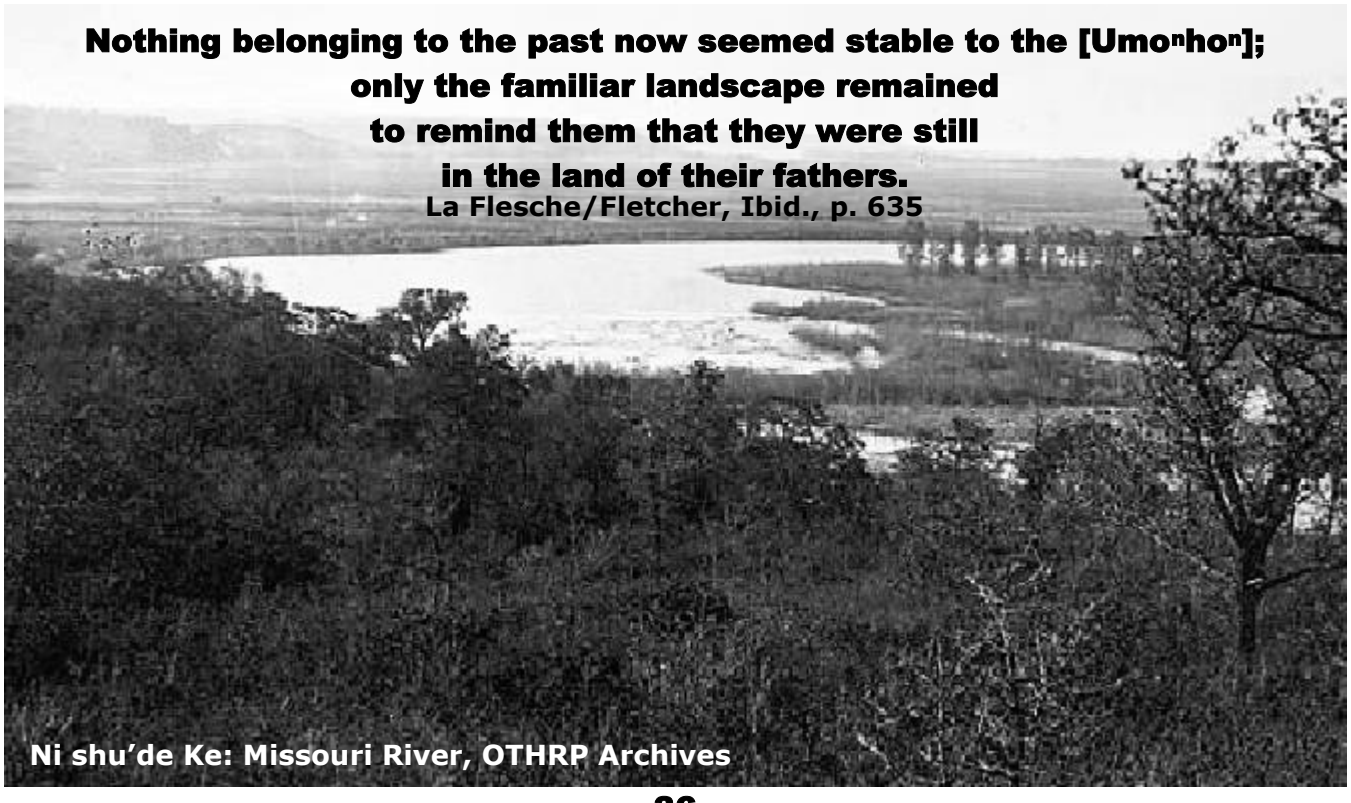
White Eagle (Ponca) narrated the following as a showing the Ponca treatment of a murderer, even if the killing was an accident:

> A Ponca killed a man. It was not intentional, but nevertheless he was, by the consent of the people, punished by the father of the man who was killed. The father cut all the edges of the man's robe, so that nothing about him could flutter should the wind blow. The spirit of a murdered person will haunt the people, and when the tribe is on the hunt, will cause the wind to blow in such a direction as to betray the

hunters to the game and cause the herd to scatter, making it impossible for the people to get food. (The Umo^{n}ho^{n} have the same belief about ghosts scattering the herds by raising the wind.) After the man's robe was cut it was sewed together in front, but space was left for his arm to have freedom. He was then bade to say, as he drew the arrow from the wound and rubbed it over the dead man, "I did not kill a man, but an animal." Then his hair was cut short for fear it might blow and cause the winds to become restless. The covering about the heart of a buffalo was taken and put over the man's head, and he was banished from the tribe for four years. The man obeyed strictly all the directions given him, and, further than that, he wept every day for the man he had slain. This action so moved the relatives of the dead, it is said, that in one year they pardoned him, gave him his liberty, and he returned to the tribe and his family. La Flesche/Fletcher, **Ibid.**, pp. 199-216

Establishment of "The Council"

The enforced abandonment of the annual hunt and the changes taking place in the life and habits of the tribe led to a modification in tribal government, one favored by the United States agency officials. Questions frequently arose the determination of which required cooperation between the tribe and the Agent. Tribal meetings were cumbersome and difficult to manage, so it came about that a "council" was formed from a small number of leaders and other cooperative men, who could be easily called together by the agent. Leadership in the old meaning of the term thereby lapsed. The council represented the people but all governing power had become centered in the United States Indian Agent.



Ni shu'de Ke: Missouri River, OTHRP Archives

OTHRP Note: The following information comes from the Hastings/Coffey PhD dissertation ["Completely Illustrated: Grandfather Remembers -- Broken Treaties/Stolen Land: The [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] Land Theft," 2009] that helped to win unanimously the U.S. Supreme Court case Nebraska vs. Parker over the boundaries of the reservation. It reveals how the Umo^{n}ho^{n} really lost their tribal government between 1864-1866 from the Indian point of view. It explains the terse and somewhat curt remarks at the end of the 27th Annual Report. After all, Joseph La Flesche was Dr. Francis La Flesche, Esq.'s father.

Robert Furnas

Robert Wilkinson Furnas (1824-1905) <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Wilkinson_Furnas>7-25-08

Robert Wilkinson Furnas was born on May 5, 1824, to William and Martha (Jenkins) Furnas near Troy, Miami County, Ohio. His parents were of English Quaker stock and were natives of South Carolina. Robert was orphaned in 1832 when his parents died from cholera, and he went to live with his paternal grandparents in Troy. Later while still a youth, he left this home and worked as a tin and printing apprentice. In the late 1840's he became engaged in a number of business enterprises in the southern Ohio-northern Kentucky region, including book and job printing, publishing a newspaper in Troy, and various positions as a railroader, including station agent, conductor and engineer. In 1852, while still living in Ohio, he became involved in the insurance business which he continued until he moved to Nebraska Territory in April 1856.

Furnas established the Nebraska Advertiser in Brownville and it soon became a newspaper of note, primarily because of his frank comments on contemporary issues. He participated actively in promoting the Territory, and wrote a number of pamphlets advertising the region to prospective settlers. He was also extremely interested in developing the full agricultural potential of the land and to this end founded the Nebraska Farmer, Nebraska's first agricultural periodical.

Furnas attempted to be politically neutral when he arrived in the Territory, although he had been a Whig in Ohio. He soon found himself, however, aligned with the newly organized Republican Party. He served in the 3rd-6th Territorial Councils which met during 1857-1860, and was a member of the Agriculture, Education and Horticulture committees.

Furnas was an officer in the Territorial Militia when the Civil War started, and was soon appointed a colonel in the U.S. Army. He organized several Indian regiments prior to commanding the Second Nebraska Cavalry which participated in campaigns against the Plains Indians, most notably in the battle of White Stone Hill. He returned to civilian life after the Civil War and served from 1864 to 1866 as Agent for the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] Indians. He returned to Brownville in 1867, where he became actively engaged in a nursery business in which he had purchased half interest. Although he was

owner and editor of the Nebraska Advertiser from 1870 to 1871, his main vocation after his term as Indian Agent was the operation of his nursery business located on the outskirts of Brownville, where he resided until his death on June 1, 1905.

In 1872 Furnas was elected governor of Nebraska on the Republican ticket even though prior to the election he was involved in a controversy when it was charged that he had accepted a bribe in voting against the removal of the capital from Omaha in 1857. His two years as governor were clouded with a number of problems including administrative questions and economic hardship, originating from Nebraskans being plagued by grasshoppers which necessitated various relief measures. Furnas did not seek reelection in 1874 and he never again held an elective public office. Later, he was interested in a number of appointive positions, particularly that of Commissioner of Agriculture. "Guide to the Microfilm Ediition of the Robert W. Furnas Papers 1844-1905," Nebraska State Historical Society. n. d.

. . .Furnas' three year residence at the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] Agency, [covered] the problems of the *Winnebago* removal to the reservation, the selection of a licensed trader, and *Sioux* attacks, caus[ing] considerable tension.*****

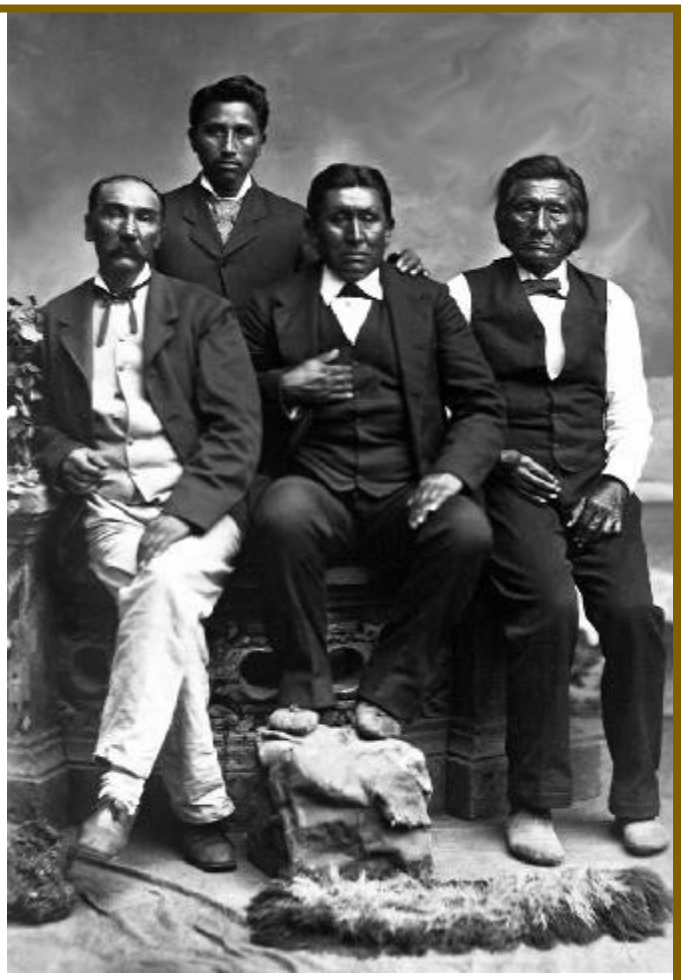
How much of these problems were caused by Furnas' manipulations needs to be addressed. Furnas' stay on the reservation, a scant two years, financed his career. Not likely on an Indian agent's salary.

Joseph La Flesche

In 1866, for reasons which remain obscure, La Flesche had moved his family off the reservation because of a dispute with the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}'s] government agent. That agent, Robert W. Furnas, told the director of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions that he had not ordered La Flesche to leave the reservation as some claimed. Yet Agent Furnas also stated that in order for La Flesche to return, "he *must* conduct himself properly, and *be subordinate to the agent*." Furnas called La Flesche "a shrewd, cunning, ambitious and aspiring Indian *politician*, who has never been willing to be subordinate to an agent, or even [to] the Hon. Comr. of Indian Affairs." Evidently Furnas and La Flesche had clashed over the issue of political authority, and the agent had won. When La Flesche returned to the reservation, he did not serve as a "paper chief" and his influence as a traditional [leader] may have been limited to some loyal followers among the

*****Tate, Michael L. **The Upstream People: An Annotated Research Bibliography of the Omaha Tribe**, The Scarecrow Press, Inc., Metuchen, New Jersey & London, 1991, p. 230. 821. Farb, Robert C. "Robert W. Furnas as [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] Indian Agent, 1864-1866" Nebraska History, 32 (September 1951), 186-203; (December 1951), 268-83 This article, largely based upon the Robert W. Furnas Papers at the Nebraska State Historical Society, offers a good view of *Umo^{n}ho^{n}* leaders, annuity distribution process, and an 1865 trip to Washington, D.C., to negotiate a treaty for the creation of a *Winnebago* Reservation from *Umo^{n}ho^{n}* lands.

[standing] Frank La Flesche
[seated left to right]
Henry Fontenelle, I'-ba'ha^{n}-bi
and Ka'xe' tho^{n}-be
OTHRP Archives



Cottonwood leaves, Coffey, OTHRP Archives
I^{n}shta mo^{n}ze: Iron Eyes: Joseph La Flesche [above] and La Flesche Trading Post [below] note the earth lodge behind it. Smithsonian

"'make-believe' white men," or the "young men's party," as they came to be called. Whatever the case, La Flesche's leadership among the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] had waned. The political role of the traditional [leaders] disappeared, and the agent's council of "paper chiefs" replaced the Council of Seven as the governing body of the society.

Clyde A. Milner, II, **With Good Intentions: Quaker Work Among the Pawnees, Otos and Omahas in the 1870s**, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1982, p. 159

Joseph La Flesche, 1854
Nebraska State
Historical Society

Whatever Mr. Furnas claimed, the truth of the matter was, that Joseph La Flesche was difficult for those who did not align themselves with his Young Men's Party. Joseph represented a political faction of the Umo^{n}ho^{n}. He was involved with land speculation and the La Flesche family sat in a unique position with their friendship with Alice Fletcher who was in charge of both enrollment and allotments for the tribe.

Furnas' hands were not clean either. It is clear that he did, indeed, throw an Umo^{n}ho^{n} Indian off of his own reservation because he could not deal with him. Involved with both the railroads and the insurance business, Furnas was a speculator who settled in the Half Breed Tract area, became the Indian Agent for the Umo^{n}ho^{n} area for a short term and then retired to the Half Breed Tract area when he left that post. He apparently made money in land speculation of some form and then invested it into his nursery business.

The important significance of the Furnas/La Flesche argument was that at the end of it, the Nation was no longer governed by those representing the people but instead became a Nation governed by those representing the agent. Thus democracy died aborning in the hands of those who most aligned themselves with it.

How valid are treaties when the Government controls the votes on both sides?

"Completely Illustrated: Grandfather Remembers -- Broken Treaties/Stolen Land: The Omaha Land Theft," Ph D. dissertation, Western Institute for Social Research, 2009, unpublished manuscript, pp. 359-361

First the Americans refused to negotiate with the women of the tribe, eliminating half of the adults which laid the ground for patriarchy. Then they promised protection in exchange for a small piece of land, establishing the American concept of land ownership. Swift action occurred after the American Civil War. Railroads

were established along with the systematic elimination of the bison so that the food, clothing and housing source was broken. Restricting the remaining lands to a small acreage imprisoned the Tribe. Education was forced by literally stealing children and placing them into boarding schools where they were stripped their clothes, their names, their religion and culture. All decisions had to be approved by the appointed Indian Agents who favored the pioneers and profited off of the "deals" made to supplement their low salaries from the U.S. Government.

Robert Furnas, a one term [1864 to 1866] Indian Agent, single handedly ended the "by the people government" of the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] and created what are known as "Paper Chiefs" which are constructs of the U.S. Government. The Reorganization Act of 1934 codified it.

If the Euro-Americans had not invaded this continent and Native Americans had been allowed to develop naturally, the Umo^{n}ho^{n} would have had a different government today than existed seven centuries ago. It is the nature of this planet that change is the one constant thing for all those who reside upon it, within it or above it. In the 21st century it is impossible to recreate the past no matter how hard one tries.

That does not mean that the Umo^{n}ho^{n} are stuck with the miniature failed United States Government model that has been forced upon them. With the development of the Reorganization Act and its implementation, the Umo^{n}ho^{n} are now in a position to create their own version of government by studying what once was, as clearly as they can. They would be, not only, working with a past record, but also, with the fact that the reality that is being faced today is totally different than what existed even one hundred years ago.

Plowing on the reservation OTHRP Archives

Umo^{n}ho^{n} Government Now:
A Possible Model for the Future

"A [leader] must be a man who can govern himself."
La Flesche/Fletcher, **Ibid.**, p. 202

As the 21st Century gains momentum the Umo^{n}ho^{n} are in a position to study the model documented by Dr. Francis La Flesche, Esq. in order to create a new government based upon ancestral practice. After all, this worked for centuries, whereas the current government only benefits the few at the expense of the many. Hoarding value is the basic premise for the capitalistic system, just the opposite of ancestral Umo^{n}ho^{n} practice. In order to determine value capitalism must also determine no value. That sets up and institutionalizes inequality.

Ancestral Umo^{n}ho^{n} tribal government was based on the spirituality of relationships carried out on a day-to-day basis. In other words, it is founded upon nurturing the individual, family, clan and Tribal Circle, while taking care of the plants, the wildlife, the land and the People that sat within this Circle. It is the way of Mother Earth.

In 2016 the original Umo^{n}ho^{n} Reservation was officially defined by four courts, including the U. S. Supreme Court, which made its decision unanimously. Each upheld the 1854 Treaty, which created the boundaries of the Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation's designated land. And in the center of this territory is a circle facing east: the Hu'thuga. The Hu'thuga contains the two divisions of the clans, the *Ho^{n}gashenu*: Earth People, and the *I^{n}shta'çu^{n}da*: Sky People. The divisions are separated by the Path of the Sun with the entrance set to the East, toward the sunrise.

However, there are a group of Umo^{n}ho^{n} who have no defined place in this Hu'thuga. The people whose ancestry is "no clan." They are not disappearing over time, but are increasing in numbers, and in fact, they may be a larger group than some of the original clans today.

In the past, there have been many clans that have come and gone. This action created the five related tribes. History notes that there may have been as many as 12 clans in the past and since it all started with a few clans, it is reasonable to assume that in ancient history there could have been far fewer. The simplest way to solve the large "no clan" problem is to create two "No Clan" clans: one in the Ho^{n}gashenu and the other in I^{n}shta'çu^{n}da. The Umo^{n}ho^{n} would then be twelve clans again, with every Umo^{n}ho^{n} included. The following article on Consensus, while not written for tribal members, describes in a non-tribal way a basis for consensus decision making.

Consensus

As a decision-making process, consensus decision-making aims to generate as much agreement as possible.

Collaborative: Participants contribute to a shared proposal and shape it into

a decision that meets the concerns of all group members as much as possible.

Cooperative: Participants In an effective consensus process should strive to reach the best possible decision for the group, rather than competing for personal preferences.

Egalitarian: All members of a consensus decision-making body are afforded, as much as possible, equal input into the process. All members have the opportunity to present, and amend proposals.

Inclusive: As many stakeholders as possible are allowed to participate in the consensus decision-making process.

The consensus process actively solicits the input and participation of all tribal decision-makers.

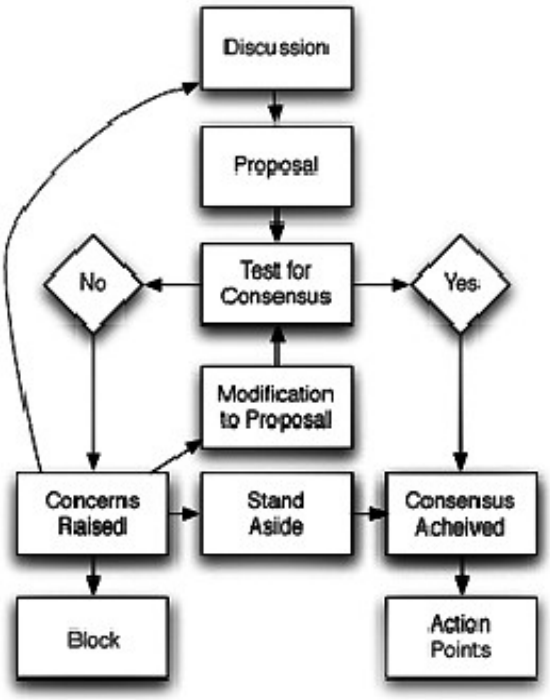
[**Knowledge**]: The consensus should track the truth to the greatest extent possible. [Which means that the process examines each question from all possible positions instead of pushing an agenda.]

Alternative to Common Decision-Making Practices

Consensus decision-making is an alternative to commonly practiced group decision-making processes. **Robert's Rules of Order**, for instance, is a guide book used by many organizations. This book allows the structuring of debate and passage of proposals that can be approved through majority vote. It does not emphasize the goal of full agreement. Critics of such a process believe that it can involve adversarial debate and the formation of competing factions. These dynamics may harm group member relationships and undermine the ability of a group to cooperatively implement a contentious decision.

Consensus decision-making attempts to address the beliefs of such problems. Advocates of consensus believe that outcomes of the process include:

- **Better decisions**: Through including the input of all stakeholders the resulting proposals may better address all potential concerns.
- **Better implementation**: A process that includes and respects all parties, and gen-



Consensus Flow Chart
grant horwood, aka frymaster
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consensus_decision-making>
6-14-16

Meadowlark
Coffey, OTHRP Archives

erates as much agreement as possible sets the stage for greater co-operation in implementing the resulting decisions.

- **Better group relationships**: A cooperative, collaborative group atmosphere can foster greater group cohesion and interpersonal connection.

Agreement Vs. Consent

Giving consent does not necessarily mean that the proposal being considered is one's first choice. Group members can vote their consent to a proposal because they choose to cooperate with the intent and direction of the group, rather than insist on their personal preference. Sometimes the vote on a proposal is framed, "Is this proposal something you can live with?" This relaxed threshold for a "yes" vote can achieve full consent. This full consent, however, does not mean that everyone is in full agreement. Consent must be "genuine and cannot be obtained by force, duress or fraud." The values of consensus are also not realized if "consent" is given because participants are frustrated with the process and wanting to move on.

Blocking and Other Forms of Dissent

In order to ensure that the agreement or consent of all participants is valued, many groups choose unanimity or near-unanimity as their decision rule. Groups that require unanimity allow individual participants the option of blocking a group decision. This provision motivates a group to make sure that all group members consent to any new proposal before it is adopted. Proper guidelines for the use of this option, however, are important. The ethics of consensus decision-making encourage participants to place the good of the whole group above their own individual preferences. When there is potential for a block to a group decision, both the group and dissenters in the group are encouraged to collaborate until agreement can be reached. Simply vetoing a decision is not considered a responsible use of consensus blocking. Some common guidelines for the use of consensus blocking include:

- Limiting the allowable rationale for blocking to issues that are fundamental to the group's mission or potentially disastrous to the group.
- Limiting the option of blocking to decisions that are substantial to the mission or operation of the group and not allowing blocking on routine decisions.
- Providing an option for those who do not support a proposal to "stand aside" rather than block. Requiring a block from two or more people to put a proposal aside.

- Requiring the blocking party to supply an alternative proposal or a process for generating one.

Dissent Options

When a participant does not support a proposal, he or she does not necessarily need to block it. When a call for consensus on a motion is made, a dissenting delegate has one of three options:

- **Declare reservations:** Group members who are willing to let a motion pass but desire to register their concerns with the group may choose "declare reservations." If there are significant reservations about a motion, the decision-making body may choose to modify or re-word the proposal.
- **Stand aside:** A "stand aside" may be registered by a group member who has a "serious personal disagreement" with a proposal, but is willing to let the motion pass. Although stand asides do not halt a motion, it is often regarded as a strong "nay vote" and the concerns of group members standing aside are usually addressed by modifications to the proposal. Stand asides may also be registered by users who feel they are incapable of adequately understanding or participating in the proposal.
- **Object:** Any group member may "object" to a proposal. In groups with a unanimity decision rule, a single block is sufficient to stop a proposal. Other decision rules may require more than one objection.

Blocks are generally considered an extreme measure — only used when a member feels a proposal endangers the organization or its participants, or violates the mission of the organization (i.e., a principled objection). In some consensus models, a group member opposing a proposal must work with its proponents to find a solution that works for everyone.

Process Models

There are multiple stepwise models of how to make decisions by consensus. They vary in the amount of detail the steps describe. They also vary depending on how decisions are finalized. The basic model involves:

- collaboratively generating a proposal,
- modifying the proposal to generate as much agreement as possible.

After a concerted attempt at generating full agreement, the group can then apply its final decision rule to determine if the existing level of agreement is sufficient to finalize a decision.

Perch
Coffey, OTHRP Archives

Blocking

Groups that require unanimity commonly use a core set of procedures depicted in the flow chart.

Once an agenda for discussion has been set and, optionally, the ground rules for the meeting have been agreed upon, each item of the agenda is addressed in turn. Typically, each decision arising from an agenda item follows through a simple structure:

- **Discussion of the item:** The item is discussed with the goal of identifying opinions and information on the topic at hand. The general direction of the group and potential proposals for action are often identified during the discussion.
- **Formation of a proposal:** Based on the discussion a formal decision proposal on the issue is presented to the group.
- **Call for consensus:** The facilitator of the decision-making body calls for consensus on the proposal. Each member of the group usually must actively state whether they agree or consent, stand aside, or object, often by using a hand gesture or raising a colored card, to avoid the group interpreting silence or inaction as agreement. The number of objections is counted to determine if this step's consent threshold is satisfied. If it is, dissenters are asked to share their concerns with proceeding with the agreement, so that any potential harms can be addressed/minimized. *This can happen even if the consent threshold is unanimity, especially if many voters stand aside.*
- **Identification and addressing of concerns:** If consensus is not achieved, each dissenter presents his or her concerns on the proposal, potentially starting another round of discussion to address or clarify the concern.
- **Modification of the proposal:** The proposal is amended, rephrased or noted in an attempt to address the concerns of the decision-makers. The process then returns to the call for consensus and the cycle is repeated until a satisfactory decision passes the consent threshold for the group.

Religious Society of Friends (Quaker)-based model

Quaker-based consensus is effective because it puts in place a simple, time-tested structure that moves a group towards unity. It has been successfully used for over 360 years. The Quaker model has been employed in a variety of secular settings. The process allows the hearing individual voices while providing a mechanism for dealing with disagreements.

The following aspects of the Quaker model can be applied in any consensus decision-making process, and is an adaptation prepared by Earlham College of Illinois:

- Multiple concerns and information are shared until the sense of the group is clear. Discussion involves active listening and sharing information.
- Norms limit number of times one asks to speak to ensure that each speaker is fully heard.
- Ideas and solutions belong to the group; no names are recorded.

Ideally, differences are resolved by discussion. The facilitator ("clerk" or "convener" in the Quaker model) identifies areas of agreement and names disagreements to push discussion deeper.

The facilitator articulates the sense of the discussion, asks if there are other concerns, and proposes a "minute" of the decision.

- The group as a whole is responsible for the decision and the decision belongs to the group.
- The facilitator can discern if one who is not uniting with the decision is acting without concern for the group or in selfish interest.

Ideally, all dissenters' perspectives are synthesized into the final outcome for a whole that is greater than the sum of its parts.

Should some dissenter's perspective not harmonize with the others, that dissenter may stand aside" to allow the group to proceed, or may opt to "block". "Standing aside" implies a certain form of silent consent. Some groups allow "blocking" by even a single individual to halt or postpone the entire process.

Key components of Quaker-based consensus include a belief in a common humanity and the ability to decide together. The goal is "unity, not unanimity." Ensuring that group members speak only once until others are heard encourages a diversity of thought. The facilitator is understood as serving the group rather than acting as person-in-charge. In the Quaker model, as with other consensus decision-making processes, by articulating the emerging consensus, members can be clear on the decision, and, as their views have been taken into account, are likely to support it.

Adapted from <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Consensus_decision-making> 6-14-16

Elements of [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] Progressive Peace

The manner of deliberating and coming to a decision in the Council of Seven was said to have been as follows: "A question or plan of operation was presented by a member; it was then referred to the [leader] sitting

next, who took it under consideration and then passed it on to the next person and so on around the circle until it reached the man who first presented it. The matter would pass again and again around the circle until all came to agreement. All day was frequently spent in deliberation. No one person would dare to take the responsibility of the act. All must accept it and then carry it through as one man. This unity of decision was regarded as having a supernatural power and authority. Old men explained to the writers that the members of the council had been made [leaders] by the Sacred Tribal Pipes, which were from Wako^{n}'da; therefore, "when the [leaders] had deliberated on a matter and had smoked, the decision was as the word of Wako^{n}'da." La Flesche/Fletcher, **Ibid.,** p. 208

The Umo^{n}ho^{n} have used this system for much longer than the Quakers have.

Formatting the Traditional [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] Progressive Peace

The original Umo^{n}ho^{n} governmental design was one of checks and balances, so that power would not be corrupted. The format works. It can be used as the basis for a 21st century Umo^{n}ho^{n} Government that will pass the approval of the U. S. Government, since it is a form of Consensus that has already been recognized and approved by that Government as appropriate for signatories of the Indian Reorganization Act, of which the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] are one. Since the original Umo^{n}ho^{n} government was based upon relationship with all relatives it would be, in 21st Century terms, an appropriate concept for adaptation as well.

Original Umo^{n}ho^{n} Government in diagram form
OTHRP Archives

The people wandered about the shores of the great water and were poor and cold. And the people thought,

"What shall we do to help ourselves?"

— Umo^{n}ho^{n} Sacred Legend

It is Time to Heal

Two old men, one from the Ho^{n}'ga clan and the other from the I^{n}ke'çabe clan, carried the two pipes to each of the selected seven clans and asked a leader among them to serve their people. They were chosen because of the service they had done for the community in order to better the community: Nurture. This was the origin of the Nini'bato^{n} subclans. Perhaps this time an elder from each of those two clans (male and female this time?) would chose which people from each clan could be brought together to form the Ni'kagahi xu'de. They could be guided by clan elder meetings within each clan to nominate appropriate people. The key would be "What have you done for the people." Both males and females could be

chosen in this manner. Or it could be left open for the interested people to apply. Or both.

Ni'kagahi sha'be would be taken from the Ni'kagahi xu'de for the next step. This organization would then chose which applications to the Ni'kagahi xu'de would be accepted. Originally this group would then choose the Council of Seven from their membership. In the 21st Century this could be reconfigured for the needs of today's Umo^{n}ho^{n}.

Instead of a Council of Seven, the Umo^{n}ho^{n} could enlarge it to a Council of 12, so that each clan — including the two no clans — are represented, and make it an elected office with four year staggered terms, with term limits of two terms, or eight years total.

Keepers [Advisors] were originally those in care of the sacred objects. The Umo^{n}ho^{n} could instead have the Keepers represent the sacred trust the people have given the Tribe in distributing services and have the actual Keepers elected by employees in each division. They too, would have an elected office of 4 year staggered terms and term limits of two consecutive terms.

The following is a list of the Tribal industries that serve to help the people:

1. Agriculture

2. Business Growth

3. Education

4. Housing

5. Indian Child Welfare

6. Medical

7. Security & Fire

8. Social Services

9. Traditional Religion

10. Umo^{n}ho^{n} Culture

11. Utilities

12. Wildlife

Maize
Coffey, OTHRP Archives

Unknown Umo^{n}ho^{n} baby
Nebraska State Historical Society

This is one way of solving the problems with the current form of Umo^{n}ho^{n} tribal government. The Keepers are the advisory board, in their area of expertise, for the leadership of the Nation.

There may be other ways that the Umo^{n}ho^{n} can think of as well that are even better. It is time for the Umo^{n}ho^{n} Hu'thuga, consisting of more than 7,000 enrolled members both on and off the Reservation, to discuss such changes and to think carefully within the Umo^{n}ho^{n} community about what the future may hold.

Remember these ideas are not carved in stone.

It is up to the Umo^{n}ho^{n} people
to decide.

Ewithe wo^{n}githe:

All my relatives

Home
Giffen & Tibbles, **Ibid.**, p. 90

Starting at the Beginning . . .

Mu'xano^{n}zhi^{n}
La Flesche/Fletcher, **Ibid.,** Insert between pp. 170-171
Missouri River in the Winter, Jeff Mohr, OTHRP Archives

The Papal Bull "Inter Caetera," Issued by Pope Alexander VI May 14, 1493
<https://enWikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_AlexanderVI>
3-31-2017

Christopher Columbus Sebastiano del Piombo 1492—1500
<http://www.learnnc.org/lp/Multimedia/6254> 8-18-09>

Papal Bull Inter Caetera May 4, 1493 issued by Pope Alexander VI

What are the "PAPAL BULLS"?

Papal Bulls are decrees or "solemn edicts" granted by the Vatican. The bulls we are concerned with essentially sanctioned 15th century Portuguese and Spanish genocide campaigns into Africa and the Americas. These decrees established Christian dominion and subjugation of non-Christian "pagan" peoples and their lands (Newcomb, 1992). The 1493 Bull "Inter Caetera" granted unlimited rights to Spain, and the subsequent 1494 "Treaty of Tordesillas" (inspired by the Bull "Inter Caetera") divided the world in half, everything 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde islands went to Spain, everything east went to Portugal (Gottschalk, 1927). Because the Bull "Inter Caetera" concedes rights of conquest to both Spain and Portugal, the movement has focused on revoking the 1493 document (Newcomb, 1999). On October 12, 1998, over 50 indigenous and human rights advocates gathered in Honolulu, Hawaii to demand the revoking of the 1493 bull and called for it to be revoked by the year 2,000. This response parallels Pope John Paul II's call that Christianity's 2,000 anniversary be "a year of mercy," saying "the church will seek forgiveness," "atonement," and that he "wants the church to enter the third millennium with a clear conscience". (Associated Press, November 28, 1998). For more information on the papal bulls movement and our annual burning event, please see our website: <http://bullsburning.itgo.com/Papbull.htm>

The Papal Bulls as Pertaining to the Americas The historical introduction below is taken from Paul Gottschalk, "The Earliest Diplomatic Documents on America: The Papal Bulls of 1493 and the Treaty of Tordesillas Reproduced and Translated," Berlin, 1927. The introduction and bull "Inter Caetera" of May 4, 1493 are provided by Frances Gardiner Davenport, ed., "European Treaties bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies to 1648," Washington, D.C., 1917. Historical Introduction.

Historical Introduction

Returning from his first voyage, Columbus landed on the Portuguese coast and was at once invited to Court. He reached Lisbon March 4, 1493, upon the invitation of the King of Portugal. On hearing his report, King John II claimed the newly discovered lands for Portugal by virtue of the Treaty of Alcacovas of 1479, sanctioned by the Bulls of Pope Sixtus IV, dated June 21, 1481. The text of the Treaty and the Bull contain some slight variations and thereby allow of different interpretations. It is difficult to decide, therefore, whether this claim of the Portuguese King was justified. Contemporary as well as modern historians have always differed widely in their opinions. It is generally believed that, with his famous message on his discoveries, Columbus dispatched to the Spanish Kings, who were at Barcelona, a report on the difficulties raised by the Portuguese King, but it is questioned whether this was sent from Lisbon by land or from Palos after having reached the latter port, March 14, 1493. King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella of Spain reported the great news at once to

Pope Alexander VI. It is again doubtful whether this was done by a special messenger or by a courier sent to Cardinal Bernardin de Carvajal and to Ruiz de Medina, then Spanish ambassadors at the Holy See, and whether this was done in consequence of the Portuguese claims or according to a general custom of that period.

Pope Alexander VI, himself a Spaniard, granted the request to confer the lately discovered lands on the Crown of Spain by three Bulls issued on May 3 and May 4 1493 (all much in favor of Spain, and depriving Portugal of nearly all privileges bestowed upon it by the Bulls of 1452 and 1454, issued by Nicholas V, and by that of 1481 of Sixtus IV and one of 1484 of Innocentius VIII). Some months later, on September 26, 1493, a fourth Bull was issued granting to Spain almost unlimited rights. But this act remained without consequence; for in the meantime, at the suggestion of the King of Spain, it was agreed that, to avoid complications already threatening, a conference should be held. Portuguese ambassadors were sent to Barcelona and, after many negotiations and some interruptions, a settlement was finally reached at the small Spanish town of Tordesillas and a treaty was signed on June 7, 1494. Obviously inspired by the corresponding passage in the second Bull "Inter caetera", but not referring to this or any other bulls or treaties, it was provided that there should be drawn a line running from North to South, 370 leagues west from Cape Verde Islands, and that everything west of this line should belong to Spain, everything east of it to Portugal. The sanction, which by the terms of the Treaty was to be asked, was never given by Alexander VI and not before the 24th of January, 1506, was a Bull to such effect issued by Pope Julius II.

Although much disputed and very differently interpreted, this Treaty remained in force until January 13, 1750, when the Treaty of Madrid annulled the boundary line. It would seem, however, that this boundary line, first provided for in the second Bull "Inter caetera" and later corrected in the Treaty of Tordesillas, decided what parts of the western hemisphere as well as which regions of the eastern hemisphere were discovered, possessed

Umo^{n}ho^{n} Earthen Lodge National Archives

and civilized by Spain and by Portugal respectively, and which still speak the language and show the influence of the culture of their first discoverers. Introduction to the Bull Inter Caetera — May 4, 1493 Like the bull "Eximiae devotionis" of May 3, the bull "Inter caetera" of May 4 is a restatement of part of the bull "Inter caetera" of May 3. Taken together the two later bulls cover the same ground as the bull "Inter caetera" of May 3, for which they form a substitute. The changes introduced into the bull "Inter caetera" of May 4, are, however, of great importance, and highly favorable to Spain.

Instead of merely granting to Castile the lands discovered by her envoys, and not under Christian rule, the revised bull draws a line of demarcation one hundred leagues west of any of the Azores or Cape Verde Islands, and assigns to Castile the exclusive right to acquire territorial possessions and to trade in all lands west of that line, which at Christmas, 1492, were not in the possession of any Christian prince. The general safeguard to the possible conflicting rights of Portugal is lacking. All persons are forbidden to approach the lands west of the line without special license from the rulers of Castile. It is not probable that by this bull Alexander VI intended to secure to Portugal an eastern route to the Indies, as some writers have maintained. In the bulls of May 3, the earlier papal grants to Portugal are said to have given her rights in the region of Guinea and the Gold Mine, but the Indies are not mentioned. The bull of May 4 does not name Portugal and refers to her only in the clause which excepts from the donation any lands west of the demarcation line, which at Christmas, 1492, might be in the possession of any Christian prince.

The Papal Bull "Inter Caetera," issued by Pope Alexander VI on May 4, 1493

The Bull Inter Caetera (Alexander VI.) May 4, 1493 Alexander, Bishop, servant of the servants of God, to the illustrious sovereigns, our very dear son in Christ, Ferdinand, king, and our very dear daughter in Christ, Isabella, queen of Castile, Leon, Aragon, Sicily, and Granada, health and apostolic benediction. Among other works well pleasing to the Divine Majesty and cherished of our heart, this assuredly ranks highest, that in our times especially the Catholic faith and the Christian religion be exalted and be everywhere increased and spread, that the health of souls be cared for and that barbarous nations be overthrown and brought to the faith itself. Wherefore inasmuch as by the favor of divine clemency, we, though of insufficient merits, have been called to this Holy See of Peter, recognizing that as true Catholic kings and princes, such as we have known you always to be, and as your illustrious deeds already known to almost the whole world declare, you not only eagerly desire but with every effort,

zeal, and diligence, without regard to hardships, expenses, dangers, with the shedding even of your blood, are laboring to that end; recognizing also that you have long since dedicated to this purpose your whole soul and all your endeavors — as witnessed in these times with so much glory to the Divine Name in your recovery of the kingdom of Granada from the yoke of the Saracens — we therefore are rightly led, and hold it as our duty, to grant you even of our own accord and in your favor those things whereby with effort each day more hearty you may be enabled for the honor of God himself and the spread of the Christian rule to carry forward your holy and praiseworthy purpose so leasing to immortal God.

We have indeed learned that you, who for a long time had intended to seek out and discover certain islands and main lands remote and unknown and not hitherto discovered by others, to the end that you might bring to the worship of our Redeemer and the profession of the Catholic faith their residents and inhabitants, having been up to the present time greatly engaged in the siege and recovery of the kingdom itself of Granada were unable to accomplish this holy and praiseworthy purpose; but the said kingdom having at length been regained, as was pleasing to the Lord, you, with the wish to fulfill your desire, chose our beloved son, Christopher Columbus, a man assuredly worthy and of the highest recommendations and fitted for so great an undertaking, whom you furnished with ships and men equipped for like designs, not without the greatest hardships, dangers, and expenses, to make diligent quest for these remote and unknown main lands and islands through the sea, where hitherto no one had sailed; and they at length, with divine aid and with the utmost diligence sailing in the ocean sea, discovered certain very remote islands and even main lands that hitherto had not been discovered by others; wherein dwell very many peoples living in peace, and, as reported, going unclothed, and not eating flesh. Moreover, as your aforesaid envoys are of opinion, these very peoples living in the said islands and countries believe in one God, the Creator in heaven, and seem sufficiently disposed to embrace the Catholic faith and be trained in good morals. And it is hoped that, were they instructed, the name of the Savior, our Lord Jesus Christ, would easily be introduced into the said countries and islands. Also, on one of the chief of these aforesaid islands the said Christopher has already caused to be put together and built a fortress fairly equipped, wherein he has stationed as garrison certain Christians, companions of his, who are to make search for other remote and unknown islands and main lands.

In the islands and countries already discovered are found gold, spices, and very many other precious things of divers kinds and qualities. Wherefore, as becomes Catholic kings and princes, after earnest consideration of all matters, especially of the rise and spread of the Catholic faith, as was the fashion of your ancestors, kings of renowned memory, you have purposed with the favor of divine clemency to bring under your sway the said main

lands and islands with their residents and inhabitants and to bring them to the Catholic faith. Hence, heartily commending in the Lord this your holy and praiseworthy purpose, and desirous that it be duly accomplished, and that the name of our Savior be carried into those regions, we exhort you very earnestly in the Lord and by your reception of holy baptism, whereby you are bound to our apostolic commands, and by the bowels of the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, enjoy strictly, that in as much as with eager zeal for the true faith you design to equip and dispatch this expedition, you purpose also, as is your duty, to lead the peoples dwelling in those islands and countries to embrace the Christian religion; nor at any time let dangers or hardships deter you there from, with the stout hope and trust in your hearts that Almighty God will further your undertakings. And, in order that you may enter upon so great an undertaking with greater readiness and heartiness endowed with benefit of our apostolic favor, we, of our own accord, not at your instance nor the request of anyone else in your regard, but out of our own sole largess and certain knowledge and out of the fullness of our apostolic power, by the authority of Almighty God conferred upon us in blessed Peter and of the vicarship of Jesus Christ, which we hold on earth, do by tenor of these presents, should any of said islands have been found by your envoys and captains, give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors, kings of Castile and Leon, forever, together with all their dominions, cities, camps, places, and villages, and all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and main lands found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole, namely the north, to the Antarctic pole, namely the south, no matter whether the said main lands and islands are found and to be found in the direction of India or towards any other quarter, the said line to be distant one hundred leagues towards the west and south from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde. With this proviso however that none of the islands and main lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, beyond that said line towards the west and south, be in the actual possession of any Christian king or prince up to the birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ just past from which the present year one thousand four hundred ninety three begins. And we make, appoint, and depute you and your said heirs and successors lords of them with full and free power, authority, and jurisdiction of every kind; with this proviso however, that by this our gift, grant, and assignment no right acquired by any Christian prince, who may be in actual possession of said islands and main lands prior to the said birthday of our Lord Jesus Christ, is hereby to be understood to be withdrawn or taking away.

Moreover we command you in virtue of holy obedience that, employing all due diligence in the premises, as you also promise--nor do we doubt your compliance therein in accordance with your loyalty and royal greatness of

spirit--you should appoint to the aforesaid main lands and islands worthy, God-fearing, learned, skilled, and experienced men, in order to instruct the aforesaid inhabitants and residents in the Catholic faith and train them in good morals. Furthermore, under penalty of excommunication "late sententie" to be incurred "ipso facto," should anyone thus contravene, we strictly forbid all persons of whatsoever rank, even imperial and royal, or of whatsoever estate, degree, order, or condition, to dare without your special permit or that of your aforesaid heirs and successors, to go for the purpose of trade or any other reason to the islands or main lands, found and to be found, discovered and to be discovered, towards the west and south, by drawing and establishing a line from the Arctic pole to the Antarctic pole, no matter whether the main lands and islands, found and to be found, lie in the direction of India or toward any other quarter whatsoever, the said line to be distant one hundred leagues towards the west and south, as is aforesaid, from any of the islands commonly known as the Azores and Cape Verde; apostolic constitutions and ordinances and other decrees whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding. We trust in Him from whom empires and governments and all good things proceed, that, should you, with the Lord's guidance, pursue this holy and praiseworthy undertaking, in a short while your hardships and endeavors will attain the most felicitous result, to the happiness and glory of all Christendom.

But inasmuch as it would be difficult to have these present letters sent to all places where desirable, we wish, and with similar accord and knowledge do decree, that to? copies of them, signed by the hand of a public notary commissioned therefore, and sealed with the seal of any ecclesiastical officer or ecclesiastical court, the same respect is to be shown in court and outside as well as anywhere else as would be given to these presents should they thus be exhibited or shown. Let no one, therefore, infringe, or with rash boldness contravene, this our recommendation, exhortation, requisition, gift, grant, assignment, constitution, deputation, decree, mandate, prohibition, and will. Should anyone presume to attempt this, be it known to him that he will incur the wrath of Almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul. Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, in the year of the incarnation of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ninety-three, the fourth of May, and the first year of our pontificate. Gratis by order of our most holy lord, the pope.

June.

For the referendary,
For J. Bufolinus,

A. de Mucciarellis.

A. Santoseverino.

L. Podocatharus.

Declaration of Vision

A movement to revoke the Papal Bull "Inter Caetera" was initiated by the Indigenous Law Institute in 1992. At the Parliament of World Religions in 1994, over 60 indigenous delegates drafted a DECLARATION OF VISION.

It reads, in part:

We call upon the people of conscience in the Roman Catholic hierarchy to persuade Pope John II to formally revoke the Inter Cetera Bull of May 4, 1493, which will restore our fundamental human rights. That Papal document called for our Nations and Peoples to be subjugated so the Christian Empire and its doctrines would be propagated. The U.S. Supreme Court ruling Johnson v. McIntosh 8 Wheat 543 (in 1823) adopted the same principle of subjugation expressed in the Inter Cetera Bull. This Papal Bull has been, and continues to be, devastating to our religions, our cultures, and the survival of our populations. Steven Newcomb <https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/pope-francis-takes-a-first-step-toward-revoking-the-papal-bulls/> 3/22/17

Pope Francis Takes a First Step Toward Revoking the Papal Bulls

Steven Newcomb, July 13, 2015

On July 9 the Associated Press reported that while visiting La Paz, Bolivia, "Pope Francis apologized. . .for the sins, offenses and crimes committed by the Catholic Church against indigenous peoples during the colonial-era conquest of the Americas," (story by Nicole Winfield and Frank Bajak). The pope's statement in Bolivia was made in advance of his trip to North America where, he plans to give sainthood to Junipero Serra as the founder of nine of the 21 California missions which proved so deadly and destructive for the Native peoples of California.

As the representative of the Holy See, Pope Francis is the successor to previous popes, such as Nicholas V and Alexander VI, who created, on behalf of the Holy See, the institutional framework within which "the sins, offenses and crimes" to which Pope Francis referred were committed, including in the Spanish Catholic mission system.

We must not overlook a key fact: the edicts of various popes created the predatory framework of Christian empire ("emperii Christiani") and domination in the name of Christian "evangelism." That framework became the basis for centuries of death and devastation experienced by our original free nations and peoples (now typically called "indigenous") throughout the western hemisphere and elsewhere.

What terminology did the Holy See use to create the framework found in the papal bulls or edicts? It was that terminology which provided the very basis for the sins, offenses, and crimes to which Pope Francis alluded. In the papal

edict Dum Diversas of 1452, as one example, Pope Nicholas V authorized King Alfonso of Portugal, or his representatives, to sail to non-Christian lands, and "to invade, capture, vanquish, and subdue, all Saracens, pagans, and other enemies of Christ, to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to take away all their possessions and property."

The king was further instructed to "convert" the lands of the non-Christians. In legal terms, the word "convert" can mean "to unlawfully or wrongfully take away that which rightfully belongs to another." Accordingly, Pope Nicholas V then declared the king's actions against the non-Christians to be "just and lawful."

The above quoted terminology (invade, capture, vanquish, subdue, reduce to slavery, and convert the lands and property of the non-Christians) not only declared war on the non-Christian world. It also created a framework or paradigm of DOMINATION that continues to operate in plain sight while generally going unnoticed and unnamed.

In La Paz, Pope Francis was said to be addressing "the indigenous" peoples of Bolivia and elsewhere. What is the definition of "indigenous" at the United Nations? As stated in one definition, our nations and peoples are considered "indigenous" because we regard ourselves as "distinct from other sectors of society now prevailing." To prevail is "to gain ascendancy," and ascendancy is defined as "governing or controlling influence: DOMINATION." (Webster's Third New International Dictionary Unabridged, 1993).

To be taken seriously, an "apology" or "begging of forgiveness" by Pope Francis, or any other pope, must be the basis for the papacy explicitly addressing the system of domination that the Holy See created and set into motion in the name of, "Him from whom empires, and dominations, and all good things proceed" (papal bull of May 3, 1493). That same system of domination is what ended up being spread by the Holy See and Christian monarchies, and missionaries such as Serra. To this day that system's domination framework is still being used against our original nations and peoples.

This being the case, Pope Francis can show true courage and moral authority for the Catholic Church by taking a next logical step: Revoke those papal bulls that have resulted in the domination and dehumanization of our original nations and peoples. In 1993, the Indigenous Law Institute wrote a letter to Pope John Paul II calling on him to revoke the Inter Caetera papal bull of May 4, 1493 in representation of the entire series of papal documents. We wrote another to Pope Benedict XVI. We have maintained that campaign ever since the 1990s with the spiritual guidance and leadership of Birgil Kills Straight, an Elder and Traditional Head Man of the Oglala Lakota Nation, and with the solidarity of many Christian supporters throughout the world.

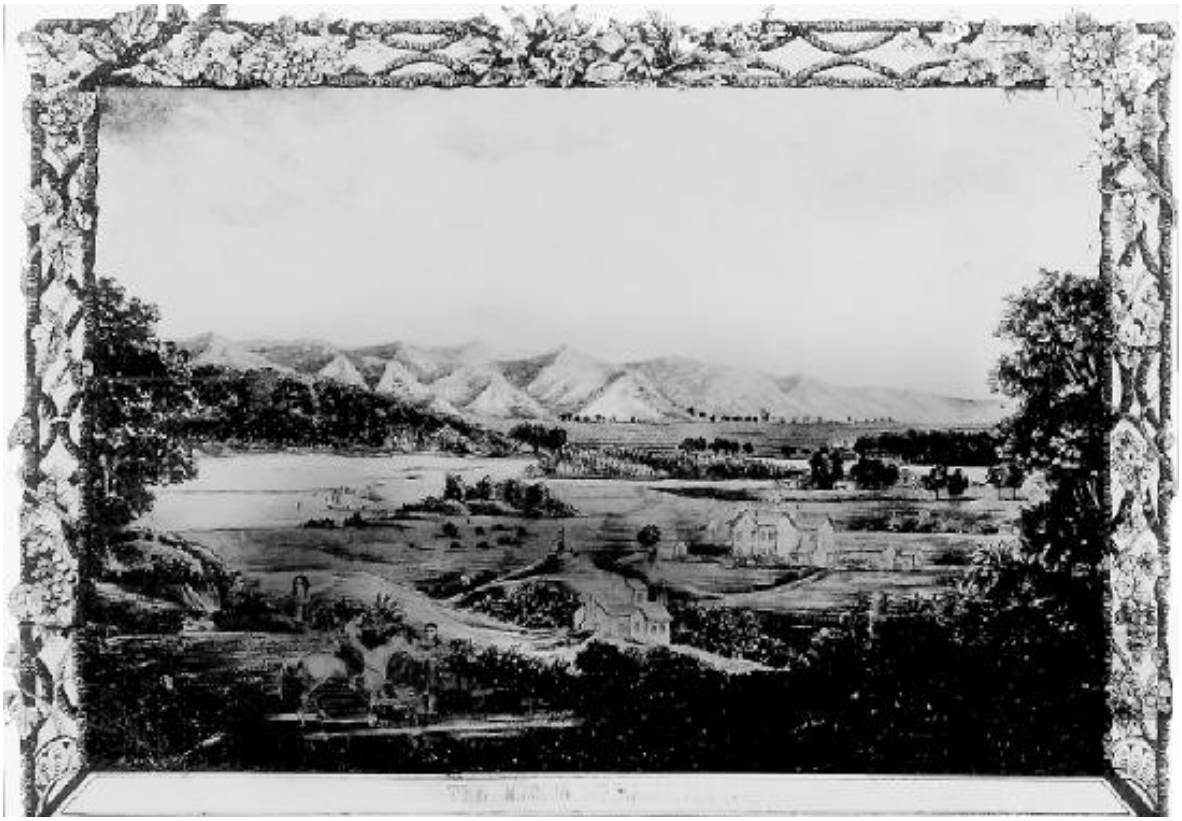
Given his statement of papal contrition in La Paz, Pope Francis has taken an important first step toward revoking the papal bulls of empire and domina-

tion. Yet, as the saying goes, actions speak louder than words. The pope has some choices to make regarding possible papal edicts. For the Church, a lot is riding on his decision.

Possible papal edict one: Pope Francis can make a clean break with the dominating tradition of the papal bulls by issuing an edict officially revoking those documents issued by his predecessors, and by refusing to canonize Junipero Serra. Possible papal edict two: Pope Francis can go through with his decision to bestow sainthood on Junipero Serra, and thereby choose to validate, legitimize, and sanctify the deadly trajectory of Christian empire and domination formed by the papal bulls. If he does, he will thereby demonstrate the emptiness of his expression of contrition. As a less likely papal "wild card," he may even try a complete contradiction: Grant saint-hood to Serra and revoke the papal bulls, which would be an attempt to simultaneously reject and embrace the domination tradition.

Steven Newcomb (Shawnee, Lenape) is co-founder and co-director of the Indigenous Law Institute and author of Pagans in the Promised Land: Decoding the Doctrine of Christian Discovery (Fulcrum, 2008). He is co-producer of the soon-to-be-released documentary movie, The Doctrine of Discovery: Unmasking the Domination Code, directed by Sheldon Wolfchild (Dakota), with narration by Buffy Saint-Marie (Cree). Steven Newcomb

<https://indiancountrymedianetwork.com/news/opinions/pope-francis-takes-a-first-step-toward-revoking-the-papal-bulls/> 3/22/17



"Mission at Bellevue"
Stanislaw W. Y. Schymonsky ca. 1855 Schymonsky was a draftsman and surveyor at Bellevue.
The original of this painting is owned by Mrs. J. M. Johnson 123 No. 33rd St. at Omaha
SEE: "Nebraska Art and Artists" p. 11 & 12. Nebraska State Historical Society

1762

Preliminary convention between the Kings of France and Spain for the cession of Louisiana to the latter.

Translated from a certified copy of the original in the French language, deposited in the archives of the Department of State at Madrid.

The most Christian King being firmly resolved to strengthen and perpetuate the bonds of tender amity which unite him to his cousin the Catholic King, proposes in consequence to set with his Catholic Majesty at all times and in all circumstances, in a perfect uniformity of principles, for the common glory of their house and the reciprocal interests of their kingdoms.

With this view, his most Christian Majesty, being fully sensible of the sacrifices made by the Catholic King, in generously uniting with him for the restoration of peace, desires, on this occasion, to give him a proof of the strong interest which he takes in satisfying him and affording advantages to his crown.

The most Christian King has accordingly authorized his minister, the Duke of Choiseul, to deliver to the Marquis de Grimaldi, the ambassador of the Catholic King, in the most authentic form, an act, whereby his most Christian Majesty cedes in entire possession, purely and simply, without exception, to his Catholic Majesty and his successors, in perpetuity, all the country known under the name of Louisiana, as well as New Orleans and the island in which that place stands.

But as the Marquis de Grimaldi is not informed with sufficient precision of the intentions of his Catholic Majesty, he has thought proper only to accept the said cession conditionally, and *sub spe rati*, [under expectation that it will be ratified,] until he receives the orders expected of his most Christian Majesty, as he hopes they will be, will be followed by the authentic set of cession of the said country; stipulating also the measures and the time, to be fixed by common accord, for the evacuation of Louisiana and New Orleans, by the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, and for the possession of the same by those of his Catholic Majesty,

In testimony whereof, we, the respective ministers, have signed the present preliminary convention, and have affixed to it the seals of our arms.

Done at Fontainebleau, on the third of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two.

The DUKE DE CHOISEUL,

The MARQUIS DE GRIMALDI

A true copy from the original
The DUKE DE CHOISEUL.

1762

Definitive act of cession of Louisiana by the King of France to the King of Spain.

The translation was faithfully made by Robert Greenhow, translator of foreign languages to the Department of State of the United States. Washington, March 24, 1836.

Translated by Robert Greenhow, translator of foreign languages to the Department of State, from an authentic copy of the original in the Department of State of Spain, to which copy are appended the certificate of Don Ceferino Cervallos, archivist of the Department of State of Spain, that it is a true copy from the original, and of Don Angel Calderon de la Barca, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Spain in the United States, that it was received by him officially from the first Secretary of State of Spain, and delivered to the Hon. J. M. White, of Florida.

Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas our very dear and well-beloved cousin the Duke de Choiseul, peer of our realm, knight of our orders and of the golden fleece, lieutenant general of our armies, governor of Touraine, colonel general of the Swiss and Grisons, grandmaster and superintendent general of the posts and relays of France, our minister and secretary of state for the departments of war and marine and the correspondence with the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, did sign, in our name, with the Marquis de Grimaldi, knight of our orders, gentleman of the chamber, in exercise of our very dear and well-beloved brother and cousin the Catholic King, and his ambassador extraordinary near us, a preliminary convention, whereby, in order to give to our said brother and cousin a new testimonial of our tender friendship, of the strong interest which we take in satisfying him and promoting the welfare of his crown, and of our sincere desire to strengthen and render indissoluble the bonds which unite the French and Spanish nations, we ceded to him entire and perpetual possession of all the country known under the name of Louisiana, together with New Orleans and the island in which that city stands, which convention had only been signed conditionally and *sub spe rati*, by the Marquis de Grimaldi; and whereas our said brother and cousin the Catholic King, animated by the same sentiments towards us which we have evinced on this occasion, has agreed to the said cession, and ratified the conditional acceptation made by his said ambassador extraordinary, which convention and ratification are here inserted word for word as follows :

Don Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Castile, of Leon, of Arragon, of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Gallicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Cordova, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Alarves, of Algesires, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the East and West Indies and the island and main land of the ocean, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, of Brabant and Milan, count of Hapsburg, of Flanders, of Tyrol, and of Barcelona, lord of Biscay and of Molina, &c.

Whereas, on the third day of the present month, the preliminaries of a peace were signed between the crowns of Spain and France on the one part, and those of England and Portugal on the other, and the most Christian King my very dear and well-beloved cousin, purely from the nobleness of his heart, and the love and friendship in which we live, thought proper to dispose that

France to Spain 1762 continued

the Marquis de Grimaldi, my ambassador extraordinary near his royal person, and the Duke de Choiseul, his minister of state, should on the same day sign a convention by which the crown of France ceded immediately to that of Spain the country known by the name of Louisiana, together with New Orleans and the island in which that city stands, and by which my said ambassador agrees to the cession only conditionally *sub spe rati*, as he is not furnished with orders to execute it absolutely; the tenor of which convention is the following:

The most Christian King being firmly resolved to strengthen and perpetuate the bonds of tender amity which unite him to his cousin the Catholic King, proposes in consequence to act with his Catholic Majesty at all times and in all circumstances, in a perfect uniformity of principle, for the common glory of their house and the reciprocal interests of their kingdoms.

With this view, his most Christian Majesty being fully sensible of the sacrifices made by the Catholic King in generously uniting with him for the restoration of peace, desires, on this occasion, to give him a proof of the strong interest which he takes in satisfying him and affording advantages to his crown.

The most Christian King has accordingly authorized his minister, the Duke of Choiseul, to deliver to the Marquis de Grimaldi, the ambassador of the Catholic King, in the most authentic form, an act whereby his most Christian Majesty cedes in entire possession, purely and simply without exception, to his Catholic Majesty and his successors, in perpetuity, all the country known under the name of Louisiana, as well as New Orleans and the island in which that place stands.

But, as the Marquis de Grimaldi is not informed with sufficient precision of the intentions of his Catholic Majesty, he has thought proper only to accept the said cession conditionally and *sub spe rati*, until he receives the orders expected by him from the king his master, which, if conformable with the desires of his most Christian Majesty, as he hopes they will be, will be followed by the authentic act of cession of the said country, stipulating also the measures and the time, to be fixed by common accord, for the evacuation of Louisiana and New Orleans by the subjects of his most Christian Majesty, and for the possession of the same by those of his Catholic Majesty.

In testimony whereof, we, the respective ministers, have signed the present preliminary convention, and have affixed to it the seals of our arms.

Done at Fontainebleau on the third of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two.

The DUKE DE CHOISEUL,

The MARQUIS DE GRIMALDI.

Bison in the Snow
NEBRASKAland Magazine

Treaty of San Ildefonso: October 1, 1800

Preliminary and Secret Treaty between the French Republic and His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, Concerning the Aggrandizement of His Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma in Italy and the Retrocession of Louisiana.

His Catholic Majesty having always manifested an earnest desire to procure for His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma an aggrandizement which would place his domains on a footing more consonant with his dignity; and the French Republic on its part having long since made known to His Majesty the King of Spain its desire to be again placed in possession of the colony of Louisiana; and the two Governments having exchanged their views on these two subjects of common interest, and circumstances permitting them to assume obligations in this regard which, so far as depends on them, win assure mutual satisfaction, they have authorized for this purpose the following: the French Republic, the Citizen Alexandre Berthier General in Chief, and His Catholic Majesty, Don Mariano Luis de Urquijo, knight of the Order of Charles III, and of that of St. John of Jerusalem, a Counselor of State, his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary appointed near the Batavian Republic, and his First Secretary of State ad interim, who, having exchanged their powers, have agreed upon the following articles, subject to ratification.

Article 1 The French Republic undertakes to procure for His Royal Highness the Infant Duke of Parma an aggrandizement of territory which shad increase the population of his domains to one minion inhabitants, with the title of King and with all the rights which attach to the royal dignity; and the French Republic undertakes to obtain in this regard the assent of His Majesty the Emperor and King and that of the other interested states' BO that His Highness the Infant Duke of Parma may be put into possession of the said territories without opposition upon the conclusion of the peace to be made between the French Republic and His Imperial Majesty.

Article 2 The aggrandizement to be given to His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma may consist of Tuscany, in case the present negotiations of the French Government with His Imperial Majesty shall permit that Government to dispose thereof; or it may consist of the three Roman legations or of any other continental provinces of Italy which form a rounded state.

Article 3 His Catholic Majesty promises and undertakes on his part to retrocede to the French Republic, six months after the full and entire execution of the above conditions and provisions regarding His Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the colony or province of Louisiana, with the same extent that it now has in the hands of Spain and that it had when France possessed it, and such as it ought to be according to the treaties subsequently concluded between Spain and other states.

Article 4 His Catholic Majesty will give the necessary orders for the occupation of Louisiana by France as soon as the territories which are to form the aggrandizement of the Duke of Parma shall be placed in the hands of His Royal Highness. The French Republic may, according to its convenience, postpone the taking of possession; when that is to be executed, the states directly or indirectly interested will agree upon such further conditions as their common interests and the interest of the respective inhabitants require.

Spain to France 1800 continued

Article 5 His Catholic Majesty undertakes to deliver to the French Republic in Spanish ports in Europe, one month after the execution of the provision with regard to the Duke of Parma, six ships of of war in good condition built for seventy-four guns, armed and equipped and ready to receive French crews and supplies.

Article 6 As the provisions of the present treaty have no prejudicial object and leave intact the rights of an, it is not to be supposed that they will give offense to any power. However, if the contrary shall happen and if the two states, because of the execution thereof, shall be attacked or threatened, the two powers agree to make common cause not only to repel the aggression but also to take conciliatory measures prosper for the maintenance of peace with all their neighbors.

Article 7 The obligations contained in the present treaty derogate in no respect from those which are expressed in the Treaty of Alliance signed at San Ildefonso on the 2d Fructidor, year 4 [August 19, 1796]; on the contrary they unite anew the interests of the two powers and assure the guaranties stipulated in the Treaty of Alliance for all cases in which they should be applied.

Article 8 The ratifications of these preliminary articles shall be effected and exchanged within the period of one month, or sooner if possible, counting from the day of the signature of the present treaty.

In faith whereof we, the undersigned Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic and of His Catholic Majesty, in virtue of our respective powers, have signed these preliminary articles and have affixed thereto our seals.

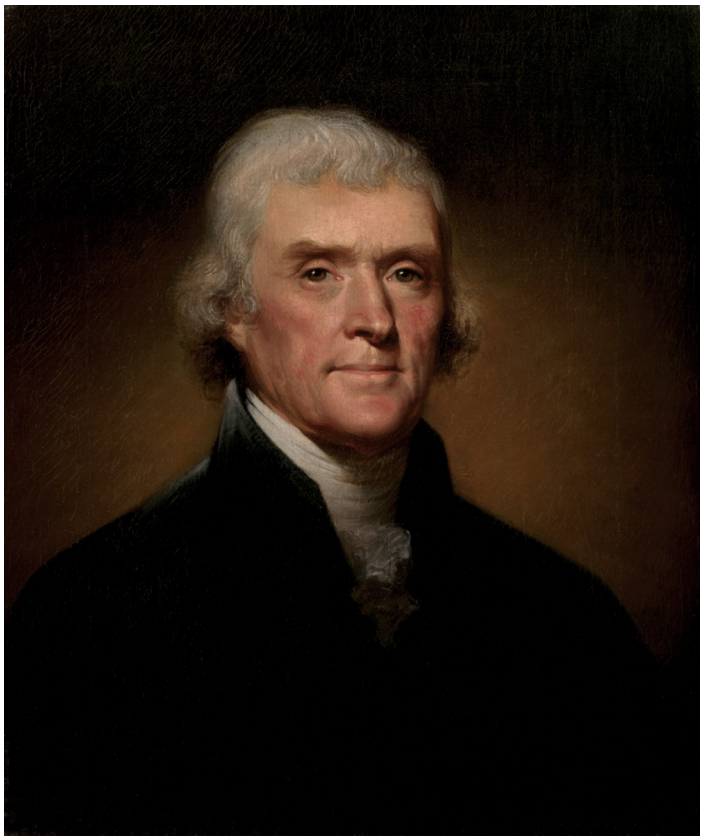
Done at San Ildefonso the 9th Vendemiaire, 9th year of the French Republic. [October 1, 1800]

[Seal] ALEXANDRE BIRTHIER

[Seal] MARIANO LUIS DE URQUIJO

<http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/ildefens.asp> 3-21-08

Carlos IV, King of Spain and the Indies
T. J. López Enguídanes Early 19th Century
<http://lsm.crt.state.la.us/cabildo/cab4.htm>
5-1-09



[above] Thomas Jefferson, Democrat/Republican, Slave owner
<https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Official_Presidential_portrait_of_Thomas_Jefferson (by_Rembrandt_Peale,_1800).jpg>

[below] 1810 Map of the Louisiana Purchase OTHRP, based upon
<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:National-atlas-1970-1810-loupurchase-1.png> 5-1-09

Louisiana Purchase History

The story of the way in which the United States acquired Louisiana is complicated, involving power, politics, intrigue, and suspicion. It also reveals the foresight of Thomas Jefferson, who considered the purchase as one of his greatest achievements.

At the end of the French and Indian Wars in 1763, France lost all of its possessions in North America, dashing hopes of a colonial empire. This empire was centered on the Caribbean island of Santo Domingo and its lucrative cash crop of sugar. The French territory called Louisiana, extending from New Orleans up the Missouri River to modern day Montana, was intended as a granary for this empire and produced flour, salt, lumber, and food for the sugar islands. By the terms of the 1763 Treaty of Fontainebleau, however, Louisiana west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain, while the victorious British received the eastern portion of the huge colony.

When the United States won its independence from Great Britain in 1783, one of its major concerns was having a European power on its western boundary, and the need for unrestricted access to the Mississippi River. As American settlers pushed west, they found that the Appalachian Mountains provided a barrier to shipping goods eastward. The easiest way to ship produce was to build a flatboat and float down the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers to the port of New Orleans, from which goods could be put on ocean-going vessels. The problem with this route was that the Spanish owned both sides of the Mississippi below Natchez.

In 1795 the United States negotiated the Pinckney Treaty with Spain, which provided the right of navigation on the river and the right of deposit of U.S. goods at the port of New Orleans. The treaty was to remain in effect for three years, with the possibility of renewal. By 1802, U.S. farmers, businessmen, trappers and lumbermen were bringing over $1 million worth of produce through New Orleans each year. Spanish officials were becoming concerned, as U.S. settlement moved closer to their territory. Spain was eager to divest itself of Louisiana, which was a drain on its financial resources. On October 1, 1800, Napoleon Bonaparte, First Consul of France, concluded the Treaty of San Ildefonso with Spain, which returned Louisiana to French ownership in exchange for a Spanish kingdom in Italy.

Napoleon's ambitions in Louisiana involved the creation of a new empire centered on the Caribbean sugar trade. By terms of the Treaty of Amiens of 1802, Great Britain returned ownership of the islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe to the French. Napoleon looked upon Louisiana as a depot for these sugar islands, and as a buffer to U.S. settlement. In October of 1801 he sent a large military force to retake the important island of Santo Domingo, lost in a slave revolt in the 1790s.

Thomas Jefferson, third President of the United States, was disturbed by Napoleon's plans to re-establish French colonies in America. With the possession of New Orleans, Napoleon could close the Mississippi to U.S. commerce at any time. Jefferson authorized Robert R. Livingston, U.S. Minister to France, to negotiate for the purchase for up to $2 million of the City of New Orleans, portions of the east bank of the Mississippi, and free navigation of the river for U.S. commerce.

An official transfer of Louisiana to French ownership had not yet taken place, and Napoleon's deal with the Spanish was a poorly kept secret on the frontier. On October 18, 1802, however, a strange thing happened. Juan Ventura Morales, Acting Intendant of Louisiana, made public the intention of Spain to revoke the right of deposit at New Orleans for all cargo from the United States. The closure of this vital port to the United States caused anger and consternation, and commerce in the west was virtually blockaded. Historians believe that the revocation of the right of deposit was prompted by abuses of the Americans, particularly smuggling, and not by French intrigues as was believed at the time. President Jefferson ignored public pressure for war with France, and appointed James Monroe special envoy to Napoleon, to assist in obtaining New Orleans for the United States. Jefferson boosted the authorized expenditure of funds to $10 million.

Meanwhile, Napoleon's plans in the Caribbean were being frustrated by Toussaint L'Ouverture, his army of former slaves, and yellow fever. During ten months of fierce fighting on Santo Domingo, France lost over 40,000 soldiers. Without Santo Domingo Napoleon's colonial ambitions for a French empire were foiled in North America. Louisiana would be useless as a granary without sugar islanders to feed. Napoleon also considered the temper of the United States, where sentiment was growing against France and stronger ties with Great Britain were being considered. Spain's refusal to sell Florida was the last straw, and Napoleon turned his attention once more to Europe; the sale of the now-useless Louisiana would supply needed funds to wage war there. Napoleon directed his ministers, Talleyrand and Barbe-Marbois, to offer the entire Louisiana territory to the United States — and quickly.

On April 11, 1803, Talleyrand asked Robert Livingston how much the United States was prepared to pay for Louisiana. Livingston was confused, as his instructions only covered the purchase of New Orleans and the immediate area, not the entire Louisiana territory. James Monroe agreed with Livingston that Napoleon might withdraw this offer at any time. To wait for approval from President Jefferson might take months, so Livingston and Monroe decided to open negotiations immediately. By April 30, they closed a deal for the purchase of the entire 828,000 square mile Louisiana territory for 60 million Francs (approximately $15 million). Part of this sum was used to forgive debts owed by France to the United States. The payment

was made in United States bonds, which Napoleon sold at face value to the Dutch firm of Hope and Company, and the British banking house of Baring, at a discount of 87½ per each $100 unit. As a result, Napoleon received only $8,831,250 in cash for Louisiana. Dutiful banker Alexander Baring conferred with Marbois in Paris, shuttled to the United States to pick up the bonds, took them to Britain, and returned to France with the money — and Napoleon used these funds to wage war against Baring's own country!

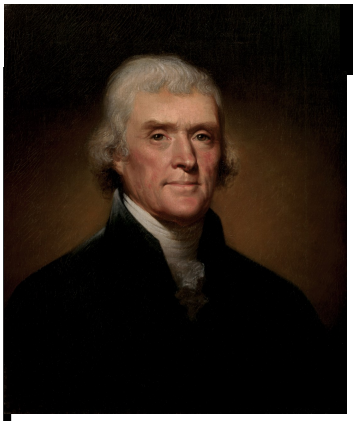
When news of the purchase reached the United States, President Jefferson was surprised. He had authorized the expenditure of $10 million for a port city, and instead received treaties committing the government to spend $15 million on a land package which would double the size of the country. Jefferson's political opponents in the Federalist Party argued that the Louisiana purchase was a worthless desert, and that the Constitution did not provide for the acquisition of new land or negotiating treaties without the consent of the Senate. What really worried the opposition was the new states which would inevitably be carved from the Louisiana territory, strengthening Western and Southern interests in Congress, and further reducing the influence of New England Federalists in national affairs. President Jefferson was an enthusiastic supporter of westward expansion, and held firm in his support for the treaty. Despite Federalist objections, the U.S. Senate ratified the Louisiana treaty in the autumn of 1803.

A transfer ceremony was held in New Orleans on November 29, 1803. Since the Louisiana territory had never officially been turned over to the French, the Spanish took down their flag, and the French raised theirs. The following day, General James Wilkinson accepted possession of New Orleans for the United States. A similar ceremony was held in St. Louis on March 9, 1804, when a French tricolor was raised near the river, replacing the Spanish national flag. The following day, Captain Amos Stoddard of the First U.S. Artillery marched his troops into town and ran the stars and stripes up the fort's flagpole. The Louisiana territory was officially transferred to the United States government, represented by Meriwether Lewis.

The Louisiana Territory, purchased for less than 5 cents an acre, was one of Thomas Jefferson's greatest contributions to his country. Louisiana doubled the size of the United States literally overnight, without a war or the loss of a single American life, and set a precedent for the purchase of territory. It opened the way for the eventual expansion of the United States across the continent to the Pacific, and its consequent rise to the status of world power. International affairs in the Caribbean and Napoleon's hunger for cash to support his war efforts were the background for a glorious achievement of Thomas Jefferson's presidency, new lands and new opportunities for the nation.

<http://www.nps.gov/archive/jeff/lewisclark2/Circa1804/Heritage/LouisianaPurchase/LouisianaPurchase.htm> 5-1-09

The Louisiana Purchase, 1803



Thomas Jefferson
Wikipedia

President Thomas Jefferson, slave owner

Treaty Between the United States of America and the French Republic

The President of the United States of America and the First Consul of the French Republic in the name of the French People desiring to remove all Source of misunderstanding relative to objects of discussion mentioned in the Second and fifth articles of the Convention of the 8th Vendémiaire an 9/30 September 1800 relative to the rights claimed by the United States in virtue of the Treaty concluded at Madrid the 27 of October 1795, between His Catholic Majesty & the Said United States, & willing to Strengthen the union and friendship which at the time of the Said Convention was happily reestablished between the two nations have respectively named their Plenipotentiaries to wit The President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate of the Said States; Robert R. Livingston Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States and James Monroe Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy extraordinary of the Said States near the Government of the French Republic; And the First Consul in the name of the French people, Citizen Francis Barbé Marbois Minister of the public treasury who after having respectively exchanged their full powers have agreed to the following Articles.

Article I Whereas by the Article the third of the Treaty concluded at St Ildefonso the 9th Vendémiaire an 9/1st October 1800 between the First Consul of the French Republic and his Catholic Majesty it was agreed as follows.

"His Catholic Majesty promises and engages on his part to cede to the French Republic six months after the full and entire execution of the conditions and Stipulations herein relative to his Royal Highness the Duke of Parma, the Colony or Province of Louisiana with the Same extent that it now has in the hand of Spain, & that it had when France possessed it; and Such as it Should be after the Treaties subsequently entered into between Spain and other States."

And whereas in pursuance of the Treaty and particularly of the third article the French Republic has an incontestable title to the domain and to the possession of the said Territory — The First Consul of the French Republic desiring to give to the United States a strong proof of his friendship doth hereby cede to the United States in the name of the French Republic for ever and in full Sovereignty the said territory with all its rights and appurtenances as fully and in the Same manner as they have been acquired by

the French Republic in virtue of the above mentioned Treaty concluded with his Catholic Majesty.

Article II In the cession made by the preceding article are included the adjacent Islands belonging to Louisiana all public lots and Squares, vacant lands and all public buildings, fortifications, barracks and other edifices which are not private property. — The Archives, papers & documents relative to the domain and Sovereignty of Louisiana and its dependences will be left in the possession of the Commissaries of the United States, and copies will be afterwards given in due form to the Magistrates and Municipal officers of such of the said papers and documents as may be necessary to them.

Article III The inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States and admitted as soon as possible according to the principles of the federal Constitution to the enjoyment of all these rights, advantages and immunities of citizens of the United States, and in the mean time they shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property and the Religion which they profess.

Article IV There Shall be Sent by the Government of France a Commissary to Louisiana to the end that he do every act necessary as well to receive from the Officers of his Catholic Majesty the Said country and its dependences in the name of the French Republic if it has not been already done as to transmit it in the name of the French Republic to the Commissary or agent of the United States.

Article V Immediately after the ratification of the present Treaty by the President of the United States and in case that of the first Consul's shall have been previously obtained, the commissary of the French Republic shall remit all military posts of New Orleans and other parts of the ceded territory to the Commissary or Commissaries named by the President to take possession — the troops whether of France or Spain who may be there shall cease to occupy any military post from the time of taking possession and shall be embarked as soon as possible in the course of three months after the ratification of this treaty.

Article VI The United States promise to execute Such treaties and articles as may have been agreed between Spain and the tribes and nations of Indians until by mutual consent of the United States and the said tribes or nations other Suitable articles Shall have been agreed upon.

Article VII As it is reciprocally advantageous to the commerce of France and the United States to encourage the communication of both nations for a limited time in the country ceded by the present treaty until general arrangements relative to commerce of both nations may be agreed on; it has

been agreed between the contracting parties that the French Ships coming directly from France or any of her colonies loaded only with the produce and manufactures of France or her Said Colonies; and the Ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or any of her colonies loaded only with the produce or manufactures of Spain or her Colonies shall be admitted during the Space of twelve years in the Port of New-Orleans and in all other legal ports -of-entry within the ceded territory in the Same manner as the Ships of the United States coming directly from France or Spain or any of their Colonies without being Subject to any other or greater duty on merchandize or other or greater tonnage than that paid by the citizens of the United States. During that Space of time above mentioned no other nation Shall have a right to the Same privileges in the Ports of the ceded territory — the twelve years Shall commence three months after the exchange of ratifications if it Shall take place in France or three months after it Shall have been notified at Paris to the French Government if it Shall take place in the United States; It is however well understood that the object of the above article is to favor the manufactures, Commerce, freight and navigation of France and of Spain So far as relates to the importations that the French and Spanish Shall make into the Said Ports of the United States without in any Sort affecting the regulations that the United States may make concerning the exportation of the produce and merchandize of the United States, or any right they may have to make Such regulations.

Article VIII The United States promise to execute Such treaties and articles as may have been agreed between Spain and the tribes and nations of Indians until by mutual consent of the United States and the said tribes or nations other Suitable articles Shall have been agreed upon.

Article IX As it is reciprocally advantageous to the commerce of France and the United States to encourage the communication of both nations for a limited time in the country ceded by the present treaty until general arrangements relative to commerce of both nations may be agreed on; it has been agreed between the contracting parties that the French Ships coming directly from France or any of her colonies loaded only with the produce and manufactures of France or her Said Colonies; and the Ships of Spain coming directly from Spain or any of her colonies loaded only with the produce or manufactures of Spain or her Colonies shall be admitted during the Space of twelve years in the Port of New Orleans and in all other legal ports -of-entry within the ceded territory in the Same manner as the Ships of the United States coming directly from France or Spain or any of their Colonies without being Subject to any other or greater duty on merchandize or other or greater tonnage than that paid by the citizens of the United States.

During that Space of time above mentioned no other nation Shall have a right to the Same privileges in the Ports of the ceded territory — the twelve

be ratified distinct from the other years Shall commence three months after the exchange of ratifications if it Shall take place in France or three months after it Shall have been notified at Paris to the French Government if it Shall take place in the United States; It is however well understood that the object of the above article is to favour the manufactures, Commerce, freight and navigation of France and of Spain So far as relates to the importations that the French and Spanish Shall make into the Said Ports of the United States without in any Sort affecting the regulations that the United States may make concerning the exportation of the produce and merchandize of the United States, or any right they may have to make Such regulations.

Article X In future and for ever after the expiration of the twelve years, the Ships of France shall be treated upon the footing of the most favoured nations in the ports above mentioned.

Article XI The particular Convention Signed this day by the respective Ministers, having for its object to provide for the payment of debts due to the Citizens of the United States by the French Republic prior to the 30th Sept. 1800 (8th Vendémiaire an 9) is approved and to have its execution in the Same manner as if it had been inserted in this present treaty, and it Shall be ratified in the same form and in the Same time So that the one Shall not be ratified distinct from the other.

Another particular Convention Signed at the Same date as the present treaty relative to a definitive rule between the contracting parties is in the like manner approved and will be ratified in the Same form, and in the Same time and jointly.

Article XII The present treaty Shall be ratified in good and due form and the ratifications Shall be exchanged in the Space of Six months after the date of the Signature by the Ministers Plenipotentiary or Sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have Signed these articles in the French and English languages; declaring nevertheless that the present Treaty was originally agreed to in the French language; and have thereunto affixed their Seals. Done at Paris the tenth day of Floreal in the eleventh year of the French Republic; and the 30th of April 1803. Article VIII In future and for ever after the expiration of the twelve years, the Ships of France shall be treated upon the footing of the most favoured nations in the ports above mentioned.

Article XIII The particular Convention Signed this day by the respective Ministers, having for its object to provide for the payment of debts due to the Citizens of the United States by the French Republic prior to the 30th Sept. 1800 (8th Vendémiaire an 9) is approved and to have its execution in the Same manner as if it had been inserted in this present treaty, and it Shall be ratified in the same form and in the Same time So that the one Shall not

The Louisiana Purchase 1803 continued.

Another particular Convention Signed at the Same date as the present treaty relative to a definitive rule between the contracting parties is in the like manner approved and will be ratified in the Same form, and in the Same time and jointly.

Article IVX The present treaty Shall be ratified in good and due form and the ratifications Shall be exchanged in the Space of Six months after the date of the Signature by the Ministers Plenipotentiary or Sooner if possible.

In faith whereof the respective Plenipotentiaries have Signed these articles in the French and English languages; declaring nevertheless that the present Treaty was originally agreed to in the French language; and have thereunto affixed their Seals.

Done at Paris the tenth day of Floreal in the eleventh year of the French Republic; and the 30th of April 1803.

Barbé Marbois [seal]

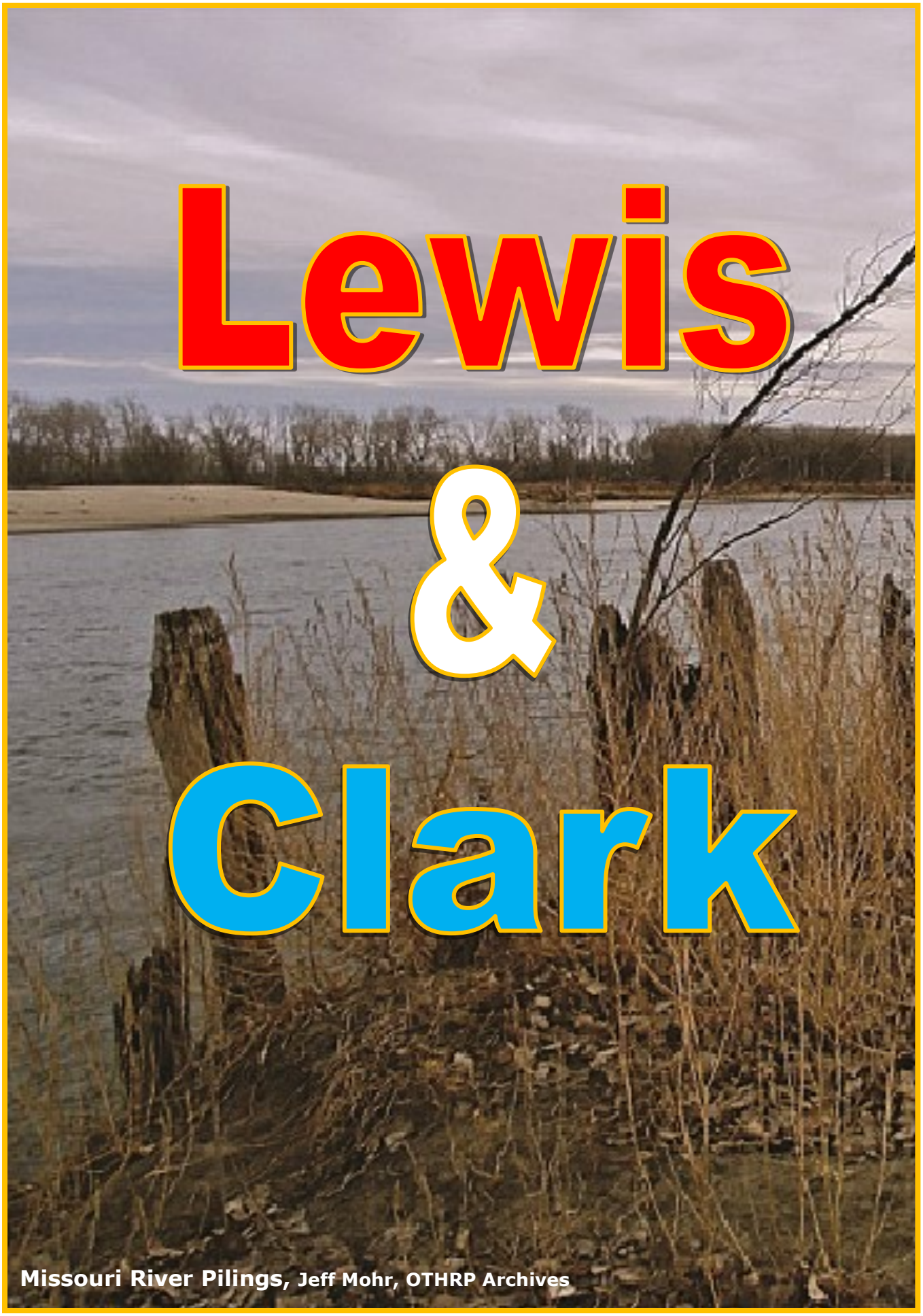
Rob. R. Livingston [seal]

Jas. Monroe [seal]

<http://www.earlyamerica.com/earlyamerica/milestones/louisiana/text.html> 10-8-08

1803 United State's Silver Dollar: Liberty

Lewis & Clark



Missouri River Pilings, Jeff Mohr, OTHRP Archives

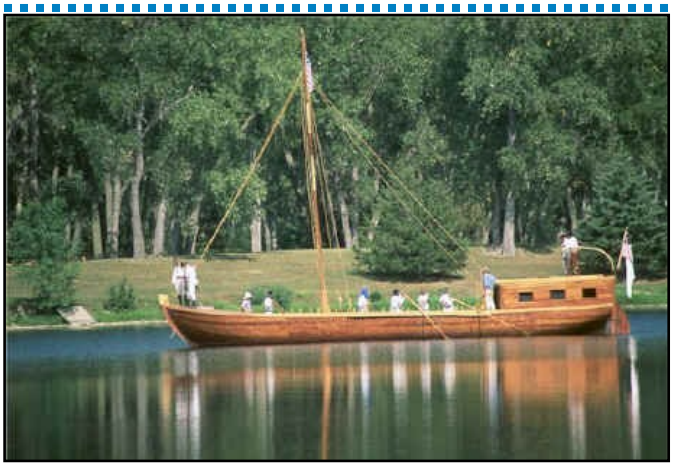
Taking a Close Look at Lewis and Clark History

OTHRP NOTE: Taken in part from "An Alternative Look at the Lewis and Clark Expedition From the Omaha Point of View." Dennis Hastings, MA and Margery Coffey, MA Successfully submitted to Western Institute for Social Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a PhD May 2009.

History is made up of more than one point of view even with the victor take all approach of Euro-Americans. Those who lose a war, if they survive do not forget, i.e., Africa, China, Eastern Europe, Ireland, Japan, Mexico, Middle East, etc. This alternative point of view is handed down to the next generation. The more the distortion, the greater the resentment by those whose relatives were also there. The rosy-eyed view by the victors does not give a rounded picture of what really happened. In the case of the Corps of Discovery, the dominate culture has over-focused upon the sheer courage and tenacity it took to take a couple of boats with 45 men and walk into an area filled with unknown and known nations and live off of someone else's land to travel from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean and back. Such a journey is incredible and worthy of a place in history. But, and here is the point, it should be looked at for what it really was and not be made into something it was not.

For starters, this was never a "National Geographic Exploration" type project. At the time it was conceived it was illegal even from the Euro-American point of view, and certainly not cleared at all with the Native Americans who were under the impression that they owned their ancestral lands by right of original title and if there was a question about it, they would be consulted. While ownership of the actual land itself was a Euro-American construct. Native America certainly understood both boundaries and turf. Before European contact, all of North America had been divided up in a consensual manner among the various sovereign nations who had developed paths, agriculture, hunting grounds along with their villages across this entire continent. In fact, many of the modern United States highway systems follow the original aboriginal trails.

Manifest Destiny hit the Atlantic shores and pushed disease, ideology and theolo-



Keelboat reproduction of those used by Lewis and Clark
<www.lewisandclarktrail.comkeelboat.htm> 5-4-07

gy as justification for a major land grab and then backed it up with violence calling it a "discovery of the New World" justifying it with racism and a "wilderness" fantasy that was simply not true. This set up enormously intense pressures as the Eastern Native Americans were violently forced against their will to the west on top of their neighbors. By the time Lewis and Clark, the French had explored much of the "wilderness" up to the Missouri River. The Spanish and British had followed close behind coming from the south and north respectively. Land swap between the big three was loose and illegal from the aboriginal viewpoint which at the time was totally ignored or given a brief and flowery lip-service. Actually a part of Lewis and Clark's purpose was to pacify the tribes as they told them they didn't own their ancestral and sacred lands. This was done with over blown patronizing language by Meriwether Lewis along with a liberal dose of alcohol and a pact of peace to be agreed upon, after the fact.

What Lewis and Clark were truly about was to go as a secret mission to explore the unknown-to-Euro-America territory allegedly owned by the French, chart it and to report back on the potential resources of the area so they could estimate the fur trade take by the British entrepreneurs to the north in Canada. Because of a quick deal between the French and the United States, land changed hands in the usual fashion, without Native American knowledge let alone consent. Now this is all the elements of a good story: secrecy, intrigue, drugs, sex, land stealing and government manipulation. Instead, mythology has turned Lewis and Clark into the same "I cannot tell a lie" George Washington, a slave owner; or the brilliant Jefferson who dined alone, but, slept with his female slaves on the side; and not to mention Saint Lincoln, whose wife owned slaves, and who campaigned to send all the slaves back to Africa. This deliberate skewing of history does everybody a disservice. It replaces the value of true history with a one-sided, elaborated and fabricated storytelling labeled truth, thereby, perpetuating ignorance and oppressing all those who know better but can't get heard by the ruling educators and Hollywood.

What is known about the actual journey lies within the journals kept by the men upon the journey and the oral history of the tribes contacted. Some of the journals are reasonably well written. Some are not. The oral history has either not been consulted or simply discounted as unimportant. The problem becomes the amount of purely speculative material that has been added to the original story that is not based upon fact but has been repeated for so long that it takes on the trappings of fact and disputing it causes outrage in certain circles of academia as well as the popular press. It is depressing that the prejudices of the dominate culture were so strong at the time that the accounts of many of the people on that journey were never sought out and recorded nor were the tribes that encountered the Corps of Discovery ever consulted about their experiences with them. So much of history has been lost in this fashion. Equally sad is the number of family oral histories that were discounted by the "experts" because their accounts did not fit the "story" as it was being "officially" told.

How heartbreaking that the attempts to wrap up the ends only butchered the truth instead. There is nothing wrong with labeling speculation as such and including it in the accounting. What is wrong is stamping out alternative views with a seal of authority that blocks out other renditions or the deliberate distortion of the facts to fit a preconceived notion as to what happened so long ago. History is full of self-serving accounts by the most illustrative and documented scholars.

> York's alleged first name, "Ben," cannot be found in the Lewis and Clark journals, nor any other primary source contemporary with his life. Its first known appearance was in the magazine **National Geographic**, November 1965. The reference for its origin is cited in Charles G. Clarke's "The Men of the Lewis and Clark Expedition". [Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, CA 1970, p. 38] There it is explained that **National Geographic** based the name on information given by a Mr. Jack E. Hodge of Fort Worth, Texas. No records were found to support Mr. Hodge's opinion. Alternatively, he was alleged to have "made it on his own authority." [<http://www.pbs.org/lewisandclark/inside/york.html> March 30, 2007]

That is really scholarly. Someone just thought it should be so and told **National Geographic Magazine** that it was fact and suddenly York had a first name. Overlooking the real truth that it was customary prior to the Civil War to give slaves only one name. Such a tradition was further de-humanizing to the slave since animals are traditionally given only one name. There is nothing to indicate that either York had more than one name or that Clark would have parted with his slave-holding upbringing in such a manner as to give him one.

The fate of York is another speculation. "The story is told" that Clark freed York. There is no proof. All this is based upon Washington Irving's notes that Clark implied it within the quote below. In truth, there is nothing in what Clark said, as is listed below, about York being a free man.

> Still, when all is said and done, York's fate remains unknown. The story is told that Clark eventually freed York, set him up in a [wagon] business similar (if not identical) to the one he and his nephew had begun, and that York reportedly hauled goods between Nashville, Tennessee, and Richmond, Kentucky.
>
> Further, according to notes the famed writer Washington Irving took of a conversation he had with Clark in September 1832, "York did not fare well in his business, lost it, and eventually attempted to return to St. Louis and to Clark, but died in Tennessee of cholera before doing so." [James j. Holmberg, "'I Wish You to See & Know all': The Recently Discovered Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark," **We Proceeded On**, (18 November 1992), p. 8-9.]

If there were a stronger statement about York's freedom it would seem logical that the quoted author would have used it as well in order to make his point stronger.

An equally plausible story told that York was sent by Clark to work in his wagon

business as a driver and the business failed. We are to then believe York succeeded for himself in a business Clark and his nephew were unable to make viable?

Irving's notes may be accurate as to what Clark said, but there is nothing to prove that Clark is telling the truth. Clark would have good reason to cover his own tracks for history where York is concerned. After all, by 1832, Clark would have a definite sense as to the fact that he would be remembered in history books. Equally plausible is that York simply disappeared from Clark's household permanently when his freedom was chronically denied. There were a lot of slaves that did just that when a master was unreasonable and their loved ones were elsewhere. We already know that without a doubt York knew how to live off of the land, if nothing else, the Corps of Discovery would have taught him that. There are also rumors that York went to live with the Crow nation. How self serving it would have been for Clark to have planted a story with a noted author that York tried to return "home" to Clark but was prevented in doing so by death. And who would be alive to dispute it?

Even more questionable is the fate of Seaman, the Newfoundland dog of Lewis', We are presented with a story about a preacher/teacher who collected a lot of epitaphs and inscriptions. Quantity is not validation. He was a member of historical societies of the day. That is not difficult for an educator to accomplish and is not an endorsement of his scholastic abilities only of his interests. He was published and founded a school. There are many scholars with even better backgrounds that have totally misread/misrepresented their findings in order to support their own private theories. [See: Robert Silverberg, The Mound Builders, Greenwich, NY, 1970]

> In 1814, the same year that the long-delayed official history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was published, a Congregational clergyman and educator named Timothy Alden published **A Collection of American Epitaphs and Inscriptions with Occasional Notes**. [Francis S. Drake, **Dictionary of American Biography, including Men of the Time** (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1872), Timothy Alden, A Collection of American Epitaphs and Inscriptions with Occasional Notes (5 vols., New York: Privately printed, 1814).] Alden had been collecting epitaphs and inscriptions for years. For each listing he provided the source of the epitaph or inscription, stating the city and whether it was from a monument, a headstone, or something else. He collected so many that their publication spanned five volumes.
>
> Alden was a respected man of letters. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the New York Historical Society, and the American Antiquarian Society, three of the country's oldest and most prestigious historical organizations. From 1808 to 1810 he worked on a catalog of the New York Historical Society's library. he published various histories and magazines and in 1817 founded Allegheny College. [Drake, p. 13] **His background suggests that he would have been scrupulous about accu-**

rately recording the information he found. "This must be distinctly understood," as Charles Dickens tells us, "or nothing . . . can come of the story I am going to relate." [Charles Dickens, **A Christmas Carol** (NY: Weathervane Books, 1977) p. 4]

Entry 916 in his American Epitaphs and Inscriptions lists an interesting inscription on a dog collar in an Alexandria, Virginia, museum. It reads, "The greatest traveler of my species. My name is SEAMAN, the dog of captain Meriwether Lewis, whom I accompanied to the Pacifick ocean through the interior of the continent of North America." [Alden, 5:98]

Seaman's collar in an Alexandria museum in 1814 — proof that he survived the expedition! But the entry gets better. Alden includes a note about the collar and its owner. It reads:

> The foregoing was copied from the collar, in the Alexandria Museum, which the late gov. Lewis's dog wore after his return from the western coast of America. The fidelity and attachment of this animal were remarkable. After the melancholy exit of gov. Lewis, his dog would not depart for a moment from his lifeless remains, and when they were deposited in the earth no gentle means could draw him from the spot of interment. He refused to take every kind of food, which was offered him, and actually pined away and died with grief upon his master's grave! [Ibid.]

There is no reason to doubt Alden's entry concerning Seaman. **This information would have been collected no more than five years after Lewis's death.** There were people contemporary with Alden, including William Clark and Nicholas Biddle, the first editor of the Lewis and Clark journals, whom he could have contacted about the accuracy of both the collar and Seaman's fate. It's unlikely that the collar was a hoax, **for it was probably given** to the museum two years before the publication, in 1814, of the Biddle edition of the journals, when the expedition was fading from public consciousness. **Apparently there was enough faith in the account that newspapers were repeating it some twenty years after the publication of American Epitaphs and Inscriptions!** [Louisville (Ky.) Public Advertiser, May 5, 1835.]

The story's truthfulness is further bolstered by evidence that the collar's donor **may have been** none other than William Clark. The museum that displayed Seaman's collar **almost certainly** was part of a Masonic lodge — specifically, Alexandria-Washington Lodge #22 (known simply as Alexandria Lodge until 1805, when the name was changed to honor its late member George Washington). We know that by 1812 the lodge had established a museum, for on August 21 of that year lodge official Thomas Sanford wrote Clark to

> thank him for the "truly valuable Present made by you to our infant Museum. . . . We esteem them Sir as Curiosities deserving to be ranked amongst the first in our Infant Establishment.*

This fabulous find occurred "when the expedition was fading from public consciousness." So a collar owned by Lewis **may have been** donated by Clark to a museum which caught on fire and destroyed all records and evidence that **might have** given proof to this story. This whole description could have been created by the glurge fiends of the Internet. First of all, we don't know how Clark came to have the collar. The excitement with which this story of no facts is related above is a deliberate sales pitch to sell the story to the reader. Repetition in the news media is not a proven method of authenticity, then or now. The phrasing, in bold type, indicates nothing but the hopeful appearance of fact. It is there only to hype the story. If that were not enough, Charles Dickens is quoted for no particular reason other than name dropping to give the sense of authenticity and the author throws in the Masonic lodge as proof the pudding is based upon nothing more than pure speculation.

Meriwether Lewis died from a gunshot wound. Books have been written debating whether it was suicide or murder. There is no mention of the dog. Far more plausible is the possibility that the Corps of Discovery ate the dog along with the 200 other dogs they are recorded to have eaten or some Indian Tribe finally got a hold of him for the same purpose, dog being a delicacy in those days. Unfortunately, the story of Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery is full of such "scholarly" tales of embellishment so that the actual story is lost in a hyped up mythology that does service to no one.

> In order to understand America as it is today, we need to brush off the human cobwebs of hysteria within historical accountings and start to study the alternative voices in looking at what went down between the different cultures in our melting pot. We don't need superheroes making miracles in history, we need to understand what ordinary men and women faced and dealt with as they accomplished phenomenal things or simply survived. We also need to understand our failures as well. Negative teachings are far more important than puffing up events into a mythology that no one can take seriously. The "Good Old Days" do not exist. It is time we understood that and started to deal face to face with reality. America was not a wilderness ripe for the plucking when Europe discovered it. America was occupied by many different cultures whose history stretched back into antiquity. Some of these cultures were better than the ones transplanted from Europe. If we cannot understand that simple fact, we will never understand that Nature is not ours of the taking and exploiting but only to conserve and preserve for the

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*[Thomas Sanford to William Clark, August 21, 1812, William Clark Papers, E.G. Voorhis Memorial Collection, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis, Mo.] [<http://www.lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?Article!D=2295> July 5, Seaman's Creek Aspen: A Touch of Color — 1 Seaman's Fate Reprinted from **We Proceeded On**, Vol. 26, No. 1 (February 2000) p. 7-9, March 30, 2007] [**Bold** and underlining added by OTHRP].

future of all life. Land is not something that is ever truly owned.

OTHRP chose to include this narrative that presents some of the better known facts from the Native American point of view. This voyage happened eleven years before the first treaty was forced on the Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation. Looking at their attitudes in their own words and filling in some of the missing background helps to right the mistakes of history and sets the stage upon which the original treaties played out.

Pirogue boats reproductions of those used by Lewis and Clark
<www.lewisandclarktrail.com/keelboat.htm> 5-4-07

Lewis and Clark:
A Native American Point of View, 1804

President Thomas Jefferson, Slave Owner

OTHRP NOTE: Based upon two works by Dennis Hastings, PhD and Margery Coffey, PhD, "Completely Illustrated: Grandfather Remembers — Broken Treaties/Stolen Land: The Omaha Land Theft," "White Invasion" unpublished, 2009 and "An Alternative Look at the Lewis and Clark Expedition From the Omaha Point of View, unpublished, May 2007.

Background

At the time the Lewis and Clark Expedition was first proposed to Congress in January, 1803 the United States had not yet purchased the lands to be explored, and thus President Thomas Jefferson at first worked secretly with Congress to send a military expedition into territories they did not own for the purpose of assessing French holdings without their permission or knowledge. The proposed sale of the lands to the United States by the French came in April, 1803 as a complete surprise to Jefferson, and was concluded by December, 1803. none

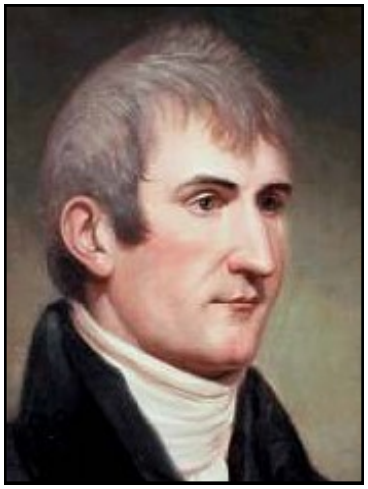
of these negotiations included the Plains Indian Tribes.

The purpose of this mission was not like a number of future expeditions of explorers who were private citizens traveling with artists and botanists exploring the Native American cultures and natural wonders of the high plains, but rather, was specifically designed to assess the potential resistance of the people who lived there, and to evaluate the natural resources for economic development. Those who hired onto the expedition were given military titles and except for the later presence of Sacajawea, it was an all male expedition. The "Corps of Discovery," as was the expedition's official name, was thus truly an invader's force sent to scout out the opposition and weigh the options of economic control, particularly of the fur trade market then dominated by both French and British companies located in Canada, in particular, the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company.[1]

This military excursion set out in 1804 with two commanders and 43 soldiers to explore the newly purchased lands of the northern plains. Under funded by 19th century standards at $2,500[2] — 31.25 cents per mile — The expedition was expected to live off the land, which in this case was akin to sending the expedition into someone's home and raiding the refrigerator without their permission or knowledge, since at this time, hunting rights were well-established between the various Native American tribes who lived within these long-inhabited regions, while actual ownership of the earth and its gifts was a concept unknown to the thinking of the people of the prairie. It was considered rude behavior not to ask permission to partake of the tribe's food from tribal lands.

The Umo^{n}ho^{n}, who had European-documented contact with the French for up to 150 years prior to the American incursion of 1804, state flatly that they were unaware at the time of the expedition of either the French claim of ownership, or of the sale of this unknown claim to the Americans.

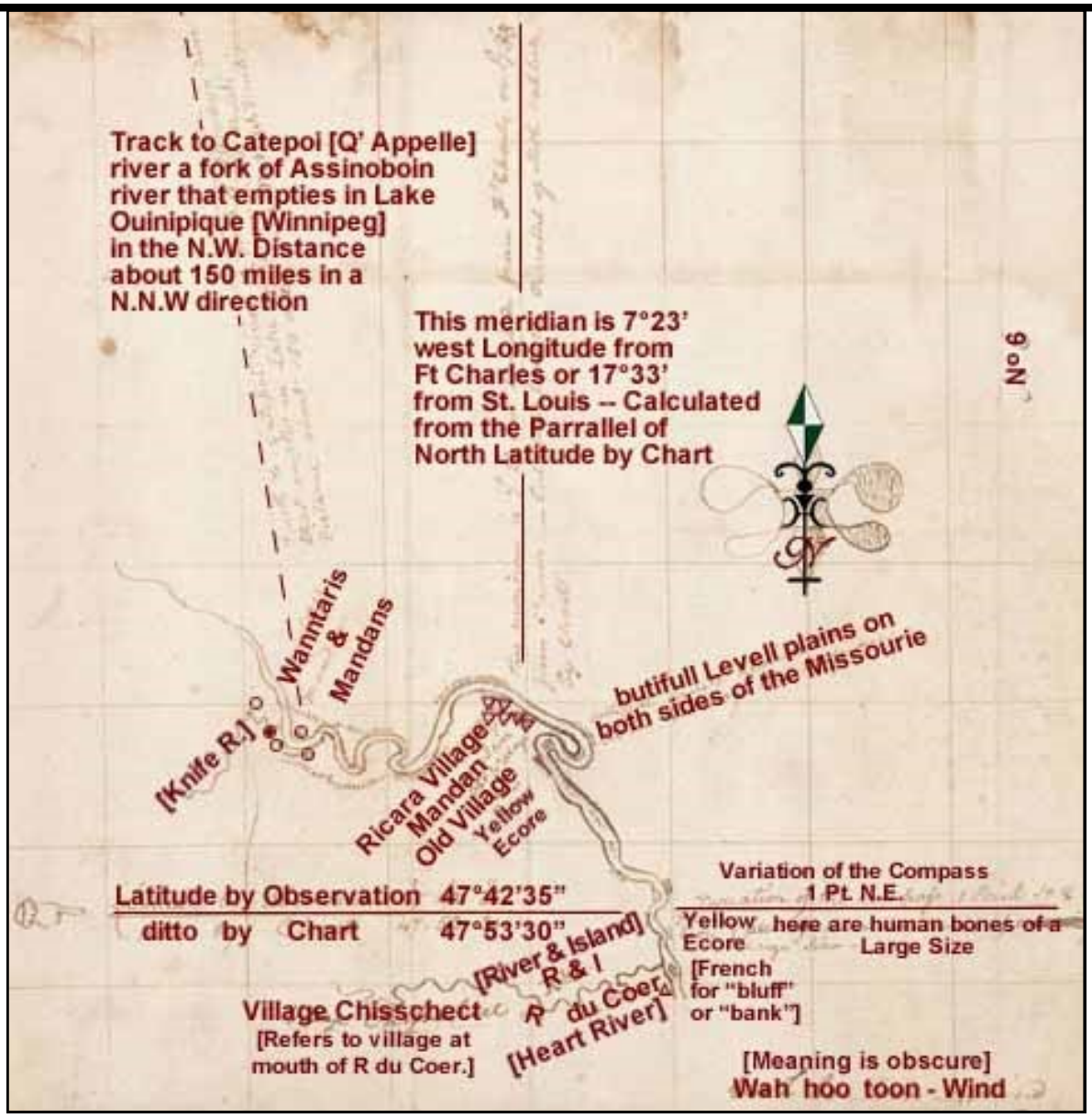
The Leaders



Meriwether Lewis
Smithsonian

Who were the leaders of this under-funded, secretly planned, exploratory military mission? What kind of men were they? What skills or leadership qualifications did they bring with them? What biases did they have?

Born in Virginia, **Captain Meriwether Lewis**, 30, a man who suffered from severe depression bouts, found himself the private secretary to President Jefferson, another Virginian, after a brief military career in the 1st Infantry under General Anthony Wayne and ironically also, under William Clark. Nothing in Lewis' career warranted the assignment as Captain for this sensitive military probe, yet Lewis held the highest authority. Even with a background of being a presidential private secretary, Lewis was unable to document the explorations with any regularity.". . .

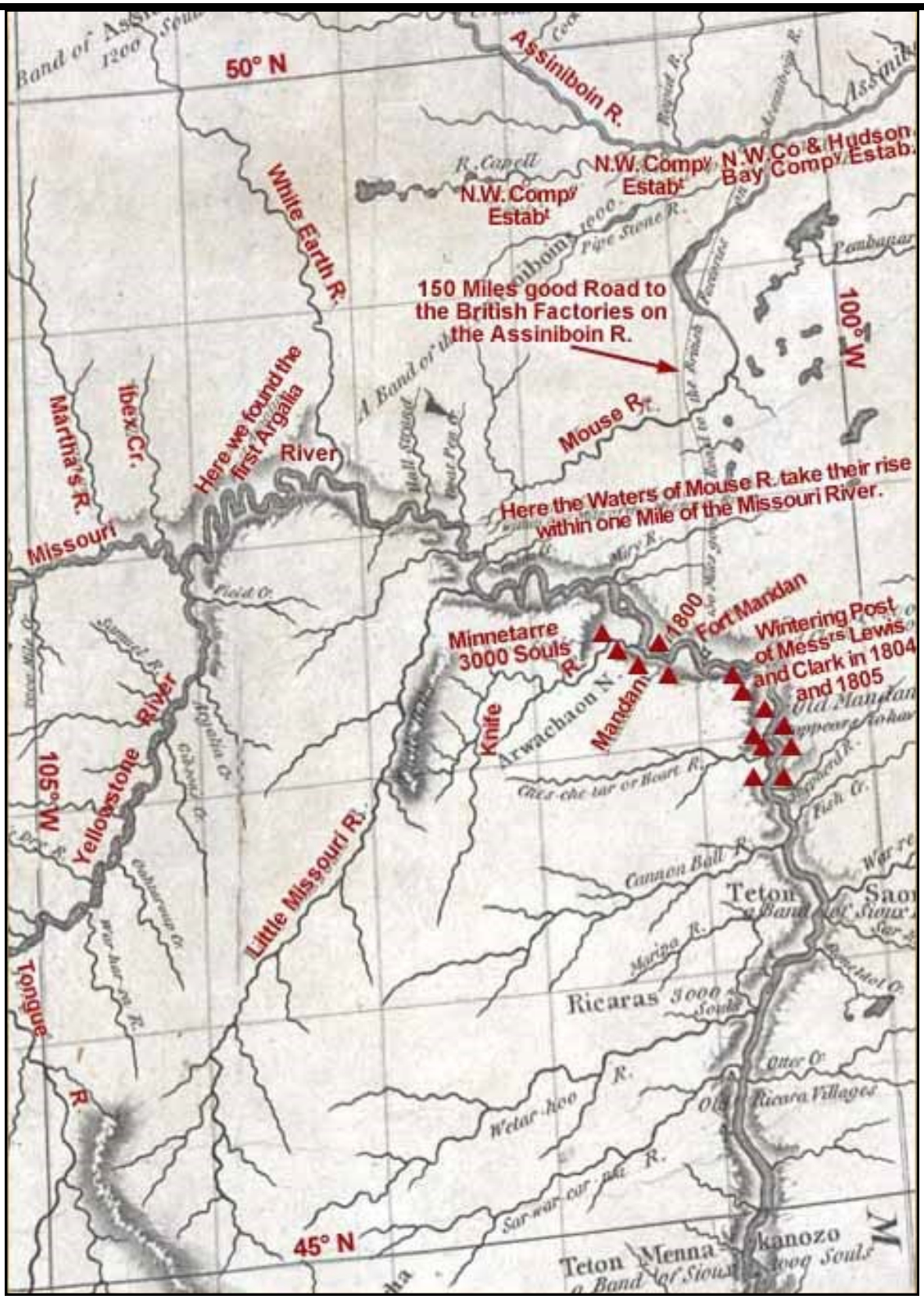


John Evans' Map of the Upper Missouri River Area (1795)

Detail information added by website <http://www.lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID=2738#> 1-31-08 Original Map, Yale Collection of Western Americana. Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

Compare this map with the map by Clark on the next page. Obviously Clark used this map as a basis for his own.

Legend has it that the expedition went into uncharted territory all the way from Council Bluff to the Pacific Coast. More correctly, it was completely charted. Part of it existed within old maps done by European traders and part of it was understood by the local Indian nations who either served as guides through their own territories or conveyed the knowledge by which one could do so. Such disinformation as surrounds the Lewis and Clark accomplishments do a disservice to their very real accomplishment, that of making the arduous trip with an under-funded expeditionary force.



Detail from Clark's Map, 1814

Red detail information added by website. <http://www.lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticleID= 27 38#> 1-31-08 Original map from Geography and Map Division. Library of Congress.

apparently beset by frequent depressions, Lewis inexplicably failed to write in his journal for long stretches of time."[3]


William Clark
Smithsonian

As to his ability to understand Indian culture, Lewis was a total bigot. Everett Albers sums it up in his review of Clay Jenkinson's **The Character of Meriwether Lewis**.

> Jenkinson's chapter "Among the Indians" details just how little Lewis managed to learn from the people he encountered, how "unendingly condescending" Lewis's attitude toward the Indians was. In a pithy essay within the greater work, Jenkinson summarizes how Lewis's inability to see the Indians as human beings contributed to the worst of consequences for the native people following the successful return of Corps — successful in no small part because of the generosity of the very people Lewis considers subhuman.[4]

Second Lieutenant William Clark, 34, also Virginia-born and a slave owner who inherited eight slaves, grew up in the middle of the Ohio Indian Wars. His background was hardly a neutral one towards Native Americans nor one of recognizing their basic land rights of original title. One of his older brothers, a Revolutionary War hero, was a remorseless Indian-fighter, leading search-and-destroy missions deep into Shawnee territory. A second older brother was killed by Indians on the Little Wabash River. In 1789 William joined the Ohio militia, moving over to the regular Army in 1792 where he led expeditions into Shawnee territory, crushing Indian resistance.

Clark clearly had the background for leading expeditions into unexplored territory, traveling on rivers, keeping accounts and building supply forts. He had seen combat with Indians and may have been somewhat familiar with some of their cultures,[5] but only as a military observer, not as one who was studying another culture for any other primary interest than for martial purposes.

The qualifications of the two men did not measure up to the standards of their day as is evidenced by Jebidiah Morse's commentary in his sixth edition of **The American Universal Geography** in 1812.

> Had that [exploration] been made by men whose science, judgment, and accuracy could be relied on, we should have no difficulty in giving a complete description of the Missouri. But the latitude and longitude of no one place is calculated; a connected chain of distances is not given; nor are we informed on what authority a great many facts, which the travelers did not witness, are reported.[6]

While this critique in all fairness occurred two years before the official publication in 1814, a later scholar also voices disappointment in the professionalism of the Journals, W. P. Webb in his **The Great Plains** [1936], has referred to the explorers' journals as "meager and unsatisfactory," and noted their "lack of

specific detail," the "vagueness," etc.[7] Clearly these men did not meet the standards of their day. Why was such an important venture given incompetent leaders for this important mission for President Jefferson. The question then becomes were they chosen because they were considered expendable and the mission which was born in secrecy was simply a testing the waters by the new government?

Sending an aristocratic manic depressive (an untreatable condition in those days) and an almost illiterate Indian fighter into the rough country of the uncharted west may be the makings of romantic novels, but it is hardly appropriate for a government even one as young as the American Government was at the time, however, it explains the historic hiring patterns of the Indian Agents and the staff of the Bureau of Indian Affairs that followed. That the younger unqualified man with apparent unresolved emotional problems had the ranking title between the two, speaks volumes about the class elitism employed by the founding fathers of freedom. While in practice, Lewis treated Clark as an equal, down to receiving the same pay, William Clark did not receive his official promotion to "Captain" until the 106th Congress in 2002.[8]

Official Greetings to Native American Governments

Ever the aristocrat, Captain Meriwether Lewis handled the "Indian problem" by preparing a formal, all-purpose speech which was delivered as part of the Corps of Discovery's opening remarks to each and every tribe the expedition encountered. Recorded for posterity at the time of its initial rendering to the Oto and Missouri nations on August 3, 1804, the following excerpt is taken directly from the speech.

> Children. the great chief of the Seventeen great nations of America, impelled by his parental regard for his newly adopted children on the troubled waters, has sent us out to clear the road, remove every obstruction, and to make it a road of peace between himself and his red children residing there; to inquire into the Nature of their wants, and on our return to inform Him of them, in order that he may make the necessary arrangements for their relief.
>
> Children. We hope that the great Spirit will open your ears to our councils, and dispose your minds to their observance. Follow these councils and you have nothing to fear, because the great Spirit will smile upon your nation, and in future ages will make you outnumber the trees of the forest.

The speech was first given on land located approximately 15 miles north of the present day city of Omaha, Nebraska, an area which the Umo^{n}ho^{n}[9] Nation, used for their traditional winter headquarters. The speech was actually missed by the Umo^{n}ho^{n}. The day the expedition was to meet with the Umo^{n}ho^{n}, they were not at home. Except for a few Umo^{n}ho^{n} tribal members, the majority of the nation were out on their annual buffalo hunt where the Corps was later to learn that the hunting party had been massacred and the women taken prisoner by the Teton Sioux.

The Umo^{n}ho^{n} were an important part of the Expedition. Situated on the Missouri at a major crossing point into the high plains, the they controlled the traffic on the mid-Missouri River from Chief Blackbird's time in the late 18th Century until the creation of the reservation in 1854. It would have been crucial for Lewis and Clark to have had the help of the Umo^{n}ho^{n}, whose name translates as "against the current" — an apt name for a people who had lived on the edge of two world class rivers[10] — to navigate the river and communicate with the various tribes along it, which included among many others, the five cognate tribes: Umo^{n}ho^{n}, Kansa or Kaw, Osage, Ponca and Quapaw as well as the Ioway, Otoe, Missouri and many more. Yet the expedition made no attempt to contact the full tribe, even upon their return trip. Apparently, the speech presented to the few tribal members found, if it was given to them at all, was considered binding in Lewis and Clark's eyes a typical "negotiation" between the two cultures.

Sacajawea
University of Montana

Sacajawea

Perhaps needing a credible heroine for purposes of marketing the constitutionality of the woman's vote, the suffragette movement while meeting at Seneca Falls, NY in 1848, deliberately set about to create a distortion in crediting Sacajawea, Lemhi Shoshoni, as singlehandedly providing all of the interpreter/guide services for the entire expedition when, in fact, Sacajawea did not join the expedition until November 4, 1804. This is a gross distortion of history.

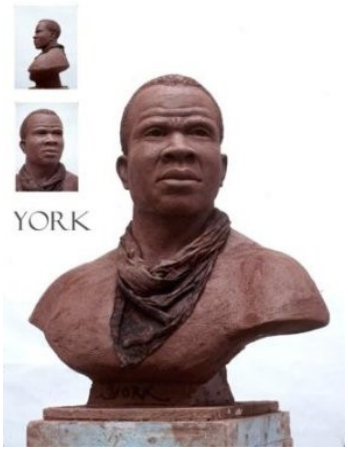
Sacajawea certainly was a contributing member once she joined the expedition, but her expertise in language and trail survival were based upon her experiences of the lands of the upper Missouri and not beyond the Rocky Mountains. She did not speak the lower Missouri languages. In fact, her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau — a Sioux/French Métis — had to translate for Sacajawea after listening to the Umo^{n}ho^{n}/French Métis communicating in French because she did not speak the languages necessary for direct communication.

As a woman, Sacajawea's very presence on the expedition would have been seen as a signal of peaceful intent to the Native Americans, but the journey itself must have been hard for her. Sacajawea was having to deal with both a pregnancy and an abusive husband, who won her as a third wife in a card game as the legend goes, or simply purchased her outright as other sources say. Her sister, Otter Woman, was a second wife.[11] Charbonneau thought nothing of beating Sacajawea publicly — a fact noted in at least one journal entry written by members of the expedition, and verified by family history.

One of the privileges of a native-derived is that there are Umo^{n}ho^{n} now who were

taught by Sacajawea's granddaughter, giving a modern personal twist to an historic story. As a result, another of the distortions of history surfaced which has Sacajawea dying in 1812 in St. Louis, Missouri. In truth, it was Otter Woman who died then. After Sacajawea left Charbonneau, she lived first with the tribe of her second husband, Jerk Meat, the Comanche, and then, when he died she moved in with the Wind River Shoshoni where she made a home with her sister's son, Bazil until she died in 1884.[12] This has been verified by family members who have in their possession the notarized testimony of both the reservation agent and the local missionary at the time of her death.

York



Bust of York — Clark's Manservant
Ed Hamilton, Sculptor
<http://www.lewisandclarktrail.com/york.htm>
3-30-2007

York, the only slave on the Expedition, was Captain William Clark's "man-servant" and as such accompanied his master to the Pacific Ocean and back. He had been a companion to Clark from birth and was roughly the same age. York was bequeathed to William by his father, John Clark, in a will dated July 24, 1799 as was customary in those times.

Upon his father's death in July 1799, Clark "inherited" eight enslaved Africans, including York, his parents, "Old York" and Rose, and York's younger sisters, Nancy and Juba along with livestock, plantation equipment, a still and thousands of acres of land in Kentucky, near Louisville, and in the Illinois country.[13]

Further, that one of his sisters bore an African name may be an indication of the strength of his parents' inner sense of an independent identity, something they may have conveyed to him during his childhood. Juba, a corruption of Adjua, originates from the Akan peoples of what is now Ghana, West Africa, It was a name given to a girl born on Monday.[14]

In 1803 when the Corps of Discovery was formed, York was living with Clark in Clarksville, Indiana Territory, opposite Louisville.

In spite of having no choice in the decision to embark upon the exploration, York turned out to be a man of multiple talents often exceeding the expectations of a slave during those times.

When Sergeant Charles Floyd was first reported gravely ill on August 19, Clark wrote, "every man attentive to him York prlly[sic] [principally]." This brief entry is not expanded upon, but it suggests that York assisted in easing the young soldier's last hours.[15]

Floyd died on August 20th either of a ruptured appendix or having eaten poisonous plants such as mushrooms. The cause of death was never established and the symptoms of both probable named causes are very similar. Floyd was the only

expedition member to die during the mission and was buried in Umo^{n}ho^{n} territory. At a much later date, his body was moved by his family to a gravesite near his relatives.

York apparently was allowed the privilege of being armed on the expedition and showed a definite ability as a hunter.

On September 9, Clark "Derected[sic] My Servent York with me to kill a Buffalow [sic] ." This points to the inseparable lifetime relationship between Clark and York, who had grown up together in the woodlands of Kentucky. Slaves had been prohibited by statute to handle firearms except if they lived on the frontier and had been issued a license by a justice of the peace, which was applied for by their masters. Whatever the case, York appears regularly in the journals as a hunter.[16] His physical fitness is a matter for speculation. While history likes to record him as being in his prime, the journal accounts do not necessarily back up this position. August 25, the captains, together with nine men, including York, hiked nearly 20 miles to examine "Spirit Mound," a place of "little people" feared by superstitious Indians. The outing, made on a hot, muggy day, was commented upon by Clark in an entry that is totally at odds with York's traditional image of having been a giant of superb physique and stamina. Clark wrote "[W]e returned to the boat at Sunset, my servant nearly exosted[sic] with heat thurst[sic] and fatigue, he being fat and unaccustomed to walk as fast as I went was the cause."[17]

This may also be an indication of Clark's attitude toward York which was not as benign as history would have us believe. York may have also taken advantage of his unusual "freedom" to the point of testing his master.

An added dimension to York's personality was his play-acting, which often took the form of dramatic practical jokes. On October 10, while among the Arikaras, Clark recorded a grotesque scene, describing York's antics before the Arikaras. The Arikaras "were much astonished at my Black Servent, who made him self more terrible in their view than I wished him to Doe[sic] telling them that before I caught him he was wild & lived upon people, young children was very good eating." That York's performance was intended as a joke is borne out by Clark's comment, "he carried on the joke," implying he went too far.[18]

Yet York also had a genuine concern for the other members of the Corps as well as his master when the chips were down as recorded thusly:

That York had sincere concern for the safety of

York
Clark's Manservant
Louisville, Kentucky at Belvedere Plaza overlooking Ohio River. The 8 foot heroic Bronze is mounted on a four foot sculpted natural rock formation. Ed Hamilton, Sculptor <http://www.lewisandclarktrail.com/legacy/lousiclark/york statue.htm> 4-17-2007

the expedition members, particularly Clark, is illustrated in an episode involving Clark, Sacagwea, her son, and her husband, Toussaint. The four were nearly washed into the Missouri when they were caught in a flash flood. Believing the four had become lost, York disregarded his own safety during the height of the storm and searched for them. Clark wrote that they reached the rim of the canyon "safe where I found my servent in serch of us greatly agitated, for our wellfar[sic]."[19]

York was treated generally as a member of the crew and when they reached the Pacific Ocean, York was given the right to vote on November 24, 1805, as to the location of where the Expedition would build their winter quarters. This must have been a heady experience for him.

That the relationship between master and slave was not an easy one came to the forefront once the two returned home. Both the freedoms and hardships that York experienced upon the Expedition must have given him a different point of view. Especially so since the Native Americans he met along

the way would not have treated him as a slave but rather as an equal since the nations along this path did not practice slavery within their own traditions. Two years after the conclusion of the historic Lewis and Clark expedition across the Louisiana Purchase and the disputed Oregon country of the Pacific Northwest, York and his enslaver, the Virginia-born patrician William Clark, were at odds. Fully aware of the fame, national celebration, and material compensation that redounded from the expedition, York was demanding that he be freed as a reward for his participation. He had evidently not only assessed the expedition's national importance, but also the value of his contribution to its success. He was not too humble or too debased in his estimation of himself to insist upon his freedom.

What further underlay his insistence was his desire to be reunited with his wife, who was enslaved in Louisville, Kentucky, and from whom he was separated when Clark, after the expedition, left Kentucky for St. Louis, Missouri. Clark, insulted, refused, giving York leave to visit her for "a few weeks," but ordering him to return. York, even offered to stay in Louisville permanently and hire himself out, sending his earnings to Clark.[20]

But the new national hero, evidently believing himself extraordinarily indulgent, was adamant, even indignant. "if any attempt is made by York to run off, or refuse to provorm[sic] his duty as a Slave, I wish him Sent to New Orleans and sold, or hired out to Some Sevare Master untill he thinks better of Such conduct," Clark wrote in November 1808 to his eldest brother, Jonathan, who lived in Louisville and could supervise York's stay there. "I do not wish him to know my determination if he conducts himself well."[21]

The idea of a new and independent York did not sit well with Clark who like his co-Captain Meriwether Lewis, was a racist.

Clark was completely oblivious of the fact, as Mary Prince, an African

woman enslaved in Bermuda, West Indies, would remark in 1832, that: "All slaves want to be free. . .to be free is very sweet. . .I have been a slave myself. . .and I know what slaves feel. . . . The man that says slaves be quite happy in slavery — that they don't want to be free. . .that man is either ignorant or a lying person.[22]

That the breach had finally surfaced was obviously very much of a shock to the Kentuckian and adventurer, who at 38 had grown accustomed to the apparent docility and devotion of his "slave."[23] Such subjugation had clearly been a tradition for at least three generations in Clark's family. Believed to be only a few years younger than Clark, York had been his body servant for virtually all of Clark's life.

Predictably, York's steadfastness in affirming his humanity made him unpopular with Clark's family in Louisville. According to a September 1809 letter from his brother, Edmund, "neither he nor anyone else [in the family] liked York." Clark himself seemed to have despaired of overcoming York's resistance, exclaiming "I do not. . .cear[sic] for Yorks[sic] being in this Country [St. Louis]. . . .I do not wish him again in this Country untill[sic] he applies himself to Come and give over that wife of his."[24] York, evidently, never returned.

In the end perhaps Clark resigned himself to the realization that his recrimination, punishments, and banishment would not prevail upon York, for he is alleged to have freed him some six or more years later.[25] In the interim Clark attempted to compel York's submission. By November 1815 Clark and his nephew John Hite Clark, had "entered into a business agreement to purchase a wagon and team to be operated in and around Louisville," forcing York to be its driver.[26]

The actual fate of York remains unknown. There is speculation that Clark may have relented and given York his freedom but little actual proof to substantiate it. Since York left no written account and Clark's objectivity towards a slave who demanded freedom is suspect at face value we are left with reasonable doubts as to what really happened.

There are a number of reasons to doubt Clark's account of York's end.

First, as Robert Betts notes in the most extensive examination of York to date, that the only source that York was freed is Washington Irving in the notes he made of his conversation with Clark in 1832. It was at some unspecified point in time York had been granted his freedom.

Second, it is remarkable that we have no record of York's words and thoughts. Insofar as the nineteenth century Slave Narratives were produced by Africans who had freed themselves, it may be conjectured that York did not leave a record of his thoughts and experiences because he was never freed. Certainly, he would not have been unaware of the significance of his story, nor undesirous of telling it.

Third, Clark's twenty-four-year hostility toward York is striking. According to Irving's notes, York failed in his business because he disliked getting up early in the morning, was easily cheated, did not keep his horses well, and grew to hate the responsibilities associated with being free. But this could well be a description of York's escalating protest as driver/operator in Clark's and his nephew's business because of Clark's refusal to free him.

In other words, Clark's bitterness toward York could well be explained by the possibility that York sabotaged Clark's business. There is little doubt that Clark's pride would have prevented him from admitting to Irving the humiliation of having been bested by a "slave."

Further, according to the notes, all the Africans Clark allegedly freed eventually grew to prefer enslavement by him to personal freedom and independence, a statement that, if nothing else, sounds patently self-serving.
Betts's analysis of this is quite revealing. "Irving's words. . .leave little question that Clark spoke sardonically of York." Clark painted an "unflattering portrait & of the man who had long been his body servant and had accompanied him on the historic crossing of the continent." Betts further adds: "Those who held black men and women in bondage, as Clark still did, had to believe that slaves were happier and better off under the firm guidance of a master than in trying to wrestle with the problems freedom brought."[27]

Whether Clark gave in and gave York his freedom or simply gave up and let him go is a matter of sheer speculation.

A lifelong companion to Clark, York was shattered when, at journey's end, he was forced to resume his previous role as slave. He had tasted freedom. Unlike other members of the expedition, York didn't receive money or land for his bravery. Forced to live in St. Louis with Clark, he now was separated from his wife, and possibly family, that lived near Louisville, Ky. York increasingly pleaded for his freedom, which was denied. Clark had him beaten and jailed. Eventually, sometime after 1811, possibly 1815, Clark gave in, freeing York.

York left St. Louis and ran a delivery business that shuttled between Nashville, Tenn. and Richmond Ky. Common history says York died of Cholera in 1832. There are legends, however, that say York traveled back west and lived among Native Americans, specifically the Crow, where he became a [leader].[28]

In Their Own Words . . ."I did wish to do well by him, but as he has got Such a notion about freedom and his emence Service, that I do not expect he will be of much Service to me again." — Clark writes about York, who spent years asking for freedom in honor of his contribution to the expedition.[29]

Seaman

One of the travelers with the Corps of Discovery was a Newfoundland dog belonging to Captain Lewis who purchased him in August of 1803 for $20 which was quite a large sum of money for that time. This was a rare dog in the United States in the early 1800s.

Although Lewis left unsaid his reason for selecting a Newfoundland, he may have been impressed with the breed of dog first publicized in British Quadrupeds, a 1790 work authored by Sir Thomas Bewick. Honoring its place of origin, the breed was appropriately named Newfoundland. Lewis may have been influenced in selecting Seaman by the breed's reputation of size, strength and swimming abilities, together with Bewick's mention of "the great sagacity of this new member of the dog world." Bewick accompanied his commentary with an engraving that represented the breed as black and white later to be known as a Landseer.

The dog is mentioned frequently in the journals, including Lewis's praise of the "sagacity" of Seaman, but nowhere in any of the explorers' original manuscript journals is the color of Lewis' dog given. Nevertheless, the scholarly and fictional post-expedition literature alike mention the dog unequivocally as "black." It is uncertain when today's preferred solid colors of Newfoundlands were developed.[30]

Seaman had many adventures on the journey showing his prowess as a hunter in spite of the torments he received from the insects. The mosquitoes alone on the Missouri River were legendary at that time. Huge clouds of them would actually block the sun. That is an awful lot of mosquitoes. While they no longer number in the multitudes that are historically described, even today the river's insect population is impressive.

Lewis and Clark both make mention of Seaman throughout their journals, writing of his hunting skills and praising him for his guarding abilities (especially against grizzly bears). The trip could not have been easy for Seaman, as the big heavily-furred dog suffered from overheating and the torments of a variety of biting insects. Still, he managed to keep up with the expedition for its entire round-trip journey! The Native Americans encountered by the expedition were fascinated by Seaman, having never seen a dog like him before, and constantly offered Lewis valuable trade items in exchange for the dog. Lewis always refused those offers.

Adult Newfoundland dog
<http://www.wauka zoo,esmartkid.com/LCSheets/Seaman.htm>
4-17-2007

The last entry in Lewis journal regarding Seaman was written on July 15, 1806. No one is certain what happened to Seaman after that,

but an interesting clue has been found in a book published in 1814 by educator Timothy Alden. Alden writes that he visited a museum in Alexandria, Virginia, and while there he viewed a dog collar that read:

> The greatest traveler of my species. My name is SEAMAN, the dog of captain Meriwether Lewis, whom I accompanied to the Pacifick ocean through the interior of the continent of North America.[31]

For a long time, this popular dog was referred to as "Scannon" until a research historian was able to correctly decipher the handwriting of the journals and connected it to the naming of a geographical feature.

> In 1916, the dog's name, Seaman, through historian error in deciphering the journalists' poorly formed words in their longhand manuscript journals, resulted in the popular but erroneous name, Scannon. It was not until 1987 when the late Donald Jackson, a leading research historian, published his documentary findings in his **Among the Sleeping Giants** that the dog's name was proved rightly to be Seaman. This matter is treated in detail under Captain Lewis's journal entry for July 5, 1806, below.
>
> In discovering this spelling the dog's name, Dr. Jackson, commenting in his book. **Among the Sleeping Giants**, wrote: "No person named Seaman is known to have been associated with the lives of either captain, and as a common term the word seems strangely nautical in view of its location. When it became necessary for Lewis and Clark to name a creek, river, or other geographical feature, they were predictably direct and simple in their choices. . . . They usually went straight to the heart of the matter and chose a sound, reasonable name for the simplest of reasons: to commemorate a member of sponsor of the expedition."
>
> "It occurred to me that the name might be a garbled version of Scannon's Creek, in honor of the faithful god. The dog had been with Lewis on that side trip, and no geographical feature had yet been named for him during the entire expedition. I consulted microcopies of the journals held by the American Philosophical Society, half suspecting I would find that Seaman's Creek was actually Scannon's Creek. What I learned instead was mildly startling. The stream was named Seaman's Creek because the dog's name was Seaman." Today, the stream is named Monture Creek.
>
> Proceeding on to the Great Falls, Lewis remarked on July 7, "Reubin Fields wounded a moos deer this morning near our camp. my dog much worried." On July 15, Lewis recorded the last words to be found in the journals concerning Seaman. "[T]he musquetoes[sic] continue to infest us in such manner that we can scarcely exist; for my own part I am confined by them to my bier at least 3/4th of the time. My dog even howls with the torture he experiences from them." It is unclear whether Seaman traveled the last leg of the journey down the Missouri River to St. Louis. No post-expedition primary documentation has been found linking a Newfoundland dog to the exploring enterprise.[32]

Bellevue
From a painting by Karl Bodmer, Maximilian's Travels. John E. Sunder, **Joshua Pilcher, Fur Trader and Indian Agent**, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1968, insert before p. 117

So no one really knows what happened to the dog. Considering that the expedition ate 200 dogs by their reckoning, it is not totally out of the question that Seaman also fell to this fate. Given the fascination that the various Indian nations along the way had with this unusual dog it is also likely that Seaman ended up in an Indian camp. As to his fate in an Indian camp, he may well have been eaten.

While Timothy Alden may well have seen the collar he described in the museum he noted, there is no evidence that such a collar was ever around Seaman's neck. Given the times the collar was said to exist, there is an equal chance that someone made it up like the first name of York.

Cruzatte and La Biche

The Corps of Discovery hired two Umo^{n}ho^{n}/French guides to help them: Pierre Cruzatte and François La Biche. Born of Umo^{n}ho^{n} mothers and French trapper fathers, the two men had the skills of multiple languages, navigating the Missouri river, tracking and living off of the land — all of which were key to the success of the proposed venture.

There may have been other Umo^{n}ho^{n} known as "voyagers" to the French, traveling along this historic journey. At least nine of whom have only recently been researched by name, and all acknowledged as of mixed lineage. However, Cruzatte and La Biche were hired specifically by the expedition, and their names were officially recorded at the time.

While not much is known about these two Umo^{n}ho^{n}/French guides, some things can be understood about their backgrounds, given the customs of the day. It is reasonable to presume that Cruzatte and La Biche were raised among the people of their respective mothers: the Umo^{n}ho^{n}. Most traders who married native women gave the child rearing responsibility to the mothers and their relatives so they could be free to pursue their trade.

Umo^{n}ho^{n} women preferred to stay with their tribe both for protection and resources. The extended family and clan nurturing patterns of Umo^{n}ho^{n} society were designed for survival on the plains, and were a far superior way of life compared to the nuclear family concept of the invading Euro-American culture. history is full of examples of Euro-American trappers "going native" as a survival tactic, especially when women and children involved.

Nothing definitive can be found regarding either the backgrounds or ancestral lines of Cruzatte and La Biche's French fathers, indeed, they may have not even been French but Spanish or a mixture of the two as well as Umo^{n}ho^{n}. America's

melting pot had an early start in all directions. There are indications that Cruzatte may have been descended from an old line fur trapper family in St. Louis. It is reasonable to assume that some European fathers took an active interest in their Indian children in those days. It is true with later documented Umo^{n}ho^{n} male children born of part French lineage in the years prior to the Reservation (both Joseph La Flesche and Logan Fontenelle, for instance). Such practices produced bicultural children fluent in many languages, learned both at home and while accompanying their fathers along the fur trade routes. After all, the Umo^{n}ho^{n} had been dealing with the French for 150 years before Lewis and Clark came upstream.

Pierre Cruzatte [Curat, Crusatte, Crouzatt, Croisette][33] enlisted with Lewis and Clark on May 16, 1804 at St. Charles, Missouri. Before enlisting, Cruzatte had been a trader upon the Missouri for the Chou-Chouteau fur interests.[34] He was apparently a small man who had but one eye and was nearsighted in it. He was an expert boatman and knew the Missouri well. He played the fiddle, which entertained not only the expedition but also the Native Americans along the way. Cruzatte would play and the men would dance, often with the accompaniment of a "Tambereen[sic] & a Sounden[sic] Horn" (tin with a brass reed).[35]

François (William) La Biche [La Buche, La Beiche, La Buish] joined the Corps of Discovery on November 28, 1803 at Kaskaskia, Illinois. La Biche may have been a nickname meaning "doe" or in another spelling, La Buche, "log," with his real family name being Milhomme.[36] He seemed to be used primarily for his woodsman skills and secondarily as a boatman often assisting Cruzatte. La Biche's proficiency at languages allowed him to translate English into French for Charbonneau, who then would translate it into Hidatsa for Sacajawea, who finally translated it into Shoshoni during their time with her home tribe.[37] After the expedition, La Biche along with John Ordway was put in charge of transporting the scientific evidence to Washington D. C.[38]

Cruzatte and La Biche: Multiple Languages

Cruzatte is said to have been linguistically proficient in at least three spoken languages: Umo^{n}ho^{n}, French and English, in addition to speaking "a little Sioux"[39] and thus by definition, skilled as an interpreter in communicating cross culturally. He probably was also proficient at Native Sign Language. According to Steven E. Ambrose in his book,

Interior of the trading post at Bellevue, 1852
Heinrich B. Möllhausen, Nebraska State Historical Society. John E. Sunder, **Joshua Pilcher, Fur Trader and Indian Agent**, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1968, insert after p. 132

Undaunted Courage,[40] La Biche actually knew "several Indian languages." La Biche spoke Umoⁿhoⁿ, French, English and several lower Missouri native languages, which may have been those of the five cognate tribes of which the Umoⁿhoⁿ belong or others. He also may have been proficient at Native Sign Language, although information here is sparse. La Biche is mentioned as an interpreter, and it is could be assumed that he would assist Cruzatte or called upon from time to time by Lewis and Clark. The official roster lists them both as interpreters. Cruzatte is mentioned more than La Biche due to his entertaining musical abilities. It is conceivable that they both would know Missouri, Otoe, Pawnee and Cheyenne River Sioux since they all were close friends of the Umoⁿhoⁿ traveling from the Mound country in Kentucky/Indiana/Ohio to Iowa and across the Missouri together. These same nations shared hunting grounds across Nebraska and parts of Kansas.

Native Sign Language would have been a very important component in the expedition's success. Most nations spoke totally different languages. Sign Language would be the common denominator among the nations at that time. Cruzatte and La Biche would probably converse in Umoⁿhoⁿ between themselves. Among the rest of the crew they probably used French — the language of the traders, and reserving English for the Captains. They encountered a wealth of native languages on their trip but history only records French, English and a little Sioux. The omission of the native languages spoken was for its time simply another way of downgrading Native American culture, implying that the only languages considered important enough to document was European.

The Otoe nation and Missouri did not speak the same languages so unless the leaders of both these tribes spoke English at a functional level, both Cruzatte and La Biche would have served as excellent interpreters at the initial meeting with the Otoe and Missouri.

Cruzatte and La Biche: Umoⁿhoⁿ Background

Assuming the probability of a conventional Umoⁿhoⁿ upbringing, Cruzatte and La Biche would have been taught under traditional Umoⁿhoⁿ culture. The social organization of the Umoⁿhoⁿ then, as today, is that of clan kinship. Historically there were ten such clans comprising the divisions of Hoⁿgashenu: Earth People and Iⁿshta'cuⁿda: Sky People, forming a wholeness of the Hu'thuga: tribal circle. Much of which has been written by historic scholars — Reverend James Owen Dorsey, Umoⁿhoⁿ Tribal member and anthropologist Francis La Flesche, ethnographers Alice C. Fletcher, and R. F. Fortune — records the Umoⁿhoⁿ kinship system. While each of these writers offer varying emphasis on the kinship system itself, they all identify the Umoⁿhoⁿ as being organized as a patriarchy.

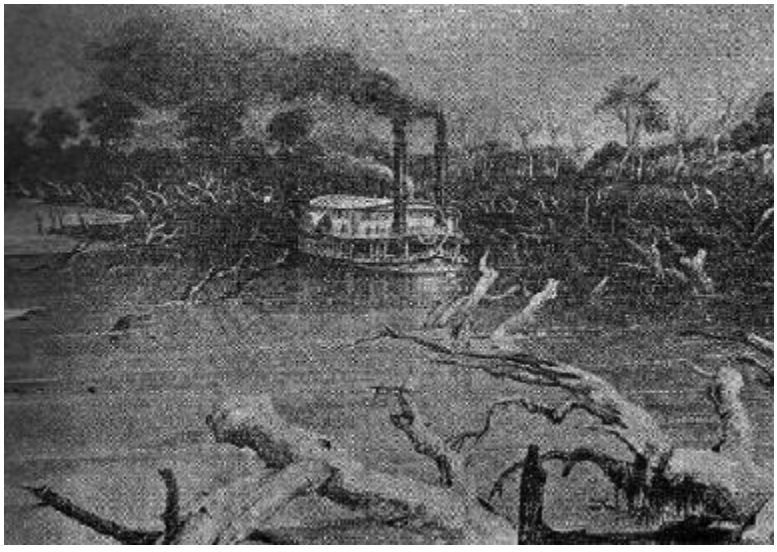
This is questionable. The Euro-American skewed the Umoⁿhoⁿ concepts by refusing to deal officially with women and negotiating exclusively with the males of the nation. The Umoⁿhoⁿ like many Native Americans practiced gender equality by respecting the value of both roles within their society. The Euro-American system of

ownership which carefully categorized the distribution of all property at the death of the Patriarch, assumed that the same rules applied for all humans. The Native American had different concepts of ownership and distribution/burial rites. Patriarchy and Matriarchy are Euro-American terms that do not include egalitarian people who shared what they had with all.

Cruzatte and La Biche were French/Umo^{n}ho^{n} Métis. Their Umo^{n}ho^{n} blood came from their mothers, they would have been clanless unless they were adopted into a specific clan. That would have been rare and more than likely they were clanless. This would not make them outcasts within the Umo^{n}ho^{n}, they would have simply been clanless, the same as if their fathers were from another nation. Early education was the responsibility of their mothers' nearest male relative: an uncle, an older male cousin or grandfather. Traditionally Native Americans were known for adopting outside of their ancestral structures, and such people became, for all intents and purposes, a full member of the adopting tribe.

When they grew older, both men would have accompanied the tribe on its annual summer buffalo hunts, the most important single outing of the tribe. As young warriors their youth and strength would have been valuable to their people during this strenuous and exhausting enterprise. Cruzatte and La Biche would have been expected to contribute towards their mother and her family's survival as a part of the traditional male role. This educational practice would have given them the knowledge and experience as to who was who upon the high plains, living off of the prairie and who was either friend or foe of their people, as well as data about the nature of rivers, since the Umo^{n}ho^{n} were close followers of the Missouri itself along with the prairie, which is crisscrossed with many smaller rivers.

The two young men would have joined their fathers in the fur trading business. This would have expanded their contacts and territories. Then on their own they signed on various enterprises over time including the Corps of Discovery. Both were active during the years of the fur trade which was the major industry of the day. At this point in time, the fur trade industry on the High Plains was conducted by the French with the Umo^{n}ho^{n} in control of the Missouri River.



Snags on the Missouri River, etching
Nebraska State Historical Society

History does not record when the two men actually met. Chances are that they knew each other as they were growing up and renewed the friendship during their fur trading days. They may have done trapping and trading together from time to time. La Biche may have encouraged Cruzatte to join the expedition.

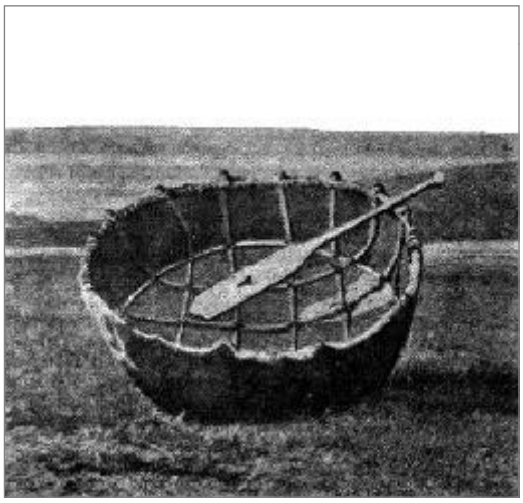
The Journey: The River

In the many recorded journals of the expedition it is mentioned that Cruzatte was an excellent navigator, boatman and water man, who often averted accidents on the Missouri River by avoiding hidden sandbars and other obstacles offered by the wild Missouri while traveling upstream. La Biche was been a good boatman as well. For this reason alone it can be assumed that both men grew up along the Missouri River, learning its pathway as a normal part of an Umo^{n}ho^{n} education.

In the present time, it is but a long day's drive from St. Louis to the Umo^{n}ho^{n} Reservation, located in the northeastern part of Nebraska. In 1804 it took nearly eleven weeks for the Corps of Discovery to arrive at what is described as "approximately 15 miles north of Omaha" for that first meeting with the Otoe and Missouri tribes. As their highway was the Missouri River, in addition to traveling upstream, the trip was long and arduous. In those times, the "Mighty Mo" was one of the world's most formidable rivers, a meandering, five-mile wide "first channel" amid a twenty-mile flood plain that stretched between the Loess Hills of Iowa and the famed Bluffs along the Nebraska border. A fast-flowing river even today, at the time the river was constantly forming ox-bows and flooding with ease while ever changing its course. Its destructive capabilities regularly cast great trees into its waters, its current undercutting against the land. These trees would rush downstream, snagging on sandbars and submerging in the tangled brush that grew along the shoreline. Such debris became dangerous spears reaching underwater to puncture boats as the swift currents and undertows dragged unsuspecting crafts directly into their lairs.

When it is mentioned in the journals that Cruzatte could almost "miraculously" avoid such shifting sandbars in the Missouri and other rivers on the journey, it should be historically noted in the interpretive annotated editions that suchknowledge and skills came from his mother's people, the Umo^{n}ho^{n}. Going "against the current" is not an appellate

used loosely when referring to the people of that name. Despite being considered a Plains Indian tribe, the Umo^{n}ho^{n} were equally experienced at navigating the river both up and down stream and all its tributaries, using round bull-boats made of skin.[41] Cruzatte and La Biche often worked together and would be placed in charge of the expedition's vessels by Lewis and Clark.



Umo^{n}ho^{n} Bull boat
National Archives

Cruzatte worked as bowman on the keep boat because of his ability to spot the slack water eddies that would help move the boat upstream. Once, Charbonneau froze at the helm during a sudden squall which threatened to capsize the boat instead of putting "her before the wind,"

causing the boat to dangerously keelover to one side. Cruzatte saved the situation and the Corps' written records by threatening to shoot Charbonneau if he didn't take the helm and turn the boat properly.[42]

As for La Biche, according to Ambrose's **Undaunted Courage**,[43] he was always among smaller scouting parties made up of at least four company members. Ambrose also reports that La Biche was part of the search party that looked for and returned the known deserter, Private Moses B. Reed (Read), back in 1805. Being included in this manner shows La Biche's professional tracking and keen ability to read the land was an often used skill. La Biche was regularly chosen to be a part of these small excursions, proving his expertise as a skilled tracker. The competence both men demonstrated later on in their abilities to live off both the land and waters would have been a part of their early education among the Umo^{n}ho^{n}.

If the expedition were to be successful, such a major undertaking by the "new owners of the land" had to have skilled and proficient guides. Success in those days was measured in basic terms of going and coming back alive. This was, after all, land that had been inhabited for untold centuries to nations who used the land in a collective manner and whose occupational territories were well known among each other. In the minds of President Jefferson and the future Euro-American explorers as well, the country was filled with "warring and hostile" Indians. Success rested upon finding individuals who were not only willing to go but also possessed knowledge and proficiency about the "unexplored new American" lands and the people who really owned them. Cruzatte and La Biche were a very wise choice.

The Journey: Umo^{n}ho^{n} Camp

> Located along the Missouri River in northeastern Nebraska near the present town of Homer, the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] village To^{n}wato^{n}ga, or Big Village, flourished during the turn of the nineteenth century due to its pivotal role in monitoring and actively participating in the Euro-American fur trade. For approximately sixty years from the late 1700's to early 1800's, the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] functioned as negotiators between French, Spanish and later English traders and other Native American tribes, controlling the exchange of goods and, in particular, weaponry. Indeed, Lewis and Clark made frequent mention of the involvement of the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] in this industry not only as negotiators but also as suppliers.[44]

Traveling upstream, the Corps intended to meet with the Umo^{n}ho^{n}, a major tribe in the area. Lewis and Clark reports the tribe was not at home except for a few tribal members. Arriving at the Umo^{n}ho^{n} village at this time of year, in August, and finding the village deserted meant that the nation was still on their annual buffalo hunt.

> The inhabitants occupy their village not longer than five months in a year. In April they arrive from their hunting excursions, and in the month of May they attend to their horticulture, and plant maize, beans, pumpkin, and wa-

termelons; they cultivate no other vegetable. They also, at this season, dress the bison skins, which have been procured during the winter hunt, for the traders, who generally appear for the purpose of obtaining them. The young men, in the mean time, are employed in hunting within the distance of seventy or eighty miles around, for beaver, otter, deer, muskrat, elk, etc.

When the trading and planting occupations of the people are terminated, and provisions begin to fail them, which occurs generally in June, the [leaders] assemble a council for the purpose of deliberating upon the further arrangements necessary to be made. . . . The day assigned for their departure having arrived, the [women] load their horses and dogs, and take as great a weight upon their own backs, as they can conveniently transport, and, after having closed the entrances to their several habitations. . .the whole nation departs from the village. . . . On the return of the nation, which is generally early in September, a different kind of employment awaits the ever industrious [women]. The property buried in the earth is to be taken up and arranged in the lodges, which are cleaned out, and put in order. The weeds. . .are cut down and removed. A sufficient quantity of sweet corn is next to be prepared, for present and future use. . . they would content themselves in their village until the latter part of October, when. . .they again depart from the village, and move in separate parties to various situations on both sides of the Missouri, and its tributaries, as far down as the Platte. Their primary object at this time, is to obtain, on credit from the traders, various articles, indispensably necessary to their fall, winter, and spring hunts: such as guns particularly those of Mackinaw, powder, ball, and flints, beaver traps, brass, tin, and camp-kettles, knives, hoes, [women]-axes and tomahawks. Having obtained these implements, they go in pursuit of deer, or apply themselves to trapping for beaver and otter. . . . This hunt continues until towards the close of December. . . .

Bald Eagle,
Coffey, OTHRP Archives

The skins secured during the late autumn hunt would be carried to the traders and left as payment for the goods previously obtained on credit, and also given in exchange for blankets, wampum, and various other articles. Thence they would return to their permanent village in order to procure a supply of maize from their places of concealment, after which they continue their journey, in pursuit of bison. . . . This expedition continues until the month of April, when they return to their village as before stated, loaded with provisions. It is during this expedition that they procure all the skins, of which the bison robes of commerce are made; the animals of this season having their perfect winter

Frontier alcohol as it was served in the 19th century
OTHRP Archives

dress. the hair and wool of which are long and dense.[45]

The few tribal members left behind would have been anyone who was not physically able to make the arduous trip of the hunt, including the elderly, the very young, and possibly pregnant women close to term along with a few warriors to provide any necessary protection. Cruzatte and La Biche would have known why the village was virtually empty. They made the stop anyway, perhaps in hopes of seeing friends or relatives among those remaining home, and to get news of the tribe. They would have left word among those remaining as to how and why they were stopping. Lewis and Clark saw it as a comfortable stay at an established village that was a respite from the hardship of river travel and temporary camps, as well as a chance at learning what they might expect ahead of them. It also avoided direct dialog with the leaders of the Umo^{n}ho^{n} whose reputation for shrewdness and negotiating skills were well known.

The Journey: Gifts of Alcohol

As to what kind of expedition Lewis and Clark were bringing up the Missouri, one would have to look at what they brought with them. Alcohol was a major gift traditionally given out by white men during their treaty negotiations. Indeed, alcohol historically was given out by the Euro-American culture as part payment of military wages, and was a customary part of military supplies on the American frontier, as well as in Europe.

While alcohol was not unknown to the Indian nations that dealt with fur traders during this period, one wonders if they had experience it in as great a quantity as Lewis and Clark generously gave. Did Lewis and Clark know what destruction they were passing out with the alcohol? Was it a deliberate tactic to give an edge to their negotiations? With all probability the answer to both those questions is yes.

Not all tribes appreciated the free alcohol. The Arikara were definitely not thrilled with such a gift:

"Those Indians are not fond of Spirits Licquer[sic] of any kind." — William Clark.[46]

The Journey: Teton Sioux

What history has left for tantalizing speculation was the reaction of Cruzatte and La Biche to the Teton Sioux when they discovered 25 members of the Umo^{n}ho^{n} Tribe [women and boys][47] were being held in captivity at this camp as the Corps of Discovery came upon them in September, 1804. There were apparently more Umo^{n}ho^{n} captives being held elsewhere, bringing the total up to 48.

The number of Indians at this lodge of the Teton Tribe is between 2 & 300

Lewis and Clark left no record as to what happened to the Umo^{n}ho^{n} prisoners, however there is an Indian record made in **Cloud-Shield's Winter Count**.

Pictograph: The Umo^{n}ho^{n} came and made peace to get their People whom the Dakotas held as prisoners — Cloud-Shield's Winter Count, 1804-1805. The attitudes and expressions are unusually artistic. The uniting line may only intensify the idea of a treaty resulting in peace, but perhaps recognizes the fact that the Umo^{n}ho^{n} [on the left] and Dakota belong to the same Siouan stock. The marks on the Umo^{n}ho^{n} are not tribal, but refer to the prisoners — the marks of their bonds. OTHRP Archives.

> they had lately at war with the Mahars[sic] [Umo^{n}ho^{n}]. [W]e have Sixtyfive of the Sculps[sic] and 25 prisonrs[sic] [Women] of the Mahars[sic] nation which they had with them. [T]hey told us that they had 23 [Women] prisoners more at a lodge above this. — John Ordway[48]

These were people had to have been known to the two interpreter/boatmen. Some may have been relatives. While understandably the small command was so outnumbered by the Teton that any attempts at rescue at that time would have been suicidal, still there was an attempt by Meriwether Lewis to extract a promise that the prisoners would be returned. This was done by Lewis to enforce the idea of a peaceful solution to problems, a policy that was part of the prescribed litany Lewis and Clark were promoting to the tribal chiefs rather than an empathetic move on behalf of the prisoners. Lewis and Clark found the camp in a high state of agitation and then plied it with alcohol, only to discover that they might not be allowed to leave, it was in their own self-interest they were promoting peace.

> About 15 days ago they had had a battle with the Mahas[sic], of whom they killed 75 men and took 25 women prisoners, whom they have now with them. They promised Capt. Lewis that they would send the prisoners back and make peace. — Patrick Gass[49]

One can only wonder how Cruzatte and La Biche reacted privately to the situation. Did they know that the captives were there before they came to the Teton camp? What was it like to live at the Teton Camp knowing the captives were there?

> . . .Indians made preparations for a dance. . . . Their band of musick[sic], or orchestra, was composed of about twelve persons beating on a buffaloe hide, and shaking small bags that made a rattling noise. They had a large fire in the centre of their camp; on one side the women, about 80 in number, formed in a solid column round the fire, with sticks in their hands, and the scalps of the Mahas[sic] they had killed tied on them. They kept moving, or jumping round the fire, rising and falling on both feet at once, keeping a continual noise, singing and yelling. In this manner they continued till 1 o'clock at night, when we returned to the boat. . . .
>
> — Patrick Gass[50]

Under the circumstances Cruzatte and La Biche had to have felt divided loyalties in spite of their obvious professionalism. Did they agree to carry messages to loved ones? Did they worry about being taken captives themselves? Did they come back to the Umo^{n}ho^{n} nation after the expedition ended to make sure that the release of the captives they knew were there had indeed occurred? Did Lewis and Clark check on the fate of the Umo^{n}ho^{n} prisoners after they returned home? Cruzatte is on record as having talked to some of the captive Umo^{n}ho^{n} women, who told him of the Teton Sioux plans to stop Lewis and Clark from crossing the Cheyenne River.

The confrontation with the Teton Sioux had was a very tense situation, ending with the Teton holding onto the rope of the expedition's boats. They were coaxed and bribed with "carrit of tobacco"[51] to let go in the hopes of doing so without bloodshed. The expedition was lucky, the Teton did let go and the expedition continued. Nothing is clearly stated about Cruzatte's or La Biche's role in the encounter, but both are given credit for negotiation the situation. One wonders if the lavish use of alcohol set up the Corps' reception at the Teton Sioux camp.

> . . .we gave them 1/4 a glass of whiskey which they appeared to be verry [sic] fond of. sucked the bottle after it was out & Soon began to be troublesome, one of the 2d [Leaders] assumeing[sic]. Drunkness, as a Cloake[sic] for his rascally intentions. . . — William Clark[52]

> Then the Captains told them that we had a great ways to goe[sic] & that we did not wish to be detained any longer. [T]hey then began to act as if they were Intoxicated. — John Ordway[53]

> Drinking alcohol was not limited to the Indians. As was the fashion of the day, it was used as a reward for soldiers as well: ". . .refresh the men with a glass of whisky after Brackfast[sic].” — William Clark.[54]

Drunken behavior certainly played a role in the difficulty. While one can only speculate upon the effects of the use of alcohol upon the relationships established historically with the Indians, one cannot overlook the ramifications of its deliberate use.

We mean no disrespect to the descendants of the Teton Sioux who participated in the raid on the Umo^{n}ho^{n}. They should not feel bad for what their ancestors did. none of us are personably responsible for the actions of our ancestors. We do feel, however, that this was a major part of the Lewis and Clark story and should be told for what happened.

The Journey: Cruzatte shoots Lewis

Life upon the journey was not without its perils, even within the company. On August 11, 1806 Meriwether Lewis was shot in the upper thigh or buttocks by Cruzatte while on a hunting expedition. Officially, Cruzatte, who was noted for having poor eyesight, had mistaken him for an elk. At first Lewis thought they were under attack by hostile Indians — Blackfeet — but later Cruzatte owned up to it after no warring Indians were found, and the shot compared with the guns in

Elk National Wildlife Magazine

the company's employ matched his. Elk are not small animals. They weigh, on the average, between 500 and 1,000 pounds standing in at around 4 to 5 feet tall at the shoulder.[55] They are closer to a moose in size rather than a deer.

The authors of this book have been unable to find a single hunter who takes the story of mistaking a man for an elk seriously. All greet the tale with whoops of laughter and then when they finally recover, they will shake their heads and reply that no way would this be possible among experienced hunters. This incident as reported raises a few questions. For one, if Cruzatte had such poor eyesight, how did he manage to steer boats up the treacherous Missouri, being able to see sandbars and eddies that others could not? How could he have tracked animals as a fur trader if he had such difficulty identifying an elk? If it were a simple, innocent mistake, why did Cruzatte keep quiet until the evidence forced him to admit the truth?

Given Lewis' spoken beliefs that Indians were "subhuman," one could speculate that Cruzatte may have simply had enough of Lewis aristocratic attitude and gave in to a temptation, historically a common reaction that seasoned ground troops of the European and American military have resorted to when faced with an incompetent or overbearing leader.

Since the injury was not fatal, perhaps Cruzatte was only teaching Lewis a well deserved lesson in manners when invading Indian turf. This happened near the end of the journey. Cruzatte would have had ample opportunity to have observed Lewis in the woods. We are slow to believe that a man who was skilled at fur trading as a livelihood would mistake a human for an elk. This incident may have cost Cruzatte Lewis' own recommendation for him in the letter requesting pay for Corps members.[56] If it were simply an accident, why the economic penalty?

Sex Lives of the Corps of Discovery

Lewis and Clark may not have been prepared for many of the events that took place on their historic journey, but apparently they were quite prepared for the meeting and consorting with the members of the opposite sex. The expedition brought along penis syringes, for treating venereal disease, which occurred often, and also salves and mercury. One encounter was recorded by Clark in November 1805.

> An old woman and wife to a chief of the Chinooks came and made a camp near ours. She brought with her six young [women], I believe for the purpose of gratifying the passions of the men of our party. Those people appear to view sensuality as a necessary evil, and do not appear to abhor it as a crime in the unmarried state.[57]

Brad Tennant, history professor at Presentation College, Aberdeen, South Dakota, says the spiritual beliefs of the Arikaras and Mandans gave the explorers a chance for some intercultural relations.

> If a person had intercourse with a woman, then that woman had intercourse with her husband, then the power from one person to the next would be transferred to pass on that ability to be good providers and here you have this new group of people who are seen as being very special, as having "big medicine."

More sexual encounters happened with the Shoshoni, who became resentful if their women were rejected. In the Pacific Northwest, the Clatsop and Chinook Indians used sex for trade, to the point where Lewis warned his men against running out of provisions.

But the Corps of Discovery's unofficial explorations may have left a few legacies along the trail, too. In a cemetery on the Lower Brule Sioux Reservations of South Dakota, Sheldon Fletcher reads his great great-great grandfather's marker: "Joseph Lewis De Smet, born 1805, died 1889, son of Meriwether Lewis of the famed Lewis and Clark expedition." Mr. Fletcher says while meeting with the Teton Sioux Indians near the Bad River in 1804, Lewis may have accidentally put himself into a marriage with an Indian woman named Winona. He says a language barrier and the willingness to make peace with the tribe probably led to the arrangement. Yet the explorer's journals say while the Teton Sioux offered women as hospitality, their offers were rejected, twice.

The Center for Western Studies in Sioux Falls' researcher Harry Thompson unfolds a musty registry that reinforces the claim, "June 18, 1872. Joseph De Somet Lewis, baptized at Yankton Agency at age 68. His parents are listed as Captain Meriwether Lewis of the Lewis and Clark expedition, mother given as Winona. Signed by officiating priest, Joseph Cook.

Daytime Smoker
Nez Perce
National Historical Park

At least one tribe used sex to create a more permanent alliance with the expedition. Otis Halfmoon of the Nez Perce was. William Clark fathered a reddish-haired, blue eyed child with a chief's daughter in 1806. "They called him Daytime Smoker, he used to brag around, 'Me son of Clark, me, Clark." Mr. Halfmoon says Daytime Smoker was seen by the tribe as evidence of peace with the tribe and the Americans, but ironically he died as a prisoner of the U. S. government after the Nez Perce War of 1877.

The question of Clark's unusual interest in Sacajawea's son born on the journey also gives rise

to speculation as to whether he was the actual father of Batiste. Sex was so rampant among the Corps that concern was raised as to how much of the essential food stock was being used to barter for sex rather than being conserved for the future of the Corps travels.[58]

The desire for sex may have been one of the reasons that the Expedition ran short of supplies during critical times in the Rocky Mountains.[59]

This free sexual practice played havoc among the Indian nations that often took wives outside of their nation to bring fresh bloodlines into their villages. One could find themselves courting a relative instead of a stranger in any of the camps the Corps of Discovery stayed at during their journey.

Prairie Dogs

It is noted within the journals of the sighting of prairie dogs, or le petit chien: little dogs as the French named them. This unique rodent found only on the North American prairies was documented by Lewis and Clark, a first in recorded history.

> . . .discovered a Village of Small animals that burrow in the grown[sic] [ground]. . . . Killed one and Caught one a live by poreing[sic] a great quantity of Water in his hole we attempted to dig to the beds of one of those animals.
>
> . . .Contains a great numbers of holes on top of which those little animals Set erect make a Whistleing[sic] noise and whin[sic] alarmed Step into their hole.— William Clark[60]

Lewis and Clark were fascinated with the small rodent. They couldn't believe the numbers of prairie dogs they were seeing or the daily lifestyle of this small mammal.

> Shields killed a prairie dog, which was cooked for the Capts dinner. [T]he Captains went out with Some men of the party to See the Ground where those little dogs make their village & they found more than a acre of Ground covered with their holes, they attempted to drown Several of them out of their holes, but they caught but one which they brought in alive, they are a curious animal about the Size of a little dog, & of a grayish coulour[sic] resembles them nearly except the tail which is like a Ground Squirrel. [T]hey will Stand on their hind feet & look. . . . —John Ordway[61]

Sketch of Prairie dogs in traditional greeting
Coffey, OTHRP Archives

Lewis and Clark approached both Native Americans and prairie dogs in the same fashion. Their attitude towards the culture and society of native nations came from the Vati-

can's Papal Bull of 1493 and gave birth to the erroneous concept of "Manifest Destiny" which was loosely translated as the right to a possessive dominion of lands and all that is related to it. This concept breeds accumulation for greed's sake rather than even a recognition, let alone acknowledgment of the true stewards of the continent, who viewed the earth and all that is related to it as an integral part of life's existence, and thereby a living, sacred being.

Sketch of Bison
with Prairie Dog
on the Great Plains
Coffey, OTHRP Archives

Lewis and Clark's ignorance of the plains' ecosystem caused them to undervalue the purpose of the prairie dog as well. For those that study the ecology of the high plains, it soon becomes apparent that this small rodent is a keystone species for prairie life. Their services include not only providing homes for countless other animals, aeration of the soil and planting seeds, but also in cutting down of grasses around their towns, which actually causes far more nutritious plants to grow in their place. This last habitual practice attracted the bison to the prairie dog burrows, which the bison used as a dirt bath to clean their rough hides of all the debris picked up in their wanderings across the grasslands. Those dust baths deposited all manners of eatable seeds at the doorsteps of the prairie dog, establishing a symbiotic relationship between these two animals remarkable in both its simplicity and importance.

Like the prairie dogs, the Native Americans also had formed a relationship with the bison and this systemic relationship was likewise integrated into the ecosystem of the Great Plains. How much more significant it would have been if Lewis and Clark had tried to understand what they experienced instead of merely recording it through prejudiced eyes for mindless supremacy. Perhaps then, they would have understood who the true owners of the prairie were, both human and rodent and the grandeur of the steppe would have remained instead of blowing away in man-made dust storms in less than three generations, leaving hard packed clay behind — the end result of alien and ultimately unsuitable European farming practices transposed upon the high plains ecosystem.

Aftermath

Clark went on to a lucrative political career, but Lewis died under mysterious circumstances three years later. Was it murder or suicide? Given the multiple wounds, the dangerous area in which it occurred and the fact that Lewis had a bag of gold with him; it would seem more likely to have been murder. The Smithsonian describes the scene below:

> Yet even now, precious little is known about the events of October 10, 1809, after Lewis — armed with several pistols, a rifle and a tomahawk — stopped at a log cabin lodging house known as Grinder’s Stand.
>
> He and Clark had finished their expedition three years earlier; Lewis, who

was by then a governor of the large swath of land that constituted the Upper Louisiana Territory, was on his way to Washington, D.C. to settle financial matters. By some accounts, Lewis arrived at the inn with servants; by others, he arrived alone. That night, Mrs. Grinder, the innkeeper's wife, heard several shots. She later said she saw a wounded Lewis crawling around, begging for water, but was too afraid to help him.

He died, apparently of bullet wounds to the head and abdomen, shortly before sunrise the next day. One of his traveling companions, who arrived later, buried him nearby.[62]

Summary

Crow, Coffey, OTHRP Archives

Lewis and Clark are celebrated by the dominant culture for their arduous journey through the wilderness. But it was not wilderness, it was the homeland of many and diverse nations. Imagine the hubris and audacity that allowed a small company of men sojourning through sovereign nations claiming ownership of their lands because they had bought it from a nation overseas that didn't own it in the first place, and then referring to the true owners of the land as "children."

Lewis and Clark never met with the Umo^{n}ho^{n} tribe but were merely content to touch base only with a few individuals. OTHRP has put together this presentation from the Umo^{n}ho^{n} perspective because the presence of Pierre Cruzatte and François La Biche was essential to the success of the expedition. It would be interesting to see how other Tribes along the famous trail feel about the "Corps of Discovery." Their stories of the Corps may well be far different than this one and still not agree with the Euro-American version. Certainly it would take away all the bias of culturally-dominate mythology, and present history with a more accurate and balanced tone for the enrichment of all peoples.

The story of Cruzatte or La Biche is a curious one for Native scholars. While the Umo^{n}ho^{n} have never gone to war against the Euro-American invasion of their lands, the role of those labeled Métis, or half-bloods, were not necessarily in the best interests of their Native full-blood brothers.

Much of what has been written about both Cruzatte and La Biche remains in the realm of speculation. What is known has been presented here with an understanding of Umo^{n}ho^{n} tribal cultural practices reflected around historical references. It is the cultural milieu that gives flesh and bone to an otherwise two-dimensional perspective of both Cruzatte and La Biche. Despite the Umo^{n}ho^{n} culture going through horrendous upheaval through smallpox, destruction of the buffalo, and the overall decimation of the peoples, the Umo^{n}ho^{n} have managed to endure. It is important to the Umo^{n}ho^{n} past and present to set the record as straight as possible. The brief mention of the two guides by Lewis and Clark does not give them proper credit for the significant contributions they made toward the

success of the Corps of Discovery incursion. It must be noted that the command officially named two rivers after these courageous men, while such honors did not last through Euro-American settlements, it is a matter of record that the Wind River was originally named Cruzatte, and the Hood River was originally named La Biche. Would the name changes have occurred if the names had honored Euro-Americans?

It was the tenor of the times that underplayed any Native American's role in such an undertaking; naturally given the nature of the racism and classism in those early decades all credit would be given only to Lewis and Clark, just as it was conventional in the mid to late 19th Century to canonize as female icons, the young beautiful heroines out of the women of history such as Sacajawea. There is little doubt that this brave, courageous woman deserves much of the credit she is due, but, as with Pocahontas, the mythologizing of singular Native American woman demeans the role of all Native American women, since in Native North American culture even a patriarchal society, which was not universal among Native tribes, did not distinguish gender differences based on artificial constructs such as is found in Euro-American culture. Sacajawea's role, as is presently told, is also a clear distortion of history, since the story of Cruzatte and La Biche is, in fact, a more accurate report on those significant aspects that are missing in today's popular culture around this historic event.

This is not intended to be a definitive piece upon Lewis and Clark. It was originally conceived as a vehicle to raise questions about certain aspects of the journey as it is told in today's media as well as acknowledging the true contributions of historic tribal members.

Nobody has a corner on truth but possibly we each have a segment of it. Perhaps if we stopped hitting each other over the head with our own small piece and started to put the pieces together, we might come up with a closer version of what truth can be. To our Teton relatives especially and all the rest of our readers, we say: **Ewithe Wo^{n}githe:** All my relatives.

LEWIS AND CLARK ENDNOTES

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Doug Bereuter, Nebraska

10 The Omaha name was later arbitrarily taken in a corrupted form for the city built by the pioneers at the joining of the Platte and Missouri Rivers. The actual word is Umo^{n}ho^{n} (M) Umo^{n}ha^{n} (F), depending upon the gender of the speaker, changed by Anglo historians into Omaha, earlier misspellings shortened and softened the word to Maha or bastardized it to Mahars.

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Typical Prairie Dog eradication kill
National Archives

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13. <http://www.lewis-clark.org/content/content-article.asp?ArticeIeD=1549> 3-30-2007 A special thank you goes to Áhati Nerasa Neru Touré whose work on York is a major part of our discussion. Touré is Yoruba and traces his ancestry to Ile Ife, the holy city of the Yoruba people, located in what is now Nigeria, West Africa. He was born and raised in New York City and upstate New York. Both his father's and his mother's grandfathers were enslaved in the southern United States. He is a doctoral student in history at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln. His research interest is the African experience in the United States, especially as it relates to 19th century and 20th century Pan African nationalist thought and movements.

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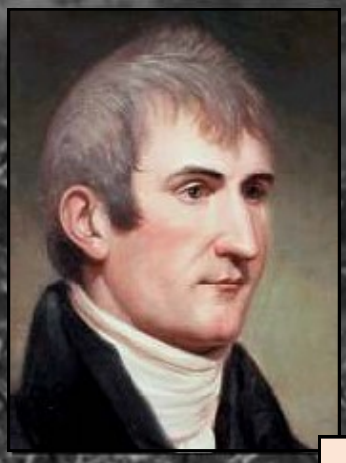
White Buffalo, Coffey, OTHRP Archives

Four Leaders



Clockwise:
Meriwether Lewis
He Who Knows
William Clark
Silas Wood
Smithsonian

Nishu'de Ke in Winter, Jeff Mohr, OTHRP Archives

Tamie Sawaged worked with OTHRP in the research of this document. Tamie Sawaged, "Is Archaeology enough? The big village site revisited. An exploration of the relationship between material culture and gender dynamics/N A Historic Mortuary Context." Master Thesis, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, August, 2001, unpublished. OTHRP Archives. Excerpts from Sawaged's Master Thesis follow:

Umo^{n}ho^{n} Life

Duties Assumed by Men and Women of all Ages

Home, Giffen & Tibbles, **Ibid.**, p. 90

Gendered activities detailed in the ethnographic record offer relevant insight into the responsibilities assumed by men and women of all ages at Big Village. Women's activities included tending to the hearth and home by constructing, caring for, and relocating tents, preparing food, manufacturing and decorating clothing and other items (i.e., carrying cases) from animal hides, and rearing children. Further, the gathering and processing of wild plants and, later, horticultural activities performed by women contributed substantially to the diet and overall survival of the tribe. To supplement wild plant collecting, women raised corn/maize, beans, squash, and melons on family plots, with men helping in the clearing of the ground for planting. Both men and women of all ages contributed to the annual hunt — only the very old and sick and their caregivers remained behind in the village — and, to facilitate travel, both men and women rode horses if owned. During the hunt, women often drove the pack ponies, set-up and dismantled camp, and processed meat and hides in addition to caring for children. Men were the primary procurers of large game, and young boys, sometimes aided by women, butchered the prey animals. In contradiction, Dorsey maintains that "women never aided in the carving" of animals during a hunt.

Decisions on camp locations fell to male leaders who often consulted women and addressed their needs in finding suitable sources of water, firewood, and medicinal and edible plants.

Primarily female occupations, food and hide preparation demanded extensive time and energy both prior to and following the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] involvement in the fur trade. Among the Plains tribes, most parts of the buffalo (and many other animals) could be transformed into useful, often vital products — "the buffalo was not only food, but his by-products, such as skin, bones, hair, horns, and sinew, were the chief materials for costume, tents, and utensils of all kinds." Indeed, for the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}], maize and buffalo achieved such importance that they "played an important part in the religious life of the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}], the cultivation and hunting of the two being controlled by stringent ritualistic demands and duties." Women cut and

dried animal meat, removed marrow from long bones, crushed large bones with stone axes and boiled them to skim grease for butter and lard, and boiled, scraped, and dried intestines for consumption. In addition, [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] women raised several varieties of corn, then boiling, roasting, and drying it to be eaten alone or mixed with beans, pumpkins, and/or dried meat or transforming it into hominy, mush, flat cakes, and dumplings. A wide variety of wild roots and tubers (potatoes, wild rice), fruits and berries, nuts, and pumpkins and watermelons supplemented this corn and meat reliant diet.

In addition, hide preparation, unquestionably an arduous task, at times dominated an [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] woman's life. The following description from Dorsey's "Omaha Sociology" details the hide preparation process and the use of hide-working tools:

> The hides were stretched and dried as soon as possible after they were taken from the animals. When a hide was stretched on the ground, pins were driven through holes along the border of the hide. These holes had been cut by a knife. While the hide was still green, the woman scraped it on the under side by pushing a *webajabe* over its surface, thus removing the superfluous flesh, etc. The *webajabe* was formed from the lower bone of an elk's leg, which had been made thin by scraping or striking. The lower end was sharpened by striking, having several teeth-like projections. . . .A *withe* was tied to the upper end and this was secured to arm of the woman just above the wrist. When the hide was dry the woman stretched it again on the ground, and proceeded to make it thinner and lighter by using another implement, called the *weubaja*, which she moved toward her after the manner of an adze. This instrument was formed from an elk horn, to the lower end of which was fastened a piece of iron (in recent times) called the *weu-hi*. When the hide was needed for a summer tent, leggings, or summer clothing of any sort, the *weubaja* was applied to the hairy side. When the hide was sufficiently smooth, grease was rubbed on it, and it was laid out of doors to dry in the sun. . . . When the hide had been dried in the sun, it was soaked by sinking it beneath the surface of any adjacent stream. This act lasted about two days. Then the hide was dried again and subjected to the final operation, which was intended to make it sufficiently soft and pliant. A twisted sinew, about as thick as one's finger. . .was fastened at each end to a post or tree, about 5 feet from the ground. The hide was put through this, and pulled back and forth. James Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," **Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology** to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1884, pp. 310-311

The advent of the fur trade necessarily increased work for women as the amount of meat to be dried and cured and the number of hides to be processed and tanned for consumer use rose dramatically. In addition to these

labor and time intensive activities, women bore primary responsibility for preparing meals, gathering firewood, embroidering and quill working, and, to a lesser extent, weaving. [La Flesche and Fletcher] contend that only women set up tents but both men and women contributed to the construction of earth lodges (men marked the site and cut logs while women cut and put on the sod), although Dorsey states that women alone undertook this task. It is clear, however, that the "central position of women in the construction and maintenance of the household provided the foundation for the entire tribe's welfare." The health and vitality of women, in particular, given their central role in the maintenance of the home and in food and clothing processing and preparation, profoundly impacted the survivorship and stability of the entire group.

Correspondingly, to meet the demands of the fur trade men devoted more time and energy to hunting to provide raw materials for women to shape into trade products. Prior to the adoption of metal objects, men also made all of their own weapons such as bows, arrows, and stone knives and projectile points, all of the stone implements used in the construction of weaponry like the ax and wedge to fell trees, and wooden articles like bowls, ladles, and mortars. Eventually, the [Umoⁿhoⁿ] increasingly, albeit not completely during the time of Big Village, relied on iron weapons and tools introduced by white traders. . . . Finally, men assumed primary responsibility for engaging in warfare, although women sometimes accompanied men on war parties to prepare food. In some cases, women actually participated in the battle or raid either to avenge the death of loved ones or in defense of their home camp. In contradiction, Alice Fletcher reported that "unless the village was attacked, women did not take active part in war." Older women in particular played a large role in the mutilation, scalping, and/or emasculation of dead enemies.

Marriage, Reproduction, and Child-Rearing

Generally, a young [Umoⁿhoⁿ] female experienced her first menstruation at age 12 or 13 and reached menopause at the age of 40. Her age at marriage depended on her maturity but usually occurred at the age of fourteen/fifteen or sixteen/seventeen — the former case necessitating a waiting period of a year for consummation. In contrast, the desirable age of marriage for men was between 25-30 years. The [Umoⁿhoⁿ] adhered to the practices of exogamy and monogamy but permitted polygamy on occasion, particularly for prominent men who assumed the "public duty of entertaining guests from within and without the tribe" that "brought a great deal of labor on the household" as "embroidered garments, robes, pipe-stems, and other articles were required for gifts. . . ." In such cases, men most often chose co-wives (with a maximum of three wives) from his first wife's family (i.e., sister, niece) to promote household harmony and neutralize jealousy. The hus-

band required the permission of the first wife prior to any subsequent marriage; furthermore, the first wife wielded a tremendous amount of power by retaining the rights to manage household affairs and to distribute food to its members, including other wives. Dorsey, **Ibid.**, pp. 25-27

Elderly men generally did not undertake strenuous work; they sometimes cared for horses but usually relaxed and related stories and youthful recollections for the amusement of listeners. Conversely, elderly women kept busy with a variety of tasks including discarding ashes, pounding corn, drying meat, mending and drying moccasins, and sometimes collecting firewood.

Social Status and Personal Property

Anthropologists contend that a link exists between property ownership and status; that is, a society that emphasizes personal or corporate property often possesses a stratified social system with institutions and regulations in place to safeguard owner rights and the transfer or sale of property. The [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] recognized several types of property ownership or control. Although they considered the land to be enduring and hence above ownership and/or sale, the tribe claimed and defended hunting, cultivation, and fishing territories and their bounty. Further, each [clan] possessed a set of religious paraphernalia, including sacred pipes, tents, and area in the tribal circle, vital to its collective identity and prosperity. Household property included the right of occupancy of a dwelling and the right of household members to receive shares in fish, game, and plant foods brought in by any member. Lastly, personal property consisted of the dwelling itself (tipi and earth lodge), ornaments, clothing, horses, weapons, and other related items.

Such property, however, weighed little in the determination of social status or position among the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}]. This statement is supported by Dorsey's observation that "there is no distinction between the attire of dignitaries and that of the common people." Indeed, "anyone in need of food, horses, or anything whatsoever, was certain to receive some material assistance from those who had an abundance. Among most tribes, the lavish giving away of property was a sure road to social distinction. . .the real aristocrats seem to have been those with great and good deeds to their credit." The [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] considered generous individuals to be the equals of those of extraordinary valor and bravery and advised anyone desirous of social distinction to be "kind to the poor and the aged, and to invite guests to feasts" and to "make presents, such as goods or a horse, to the unfortunate being."

Ethnographic documents briefly treat the status of women in [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] society and the intra-personal relationships between men and women. According to Dorsey, "The women had an equal standing in society. . . . When a woman was strong she hoed the ground and planted the corn; but if she was delicate or weak, her husband was willing to help her by hoeing with her. The woman did the work which she thought was hers to do. She always did her work of her own accord. The husband had his share of the la-

bor, for the man was not accustomed to lead an idle life." Importantly, a woman's output of dressed and finished hides greatly influenced and shaped society's conception of her "worth and virtue." Finally, Fletcher and La Flesche eloquently and succinctly summarize the role of [Umoⁿhoⁿ] women in tribal life:

> The [Umoⁿhoⁿ] woman worked hard. Upon her depended much of the livelihood of the people — the preparation of food, of shelter, of clothing, and the cultivation of garden patches. In return, she was regarded with esteem, her wishes were respected, and, while she held no public office, many of the movement and ceremonies of the tribe depended on her timely assistance. In the family she was generally the center of much affection. La Flesche/Fletcher, **Ibid.**, p. 326

Material Culture

Archaeologists rely primarily on culturally-modified objects recovered from occupation sites to interpret the past but often must hypothesize the use of material culture by individuals and its function or role in society. Thus, ethnohistorical documents that include information on material culture prove extremely helpful to researchers, and fortunately, several such accounts exist for the [Umoⁿhoⁿ]. The following section briefly outlines the basic toolkit used by [Umoⁿhoⁿ] men and women.

Traditional warfare implements consisted primarily of the bow and arrow, shield, spear and lance. tomahawk or battle-ax, and club. Arrows came in three varieties: "those with flint or stone heads for big game; those with only a sharpened point for small game; those having a knobbed end, used by boys for killing birds." Buffalo rawhide covered with a decorated deerskin comprised the shield. Plains Indians frequently used lances to kill bison and stone-headed clubs and mauls to bring down wounded, trapped animals. Even after the introduction of the gun, Plains Indians continued to rely heavily on bows and arrows to hunt, given their superior accuracy over most guns, until the buffalo became extinct. Indeed, it was not until the introduction of repeating rifles in the late 1860's that Native Americans heavily employed the gun to hunt as the "muzzle-loading, smoothbore flintlock" guns "made too much noise. . .was too difficult to reload while running buffalo on horseback" and precluded the identification of the hunter who had fired the death shot.

Tools required for food preparation and consumption included the following: hoes for plant cultivation made from bison scapula and later trade metal attached to a stick; stone knives, wooden mortar and pestles to pound corn, cooking and eating utensils such as kettle poles, pottery, horn and wooden spoons, wooden bowls, and gourd containers.

Prior to the introduction of cloth, [Umoⁿhoⁿ] women manufactured garments from animal skins using bone awls and sinew as thread. The following description characterizes a typical Plains Indian sewing toolkit:

> Needles were not used by the women among the Plains Indians, but the thread was pushed through holes made with bodkins or awls. In former times, these awls were made of bone; the sewing was with sinew thread made by shredding out the long tendons from the leg of the buffalo and deer. When sewing, Blackfoot women had at hand a piece of dried tendon from which they pulled the shreds with their teeth, softened them in their mouths and then twisted them into a thread by rolling between the palms of their hands. . . . The woman's ordinary sewing kit was carried in a soft bag of buffalo skin and consisted of bodkins, a piece of sinew, and a knife. Bodkins were sometimes carried in small beaded cases. . . . Clark Wissler, **North American Indians of the Great Plains** Anthropological Handbook Fund Series No. 1, New York, 1934, pp. 66-67

Clothing differed for men and women: the basic daily costume for men consisted of leggings, a shirt, and soleless moccasins while females usually wore tunics, short leggings, and moccasins.

However, the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] considered the robe, later replaced by "light, durable, and gaily colored" blankets, to be the most important article of clothing for both sexes, distinguished only in their decorations. Shell and later glass trade beads, ear ornaments and pendants, claw necklaces, beaded headbands, and fur scarves lent color and beauty to the body and costume. The [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] applied cosmetic paint to exposed parts of the body, especially the face and hair part line.

For both domestic and commercial consumption, [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] women relied on stone hide scrapers, bone fleshing tools, and bone beaming tools (primarily for dressing deerskins) to transform hides into soft, pliant material. Eventually, metal tools and/or metal attachments replaced many of these items.

In addition to this basic toolkit, the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] manufactured and/or used a wide range of material items for both daily and ceremonial activities. These objects partially included parfleche cases or bags, ceremonial and personal catlinite smoking pipes (clay trade pipes by the mid-nineteenth century, medicine bundles, wooden cradles, hide bedding, feather and stick brooms, wooden saddles covered in hides, horse quirts or whips, hide bridles/halters/lariats, snowshoes, burden straps (to aid women in carrying wood), hide boats, and musical rattles, drums, wood whistles, and reed flutes.

Finally, ethnographic sources also provide other information that contributes substantially to our understanding of the introduction and adoption rate of goods by the historic [Umo^{n}ho^{n}], an important consideration given the pivotal role played by the occupants of Big Village as negotiators of the fur trade. [La Flesche and Fletcher] extensively treat this topic:

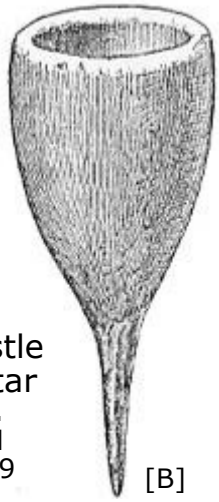
> From the first the native industries were affected by the advent of the traders, who introduced articles of white manufacture. It was not long before the metal knife replaced the native implement of chipped stone. . . . The metal knife soon became the constant companion of men and

women, serving all domestic purposes, but it never supplanted the ancient flint knife in tribal rites. . . . Sooner or later all stone implements yielded to those of iron and the chipping of stone became a lost art. One survival held well into the last century, namely the making and use of stone disks between which the kernels of corn were pounded to make meal for porridge [probably referring to grinding stones]. . . . Bone awls gave way to awls of iron. . . . An iron blade was bound to the edge of the elk-horn scraper to facilitate its use in preparing hides for tanning. Iron hoes supplanted the ancient implements made from the shoulder blade of the elk. . . . The stimulation of hunting as an avocation weakened the influence of the old village life, created different standards of wealth, enhanced the importance of the hunter, and greatly increased the labors of the women in preparing pelts and skins for the market. . . . Glass beads of gay colors lent themselves to decoration as the more cumbersome shell beads could not. . . . buying paints from the traders. . . . The use of guns destroyed another native industry, arrow-making, and made pointless some of the old teachings to the young. Copper kettles and tin and iron utensils took the place of the native pottery, consequently the pottery industry was abandoned. Wooden bowls and cups gradually disappeared from family use but the former were retained in the sacred tribal ceremonies and other rites of a serious character. . . . Trading on a barter basis continued until the destruction of the fur-bearing animals brought the old-time trader's career to an end. . . . The [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] tribe did not escape the baneful influence of liquor.

Wissler **Ibid.**, p. 340-356, Sawaged, **Ibid**., pp. 29-31

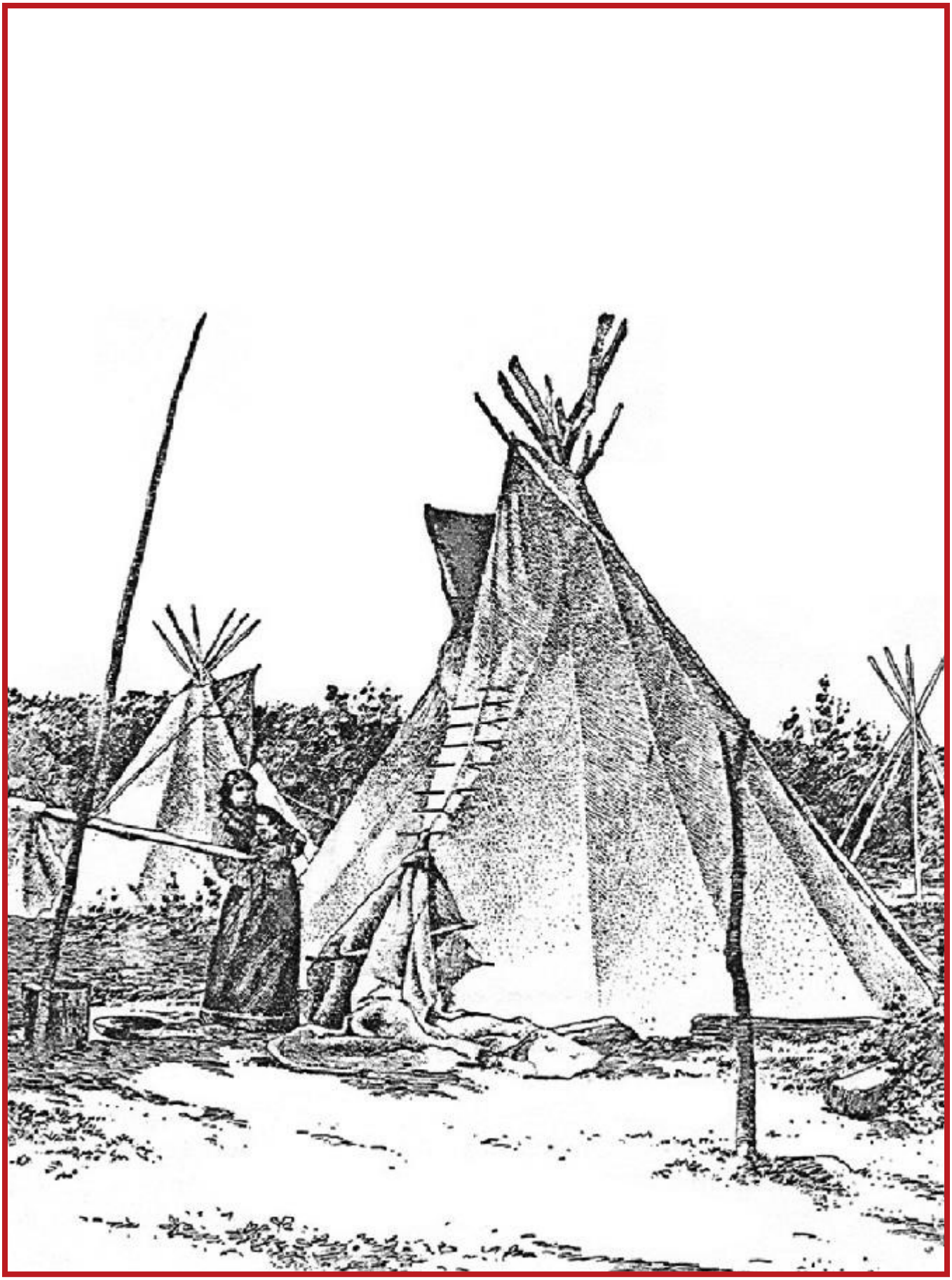
A mortar was made by burning a large hole in a round knot or piece of wood about 7 inches in diameter. The lower end was sharpened to a point, which was thrust into the ground when needed for use. After putting corn in a mortar of this description, the woman grasped the wooden pestle in the middle, with the larger end upward; the smaller end, which was about an inch in diameter, was put into the mortar. The operation of pounding corn among the [Umo^{n}ho^{n}] was called "he." The mortar (uhe) and pestle (wehe) were both made commonly of elm, although sometimes thy were fashioned of white oak. Mortars were of various sizes, some of them measuring 2 feet in diameter. Pestles were always of hard and heavy wood, and fully 3 ft long, tapering from 4 inches to an inch in diameter. James Owen Dorsey, "Omaha dwellings, furniture & implements" **13th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution** 1891-92, Washington, 1896, p. 279

[A] Wehe: Pestle
[B] Uhe: mortar
Dorsey, **Ibid. 13th Annual Report**, p. 279

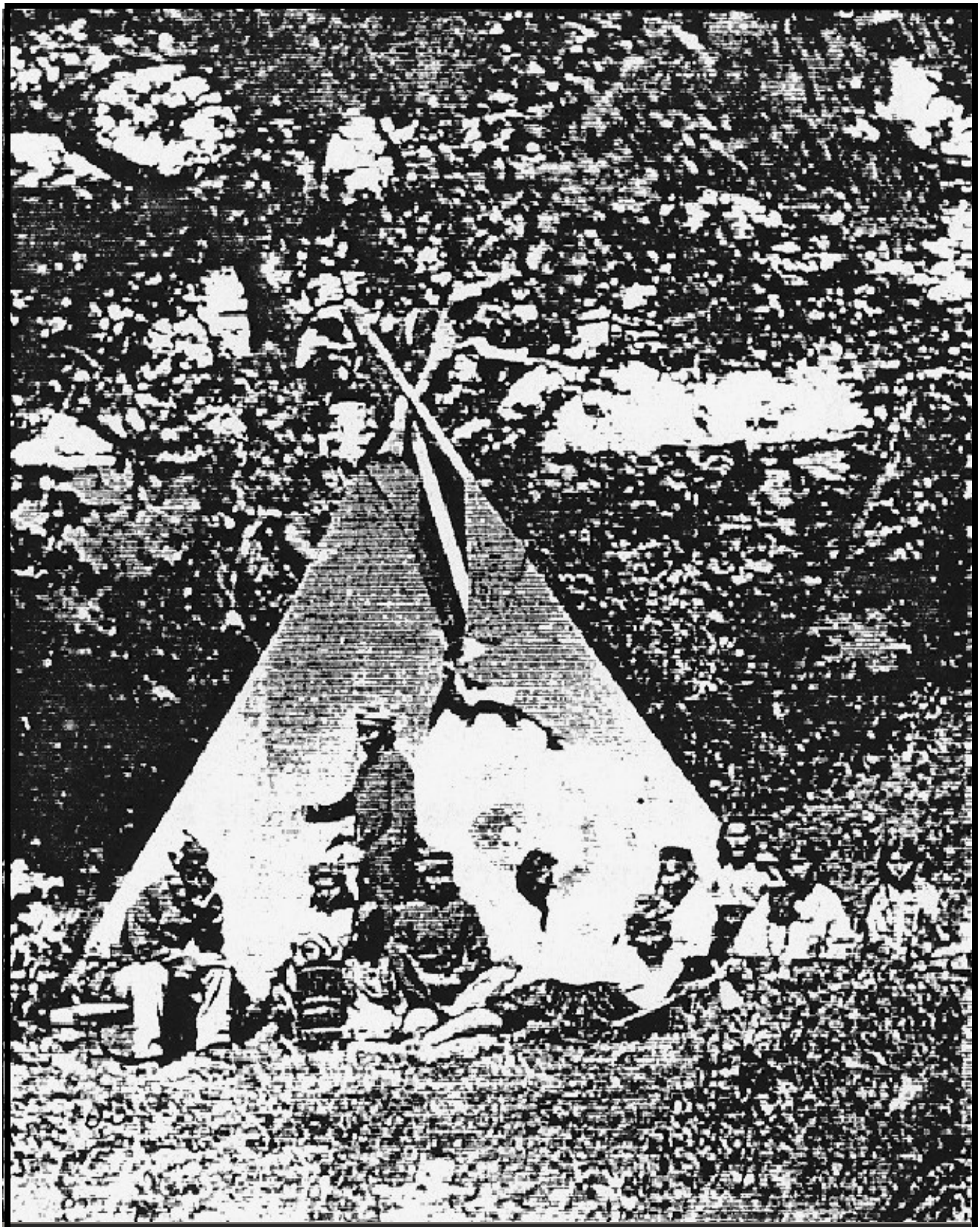


[B]

Maize: Franz Eugen Köhler, Köhler's Medizinal-Pflanzen List of Koehler Images, Public Domain, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=255643>



Umo^{n}ho^{n} tipi
[from W. H. Jackson photo] James O. Dorsey, Smithsonian



Umoⁿhoⁿ home life around a tipi
Giffen & Tibbles, Ibid. p. 78

Umo^{n}ho^{n} Nation

TREATIES

1815-1872

Umo^{n}ho^{n} Coming Home Smithsonian

Decisions are made in council meetings. Originally it included a wide representation of the clans. Here tribal men gather to hear what the two white men in the center of the picture have to say. In this picture, Joseph La Flesche is sitting second from left. Smithsonian

Smithsonian

Umo^{n}ho^{n} children OTHRP Archives