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Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Journals of Lewis and Clark Expedition*, 13 volumes

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Review Essay

MIGUEL GANDERT, ENRIQUE LAMADRID, RAMON A. GUTIERREZ,
LUCY R. LIPPARD, AND CHRIS WILSON, *NUEVO MEXICO PROFUNDO:
RITUALS OF AN INDO-HISPANO HOMELAND*

Clyde Ellis

As Enrique Lamadrid points out in the volume's opening essay, when New Mexico was annexed to the United States in the mid-nineteenth century, Americans felt compelled to naturalize it by erasing and obscuring its complex ethnic heritage. Discomfited by the racial and cultural implications of New Mexico's deeply rooted mestizo culture, Anglos to the north—whose own racial and cultural fictions would shortly crash into rubble—embraced the historical canvas of the Spanish-Mexican colonial era with its gaudily heroic images of triumph and progress. Later generations followed suit by celebrating the seemingly more authentic and usually less problematic expressions of New Mexican culture in places like Taos, Santa Fe, and Gallup. In doing so, they dismissed mestizos as cultural foundlings shrouded by what Lamadrid calls “the stark and mystified light of historical

Nuevo México Profundo: Rituals of an Indo-Hispano Homeland, photographs by Miguel Gandert, essays by Enrique Lamadrid, Ramón A. Gutiérrez, Lucy R. Lippard, Chris Wilson, and Miguel Gandert (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press; Albuquerque: National Hispanic Cultural Center of New Mexico, 2000. xii + 177 pp. 130 duotones, bibliography. \$50.00 cloth, ISBN 0-89013-384-4, \$29.95 paper, ISBN 0-89013-349-2.) Clyde Ellis is Associate Professor of History at Elon University in Elon, North Carolina. His books include *To Change Them Forever: Indian Education at the Rainy Mountain Boarding School, 1893–1920* (1996), *The Jesus Road: Kiowas, Christianity, and Indian Hymns* (2002), and *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (forthcoming 2003). He is currently working on a history of American Indian War mothers.

amnesia” (p. 1). In the process, the world that this volume examines was shuffled off to the land of shadows.

The essays and photos in this book address that amnesia by examining some of the spiritual contours that have shaped New Mexico’s Indo-Hispano culture, a way of life that emerged when indigenous people and Old World emigres created what Lamadrid calls “a deep and complex mestizo tradition that serves as a fascinating register of cultural and historical relations” (p. 10). Commentaries by Lamadrid, Ramón A. Gutiérrez, Lucy R. Lippard, and Chris Wilson, and photographs by Miguel Gandert open a window onto religious rituals that reveal how communities and individuals have negotiated the changing boundaries of ethnicity, belief, and identity over time. The written texts also speak to the role of the chronicler, in this case Gandert. These images and essays are a stunning montage that introduce readers to a side of New Mexico that is neither widely publicized nor part of the touristic gaze and its carefully manipulated images and ideals. This book should encourage us to ponder the complexities of how and why these communities have constructed, negotiated, and expressed their own sense of identity, heritage, and history. Gandert’s photos are especially revealing on this count, for they echo precisely Lamadrid’s comment that through these rituals, remembrance replaces oblivion and opens the way to “a new vision of history and identity to be realized and reinscribed” (p. 1). Whether they record the gaudy Comanche dances, the frightening Abuelos with their rubber Halloween masks, or the Lent and Holy Week pilgrimages to the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, Gandert’s photos are rich texts that reveal multiple lenses of belief, contestation, and adaptation on a community level.

At the center of this book is a discussion of how religion and ritual bundle change and continuity in ways that maintain culturally rich but also complicated and contested ways of life in the small communities that dot the banks of the Río Grande in northern New Mexico. As Ramón Gutiérrez notes in “Culture Knows No Borders,” New Mexico has long been a cultural battleground where successive would-be conquerors sought to impose their own ideals and institutions. Yet “the process was never fully successful,” writes Gutiérrez, “and popular memories and ancient ways of life persisted, albeit in altered form” (p. 133). The legacies of this middle ground are evident in the numerous rituals, dances, and processions that occur year-round in northern New Mexico’s Indo-Hispanic communities. And as Gandert’s photos suggest, the cross-cultural encounters that shape these events reveal a world of action, belief, and memory that is fascinating in its vivid dramatic

license and revealing in its community-based discourse. Comanche dancers in their outrageous costumes raise all kinds of questions about representation and appropriation, for here Native people are adopting—and occasionally lampooning—the identity of other Natives. These images are juxtaposed against those of earnest pilgrims visiting holy sites in the manner of other Christian pilgrimages. The crucifixes and candles affirm the region's strongly Catholic heritage, yet it is not quite that simple. At places like Cerro de Tomé and Chimayó, the journey is made in remembrance of an indigenous worldview that continues to mold belief and identity. Thus the sacred topography and iconography of Cerro de Tomé, for example, calls to mind Moctezuma, the blessed Guadalupe, Popé, and Jesus alike. "These pictures are about the rituals of history," writes Gutiérrez. "They are about memory. And most of all, they are about the ways religious beliefs and practices structure the course of life in a region not easily cut in half by a border" (p. 135).

The staging of the dance called *moros y cristianos*—a Spanish colonial import designed to remind indigenous peoples of the ultimate futility of resisting what the West considered the one true religion—recalls the defeat of Native people at the hands of the conquistadors. But this tableaux is balanced by a very different interpretation of another imported ritual, the Matachines Dance, first taught to Natives by Franciscans in the sixteenth century. Probably the best known of these rituals, especially to outsiders, the Matachín dancers turn conquest on its head by offering a counter-narrative in which "conquered peoples constantly subvert colonial scripts of subordination and humiliation" (p. 137). Through these and other rituals, New Mexico's indigenous people "ritualize what to them have been the facts of history" (p. 138) and, in doing so, claim control over who tells the stories of their world.

The essays by Lucy R. Lippard and Chris Wilson address the larger intellectual and political implications of both Gandert's work and the rituals he photographs. In "Walking the Tightrope," Lippard suggests that these stories and photos are not simply "affirmations of identity" (p. 144), or quaint examples of "the cultural panoply of New Mexico" (p. 145); they can also be seen as "acts of defiance" (p. 158). Gandert does not strike a neutral pose. His own mestizo background and long history of working in these communities give him certain advantages in terms of access, but those personal connections also politicize his work in ways that separate him from other documentary photographers who are perhaps committed less to the community's sensibilities than to those of the audience (Edward Curtis comes to mind). "Gandert is fundamentally a community photographer," Lippard writes, "even when

the community is not his own. . . . The intensity of his photographic commitment to mestizo New Mexicans is reflected in his imagery, which is paradoxically casual and intimate, fusing the immediacy of a snapshot with the aesthetic considerations of art” (p. 149).

Gandert is simultaneously recording the history and culture of these communities, commenting on its cross-cultural qualities, and “reinserting Hispano history and culture back into the record, challenging myths of racial purity at the same time” (p. 157). This tension that Lippard identifies is also at the center of Chris Wilson’s essay, “Dancing with a Camera,” which includes an informative discussion of Gandert’s training and career. “What interests me most about Gandert’s work,” writes Wilson, “are the spatial dynamics of these community rituals and the modern situational frame of people interacting with the photographer and his camera” (pp. 169–70). Acknowledging that there are issues of representation, power, and manipulation on the table whenever Gandert pulls out his camera to take a photograph, Wilson argues that Gandert’s work nonetheless resonates with the community in ways that help to mediate those issues. It is not that Gandert does not occasionally run afoul of someone else’s sensibilities or interests, but on balance the communities in which he works trust his judgment. The same photographs that hang in museums also hang in their living rooms, where they “become part of the social, symbolic web that sustains community” (p. 170). In this sense, Gandert’s work is deeply ethnographic in its appreciation for cross-cultural encounter and in its reflexive and dialogic approach.

Nuevo México Profundo is a compelling work, one that raises anew the importance of searching out the details of identity, memory, history, and belief, especially in communities like the ones covered here — communities that are too often lost in the rush to see something perceived as more culturally pure and aesthetically pleasing. Yet in his ability to show us how people live in this hard place, express their emotions, remember a contested past, and shape their future, Gandert is clearly onto a deeply meaningful and complicated story, one that we should not let slip away into the shadows.

Review Essay

GARY E. MOULTON, ED., *THE JOURNALS OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION*, 13 VOLUMES

Bart Barbour

Almost twenty-five years ago the University of Nebraska Press embarked upon the monumental task of publishing *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition*. And now, as the expedition's bicentennial approaches, the press has completed production of its new edition in thirteen volumes. This edition brings together virtually everything directly related to the Corps of Discovery's expedition that can be described as a "map," "illustration," or "journal," all of it copiously annotated. Readers and researchers now have at their disposal the most comprehensive rendering ever produced of Lewis and Clark's own journals, as well as all additional surviving journals. Thus, the daybooks of Patrick Gass, Joseph Whitehouse, Sgt. Charles Floyd—the only member to die during the voyage—and John Ordway—who was promoted to the sergeant's rank after Floyd's death—are also reproduced. This edition supplants all others, and will stand, perhaps forever, as the expedition's quintessential chronicle. Its attention to detail far exceeds that of any precursors, of which there have been several. Ironically, this printing brings to the light

The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 13 vols., edited by Gary E. Moulton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983–2001.) Barton H. Barbour is Assistant Professor of History at Boise State University in Idaho. He writes on fur trade history and teaches early American history including a course on North American Exploration. His most recent book, *Fort Union and the Upper Missouri Fur Trade* (2001), was a finalist for a Western Writers of America Spur Award in 2002, and was a finalist for the Denver Public Library's Caroline Bancroft History Prize in 2003.

of day all components that Thomas Jefferson, the “main spring” of this “vast enterprise,” wished to see published almost two centuries ago.

This massive set of books fills nearly two linear feet of shelf space, and its ten text volumes run to more than five thousand pages. A comprehensive 175-page index and a spectacular atlas, itself of heroic proportions, accompany the ten volumes. The atlas presents the highest quality full-scale facsimile reproductions ever created of Clark’s maps, along with reference maps for the expedition’s route and a handful of other maps. Completing the set is a volume of photographs depicting every extant specimen from the expedition’s herbarium. Never before has the botanical collection, acquired mainly by Lewis, been displayed and annotated. Gary L. Moulton, the series editor, devoted practically a full career to this great work, and the contributions of numerous other expert scholars are evident on every page.

Why was this Lewis and Clark edition warranted? To begin to answer this question, it would be useful first to summarize the publishing history of the journals. With high expectations, Jefferson encouraged the two captains to begin writing their final report shortly after the corps’ return in September 1806. Meriwether Lewis, who was to be the principal author of a proposed three-volume edition of the journals, informed the public in a prospectus appearing in the *National Intelligencer* that a map would be published by October 1807 and that the first text volume would appear by January 1808. Prior to the expedition’s departure, Jefferson had seen to it that Lewis received crash courses in astronomy, natural sciences, and the skills necessary to record accurate observations of latitude and longitude. Jefferson also knew that William Clark, a gifted natural cartographer, had drafted many maps and that the two captains—and several other men—had kept daily journals. There was no dearth of the requisite source materials, but the publication process was jinxed from the outset.

In early 1807 Jefferson appointed Lewis governor of upper Louisiana. But Lewis was a chronic melancholic, and the combination of his burdensome official duties and personal financial problems overwhelmed him. He soon sank into a depression, began drinking heavily, and, in October 1809, committed suicide at a Tennessee inn called Grinder’s Stand. Clark’s backwoods orthography endows his narrative prose with immense charm, but Lewis possessed the superior literary skills. Besides, Clark had no time for “wrighting,” for he was occupied with his duties as superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis and with monitoring the Missouri River fur trade that began to flourish in 1810.

Upon Lewis's death, Clark turned the journals, notes, and some maps over to Nicholas Biddle, a Philadelphia litterateur who collaborated with Paul Allen to work up a manuscript. Two Philadelphia publishers were successively contracted. The first, John Conrad, failed in 1812 and the second, Bradford and Inskip, went bankrupt soon after the Biddle edition appeared early in 1815, due to "the effects of the war among trading people in Phila[delphia]." The Biddle edition, comprising 1,417 copies, offered only a narrative summary, omitting virtually all scientific data. Benjamin Smith Barton, one of Lewis's teachers, was recruited to prepare that material for publication but died before completing the task. Unhappily, this fact contributed to a long-prevailing view—which still found voice in Walter P. Webb's *The Great Plains* in 1931—that incompetents had led the expedition and produced no "real" science.

By 1815 the celebrations that marked the Corps of Discovery's return had been forgotten, and the nation had shifted its attention to the fallout from Jefferson's embargo, the War of 1812, and heated squabbles between Federalists and Jeffersonian Republicans. A few unauthorized reports—such as Patrick Gass's narrative journal and a fabricated atrocity called *The Travels of Capts. Lewis and Clarke*—came out but the public's appetite for such fare had vanished and the journals did not surface again for almost eighty years.

The first notable effort to resuscitate the journals came in 1893, when an editor at Harper and Brothers in New York invited Elliott Coues to edit them. Coues, a veteran army surgeon, accomplished ornithologist, and experienced historical editor, brought the benefits of his own considerable western experience to the endeavor. Coues's edition was a marked improvement on Biddle's work. By today's editorial standards, however, Coues took outrageous liberties with every manuscript he edited, and his Lewis and Clark edition was no exception. Still, Coues's systematic arrangement of the papers remains useful today, and he was the first editor to show any interest in the locations of campsites and other previously ignored details. His edition left out much, though, including the fine set of maps that Clark drafted, and climatological and scientific data.

With the turn of the century, the nation prepared to commemorate the Louisiana Purchase centennial, and publication of the "complete" journals seemed a ripe idea. The American Philosophical Society opened negotiations with another New York publisher, Dodd, Mead, and Company. In 1901 the publishers recruited an able editor, Reuben Gold Thwaites, who had recently finished editing the voluminous *Jesuit Relations*, to tackle the new

Lewis and Clark work. In the course of his research, Thwaites discovered Floyd's and Whitehouse's journals, and he traced the important Voorhis Collection to New York, where it was in the hands of William Clark's granddaughter, Julia Voorhis. The Thwaites edition, published in 1904–1905 as the *Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, 1804–1806*, comprised six sparsely annotated text volumes incorporating much scientific data, a robust index, and a boxed atlas containing blurry reproductions of some of Clark's maps. As Gary Moulton pointed out when the University of Nebraska Press launched its series in 1983 with the publication of the atlas, the Thwaites edition atlas was the element that “stood most in need of revision.”

The Thwaites edition inspired scholars to reconsider the expedition, and it spurred a hunt for new information. One of many highlights in this process was the recovery of thirty-five manuscript copies of William Clark's maps, made in 1833, that filled substantial cartographic gaps along the expedition's route. Identified in the new atlas as the Clark-Maximilian Sheets, they surfaced in the Maximilian-Bodmer Collection, brought to the United States shortly after World War II, and now housed at the Joslyn Museum in Omaha, Nebraska. As well, Thwaites's orthodox “Turnerian” interpretation of the expedition eventually came into question and has since been discarded.

During the past half-century, a number of praiseworthy Lewis and Clark books appeared. These include Bernard DeVoto's abridgement of the journals (1953), Ernest S. Osgood's *The Field Notes of Captain William Clark, 1803–1805* (1964), and Paul Russell Cutright's *Lewis and Clark: Pioneering Naturalists* (1969). Detailed studies of the expedition's scientific instruments and their makers, an expeditionary medical history, and even a history of the journals and notes themselves likewise pulled the expedition into sharper focus. Biographies of Lewis, Clark, Sacagawea, and a few other members of the corps also appeared. Donald Jackson's masterful *Letters of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* (1962; reprint, 1978) set the stage for a thorough reinvestigation of the expedition's history and heralded new assessments of its significance. James P. Ronda's *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians* (1978) was a path-breaking reappraisal of the expedition's interactions—positive and negative—with Native peoples.

Eleven years before the appearance of Ronda's book, with a growing number of scholars mining the Corps of Discovery, Donald Jackson had issued a call for a comprehensive and reliable version of the journals. A decade later, the Center for Great Plains Studies at the University of Nebraska hired Jackson to initiate contacts with manuscript repositories and prepare a proposal

to fund production of the journals. In 1979 the publishing program commenced, initially financed by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the University of Nebraska Press, the Center for Great Plains Studies, and the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, which houses much of the surviving Lewis and Clark materials.

Informed scholars are uniformly delighted with this new edition. But scholars are by no means the only Lewis and Clark fans, and most readers cannot afford the hefty price tag for the thirteen-volume hardbound set. In order to serve the broadest possible readership, the University of Nebraska Press is marketing two other versions of the journals. The paperback version of the *Definitive Journals of Lewis and Clark* features seven core volumes by Lewis and Clark. Also available are three additional paperback volumes presenting the journals of Sergeants John Ordway, Charles Floyd, and Patrick Gass, along with the journal of Private Joseph Whitehouse. The remarkably inexpensive hardbound single-volume abridgement, *An American Epic of Discovery: The Lewis and Clark Journals*, skillfully distills the accounts of Lewis and Clark with other journalists among the Corps of Discovery. It also includes editor Gary Moulton's succinct introduction to the expedition and his evaluation of its significance. Additionally, the University of Nebraska Press recently launched a website that currently features about two hundred pages from the journals. Designed to serve students and educators, the press plans eventually to place the entirety of the journals online at <http://lewisandclarkjournals.unl.edu>.

Lewis, Clark, and the Corps of Discovery fascinate many Americans, but why do they capture the American imagination? With the expedition's bicentennial looming, we may anticipate a pop-culture Lewis and Clark blitz in every town along Lewis and Clark's path from Washington, D.C., to Astoria. Will the real significance of the Corps of Discovery be lost amid the "historical" pageantry of the very celebrations designed to commemorate it? Why *should* Americans care about Lewis and Clark? There are several good reasons.

Jefferson had hoped, vainly it turned out, that the expedition's findings would self-evidently proclaim that the United States had earned a place in the world of legitimate science, and thus vindicate his "vast enterprise" in the public mind. Sadly, this scenario was not to be, for the nation seemed scarcely aware of the expedition just a few years after its return. Even in Jefferson's day, his political opponents lost no opportunity to diminish the importance or ridicule the findings of Lewis and Clark's western tour. And no version of the

journals since the 1814 Biddle edition was able to transform fully public opinion on the corps' significance.

Until now, that is. This new edition positively brims with restrained editorial annotations illuminating every aspect of the journey and those who made it. No other version has included a comparable treasure trove of ethnographic material, biographical and geographical detail, or scientific data. No one will need to read the set from cover to cover to discover compelling proof that Lewis and Clark were scientists and supremely capable leaders.

For the first time, thanks to the synoptic index, anyone interested in the expedition can cull information on hundreds of topics. Historians, linguists, ethnologists, botanists, zoologists, climatologists, and other researchers now possess a fine-grained sieve to winnow the wealth of information buried in the journals. As just one example, perusal of the entries under "traps" discloses forty-four references. Many entries simply indicate that "some men" set traps for beavers and otters; others specifically name George Drouillard, John Colter, and William Brattan as trappers. No orders for traps are among official invoices for supplies; so it seems that some recruits carried traps on the voyage and thus "moon-lighted" as fur hunters. One entry tells us that, during May 1806, while at "Camp Chopunnish" in present-day Idaho, some men fashioned sewing awls from beaver-trap chain links to trade for camas roots with some Chopunnish, or Nez Percé, people. The true gem under this topic, however, is Lewis's meticulously rendered recipe for concocting "beaver medicine." Prepared from various spices mixed with beaver musk glands, this powerful attractant was applied to a willow or aspen twig placed upright in a streambed over a set trap. A crucial element in successful trapping, this early nineteenth-century bait was never better described.

The popular-culture interpretation of western American history is heavily freighted with myth, and it is no surprise that writers identify a bifurcated image of Lewis and Clark wherein "actuality" and "mythology" seem to be locked in contention. In the mythic version, the Corps of Discovery strode herolike, constantly encountering—practically creating—new vistas of wonder and promise with every step, seeing everything with the original "eyes of discovery." Their story seems a chronicle of continuous "firsts," punctuated with sufficient danger to keep it interesting. By contrast, the actualities of that story are more ambiguous and more thought provoking.

Although they garner the lion's share of our expeditionary attention, Lewis and Clark were not the first White men to reach the Pacific Ocean, and they did not make their way unaided. Countless Indians along the route provided

invaluable assistance, and the race to the Pacific had been won a decade earlier by the Nor'Wester, Alexander McKenzie. The corps failed to discover the postulated North American "height of land" dividing the waters of East and West, for it existed only in men's minds. Lewis and Clark found no "River of the West" that would have made the "Passage to India" a relatively simple matter of crossing from the headwaters of the Missouri River to those of one that fell into the Pacific, for there is none.

Their interactions with Indians did not go smoothly in some cases, and such elements of Indian policy that did emerge from the expedition's negotiations were of little consequence. The Corps of Discovery included the young Shoshone named Sacagawea, one of the most famous Indian women in U.S. history. Important as she was to the expedition, Sacagawea's significance has been much inflated in the public mind. Bernard DeVoto wrote many years ago—and it might still be so—that some Americans believe "Lewis, Clark, and their command were privileged to assist in the Sacajawea [*sic*] Expedition."¹

The expedition's roster also included John Colter and George Drouillard, both of whom became prominent players in the early western American fur trade and are the subjects of good biographies. But the corps consisted largely of men about whom so little is known that they remain mere shadows in the expeditionary narrative. No more may be possible, for Moulton and his fellow experts have digested everything now known about the expedition's members.

Lewis and Clark led just one of several Jeffersonian expeditions, and each of their counterparts enjoyed some success. Their southwestern analog was Lt. Zebulon Montgomery Pike, whose party crossed the southern plains, explored portions of the Rocky Mountains, and traversed much of northern Mexico during 1806–1807. Pike was no fool, but as Donald Jackson noted, "Most of his luck was bad," and several factors tarnished his legacy. For one thing, Pike wandered into Spanish country and was detained as a trespasser; so W. Eugene Hollon dubbed him the "Lost Pathfinder" in a 1949 biography. Pike's reputation also suffered from his association with the Early Republic's leading scoundrel, Maj. Gen. James Wilkinson, and his alleged links to the "Burr Conspiracy" that unfolded in 1807.

Zebulon Pike died from a powder-magazine explosion in 1813, while he campaigned in Canada during the War of 1812, and was thus denied the chance to defend his name. In 1845 a fire destroyed Pike's home and contents including his letters and papers, making a final historical assessment of his

life impossible. Thomas Jefferson did not initiate Pike's expedition, but like the Lewis and Clark Expedition it involved inventorying resources, recording scientific data, mapping waterways, and locating and making peace with Indian nations ostensibly under U.S. jurisdiction after the Louisiana Purchase. Donald Jackson, who studied both Pike and Lewis and Clark, placed him in the second rank of explorers, noting, "Pike's description of the black-tailed prairie dog was his main contribution to natural history."² By contrast Lewis and Clark left a multitude of records, and they identified approximately 120 animal and more than 200 plant species unknown to Euro-american scientists.

Pike recorded reliable information about Indians he encountered, and the story of his party's difficulties and its detention by Spanish authorities infuses his narrative with some dramatic tension, but the record of his journey simply lacks the allure that draws readers to Lewis and Clark. Pike battled no grizzly bears; he braved no waters as threatening as the Missouri; he crossed no major ranges of the "Shining Mountains"; his party mustered no Sacagawea, York, or "Pompey," and he did not reach the western margin of the continent. Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery did all of these things, and they did so with little hint of failure. Furthermore, as James Ronda has noted, following a series of shakedown exercises and some stern disciplining between Wood River and Fort Mandan, the two captains forged the obstreperous individuals comprising the Corps of Discovery into a "band of brothers" warmly united by shared hardships and comforts. By contrast Pike was saddled with a disparate group that included men who were essentially covert agents with secret agendas. Little in the way of brotherly camaraderie emerges from a reading of Pike's narrative.

Other Jeffersonian expeditions probed the Southwest, too. William Dunbar examined the Ouachita River in 1805, and the Thomas Freeman–Peter Custis party investigated part of the Red River in 1806, but Spanish soldiers intercepted it in Texas. When Stephen H. Long, an army topographical engineer and arguably the last Jeffersonian explorer, toured the upper Arkansas River in 1820, he carried a copy of Pike's published journal. Long's party, the first U.S. expedition to enlist trained specialists, included three scientists and a landscape painter. By the 1840s, however, westering Americans traversing the nascent Oregon-California Trail embraced a new avatar, John Charles Frémont, the "Pathfinder" whose heavily publicized expeditions—and fame—eclipsed those of his predecessors. And so the legacy of the Jeffersonian expeditions dimmed amid the hurly-burly of midcentury expansionism.

Today, historians concede that Lewis and Clark's Corps of Discovery succeeded like no other government-sponsored expedition in early U.S. history. But Lewis and Clark's story has also become a hallowed chapter in our national mythology, and devotees of that myth will probably not be swayed by cranky scholars who grumble about the story's shaky historical foundations. In all likelihood, the popular view of Lewis and Clark as heroic leaders of a highly romanticized endeavor will endure. To some Americans, the Corps of Discovery affirms admirable aspects of our national character, like rugged individualism, hardy adventurousness, and an irresistible urge to discover what lies beyond the horizon. The tale of those roughly thirty, mostly unknowable "Americans" (several among the corps were French Canadians) who trekked to the Pacific seems comparable to the adventures of Odysseus and his cohorts.

Perhaps our reverence for the Corps of Discovery helps satisfy a collective need to fashion a heroic ancestral past for a people whose national history only began about two centuries ago. If Washington and the other founders gave us the Revolution and the Constitution, then Lewis and Clark gave us the Great West. Perhaps, too, the very anonymity of the Corps of Discovery allows the public to make of the enterprise whatever it wishes. Their story is, after all, the property of all Americans, and it is worth noting that the corps' journals also qualify as "real" early American literature. The Corps of Discovery's transcontinental "road-trip," the first recorded in American history, marked out imaginative compass points that guided many writers. George Douglas Brewerton, Lewis H. Garrard, Charles F. Lummis, Jack London, Jack Kerouac, Ken Kesey, and Hunter S. Thompson all fit within the cultural and literary tradition of "road-trippers."

Whether readers seek a rousing good tale, credible scientific data, or penetrating glimpses into early western America, *The Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* offers limitless vistas. This splendid new edition guarantees that the story of Lewis, Clark, and the Corps of Discovery will continue to enthrall and inform Americans for a long time. In March 1814, upon publication of the first edition, Nicholas Biddle had assured William Clark that "Henceforward you may sleep upon your fame which must last as long as books can endure." Biddle's promise has at last been redeemed, and Jefferson would applaud the results. The University of Nebraska Press and the Center for Great Plains Studies richly deserve the cheers of all historically minded Americans for shepherding this project to completion. So do the many scholars who assisted Gary Moulton in his editorial work. As well,

scholars and the public owe a debt of gratitude to those entities, public and private, that helped fund this enormously costly undertaking. The result, I am pleased to report, is one of the preeminent literary-historical milestones of our time.

Notes

1. Bernard DeVoto, *The Course of Empire* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1952), 478, quoted in Gary L. Moulton, "On Reading Lewis and Clark: The Last Twenty Years," in James P. Ronda, ed., *Voyages of Discovery: Essays on the Lewis and Clark* (Helena: Montana Historical Society Press, 1998), 287.
2. Donald Jackson, ed., *The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike, with Letters and Related Documents*, 2 vols. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966). The quotation is taken from the caption to the illustration following p.82 in vol.1.