

MAY 2018 VOL 44 NO 2

We Proceeded On

LEWIS AND CLARK TRAIL HERITAGE FOUNDATION



A MAJOR DISCOVERY

The Arikara Too Né's Lewis and Clark Map

- Who was Too Né?
- Where was the map hidden?
- How was it found?
- What does it help us understand?
- What next?

A Very Special Issue of WPO

Last summer out on the Lewis and Clark trail, I ran into my young friend Kevin O'Briant, who is sometimes a crew member for Wayne Fairchild's Lewis & Clark Trail Adventures headquartered in Missoula, Montana. Kevin told me he had something to show me. At Eagle Camp (Lewis and Clark, May 31, 1805), Kevin pulled out a 36 x 12" laminated map. On the back cover of WPO, you can see Kevin holding it across the river from the rock formation LaBarge in the White Cliffs. It's a map drawn by the Arikara leader Too Né (sometimes known as Arketarnarshar), who made the long journey to meet the Great Father Thomas Jefferson in Washington, DC, and died there in April 1806.

I was thrilled and frankly astonished. How could it be that a map directly related to the expedition could have escaped notice for 200 years?

Kevin was quick to point out that he did not discover the map. That was the work of Dr. Christopher Steinke, now assistant professor of history at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. Kevin read the article that Dr. Steinke wrote on the subject for *William and Mary Quarterly* (October 2014), and immediately realized its importance for anyone interested in Lewis and Clark.

I asked Kevin to write an article for WPO about whatever interested him most about the Too Né map. He chose to write about how Native American maps differ from European conceptions and standards of mapmaking, what they can teach us, and how Too Né's map relates to Native American maps generally.

I was ashamed that I did not know of the existence of the map, had not seen the article in *William and Mary Quarterly*. I reckoned that many others in the Lewis and Clark world were probably also unaware of its existence. I asked Herman Viola and John Logan Allen if they would be willing to examine the map if I sent them a splendid laminated copy of it, and write an evaluation of the map for WPO. They both immediately agreed. Herman wrote to say, "The map is monumental." You will read their preliminary assessments in these pages. I also interviewed Dr. Steinke.

Then I wrote our worthy president Philippa Newfield with a bold request: could we publish the map as a special pull-out centerfold in the May issue? After doing some due diligence on the budget, she agreed with alacrity. An artist friend of mine, Katrina Case, agreed to produce a "courtroom" sketch of Too Né sitting on a mattress in a hotel in Washington,

DC, as described by the artist and actor William Dunlap (see pages 17-18). Her illustration brings William Dunlap's pen portrait alive, and enables us to imagine this remarkable Native American emissary explaining his journey, his culture, his nation's significance and its sovereignty, to curious and amused individuals in the nation's capital.

The Too Né map is of enormous importance to Lewis and Clark studies. It raises the Arikara encounter (October 8-12, 1804) to new significance. It teaches us that the Arikara Too Né is an individual who deserves a more prominent place in the Lewis and Clark story than he has hitherto received. It reminds us, as James Ronda, Robert Miller, Roberta Conner, and Gerard Baker have argued (among others), that Lewis and Clark were visitors in sovereign native lands that enshrined cultural memories that the expedition's journal keepers imperfectly understood.

Some mysteries remain, five that come immediately to mind. First, how did this map languish for 200 years in a French archive and only recently come to light? Second, why did Too Né inscribe the map to Honoré Julien, Thomas Jefferson's White House chef? Third, how did the map get out of the District of Columbia-Monticello corridor and find its way to the Bibliothèque nationale de France? And fourth, if James Wilkinson (of all people), Henry Dearborn, and Thomas Jefferson recognized the extraordinary capacities of Too Né, why did the two expedition leaders seem to consider his contributions to the expedition as routine business? And finally, where exactly is Too Né buried in (or near) Washington, DC?

During the bicentennial, with the help of my masterful friend Stephen Dow Beckham, emeritus professor of history at Lewis and Clark College, I spent two days scouring the District of Columbia in search of Too Né's grave. We had no success.

My hope is that the re-discovery of this remarkable map will inspire renewed interest in what James Ronda might call "Lewis and Clark among the Arikara." There is ample material

for a book on this subject, or a number of serious articles. My hope is that renewed efforts will be made to find Too Né's grave and give him the traditional burial honors he deserves. I hope that Too Né himself will now take his rightful place as one of the principal Native American contributors to the success of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

At any rate, enjoy this special issue of *We Proceeded On!* And all hail Kevin O'Briant. — Clay Jenkinson



Kevin O'Briant and editor at Eagle Camp, on the Missouri River.

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Back: Kevin O'Briant at Eagle Camp in the White Cliffs corridor of the Missouri River with the Too Né Map, July 2017. Photo by Clay Jenkinson.

Centerfold: A three-fold reproduction of the Arikara leader Too Né's map (*Carte ethnographique de la vallée du Missouri*) Courtesy Bibliothèque nationale de France.

We Proceeded On welcomes submissions of articles, proposals, inquiries, and letters. Writer's guidelines are available by request and can be found on our website, lewisandclark.org. Submissions should be sent to Clay S. Jenkinson, 1324 Golden Eagle Lane, Bismarck, North Dakota 58503, or by email to Clayjenkinson2010@gmail.com. 701-202-6751.



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A Message from the President



Phillip Gordon and President Philippa Newfield

Most telling about the monumentality of the task entrusted to Meriwether Lewis by President Jefferson in recruiting him to organize and lead the exploration of the Louisiana Purchase are the questions posed at the entrance to the exhibit area in the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail Interpretive Center in Great Falls, Montana. They read:

How do you prepare for a journey when

- you do not know where you are going
- you do not know how long you will be gone
- you do not know what you will need
- you do not know whom you will meet?

That Lewis and Clark were able to prepare so well despite all the unknowns is a tribute to their predictive ability and leadership and also their resourcefulness when they ran out of trade goods and supplies. In the course of their explorations, Lewis collected specimens and information and Clark made maps of the area they traversed between the Mississippi and the Pacific. They knew a lot more when they returned than when they left but their efforts took more than two years.

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation is at a similar point in going from the known to the unknown. The National Trails System is marking the 50th anniversary of President Johnson's signing of the National Trails Act; and the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail is celebrating its 40th birthday this year. We know where we have been and what we have accomplished to date but, looking ahead, how will we find our way for the next 50 years? This question is especially cogent as we do not have the luxury of an extended period of time to figure it out.

Management Theory Pioneer Peter F. Drucker

Lewis and Clark had to make their own maps but, to our good fortune, the Trail Heritage Foundation can take advantage of the fact that people have been thinking about the optimization of non-profit organizations for a long time. Most notable in this area of endeavor is Peter F. Drucker (1909-2005), a pioneer in management theory. Originally from Vienna, Drucker moved to London in 1933 to escape Hitler's murderous rampage and emigrated to the United States in 1937. For more than 20 years he was professor of management at the Graduate School of Business at New York University and then taught until 2002 at what became the Peter F. Drucker Graduate School of Management at Claremont Graduate University in southern California. Central to Drucker's philosophy is the view that peo-

ple are an organization's most valuable resource and the board's job is to engage people and enable them to perform to their potential.

More than 25 years ago Drucker published the first edition of his strategic organizational self-assessment tool: *The Five Most Important Questions You Will Ever Ask About Your Non-profit Organization*. He believed that "the most important aspect of the Self-Assessment Tool is the questions it poses. Answers are important; you need answers because you need action. But the most important thing is to ask these questions." The mission of the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Non-profit Management (now the Leader to Leader Institute) mirrored the goals of the Trail Heritage Foundation in that it worked to help the social sector achieve excellence in performance and build responsible citizenship.

The five questions Drucker considered most important are:

1. What is our mission?
2. Who is our customer?
3. What does our customer value?
4. What are our results?
5. What is our plan?

The Trail Heritage Foundation will be considering these questions in proceeding on into the next 50 years.

1. What is our mission? The mission statement of an organization should explain a) What is our purpose? b) Why do we do what we do? c) What do we want to be remembered for? The mission provides the framework for setting goals and mobilizing our resources for achieving our objectives. The Trail Heritage Foundation's

current mission statement, as follows, is a work in progress:

The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation recognizes the Lewis and Clark Expedition as one of the most consequential events in American history. We enhance public understanding of the expedition's historical legacy by providing educational programs, promoting scholarly research, and preserving and encouraging exploration of the Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail.

2. Who is our customer? The Trail Heritage Foundation's "customers" are our members as we are a membership organization. Serving our members is one of our highest priorities. We accomplish this by enhancing our members' opportunities for communication, association, and research. We maintain a national office and the William P. Sherman Library and Archives; publish our quarterly scholarly journal *We Proceeded On* and newsletter *The Orderly Report*; organize our annual meeting; and support our chapters across the country.

Beyond the work for our members, we endeavor to engage the community at large through our program of grants for trail stewardship, education, and sign replacement. The board of the Trail Heritage Foundation also welcomes suggestions from our members about new groups to which we can reach out to enhance public understanding of the importance of the Lewis and Clark story and encourage participation in our programs.

3. What does our customer value? We know from feedback received by the Trail Heritage Foundation that our members value our meetings and publications. To proceed on in the right direction, however, we need to know more from our members. We will be

sending out a questionnaire in both electronic and paper format to determine what else our members value and on what they think we should be concentrating our efforts and resources going forward. The responses offered by our members will help shape policy and prioritize the allocation of our capital, both human and financial. The questionnaire will be announced in *The Orderly Report* when finalized. Please make every effort to complete the questionnaires. Your input is crucial to the ongoing success of the Trail Heritage Foundation.

4. What are our results? According to Drucker, the results of social-sector organizations are measured outside the organization in the degree to which lives and conditions are being changed. Developing a strategic plan will facilitate the identification of our organization's goals and objectives. This will in turn enable the board to prioritize the allocation of our resources to achieve results.

Measuring results involves both qualitative and quantitative methodology. Qualitative measures assess the depth and breadth of change while quantitative measures use definitive standards to tell an objective story. As qualitative data may be more subjective, quantitative data are essential for assessing whether resources are being properly allocated in the desired direction. Data from both these methods, however, combine to tell a balanced story of our accomplishments.

The most important part of achieving results is to be able to keep what is working well and abandon what has been unsuccessful. This is often difficult for an organization that has a culture of honoring the past as well as a long institutional memory. It is the board's responsibility to invest our resources where we can achieve success.

5. What is our plan? The story of Lewis and Clark is one of cooperation and inclusiveness, bravery and foresight. The Lewis and Clark National Historic Trail affords the opportunity for inspirational views, landscapes unchanged in more than 200 years, and physical challenges.

But capturing all these wonders--inspirational, historical, physical--for us and for future generations requires a plan. The plan is a concise summation of our purpose and future direction. Encompassing our mission, goals, objectives, action steps, budget, and assessment, the plan will indicate where to concentrate resources to achieve results.

Thus, the plan that begins with the mission ends with action steps—who will do what by when?—and the budget. Appraisal and the monitoring of progress are ongoing as they may identify a need for mid-course correction if conditions change. Drucker's final piece of advice is to keep asking, "What do we want to be remembered for?" Ultimately, he believes, results must be measured in changed lives. Considering the material with which the Trail Heritage Foundation has to work—the story and the trail—this is eminently achievable for us.

Stay tuned. The board is developing a strategic plan which, along with our vision and mission, will guide our allocation of the Trail Heritage Foundation's resources now and into the future. We hope to publish our strategic plan in future issues of *We Proceeded On* and *The Orderly Report*. ■

Philippa Newfield

President

Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation

Dr. Robert (Bob) Gatten Jr., 1944-2018

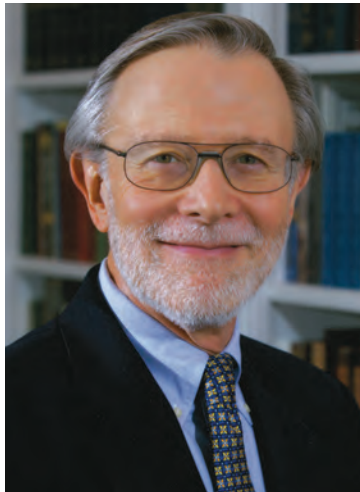
The Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation lost a passionate and generous supporter with the passing of Dr. Robert Gatten Jr. on February 23, 2018. Always active, positive, healthy, and a non-smoker, his diagnosis of lung cancer shocked his family and friends. Bob's strategy for meeting this final challenge rendered him truly a man of courage undaunted. Even as everyone endeavored to comfort him, he to the end offered comfort to all of us.

Bob was born on December 21, 1944, in Lexington, Kentucky, to Kentucky natives Robert Edward Gatten and Elizabeth Thompson Gatten. He graduated as valedictorian from Henry Clay High School in 1962. A 1966 graduate of College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, Bob earned his master's degree in biology from the same institution in 1968. It was also at William and Mary that Bob met Florence Fraser of Miami, Florida. They were married in 1968.

Bob received his PhD in comparative and environmental physiology from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, in 1973 where he received the University's Distinguished Teaching Award. Bob spent most of his academic career after 1978 in the Department of Biology at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG). He conducted research on various aspects of animal physiology, published 50 scientific papers and book chapters, and taught undergraduate and graduate courses. He received the University's first Research Excellence Award in 1989.

Among Bob's academic contributions were service as Head of the Department of Biology from 1988 to 1997, and as Associate Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences from 1997 to 2003. While serving as Associate Dean, he founded UNCG's Science Advisory Board, a group of local business leaders who provided advice about the development of the University's science programs. He retired from UNCG in late 2005, but continued to volunteer for the university in various capacities.

Bob's interest in the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition was wide-ranging. What sparked his interest initially was his mother's gift of *From Sea to Shining Sea* by James Alexander Thom. Bob traveled much of the Lewis and Clark Trail and served the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Founda-



tion as a member of the board of directors and as president from 1994 to 1996. In those early days before email, Bob said he devoted every Sunday to accomplishing the business of the Trail Heritage Foundation. Bob also put much effort into locating the land where William Clark was born in 1770 in Caroline County, Virginia. His work led to the installation of two Virginia Historical Highway Markers honoring

Clark and his family. Bob wrote two articles for *We Proceeded On* about his search and led a field trip to the spot during the 1995 Annual Meeting in Charlottesville, Virginia.

Bob joined with fellow Trail Heritage Foundation Members Harry Hubbard and Stuart Knapp to incorporate the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial in 1993. He continued to contribute to the Trail Heritage Foundation by spearheading the Legacy Project, acknowledging the receipt of gifts, and as a trusted friend and advisor until his death. Bob received the Distinguished Service Award of the Trail Heritage Foundation in 1996 and the Outstanding Service Award from the National Council of the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial in 2001.

Bob's knowledge of the history of the Lewis and Clark Expedition led to his being employed by Lindblad Expeditions as the shipboard historian on their voyages following the route of Lewis and Clark on the Columbia and Snake Rivers. He made the trip 25 times from 2003 to 2017 and loved sharing the Lewis and Clark story with Lindblad guests.

Bob and Florence have always been immensely proud of their two children, David Edward Gatten and spouse Erin Espelie of Boulder, Colorado, and Elizabeth Gatten Fenley of Greensboro, and their two granddaughters, Lydia Katherine Fenley of Greensboro and Darwin Salina Gatten Espelie of Boulder. Their greatest joy and accomplishment is their family. The Trail Heritage Foundation offers our heartfelt condolences to the family of a man for whom we all had boundless admiration and affection.

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The family asks that contributions in Bob's memory from his Lewis and Clark friends be sent to the Lewis and Clark Trail Heritage Foundation at PO Box 3434, Great Falls, MT 59403, or visit lewisandclark.org. ■

Too Né's World:

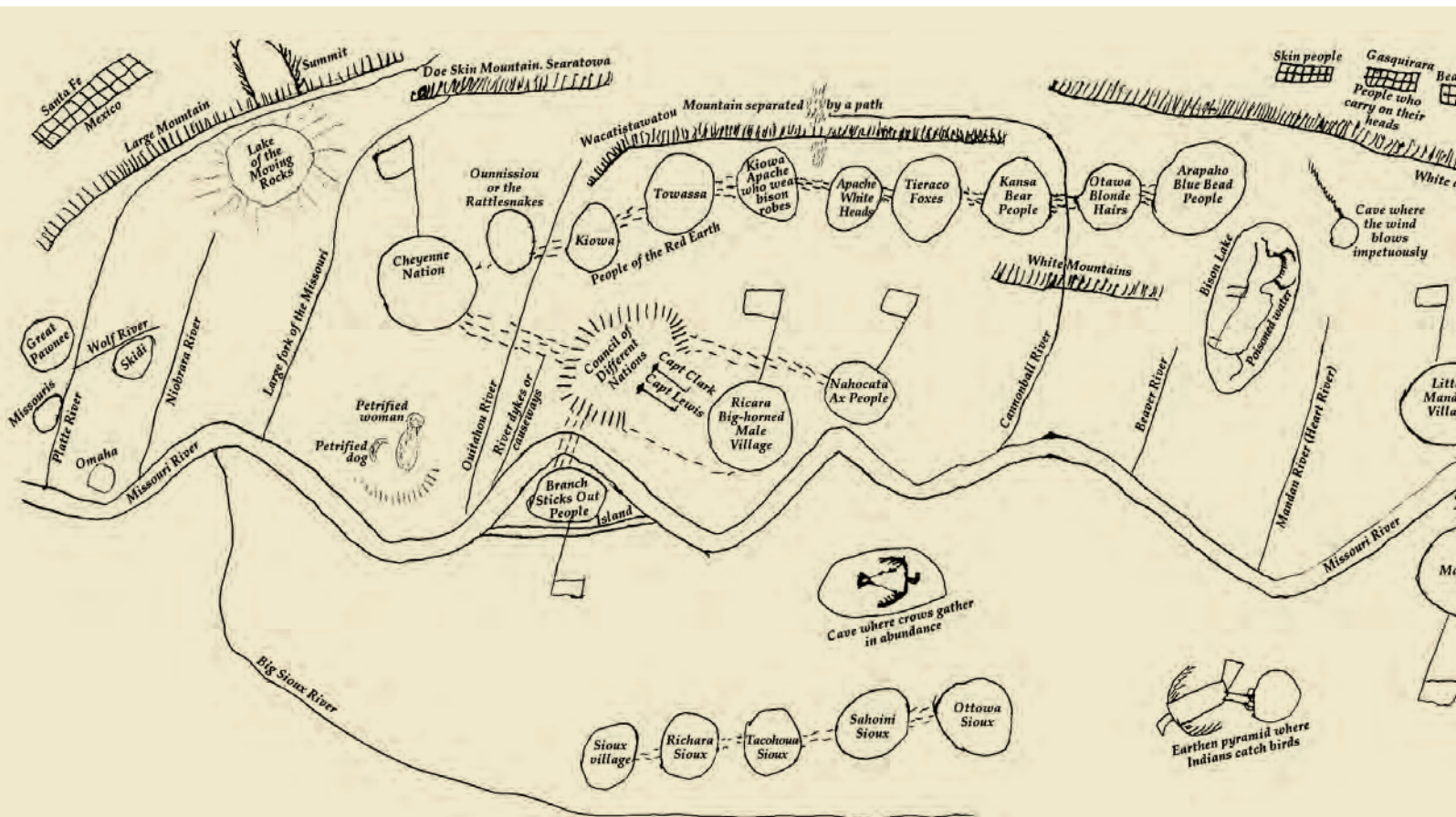
The Arikara Map and Native American Cartography

By Kevin O'Briant

On October 8, 1804, above the mouth of the Grand River in present-day South Dakota, a large group of men with a very peculiar watercraft arrived at an island village on the Missouri River. This settlement was part of a group of three villages which were less than a decade old. For centuries, these Caddoan-speaking agriculturalists had occupied a 264-mile long stretch of the Missouri River valley, from the mouth of the White River to the North Dakota line, organized into independent villages or *acitimu*. From the 1400s until the early 1600s, these people had expanded northward, building and abandoning 175 different village sites.¹ The Arikara lived in semi-permanent earthlodge villages. A typical village was inhabited between five and thirty years. Post-contact population losses, driven by mul-

iple smallpox epidemics in the 1770s and 1780s, had forced them to aggregate into three villages at the northern edge of their traditional territory.² Decimated and weakened, the Arikara of 1804 were harassed and hemmed in by Lakota incursions from the south and their own encroachment on traditional Mandan territory to the north. The arrival of this large group of bearded foreigners (we call them Lewis and Clark) soon came to represent a diplomatic opportunity: rapprochement with their Mandan neighbors, and a trading relationship with their new "Great Father" in Washington.

On October 10, 1804, contrary to local custom but very much in keeping with their own cultural and political norms, the newcomers appointed three prominent native men to represent the three remaining Arikara villages:



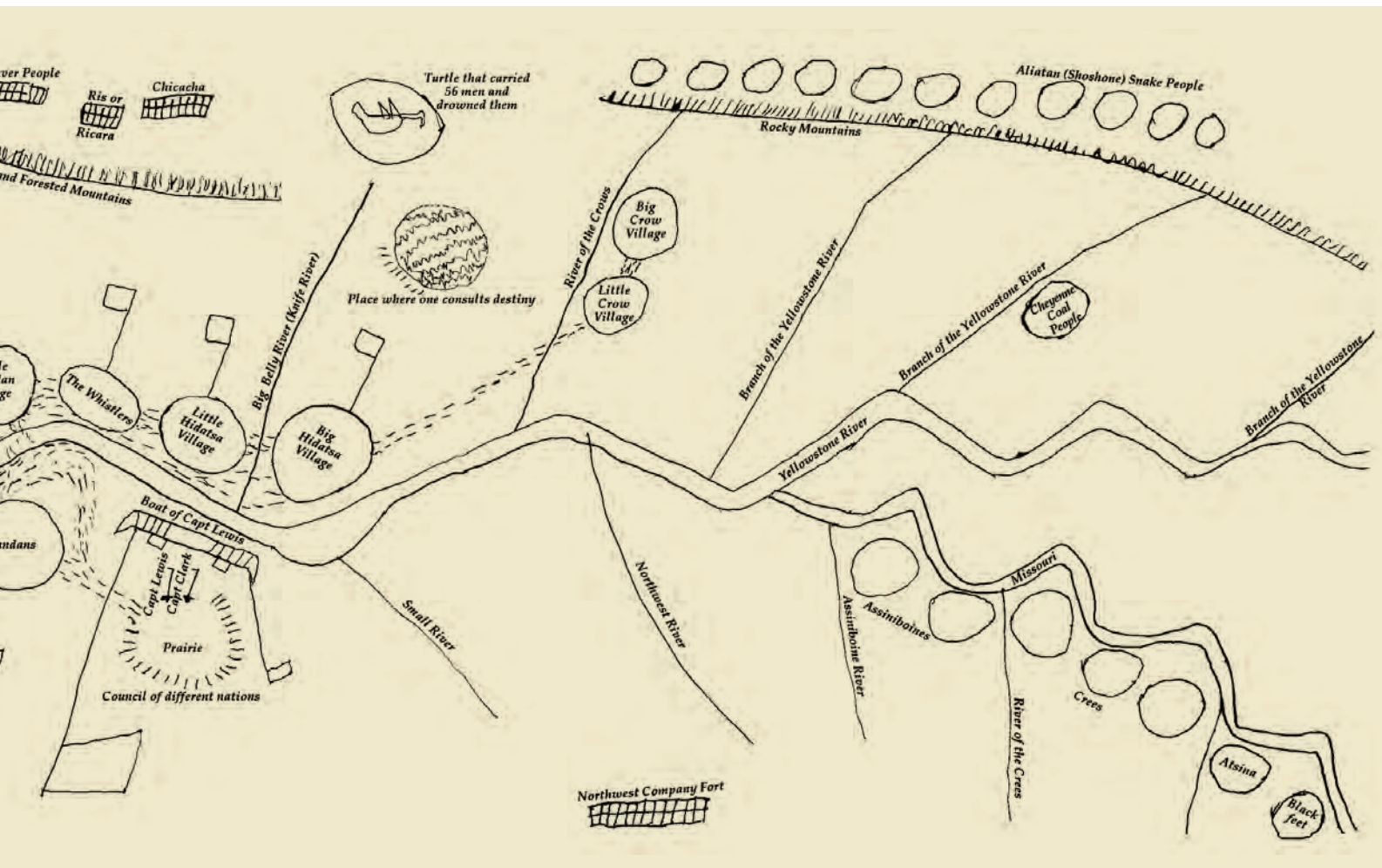
Kevin O'Briant's abstract of the Too Né map, with English translations of French terms. See pages 20-21 for the original.

“we Delivered a Similar Speech to those delivered the Ottoes & Sioux, made three Chiefs, one for each Village and gave them Clothes & flags— 1s Chief is name *Ka-ba-wiss assa* lighting ravin 2d Chief *Po-casse* (Hay) & the 3rd *Piabeto* or Eagles Feather.”³ The third chief, variously called *Piabeto*, *Too Né* (Whippoorwill, according to Clark, but probably a contraction of the Arikara *ituunu*?, “village” and *neešaanu*?, “chief”), *Arketarnasbar*, or *Ankedoucharo* (also variants of the word *Akitaanešáanu*? or “band chief”) was a well-travelled ambassador of his people who spoke eleven languages in addition to the universally-understood sign language.⁴ It was *Too Né* who was chosen to accompany the foreigners upriver on a diplomatic mission to smoke the calumet with the Mandan. And it was *Too Né* who accompanied the fur trader and interpreter Joseph Gravelines on the expedition’s keelboat on its spring-1805 return voyage to St. Louis where he stayed from May until December of 1805 before traveling to Washington. For three months beginning in February of 1806 he visited Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, and met with President Jefferson and Secretary of War

Henry Dearborn before succumbing to illness and dying on April 6, 1806, apparently in Washington, DC.⁵

While traveling upriver in October 1805 with these strange men from the east, *Too Né* accompanied a man who was busy making maps of the landscape around him. Taking note of William Clark’s interest in geography, *Too Né* described the landscape on both sides of the Missouri River, geographically, historically, and mythically: “after brackfast I walked on Shore with the Indian Chief & Interpreters.... This Chief tells me of a number of their Treditions about Turtles, Snakes, &. and the power of a perticler rock or Cave on the next river which informs of everr thing.”⁶ In January of 1805, Clark would “imploy my Self drawing a Connection of the Countrey from what information I have recved.”⁷ This intimation of the beginning of his “master map” of the American West, not completed until 1810—and published in an engraved form by Nicholas Biddle in 1814⁸—reveals the importance of Native American geographical knowledge to Clark’s major cartographical undertaking.

Prior to the departure of the Corps of Discovery,



Secretary of the Treasury Albert Gallatin commissioned a partially blank map of the trans-Mississippi West, with surrounding territories recorded by George Vancouver, Alexander Mackenzie and others fleshing out the margins of this American *terra incognita*. William Clark stepped up to the task of filling in this blank space in earnest, mirroring “Jeffersonian expansionism on paper.” The “blank space” of the West bounded by British Canada to the north and New Spain to the south became topographically visible on Clark’s master map. Jefferson’s idea of a continent-spanning republic could now be visualized.⁹

During his stay in St. Louis in 1805, Too Né was working on a map of his own. It too, conveyed an idea of a nation. Not relying on western mapping conventions and not bound by contemporary Enlightenment notions of cartographical scale, this map represents an alternative geography to Clark’s master map. It also includes the middle Missouri River, its tributaries, and the Rocky Mountains. But Too Né’s map has details that go beyond the hydrological and geographical: it includes the political, the mythical, and the historical. This document graphically conveys where the Arikara come from, where they belong, and how they relate to the groups around them, including the Corps of Discovery. In contrast to Clark’s published map, which displays an essentially empty landscape with a sporadic listing of Native tribes as well as rivers and features with English names supplied by the expedition or its predecessors, Too Né’s map includes friends and enemies both near and far, indigenous place-names translated into French by Joseph Gravelines, sacred spaces, and the locations of important recent councils with the expedition itself.

Too Né’s map is but one of a larger tradition of mapmaking by Native Americans for European and Euro-American explorers, traders, and would-be colonists. Peter Fidler recorded four maps from Blackfeet and Atsina (Gros-Ventre) informants of their country at Chesterfield House on the modern-day Alberta-Saskatchewan border where the Red Deer River meets the South Saskatchewan (today’s Empress, Alberta) between 1800 and 1802. Maps of the Missouri and its environs by Ac Ko Mok Ki now residing in the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives were ultimately provided to Aaron Arrowsmith, whose revised 1802 map of North America was favored by the expedition over the map commissioned by Gallatin.¹⁰

When confronted with the Marias River, which did not quite fit with the expedition’s geographic expectations (obtained from the Hidatsa), the captains consulted Ar-

rowsmith’s map, and by extension the work of Ac Ko Mok Ki, in order to inform their next course of action.¹¹ Not that this would be the last time they would rely on native cartography; as many as nine different native informants created maps for the expedition during the course of their journey. [see list, pages 37–39] Some were created from ephemeral materials such as piles of earth to show relief; others were drawn with charcoal on hide. In August 1805, the Shoshone headman Cameahwait illustrated the geography of the Lemhi and Salmon rivers using the former method. In September, William Clark prevailed upon the Nez Perce chief Twisted Hair to draw a map on a white elk skin from the Clearwater River down to Celilo Falls on the Columbia. A similar hide map was drawn for the expedition in October 1805 by a group of three Indians—one Yakima, one Wanapam, and one Nez Perce—of the middle Columbia and Yakima rivers. This map, lost to a fire in 1895, was brought back to the United States by William Clark.¹²

Maps like those provided by Native Americans to William Clark and Peter Fidler were pivotal to the European exploration and colonization of the North American continent. Returning from the Caribbean in 1492, Columbus initially made landfall in Lisbon, where he was summoned by the king of Portugal. In order to prove he wasn’t illegally fishing in Portuguese waters, Columbus produced two Bahamian captives, whom the king ordered to produce impromptu charts of their homeland using clusters of dried beans on a table to represent islands.¹³ In 1541, French explorer Jacques Cartier spoke with four young Iroquois men near present day Montreal about a series of “saults” or rapids upstream; unfortunately, the map drawn by Cartier from this intelligence has been lost.¹⁴ In 1601, the founder of the Spanish colony of New Mexico, Juan de Oñate, led an expedition into the southern plains and captured a native man from modern-day Kansas whom they dubbed “Miguel.” By 1602, Miguel was being interrogated in Mexico City in the presence of the royal cartographer Enrique Martinez. Both the map drawn by Miguel and the transcripts of his interrogation survive.¹⁵ By 1612, Samuel de Champlain had produced a map of New France including Lake Ontario and Niagara Falls, places neither he, nor any other European had seen. These details had been supplied in 1603 by native Algonquians who had provided him with sketches of the area. In 1616 he had mapped Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior relying on information from Huron and Ottawa sources.¹⁶

This information was readily supplied and easily com-

municated because of a long tradition of North American indigenous cartography. The word “cartography” is somewhat limiting, however, as it often implies a “western-scientific” worldview, where the cosmological, folkloric, or historical dimensions of a map are minimized or rigorously omitted in favor of a document that communicates discrete concepts such as political boundaries or topographical features. A “western-scientific” worldview contrasts with its theoretical opposite, the “indigenous-traditional” worldview, which tends to be “characterized as closed, traditional, primitive” and therefore impervious to change or revision.¹⁷ Indigenous mapping systems are “formed in the human interaction with the land and are a record of the events that give it meaning.”¹⁸ They are “not simply sketchy, provisional information that scientific survey could confirm, correct, or supersede.”¹⁹ The dichotomy between western “scientific” and indigenous “folkloric” maps is more apparent than real. In fact, indigenous mapping systems can comfortably contain both the legendary and the hydrological, the historical and the contemporary, in a single document. They utilize conventions and scales that are at variance with the ideas of the European Renaissance and Enlightenment, and, as such, have historically been neglected by scholars who perceive them to be lacking in “reliable” information.²⁰

An example of such a document is the *wiigwaasabak* or birch-bark scroll of the *Midéwiwin* societies among the southern Ojibwe of northern Minnesota and western Ontario. These long, narrow documents record ceremonial songs and stories, and also conflate the spiritual and historical: an existing copy of a birch bark scroll, as interpreted by James Red Sky, is a “migration chart” which can be interpreted as a map of the hydrological features along the northern coastlines of Lake Superior and Lake Huron’s Georgian Bay. However, it functions as both a historical chart of the westward route the Ojibwe and the *Midé* religion took to reach their eighteenth century homeland as well as a guide to aid the *Midé* initiate in his progress along a spiritual path.²¹ The oral narrative associated with this document begins when the Bear is entrusted with “the message of Everlasting Life” by “the Great Manito or God.” This bundle is carried by the Bear through the spiritual realm where he must penetrate four different walls. Once this has been accomplished, the bundle is passed on to “Megis, the shell” and then the Otter, who complete the journey through the physical realms of the St. Lawrence and southern Ontario.

Indigenous cartography is not limited to the terrestrial

but includes the celestial realm as well. Belief systems among the Pawnee and Lakota associate particular stars and constellations with shrines and sacred sites on earth, rendering the night sky a “map” of the land below. An example of a Pawnee star chart drawn on a tanned elk hide is housed in Chicago’s Field Museum. Traditionally stored in a medicine bundle, the star chart classifies stars into five different magnitudes and records data about the positions of constellations in different seasons. This astronomical information has little value when separated from its intrinsic relationship to the shrines and villages of the Pawnee landscape.²² In the Lakota tradition, the mirroring of the earth and sky is explicit, with geographical and celestial features encoded in the same earth-sky map. However these sacred documents are not allowed to be seen outside of the Lakota community, and are only explicable to those who have been taught how to interpret them.²³

Among the Nahuatl-speaking people of pre-contact Mexico, oral histories were transcribed into codices known as *xiuhpobualli*. This formal, pictographic style of recording information was meant to be “performed” by professional oral historians on significant occasions.²⁴ When describing the historical migrations of the Nahuatl, these *xiuhpobualli* contain highly stylized maps. In his published letters to Charles V, Hernán Cortés relates the use of this native cartographic tradition on multiple occasions. In his second letter to the king, Cortés writes, “another day they brought me a cloth, on which the whole coast was drawn, showing a river, larger than the others, flowing into the sea....” In his third letter he writes how Spanish allies in Chalco “sent to tell me that the Mexicans were marching against them, and they showed me on a large white cloth a drawing of all the towns which were to march, and the roads by which they were coming....”²⁵ This cartographic style was later formalized by Spanish authorities as the *Lienzo*, a means of tracking the pre-conquest feudal relationships of native elites and their tributary vassals. Rather than painting these documents on small strips of leather in the traditional manner, large cotton sheets were employed for documenting towns, villages, roads, and shrines utilizing indigenous glyphs for place-names and dates alongside labels in the Latin alphabet.²⁶

The stylized or schematic nature of indigenous North American maps necessitates an understanding of the “vocabulary” or “conventions” employed by native cartographers in order to correctly interpret their meaning. In 1721, a Catawba informant provided a map to Francis Nicholson



Figure 1: 1721 Catawba map drawn for Francis Nicholson.

(Figure 1), the royal governor of Carolina. Using circles of varying size connected by “pathways,” the map illustrates the various Catawba polities and their relationships. European settlements such as Charleston and Virginia are represented as rectangles to both signify the rectilinearity of a planned city as well as the “otherness” of their inhabitants.²⁷ Additionally, knowing what’s omitted from this map is essential to understanding it. Although most of the native polities indicated on the map existed geographically in the piedmont of western Carolina, the Chickasaw, located far to the west in northern Mississippi, are identified, but the nearby Saraws and their allies to the east are omitted. When the Catawba ended their belligerence against Carolina in 1716, the Saraws continued the fight. As a result of this, the ties between the Catawba and these eastern tribes were severed and ties to the colonial government in Charleston strengthened. This schism is signaled by the absence of the Saraws from this document.²⁸

The time-depth of Native American map-making extends beyond the period of European contact. Although more recent maps drawn on perishable materials such as cloth, bark, or hide have survived to the present day, there are a handful of archaeological examples of indigenous cartography where these charts have been pecked or etched into stone. A petroglyphic map that appears to describe landscape features such as rivers and lakes has been found and described near Lake of the Woods in western Ontario.²⁹ In southeast-

ern Missouri, near the confluence of the Mississippi and the Ohio Rivers, a map demarcating the course of the Mississippi is pecked into stone near an important and ancient river crossing. Near a river crossing of the Snake River in Idaho there is a rock-art panel with a potential map of the nearby watercourse. Petroglyphs in the Columbia-Fraser Plateau of British Columbia display lakeshores, rivers, streams, and mountains. A map near an ancient trail in Arizona appears to describe nearby pit-houses, ridges, trails, and quarries.³⁰

The use of cartographic scale in this tradition is particularly noteworthy, as it differs dramatically from contemporary European ideas of “accuracy,” which were dependent on scientific instruments, astronomical observations, correct determination of latitude

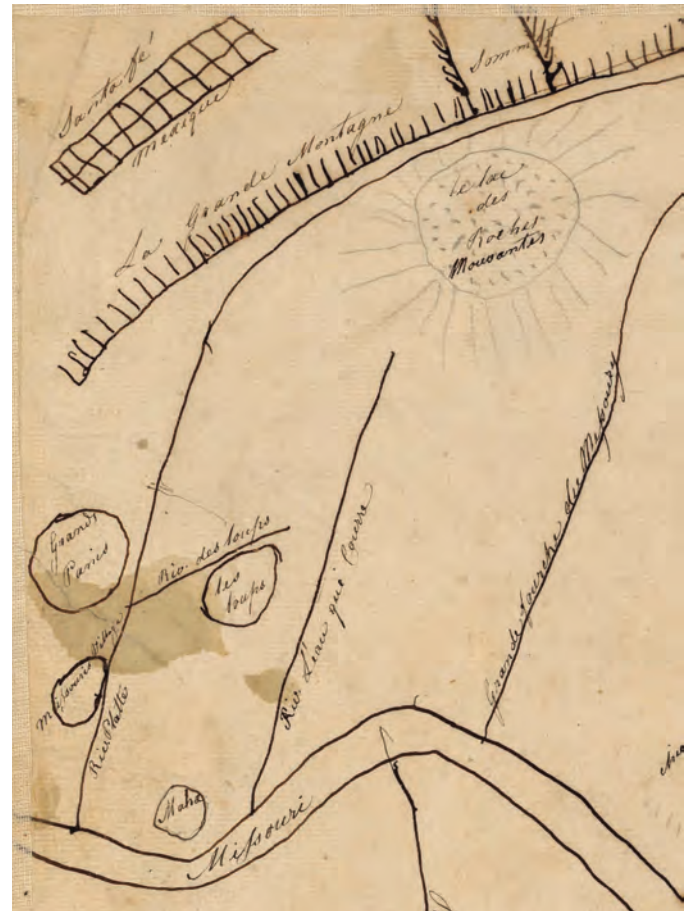


Figure 2: Santa Fe (upper left), beyond the “Grand Mountains.”

and (if possible) longitude, and empirical notions of absolute measured distance. Indian cartographers typically included calculated travel time into their maps, in keeping with the custom measuring distance in terms of a day's travel or the number of "sleeps" to arrive at a given destination. Thus, distance between two points on a native map that are equidistant in space could vary depending on the difficulty of terrain encountered. As such, a place like Fort Mandan on Clark's master map was a midway point, whereas a hypothetical native-drawn map of the same journey would have put the Mandan villages a third of the way along their westward route, taking into account the relative ease of travel through the plains as opposed to the Rocky Mountains.³¹

Like a modern-day map of an urban transportation network, Indian cartographers also employed straight lines to indicate connections between important places on a map regardless of the linearity of the physical route between them. Combined with the variable scale, the end result is "schematic" in appearance, but would have been valuable to those who understood them, much as a simplified subway map is understandable to us today in spite of its abstract, regularized appearance. A map found in the papers of the Albany-based trader Robert Livingston, dated to 1696, contained a schematic map of the northeastern region where he worked, featuring straight-line rivers, ovoid lakes, and no apparent linear scale. Livingston kept this map in spite of the availability of printed, scientifically accurate maps that we would recognize today. However, for the purposes of an Indian trader, this chart of the geographic and commercial relationships between his customers and suppliers was presumably more valuable.³² Its comprehensibility to both Livingston and the Iroquoians with whom he worked demonstrates how knowledge did not simply flow from Enlightenment Europe to the colonizing periphery; those on the periphery were actively shaping and contributing to European knowledge.

Understanding Too Né's map requires putting it into the larger context of indigenous North American map-making, as well as the social and political context in which it was drawn. Interpretation of the map is aided by the French inscriptions of Joseph Gravelines. A note written at one end of the map indicates its authorship: "*Dessiné par Inquidanécharo Grand Chef de la Nation Ricara et mort à Washington 6 Avril 1806. Joseph Graveline, Canadien commissionné interprète. Donné à Honoré Jullien.*"³³ Curiously, Honoré Julien was the White House executive chef of President Thomas Jefferson. From Julien the map was passed on to Jean-Guillaume Hyde

de Neuville, a French diplomat in Washington whose wife was an artist with an interest in Native American subjects. The map was eventually donated to the Bibliothèque nationale de France by Hyde de Neuville's niece in 1905.³⁴ This curious chain of custody may be indicative of either a lack of understanding on the part of official Washington of Too Né's intentions for the document, or a rejection of the clearly populated Arikara political landscape in the midst of what Albert Gallatin designated *terra incognita* (as well as a tacit denial of Arikara sovereignty). On the other hand, its disappearance from Jefferson's or US government papers may simply have resulted from what Lewis, in another context, called the "chapter of accedents."³⁵ Regardless, it provides a snapshot of the geopolitical world that the Corps of Discovery was traversing in 1804-1805.

The symbols used by Too Né to create the map are very

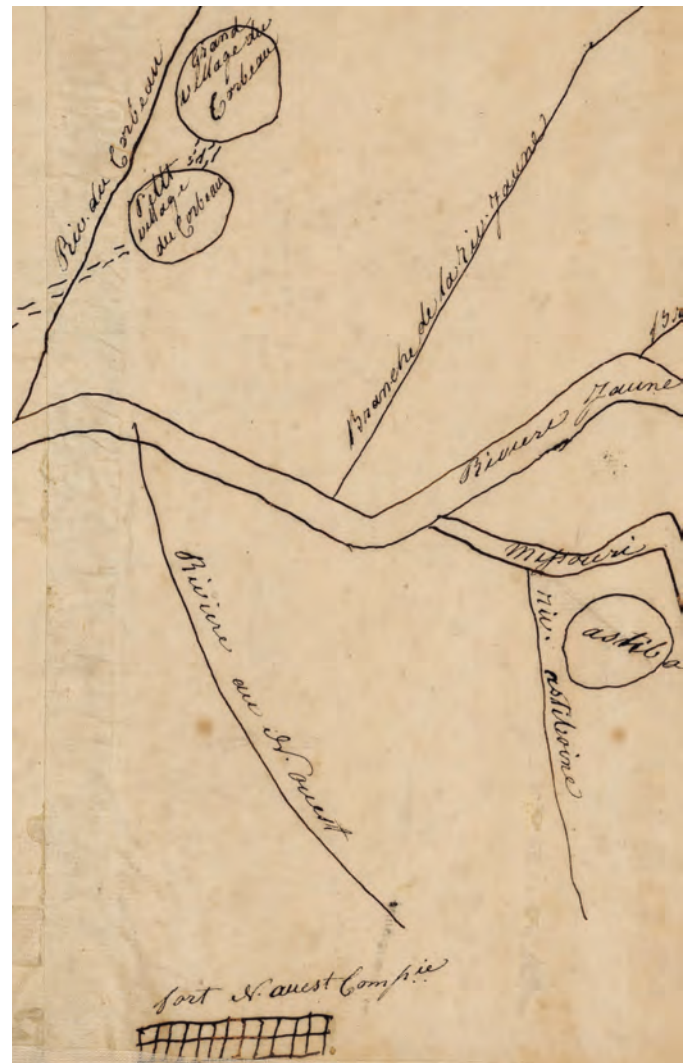


Figure 3: The North West Company's Fort Assiniboine (bottom). Notice that the upper Missouri River is seen by Too Né as a tributary of the Yellowstone-Missouri.



Figure 4: The council at the Arikara villages. Notice that both Lewis and Clark are named.

much in line with the various native cartographic conventions mentioned earlier. The Missouri River, which was central to the Arikara world both spiritually and geographically, dominates the map as a long sinuous line running through the middle. Mountain ranges are depicted as barriers, with tributary rivers drawn as straight lines to the mountains from which they rise or to locations to which they provide easy access. Native groups are generally depicted as circles, much like Francis Nicholson's Catawba map (Figure 1). Echoing the drawing of Charleston, South Carolina, on the Nicholson map is the symbol for "Santa Fé Mexique," which is depicted as a subdivided rectangle beyond a barrier representing the southern Rockies (Figure 2). A line drawn from this range to the Missouri represents the Platte River. A similar rectangle can be found at the opposite end of the map, marked "Fort N. Ouest Compagnie," most likely Fort Assiniboine (Figure 3). These two extremes—a Northwest Company fort in Canada and a white settlement at Santa Fe, New Mexico—illustrate the incredibly broad geographic awareness of Too Né and his contemporaries.

Closer to home, Too Né has drawn three circles representing the three contemporary Arikara villages visited by the Lewis and Clark Expedition, the first of which was on an island (Figure 4).

He has also drawn a contemporary event: the October 1804 council between the expedition and the Arikara. This council is represented by a circle of lines with the label "Differentes Nations en Conseil." Two of the lines are more prominent than the rest; they appear to be stick figures wearing hats. These are labeled "Capt. Lewis" and "Capt. Clark." Presumably, this is the meeting of October 10, 1804.³⁶ Flags were given to the various representatives at the council, and Too Né has symbolically supplied those flags to the various groups who received them. Dashed lines going to and from the council circle indicate participation: there are lines connecting all of the Arikara villages, as well as lines connecting another circle to the council, labeled "Chaiennes Nation." The connection between the council circle and the Cheyenne could refer to the meeting between a handful of Cheyenne and the expedition in the third Arikara village on October 12, 1804, or it could simply represent a political relationship between the Cheyenne and the Arikara.

Other groups are connected by dashed lines to the Cheyenne, labeled "les gens de la terre rouge," or "the people of the red earth country." These plains tribes, such as the Kiowa ("Cayowa" on the map), appear to have relationships with the Cheyenne but not the Arikara directly. In other words, the Cheyenne were probably intermediaries between the Arikara and more distant tribes in the southwest. In contrast to this relationship, on the opposite side of the river are five small circles representing different bands of the Sioux. Significantly, dashed lines connect these circles together, but no lines connect them to the Arikara (Figure 5).

Upriver, Too Né has depicted the Mandan and Hidatsa villages, as well as the late-October 1804 council with Lewis and Clark, in the same fashion as the council with the Arikara (Figure 6).³⁷ The villages and the council itself are connected by a maze of dashed lines, illustrating a great deal of interchange between these groups. Flags, once again

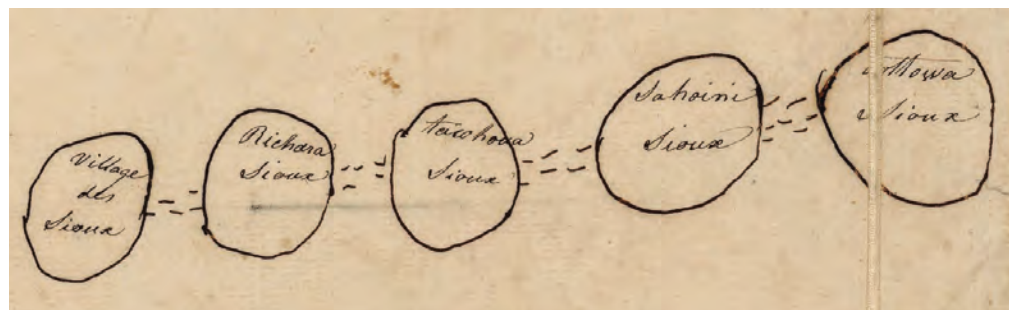


Figure 5: The isolated Sioux (Lakota, Dakota) villages. In Too Né's mind, the Sioux are definitely the Other.

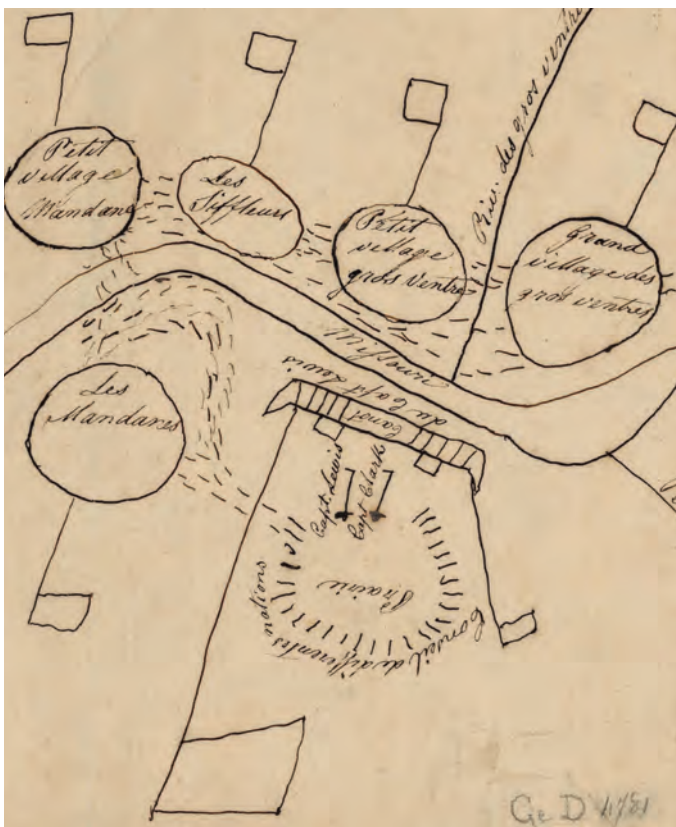


Figure 6: The great council at the Mandan and Hidatsa villages. Notice the keelboat. The social, political, and economic flow patterns are clearly marked.

supplied as gifts from the United States to the local dignitaries, are depicted. As with the Arikara relationship with the Cheyenne, the historic, linguistic, and cultural ties between the Hidatsa and the Crow are indicated here. A set of dashed lines leaves from the “Grand villages des gros ventres” in Figure 6, and leads to the “Petit village du Corbeau” in Figure 3. What is unique about this image is the appearance of the expedition’s keelboat, labeled “Canot du Capt Lewis.” Although by no means the first Europeans or Euro-Americans to visit the Mandan (they had been preceded by the French Canadian explorer and fur trader Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, sieur de La Vérendrye by more than six decades), Lewis and Clark were certainly the most heavily equipped. Too Né’s makes it abundantly clear that the expedition’s keelboat was an unprecedented and therefore noteworthy sight—worth committing to paper—among people used to utilizing bullboats for short river crossings.

After a calumet ceremony with the assembled Mandan and Hidatsa council on October

29, 1804, Too Né stated his intention to return downriver to his home the following day. [See Jenkinson, “Maney Extraordinary Stories” herein, p. 28.] The map, however, does not terminate with the Mandan. Upriver from the last Hidatsa village, a tributary labeled “Riv. du Corbeau” leads to two circles representing the Crow people. Beyond that, the wide, winding Missouri splits in two: one continues as the Missouri, the other, which appears to be larger, is the *Rivière Jaune*, or Yellowstone River. Along the Missouri branch, Too Né has supplied more geopolitical information: the tribes of the far northern plains, or the Assiniboine, Cree, Atsina (“*les gros ventres ambulans*”), and Blackfeet (“*Pieds noirs*”) (Figure 7). The Yellowstone fork of the map has a series of straight lines leading from the river to a barrier labeled *Montagnes de roches*, or Rocky Mountains, beyond which are a series of circles representing *Les gens du Serpente*, the Snake Indians, or Shoshone.

Flowing north to south from where it drains the Knife River in North Dakota to modern-day Kansas City, Too Né’s Missouri River divided his world into what Euro-Americans call east and west, and his map reflects that orientation to some degree. Upstream from the Mandan and Hidatsa villages, however, the river makes an almost 90-degree turn, and becomes a river that drains from west to east. Seen through a “western- scientific” cartographic lens, that can make orienting this map somewhat complicated. Rather than being aligned to magnetic north, Too Né’s map is drawn relative to the sacred water that flows through the literal middle of the Arikara universe. As the river bends, so does the map (in a very non western-scientific way) and all is oriented toward its new directional flow. Additionally, rivers that do not flow

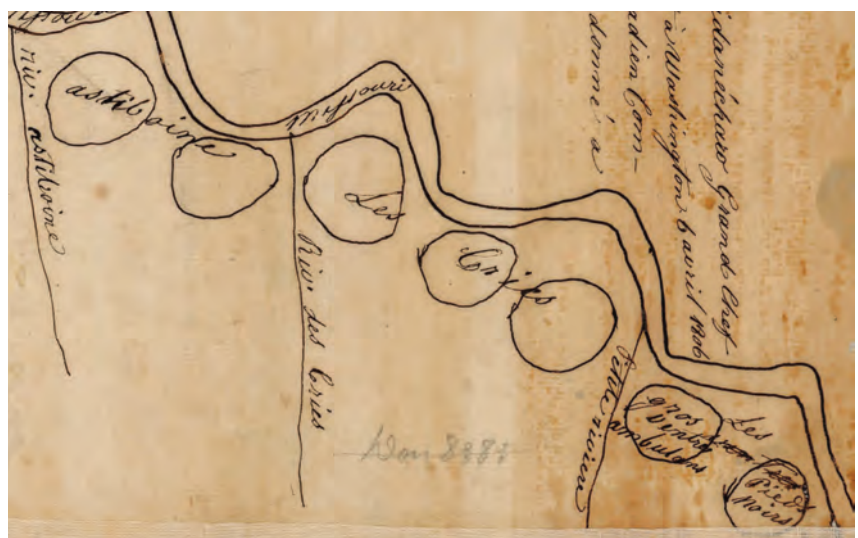


Figure 7: The Blackfoot and Gros Ventres of the Prairies homelands.

into the Missouri, such as the Assiniboine River, are shown as lines drawn toward it. Although we may be tempted to view these as intended hydrological features, and therefore “incorrect” by our standards, it is important to remember that the Arikara and other Middle Missouri tribes were not using rivers in the way that the Lewis and Clark Expedition were using them, and did not necessarily see them the same way. These were not cultures like the Algonquians of the Great Lakes Region who were accustomed to floating goods and people in birch bark canoes along aquatic highways. Prior to the introduction of horse transport, rivers and tributaries were routes that could be followed through barren and featureless prairie landscapes. They provided paths of least resistance through more rugged mountainous terrain. River valleys were also places where water, shelter, firewood, and other plant and animal resources could be more readily obtained than in the grassy uplands. In that light, there is a logical parsimony to the tributaries Too Né chose to record. If we see them as trail lines instead of hydrological features, they take on a different character: they become routes to Fort Assiniboine, routes to neighboring peoples, routes to sacred sites, and routes to the Rocky Mountains.

On October 17, 1804, as Too Né walked along the banks

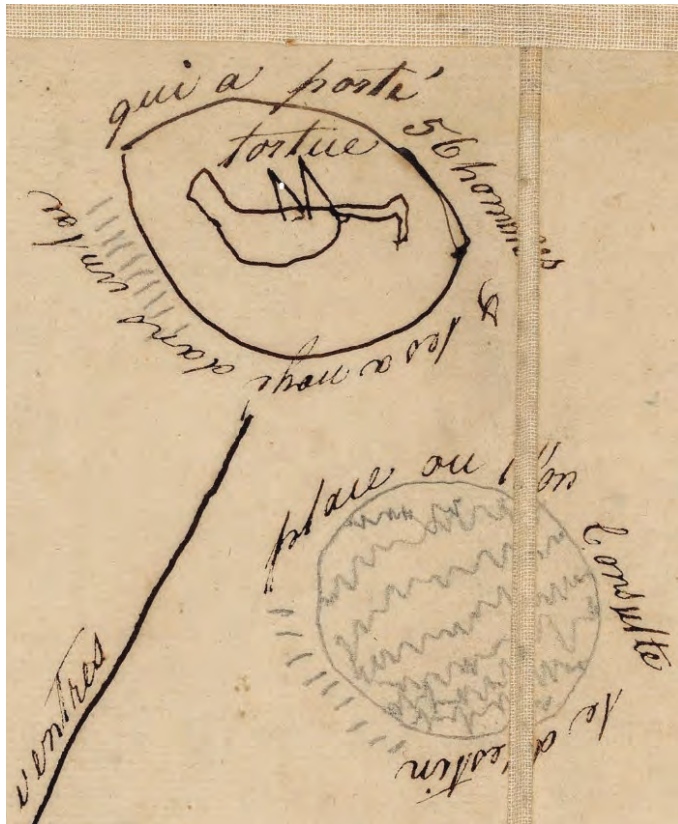


Figure 8: The place where the 56 men died, and the site where Native peoples consulted their destiny.

of the Missouri River with William Clark and spoke of “Turtles, Snakes, & and the power of a perticiler rock... which informs of everr thing...,”³⁸ he adopted the role of tour guide. Much as a guide today will regale her guests with the histories and legends surrounding a particular place as she shows them around, Too Né shared an old Arikara tale of a turtle that had carried 56 men to their deaths in a lake. This lake, too, is depicted on his map (Figure 8). Leading to this sacred site where the Arikara would historically make offerings to the men in the lake³⁹ is a tributary river or route on his map from the Mandan and Hidatsa villages labelled the “*Riv. des Gros Ventres*” (Figure 6). Next to the sacred lake Too Né sketched the “perticiler rock” and identified it as “the place where we consult destiny” (“*place où l’on consulte le destin*,” Figure 9). A significant Mandan and Hidatsa sacred site to this day, this image represents the medicine stone at Medicine Rock State Historic Site, located near today’s Elgin, North Dakota. In October 1804, the expedition passed by the medicine rock without visiting it. On February 21, 1805, Clark reported that the Mandan “informed me that Several men of their nation was gorn to Consult their Medison Stone about 3 day march to the South West to know What was to be the result of the insuing year— They have great confidence in this Stone and Say that it informs them of every thing which is to happen, & visit it every Spring & Sometimes in the Summer.”⁴⁰

Over the course of the upriver journey in 1804, Too Né pointed out abandoned villages and told their stories, and spoke of places such as where “the Callemet Bird live in the hollows of those hills” (October 19, 1804)⁴¹ when referring to a site where Arikara men would traditionally catch golden eagles for their feathers. This too is portrayed on his map. Other strange and fantastic features adorn his rendered landscape: rock formations where a woman and dog were turned to stone (Figure 4, “*chien petrifié, femme petrifiée*”), an unusual cave where crows gather in abundance (Figure 4, “*caverne où les*”

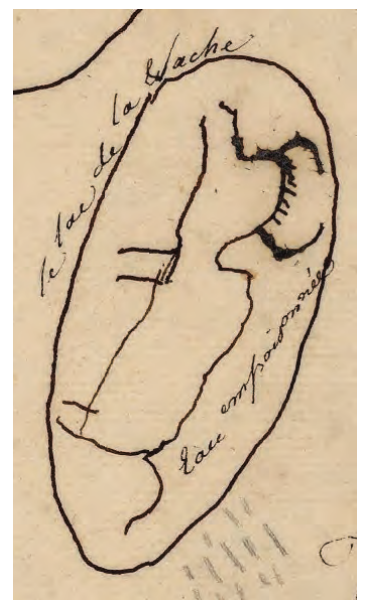


Figure 9: The Buffalo Lake from which the Arikara originated.

corbeaux se rassemblent en abondance”), and, most significantly, a place called Buffalo Lake (Figure 9). In keeping with the indigenous cartographic tradition of including the sacred, the legendary, the historical, and the geographical within the same document, Too Né has also included one of the sites from the origin story of the Arikara people, marked “*le lac de la vache*” and “*eau empoisonnée*.” When the Arikara people emerged from the earth, they initially came upon this lake which was inhabited by a bison-horned monster called the “Cut-Nose.”⁴²

As the ambassador of a people that dwelled in a storied landscape, Too Né did not see fit to separate those legends from that landscape. An elder from a society that lived in an environment inhabited by oracular stones and divided by a holy river, a cosmos imbued with power and meaning, he would have seen no distinction between the sacred and the mundane. In creating this document, Too Né encompassed the entirety of the Arikara world, spanning the spatial, but also the temporal: from their origins up to the present moment. He knew precisely where his people belonged in that world—geographically, politically, spiritually—and he had the paperwork to prove it. ■

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William Dunlap's Meeting with Too Né in Washington, DC February 25-28, 1806

Editor's Note: The actor, novelist, and painter William Dunlap (1766-1839) spent time with the Arikara leader Too Né in Washington, DC, in the spring of 1806, just weeks before Too Né's death. His description of their encounter (which follows) is the fullest account we have of Too Né.

I have been to visit a Chief of the Rickeraw Indians who was mentioned by Mr. Jefferson as an extraordinary man, speaking many Indian tongues & likewise conversing by signs. He has come to the seat of Government, from a distant part of Louisiana territory—200 miles beyond the residence of any tribe that has yet had intercourse with us, this immense journey he undertook as a deputy from his nation & others, accompanied only by a French trader as an interpreter & guide. Mumford who had seen him before was the leader of Mitchill & myself. When we entered the house which is a boarding house appropriated to Indians, we found the interpreter, the Rickeraw & 2 or 3 Osages, in a small front room with the 2 mattresses & a Bear skin on the floor. The Osages went in & out the room during our stay or occasionally stretched on the floor. The interpreter entered into conversations with us in French.

The great man was seated cross-legg'd on a mattress scraping & cutting Guinea-hen feathers & did not deign to raise his eyes to us. His dress was a second hand blue, military coat, without facings, but with two large gold epaulets, a flannel shirt, dirty light colored pantaloons & shoes covered with mud of many days standing. He had rings in his ears & a blue cotton handkerchief, tied about his head in the French manner with a buckle disposed in the front. He is a large old man & nearly as dark as an American born negroe, but with light hazel colored eyes. His hair was covered by the handkerchief. After conversing some time with the Interpreter, Mitchell desired him to inform the Rickeraw that a Senator of the U.S. from the

great City of N. York having heard that he was a learned traveller &c &c had come to see & become acquainted with him. This harangue the interpreter,¹ I delivered in a loud & distinct voice & at great length. The learned savage continued during the whole solely occupied in cutting & trimming feathers, occasionally whistling in a whispering key as he attended to his work, & without once looking at us or appearing to hear the interpreter. The interpreter finished & the Rickeraw continued at his work. We concluded that he

would take his own time & therefore turning from him entered again into conversation with the Frenchman.

By & by the old man smiled & made a sign to a young Indian who went out & brought him a pitcher of water. He then pointed to the litter he had made in cutting & the young man took it away. The Rickeraw now very deliberately put away his knife & work & began to prepare some tobacco for smoking. We continued to converse with the Frenchman. At length having prepared his pipe, lighted it, placed a chair in the middle of the room & seated himself, the chief appeared for the first time to notice us. Still he spoke not, but pulled from under

his belt, or out of a pouch or pocket hanging in front, he pulled some papers & presented one of them to Mitchill who read it aloud. It was a certificate & recommendation from Genl Clark & Capt Merriweather Lewis, the gentleman who has been for many months exploring that country by order of the president. When Mitchill in reading came to the Rickeraw's name, he gave an assenting guttural sound the first he had uttered & so to the names of Clark & Lewis. The paper was returned & we shook hands with him. **He then presented 3 pieces of paper, which joined lengthwise, presented a map of his rout, of his country, the course of the Missouri, the relative situations of a great**



Portrait of William Dunlap. Courtesy University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign Rare Book Library, *Portrait of Actors, 1720-1920*.

many Indian nations, & Captain Lewis's encampment.²

Having displayed his map, he traced his rout with his finger, & by means of signs, sometimes explained by the Interpreter, he made us perfectly understand him. So expert are the western Indians in pantomime that we are told they sometimes hold council in which not a word is spoken. "Here" says he "is my country." Then he pointed out the situations of the neighboring tribes, recapitulating their names & marking by signs their distinguishing characteristics. Among the rest he named & described a nation of whites, with blue & grey eyes & light colored hair. This the interpreter corroborated. He traced his rout to the place where he met Capn Lewis. Then told us that he guided him westward & returned again with him. When in his rout he came to a village, his sign for entering was, to raise the left hand & arch it, & then to pass the right hand with the fingers somewhat pointed under the arch, the back of the last touching the palm of the first. When he came to a mark of a River running into the great River—Missouri, he signified his crossing by the action of rowing. In this manner he marked the whole of his route, ending it by a rude figure signifying the presidents house in Washington; beyond which he had drawn a gun, a sword, powder, ball & tobacco as the presents he expected.

A part of the country on this side the Rickaraws, he described as volcanic, & near this burning soil, he had marked a cavern the properties of which partake of the marvellous. If a man was to be thrown in "says he by signs" he would be thrown out again by the force of the wind. Take a tree & throw it in, it will descend for some time & suddenly be tossed out, thrown into the air & scattered in pieces.

He had two other marvellous spots on his map & his account of them is in the true Mandevillian Style. The first is a lake in which a monstrous amphibious animal resides, with horns like a Cow &c & The second is likewise a lake, the waters of which have such an attractive relatively to stones, that all the stones for a certain distance around it have gradually forsaken their old beds & taken up their abode at the bottom of this lake. This must be all true for in the first place he saw the stones at the bottom of the lake, & in the

second the Rickaraws never lie. His sign for speaking truth & the contrary is very expressive, he draws a line with his finger from his heart to his mouth & thence straight to the auditor or spectator; for falsehood the line comes crooked from any part of the Abdomen & on issuing from the lips, splits, diverges & crosses in every direction.

When he returns he says, all the natives around will assemble to hear his report; & what he sees & hears, he shall treasure up in his head & faithfully recount.

After a pretty long interview we shook hands & parted, much pleased with the novelty of the exhibition & the animation & intelligence of the old savage, who compared to the stupid Indian of the North is a civilized man. Is it not probable that these Western & southern Indians retain more of the civilization of the Mexicans & Peruvians from whom all the tribes have originated, & that the farther others have wandered from the parent stocks the more they have brutalized. ■

Source: *Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839): The Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Critic, Novelist, and Historian.* 3 vols. New York: New York Historical Society (1930). Volume 2:389-393.

Notes: 1. Joseph Gravelines. 2. Boldface added by editor.



Sacagawea by Michael Westergard

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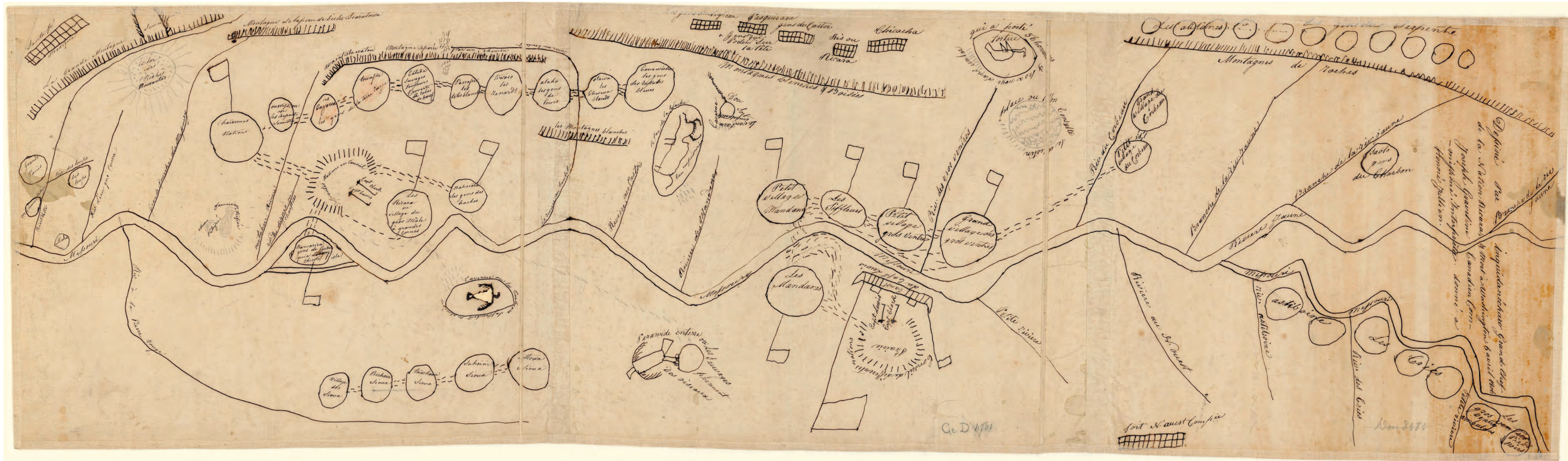
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Photograph of Trapper Peak, Bitterroot Mountains, Montana, courtesy of Steve Lee.

the Taa'Ne' map



December 23 Pierre Chouteau finally begins journey from St. Louis to Washington with Indian delegation, including Too Né and Joseph Gravelines

— 1806 —

February Chouteau-Too Né delegation reaches Washington, DC
 April 6 Too Né dies in Washington, DC
 April 11 President Jefferson writes letter of condolence to the Arikara
 August 21 Returning from the Pacific, just north of the Arikara villages on the Grand River, Lewis & Clark learn from French trappers that Too Né is rumored to have died in Washington, DC. They choose not to disclose this information to the Arikara leadership

September 12 Expedition encounters keelboat under command of McClellan. Joseph Gravelines is aboard, carrying a letter from President Jefferson, on his mission to explain the death of Too Né to the Arikara

September 23 Expedition arrives at St. Louis

— 1807 —

June 3 After wintering part way up the Missouri River, Gravelines reaches Arikara villages with gifts from the US government. Trader Charles Courtin reads Jefferson’s letter of condolence, Gravelines translates it into Arikara. The Arikara react with sorrow and rage
 June Nathaniel Pryor’s expedition to return Sheheke leaves St. Louis

September 9 Pryor’s expedition returning Sheheke arrives at the Arikara villages, turns back after exchange of gunfire
 October 16 Pryor writes to Clark to explain the debacle at the Arikara villages

— 1808 —

July 17 Jefferson writes to Governor Lewis urging him to do whatever it takes to return Sheheke to the Mandan villages

— 1809 —

February 24 Lewis endorses public-private partnership agreement to return Sheheke to the Mandan villages
 June 8 Lewis writes to Pierre Chouteau with instructions to use whatever force necessary to overawe the Arikara, including expulsion or extermination
 July 15 Secretary of War William Eustis writes severe letter of rebuke to Governor Lewis, declining several of Lewis’ vouchers, accusing him of conflict of interest, and criticizing him for not staying in contact with the War Department
 August 18 Lewis writes a defense of his conduct to Secretary Eustis
 September 4 Lewis departs St. Louis for Washington, DC
 October 11 Meriwether Lewis dies of gunshot wounds at Grinder’s Inn on the Natchez Trace ■

What’s in a Name?

Lewis and Clark met a significant Arikara leader in early October 1804. That man rode upriver with the expedition in the weeks that followed to negotiate a peace settlement with the Mandan. In the spring of 1805 he went down river with the keelboat to St. Louis. After a series of delays, some having to do with the Arikara leader’s serious illness, he went to Washington, DC, to meet with President Jefferson. He died in the East and was buried, according to Jefferson, with appropriate obsequies.

What was his name? What did his family and friends call him? In this issue of WPO we consistently use the term Too Né. He was also known as Piaheto, Eagle’s Feather, Hawk’s Feather, Arketarnarshar, and Ankadouchero. Several historians have suggested that he is not as well-known as he deserves to be because nobody, including the erudite Jefferson, knew quite what to call him.

In this issue we use Too Né, because that is the name that Christopher Steinke settled upon for his seminal article about the map in the October 2014 issue of *William and Mary Quarterly*. Kevin O’Brian followed that convention in his WPO article on Native American map conventions. For consistency’s sake, I chose to use the same name in the rest of the issue, including in my own article on the ways in which Too Né’s map tracks with Clark’s October and November 1804 journal.

It seems to me, however, that he should more appropriately be called Eagle’s Feather (Piaheto). Too Né and Arketarnarshar both appear to be job titles rather than the Arikara leader’s actual name. Too Né and Arketarnarshar are both thought to signify something like “civic leader,” “band chief,” or “chief of the town,” just as we might call Rudy Giuliani “Mayor” or Diane Feinstein “Senator.”

In the Lewis and Clark world, the Mandan leaders are known by their proper names: White Coyote (Big White) as well as Sheheke, and Black Cat as well as Posecopsahe. The principal Hidatsa leader is known as LeBorgne or The One Eye.

The best procedure would be to enquire of the Arikara, who often prefer to be called the *Sabnib*, what name they designate for the one we herein call Too Né. Names are important; individuals and groups, particularly those who have been historically oppressed or colonized, have the right to be called by the names they prefer, not necessarily by names sometimes arbitrarily imposed on them by the dominant culture. Thus the “Sioux” prefer to be called *Lakota* or *Dakotab* or according to their tribal band *Hunkpapa* or *Minneconjou*; the Nez Perce (who didn’t typically pierce their noses) prefer to be called *Nimipuu*; the Chippewa prefer to be called *Anishanaabe*; etc.

It would seem most logical hereafter to call the Arikara leader Piaheto or (if you prefer) Eagle’s Feather. ■

Editor

Honoré Julien

Honoré Julien (1760–1830) was a native of France who immigrated to the United States in 1792, during the exodus brought on by the French Revolution. He found employment as President George Washington’s last official chef. After Jefferson was finally certified as president following the chaotic election of 1800, he scrambled to assemble a household staff. With his usual fastidiousness, the gourmand Jefferson wrote that he found “as great difficulty in composing my household as I shall probably find in composing an administration.” The French envoy in Philadelphia, Philippe André Joseph de Létombe, recommended the 41-year-old Julien to supervise the White House kitchens. Jefferson hired Julien as his chef in 1801 and retained him through his two terms as president.

Washington socialite Margaret Bayard Smith reported that “the excellence and superior skill of his French cook was acknowledged by all who frequented his table.” At the time of Jefferson’s retirement in the spring of 1809, Julien visited Monticello to train two of TJ’s slaves in the art of French cookery. After returning to the national

capital, Julien established a catering business on F Street. In 1810 he announced his willingness to “serve any Private Family in the capacity of Cook by the day” and advertised the sale of cakes, fruits, nuts, sweets, and ice cream. Eventually, Julien’s son Auguste took over the business. He performed catering services for President James Polk.

It is not clear why Too Né entrusted his map to Jefferson’s French chef. The cartouche of the map says:

Designed by Inquidanécharo, Grand Chief of the Ricara Nation
 Died at Washington in April 1806
 Commissioned by Interpreter Joseph Graveline, Interpreter
 Given to Honoré Julien

It seems likely that Julien had more (or more satisfying) contact with Too Né than did the preternaturally busy president. Gravelines’ French was probably better than his English. Julien may have served as a linguistic rather than a gastronomic intermediary. This is just one of the mysteries that the Too Né map embodies. ■

Editor

Joseph Gravelines

Because they were explorers and not professional linguists, Lewis and Clark depended on the ad hoc translation services of such white traders and trappers as they met on their journey to the Pacific Ocean. With the Yankton Sioux they were fortunate to have the assistance of Pierre Dorion, Sr., who had lived among them for almost twenty years. Unfortunately, Dorion was no longer with the Corps of Discovery when they had their troubled encounter with the Teton (Brule) Sioux near today’s Pierre, South Dakota. Some of the mutual confusions of that tense four-day encounter might have been avoided had Dorion served as cultural liaison. Among the Mandan Lewis and Clark employed Rene Jusseaume. Even though Clark characterized him as “a Cunin artfull an insoncear”¹ fellow, Jusseaume was their only significant intermediary with the Mandan. In fact, he and his family accompanied the Mandan leader Sheheke and his wife and child to Washington, DC, in the aftermath of the expedition. The expedition’s Hidatsa interpreter was the colorful Toussaint Charbonneau, who apparently had only the most rudimentary knowledge of Hidatsa. Nor did he speak much English.

The expedition’s interpreter among the Arikara was a French trader named Joseph Gravelines. Joseph Gravelines was an associate of traders Pierre-Antoine Tabeau and Regis Loisel. Gravelines first appeared in the journals on October 8, 1804 as the expedition reached the Arikara villages near the mouth of the Grand River just south of today’s North Dakota–South Dakota border. Clark calls him “(Mr. Gravotine a French man [who] joined us as an interpreter).”² Gravelines accompanied the expedition on its journey from the Arikara to the Mandan villages. He translated the Arikara Too Né’s running commentary on the region through which they traveled. Once the expedition reached the Mandan and Hidatsa villages, Gravelines played a critical role in the diplomatic exchange between the Arikara diplomat Too Né, the Mandan people, and the expedition leadership.

Gravelines was a busy man in the fall and winter of 1804-05. He was engaged in an early version of what today is called “shuttle diplomacy.” He made several trips between the Arikara and the Mandan villages, and he served as courier for letters exchanged between Lewis and Clark and Pierre-Antoine Tabeau.

As the ice began to break up on the Missouri River in the spring of 1805, Toussaint Charbonneau became demanding and obstreperous, setting conditions for his employment that the captains found intolerable. At that point Lewis and Clark seriously considered firing Charbonneau and proceeding west of the Mandan villages with Gravelines as their general interpreter. Had this occurred, it is certain that Sacagawea would not have accompanied the expedition. Charbonneau eventually capitulated. At the time of the Charbonneau crisis, Sacagawea had not yet been named in the expedition’s journals. Had the contract negotiations broken down, the first or second most famous Native American woman in American history would almost certainly have died nameless and unnoticed by history’s record keepers.

Gravelines accompanied Too Né to Washington, DC, in December 1805, and remained with the Arikara leader until his death

in April 1806. At some point between April 1805 and February 1806, Gravelines assisted Too Né in fashioning his map of the Arikara world. At the very least, Gravelines provided French captions for the places and events Too Né memorialized on his map. After Too Né’s death, President Jefferson sent Gravelines back to the Arikara villages with his letter of condolence (see page 31 herein), approximately \$300 of gifts, and the unenviable responsibility of explaining Too Né’s death to the tribe.

As the Lewis and Clark Expedition made its way down river to St. Louis in the autumn of 1806, they encountered a trading party on September 12, 1806, near today’s St. Joseph, Missouri. A man named Robert McClellan was the leader of the party. On board were Pierre Dorion, Sr., and Gravelines, who was traveling upriver to fulfill President Jefferson’s condolence mission. It was then that Gravelines confirmed Too Né’s death, a rumor of which the captains had heard several weeks earlier when they encountered three Frenchmen at the Arikara villages.³

On September 12, Clark wrote, “we examined the instructions of those interpreters and found that Gravelin was ordered to the Ricaras with a Speech from the president of the U. States to that nation and some presents which had been given the Ricara Cheif who had visited the U. States and unfortunately died at the City of Washington, he was instructed to teach the Ricaras agriculture. . . .”⁴

The irony of Jefferson’s suggestion that Gravelines teach farming practices to the Arikara, who had been masters of agriculture and grain storage for centuries before Columbus bumped into America, was probably lost in the more somber message he was carrying on the president’s behalf.

Gravelines overwintered somewhere in the middle reaches of the Missouri River (perhaps near the mouth of the Platte River), and did not reach the Grand River villages until early June 1807. With the help of a trader named Charles Courtin he delivered the bad news of Too Né’s death. Apparently the Arikara succumbed to the timeworn habit of blaming the messenger.

Gravelines survived the crisis and managed to regain the trust and respect of the Arikara people. Gary Moulton notes that Gravelines was reported in 1811 as having lived among the Arikara for more than 20 years, often, in the post-expedition era, as an official agent of the United States government. ■

Editor

Notes

1. Gary Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 3:203.
2. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:151.
3. Moulton, *Journals*, 8:311.
4. Moulton, *Journals*, 8:357.
5. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:154 (footnote 8).

A Too Né Timeline

— 1804 —

October 8 Expedition arrives at the three remaining Arikara villages on the Grand River
 October 9 Lewis and Clark meet Too Né
 October 12 Expedition leaves Grand River villages, Too Né and Joseph Gravelines on board
 October 14 Too Né protests the flogging of expedition member John Newman
 October 16 Lewis walks on shore with the Too Né and Gravelines. Too Né supplies Arikara place names for a series of creeks
 October 17 Clark walks on shore with Too Né. Too Né kills a deer. Too Né tells Clark about pronghorn antelope seasonal migration. Clark declares that the “Treditions” mentioned by Too Né were not worth writing down
 October 19 Too Né informs Clark of eagle catching places on the eroded hills on along the river
 October 20 Near today’s Bismarck, ND, Clark walks all day on shore looking for sites noted on John Evans’ map of the Missouri. Too Né points out abandoned Mandan villages on both sides of the river and explains the reasons for the Mandan migration north to the Knife River
 October 24 At today’s Painted Woods Lake, expedition meets Posecopsahe (Black Cat) and other leaders of the Mandan nation. The Mandan receive Too Né with hospitality. Too Né accompanies Mandan leaders to their camp for the night
 October 28 High winds prevent council (at which Too Né would have been introduced)
 October 29 Lewis searches for an appropriate site for a winter compound. Captains hold their first Mandan–Hidatsa council in high winds. Lewis introduces Too Né and explains the Arikara peace gesture
 November 2 Too Né sets out for the Arikara villages, in party that includes one Mandan chief and several young men
 November 6 Interpreter Joseph Gravelines leaves Fort Mandan to interpret at Arikara villages

— 1805 —

April 7 Arikara leader Raven Brave visits Fort Mandan as expedition is about to resume travel. Announces that several leaders of the Arikara intend to make the journey to Washington, DC, to see the Great Father. Keelboat starts downriver for St. Louis. A letter from Pierre-Antoine Tabeau reports the same news
 April Keelboat stops at Arikara villages to pick up Too Né for journey to Washington, DC
 May 20 Keelboat reaches St. Louis
 Summer Too Né gravely ill in St. Louis
 October 20 Abortive mission to return Too Né to Arikara villages leaves St. Louis, turns back after being menaced by Kansa Indians

continued —

“Maney Extroadenary Stories:”

The Significance of the Arikara Too Né’s Map

By Clay Jenkinson

“This Chief tells me of a number of their Treditions about Turtles, Snakes, &. and the power of a perticiler rock or Cave on the next river which informs of evrr thing none of those I think worth while mentioning—”

October 17, 1804.¹

Lewis and Clark were fortunate in the pair of individuals they met at the mouth of the Grand River in the first days of October 1804. The resident trader and interpreter Joseph Gravelines proved to be so reliable and so good at the immediate tasks put to him that long after the Lewis and Clark Expedition he was employed by the United States government to represent its interests among the Arikara.² Lewis, who was not one to exaggerate the merits of others, called him “an honest discrete man and

an excellent boat-man.”³ After the winter of 1804-05, when Corporal Richard Warfington undertook the return of the expedition’s keelboat to St. Louis, with its precious cargo of reports, letters, maps, artifacts, and live animal specimens, the captains designated Gravelines as the pilot of the voyage.

An Arikara man known variously as Arketaranarshar, Ankedoucharo, Eagle’s Feather, Hawk’s Feather, Piaheto, and Too Né (hereafter Too Né) was one of the hereditary leaders of one of the three Arikara earthlodge villages at the mouth of the Grand River.⁴ The people who met him in St. Louis and beyond saw more merit in him than did the captains. From St. Louis, General James Wilkinson reported, a bit breathlessly, that Too Né spoke “Eleven different Languages,” in addition to being a “Master of the Language of Arms, Hands & Fingers,” i.e., Indian sign language. “He



US Senator Samuel L. Mitchill listens while Too Né describes his great journey. Watercolor by Katrina Case for WPO.

is certainly a learned Savage,” Wilkinson concluded.⁵ In Washington, DC, Secretary of War Henry Dearborn said, “The Ricardi [sic] Chief is an interesting character;—and we shall not fail of sending him away particularly satisfied. I most ardently hope, he will return home in safety.”⁶ According to the artist, actor, novelist, and impresario William Dunlap, Too Né had a compelling way of reinforcing what he had to say through his mastery of Indian sign language. “His sign for speaking truth & the contrary is very expressive,” Dunlap wrote.⁷

Such details as we have of Too Né’s appearance and personality come not from William Clark but from individuals the Arikara leader met during his travels to Washington, DC. When we first glimpse him other than as an undifferentiated Arikara informant, he is sitting cross-legged on a mattress in a shabby hotel in the national capital trimming Guinea hen feathers. He is a large man, dark enough to be mistaken for an African-American, no longer young, stoically biding his time before addressing questions put to him by a couple of curiosity seekers, including US Senator Samuel Latham Mitchill (1764-1831) of New York. He is wearing a weathered US Army uniform coat and he has tied a blue kerchief around his head “in the French style,” according to Dunlap, a friend of Mitchill’s and an active diarist and letter writer who was visiting Washington, DC, for a few weeks.⁸ Unfortunately, Dunlap, the author of this indelible word portrait of Too Né, did not make the Arikara leader the subject of one of his paintings.

Too Né assisted the Corps of Discovery in several important ways. He later told Senator Mitchill and William Dunlap that “he guided him [Lewis, or perhaps more likely, Clark] westward & returned again with him.”⁹ This was something of an exaggeration. He undertook not one but two diplomatic missions on behalf of Lewis and Clark. First he accompanied the expedition from the Arikara to the Mandan villages to negotiate a cessation of recent hostilities and to propose an alliance that might blunt the power of Sioux aggression on the northern Great Plains. In this he was moderately successful. According to historian Christopher Steinke, Too Né was sent on the diplomatic mission by another Arikara leader, Pocasse.¹⁰ Then he let himself be talked into making the long journey to Washington, DC, to meet President Jefferson and observe firsthand the wealth, power, technology, and overwhelming population of the United States. His fellow Arikara tribesmen were uneasy about the proposed journey. According to James Wilkinson,

Too Né’s decision to visit the Great Father was “contrary to the will of his whole People.”¹¹

Too Né’s remarkable map was not a standard, off-the-shelf Arikara portrait of the American West, though it had many of the elements and details of such a map. Too Né drew his map explicitly to pay respect to the unexpected arrival of the Anglo-Americans in the Upper Missouri country. The map charted not only place but time, right up to the moment he inscribed it. The two most prominent features of the map are the expedition’s councils with the Arikara on October 12, 1804, and with the Mandan and Hidatsa, including the Arikara peace initiative, on October 29, 1804. Too Né seems not to have made the mistake of some other Native American nations in regarding Lewis and Clark as ephemeral visitors, filled with self-importance, who spoke with considerable huff and puff, but who soon enough moved over the lip of the horizon. Too Né gave the Corps of Discovery’s arrival the weight and significance that the captains themselves attached to their voyage. His map seems to endorse Jefferson’s statement to Sheheke (“The Wolf”) of the Mandan nation on December 30, 1806: “We are now your fathers; and you shall not lose by the change.”¹² A part of the original Too Né map has been lost. He charted his journey all the way to Washington, DC, and even drew pictures of the gifts he expected to receive from the Great Father.¹³

On the upriver journey across the bottom half of today’s North Dakota (October 12-26, 1804), Too Né gave Lewis and Clark a running ethnographic commentary and geopolitical lesson on the Upper Missouri country—extending all the way from the Dakota and Ojibwe homelands of the Upper Mississippi in today’s Minnesota and Ontario to the Black Hills, which for Lewis and Clark meant not only our Black Hills (South Dakota) but all the outlying ragged pine country east of the northern Rocky Mountains.

It was during that three-week period that Too Né informed of a “number of their Treditions” which Clark did not “think worth while mentioning—”¹⁴

Between today’s Mobridge, South Dakota, and Stanton, North Dakota (approximately 150 miles), Too Né identified and named creeks, rivers, buttes, and bluffs on both sides of the river. He also explained Arikara and (to a certain extent) Mandan sacred places in the region. He identified the ruins of abandoned Arikara, Mandan, Cheyenne, and Sioux villages and encampments in the southern half of what is now North Dakota. And—later, probably in St. Louis—he drew the recently discovered map that might be called an Arikara

projection of the trans-Mississippi West. He met with and impressed President Jefferson in Washington.¹⁵ There, unfortunately, on April 6, 1806, he died of natural causes.

The region in question—between the mouths of the Grand River in northern South Dakota and Knife River in central North Dakota, with today's Bismarck approximately in the middle—is remote and sparsely populated to this day. The Missouri River is impounded all the way from Pierre, South Dakota, to just below Bismarck, North Dakota. This stretch of the massive Lake Oahe is little visited. Spanning the border on the west bank of the river is the Standing Rock Indian Reservation, home to the Lakota Sioux. Territory that in Lewis and Clark's time belonged to the Arikara and (just to the north) the Mandan, now is one home of the Lakota Sioux. There are few stretches of the Missouri River less well known and less visited than the one through which Too Né provided his commentaries. In southern North Dakota the Missouri "flows" between rough and broken bluffs in a valley sometimes five miles wide, dotted by box and teepee buttes, some of which reminded Clark of "hipped [i.e. hipped] roofs" in Virginia.¹⁶ The major tributaries in this region come in from the west: in South Dakota the Cheyenne, the Moreau, and the Grand; in North Dakota the Cannonball, the Heart, and the Knife. There is virtually no historical signage along this entire stretch of the Lewis and Clark Trail.

Meriwether Lewis was almost entirely silent through the final leg of the 1804 journey. In the few natural history and navigational field notes Lewis kept during this period, he never mentions the Arikara leader. Clark, who was keeping the "captain's log," wrote down a significant amount of information offered to him by Too Né. He might have recorded more if he were not busy squeezing as much upriver mileage as possible out of the boat crews as the autumn advanced towards a Great Plains winter: falling leaves, shorter days, longer and colder nights, migrating herds and birds, and the increasing presence of ice on the river.

The expedition's leadership was also distracted during this period by the most significant personnel crisis of the entire journey. For "having uttered repeated expressions of a highly criminal and mutinous nature; the same having a tendency not only to distroy every principle of military discipline, but also to alienate the affections of the individuals composing this Detachment to their officers," private John Newman was tried by his peers on October 13, 1804, discharged from the permanent party, and flogged 75 times the next day on a sandbar in the middle of the Missouri Riv-

er. Too Né was horrified by this savage punishment. Clark wrote, "The punishment of this day allarmd. the Indian Chief verry much, he Cried aloud (or effected to Cry) I explained the Cause of the punishment and the necessity He thought examples were also necessary, & he himself had made them by Death, his nation never whiped even their Children, from their burth."¹⁷

If Clark had been wired differently, or if he had had the leisure to listen to Too Né more carefully, he might have collected a major ethnographic profile of the northern plains tribes. If Too Né's map had been completed during the winter of 1804-05 when Clark was close at hand and working on his own master map consolidating all that he had observed and learned during the first year of travel, he might have benefited more fully from his Arikara informant. Indeed, the lighter workload of the winter might have induced Clark to pay more attention to Too Né's "Treditions about Turtles, Snakes, &." According to Steinke, Clark did incorporate a number of place names in this region that he could only have obtained from the Arikara leader.¹⁸

Too Né deserves a larger place in American memory than he has received. The river Lewis and Clark named for him in northern South Dakota on October 14, 1804, Eagle Feather Creek, now bears the prosaic name Baldhead Creek. It flows into the Missouri about a mile below the North Dakota-South Dakota border. It is perhaps unjust that another stream in northern South Dakota is still called Pocasse Creek, after another Arikara leader Lewis and Clark met, but who played a much less significant role in the expedition than Too Né. In fact, Too Né is the only Native American individual of the expedition that Jefferson is known to have praised.¹⁹ The map Too Né drew deserves to occupy a significant place in both our understanding of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and our understanding of the geopolitical dynamics of the northern Great Plains in the age of Jefferson. Unfortunately, the map was not re-discovered in time to find a place in the University of Nebraska's authoritative *Atlas*, volume one of *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, edited by Gary Moulton.

A close reading of the journals for the period of October 10 through November 6, 1804, provides a fascinating portrait of Too Né and a considerable amount of geographic, geopolitical, spiritual, zoological, and mythological information that somehow pierced through Clark's relative indifference and found its way into the expedition's journals. What survived of Too Né's bioregional lessons, coupled

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with his remarkable native cartography, creates a fascinating “map” of the Arikara world in 1804.

On October 13, 1804, the same day that private Newman was court martialed, Clark jotted down one of Too Né’s “treditions” in his journal: “nearly opposit this creek a few miles from the river on the S.S. 2 Stones resembling humane persons & one resembling a Dog is Situated in the open Prairie, to those Stone the Rickores pay Great reverence make offerings whenever they pass (Infomtn. Of the Chief & Interpeter) those people have a Curious Tredition of those Stones, one was a man in Love, one a Girl whose parents would not let marry, the Dog went to mourn with them all turned to Stone gradually, Commenceing at the feet. Those people fed on grapes untill they turned, & the woman has a bunch of grapes yet in her hand on the river near the place those are Said to be Situated, we obsd. a greater quantity of fine grapes than I ever Saw at one place.”²⁰

This effigy has never been identified by non-Arikara ethnographers. During the bicentennial of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, property owners near Pollock, South Dakota, contacted a reporter from the *Bismarck Tribune* to report that they had “found” the rock in question. The *Tribune’s* Lauren Donovan visited the site, a few miles east of the Missouri River (Lake Oahe), and was shown a glacial erratic rock that could, with a large infusion of generous imagination and what on a different occasion Lewis called the “penetrating and inquisitive eye of the amorite,” be said possibly to resemble a woman and a dog.²¹

On October 15, the expedition passed an Arikara hunting camp, consisting not of earthlodges but traditional plains

teepees. The captains decided to camp nearby. They spent part of the evening in conversation with the Arikara. Too Né and Joseph Gravelines provided the interpretation. Clark did not record any of that discussion, but he did report that Arikara women were “verry fond of caressing our men. &.,” which suggests a good deal more than foreplay. The Arikara were particularly attracted to York.²²

On October 16 the expedition passed the remains of an old Cheyenne village on the larboard side. Clark could not possibly have known this arcane geopolitical fact had it not been for Too Né’s commentary. The Cheyenne had lived in the Minnesota-Great Lakes region for centuries before they migrated west during the eighteenth century. Too Né informed Clark that this abandoned village site was their first intermediate stop as they migrated west from the Red River of the North to their eventual homeland in today’s Montana and Wyoming. They were driven west by the imperial aggressions of the Sioux.²³

On that same day, Too Né supplied Arikara names for creeks that Clark wrote down as Cheyenne Creek, Girls Creek, Womans Creek, Beaver Creek, and Elk Shed their Horns Creek. Too Né supplied these place names in Arikara, which Joseph Gravelines translated into English or French, and Clark dutifully recorded.²⁴

On October 17, Clark wrote, “I walked on shore with the Ricara Chief and an Inteprieter, the told me maney extraodenary Stories.” Fortunately, though Clark decided not to detail all of the “Treditions” Too Né described during the shoreline walk, he does mention the “peticiler rock or Cave on the next river which informs of everr thing.” That is almost cer-



The Medicine Rock is the little sandstone dome towards the right on the top of the nameless butte in southwestern North Dakota. Photo by Clay Jenkinson.

tainly today's Medicine Rock in Grant County, North Dakota, not far from the "next river," which was the Cannonball.²⁵

There are two known writing rocks in North Dakota. The one that Too Né refers to is on a bluff southeast of Elgin, ND. It is now maintained by the State Historical Society of North Dakota. The medicine bundles tied to the perimeter fence and strewn among the sandstone outcroppings indicate that it is still a sacred site. Members of the Long expedition of 1819-20 described the site.²⁶ On November 19, 1833, the German Prince Maximilian of Wied-Neuwied wrote a detailed description of Mandan and Hidatsa pilgrimages to the Medicine Rock.²⁷ The other writing rock is in extreme northwestern North Dakota a few miles from the village of Grenora. Too Né's map "locates"²⁸ the "Place Where One Consults Destiny" well away from the Arikara villages, towards the confluence of the Yellowstone and the Missouri rivers, beyond and upstream from the Mandan and Hidatsa villages. It is at least possible that Too Né had the Grenora site in mind when he drew the map. Or it may be that Too Né's drawing of the "Place Where One Consults Destiny" refers to an oracular site other than the two now identified in North Dakota. If so, it is not known to historians, cartographers, or anthropologists.

Clark's Eurocentrism is clearly indicated in his journal entries for two consecutive days, October 17 and October 18, 1804. On the first of those days he confessed that he did not consider Too Né's accounts of Arikara sacred traditions "worth while mentioning." The next day, however, Clark ventured away from the boats and the river to search for a couple of land features noted by the Welsh traveler John Evans (1770-1799), who explored that section of the Upper Missouri in 1796. Clark looked without success for places Evans noted on his map as "Jupiter's Fort," "Jupiter's House," and "the Hermit." These are features identified on Evans' map, a copy of which the expedition had in its possession. Clark wrote, "I walked on Shore, in the evening with a view to See Some of those remarkable places mentioned by evens, none of which I could find,)." In fact, Clark spent three days looking for the Evans' sites, October 18, 19, 20, 1804. In spite of significant effort, he never was able to identify any of the ruins or prominent landmarks he saw on Evans' map.²⁹ It is clear that Clark was unwilling to give even a fraction of that amount of attention to sites important to the Native Americans the expedition met. Evans' fanciful geography meant more to Clark than Too Né's "treditions."

On October 19, Clark wrote, "I saw in my walk Several

remarkable high Conocal hills, one 90 feet, one 60 and others Smaller—the Indian Chief Say that the Callemet Bird live in the hollows of those hills, which holes are made by the water passing from the top & &. I also Saw an old Village." This is probably the "Earthen Pyramid where Indians Catch Birds" from Too Né's map. Clark noted but did not visit the site.³⁰

When Too Né told this story the expedition was in the vicinity of Eagle Nose Butte, just north of today's Huff, North Dakota, on ND 1806 (the Lewis and Clark highway on the west side of the Missouri River). If he was referring to Eagle Nose Butte, Too Né had reached the northern limit of Arikara territory and was beginning to comment on traditional Mandan sites. The Cannonball River was loosely regarded as the boundary separating Arikara territory from Mandan territory.

Near Eagle Nose Butte, Clark first reported an abandoned Mandan village site. By the time Lewis and Clark arrived in today's North Dakota, the Mandan had migrated from their traditional Heart River homelands (near today's Bismarck and Mandan, North Dakota) to new villages approximately 60 miles north in the vicinity of the Knife River. The Square Buttes (north of Mandan, North Dakota) were traditionally regarded as the northern boundary of the Mandan world, but smallpox and the aggressions of the Lakota Sioux had caused the Mandan to move north as far as Hidatsa tolerance would permit. At the end of October, Lewis and Clark found the Mandan living in close proximity to the Hidatsa, a cultural partnership that would prove to be permanent. This would not have been the case even forty years earlier. Lewis and Clark appeared in North Dakota at a time of geopolitical flux. They ascended the Upper Missouri just as the Arikara were in the very first phase of a series of decisions that would lead them, too, into the Hidatsa homeland. Too Né's 1804 diplomatic mission to the Mandan may be seen as one of the preliminary initiatives of a long process that would culminate with the entire tribe relocating between the Knife and Little Missouri rivers in the 1840s and 50s.

Eagle Nose Butte was exceedingly important in the Mandan world. It was there that the culture's most sacred ceremony, the Okipa, was inaugurated. Lewis and Clark had no way of knowing this at the time. They were traveling with an Arikara not a Mandan expert. Nor did they have the opportunity to observe the sacred Okipa ceremony during their winter sojourn among the Mandan. It wasn't until August 1806, on the return journey, with the Mandan leader Sheheke on board the homecoming flotilla, that the captains had the benefit of a sustained Mandan commentary on the

countryside flanking the Missouri River. Indeed, the countryside south of the Knife River through which they floated August 17-22, 1806, was the landscape on which the principal Mandan cultural traditions were grounded. That may help to explain the intensity and nostalgic feel of Sheheke's 1806 downriver commentary. By then Sheheke, who had served as their host and caterer during the Fort Mandan winter, was a trusted informant. Moreover, the captains had good reason to listen carefully to Sheheke in August 1806. The fact that they were traveling with not against the current, sometimes 80 miles per day, gave them unprecedented leisure. They also wanted to show solicitude to a Mandan leader whom they had persuaded, against his better judgment, to accompany them to Washington, DC.

On October 20—the day of the expedition's first grizzly bear encounter—Too Né pointed out abandoned Mandan sites on both sides of the river, and explained to Clark why the Mandan had migrated 40 miles north of those villages.³¹ Thanks to Too Né's commentary, the expedition's leaders were beginning to piece together an understanding of the geopolitical dynamics of the Upper Missouri in the second half of the eighteenth century. Smallpox had decimated the Missouri River tribes, particularly the semi-sedentary Arikara, Mandan, and (to a lesser extent) Hidatsa. The Sioux had taken advantage of the profound weakening of the earthlodge peoples to push westward and then across the Missouri River, thanks in part to their complete mastery of their newest cultural acquisition, the horse. The Arikaras had been reduced from a dozen or so villages to just three, characterized by a Thucydidean collapse of language and social hierarchies, noticed by Euro-American visitors.³² After the smallpox epidemic of 1781, the once-mighty Mandan abandoned their villages near the mouth of the Heart River, including the one Too Né identified on October 20, and moved up to the vicinity of the Knife River.

The expedition arrived at the base of the five inhabited Mandan and Hidatsa villages on October 26, 1804. The captains spent the next week, October 27-November 2, pursuing two goals. First, in accordance with President Jefferson's instructions, they needed to enter into formal diplomatic relations with the Mandan and the Hidatsa—the usual ceremonies, speeches, parades, chief-making, tech show, and gift exchanges, but with more earnestness, both because they intended to spend the winter with these natives and not merely a few days and because these were the fabled Mandan Indians. Second, they needed to select a secure location for

their winter quarters: far enough from the villages to feel secure, near enough to be in a position to engage in material and cultural exchange; a place close to the river where there were plenty of trees for fort construction and firewood.

High winds prevented the great council originally planned for October 28. Though the winds were only marginally less oppressive on October 29, the captains reckoned that it was important to state their purposes and establish friendly relations with the Mandan and Hidatsa, so the council was conducted shriekingly under an awning fashioned from the keelboat sail. Most of the council consisted of the usual peace-trade-Great Father formula, but the captains did not neglect the Arikara diplomatic initiative on that windy, crowded day. Clark wrote, "at the Conclusion of the Speech we mentioned the Ricaras & requested them to make a peace & Smoke out of the Sacred Stem with their Chief which I introduced and gave him the pipe of peace to hand around, they all Smoked with eagerness out of the pipe held by the Ricara Chief Ar-ke-tar-na-Shar."³³ To make sure the Mandan understood the seriousness of this peace overture and the captains' commitment to Too Né's safety, Clark reports that "(I gave this Cheaf a Dollar of the American Coin as a Meadel with which he was much pleased) In Council we presented him with a Certificate of his Sincrrity and good Conduct &c."³⁴

For some reason, Too Né felt uneasy virtually alone among 4,500 Mandan and Hidatsa. The formal council had no sooner ended than he approached the expedition's leadership to request permission to go home. Clark wrote, "The Ricare Cheaf Ar-ke-tar-na-shar Came to me this evening and tells me that he wishes to return to his Village & nation, I put him off Saying tomorrow we would have an answer, to our talk to the Satisfaction & Send by him a String of wompom informing what had passed here."³⁵ In his first draft, Clark had written "our Ricara Chief Came told me," and though that phrasing undoubtedly revealed the expedition's colonialist attitude towards the Native Americans they adopted for their geopolitical purposes, Clark rephrased his entry more carefully at some later time.

Over the next few days the captains learned from a range of Mandan leaders—Little Raven, Posecopsahe, and Sheheke, among others—that the Mandan were cautiously willing to consider peace with the Arikara, that they would send someone down river to smoke the pipe and negotiate with the Arikara leadership at the Grand River villages, but that they doubted Arikara sincerity. The leaders of Mitutanka assured Clark

“they never made war against them [the Arikara] but after the rees Killed their Chiefs they killed them like the birds.”³⁶

On October 31, the great leader of the Mandan, Posecopsahe, explained his nation’s position with respect to the Arikara peace initiative, and confronted Too Né directly (through interpreters): “he belived all we had told him,” Clark reported, “and that peace would be genl. which not only gave himself Satisfaction but all his people; they now Could hunt without fear & their women could work in the fields without looking every moment for the ememey.” Then Black Cat (Posecopsahe) turned to Too Né himself: “as to the Ricaras addressing himself to the Chief with me you know we do not wish war with your nation, you have brought it on your Selves, that man Pointing to the 2d Chief and those 2 young warriers will go with you & Smoke in the pipes of peace with the Ricaras--.” To underscore the importance of his promise, Posecopsahe invoked his distinguished visitors, Captains Lewis and Clark. To Too Né, he said, “I will let you see my father addressing me that we wish to be at peace with all and do not make war upon any—.”³⁷

The next day, November 1, the man who would become the expedition’s closest ally among the Mandan, Sheheke, provided his own explanation of the Mandan diplomatic position. Clark carefully recorded what Sheheke (Big White) had to say, Mandan to interpreter Rene Jusseaume, Jusseaume to French waterman Francois Labiche (or another French-English speaker), Labiche to Lewis and Clark. What follows is as close as we can get to an actual transcript of what Sheheke said.

"Is it Certain that the ricares intend to make good with us our wish is to be at peace with all, we will Send a Chief with the pania Chief and Some young men to Smoke and make good peace--? ... The panias know’s we do not begin the war, they allway begin, we Sent a Chief and a pipe to the Pania to Smoke and they killed them--, we have killed enough of them we kill them like the birds, we do not wish to kill more, we will, make a good peace.”³⁸

Too Né started on his return journey to the Arikara villages on November 2, 1804. Clark wrote, “our recaree Chief Set out accompanied by one Chief and Several Brave men.”³⁹ The “Chief and Several Brave men” were Mandan. Four days later, on November 6, Clark reported, “Mr. Gravalin our Ricara Interpreter & 2 of our french hands & 2 boys Set out in a Canoe for the Ricaras Mr. ravelli is to accompany the Ricaras Chiefs to the City of Washington in the Spring.”⁴⁰ Just why Gravelines lingered for four days af-

ter Too Né departed is never explained; that Too Né was determined to get home to the Grand River villages as quickly as possible is abundantly clear.

With the coming of the harsh Dakota winter (high winds, a subarctic chill as severe as minus 43 degrees Fahrenheit), most of the traffic in the corridor between the Grand and the Knife River villages shut down. Everyone’s energies were devoted to survival, not diplomacy. It wasn’t until late winter that the diplomacy narrative picked up again. On February 28, 1805, Clark reported, “Mr. Gravelin two Frenchmen & two Inds. arrive from the Ricara Nation with Letters from Mr. Anty Tabeaux, informing us of the peaceable dispositions of that nation towards the Mandans & Me ne ta res [i.e., Hidatsa] & their avowed intentions of pursueing our Councils & advice, they express a wish to visit the Mandans, & Know if it will be agreeable to them to admit the Ricaras to Settle near them and join them against their common Enimey the Souis we mentioned this to the mandans, who observed they had always wished to be at peace and good neighbours with the Ricaras, and it is also the Sentiments of all the Big Bellies, & Shoe Nations.”⁴¹ Here was a diplomatic mouthful.

Lewis and Clark left Fort Mandan before they could determine whether the Arikara peace mission they sponsored was successful. In spite of the good tidings of Anthony Tabeau’s letter of February 28, they had reason to share the Mandan leadership’s skepticism. As they prepared to send the keelboat downriver under the command of Corporal Warfington, they gave specific diplomatic instructions to Joseph Gravelines, who spent much of the winter at or near Fort Mandan, and who nearly replaced Charbonneau as the expedition’s interpreter among nations west of the Knife River villages. Gravelines was given responsibility for taking Too Né to Washington, DC, to meet the great father. And to return him safely to today’s South Dakota.

Now, as the expedition prepared to embark into what the captains considered true *terra incognita*, Meriwether Lewis came alive as the expedition’s principal journal keeper. His famous April 7, 1805, entry, in which he declares that “we were now about to penetrate a country at least two thousand miles in width, on which the foot of civillized man had never trodden,” also reports important details about Too Né’s more immediate diplomatic mission. Lewis wrote, “One of the Frenchmen by the Name of Graveline an honest discrete man and an excellent boat-man is employed to conduct the barge as pilot; we have therefore every hope that the barge and with her our dispatches will arrive safe at St. Louis. Mr.

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Gravelin who speaks the Ricara language extremely well, has been employed to conduct a few of the Recara Chiefs to the seat of government who have promised us to descend in the barge to St. Liwis with that view.”⁴²

The story of Too Né’s epic journey to the American capital (and beyond) is fascinating and important. It deserves more attention than it has hitherto received. Too Né’s journey to Washington, DC, does not, however, illuminate the remarkable map he drew at some point in 1805 or early 1806.

Unfortunately, the Arikara were placed between what for Lewis and Clark were two more compelling Native American encounters. The Lakota Sioux crisis (September 24–29, 1804) meant that the equally long but harmonious encounter with the Arikara two weeks later represented something of a relief and an anti-climax to Lewis and Clark. President Jefferson had specifically mentioned the Sioux in his instructions of June 18, 1803, but he did not refer to the Arikara.⁴³ Meanwhile, as ice began to form on the edges of the river, the expedition was eager to begin its encounter with the legendary Mandan, who already occupied a central place in the Enlightenment’s understanding of Upper Missouri indigenous culture. In like manner, Too Né is typically overlooked in Lewis and Clark narratives in favor of Black Buffalo and the Partisan (both Lakota) and Sheheke and Posecopsahe (both Mandan). Similarly, Joseph Gravelines usually takes second seat to the more colorful characters Pierre Dorion, Sr. (interpreter among the Sioux), Rene Jusseaume (Mandan), and of course Charbonneau (Hidatsa + Sacagawea). The discovery of Too Né’s map (and the journal entries it now closely tracks) should lift his contributions to the expedition to a higher plane. ■

Notes

1. Gary Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983–2001), 3:180.
2. David Lavender, *The Way to the Western Sea: Lewis and Clark Across the Continent*, (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 145: “Joseph Gravelines turned out to be a marvelous acquisition.”
3. Moulton, *Journals*, 4:7.
4. Christopher Steinke, “‘Here is my country’: Too Né’s Map of Lewis and Clark in the Great Plains,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 71, no. 4, October 2014, 592.
5. Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783–1854*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:272–73.
6. Jackson, *Letters*, 1:305 (footnote 1).
7. William Dunlap, *Diary of William Dunlap (1766–1839): The Memoirs of a Dramatist, Theatrical Manager, Painter, Critic, Novelist, and Historian*. 3 vols. (New York: New York Historical Society, 1930), 389–393.
8. Dunlap, *Diary*, 389.

9. Dunlap, *Diary*, 391.
10. Steinke, “‘Here is my country,’” 595.
11. Jackson, *Letters*, 1:274.
12. For Jefferson’s speech to Shekeke (White Coyote), whom he called “The Wolf,” see Presidential Speeches, Thomas Jefferson President, at <https://millercenter.org/the-presidency/presidential-speeches/december-30-1806-address-wolf-and-people-mandan-nation>.
13. Dunlap, *Diary*, 392.
14. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:180.
15. According to Dunlap, *Diary*, 389, Jefferson called him “an extraordinary man.”
16. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:174.
17. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:170–71.
18. Steinke, “‘Here is my country,’” 599.
19. Dunlap, *Diary*, 389.
20. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:169.
21. The author had the good fortune to join this little expedition. Bismarck Tribune reporter Lauren Donovan made all the arrangements. We viewed the stones from every possible angle, and tried as hard as we could to see in them the couple, the faithful dog, and the grapes. In the end, we reluctantly concluded that the individuals who “discovered” the stone effigies were engaged in wishful thinking. For Lewis the amorite, see Moulton, *Journals*, 6:435.
22. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:174.
23. For more on Too Né’s commentary on Cheyenne migration, see Clay S. Jenkinson, ed., *The Writings of the Lewis and Clark Expedition in North Dakota, 1804–1806* (Bismarck: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2003), 37 (footnote 11).
24. See notes on these creeks and rivers in Moulton, *Journals*, 3:178.
25. Clay Jenkinson has been to both writing rocks in North Dakota. Medicine Rock in Grant County is on a sandstone outcropping surrounded by wheat fields and cattle pasture. The approach is on gravel roads. The State Historical Society of North Dakota provides minimal maintenance, principally a tight perimeter fence designed to keep visitors off the sacred rock.
26. See Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846: A Series of Annotated Reprints of Some of the Best and Rarest Contemporary Volumes of Travel, Descriptive of the Aborigines and Social and Economic Conditions in the Middle and Far West, during the Period of Early American Settlement*. 32 vols. 2d. ed., (New York: AMS Press, 1966) 15:57–59.
27. Stephen S. Witte and Marsha v. Gallagher, eds., *The North American Journals of Prince Maximilian of Wied*. 3 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008–12), 3:68.
28. It is essential to remember that Native American maps generally follow a different set of cartographical protocols and conventions than Euro-American maps. While there is clearly some directional orientation on Too Né’s map, scale, distances, and even placement do not conform to non-native standards. Native maps often seem impressionistic or even directionally vague to non-natives.
29. W. Raymond Wood, *Prologue to Lewis and Clark: The Mackay and Evans Expedition*, (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 110.
30. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:184–85.
31. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:187.
32. Steinke, “‘Here is my country,’” 594.
33. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:210–12.
34. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:210.
35. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:210.
36. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:224.
37. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:217–19.
38. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:224–25.
39. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:226.
40. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:230–31.
41. Moulton, *Journals*, 3:304.
42. Moulton, *Journals*, 4:7–10.
43. James Ronda, *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), 54.

President Jefferson's Letter of Condolence to the Arikara

Washington, DC, April 11, 1806

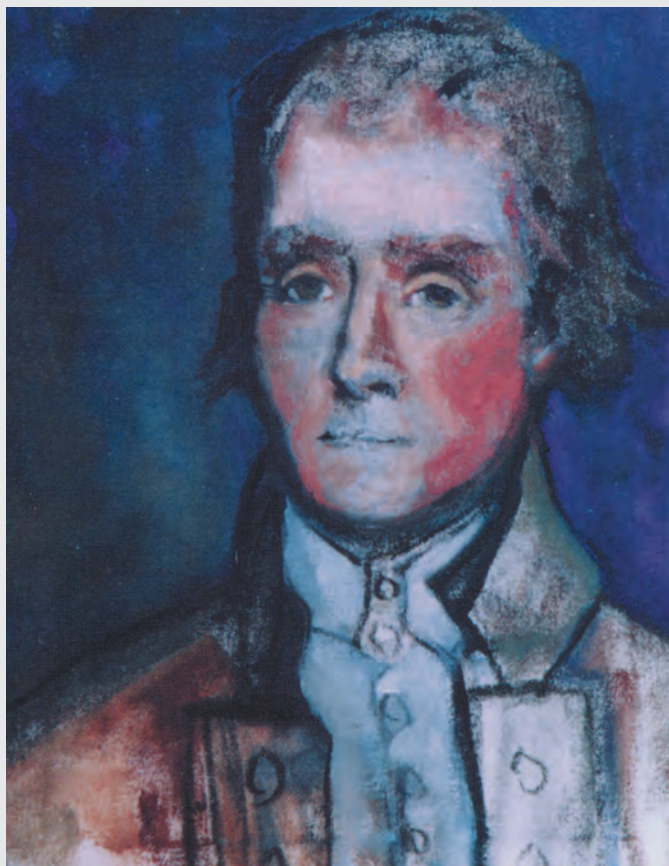
My friends & children of the Arikara nation

It gave me a great pleasure to see your beloved chief* _____ arrive here on a visit to his white brothers of the United States of America. I took him by the hand with affection, I considered him as bringing to me the assurances of your friendship and that you were willing to become of one family with us. Wishing to see as much as he could of his new brethren he consented to go towards the sea as far as Baltimore & Philadelphia. He found nothing but kindness & good will wherever he passed. On his return to this place he was taken sick; every thing we could do to help him was done; but it pleased the great Spirit to take him from among us. We buried him among our own deceased friends & relatives, we shed many tears over his grave, and we now mingle our afflictions with yours on the loss of this beloved chief. But death must happen to all men; and his time was come.

Here follows select parts of the first speech made to the Osages Missouri &c. on their arrival.

*Leave a blank for the name of the deceased chief, which is not known as yet.

[Editor's note: Jefferson's letter is dated April 11, 1806. It is clearly a draft. The asterisk * in the first line and the note at the bottom of the letter, "*Leave a blank...", are by President Jefferson. Like everyone else, Jefferson was uncertain by what name to call Too Né. Donald Jackson writes, "At the head of the present text, Jefferson first wrote 'Piaketo' and then above it the English version, 'Eagle's feather.' He then struck out this combination and wrote 'Toone,' with the English version, 'Whippoorwill,' above. Finally he struck that out, writing 'Arketarnawhar' and 'chief of the town' above that. There is no deleting line through this last combination." See Jackson, *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 1:306.]



*Jefferson was equally a man of reason and sentiment.
Painting by Annie Hall.*

Two Expert Cartographical Assessments of Too Né's map

John Logan Allen: Another Way of Reading the Land

For at least the last eight centuries, maps—generalized depictions of the earth's surface or a portion of it—produced in European and American culture regions have been characterized by four features: an attention to the concept of scale representation where map features such as area and distance are consistent mathematical proportions of “the real world;” the use of carefully calibrated symbols of points, lines, and areas, to represent geographic/topographic features; “orientation,” or the prevailing use of north as the “top” of the map; and a consistent tendency to use the map as a way of showing the earth's surface from a vertical perspective—as if the observer were “hovering” above the earth, looking down on it.

Maps from other culture regions may utilize some of these features. But few non-western maps use all of them and methods of generalization of things like time, distance, and direction vary widely across cultures. Hence, maps produced by, say, Bedouins or Hottentots or the Arikara, are often confusing to the “western” eye—even though they may fully and accurately portray the world view of the maker.

In the journals of Lewis and Clark, references are made to American Indians providing the explorers with maps “made in their way”—in other words, maps drawn by Indians showing a portion of the world as seen and understood by their culture. Such a map is the Too Né map, drawn by an Arikara better known for having made a trip to Washington, DC, where he, unfortunately, died and was subsequently buried.

The Too Né map is a remarkable illustration of the upper Missouri and Yellowstone basins as understood by a map-maker who measured distances in relative terms of travel time rather than statute miles and relative location in terms other than compass direction. The “orientation” of the map follows its central feature—the river system—rather than the conventional cardinal directions. Stylized representations of both natural and cultural geographic features are used but they are not shown from a vertical perspective and may have little or no meaning to the Euro-American eye until “interpreted.”

There are many remarkable features on the Too Né map that reveal an extremely sophisticated view of the northern

Plains—if not a view easily interpreted or understood by viewers steeped in Euro-American cartographic traditions.

What are some of these features?

1. American Indian village locations, along with locations of Euro-American trading posts. The relative locations of Arikara, Mandan, Hidatsa, Sioux, Blackfoot (Assiniboine), and even Shoshone (Gens du Serpents or “Snakes”) villages are shown accurately (although distances between them are not accurate, at least to the Euro-American eye). Trading posts occupied by Euro-Americans or where Euro-American traders had more-or-less permanent residence are also shown.
2. Fort Mandan. A cardinal feature on the map, Fort Mandan, is drawn rather elaborately. The importance of the site is shown by its exaggerated size when compared with the Mandan and Hidatsa Indian villages. The map-maker clearly viewed Fort Mandan as the centerpiece of the map and demonstrated that by increasing its relative size and detail.
3. Upland and/or wooded areas. These are shown with a consistent symbol of vertical lines (a relatively rare use of common symbolization on Indian maps). Their location is shown relative to that of the cluster of Indian villages from the Arikara to the Mandan and Hidatsa but there is no attempt to show distance in scale or proportional representation. For example, in the upper (our southwest) corner of the map the Rocky Mountains are shown, but the map distance between Fort Mandan and the “Montagnes des Roches” is about the same as the distance between Fort Mandan and the Arikara villages. This makes no sense to Euro-Americans, perfect sense to Native Americans.
4. Water features, particularly rivers. Perhaps the most dominating feature of the map is the Missouri River, running the full width of the map from our southeast to northwest. But it is intriguing that, at the confluence of the Missouri and Yellowstone rivers, the Yellowstone assumes the greater significance if size was an indicator of importance to the map-maker (as it probably was). An explanation for this is that the Arikara buffalo hunters who ventured as far west as the upper

Missouri-Yellowstone basin to hunt buffalo, probably avoided the Missouri valley itself because of competition with other nations such as the Blackfeet. The area to the north of the Yellowstone and south of the Missouri was not inhabited by any nation on a consistent basis and was, therefore, an area of wildlife abundance. Consequently, the Yellowstone River valley was probably more commonly used as a route to productive hunting grounds and, therefore, assumed greater significance on the map than the “mother river” of the Missouri itself. Other maps from nations such as the Apsaalooke (Crow) who utilized the Yellowstone valley show similar emphasis of the Yellowstone River at the expense of the Missouri. An important point here is that American Indian maps—unlike most of their Euro-American counterparts—use symbolism as opposed to legends or captions to describe environmental and ecological conditions.

5. Pictographs. These cartographic features are rarely

used in western cartography. Where they are, like their counterparts on the Too Né map, they may be used to illustrate anything from battle grounds to sacred sites. The pictographs on the Too Né map and their meaning—although relevant to the cartographer—may elude the Euro-American observer.

The Too Né map is an outstanding example of American Indian cartography. A continuing examination of it may tell us a great deal more than we currently know about the way the Indians of the northern plains viewed and depicted the world in which they lived. In much the same way that a French map of the Rhone Valley would be similar to a British map of the Thames, the Too Né Map shows more similarities than differences when viewed in comparison with other American Indian maps from the American Southwest to the Canadian Northeast. If for no other reason than that, the Too Né Map is a significant find and one that will surely prompt further study.

Herman Viola: “Here is My Country”

After 50 years, first as an archivist at the National Archives and then as a curator at the Smithsonian, little surprises me when an unknown historical treasure comes to light, but this map by the Arikara chief Too Né certainly does. How it has managed to remain relatively unknown and unappreciated for so long is but one of several mysteries about the remarkable document that remain to be resolved.

Foremost is the cartographer’s name. Other than his tribal affiliation there is very little personal information available about him. Is his name Too Né (Whippoor Will), Pia-heto (Eagle’s Feather), Arketarnashar, or some variation? As with everyone contributing to this issue of WPO, I will use the name Too Né for the sake of convenience.

Even President Jefferson, when writing a letter of condolence to the Arikara people informing them of his death, crossed out two names before deciding upon Arketarnawhar, which apparently means village chief or leader. In his letter, Jefferson said that Too Né “consented to go towards the sea as far as Baltimore and Philadelphia. . . . The chief found nothing but kindness and good will wherever he went, but on his return to Washington he became ill. Everything we could do to help him was done but it pleased the Great Spirit to take him from among us. We buried him among our own deceased friends and relations. We shed many tears over his grave.”¹



“Portrait of Pachtūwa-Chtā, An Arikara Warrior,” by Karl Bodmer. Courtesy J. Willard Marriott Library Rare Books & Special Collections of the University of Utah.

But where that grave is also remains a mystery. A logical site is Congressional Cemetery in Washington, DC, the known final resting place for twenty-two Indian leaders who died during visits to the city on official business for their tribes, but Too Né is not among them. Some sources say he was buried in a Richmond cemetery but efforts there to locate his grave have thus far proved fruitless.

Too Né's death, like his cartographic skills, highlights a little known and often unfortunate result of urging Indian leaders to visit Washington and meet their Great Father. Even though many welcomed the invitation, they literally risked their lives in making the trip. Cross country travel in the early years of the republic was fraught with danger and discomfort. The visitors, many of them the elder statesmen of their tribes, could cope with accidents and the caprices of nature, but the illnesses to which they were exposed, such as measles, small pox, pneumonia, even the common cold, were far more menacing and mysterious. As a result, few delegations returned home without some mishap or ailment. The illness that felled Too Né remains a mystery.

Another mystery, of course, is how his map found its way to France and not to a repository in the United States. It was certainly out of character for Jefferson to allow this seminal document to be lost to history considering how careful he was to save the records relating to the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Jefferson valued the cartographic accomplishments of Lewis and Clark. Their maps provided the blueprint for America's westward expansion. However, contrary to what is popularly believed, the Corps of Discovery was not venturing into an untracked wilderness. As this map by Too Né documents beautifully, they benefited greatly from geographical information provided them by the Indians living in the trans-Mississippi West. Indeed, Lewis and Clark cited at least thirty maps—drawn in snow, dirt, and on animal hides—that Indians prepared for them during their trans-continental journey. Many of them they then copied on paper and they remain a part of the Lewis and Clark official cartographic record. Several are reproduced in *Mapping the West with Lewis and Clark*, the book I recently co-authored with Ralph Ehrenberg, published by the Library of Congress [see review in *We Proceeded On*, Vol. 42:3, August 2016].²

This map by Too Né, however, is in a class by itself. It rivals in scope and quality the map by Ackomaki, a Blackfoot warrior, who depicted the rivers and geographical features of the region between the Rockies and the Pacific Coast range for a Hudson's Bay employee. Ackomaki also provided the

names and population estimates of the tribes that lived along the tributaries. This information, which appeared on a map of North America published in 1802 by the British cartographer Aaron Arrowsmith, was then incorporated into the map of the continent compiled the following year by the American cartographer Nicholas King that Lewis and Clark carried with them.³ As a result, the rough outline of where they were going was known to the explorers and they refined that knowledge by debriefing Indians along the way. Thus, to state that Lewis and Clark entered true *terra incognita* does a disservice to the many peoples who called this area "home" before the Corps of Discovery dropped in for dinner.

But Too Né's map is not only a cartographic treasure, it is also an ethnographic one, as well. He provided a window into the spiritual world of the Arikara people. He identified sacred areas, such as holy places where Arikara boys went to communicate with their spiritual protectors on their vision quests. Few non-Indians can understand or appreciate the great meaning that ancestral lands hold for Native American people. In a sense, through this document, Too Né gave voice to the changes he foresaw for himself and his Arikara people. Perhaps he was hoping to establish or insist upon Arikara hegemony over this sacred region. Many tribal communities still identify with sites on their homeland from which they originated and where they have lived for eons, sites that are of profound importance to them to this day, such as the "medicine-stone" which, Clark noted on February 21, 1805, "is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence."⁴ Located along the north fork of the Cannonball River near Elgin, North Dakota, "the medicine stone" is now a state historic site.

My hope is that the publicity that results from the publication of this unknown cartographic treasure in *We Proceeded On* will inspire additional research that will provide answers to some of these mysteries. ■

Notes

1. Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 1:306.
2. Ralph E. Ehrenberg and Herman J. Viola, *Mapping the West with Lewis & Clark* (Delray Beach, FL: Levinger Company and Library of Congress, 2015).
3. Ehrenberg and Viola, *Mapping the West*, 19-32.
4. Gary Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 3:299.

The WPO Interview

Dr. Christopher Steinke

by Clay S. Jenkinson

Editor's Note: Dr. Christopher Steinke's article, "Here is my country': Too Né's Map of Lewis and Clark in the Great Plains," in the October 2014 issue of *William and Mary Quarterly*, first reported the discovery of the Arikara map made in 1805 or 1806 by Too Né. *We Proceeded On* asked Dr. Steinke to discuss his extraordinary discovery and its historical value. We thank WMQ for graciously permitting us to reprint a few excerpts (in shaded text) in conjunction with our interview.

WPO: How did you learn about this map? Did you discover it?

CS: I found the map while doing research for my doctoral dissertation. I was looking for sources on the online archive of the Bibliothèque nationale de France regarding French history in colonial Louisiana. When I opened the page with the map, I recognized it pretty quickly as a map drawn by the Arikara diplomat Too Né, whom I had written about for a conference presentation a year earlier.

A map by Too Né in the Bibliothèque nationale de France captures some of the Arikara history that Clark left unrecorded. Drawn sometime in 1805 or early 1806, it shows the course of the Missouri River; Lewis and Clark in council at the Arikara and Mandan villages, the locations of more than thirty different Indian groups, and significant places in the history of the Arikara people. Too Né's interpreter, an illiterate French Canadian named Joseph Gravelines, translated its descriptive placenames. (P. 589)

WPO: How did an Arikara map wind up in France?

CS: The map was donated to the Bibliothèque nationale de France in 1905 by Pauline Henriette, Vicomtesse de Bardonnet, who was the niece of a former French diplomat in Washington named Jean-Guillaume Hyde de Neuville. Hyde de Neuville served in Washington during the Madison and Monroe administrations and also visited Jefferson at Monticello. He probably obtained it somehow from Jefferson and his chef at Monticello, Honoré Julien.

WPO: How did it wind up in Honoré Julien's possession? He was a chef not a scholar or cartographer. This seems odd. Why wasn't it inscribed to Thomas Jefferson? What do you know about this?

CS: I never found out how, exactly, the map fell into the hands of Honoré Julien. Too Né's French Canadian interpreter, Joseph Gravelines, may have given it to him.

WPO: What did you know about the Lewis and Clark Expedition going in, and what have you learned from this project?

CS: I had read the Lewis and Clark journals before finding the map and had consulted the Lewis and Clark *Atlas* published by the University of Nebraska Press. The project itself has encouraged me to try to seek out new archival sources for understanding Native American history, especially from European archives.

WPO: What is the map's significance?

CS: The map is quite significant for understanding Indigenous history on the Great Plains at the time of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. I think it is especially important not only for considering how Native peoples viewed Lewis and Clark, and Indigenous diplomacy with the Americans, but also for considering Native diplomacy with other Indigenous peoples. Too Né's map presents a picture of Arikara diplomacy and relations with neighboring nations across a vast swath of the Great Plains.

Reaching south to New Mexico and north into Canada, his map of the vast Arikara world not only helps historians envision Native history across national borders but also provides a new model for mapping ancient, dynamic, and unbroken Native pasts. By surrounding Lewis and Clark's encampments with sites from the distant Arikara past, such as the lake where a turtle "carried 56 men and drowned them," Too Né confirmed the length of Arikara territorial claims and identified the American explorers as recent additions to a landscape with a much older history. . . . His map illustrates the centrality of the upper Missouri Valley—the northern frontier of corn production in the mid-continent—in Native America. (P. 592-93)

. . . In the 1770s and 1780s, three different epidemics struck the Arikaras, rendering them almost defenseless against the Lakota Sioux, who moved across the Missouri River to claim new hunting lands. . . . Too Né's map, which shows the three Grand River villages, documents a time of trauma and dislocation for the Arikara people. (P. 594)

WPO: Does Too Né's map in any way change our understanding of Lewis and Clark?

CS: I think it shows the extent to which the Americans were one nation among many Indigenous nations in the plains. Whether they knew it or not, they were entering a very complex Indigenous political landscape.

WPO: Why would Jefferson let it so important a map out of his possession? Assuming he ever had it in his hands?

CS: I suggest in my article that Jefferson prioritized certain kinds of information in maps, and he may not have fully appreciated the significance of the map itself.

WPO: How did you go about your research for the article?

CS: The research for the article consisted of two main parts: reconstructing Too Né's journey with Lewis and Clark and his later trip to Washington, and interpreting the toponyms on the map. The letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition held information about his visit to St. Louis, and William Dunlap's diary helped connect his journey to the map itself. To understand the toponyms, I consulted the published volumes of Arikara traditions from the University of Nebraska Press.

WPO: How does that project fit into your larger scholarly and intellectual goals and work?

CS: It is part of a larger effort in my work to reconstruct Indigenous history on the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Great Plains, and to complicate narratives of plains history that begin in 1804. By drawing from European archival sources and Indigenous records dating back to the eighteenth century, such as Lakota winter counts, my work

tries to illustrate the complexity of Indigenous history on the central and northern plains before the arrival of the Americans.

WPO: Is there any indication that Clark consulted the map to incorporate details on his master maps of the expedition?

CS: He may have drawn names for Indigenous peoples on the western plains from this map.

WPO: What can you tell us about how to “read” a Native American map of this sort?

CS: Too Né's map depicts the world looking out from the Arikara homeland along the Missouri River. In this map and others like it, Indigenous territories center the map, and the maps themselves communicate Native territorial sovereignty to European and American observers. Too Né's map also provides a glimpse into an even older history reaching back to the ancient past. By depicting significant sites across the plains, it records Arikara history well before Lewis and Clark. ■

Chris Steinke is an assistant professor of history at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. He received his PhD in 2015 from the University of New Mexico. His dissertation, “The ‘Free Road’: Indigenous Travel and Rights of Passage on the Missouri River,” addresses the history of Native American mobility and power on the Missouri River.

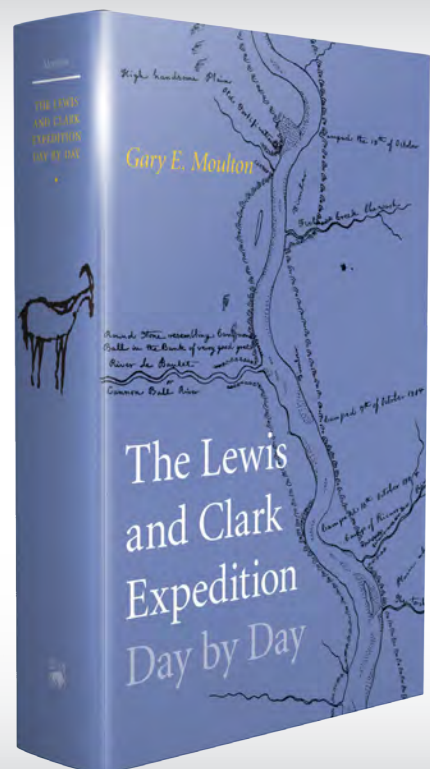
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“Gary Moulton has put into a lively prose narrative what is the nation’s first road story. . . . *The Lewis and Clark Expedition Day by Day* gives readers an unparalleled opportunity to see that journey as it unfolded in real time. . . . [This book] belongs on the short shelf of important books about the life and times of the Corps of Discovery. It will surely have a wide and appreciative audience.”—James P. Ronda, Barnard Professor of Western American History, emeritus, at the University of Tulsa and author of *Lewis and Clark among the Indians*



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The Native Maps that Lewis and Clark Commissioned or Observed

The expedition's cartographer William Clark created his extraordinary maps of North America from several sources: from previous European and American maps he consulted before and after the expedition; from his own field maps and notes, drawn as the Corps of Discovery proceeded on, which he consolidated at times of relative leisure; from information he received from trappers, traders, and mountain men; and from information he received from Native Americans at various points along the trail. The map Too Né drew in 1805-06 after he descended the Missouri in the expedition's keelboat was just one of an unknown number fashioned by Native American informants—sometimes on leather hides, sometimes with sticks and mounds of earth, sometimes on paper or parchment, and sometimes only from oral conversation. James Ronda calls these the expedition's "ephemeral maps."

In his extensive notes compiled from information provided by Clark, Nicholas Biddle wrote, "Indian maps made on skins or mats may be given to you, by individuals, but are not kept permanently among them. Sometimes in sand, hills designated by raising sand, rivers by hollow &c."¹

Here is a partial list.

A Map of the Country West of the Mandan Villages

January 16, 1805

Clark: "This war Chief gave us a Chart in his way of the Missouri, he informed us of his intentions of going to war in the Spring against the Snake Indians."²

The war chief was Hidatsa. Gary Moulton believes that he may have been Mar-book She-a-O-ke-ah (Seeing Snake) or a man known as Rattle Snake. The captains advised the Hidatsa not to make their annual war raid into Montana and Idaho.

A Map of the Country West of the Front Range of the Bitterroot Mountains

August 14, 1805

Lewis: "I now prevailed on the Chief to instruct me with respect to the geography of his country. this he undertook very cheerfully, by delienating the rivers on the ground. but I soon found that his information fell far short of my

expectation or wishes. he drew the river on which we now are to which he placed two branches just above us, which he shewed me from the openings of the mountains were in view; he next made it discharge itself into a large river which flowed from the S.W. about ten miles below us, then continued this joint stream in the same direction of this valley or N.W. for one days march and then enclined it to the West for 2 more days march, here he placed a number of heeps of sand on each side which he informed me represented the vast mountains of rock eternally covered with snow through which the river passed. that the perpendicular and even jutting rocks so closely hemmed in the river that there was no possibilyte of passing along the shore; that the bed of the river was obstructed by sharp pointed rocks and the rapidity of the stream such that the whole surface of the river was beat into perfect foam as far as the eye could reach. that the mountains were also inaccessible to man or horse. he said that this being the state of the country in that direction that himself nor none of his nation had ever been further down the river than these mountains. I then enquired the state of the country on either side of the river but he could not inform me. . . ."³

The Shoshone leader was Cameahwait.

Two Maps of the Salmon River Country

August 23, 1805 and ca. April 1810

Clark: "There my guide Shewed me a road from the N Which Came into the one I was in which he Said went to a large river which run to the north on which was a Nation he called Tushapass, he made a map of it."⁴

Clark: "Here he told me Indians came down this Cr. From N. (he mentioned their name Tushepaws) & that they came to fish on Lewis Rr having no Salmon on their river. I now got him to make a map in the sand. He made the two roads we had passed lead N. to two forks of the same large river Clark's riv. He had been to these Tushepaws, & had seen Indians who had come across the mountains. The next day he said we could go no further this way we were on without passing often the river, but might take one of the two roads we had seen. I came back to the forks of the road where he made me a new map more particular which convinced me

The Native Maps that Lewis and Clark Commissioned or Observed

that he knew there was a way from where Lewis's party was (Shoshones) to the great river he mentioned without coming the route I had taken which was impracticable for horses—that he had gone from Clarks river with the Tushepaws over to another river (which must be Koskooskee) to fish where he had met Indians from other side of m. He promised to go & shew it to me.”⁵

The “Tushepaws” were the Flathead Indians, today more often known as the Salish. The guide was the Shoshone man Old Toby.

A Nez Perce Map of the Columbia River System

September 21, 1805

Clark: “Sent out all the hunters in different directions to hunt deer, I myself delayd with the Chief to prevent Suspis-sion and to Collect by Signs as much information as possible about the river and Countrey in advance. The Chief drew me a kind of chart of the river, and informed me that a greater Cheif than himself was fishing at the river half a days march from his village called the twisted hare, and that the river forked a little below his Camp and at a long distance below & below 2 large forks one from the left & the other from the right the river passed thro'gh the mountains at which place was a great fall of the water passing through the rocks, at those falls white people lived from whome they preceured the white Beeds and Brass &c. which the womin wore.”⁶

The name of the Nez Perce man who drew this map for Clark is unknown. The river in question was the Clearwater. Clark was on the Weippe Prairie just west of the Bitterroot Mountains in today's Idaho.

Twisted Hair's Map of the Clearwater, Snake, Columbia River Country

September 22, 1805

Clark: “I got the Twisted hare to draw the river from his Camp down which he did with great cherfullness on a white Elk Skin, from the 1s fork which is few seven miles below, to the large fork on which the So So ne or Snake Indians fish, is South 2 Sleeps; to a large river which falls in on the N W. Side and into which The Clarks river empties itself is 5 Sleeps from the mouth of that river to the falls is 5 Sleeps at the falls he places Establishments of white people &c. and informs that great numbers of Indians reside on all those foks as well as the main river; one other Indian gave me a like account of the Countrey. Some few drops of rain

this evening. I precured maps of the Country & river with the Situation of Indians, To come from Several men of note Seperately which varied verely little.”⁷

Twisted Hair (Walammottinin) was a Nez Perce leader.

A Map of the Columbia River

October 18, 1805

“The Great Chief and one of the *Chim-nâ pum* nation drew me a Sketch of the Columbia above and the tribes of his nation, living on the bank, and its waters, and the *Tâpe rêtt* river which falls in 18 miles above on the westerly side See Sketch below for the number of villages and nations &c. &c.”⁸

The map itself, reproduced at *Journals*, 5:299, contains the following information: “A Sketch of the Columbia River and its waters, and the Situation of the Fishing establishments of the Natives above the enterance of Lewis's River. given by the *Chopun-nish*, *Sokulk*, and *Chimnapum* Indians.” The *Chim-nâ pum* are Yakima Indians.

A Map of the Pacific Coast South of the Columbia River

Early 1806

No journal entry. A map of the Pacific coast from the Clatsop villages to Tillamook Bay. See *Journals, Atlas*, map 94. Clark: “This was given by a Clott Sopp Indn.”

A Map of the Country Along the Willamette River

April 3, 1806

Clark: “I provailed on an old man to draw me a Sketch of the Multnomar River ang give me the names of the nations resideing on it which he readily done, See draft on the other Side and gave me the names of 4 nations who reside on this river two of them very noumerous. The first is Clark a-mus nation reside on a Small river which takes its rise in Mount Jefferson and falls into the Moltnomar about 40 miles up. this nation is noumerous and inhabit 11 Towns. the 2d is the *Cush-books* who reside on the N E. Side below the falls, the 3rd is the *Char-cowab* who reside above the Falls on the S W. Side neether of those two are noumerous. The fourth Nation is the *Cal-lar-po-e-wah* which is very noumerous & inhabit the Country on each Side of the Multnomar from its falls as far up as the knowledge of those people extend. they inform me also that a high mountain passes the Multnomar at the falls, and above the Country is an open plain of great extent.”⁹

The Multnomar is today's Willamette River in Oregon. See a reproduction of the map derived from the Native

American informant at *Journals*, 7:68-69: “a Sketch of the Moltnomar River given by Several different Tribes of Indians near its entrance into the Columbia.”

A Map of the Nez Perce Trail to Montana

May 29, 1806

No journal entry. A map of trails over the continental divide drawn from information provided by the Nez Perce leader Hohots Ilppilp. See *Journals, Atlas*, map 99. Clark: “This Sketch was given to us by Hohastillpelp, May 29th 1806.”

A Map of Snake River Country

May 29, 1806

A sketch of the Snake River country, drawn from information provided by the Nez Perce leader Hohots Ilppilp. See *Journals, Atlas*, maps 99 and 100. Note: The two Hohots Ilppilp maps have recently been found to be two parts of one larger map.

And now:

A Map of the Arikara World

Ca. 1806

Too Né’s American West (see centerfold of this issue). ■

Editor

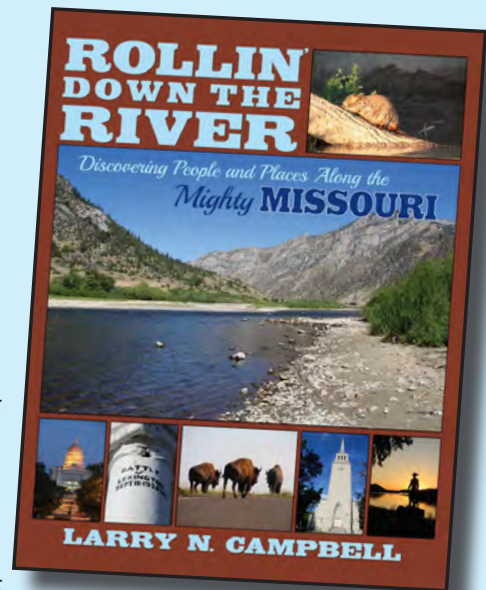
Notes

1. Donald Jackson, ed., *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, with Related Documents, 1783-1854*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 2:532.
2. Gary Moulton, ed., *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 vols. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983-2001), 3:276.
3. Moulton, *Journals*, 5:88-90.
4. Moulton, *Journals*, 5:157.
5. Moulton, *Journals*, 5:157. Jackson, *Letters*, 2:545.
6. Moulton, *Journals*, 5:226-27.
7. Moulton, *Journals*, 5:230-231.
8. Moulton, *Journals*, 5:296.
9. Moulton, *Journals*, 7:66.

Join author Larry Campbell as he follows the footsteps of Lewis and Clark, discovering people and places along the Missouri River



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Reviews

Rollin' Down the River: Discovering People and Places along the Mighty Missouri

by Larry N. Campbell

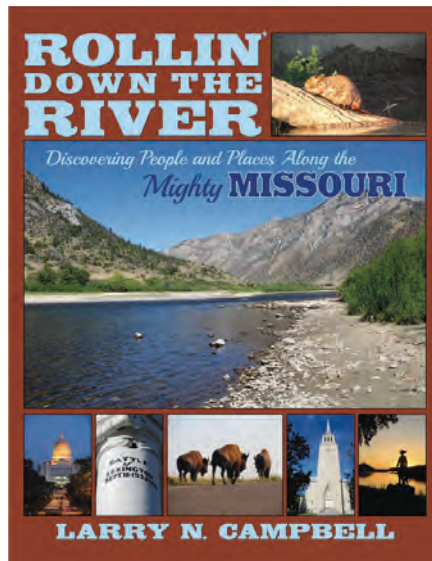
Morley, MO: Acclaim Press, 2017, 160 pp., photographs, maps, index, \$34.95.

Reviewed by Lillian Crook

Larry Campbell, who hails from Branson, Missouri, had an idea and acted on it, driving the length of the Missouri River on a seven-week journey in 2016, beginning at the source of the river and ending near St. Louis, visiting the towns and sites along the way. If you are looking for a quirky guide to an interesting trip, I'd recommend this book. His photographs accompany the text, reproduced from the blog he published during his trip.

While it is billed as a coffee-table book, I do not think the quality of the some of the photographs is up to that description. Nonetheless, the reader will enjoy the vignettes from his stops along the way. A unique section of the book is the chapter entitled, "Human Treasures: People Along the River," which features photos and back stories of the local people with whom he became acquainted on his journey.

Campbell is careful to point out that his trip was not meant to recreate the journey of Lewis and Clark, but rather to focus on the Missouri River itself, "not to diminish the importance of Corps of Discovery, of course, . . . [but] to help keep in focus the decisions about what to see and where to visit." That said, he admits that one "can't go 10 feet on the River without running into their ghosts." Thus it is that he devotes a chapter to this component of the river's story, entitled, "In the Footsteps of Lewis and Clark: an



encapsulated revisiting of some of the major highlights of the River portion of their trip." He gives a very brief overview of the story and chooses fourteen key sites to feature, including the confluence of the Missouri and the Yellowstone rivers, the Great Falls, and Three Forks. The section on the confluence is somewhat odd in that he chooses as the header of this section, "Sidney, Montana," which sent me to a map to confirm what I already knew: the confluence is in North Dakota.

Here is some of what he has to say about the North Dakota section of the river:

Fort Mandan has been authentically rebuilt—along with a separate impressive Interpretive Center—on a new site near Washburn, North Dakota about 10 miles from the original one near the confluence of the Knife River with the Missouri. Its details are fascinating and informative.... It was on this visit that I first began to really appreciate the incredible nature of the Corps of Discovery accomplishments, and what amazing, diverse, creative, gutsy, and talented people they were. The group was distinctly more than the sum of its parts.

Rollin' Down the River is pure Mid-

western travel book from cover to cover. Pick it up if you plan to travel in any of these areas and want to find the hidden treasures the author reveals. Campbell, a retired professor of mathematics, encourages interested parties to visit his website, www.AfterMathEnterprises.com.

Readers who are interested in other books on the Missouri River should read John G. Neihardt's *The River and I*, Robert Kelley Schneiders' *Unruly River: Two Centuries of Change Along the Missouri*, and *Undaunted Courage* by the inimitable Stephen Ambrose. ■

Lillian Crook is a retired academic librarian. She lives in Bismarck, North Dakota, where she gardens and writes WildDakotaWoman.blogspot.com.

Another Important Book by Gary E. Moulton

As the May 2018 issue of *We Proceeded On* went to press, Gary Moulton's new book, *The Lewis and Clark Expedition Day by Day* was released by the University of Nebraska Press. The 774-page book offers a concise summary of each of the 863 days of the expedition, from May 14, 1804 to September 23, 1806.

No individual anywhere could be in a better position than Gary Moulton to distill the 1.5 million words written by Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, Patrick Gass, Charles Floyd, Joseph Whitehouse, and John Ordway into a day-by-day narrative in one splendid volume. Moulton brings decades of dedicated labor in textual transcription, careful reading, research, consultation with experts in a wide range of fields, interpretation, and painstaking annotation to this capstone of his Herculean labors. WPO will print a full review of *The Lewis and Clark Expedition Day by Day* in the August 2018 issue. Editor.

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