Lost Voices on the Missouri: John Dougherty and the Indian Frontier

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verso display, reminding us not only of how much has changed in over 180 years, but of how much has not. Iowaans will be especially interested in the images that reveal the Missouri River from St. Louis up along the western border of the state. As viewers, we contemplate the original nineteenth-century journey, the modern journeys of the authors as they tracked down locations across much of the country, and perhaps our own travels through the regions depicted. This, after all, is the enduring value of such a project; the journey through the American interior is a mythic adventure for Americans. It is iconic and ongoing as travelers continue to tread and retread the same paths, mimicking earlier, more historic journeys, but also existing side by side with them.

The authors’ ambition is not in analysis or historical discovery. Rather, the clearly defined goal of providing a modern-day visual counterpart to Bodmer’s sequential travel imagery is forthright. That approach is generally compelling. Readers will find themselves flipping back and forth in this beautifully illustrated book, stopping to contemplate the changes that have occurred (or not), as well as the obvious artistic liberties that Bodmer often took. Rephotography is an endeavor that is pleasing and quite entertaining, connecting us in a tangible way to a past that usually seems remote. Projects such as Karl Bodmer’s America Revisited remind us that the past is not so very far away, after all.


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This is a massive book—physically massive in the number of pages and words, but also massive in the amount of detail and information it offers. Mark Kelly, a professional archaeologist, historian, and environmentalist, has left no stone unturned in writing this biography of the early nineteenth-century Indian agent John Dougherty (1791–1860) and examining the territory he traveled over and served for nearly four decades. It is also a riparian biography of the great Missouri River, which Kelly describes in exacting detail from bends and tributaries to all the toils and dangers of traveling it. The story of the river
is as fascinating as the story of John Dougherty’s extraordinary American frontier life.

As the title of the work indicates, the two lives—the river’s and the man’s—are intimately intertwined. Add to that the story of the thousands of American Indians who lived along the Missouri and how their voices came to be lost as the advance of the American frontier overwhelmed them and eventually destroyed their culture. The work also provides an opportunity to hear from a pantheon of early nineteenth-century giants of the West: William Clark; fur trading magnates such as Auguste Chouteau, Manuel Lisa, Andrew Henry, and William Ashley; and civil and military leaders such as Henry Leavenworth.

In the preface, Kelly systematically lists every biographical reference to John Dougherty that has ever been written and offers critiques of the validity and accuracy of those offerings based on his own massive research. The text of the story, which begins with the introduction of Dougherty’s ancestors, takes readers to his childhood home in Kentucky and lays a genealogical foundation for the biography. As Dougherty grew to manhood he was lured from farm life to the new trans-Mississippi frontier opened by the Louisiana Purchase. On the heels of the Lewis and Clark expedition he plunged into the fur trade and made his mark as one of the early explorers and Indian traders on the upper Missouri, working for Manuel Lisa.

Dougherty’s ability to communicate with and learn the ways of American Indians in the Missouri River valley stood him well with both fur company men and government officials. Over two decades of hard work and frequent danger he built his reputation and became the head of the Upper Missouri Indian Agency by 1827. He remained in government service until 1839, then retired to Clay County, Missouri, where he established a fine home and remained a well-known figure until his death on the eve of the Civil War.

Despite Kelly’s exhaustive research, he does need to engage in some speculation about Dougherty’s early life. Generally, his later life is documented by his correspondence with his contemporaries in the Indian trade or bureaucracy. Kelly fills much of his text with that back-and-forth correspondence and appraisal of various documents. In perusing the notes, which alone run to 140 pages, the full extent of Kelly’s work becomes evident. He employs hundreds of letters from the official records of the Office of Indian Affairs, the Secretary of War, and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs; account books from the National Archives; dozens of manuscript collections from Dougherty’s major contemporaries housed in state archives; documents from the
American State Papers; and hundreds of books and other secondary sources.

This work will be an invaluable reference for anyone studying the early history of the Missouri River from its confluence with the Mississippi up to the Great Falls in Montana, through Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Iowa, and the region of the Yellowstone and the Blackfoot nation. Students of history will not only learn of John Dougherty and his relationships with an amazing array of entrepreneurs, trappers, traders, soldiers, Indian chiefs, government bureaucrats, and friends but will also discover how the United States began the conquest of the trans-Mississippi West and its native peoples.


Reviewer Darrel E. Bigham is professor of history and director of Historic Southern Indiana emeritus at the University of Southern Indiana. His books include On Jordan’s Banks: Emancipation and Its Aftermath in the Ohio River Valley (2005).

Gods of the Mississippi comprises nine essays and an afterword. In his introduction, Michael Pasquier declares that “overwhelmingly Protestant, nationalist, and frontier narratives of the United States have directed the attention of historians away from the study of religion and culture along the Mississippi” (5). In his afterword, Thomas A. Tweed states that the book identifies motifs that allow readers to examine the movement of people and religious practices, sheds light on the characters in these stories, and challenges the prevailing view of westward expansion by white Protestants.

Each essay is amply documented. The first essay, Jon F. Sensbach’s “‘The Singing of the Mississippi’: The River and Religions of the Black Atlantic,” evokes Langston Hughes’s description of the confluence of many black Atlantic cultures along the river that “jarred, mingled, and created something new” (31). In “Religion and Empire in Mississippi, 1790–1833,” Sylvester Johnson contends that American Christian foreign missions partnered with the War Department, making Mississippi Territory an Anglo-American dominion. In “Movement, Maps, and Wonder: Civil Religious Competition at the Source of the Mississippi River, 1805–1832,” Arthur Remillard demonstrates how the smallest point of the Great River has shaped, and been shaped by, the discourses of explorers and conservationists. Thomas Ruys Smith, in