The Indianization of Lewis and Clark

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connections between the Great Lakes and the trans-Mississippi West. The connections were not limited by the continent, however. Through the trade links with France and its Caribbean colonies, French owners shipped North American captives from towns like Montreal to places like Cap-Français in the Caribbean.

*Bonds of Alliance* forces us to reconsider stereotypes. For example, indigenous bondage is often characterized as “soft slavery”—in which captives are incorporated into captor societies. Rushforth refines the edges of life for slaves of Indian masters and mistresses while reassessing the opportunities for the slaves of Euro-Americans in frontier places like New France. He demonstrates, probably to the surprise of some, that there was a range of constructed kinship relationships available across these cultures.

Taking the story to another level, Rushforth reminds us that more than laborers and commodities were exchanged across the Atlantic. The early colonial period was a time of rousing debates over which people might be ethically enslaved and under what conditions. With Rushforth as our guide, we are swept into the current of arguments over the “natural freedom” due Indians versus Africans, medieval allegories of a France free from unjust slavery, and the economic realities faced by settlers in New France and St. Domingue.

Historians will appreciate how Rushforth’s data and conclusions inform and are informed by the work of borderlands experts such as Pekka Hämäläinen, Juliana Barr, and James Brooks. Similar, strong parallels can be drawn to the insights provided by researchers of Indian slave traffickers east of the Mississippi such as Eric Bowne and Alan Gallay. The philosophical and legal debates invoke directly or indirectly studies of the Atlantic world by Sue Peabody and Malik Ghachem. On the other hand, students and general readers will enjoy the way Rushforth balances big economic and cultural stories with personal case studies of slavery from the vantage of French colonial North America.


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In this massive book, historian William Swagerty explores and reviews much more subject matter than the title implies. “Indianization,” the
operative term that appears in the title, means simply the impact that contact with North American Indians had on non-Indian culture, in this case specifically the members of the epic Lewis and Clark exploration party. It is a term borrowed from anthropologist A. Irving Hollo- well, who defined it in 1963 as a unique form of acculturation. Author Swagerty explains how the Indianization concept developed from related acculturation concepts offered at earlier times by various anthropologists and historians.

Swagerty solidly sets the expedition’s history in the context of Jeffersonian America: its pre-expedition perception of Native Americans; its regional food traditions shared by the expedition’s members, who came from different parts of the nation; its view of diplomacy with Native Americans; contemporary knowledge of common health issues and treatment; and Jeffersonian exploration in general. After all, the Lewis and Clark expedition was one of several exploration parties dispatched into newly acquired or desired lands, albeit the largest-scale geographically and the most successful in advancing geographic and ethnographic knowledge. The underlying theme, of course, is how contact with tribes along the Missouri and Columbia rivers changed the apparel, diet, medical treatment, technology, and transportation of the expedition, and how these changes and adaptations contributed to its success.

In exploring these topics in an introduction, 12 chapters of discussion, a conclusion, and an epilogue, Swagerty ventures into many diverse topical areas, including reviews of Lewis and Clark’s personal histories and Lewis’s relationship with President Jefferson, the publication history of the expedition’s journals, the state of knowledge of uniforms and other clothing worn by expedition members, the ironies of Clark’s diplomacy and treaty-making with Native Americans during his long post-expedition service as Superintendent of Indian Affairs, what happened to many of the Native American material culture and natural history specimens brought back by the expedition, and even the fate of the expedition’s members themselves. The last is accomplished in an epilogue that contains a lengthy table summarizing what is known of their lives and deaths.

Throughout the text, readers gain insight into how difficult the journey was for the exploring party in terms of physical hardship, food supply, maintenance of individual health, and, at times, diplomatic relations with the tribes. It truly is a wonder that the expedition lost only one man to death (Sergeant Floyd, presumed to have died from a ruptured appendix) and encountered as little outright violence as it did (resulting in the deaths of only two Native Americans).
concluding chapter, titled “The Impact of the Expedition on Science, Culture, and Indian Diplomacy, 1806–1820,” is especially important for succinctly summarizing the legacy of the Lewis and Clark expedition immediately after its return.

The text is supported by a huge number of footnotes (1,989) and a bibliography that together reference virtually every published study relating in some way to the Lewis and Clark expedition. For the careful reader, the book serves as a guide to the immense literature on Lewis and Clark, a body of scholarship that increased greatly preceding and during the recent Lewis and Clark bicentennial celebration.

Illustrations—seven maps, 54 black-and-white figures (many of them of contemporary documents), and 11 color illustrations—are relatively sparse. The color illustrations are mostly late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century artwork depicting scenes of the expedition at various points in its travel, although one is Saint-Mémin’s remarkable 1807 painting of Lewis wearing Indian clothing and headgear presented to him by Shoshone Chief Cameahwait, Sacagawea’s brother.

Because of its length, the book is an arduous, but absorbing, read. Devoted buffs of the Lewis and Clark expedition will enjoy and learn from it immensely, and scholars of many persuasions will have much to mine from these volumes. The book will long stand as an important source for serious Lewis and Clark enthusiasts and researchers.


Reviewer Vernon L. Volpe is professor of history and department chair at the University of Nebraska at Kearney. He is writing a biography of John Frémont.

Zebulon Pike neither climbed the grand peak bearing his name nor successfully completed the objectives of his western missions to the Mississippi’s headwaters and the gates of Spain’s internal domain in Mexico. As the editors of this collection of essays note, the bicentennial anniversary of Pike’s 1806 expedition passed with little notice, the memory of Pike’s travels certainly still dim in the shadow of Lewis and Clark’s epic journey. Still, the editors and contributors to this worthy volume successfully cast light on Pike’s life work and the actual achievements of his explorations. Perhaps not resolving forever the questions of Pike’s “spying” and flawed navigation, these studies do clarify and cement Pike’s accomplishments more than ever before.