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Guatemala is kept far removed from the public due to the silence of mass media and Congress, *Guatemala: Tyranny on Trial* is important reading. The book is well organized and lends itself to unconstrained reading.

Howard Adams

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Lewis and Clark Among the Indians. By James P. Ronda. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1984. 310 pp. \$24.95 Cloth.

The literature of North American exploration is vast and includes government reports, journals, memoirs, letters, and histories that date from the early sixteenth century. Among the many noteworthy expeditions, none has captured the imaginations of the general public or historians of the American West more than the Corps of Discovery of Meriwether Lewis and William Clark that traveled from St. Louis to the Oregon coast and back in 1804-1806. "In ways that defy rational explanation," writes James P. Ronda, professor of history at Youngstown State University, "the picture of Lewis and Clark struggling up the Missouri and across the mountains to the great western sea continues to stir our national consciousness" (p. xi).

The expedition has been studied and described from a number of perspectives: as an epic in human endurance, as a scientific enterprise, and as an exercise in Jeffersonian diplomacy. In all of these, the spirit of adventure runs high. Much of the drama occurs through the meetings with various groups of American Indians, as mysterious to the explorers as the lands they occupied. Many of the standard accounts about Lewis and Clark have naturally directed their attention toward the potentially dangerous encounters with Indians. The perspective has been one of viewing the lives of the natives through the eyes of the expedition's principals. The tone of such standard works as Bernard Devoto's *The Course of Empire* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952) has been occasionally biased or derogatory in portraying Indians. To redress what he perceives as an imbalance in historical scholarship, Ronda writes a detailed and sophisticated analysis about what happens when people from different cultures

encounter each other. The book, however, in the words of its author, "is not an attempt to dress up exploration history with feathers and paint to satisfy current political needs" (p. xi). Rather, it is a "full-scale contact study" of the official and personal relations between the explorers and the Indians.

Thomas Jefferson charged the explorers with collecting information about the Indians and winning their trade and allegiance. Using varieties of sources and the latest scholarship of anthropology and archaeology, Ronda examines the role of Lewis and Clark as pioneer ethnographers. What John L. Allen accomplished for geography and cartography in *Passage Through the Garden: Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), Ronda accomplishes for ethnohistory. He explains in vivid detail the complex relations between native groups and the misunderstandings that shaped the destinies of the Indians and the U.S. government. Additionally, the Lewis and Clark records yield a store of information about Indians unequalled in the literature of exploration. When combined with additional contemporary evidence produced by such people as David Thompson, Alexander Henry the Younger, Pierre-Antoine Tabeau, as well as the site reports and culture element distributions from anthropology and archaeology, the result is a story rich and inciting.

Collecting ethnological data was not, however, the primary mission of the Corps of Discovery. As the expedition crawled up the Missouri in the spring of 1804, its keelboat laden with goods to entice trade and friendship among the Indians, Jefferson's grandiose diplomatic scheme was truthfully put in motion. As the president would later explain to every delegation of western Indians to visit Washington, D.C., the Republic sought commerce, not land. "Lewis and Clark were on the road," the author explains, "to show American wares. The expedition was the mercantile and hardware display case for a trade empire on the move" (p. 9). As Ronda notes, the products of the Industrial Revolution had arrived in the Missouri valley half a century before and it was equally well established on the Northwest coast. But Lewis and Clark offered more than trade goods to compete with British factors operating from Canada. The explorers offered "membership in a system with well-established posts and dependable delivery schedules. . . . Trade and diplomacy, commerce and sovereignty were all parts of the engine that drove

American expansion and guided Lewis and Clark. . . ." (p. 9).

Ronda's first five chapters cover the background of the expedition through its first winter spent with the Mandans. The fifth chapter, an interlude from the complicated narrative detailing the negotiations for trade and inter-tribal peace, examines "Lewis and Clark as Plains Ethnographers." The author describes the two men as ethnographers rather than ethnologists; the distinction is explained as one of objectivity. "Ethnologists study diverse cultures with an eye toward creating widely applicable concepts of social development and behavior. In this century they have become full-time specialists committed to accurate, objective observation" (p. 114). Although weak in its understanding about the role and development of nineteenth century ethnology, Ronda's point is well taken; only rarely did the explorers assume an air of cool detachment and scientific objectivity in their relations with Indians. "Disinterested observation," he writes, "was the farthest thing from their minds. . . . Fortunately, their cultural biases did not prevent them from asking the right ethnographic questions. Equally fortunate, they had the good sense to write down most Indian answers including many that seemed bewildering at the time" (p. 114). Readers are likewise fortunate that Ronda judiciously avoids the trap of presentism. Although he has a tendency to find fault with the explorers' methods and subjectivity, their achievements are, nevertheless, admirably placed in context.

Beginning with Chapter 6, "Across the Divide," and continuing through the conclusion three chapters later, the narrative comes alive with all the tension and drama inherent in the subject. Ronda's eye for detail and his considerable interpretive skills recreate the encounters between Indians and explorers—diplomatic negotiations, misunderstandings, and sexual liaisons. By the conclusion, the reader well appreciates that the expedition was indeed "a cooperative effort requiring substantial information and support from the Indians. The Indians shaped the exploratory effort by their very presence on the land. They were people to be reckoned with, whether as potential sources of aid or possible enemies" (p. 252). The Lewis and Clark expedition benefitted greatly from the Indians' knowledge and support. Maps, route information, food, horses, and friendship gave the expedition the advantages that meant the difference between success and failure. The presence of Sacagawea on the expedition's roster is only the slenderest indication of what Indian support

meant to the Corps of Discovery. Through Ronda's book, the roster now includes the contributions of persons like Sheheke, Cameahwait, Old Toby, Tetoharsky, Twisted Hair, and Flint Necklace. Additionally, "[t]here needs to be a place for those unnamed Shoshoni women who carried expedition baggage over Lemhi Pass as well as for countless Indians who traded food and affection" (pp. 252-3). Ronda shows how essential American Indians were to Lewis and Clark's achievement.

Although Lewis and Clark failed to forge an alliance among the village Indians, and though they also failed to comprehend either river economics or plains politics, they gathered far more than what Nicolas Biddle once described as "rude and imperfect records." "In their writing, drawing, and collecting," Ronda concludes, "they managed to capture an essential part of American life on the edge of profound change" (p. 254).

Lewis and Clark Among the Indians does not exhaust the ethnographic record of the expedition. Its blending of sources and disciplines may inspire others to examine in even greater detail the relations of the expedition with specific tribes or groups. Read along with Donald Jackson's *Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains: Exploring the West From Monticello* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), Ronda's work adds greatly to our understanding about the epic of Lewis and Clark. Readers will be pleased with its scholarship and lively prose. The author also provides an appendix on Sacagawea that, it may be hoped, lays to rest the controversy about her role in the expedition.

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Haida Monumental Art. By George F. MacDonald. Foreword and graphics by Bill Reid, Commentary by Richard Huyda. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983. 240 pp. \$140.00 Cloth.

Ninstints: Haida World Heritage Site. By George F. MacDonald. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983. 68 pp. \$8.95 Paper.

The Haida Indians constructed some of the most magnificent houses and erected some of the most exquisitely-carved totem