

Undaunted Courage Study Guide

Undaunted Courage by Stephen Ambrose

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Introduction

In his introduction to *Undaunted Courage*, Stephen E. Ambrose writes that he feels "privileged to have had the opportunity to spend so much time with Meriwether Lewis." With this expansive work, which he had wanted to write for twenty years, Ambrose takes the opportunity to unfold the Lewis and Clark drama. He makes it come alive, even for those readers who, unlike Ambrose, have never followed the Lewis and Clark trail.

By the publication of *Undaunted Courage*, several books had already appeared that chronicled the Lewis and Clark expedition. Still, this new work was immediately recognized as a valuable addition to historiography. Ambrose's thorough study provides telling details of the journey—drawing at all times on the extensive journals the company commanders wrote—and what its findings meant to early nineteenth-century America. His work is carefully placed in the context of the times, providing the reader the necessary comprehension of the morals and values of the period. Ambrose's work is unique for another reason. Throughout the book he injects his own enthusiasm for the incredible undertaking of traveling to a completely unknown land. The work also reflects his own admiration for the two men who were most important to it: Thomas Jefferson, the man who conceived it, and Meriwether Lewis, the man who carried it out.

Author Biography

Stephen Ambrose was born on January 10, 1936, in Decatur, Illinois. He grew up in the small town of Whitewater, Wisconsin. Ambrose's father was a doctor, and Ambrose headed to the University of Wisconsin at Madison, intending to pursue an undergraduate degree in pre-med. However, an American history course inspired Ambrose to switch his major. After earning his bachelor's in 1957, Ambrose went on to earn his master's degree at Louisiana State University the following year. He returned to Wisconsin for his doctorate, which he completed in 1963. Ambrose has taught at institutions including Louisiana State University (LSU), Johns Hopkins University, and the University of New Orleans. Ambrose retired from the teaching profession after thirty years.

While still in graduate school, Ambrose edited and published several books focusing on the military. While teaching at LSU, Ambrose received a phone call from an admirer of his biography of Civil War general Henry Halleck. That admirer was former president Dwight D. Eisenhower, who appointed Ambrose to edit his papers. This lifelong association was prodigious for Ambrose; he eventually published numerous books, including a multi-volume set of Eisenhower's papers, a two volume biography of Eisenhower, and several books on Eisenhower's military career. Ambrose also wrote a television documentary for the BBC about Eisenhower.

After nearly twenty years of writing about Eisenhower, Ambrose turned to another American president, Richard M. Nixon. Ambrose was the first historian to produce a carefully researched scholarly biography of the controversial president. Ambrose's three-volume work follows Nixon from his humble beginnings to his fall from the presidency to the resuscitation of his reputation in the 1980s.

Ambrose's interest in the Lewis and Clark expedition dates back to 1975 when he started reading their journals. His readings sparked a trip in which Ambrose and his family followed the Lewis and Clark trail to the Pacific Ocean and which they commenced on the 172nd anniversary of the expedition's departure. By the early 1990s, Ambrose had decided to write a book about the expedition. *Undaunted Courage* (1996) was a critical and commercial success. Since its publication, Ambrose also published *Lewis and Clark: Voyage of Discovery* (1998) and served as chief consultant to historian Ken Burns' PBS series on Lewis and Clark.

In recent years, Ambrose has particularly focused on World War II and the lives of the American soldier. His *Citizen Soldiers* tells the story of the Allied D-Day invasion of France from the perspective of the GIs. He subsequently consulted on Stephen Spielberg's award-winning movie *Saving Private Ryan*. In 1998, Ambrose was one of nine winners of the National Medal for the Humanities.



Plot Summary

Lewis' Early Life

First five chapters of *Undaunted Courage* detail Lewis' life before undertaking the expedition. Lewis was born to a distinguished Virginia plantation family in 1774. As a boy, Lewis spent several years living in a Georgia frontier colony. After his return from Georgia at the age of thirteen, he was given several years of formal education so that he would be prepared to manage the estate he had inherited from his father. However, he only spent a few years on the Virginia plantation; instead, he volunteered for the Virginia militia in 1794. He spent the next six years in the military, and his service required him to travel throughout much of the American frontier. However, in 1801, President Jefferson—a longtime acquaintance of the Lewis family—asked Lewis to serve as his personal secretary and aid. Captain Lewis quickly gave up his military commission and moved to the president's residence in Washington.

Planning the Expedition

Jefferson had long been interested in sending an expedition to explore the west. When Jefferson learned that the British were planning to engage in the fur trade in the Pacific Northwest, he was galvanized into action. In 1802, Jefferson chose Lewis to command an expedition to the Pacific. Lewis had three main goals: find an all-water route to the Pacific Ocean; tell the Indians they had a new leader and bring them into the American trading network; and explore the northern tributaries of the Mississippi and the Missouri rivers, which would determine the northern extent of the boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. Jefferson was also keenly interested in scientific inquiry.

In preparation for the journey, Lewis studied geography, botany, mineralogy, astronomy, and ethnology with leading American scientists. He also made decisions on what and how many supplies to bring, what presents to give the Indians, and how many men to employ in the company. He oversaw the construction of a boat that would take the company up the Mississippi River. Lewis also decided he needed a co-commander, and he chose Clark, whom he had met in the military. Although Clark's official rank was never promoted beyond that of lieutenant, which dismayed Lewis greatly, the two men shared command. While preparations were being made, the Louisiana Purchase was also completed, giving the United States ownership of much of the land over which the men would travel.

Up the Missouri

On August 31, 1803, Lewis set forth down the Ohio River. He met with Clark in Clarksville, Indian Territory, where they enlisted men in their Corps of Discovery. The party then sailed upriver to Wood River, where they set up winter camp. Clark oversaw the preparations for the trip while Lewis took charge of purchasing supplies in St. Louis.



On May 22, 1804, the Corps of Discovery, made up of almost fifty men, was finally on its way. It consisted of a large keelboat and two smaller boats. The boats traveled more than 640 miles upriver before encountering a single Indian. On August 2, a party of Oto arrived at the expedition's camp. Lewis told them about Jefferson, their new Great Father, and gave them gifts. On August 20, the expedition suffered its only fatality when Sgt. Charles Floyd died of a ruptured appendix. In September, the Corps met a large party of Sioux and visited the Sioux village.

In October, the group approached the Mandan villages in present-day North Dakota. The friendly Mandans were at the center of Northern Plains' trade. The men built Fort Mandan, where they spent the winter. They also met a French-Canadian trader, Charbonneau, and his wife, Sacagawea, who joined the Corps as translators. A small group of men sailed back down the Missouri to bring back information about the expedition thus far.

Westward Bound

On April 7, 1805, the expedition was ready to move west. Eight days later, the expedition passed the farthest point upstream on the Missouri known by Lewis to have been reached by white men. The men hunted buffalo and had their first grizzly bear sighting. In June, the party crossed the Missouri and discovered that two large rivers met. They had to decide which river was the Missouri. They chose the south fork and followed the river to the Great Falls. At this point, the men had to carry their canoes overland. They had reached the foot of the Rocky Mountains and wanted to meet the Shoshoni. After several days, the men came across a Shoshoni party. Their leader was Cameahwait, who was Sacagawea's brother. They traded for horses with the Shoshoni and hired an Indian guide, Old Toby, to take them across the mountains.

Once across the mountains, the men traveled down the Columbia toward the Pacific. They discovered that rapids and falls broke up the Columbia for almost a fifty-mile stretch. The men shot the rapids while the important supplies were carried by hand. They continued onward to the Pacific.

The party built Fort Clatsop as their winter camp. By this time, the party had very little goods left to trade. When the Clatsops would not sell them a canoe that they needed, Lewis told his men to steal it. In March 1806, the men turned eastward on their way home.

Heading Home

The men headed east up the Columbia, which was hard going. They decided to go overland instead and purchased horses from the Nez Percé. Lewis also hoped to persuade them to send some guides and diplomats with them back east. The Nez Percé, however, said it was too early to cross the mountains, but the Corps was determined to do so. They headed out but soon discovered it was impossible to keep to the trail, which was hidden under feet of snow. They realized the difficulty of their



undertaking but luckily came across two young Indians crossing the mountains and quickly engaged them as guides. Thus they reached the other side of the Continental Divide safely.

Lewis and Clark parted company briefly in July. Lewis wanted to explore the northern river that had met the Missouri, the Maria. He hoped that it would extend far northward, giving the United States more land. He took a small party of men. After several days out, they got into a fight with some Black feet Indians and shot two. However, Lewis and his men escaped unharmed. They met up with Clark at the Point of Reunion in present-day North Dakota, and the entire party continued on to Fort Mandan. Then they headed down the Missouri. They met trading boats, which gave them the first news of the country they had heard since their departure. They arrived in St. Louis on September 22, 1806. Lewis immediately sat down to write a report to Jefferson telling him of their discoveries.

After the Expedition

Lewis went to Washington in January and after that on to Philadelphia. He made plans to publish his journals. Jefferson also appointed him the governor of the Louisiana Territory. Lewis, however, did little work, either on the journals or as the governor. He did not arrive in St. Louis until March 1808, at which point he was already experiencing bouts of depression and drinking heavily. In St. Louis, he attempted to set up a fur trade business with his friends and invested money in land speculation. He also spent money outfitting an expedition to return a Mandan chief to his homeland; however, the government decided not to reimburse him for these expenses. Lewis undertook a journey to Washington but died, apparently a suicide, on October 11, 1809.

Chapter 1 Youth 1774 - 1792

Chapter 1 Youth 1774 - 1792 Summary and Analysis

Meriwether Lewis's ancestry, birth, and early life are considered. Lewis is born August 1774 in Virginia to William Lewis and Lucy Lewis *nye* Meriwether, cousins. Lewis is born on the eve of the American Revolutionary War and his ancestry includes numerous military accomplishments in both lines. Lewis has an older sister, Jane, and a younger brother, Reuben. William Lewis dies of pneumonia in 1779; thereafter Nicholas Lewis, William's older brother, becomes family guardian pending Lewis' attainment of legal age. Lucy Lewis remarries in 1780 to John Marks, and has two additional children—John Hastings and Mary Garland. One significant family friend is Thomas Jefferson, future president of the United States of America and a nearby plantation owner.

As a young boy, Meriwether spends a considerable amount of time out of doors, including accompanying a frontier pioneer group to a new settlement. He is considered to be curious, inquisitive, coolheaded, and courageous by his peers and mentors. From 1787 through 1792, Lewis attends various schools, away from home, and receives his formal education. Although he values education highly he returns to his Virginia home to assume direct managerial responsibilities at the age of eighteen. Chapter One includes a reproduction of Peale's 1807 portrait of Meriwether Lewis; it is interesting to compare the likeness of this portrait with those offered in Chapter thirty-three.



Chapter 2 Planter 1792 - 1794

Chapter 2 Planter 1792 - 1794 Summary and Analysis

During his youth, Lewis develops excellent skills in riding, hiking, and outdoor skills as well as a penchant for what he refers to as 'rambling'; that is, adventure and wilderness travel. He develops a scrupulous honesty and is widely considered trustworthy. He assumes plantation management with minor misgiving over having given up his formal education. Nevertheless, he is a capable administrator, constantly increasing the size of his land holdings. Like most other plantation owners, he is land rich and cash poor. Slaves work his plantation and, like most men of the era, Lewis is not troubled by the moral quandary slavery presents. He esteems Native Americans as the archetypical noble savage and believes that one day they will accept European civilization and become productive and co-equal citizens; he simultaneously considers African Americans somewhat sub-human and incapable of the degree of energy and self-direction necessary for independent success in a free-enterprise nation. His questionable understanding of race aside, Lewis proves a very capable and successful plantation owner.

Chapter 3 Soldier 1794 - 1800

Chapter 3 Soldier 1794 - 1800 Summary and Analysis

During the Whiskey Rebellion of 1794, many young men, once children of the American Revolution, enlist in the military as a show of patriotic fervor. Among the new inductees is Meriwether Lewis who enlists as a private. Although only a private his considerable wealth, substantial education, and notable breeding ensure that, he spends most evenings in the company of officers. He finds life in the service enjoyable and fulfilling. Within a few months, he is commissioned an ensign in the Virginia Militia. After the rebellion is quelled the army ranks are rapidly thinned through cutbacks, but Lewis retains his position even with little experience—a fact which speaks well for his capability as a junior officer.

He is eventually assigned to be army paymaster and spends many months traveling extensively through the western frontier areas of the growing nation. He meets most army officers personally and gets to know their opinions and politics. During this time he meets and serves under Captain William Clark; the two men destined to form the most-famous companionship in American history find each other immediately likable. Throughout this entire period, Lewis espouses Republic politics in opposition to the more-common Federalist politics of the army; his political values will hugely influence his latter life and fame. Chapter Three includes a reproduction of Peale's 1810 portrait of William Clark.



Chapter 4 Thomas Jefferson's America 1801

Chapter 4 Thomas Jefferson's America 1801 Summary and Analysis

When Thomas Jefferson becomes President of the United States of America, the nation numbers slightly less than five and one-half million people. That includes approximately one million slaves. Geographically, the nation is a vast open country, nearly limitless in potential, and nearly completely unknown. Overland travel is slow and difficult, seldom averaging more than a score of miles in a day—even over a rarely encountered roadway. Rivers form the dominant highways and are the only way to transport substantial bulk materials. The relative positions of the Eastern seaboard states are known, as is the position of the distant Oregon country. Roughly, three thousand miles of *terra incognita* lay in between. Jefferson incorrectly speculates that a water route along major rivers probably exists which could link the two population centers. Meanwhile, many European nations, including Spain, France, England, and Russia, are vying for control of the interior of North America. Such is the state of the nation when Jefferson takes the oath of office as the third president. Chapter Four includes a reproduction of Peale's 1791 portrait of Thomas Jefferson.



Chapter 5 The President's Secretary 1801 - 1802

Chapter 5 The President's Secretary 1801 - 1802 Summary and Analysis

Meriwether Lewis is serving as army paymaster, when Thomas Jefferson offers him the highly sought after job as personal secretary to the president. Lewis immediately accepts the job. Though he leaves active service, he retains his commission and right to promotion. Jefferson selects Lewis largely because he is a staunch Republican and, importantly, because he knows nearly all of the officers in the army on a personal basis. One of the first tasks Lewis completes is an encyclopedic rating of all commissioned officers, placing them into one of several categories, which largely established their capability as officers and their political beliefs. Many officers are dismissed from the service, chiefly those who are incompetent but also many who are politically hostile to the new administration.

Lewis performs many duties as secretary, including constant visits with congress and interaction with significant political persons. In fact, Lewis delivers Jefferson's first 'state of the union' address. He lives in the president's house (not yet known as 'The White House') and dines with Jefferson nearly every evening. Jefferson, an old family friend, grooms and educates Lewis and ensures that the young man is introduced to a vast array of politically and socially significant people. During the relatively brief period that Lewis serves the President directly, he makes an enormous number of significant contacts, receives an incomparable political education, and hones his writing skills. By any standard, the appointment is a bellwether position and one by which Lewis greatly benefits.



Chapter 6 The Origins of the Expedition 1750 - 1802

Chapter 6 The Origins of the Expedition 1750 - 1802 Summary and Analysis

From the earliest days of colonization, the national interest had been captivated by the vast interior space. Many voyages of interior exploration were planned but virtually none had come to fruition. Jefferson had personally championed several attempts. On the most promising attempt, the noted adventurer Andry Michaux was selected. Jefferson raised funds through private subscription and Michaux commenced his voyage of exploration. Before getting far, however, Jefferson discovered Michaux was actually an agent of the French government, causing the entire exertion to be canceled. Because of these many unsuccessful experiences, Jefferson comes to believe that a voyage of national exploration would require the financial backing of the Federal Government.

In 1787, a British explorer reports crossing northern Alberta and reaching the Pacific coast near Columbia. Coupled with the recent retrocession of the Louisiana territory from Spain to France the news galvanizes Jefferson; he determines immediately to act to preserve the United States' national interest in the area. By the end of 1802, Jefferson has determined to publicly finance a voyage of exploration ostensibly to link the two continental coasts by major river routes. He selects Meriwether Lewis to lead the expedition. Congress approves the rather meager amount requested to fund the voyage—in the event, the amount actually spent far outstrips the appropriation. The chapter concludes with a somewhat lengthy analysis of why Jefferson selected Lewis. Given the historical fact of success, the rigorous justification makes for somewhat tedious reading.



Chapter 7 Preparing for the Expedition January - June 1803

Chapter 7 Preparing for the Expedition January - June 1803 Summary and Analysis

Jefferson personally attends to Lewis' requisite education. As well, Jefferson contacts experts in significant fields and enlists their open-ended assistance as educators, peers, and advisors for Lewis. Lewis thus has unrestricted access to the brightest minds in the nation while preparing for his voyage of discovery. Meanwhile, the various details of planning and organization are covered throughout the chapter. Jefferson develops an extensive document containing instruction, advice, and orders. Lewis makes up lists of supplies and costs, and estimates how many men might be required to successfully complete the voyage. Lewis also spends a great deal of time learning how to perform geographic observations to fix latitude and longitude. Toward the end of the period discussed in the chapter Lewis begins to accumulate the vast stores of impedimenta required for such a long journey; he in particular spends time at Harpers Ferry securing firearms and overseeing the construction of an iron-framed collapsible boat. Also purchased are a large amount of trade goods for commerce with American Indian tribes, fishing tackle, medicines, tobacco, dry goods, and a large amount of 'portable soup'. Chapter Seven includes a two-page gatefold map entitled 'The Lewis and Clark Expedition 1803 - 1806.'



Chapter 8 Washington to Pittsburgh June - August 1803

Chapter 8 Washington to Pittsburgh June - August 1803 Summary and Analysis

Lewis returns to Washington and spends several critical weeks with Jefferson. Copies of the voyage orders document are circulated among Jefferson's intimate circle and various revisions are proposed and accepted. Lewis meanwhile continues to gather maps and fragmentary knowledge of the deep interior of the continent. Jefferson writes and signs a *carte blanche* order allowing Lewis to draw any funds or equipment from any branch or station of the United States Government; it also requests private enterprises to assist Lewis so far as practicable and orders military installations to cooperate with Lewis in any circumstance. The author notes the document is the most unlimited letter of credit ever issued by an American president.

During this time, a second officer was considered indispensable to the voyage's success; Lewis immediately extends the offer, by post, to his old friend William Clark. Clark of course accepts the invitation, forming the most-famous partnership in American history. Unusually, the two men share equivalent ranks and function as co-captains of the trip. While this is usually disastrous to a military venture, the close friendship of the two men, coupled with their complete confidence in each other, allows it to work well in this instance. Finally, the chapter considers the famous Louisiana Purchase in overview. The transfer of sovereignty of the Louisiana territory from Spain to France to the United States allowed Lewis to travel through American territory instead of through potentially hostile Spanish or French territory. The chapter concludes by noting that Lewis' boat-builder, apparently frequently in his cups, did not complete Lewis' special keelboat until August 31, a full forty-two days later than agreed. Chapter Eight includes an illustration of the keelboat from Clark's field notes.



Chapter 9 Down the Ohio September - November 1803

Chapter 9 Down the Ohio September - November 1803 Summary and Analysis

Lewis begins the trip by boarding the newly constructed keelboat and proceeding down the Ohio River. The extreme lateness of the season (Lewis had hoped to be leaving months previously) insured that the Ohio's waters were very low. Thus, the initial stages of the trip were very slow and the keelboat made only ten or so miles each day. Lewis begins recording in his journal on August 31, the day he left. The text then considers the nature of the journals; Lewis never recorded whether the journals were written during or after the expedition. Further, there are frequent large gaps in the journals where nothing is recorded—for example, May 14, 1804 to April 7, 1805. Modern histories do not know if these journals are lost or if Lewis simply did not record his observations for these prolonged periods.

At any event, Lewis continues on his voyage. The snail's pace gradually increases with the river's depth, and Lewis continues to pick up, stow, and re-stow goods and supplies from towns through which he passes. In mid-September mosquitoes begin to pass on contagious disease, chiefly malaria, and Lewis sickens and then recovers. The trip down the Ohio River is, in many respects, a shakedown cruise; by the time Lewis reaches Cincinnati days routinely pass without incident. In Cincinnati Lewis sends and receives mail and purchases additional supplies. Lewis then continues on his journey and reaches Louisville, Kentucky, in mid-October. There, he once again meets William Clark and the famous partnership is officially formed.

For two weeks, Lewis and Clark plan their expedition, purchase and load supplies, and hire men. They determine that the voyage will require more men than Jefferson's suggested dozen. The larger party requires more food and supplies and Lewis obtains them by utilizing his letter of credit. By the end of October, the explorers are once again on the river; Lewis takes particular pleasure in his pet dog, an enormous Newfoundland named Seaman. By mid-November, the party reaches the junction of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers and turns north, bound next for St. Louis.



Chapter 10 Up the Mississippi to Winter Camp November 1803 - March 1804

Chapter 10 Up the Mississippi to Winter Camp November 1803 - March 1804 Summary and Analysis

The mighty Mississippi River quickly convinces Lewis and Clark that they will need still more men to be successful. Over the next several weeks, the men worked the keelboat and pirogues against the current, difficult hard work claiming only a few miles of progress each day. The party continued on, stopping at trading posts and forts to obtain supplies and review potential recruits. The party eventually reaches St. Louis and a brief period of political intrigue follows wherein the local Spanish political commander refuses to allow entry to the Americans until the official land transfer of the upper Louisiana territories occurs. While in St. Louis Lewis sends and receives mail, notably from Jefferson. Additional men and supplies previously sent overland, rendezvous with the river party. With the season and political situation over, the party subsequently winters at Camp Wood near St. Louis. Finally, in mid-March, the political handover is accomplished. By the end of March, the final members of the exploration party have been determined, supplies have been purchased and loaded, and Lewis and Clark once again begin their unprecedented voyage of exploration. Chapter Ten includes a photograph of a blunderbuss firearm of the type used on the voyage.



Chapter 11 Ready to Depart April - May 21, 1804

Chapter 11 Ready to Depart April - May 21, 1804 Summary and Analysis

In the spring, Lewis and Clark purchase more provisions and ready to leave. Clark's commission finally arrives; startlingly it is for a lieutenant's commission and not a captain's commission as Lewis had promised. Nevertheless, Clark accepts the commission, though obviously disappointed. Lewis suggests and Clark agrees that they two alone will know the true situation—to everyone else on the entire voyage, and for years afterward, Clark is known as Captain William Clark and viewed as Lewis' co-commander on the voyage.

Lewis appoints an authorized agent in St. Louis, sends of final communiquys, and readies his personal gear for departure. Many of the men attend a final mass service. In the afternoon, the party departs amidst rain, thunder, lightning, and the cheering of assembled crowds. For the next two or more years the party knows there will be no letters, no communication and no supplies from their homes. They are isolated from civilization.



Chapter 12 Up the Missouri May - July 1804

Chapter 12 Up the Missouri May - July 1804 Summary and Analysis

By dint of nearly superhuman endurance and raw physical strength, the party forces the heavy keelboat against the current of the mighty Missouri River, making up to twenty miles progress some days. The party reaches the Osage River, the Kansas River, and then the Platte River, passing tiny outposts of advance settlers and trappers. One settlement of note is Boone's Settlement in Kentucky—founded by Daniel Boone. History does not record whether Lewis and Clark meet Boone. Strangely, throughout much of this period Lewis keeps no daily journal. Instead, he apparently spends his time walking ashore and collection plants, animals, and soils specimens while Clark, the better river-man, manages the progress of the keelboat. Lewis does issue a comprehensive Detachment Order, which allows modern historians to partially reconstruct the daily routine of the adventuring party. One of Lewis' primary directives was the posting of an active watch to secure the voyage against surprise Indian attack.

Occasional encounters with trappers—usually French—yield precious information on Indian tribes and conditions ahead. By mid-June, many of the party are afflicted with boils and dysentery, probably because of their diet coupled with constant clouds of mosquitoes. By the end of July, the party reaches the Platte River. Game is plentiful and, strangely, for 640 miles of travel the party has not spotted a single Indian; unknown to Lewis and Clark, the Indian tribes are inland hunting bison. Chapter Twelve includes a two-page gatefold map entitled 'Up the Missouri - Camp Wood to Camp Fortunate, May 1804 - August 1805.'



Chapter 13 Entering Indian Country August 1804

Chapter 13 Entering Indian Country August 1804 Summary and Analysis

Lewis begins to realize the unprecedented possibilities offered to an astute botanist; he collects many specimens previously unknown to science and writes lengthy monographs using precise and technical terminology. The same paradigm presents with animal life—for example, on August 12, 1804, Lewis and Clark become the first Americans to see a coyote, which they called a 'prairie wolf'. Near the end of August, the party shoots and eats the first bison taken by American hunters. The Garden of Eden qualities of the land are not lost on Lewis.

Also during August, the party makes their first contact with Indians, meeting Otos and Missouriis. Jefferson's orders instruct Lewis to attempt to peacefully integrate the Indians into the growing American commercial system; Jefferson wants to replace British fur traders with Americans and hopes most or all of the various Indian nations can be integrated with the United States of America. Lewis will quickly learn that Jefferson's hopes and ideas about the various Indian tribes are incorrect. For several days, Lewis meets with Indian chiefs and offers them minor trade goods and political polemics. The Indians ask for—but are refused—guns, powder, and balls; Lewis cannot spare them from his meager supply. In general, however, the negotiations proceed fairly well and Lewis hands out the first few Jefferson Peace Medals of the voyage. Some Indians promise to emigrate, seeking formal education in the American east.

At the end of the month, one of the voyage's sergeants becomes ill and dies. Later, a private goes hunting and doesn't return. The voyage continues upstream until it encounters the territory of the Yankton Sioux, a well-organized and warlike culture. The party hosts a meeting with Yankton leaders and the scene is much a repetition of those noted earlier with the Otos and Missouriis. One of the young chiefs, just before departing, advises the party that the upriver Sioux will most likely prove hostile. In general, the Yanktons seem disappointed that Lewis cannot offer them something more substantive than tobacco, glass beads, and a few trade knives. Chapter Thirteen includes a photograph of the obverse and reverse of the Jefferson Peace Medal.



Chapter 14 Encounter with the Sioux September 1804

Chapter 14 Encounter with the Sioux September 1804 Summary and Analysis

The Sioux tribes are widely regarded as well organized, militant, and aggressive. Jefferson's instructions to Lewis specifically indicate that the Sioux should be courted especially vigorously as their cooperation would be extremely useful to future American expansion in the area. In early September, the party continues upriver and fortuitously encounters the lost private—he had assumed the boats were upriver from him and thus has been proceeding ahead of the party for a few weeks. Lewis finds the area of present-day South Dakota almost unbelievably opulent in animal life and he discovers several species—once, two in a single day—that are entirely new to science. Lewis and Clark commend with wonder at the hundreds and even thousands of bison that make up vast herds and on the plentiful bounty of the land.

Ambrose once again notes that Lewis' journals are silent for a prolonged period beginning roughly when the party meets the Teton Sioux. Thus, the subsequent material in the chapter is derived primarily from other accounts of the voyage. The party eventually encounters the warlike Teton Sioux and arranges a meeting with local chiefs. The chiefs arrive and quickly become discontented with the meager and trifling gifts offered to them. The demand substantive amounts of whiskey and firearms, but Lewis denies the request. Rather than making an encouraging start with the Sioux, a tense standoff develops and Lewis stands by the swivel gun on the keelboat, ready to strike down a large number of Indian warriors while Clark stands on the shore with his saber drawn. Fortunately, one of the Indian chiefs intervenes and calms the situation. Over the next two days, a series of cultural exchanges take place. Beads, tobacco, and other trivial gifts are distributed and the Teton Sioux reciprocate by offering squaws to Lewis and Clark for their temporary use; they decline. Hampered by extremely limited communications, several misunderstandings lead to tense moments; nevertheless, a few Indians state they will later travel to Washington to meet with Jefferson. After a few days the voyage continues, faced with the prospect of having bungled the first encounter with the Teton Sioux contrary to Jefferson's explicit instructions. Inexplicably, the party retained the bulk of the gifts originally intended for the Sioux tribes. Chapter Fourteen includes a reproduction of Catlin's 1832 *Sioux Encamped on the Upper Missouri*.



Chapter 15 To the Mandans Fall 1804

Chapter 15 To the Mandans Fall 1804 Summary and Analysis

Throughout September, the voyage continues upriver through panoplies of natural wonder. Huge herds of migrating mammals are seen daily and enormous flights of migrating birds pass overhead. The weather temporizes and frosts kill off the clouds of mosquitoes, as the trip becomes one of entire enjoyment. The party encounters their first grizzly bear; they refer to it as a white bear. They also pass through the deserted outer lands of the once-mighty Arikara tribe; empty villages and lands a mute testimony to the mass deaths recently caused by smallpox and other diseases. Eventually they arrive at the Arikara heartland and discover a tribe about three thousands strong. The meeting proceeds well and the Indians are friendly. One chief accompanies Lewis and Clark upriver to the next great tribal area of the Mandans, ostensibly to negotiate peace between the tribes.

Many outlying Mandan villages are also deserted due to smallpox, but the core of the tribe is strong and forms a regional center of trade. Among the Indians are several French and British traders, many of whom live perpetually with Indian families. The Mandans are friendly but feel disappointed with the meager gifts offered by Lewis. They seem receptive to the peace offer from the Arikara tribe, but Lewis feels the chiefs don't know how to conclude a formal alliance. Meanwhile the men of the expedition freely engage in sexual intercourse with the Mandan women. After a few days of cultural exchange, the party proceeds several miles upriver and establishes what will soon become their winter camp. The camp is built as a strong fortress and takes several weeks to complete. Lewis sends letters along with one British trader and through the winter receives several Canadian and British visitors. Lewis and Clark hire some of these traders because of their valuable language skills; they serve as translators. One man's squaw, in particular, has become widely known in history—she is the young woman Sacagawea; six month's pregnant and recently captured from her home tribe much farther west.

Although the Mandans are relatively friendly another local tribe, the Hidatsas, prove more difficult though they are not openly hostile. As the weeks go by it becomes obvious that Lewis' brokered peace between the Arikara and Mandan tribes is entirely meaningless. It nevertheless takes Lewis an incredibly long time to realize that Indian politics are not European politics and Indian customs are not American customs. Chapter Fifteen includes reproductions of Catlin's 1832 *Distant View of Mandan Village* and 1832 *Black Moccasin*.



Chapter 16 Winter at Fort Mandan December 21, 1804 - March 21, 1805

Chapter 16 Winter at Fort Mandan December 21, 1804 - March 21, 1805 Summary and Analysis

The winter proves exceptionally cold and difficult. Lewis and Clark and their men must rely upon the Mandan Indians for supplies and food. The expedition builds a sturdy fort complete with a palisade wall and substantive interior shelters. On one occasion, a lazy soldier scales the wall rather than issuing a password and waiting for the gate; he is observed by an Indian who subsequently scales the wall in imitation. Lewis and Clark are concerned now that the Indians realize the wall is more show than defense—in the event, however, nothing untoward occurs.

The winter months are spent hunting, preparing for the coming season, and mingling with the local Indians. York, Lewis's African American slave, proves interesting to the Indians who think at first that he must be colored with paint. Frequent minor political intrigues occur and are documented, as are some of the Indians' sensationalistic practices. For example, the Mandans hold a curious custom that a strong man might pass along some of his manly essence to a lesser man by sharing sexual relations with an intermediate woman; thus, some of the men of the journey enjoy a winter full of sexual adventure with various squaws. They also face the spring with recently acquired venereal diseases.

Lewis spends the winter writing extensive letters to Jefferson, preparing specimens, observing, and recruiting translators for the pending journey. One of the most critical decisions he makes during the winter is to hire Toussaint Charbonneau as an interpreter. Charbonneau is a French Canadian trapper who lives with the Mandans and speaks several local Indian languages. His pregnant Indian wife will far eclipse him in fame, however; her name is Sacagawea and she accompanies the expedition with her infant son Jean Baptiste Charbonneau. Sacagawea is a young Shoshone woman, a captive squaw, and one of two wives of Charbonneau.

During the winter, the men of the expedition are nearly entirely dependent upon Mandan corn meal and other stored foods. In exchange, they utilize a portable blacksmith to manufacture from scrap metal simple hand-axes, or battle-axes, which are traded at steep prices. Also during the winter, Lewis and Clark spend many hours engaging dozens of Hidatsa Indians in intense conversation about the terrain and conditions between the Mandan villages and the distant Shoshone heartlands. Chapter Sixteen includes reproductions of Russell's 1908 watercolor *York* and Catlin's 1837-1839 *Bird's-Eye View of the Mandan River*. It also includes a reproduction of a sketch of a battle-ax from Lewis' journals.



Chapter 17 Report from Fort Mandan March 22 - April 6, 1805

Chapter 17 Report from Fort Mandan March 22 - April 6, 1805 Summary and Analysis

In the spring, the keelboat is packed and readied for its return trip to St. Louis—too large to navigate the upper Missouri, it is replaced by small canoes. The keelboat is loaded with specimens, journals, observations, maps, compiled Indian vocabularies, and many long letters. These form the final link between the party and the United States of America until the party's return after many months of exploration. Lewis also sends an accounting of the expenses of the expedition to this point, including a list of all the various letters of credit he has issued on the journey. The expedition hopes to reach the Pacific Ocean and then return as far as the Mandan villages for the winter of 1805-6, and then return and report to Jefferson as early as September 1806. These predictions illustrate that even at this late date Lewis is underestimating the difficulty of crossing the Rocky Mountains in the middle months of 1805.



Chapter 18 From Fort Mandan to Marias River April 7 - June 2, 1805

Chapter 18 From Fort Mandan to Marias River April 7 - June 2, 1805 Summary and Analysis

The expedition departs in early spring. Lewis refuses several last-minute offers of sexual adventure for the officers and men, even declining to take along several squaws for routine camp company. For many days, Clark guides the river teams of pirogues and canoes while Lewis with a few picked men hikes along the shore, hunting, recording observations, and collecting specimens. Because of the large number of the party—around thirty-five souls—a prodigious amount of meat is needed every day. Lewis constantly notes in his journals that game of all kinds is wonderfully abundant and, unalarmed by humans, easy to secure.

For most of the upriver trek Lewis and Clark find the voyage exactly as the Hidatsas had described. Major rivers are found where their rudimentary maps indicate they should be, and the terrain and river conditions are as anticipated. Nevertheless, the journey is covering ground never before explored by modern Americans. Going upriver against the current is hard work and on days when the current is augmented by a headwind progress virtually stops. On these days, the explorers dry and repair equipment, repack canoes, rest, and hunt. During this portion of the expedition, Lewis collects and describes numerous species entirely new to science, including the gray wolf, many birds, many plants, several fish, and the grizzly bear. Indeed, throughout much of April and May various close encounters with grizzly bears makes the party realize that they are under-gunned and vulnerable. Lewis forbids the men going off alone, and everyone carries a loaded rifle at all times. Lewis' journal records a prodigious number of grizzly encounters and he frequently notes their impressive durability and the difficulty with which they are killed or driven off. The party continues past the Yellowstone River, the Milk River, the Musselshell River, the Judith River, past the White Cliffs, and finally to the junction of the Missouri and Marias Rivers. Confused by the presence of the Marias River—it had not been reported by the Hidatsas—the party halts on the evening of June 2, 1805. Chapter Eighteen includes a two-page gatefold map entitled 'Headwaters of the Missouri-Columbia River and Pacific Ocean, Westbound (1805) and Eastbound (1806). The map has an inset entitled 'Eastbound Overland Shortcut Between Columbia and Clearwater Rivers, April 30 - May 4, 1806.'



Chapter 19 From Marias River to the Great Falls June 3 - June 20, 1805

Chapter 19 From Marias River to the Great Falls June 3 - June 20, 1805 Summary and Analysis

For several days, Lewis and Clark try to determine which river—the Missouri or the Marias—is the true Missouri river. Because of the turbidity and temperature, all of the men conclude erroneously that the Marias is the true Missouri. Lewis and Clark, however, in complete isolation determine that the true course of the Missouri lies to the southern fork. Only much later would historians realize that the Hidatsa, traveling overland, would have entirely missed this fork of the river as it occurs in a great northern bend of the Missouri River. Lewis and Clark spend several days scouting a goodly distance up each river and making numerous observations. They finally conclude that the party must take the south fork. While Clark leads the water party, Lewis and a few picked men rapidly proceed ahead on land to discover if they have selected the wrong branch of the river. They make good progress and within a few days reach the long-sought great falls of the Missouri. Along the way, they hunt and hang the butchered animals along the river for the following boats.

Lewis is greatly discouraged to discover that the Great Falls of the Missouri is an impressive array of stepped falls covering about sixteen miles of river. He had imagined a brief portage and now realizes that the portage must be much, much longer than hoped. The men spend some leisure time fishing and capture the first cutthroat trout ever eaten by modern Americans. Even though Lewis finds the staged falls daunting, he is amazed at the incredible beauty and spends many hours recording his observations. Also at this time, the party is constantly under threat from curious grizzly bears and the pervasive presence of prickly pear cacti makes walking in thin moccasins dangerous and tricky. Chapter Nineteen includes a reproduction of Mathews' 1867 *Great Falls of the Missouri*.



Chapter 20 The Great Portage June 16 - July 14, 1805

Chapter 20 The Great Portage June 16 - July 14, 1805 Summary and Analysis

The boat group soon arrives at the base of the falls. Sacagawea falls ill and is nursed by Lewis while the men cut timber and manufacture wheels and crude wagons with which they will haul the canoes and pirogues. The portage proceeds under fair weather but the work is grueling and accomplished only after many days of toil.

At the head of the falls, Lewis assembled the iron frame of his experimental boat and has it covered with elk hide. This project is fascinating to Lewis but, apparently, Clark concludes at the outset that it is unpractical. In the end, Clark's opinion proves correct—the hide covering of the craft cannot be effectively sealed and the constant and rapid leaking through the seams of the skins makes the boat perpetually swamp. After only a few hours of experimenting with the completed boat, Lewis must conclude that his experimental craft—hand built at Harpers Ferry and packed across the continent—is nonfunctional. It is buried in a cache along with other items and some food. The party constructs two canoes from huge cottonwood trees, and the expedition continues. Ambrose spends a considerable time describing the experimental boat and its shortcomings. It is indeed curious that Lewis did not attempt to fully complete and utilize the craft before hauling the heavy iron frame across thousands of miles of wilderness.



Chapter 21 Looking for the Shoshones July 15 - August 12, 1805

Chapter 21 Looking for the Shoshones July 15 - August 12, 1805 Summary and Analysis

With overloaded canoes, the voyage proceeds up the Missouri River through difficult terrain. The Rocky Mountains enclose the river so closely that Lewis names the initial entrance 'Gates of the Rocky Mountains'. The voyagers proceed upriver searching for Shoshone Indians from whom they hope to procure horses. They pass what will eventually become the famous Last Chance Gulch, a location rich in gold. Lewis and Clark are not interested in mineral wealth, however—it is not easily portable and at such a distance from civilization would prove essentially worthless.

First Clark and then Lewis take turns scouting ahead or ranging afar in an attempt to find the Shoshone. Clark's feet become damaged and infected by Prickly Pears, but he still presses on. By the end of July, the men are becoming despondent because of the difficult river work. They are heartened when Sacagawea begins to recognize landmarks and informs them that the Three Forks—putative home of the Shoshone—is not far distant. Within days, the expedition reaches Three Forks, but no Shoshone are evident even though Sacagawea informs them that the very site is where she had been captured and enslaved by the Hidatsas five years earlier.

Thus, 3000 miles from home the expedition takes a break for a few days, repairs and dries equipment, and repacks the canoes. Once again, a private vanishes and remains away for several days; he will eventually appear again after a long hunting expedition alone. Many of the party, including Clark, are bearing wounds and all the men are beginning to show the signs of fatigue and despondency. Lewis feels that the expedition is facing crisis and sets off with a few select men, hoping to find the Shoshone or the continental divide. While Lewis proceeds overland, Clark slowly brings up the river party. Strangely, Lewis takes no translators and leaves Sacagawea with the boat group, even though he is sure to soon encounter Shoshone.

After a few days of travel, Lewis does see a lone Indian soldier who flees. The small party then proceeds along an Indian trail until they summit and look over the continental divide; they become the first modern Americans to see the western slopes of the Rocky Mountains. The endless parade of snow-capped peaks is not at all what Lewis had envisioned—he had hoped for a single mountain pass, the far side quickly descending to plains somewhat like the Appalachian range. Thus, the geography of hope yields to the geography of reality. Chapter Twenty-One includes reproductions of Mathews' 1867 *Gates of the Mountains* and 1867 *Three Forks*.



Chapter 22 Over the Continental Divide August 13 - August 31, 1805

Chapter 22 Over the Continental Divide August 13 - August 31, 1805 Summary and Analysis

The next day the small group encounters an old Shoshone woman with a baby and engages her in very limited discussion, giving her some gifts. She leads Lewis and his few companions to the Shoshone village. A tense meeting follows where Lewis tries to make himself understood but is apparently mistaken for a trickster from a hostile Indian tribe, even though a white man. A period of tense negotiation follows but Lewis manages to befriend Cameahwait, the principle chief. He convinces the Indians to accompany him downstream to meet Clark. The Indians suspect a trap and thus warily accompany him. Lewis is dumbfounded to reach the location only to discover that Clark is not yet present. He uses several stratagems to calm the worried Indians until the following day when Clark does arrive. Finally, with Sacagawea's language skills, the Indians' fears are largely reduced and a series of agreements are made. Lewis' men shoot some game for the hungry Indians, and the explorers purchase many Shoshone horses. The Shoshone help the party haul their equipment from the river across the continental divide and to the Shoshone village. A Shoshone guide, known as Old Toby, is appointed to the expedition. Their discussions are materially benefited when Sacagawea realizes that Cameahwait is her brother!

Even so, as the group of explorers heads west the Shoshone head east to the bison hunting grounds, and Clark records that the Indians drove a hard bargain: the horses procured were generally poor in quality and the prices paid were steep. Chapter twenty-two includes a reproduction of Russell's undated *Lewis and Clark Expedition*.



Chapter 23 Over the Bitterroots September 1 - October 6, 1805

Chapter 23 Over the Bitterroots September 1 - October 6, 1805 Summary and Analysis

Led by Old Toby the party proceeds through the Rocky Mountains, covering incredibly difficult terrain. They meet a group of Salish Indians, purchase a few more horses and continue on. During the next week the weather breaks and snow begins to fall. The journey becomes very difficult and game is scarce, forcing the killing of three horses to feed the company. Fatigued, hungry, and depressed, the party makes little progress—perhaps ten miles per day—and reaches a critical breaking point.

Faced with starvation Clark takes a few picked hunters and proceeds ahead at a rapid pace with the intent of hunting what game is available and leaving it along the trail for the larger party, led by Lewis. Lewis' group suffers several accidents with horses and frequently loses horses during the night but continues doggedly though dysentery and venereal disease weaken the men. Finally, after 160 miles of difficult terrain and eleven days of semi-starvation the two parties rendezvous at a village of friendly Nez Percy Indians.

After their prolonged bout with hunger, most of the men, including Lewis but not Clark, gorge on a root used by the Indians as food—it causes explosive diarrhea and vomiting. Most of the men are sick for a prolonged period of several days. Inexplicably, Lewis treats their gastrointestinal distress, day after day, with laxatives and emetics, which exacerbate the problem. They spend several days recuperating and trading with the Indians, learning all they can about the terrain to the west. Meanwhile the Indians consider killing the entire vomiting Corps of Discovery and taking their weapons but a woman named Watkuweis, formerly a slave-wife of a Canadian trader, who states that white men are friendly, prevents them. While Lewis remains sick, Clark locates suitable timber and builds several new canoes. After two weeks of flatulence and prostration, the expedition continues, now floating downstream with, not against, the current—for the first time in thousands of miles. Chapter twenty-three includes a reproduction of Russell's 1912 *Indians at Ross' Hole*. It also includes a two-page gatefold map entitled 'Crossing the Bitterroot Mountains, Westbound (Sept. - Oct. 1805) and Eastbound (May - July 1806).'



Chapter 24 Down the Columbia October 8 - December 7, 1805

Chapter 24 Down the Columbia October 8 - December 7, 1805 Summary and Analysis

The men recover their strength and make rapid progress down the river. Even with the cumbersome dugout canoes the party sticks to the water and runs through numerous long and dangerous rapids. Old Toby becomes so afraid of the rapids that he sneaks off one evening and is not seen again. In early October, the expedition reaches the Snake River. They meet the Nez Percy Indians and establish friendly relations. Although the expedition does not stay in one place very long, Lewis manages to compile some language vocabularies and makes some ethnographic observations, including noting that the Indians possess items obviously acquired by trading with European sailors and are, unfortunately, fond of stealing anything they can. By mid-October, they reach the junction of the Snake and Columbia Rivers. Toward the end of October, the expedition encounters a prolonged series of savage rapids. Rather than a lengthy portage, Lewis and Clark determine to attempt the rapids. With almost superhuman skill augmented by exceptional luck the expedition runs through several rapids—today rated as Class V—without incident.

By early November the explorers reach the relatively flat and calm lower range of the Columbia—an area previously explored by men from George Vancouver's 1792 expedition. Thus, Lewis and Clark have by this time traversed the unknown interior of the continent. The expedition continues downriver making up to thirty miles in a day, but locating suitable camping ground with difficulty and finding game to be increasingly scarce. On November 6, Clark's journal entry contains the now-famous entry of "*Ocian in view! O! the joy!*" (p. 305); he also notes the expedition has now traveled 4142 miles from the mouth of the Missouri River. Lewis is curiously silent on the accomplishment—Ambrose theorizes that Lewis was suffering from a barely-suppressed bout of depression that held his dull emotion in check, coupled with the symptoms of alcohol withdrawal. Given that no alcohol whatsoever had been available to the party since early July, this last is inconclusive.

From the middle to the end of November, the expedition is held in place by a violent wind and rainstorm. After the wind subsides, they explore the coastline for several miles. They meet the Chinook Indians and establish somewhat friendly relations. Lewis finds the Chinooks to be inveterate petty thieves and in general unlikable. They also meet the Clatsop Indians and the men of the expedition find them more likable than the Chinooks. Game is deemed more abundant on the south side of the river, and thus the expedition determines to over-winter there, among the favored Clatsop tribes. Chapter twenty-four includes a reproduction of a page from Lewis' journal showing a sketch of three canoes and a paddle.



Chapter 25 Fort Clatsop December 8, 1805 - March 23, 1806

Chapter 25 Fort Clatsop December 8, 1805 - March 23, 1806 Summary and Analysis

Amidst violent rain and windstorms, the expedition establishes Fort Clatsop, a small structure with two facing buildings joined by palisade walls to form a small interior parade ground. Lewis issues garrison orders and the long winter months of boredom begin. The men amuse themselves with sexual escapades among the receptive Indians, trading trinkets for partners and contracting venereal disease. Hunting parties wander ever farther afield and food remains very scarce. Lewis establishes a salt-making camp on the coast a few miles from the main fort—the men there boil seawater to collect salt. Throughout the winter, many groups of Chinook and Clatsop Indians visit—some are extremely friendly, others cause minor tensions. Most of the men of the expedition suffer from injury and illness at some point during the winter. Clark repetitively records in his journal that the area brings extreme boredom, monotony, and hunger. On one occasion a small group sets out to view the remains of a beached whale; Sacagawea insists that she be allowed to view the ocean and the big fish.

Throughout the winter, Lewis wrote a vast amount of natural history commentary, describing thirty-five mammals, fifty birds, ten reptiles and fish, and five invertebrates. Many of these were new to science, as were several of the scores of plants he also described. He compiled Indian vocabularies and wrote extensively about trade possibilities. Meanwhile Clark completed his magnificent map of the voyage. The captains were only somewhat disappointed that no vessel appeared, and determined that an overland return must include all available men—no one would be left behind to await the eventual arrival of a ship. Most of March is consumed in preparations to return eastward on the overland trek; one canoe is purchased, another one stolen. Chapter twenty-five includes a two-page gatefold map entitled 'Exploring the Mouth of the Columbia and the Pacific Coast, November 1805 - March 1806.' It also includes six reproductions from Lewis' journal; one showing a eulachon, one a maple leaf, one a trout, one a vulture, one a brant, and one a gull.



Chapter 26 Jefferson and the West 1804 - 1806

Chapter 26 Jefferson and the West 1804 - 1806 Summary and Analysis

This chapter contains a brief analysis of Thomas Jefferson's vision of the west. In brief, he subscribed to a vision of the United States stretching from coast to coast and considered that the Louisiana territory and the Pacific northwest were both rightfully components of his nation. A strident anti-British politician, he greatly desired to force the British fur traders out of American territory. Jefferson's views on the proper treatment of Indians are starkly at odds with his historic presentation as a great libertarian and proponent of human rights—the Indians must either join with the United States of America or remove themselves; there would be no recognition of sovereign rights. Jefferson stated that commerce with the Indians was preferable to military solutions because commerce was more profitable.

The chapter also includes a discussion of the reception in St. Louis and Washington of dozens of Indians who accepted Lewis' invitation to visit with Jefferson and confer with him. In general, many government agents felt the visits were wasteful or too expensive and a fair amount of petty political bickering was involved in the process of treating the Indians as national guests. Many contracted diseases and many died alone the voyage. Nevertheless, Jefferson received many dozens of Indians and delivered to them a typical speech promising great rewards and threatening great punishments. Additionally, Jefferson receives various news and items dispatched from the expedition at St. Louis and other locations. The reports are published and presented to congress and a triumphant Jefferson uses them to make political hay.



Chapter 27 Return to the Nez Percy

March 23 - June 9, 1806

Chapter 27 Return to the Nez Percy March 23 - June 9, 1806 Summary and Analysis

The expedition sets out with a dread of the pending Rocky Mountain traverse. Food is scarce and the men have taken to purchasing and eating Indian dogs. Lewis spends several days making jerky from what game is available. At the campsites through April many starving Indians visit, begging food and stealing trinkets. Tempers in camp flare as the thievery becomes more brazen and minor scuffles are common. On several occasions violence is averted only at the last moment.

Rather than fight upstream against rapids and current Lewis determines to return along the Columbia route overland. The expedition has little left which is not necessary and when horses must be purchased, they must sacrifice part of their cooking kit to obtain them. At the end of April, the expedition meets and stays with Wallawalla and Yakima Indians; they are fed and receive more horses and are given information about trail conditions and shortcuts. On one occasion, some young Wallawalla warriors even ride down the departing expedition to return an item, which had been left behind. Lewis finds the difference between the thieving Chinooks and the honest Wallawallas to be exceptional. By early May, the expedition returns to the lands of the Nez Percy and find themselves among prior friends.

When the Bitterroot Mountains are reached Lewis is dismayed to learn that a cold and late winter has made the mountain passes yet untenable. The expedition camps for three weeks and morale plummets. Clark sets up a hospital and treats various complaints in exchange for food—his basic medical skills being their only bargaining option. Meanwhile the men trade buttons and strips of material for food. Food is so scarce that the men eat anything, and the Nez Percy find the expedition's penchant for eating dogs alarming. The expedition also uses the delay to gather their scattered horses from the previous fall, hunt and dry jerky, and repair equipment. A large gathering of Nez Percy chiefs allows Lewis to hold a conference and attempt to further the political and economic cause of the United States of America.

In order to restore the men Lewis organizes a sports tournament. Lewis wins the shooting match by scoring two hits on a mark at 220 yards—a considerable feat. The Indians win the horsemanship competition. Horse races and footraces are popular and various games and dancing extend for several days. Lewis spends the bulk of his free time in scientific observation and writing; during the period, he describes fifty plants new to science as well as a few birds and other small animals. In early June, the expedition begins its ascent of the Bitterroot Mountains—against the prescient advice of the Indians who suggest another several weeks' delay.



Chapter 28 The Lolo Trail June 10 - July 2, 1806

Chapter 28 The Lolo Trail June 10 - July 2, 1806 Summary and Analysis

The party proceeds into the mountains and encounters snow so deep there is no forage for the horses and the trail cannot be located. After a brief discussion, they turn back. Several days later, they acquire Indian guides who lead them quickly and surely through the mountains. On the far side of the Bitterroot Mountains their confidence swells out of proportion to common sense and the party determines to split up and conduct separate investigations of alternative routes. In all, the Corps of Discovery will divide into five small groups and execute a reckless and complicated series of investigatory travels. Various points of rendezvous are established and the plan is delivered to the men.



Chapter 29 The Marias Exploration July 3 - July 28, 1806

Chapter 29 The Marias Exploration July 3 - July 28, 1806 Summary and Analysis

The text covers only Lewis' expedition to locate the northern headwaters of the Marias River; the book does not cover in detail the exploration conducted by any of the other groups, though their experiences are mentioned in passing. This chapter thus deals only with Meriwether Lewis and the few men that accompany him. In early July they set off to discover whether the headwaters of the Marias River—and thus of the Missouri River drainage basin—extend beyond 49 degrees north latitude. If they do, then the United States of America can lay legal claim to more territory due to the terms of the Louisiana Purchase. The small group proceeds down the Big Blackfoot River as far as White Bear Island without major incident. They are happy to once again be on the plains where game is plentiful but they also once again find the mosquitoes nearly unbearable. They recover their cache of goods; unhappily most of Lewis' botanical specimens have been ruined by water. The party then turns north and searches for the Marias Rivers' headwaters.

In mid-July, Blackfoot Indians steal most of the group's horses. Lewis, probably unwisely, again divides his group—taking three men he continues north on horseback and sends the other men east on foot to a planned rendezvous. By the end of July, Lewis ascertains conclusively that the Marias River drainage does not extend into present-day Canada. He thus turns around and heads for the rendezvous. The small group attempts to avoid contact with Blackfoot Indians, having been informed they are violent and warlike. Unfortunately, they fall in with a small band of young braves and spend an uneasy night full of bravado and tobacco smoking. In the early morning, the Indians attempt to steal the party's firearms and horses and a running fight erupts. Within minutes, one Indian is stabbed to death and another shot—probably fatally. Knowing that if they are located by a larger war party they will be killed, Lewis orders the men to mount up. Over the next two days they ride hard and cover an astounding 120 miles, finally meeting up with some of the other men as planned. The smaller group transfers their equipment into the other group's canoes, turns loose the horses, and proceeds to the Three Forks area. There they recover food and equipment from another cache and, passing to the south side of the Missouri, make camp outside of Blackfoot Indian territory. Chapter twenty-nine includes a two-page gatefold map entitled 'Traveler's Rest (Point of Separation) to Point of Reunion, Eastbound (July - August 1806).'



Chapter 30 The Last Leg July 29 - September 22, 1806

Chapter 30 The Last Leg July 29 - September 22, 1806 Summary and Analysis

Lewis' group proceeds by water to the junction of the Yellowstone River, the site of planned rendezvous with Clark. Clark has left a note and moved ahead. Lewis pursues through a land of abundant game and abundant mosquitoes, making excellent progress without incident until mid-August. At that time, Lewis and a nearsighted one-eyed private are hunting elk when Lewis is shot in the buttocks. He calls out for the private who does not respond—Lewis hobbles back to the canoes and rouses the alarm of an Indian attack. The men go on the offensive but shortly return with the missing private and state no Indians are in the area. Later Lewis recovers another letter from Clark informing him that one of the smaller expeditions, having completely failed in its mission, has rejoined with Clark. Lewis thus spends a terrible night; too sore to be moved from the pirogue he passes the hours on his stomach thinking of the hostile Blackfoot Indians behind him, the hostile Sioux Indians in front of him, the apparently collapsing Indian policy of Jefferson, and the throbbing pain in his ass.

The next morning Lewis is somewhat recovered and is amazed to see two private trappers paddling upriver, destined for the Yellowstone River. In other words, the expedition was only a few months ahead of private exploration of the Louisiana Purchase. By mid-August, Lewis finally overtakes Clark. A joyful reunion is enacted, though Lewis remains on his stomach for several more days. The final journal entry Lewis make of the entire expedition contains the risible note "as wrighting in my present situation is extreemly painfull to me I shall desist untill I recover and leave to my frind Capt. C. the continuation of our journal" (p. 388). The expedition continues and the Mandan villages are finally reached. Although they are welcomed as friends, they learn that the supposed peace alliances Lewis had brokered the previous year are entirely abandoned.

Charbonneau and Sacagawea stay at the Mandan village, their home. Lewis pays off Charbonneau with coin but has only verbal praise for Sacagawea. One of the expeditions' privates also requests and obtains an early discharge to pursue trapping in the area. His name is John Colter and he will soon become famous as the discoverer of what will eventually become Yellowstone National Park. One Indian chief, Big White, joins the party with the intent of traveling to Washington and meeting with Jefferson. The expedition leaves the Mandan villages and proceeds through Sioux territory without incident while Lewis' wound continues to heal. In early September they meet up with a large trading party heading upriver; they learn political news from home—Jefferson has won re-election, tensions between Spain and the United States, and between the United States and Britain, are running high, and Aaron Burr has recently killed Alexander



Hamilton in a duel. A few days later the expedition purchases whiskey from another trading party. Progress downriver continues at a very rapid rate, perhaps eighty miles per day. Then in mid-September they meet an outbound expedition that left Jefferson after the first news of the expedition had reached him; they are amused to learn from other traders of the various rumors of their own demise that are in current vogue in the larger cities. Finally, at the end of September, the expedition gains St. Louis.

The expedition had exceeded all expectations. Lewis had planned and provisioned, and Lewis and Clark had commanded, an unprecedented voyage of discovery. Vast new areas had been mapped, and many Indian nations had been contacted. Lewis had discovered and described 178 new plants and 122 species and subspecies of animals. Lewis had additionally personally satisfied his own desires and proved his capability beyond any question.



Chapter 31 Reporting to the President September 23 - December 31, 1806

Chapter 31 Reporting to the President September 23 - December 31, 1806 Summary and Analysis

In St. Louis, Lewis immediately writes a brief letter to Jefferson and also writes personal commendations for each of his men, noting with satisfaction that all members of the party have returned in good health. Lewis also once again appealed directly to Jefferson on Clark's behalf, noting the successful prosecution of the adventure was due equally to both men. The group then spends a month in St. Louis settling financial affairs and playing the role of heroes, enjoying fame and being entertained. In early November the party proceeds to Louisville and then to Frankfort where it splits into various smaller groups that proceed to their various destinations. Clark goes to Fincastle, Virginia, to visit with friends, while Lewis continues on to Charlottesville with Big White, the Indian chief. Late in December, after a lengthy trip of many public appearances, Lewis arrives in Washington. No account of the initial meetings between Lewis and Jefferson exist—only the quaint fact that they spread Clark's map on the floor and examined it together on their hands and knees. However, the public adulation of Lewis is known to have been extensive.

The remainder of the text is devoted to Lewis' post-expedition career and brief life. Although he had filled a critical role in the opening of the American west, Lewis was not destined for a long life of greatness. The remainder of the text notes this largely by rapidly covering a fairly length span of months, touching on only the most salient details of Lewis' life during the period. By nearly any standard, the expedition details make the most intriguing reading within the text.



Chapter 32 Washington January - March 1807

Chapter 32 Washington January - March 1807 Summary and Analysis

In Washington Lewis once again lives with Jefferson and spends weeks and months preparing reports and revising his journal. The men of the expedition are all rewarded with substantial but not extravagant land warrants and pay—for example, Lewis' total amounts to some \$7,262. Lewis and Clark both receive promotions, Lewis civilly as the Governor of the Louisiana Territory and Clark within the military. The book notes that Lewis is singularly unprepared to act as Territorial Governor and the appointment is one of Thomas Jefferson's great mistakes. Clark soon departs for St. Louis but Lewis remains in Washington, ostensibly to see to the private publication of the journals of the expedition. Lewis, faced with competing publication of other expedition members' journals, becomes uncharacteristically sarcastic about the relative merit of his subordinates' journals. Meanwhile, Clark becomes engaged, and Jefferson begins to distribute seeds collected by Lewis to his eminent botanist friends. Much of the chapter considers the political minutiae of the day and the partisan politics involving the government response to Lewis' expedition and makes for uninteresting reading.



Chapter 33 Philadelphia April - July 1807

Chapter 33 Philadelphia April - July 1807 Summary and Analysis

In the spring of 1807, Lewis leaves Washington for Philadelphia where he arranges for the publication of the journals, promised in three volumes costing \$31 for the set. Lewis contacts several acquaintances for assistance in preparing the various volumes of the journals. Lewis' biological and botanical samples are catalogued and then delivered, with Jefferson's approval, to Charles Willson Peale's Museum in Independence Hall. Lewis, recently admitted as a member, also lectures at the American Philosophical Society. He also commissions artists to render relevant plates for inclusion in the journals, and Peale renders Lewis' portrait, as does C. B. J. Fyvret de Saint-Mymin. Lewis hires mathematicians to convert his copious observations into corrected latitude and longitude measurements. Finally, Lewis and Clark purchase one other journal written by a sergeant on the voyage, presumably to forestall its publication and subsequent competition. Strangely, amidst all this preparation for publication, Lewis overlooks the single most-important aspect of getting the journals to press—he does not hire an editor.

Meanwhile Lewis is also working to reconcile the 1,989 credit chits he had issued and justify the expenditure of \$38,722.25 on the expedition—considerably in excess of the \$2,500 authorized by congress. In addition, at thirty-three, Lewis is the most celebrated man in Philadelphia—certainly a distracting situation. Lewis engages in much heavy drinking and enjoyable pastime while Jefferson frets about the conditions in the Louisiana Territory, devoid of its governor. Chapter thirty-three includes a reproduction of C.B. J. Fyvret de Saint-Mymin's 1807 portrait of Lewis and 1807 watercolor portrait of Lewis in Indian dress; it is interesting to compare the likenesses of these portraits with that offered in Chapter one.



Chapter 34 Virginia August 1806 - March 1807

Chapter 34 Virginia August 1806 - March 1807 Summary and Analysis

In late July, Lewis travels from Philadelphia to Washington and settles his receipts with the war department. He then tours through several cities and acquaints himself with several young women who fail to meet his expectations, and a few more who for unknown reasons do not find him suitable. For eight months, Lewis' whereabouts are unknown and through that time he accomplishes little more than nothing. Although he receives letters and correspondence from Jefferson and his family, he does not reply. Ambrose speculates that depression, alcohol, and malaria may explain his lack of production. At any rate, he appears in St. Louis in late winter of 1808 and produces a complex report on the situation of the Louisiana Territory. The consideration of the relative merits of the report consumes most of the brief chapter. Lewis suggests excluding the British from Louisiana Territory, greatly increasing the military presence in the area, and extending friendly relations to the various Indian tribes excepting the Sioux who will be placed under an embargo in order to compel them to deal with the United States. One aspect of the report is the suggestion for the establishment of a complicated fur trading empire. Throughout the entire period, the expedition journals remain in trunks. Throughout Governor Lewis' prolonged absence the territory is administered by Frederick Bates, ostensibly Lewis' secretary, a professional bureaucrat who had hoped to secure for himself the position of governor.



Chapter 35 St. Louis March - December 1808

Chapter 35 St. Louis March - December 1808 Summary and Analysis

In 1808 St. Louis is a vibrant and multi-cultural city and the dominant western city in the United States of America. Ambrose describes the city's unique flavor and brief history in some detail. Tensions between the old Spanish and French established business families and the new American businessmen are tense. Lewis' predecessor, General Wilkinson, had administered the territory with one eye on his own pocketbook and thus the political and economic situations are complicated and uncertain. Administering such a complex and vast territory would be a challenge for an accomplished and professional politician—it was simply beyond the ability of the young Lewis.

Lewis arrives in St. Louis devoid of the melancholic depression that has apparently afflicted him for the past several months. He rents a house and engages in the social life of the city, drinking hard and spending many hours in dissipation. He does attempt to manage the rabble of businessmen, criminals, and profit seekers but the job is more-or-less impossible. Clark joins Lewis in St. Louis and the two men maintain their close friendship, even living together for a brief period though Clark is now married. Lewis' jealous secretary, Bates, continually seeks to maximize his own personal power and undermine Lewis.

Relations with the various western Indian tribes are complex and often hostile. Lewis makes several sweeping reforms, which do little good and anger nearly everyone. After a few months, rebukes and letters of inquiry begin to arrive from Washington. Lewis' rather free hand with government monies is instantly questioned; his nearly complete failure to write letters to Jefferson, his family, or his friends is astonishing. In addition, his failure to vigorously respond to distant political criticism is extremely damaging to his credibility. In short, he attempts to run the giant Louisiana Territory as he ran his company of explorers—it simply does not work.

Finally, Big White, the Indian chief that had joined Lewis and traveled to Washington to meet with Jefferson, remains in St. Louis. President Jefferson flatly states that Big White must be safely returned to the Mandan villages—the national honor demands it. Moreover, throughout the entire period the journals of Lewis and Clark remain untouched, packed away in trunks, while public interest in the expedition wanes.



Chapter 36 St. Louis January - August 1809

Chapter 36 St. Louis January - August 1809 Summary and Analysis

Lewis continues to work as the governor of the territory, making some good decisions and many bad ones. He begins to take regular doses of opium and morphine, ostensibly to treat his malaria—soon, however, he is strongly addicted and frequently addled. Moreover, he continues to routinely become drunk in the company of less-notable political hangers-on; by today's standards, he would be considered an alcoholic. His personal finances are in complete disarray and his public expenditures are alarming. He arranges a merging of personal and public interests, which draws wide criticism—he helps to establish a fur trapping and trading company, grants the company a monopoly on trade, and funds the company's initial expedition with public funds. All this, he justifies by charging the company with the task of returning Big White to the Mandan villages. Although not hugely aberrant in concept for the day and place, the scale of the questionable arrangement is impressive. In the event their task is successful and Big White is safely returned to his homeland, but Lewis' free expenditure of public funds for obviously private gain is widely and severely criticized.

Meanwhile Bates openly displays the rift between Bates and Lewis, who spurns Lewis is public. Bates begins a letter campaign to Washington, complaining of Lewis' many irregularities. Also during this period, Lewis becomes easily agitated and somewhat unstable and erratic, probably due to a combination of stress, depression, drug and alcohol abuse, and malaria. By mid-August, Lewis receives notice from functionaries in Washington that his public drafts are to be denied—he will thus be personally responsible for paying numerous debts incurred putatively for the public weal. Lewis rather haphazardly mortgages his property and belongings, compiles his various notes and papers of office, and plans a trip to Washington to hopefully set accounts to right. Lewis unfortunately finds himself without the support of Jefferson—a presidential election has occurred, Jefferson has retired to Monticello, and President Madison holds office. Madison is not Lewis' friend, is not sympathetic to Lewis' plight, and believes that minimizing government expenditure is critical for the nation. Throughout the entire period, the journals of the expedition remain packed in trunks. Chapter thirty-six includes a reproduction of the cover of one of Lewis' journals. It is the final illustration in the book.



Chapter 37 Last Voyage September 3 - October 11, 1809

Chapter 37 Last Voyage September 3 - October 11, 1809 Summary and Analysis

In early September, Lewis sets out for Washington. He brings along the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition, a few personal belongings, and a huge dossier of receipts, notes, and requests for public expenditure. He hopes to arrange his documentation and present his case to the government so they will honor his many public debts. He travels initially by river but finds the heat and humidity intolerable. In addition he drinks heavily, takes frequent snuff, many pills, and opium. His behavior is wild and outlandish and he then attempts suicide on two occasions. He is put ashore in charge of an army captain who places him under suicide watch. Lewis writes some garbled letters explaining his delay to distant officials. After about a week Lewis' derangement lifts and he determines to proceed overland to Washington.

For several days, Lewis and several attendants travel overland. Lewis' mood is dark and he complains constantly about his harsh usage by the government. On October 10, Lewis proceeds ahead, leaving his entourage behind to gather straying horses. He arrives at Grinder's Inn and takes a room. His erratic behavior frightens the proprietor who declines to supply him with powder for his pistols. Lewis spends the early evening sitting on the porch of the inn, silently staring west apparently lost in pleasant contemplation. Somewhere he finds powder and loads his two pistols. Sometime during the early morning of October 11, Lewis shoots himself in the head—unsuccessfully, the ball only grazing his skull. He then shoots himself in the breast and the ball ranges down through his torso and out near his spine. It too is ineffectual. Lewis calls out for water and the proprietor, frightened, sends for Lewis' servants. When they arrive, they discover Lewis sitting on the floor, razor in hand, "busily engaged in cutting himself from head to foot" (p. 465). Within a few minutes, the great lion of a man Meriwether Lewis is dead by his own hand.



Chapter 38 Aftermath

Chapter 38 Aftermath Summary and Analysis

Many years after Lewis' death, some researchers have proposed that he might have been murdered. Ambrose considers the evidence and dispenses entirely with the theory by noting that Clark and Jefferson both accepted Lewis' suicide at face value. Lewis was malarial, depressed, and highly stressed. He was an alcoholic and a drug addict, an inveterate user of snuff, a habitual smoker, and frequently greatly over-medicated himself with curatives of the period, which often contained mercury. Any one of these factors alone could have motivated him to suicide; taken as a group they are a more than convincing rationale. Coupling all this with his widely reported erratic and despondent behavior, the argument against suicide appears insubstantial.

Lewis' estate is bequeathed to his mother and liquidated by his half-brother. The signal failure of his latter years remained packed into trunks—his unpublished journals. Clark obtains the expedition journals and travels to Monticello to consult with Jefferson. Because of his advanced age and other pressing interests, Jefferson declines to edit the journals for publication. Clark then selects the independently wealthy and eccentric Nicholas Biddle as editor. Biddle enthusiastically completes the project with the assistance of George Shannon and produces the first edited version of the journal. Various political and economic problems prevent the immediate publication of the book, however, and when it is finally published in 1814 public interest has waned. The 1st edition sales slowly and for the next ninety years the 'Biddle edition' is the only printed account of the expedition—the book is largely ignored (curiously, Biddle's name does not appear anywhere in the 'Biddle edition'). In 1904, on the hundredth anniversary of the adventure, Reuben Gold Thwaites of the Wisconsin Historical Society publishes an authoritative version of the journals, complemented by the journals of some of the enlisted men and with significant editorial commentary. The Thwaites version of the journals is today considered an American classic. Since 1904 various other scholarly contributions of significant worth have appeared.

The book concludes with an appreciation of Lewis' singular contribution to American science, geography, and history. Lewis was an unqualified genius with a broad intellect; he was an enormously successful company commander and a gifted military leader. As a politician, his faults were many and manifest. Had he overcome his depression and numerous chemical dependencies his legacy might have been much greater than it is. Had he published his journals in a timely fashion he might well be remembered as one of the greatest American naturalists of all time. The text also features 18 pages of endnotes, a four-page bibliography, and 15 pages of index.



Characters

Big Whitee

Big White was a Mandan chief. He agreed to accompany the expedition on its return voyage and visit President Jefferson in Washington. He, his family, and a party of soldiers were attacked and repelled by a group of Arikaras on their return trip.>/p>

Cameahwait

Cameahwait was a Shonshoni chief who aided the Lewis and Clark expedition. Cameahwait's people provided horses and Old Toby to guide the expedition through the Bitterroot Mountains. Cameahwait also turned out to be Sacagawea's brother.

Toussaint Charbonneau

Charbonneau was a French Canadian. At the time he met the Lewis and Clark company, he was living among the Hidatsas as an independent trader. Sacagawea was one of his wives. Lewis and Clark eagerly signed him on as an interpreter, thus gaining the service of Sacagawea. Lewis was disappointed with Charbonneau, however, calling him "a man of no particular merit."

Pierre Chouteau

houteau, along with his half-brother Auguste, co-founded St. Louis. They were among the merchants from whom Lewis purchased his expedition supplies. Chouteau accompanied the Osages on their trip to Washington in 1804. He later became a partner in the St. Louis Missouri River Fur Company. In 1809, he was given command of the group of men who returned Big White and his family to their home territory.

Captain William Clark

Clark was the co-commander of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Although his military appointment was only that of lieutenant, in the eyes of the entire group, he was a co-captain, in no way subservient to Lewis. Clark had first become acquainted with Lewis when both men served in the army.

Clark had served as a company commander and led a party of soldiers down the Mississippi River as far as Natchez, Louisiana. He was an accomplished woodsman, waterman, and terrestrial surveyor. He also was a strong commander and selected many of the men who made up the Corps of Discovery.



Along the trip, Clark functioned as the company's medical doctor, at times bartering his services to local American Indians. He also maintained a detailed journal, which provided much of the information that historians today know about the journey. On the return trip, he led the party of men who explored the Yellowstone River.

After returning from the expedition, Clark, although never awarded his captain status, received just compensation. President Jefferson appointed him the superintendent of Indian affairs for Louisiana. He married and settled in St. Louis. He also became a partner in the St. Louis Missouri River Fur Company. After Lewis' death, Clark undertook the task of getting the manuscript of the expedition ready for publication.

George Drouillard

Drouillard was the son of a French Canadian father and a Shawnee mother. He was a skilled frontiersman, hunter-trapper, and scout. He was knowledgeable in Indian ways and fluent in several Indian languages, including Indian sign language, in addition to English and French. An early recruit, Drouillard impressed Lewis from the start of the voyage. His hunting skills further made him a valued member of the party.

President Thomas Jefferson

Long before the Louisiana Purchase and before he even became president, Jefferson had wanted to send an expedition of explorers west of the Mississippi River. As the third president of the United States, Jefferson convinced Congress at the beginning of 1803 to fund such an expedition. He hoped that Lewis would discover an all-water route—a Northwest Passage—across the North American continent. Such a waterway, which did not exist, would make trading easier and facilitate Jefferson's desire to establish a fur trade empire for the United States. Jefferson also wanted Lewis to learn more about the land and its people and to make peace with the American Indians living in this territory in hopes of beginning the process of making them U.S. citizens. Also in 1803, Jefferson arranged for the Louisiana Purchase from France, which doubled the size of the United States.

Even aside from his actions regarding the expansion of the United States, Jefferson was a remarkable man. He was well educated, well read, a sparkling conversationalist, and a good judge of character. His contemporaries noted his intellectual curiosity and trusted his opinion. He also gave serious thought to and wrote about the important issues of his day, such as slavery.

Private Francis Labiche

In addition to performing his regular duties Labiche served as a translator from French to English.



Captain Meriwether Lewis

Lewis organized and led the first journey across the North American continent. He was born in 1774 into a distinguished Virginia planter family that had a close acquaintance with the family of Thomas Jefferson. Lewis became an explorer at a young age when he and his family moved to a frontier colony in Georgia. Although he had little formal education, he became an avid naturalist.

In 1794, Lewis volunteered for the militia called out by President George Washington to put down the Whiskey Rebellion. He remained in the military for the next six years, traveling throughout the American frontier and becoming an even more accomplished woodsman. In his role as regimental paymaster, Lewis was promoted to a lieutenant and journeyed up and down the Ohio River.

In 1801, at the request of President Jefferson, Lewis left the military to become Jefferson's personal secretary. When Jefferson planned an expedition to the Pacific, he appointed Lewis as its commander. In preparation for this journey, Lewis studied botany, geography, cartography, mineralogy, ethnology, and astronomy. At the same time, he needed to outfit his expedition with men and supplies. He also decided to solicit his army acquaintance, Clark, as a co-commander.

Lewis was a good commander. His men respected him and trusted him. Under his lead, the expedition accomplished its important goals of charting western territory, asserting its authority over American Indians, and working to establish peace agreements between different Indian tribes.

The journey was the pinnacle of Lewis' career. After returning, Lewis became an instant celebrity. However, his professional life faltered. Although he was appointed the governor of the Louisiana Territory, he was utterly unsuited for a political career. Lewis also failed to work on his promised three volume chronicle of the journey. In his personal life, Lewis was unsuccessful in a number of courtships. In the last few years of his life, Lewis, a manic depressive, increasingly turned to alcohol. He died in 1806, an apparent suicide.

Manuel Lisa

Lisa was a trader and explorer. He was one of the merchants who provided supplies for the Lewis and Clark expedition. He later became a partner in the St. Louis Missouri River Fur Company. He accompanied the second expedition to return Big White and his family. After the party reached the Mandans, he took command of the company's men to explore the Yellowstone River and set the groundwork for the fur company's commercial operations.



Sacagawea

Sacagawea was a fifteen-year-old Shoshoni who accompanied the Lewis and Clark expedition. Captured by a Hidatsa raiding party as a child, she was one of two squaws, or wives, of the trader Toussaint Charbonneau. She was an integral member of the party because she was the only member who could speak the Shoshoni language. On the return trip, she guided Clark's party along the Bozeman Pass and up the Yellowstone River. The voyage led to personal discovery for Sacagawea; in addition, she was reunited with her brother, Cameahwait. Her son, who was a baby during the trip, and her daughter eventually became boarders in Clark's home and were tutored there.

Private John Shields

As a skilled blacksmith, Shields repaired Indian tools in exchange for corn. He also repaired the company's guns.

Old Toby

Old Toby was the Shoshoni who led the expedition through the Bitterroot Mountains.



Captain Meriwether Lewis

Captain William Clark

President Thomas Jefferson

Toussaint Charbonneau

Sacagawea ("Janey")

George Drouillard

George Shannon

York

Old Toby, Indian Guides

Big White

**Arikara, Blackfeet, Chinook, Clatsop, Hidatsa,
Mandan, Nez Percy, Shoshone (Snake), Sioux**



Objects/Places

Bitterroot Mountains

The Bitterroot Mountains are a small spur range of the Rocky Mountains; they run along the border of Montana and Idaho. The mountains were the area of Lewis and Clark's crossing of the Rocky Mountains and provided the most difficult terrain encountered by the expedition. The lack of game or other food, the lack of forage, and the rocky, freezing terrain made both the east-to-west and the return west-to-east passages miserable and dangerous.

Columbia River

The major drainage route of the Northwest United States and British Columbia, the Columbia is the largest river flowing into the Pacific Ocean from the Western Hemisphere. Jefferson mistakenly believed that the navigable headwaters of the Columbia originated in close proximity to the navigable headwaters of the Missouri—he hoped to discover an all-water route linking the coasts of the continent. Thus, the Columbia River was the principle destination of the Lewis and Clark Expedition.

Continental Divide

A theoretical line along elevated terrain which forms the border between the two great watersheds of North America; thus, water on the east of the Continental Divide will drain into the Atlantic while water on the west will drain into the Pacific. Crossing the continental divide was a major task for the Corps of Discovery given that it lies amidst the difficult terrain of the Rocky Mountains. Jefferson had hoped the continental divide would lie in relatively accessible terrain to provide an easy portage between the Missouri and Columbia Rivers.

Corps of Discovery

The Corps of Discovery is the name given to the group of men who successfully executed the Lewis and Clark Expedition. The term is used frequently in the text although it did not originate until long after the completion of the voyage. The Corps of Discovery is commonly held to include: Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, York, Charles Floyd, Patrick Gass, John Ordway, Nathaniel Pryor, Richard Warfington, John Boley, William Bratton, John Collins, John Colter, Pierre Cruzatte, John Dame, Joseph and Reubin Field, Robert Frazer, George Gibson, Silas Goodrich, Hugh Hall, Thomas Howard, Francois Labiche, Hugh McNeal, John Newman, John Potts, Moses Reed, John Robertson, George Shannon, John Shields, John Thompson, Howard Tunn, Ebenezer Tuttle, Peter Weiser, William Werner, Isaac White, Joseph Whitehouse, Alexander Willard, Richard Windsor, Toussaint Charbonneau, Sacagawea, Jean



Baptiste Charbonneau, and George Drouillard. Not all of those listed completed the entire voyage.

Fort Clatsop

Fort Clatsop was the fort on the shore of the Columbia River in the territory of the Clatsop Indians. It was constructed by the Corps of Discover as their over-winter location after completing the first leg of their overland voyage of discovery. The fort consisted of two facing buildings joined on each end by a log palisade. The buildings were divided into quarters and storage. Due to the constant rain, wind, cold, and lack of game the enforced and prolonged stay at the fort was unpleasant and devastating to morale.

Fur Trade

The fur trade was an immensely lucrative commercial endeavor that had wide political and economic implications. Trappers would voyage through vast wilderness regions and collect animals furs—principally beaver pelts—and then sell them at trading posts. The post proprietors would package them in bundles and re-sell them to brokers in major cities. The brokers would then ship them overseas for final sale. At each transaction, major profits were accrued as well as tax revenues generated. The fur trade of much of North America was dominated by the British through the period of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. One of Jefferson's principle reasons for financing the expedition was as an attempt to help capture the fur trade for the United States.

Journals of the Lewis & Clark Expedition

Jefferson instructed Lewis to keep a daily journal of the expedition. Lewis did keep a personal journal, which he augmented with scientific and geographic observations. He also instructed the men of the expedition to keep personal journals. Lewis apparently felt that the responsibility for keeping a daily journal could be shared with William Clark; for lengthy period Lewis would not make entries but Clark would. On other occasions, Clark would copy Lewis' entries verbatim. In any even, the expedition produced a voluminous set of journals. Upon the return of the expedition, the public clamored for the publication of the journals. As the trip was publicly financed and a military expedition, some argued, the journals should be public domain. Due to a prior arrangement, however, Lewis was allowed to pursue private publication and entitled to the presumably significant monies their sale would bring. Inexplicably, Lewis did nothing to get the journals edited for publishing—instead carrying them about packed in trunks until his death a few years later. Clark subsequently obtained the journals and published them—by then, however, public interest had waned and they sold poorly. There have been subsequent editions of the journals including various supplementary materials. The text discusses three editions which are considered to be authoritative in their unique contributions—the Biddle edition, the Thwaites edition, and the Moulten edition.



Arms and Ammunition

Like most Americans before and since, the Corps of Discovery absolutely relied upon their firearms for success. Lewis and Jefferson realized this would be the case and secured the finest-built American firearms available; the U.S. Model 1803, .54-caliber, with a thirty-three inch barrel, manufactured at Harpers Ferry. Lewis apparently hand-selected the individual weapons for the trip. The arms were accurate enough that Lewis hit a small mark at 220 yards during a marksmanship competition. In addition, Lewis had the powder measured into units and then sealed in airtight lead containers made of the proper weight of lead such that, when fashioned into balls, the contained powder was in the correct proportion to the resultant projectiles. This ingenious packaging insured that the expedition had enough ammunition in the proper proportions, and that the powder was kept dry through the most vigorous rapids.

Additionally, many of the men carried personal arms. For example, Lewis took along a personal set of pistols. Presumably, many of the men recruited as translators had their own personal arms and the text mentions the happenstance acquisition of additional non-standard firearms. Finally, four larger blunderbuss shotgun-type firearms and even a miniature canon were mounted on the watercraft used on the expedition. Like virtually all Americans before and since, the men of the expedition were excellent shots and brought in game almost daily. Besides firearms, the Corps of Discovery was armed with a vast array of knives and tomahawks, and Lewis carried a short-hafted pike that he referred to as an espontoon.

As a final note, Lewis took along an airgun—one of the first in recorded history. It was repeatedly a 10mm compression airgun with the reservoir in the butt stock, probably produced by Girandoni. The gun held twenty-two round balls in a tubular magazine and had a working pressure of about 800 PSI. Lewis used the gun to demonstrate the remarkable martial powers of the expedition to Indians accustomed to loud-banging single-shot rifles. Seeing Lewis squeeze off twenty or so aimed shots in a minute without reloading must have subdued an untold number of restless young warriors.

Louisiana Purchase

In 1803, the United States acquired from France about 830,000 square miles of territory for the price of fifteen million dollars. The territory was nearly completely unknown and political opponents of President Thomas Jefferson pressed the issue as the height of folly. One of the primary goals of the Corps of Discovery was to explore the northern range of the territory and produce a map of the navigable waterways. An interesting note is that the land involved in the purchase today comprises about ? of the territory of the modern United States.



Missouri River

The Missouri River is the major tributary of the Mississippi River and drains about 1/6 of North America. It begins at the confluence of the Madison, Jefferson, and Gallatin Rivers (the so-called Three Forks) in Montana and joins the Mississippi near present-day St. Louis. Depending on how it is measured, it is either the longest or the second-longest river in the United States. The Missouri River was the primary waterway used by the Corps of Discovery on that portion of their voyage, which was on the east of the Rocky Mountains.

St. Louis

The city of St. Louis lies at the junction of the Missouri and Mississippi Rivers. During the time considered by the text it was the westernmost major city in the United States and was considered the gateway to the frontier. Indeed, the Lewis and Clark Expedition began and ended in St. Louis. Later, Lewis (and still later, Clark) were appointed Governor of the Louisiana Territory and established themselves in the city of St. Louis. Finally, the American fur trade centered upon St. Louis. Ambrose offers a particularly vivid picture of the city at the beginning of Chapter 35.

Themes

Exploration and Expansion

The ideas of exploration and expansion form the core of *Undaunted Courage* and the Lewis and Clark expedition. In 1790, the United States stretched only as far as the east bank of the Mississippi River. Though western lands were virtually unknown, they drew the interest of many Americans for several different reasons. At the opening of the nineteenth century, a pioneering spirit remained an integral part of the American character. Also, many people wanted to settle and farm their own land, but available lots were limited by increasing eastern populations. Further, a spirit of nationalism was growing, and many Americans came to believe that the United States should spread across the continent from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. The Louisiana Purchase legally opened up vast quantities of land to American settlers, despite the fact that American Indians considered this western territory their own. As a result of the Lewis and Clark expedition and the journey of Zebulon Pike—who explored the upper Mississippi Valley—more Americans became interested in expanding settlements onto these lands. In this sense, Lewis was a true empire builder.

Ethnic Groups and Racism

Undaunted Courage provides important insight into the prevailing feeling of superiority that most nineteenth-century white Americans felt over nonwhites. Despite these sentiments, politicians like Jefferson hoped to bring American Indians into mainstream society. Jefferson's reasoning was not completely altruistic, however. He knew that whites would push west into American Indian lands; his only options, as he saw them, were to "civilize" Indians or to remove them to reservations. Jefferson's American Indian policy relied on eventual Indian assimilation into white society. He believed that Indians could be transformed into responsible American citizens. They would renounce their lifestyle and instead become farmers or traders.

As Jefferson's advance Indian agent, Lewis supported these plans. He subjected each tribe to his speech about Jefferson, their new "Great White Father." He told the Indians that they must respect the power of the United States and work in its proposed commercial network. He ordered the Indians to make peace with other tribes and did not understand when they disobeyed. Throughout the trip, Lewis rarely regarded the Indians as individual people. For instance, he insisted on naming a primary chief, even when one did not actually exist.

Undaunted Courage also shows attitudes toward African Americans. Early in the book, Ambrose quotes from Jefferson's *Notes on the State of Virginia*: "The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of . . . the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other." Although Jefferson—a slaveholder—wished to see slavery abolished, he did not want this to happen in his



lifetime because he believed his generation was not ready for such a major step. Lewis, also a slaveholder, did not believe that African Americans could ever become American citizens.

Such racism is clearly demonstrated throughout the book, but nowhere as strongly as in the narrative of York, Clark's slave. York had undertaken the same dangers as every member of the Corps of Discovery. However, after the expedition, when York asked for his freedom as reward for his services, Clark refused this request. He further refused to allow York to move to Louisville, Kentucky, where his wife lived, and to hire himself out for Clark's profit. As Ambrose succinctly puts it, "York had . . . shown he was prepared to sacrifice his life to save Clark's, crossed the continent and returned with his childhood companion, only to be beaten because he was insolent and sulky and denied not only his freedom but his wife, and we may suppose, children."

Man and Nature

The members of the Corps of Discovery, moving into areas uninhabited by whites, relied to a large extent on their environment for survival. Lewis and his men had to depend on their own abilities. There was no book knowledge that could ensure their safe trip. They hunted for food and ate roots. They constructed boats out of natural resources. Time after time, the men were challenged by nature, from making the upstream battle against the Missouri or crossing the snowy Rocky Mountains, to dealing with the geographical fact that an all-water route leading to the Pacific Ocean did not exist.

Lewis, however, saw nature not only as a challenge but also as a sort of wonderland. He and his men, for example, saw grizzly bears and herds of buffalo. He discovered new plants. An avid naturalist, Lewis had taken a quick course from top scientists before starting on the expedition. He attempted to use this scientific knowledge in describing the plants and animals he observed throughout the journey.

Undaunted Courage

Undaunted courage, the dominant theme of the biographical text, is given in the title. For fifty years men, organizations, and governments had dreamed of prosecuting a voyage of discovery into the interior of North America. Many such voyages had been organized and attempted, but they had all failed quickly and decisively. The exploration of thousands of miles of unknown territory controlled by potentially hostile and well-organized Indians was unthinkable dangerous. To even contemplate such a voyage required incredible depth of vision and an unswerving dedication to the cause. Thomas Jefferson desired the journey, but Meriwether Lewis—perhaps alone among men—could make it a reality.

Lewis was possessed of courage—Jefferson called it undaunted courage. Lewis' companion William Clark was possessed of courage. The thirty-odd men of the Corps of Discovery were courageous. Perhaps the most courageous of all was the teenage mother Sacagawea who nursed her infant in-arms across thousands of miles of



forbidding terrain without remuneration and without even her permission. At any point along the east-to-west journey any of the men could have given up—indeed, even before leaving St. Louis some men had run off or been discharged. However, those brave souls who went up the Missouri River were possessed of a self-reliance and courage shared by very few. The text relates any number of events, which would have quelled the spirit of lesser men, but the undaunted courage of Lewis ensured the successful completion of the fabulous expedition.

Exploration

The fundamental rationale for the entire voyage of the Corps of Discovery was quite simply exploration of the unknown. As such, exploration is a dominant theme of the text. The expedition, as envisioned by the polymath Jefferson and executed by Lewis, was intended to be an exploration of many frontiers. Primarily, of course, it was an exploration of geographic terrain—the vast interior spaces of the North American continent were unmapped and unexplored by white men. Quite simply, no white man knew what existed between St. Louis and the mouth of the Columbia River. Jefferson wanted to know, as did many others. The expedition explored the vast reaches of terrain and produced an accurate map of what is today regarded as America's heartland. However, additionally, the expedition was an exploration of the commercial potential of the region, an exploration of its agricultural potential, and an exploration of its suitability for homesteading.

The superbly educated Lewis explored the botanical, biological aspects of the new frontier, explored the cultures and societies of the Indian nations, recorded their languages, and investigated their ideals. He catalogued species, made exact drawings, preserved samples, and recorded copious field notes. He took accurate celestial observations, fixed locations, and explored alternative routes. Aided by Clark he produced maps, gathered local knowledge, and developed methodologies of exploration, which set the standard for years to come. Finally and most-importantly, along with Clark and others he recorded what was new and exciting. The various journals, maps, manuscripts, and letters created during the voyage survive as a vast bank of knowledge gathered by the wide net of exploration cast by Lewis and Clark. As Ambrose states, all those who came after followed Lewis' example.

Friendship

One of the fundamental tenets of military organization is that command is absolute; military decision-making is not a shared responsibility. Indeed, so many military catastrophes can be traced back to indecisive or un-clarified command structures that the necessity of a monolithic and obvious chain-of-command has been considered an indisputable requirement by all military organizations essentially since national armies have existed. Lewis chose to violate this basic principle by inviting his friend William Clark to act as co-captain on the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Why he did so is not recorded; that he did so is an unparalleled but undisputed historical fact. That decision



alone should have guaranteed the complete failure of the expedition; indeed, it is easy enough to imagine a casual disagreement leading to an irrevocable sundering of the Corps of Discovery in the earliest days of the expedition.

Why did this not occur? Simply put, because Lewis and Clark were friends. In all their actions, they were considerate of each other's skills and talents. They were able to place their personal egos aside for the betterment of the group. Ambrose does note a few occasions where the divided command caused some minor friction. However, the noteworthy aspects of those events were their infrequency and the minor and ephemeral nature of the disagreement. Indeed, through many desperate months both men seemed able to support the other in all events and their intimate friendship enabled the strong support, which allowed success and forged that most famous of American partnerships.

The text also includes discussions of other friendships—principally, that between Lewis and Thomas Jefferson, though that relationship also had characteristics of a mentor-apprentice relationship. Additionally, Lewis forged a tight friendship with Drouillard, Sacagawea's friendship with Jumping Fish is commented upon, and the collective friendship between the Corps of Discovery and the Mandans supports the text's theme of friendship. The theme of friendship extends beyond the text and was a vital component of the entire expedition as envisioned by Jefferson. Note the text on the obverse of the Jefferson Peace Medals handed out by Lewis and Clark to the Indian nations as a symbol of the distant United States Government—the medals read "Peace and Friendship" (review photographic reproduction on p. 158).



Style

Biography

Undaunted Courage is a work that can be placed in many categories. In its essence, it is the story of the Lewis and Clark expedition. However, it also is a biography of Lewis. Unlike most other writers, Ambrose delves into Lewis' early life and his post-expedition life. While the journey was the highlight of Lewis' life, Ambrose shows how Lewis' desire for adventure and the expedition itself affected him overall. Before setting out on the expedition, Lewis was prone to seek out new experiences. He joined the militia. He traveled the frontier as part of his army service. After the expedition had ended, life no longer offered Lewis the drama to which he had become accustomed. He discovered that he did not fit into the conventional, civilized world. He was unsuccessful as a governor, and despite concerted efforts, he was unable to find a wife. Lewis, prone to fits of melancholy and depression, lapsed into alcoholism and most likely committed suicide only a few years after returning from the expedition.

Undaunted Courage also is a sort of biography of American expansionism. To this end, Ambrose includes a history of the origins of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Jefferson's own interest in exploring the western part of North America dated all the way back to 1750 when his father was a member of a land company awarded frontier territory west of the Appalachian mountains. In the decade following the end of the Revolutionary War, Jefferson instigated three out of four plans to explore the West. The successful embarking of the Lewis and Clark expedition was the culmination of Jefferson's dreams, inspired in no small part by British expansionism in the Pacific Northwest.

First-Person Narrative

Ambrose introduces first-person narrative into his work by including numerous excerpts from Lewis' and Clark's journals and letters, thus allowing the leaders to make their unique presence and personality felt. Shorter quotes are woven into the narrative, making it more vivid. Longer quotes give a greater sense of what was important to the leaders and how they looked at their adventure. These primary sources provide a deeper comprehension of the leaders' personal response to the expedition. From a practical point of view, they also enable historians to map out actions and events. The crucial importance of such sources is underscored when Ambrose turns his pen to Lewis' last years. Lewis did not keep a journal, and significantly less information is known about what he did and why. There is even an eight-month period of his life that is essentially a "lost period" to historians.



Images

Perspective

Stephen E. Ambrose was a professional non-fiction writer who investigated a broad range of subjects, which he found personally interesting. His list of publications is extensive, impressive, and furthermore has enjoyed a prolonged popularity accompanied by a recent resurgence. In brief, it would be difficult to identify an author better suited to present an authoritative biography in a style so accessible to casual readers. Ambrose's introduction establishes a long-term familiarity with some of the terrain over which Lewis traveled and notes the author's lifetime fascination with the voyage of Lewis and Clark. Thus, the biography presented represents a culmination of the author's desire to further investigate the seminal voyage of organized exploration in North American history.

The tone and nature of the text make it evident that it was prepared for a serious-minded but casual reader; the book is not an exhaustive archive of the voyage, nor is it an encyclopedic biography. Rather, it presents the salient highlights of Lewis' life with a profound emphasis on the voyage of discovery he completed. In this respect, the text is remarkably successful at placing the expedition within the context of the social milieu of the times as well as indicating how significant Lewis' accomplishments are in a broader historical context. The text is, however, well constructed and annotated and leaves little doubt that an enormous amount of critical research was conducted. Ambrose clearly anticipated the text to be an enjoyable and instructive recounting of one of the most fascinating expeditions ever completed in North America.

Tone

For the most part the text is written in a professional but intimate tone. The style is spare and polished—indeed, few writers equal Ambrose's capability. The simultaneous professional but accessible aspect of the text ensures its enduring popularity and significance. The text does not attempt to be an encyclopedic or archival biography but rather presents an introduction, or primer, to the topic for a serious-minded student. Although the material is presented objectively, subjectivity is evident in the selection of areas for focus. Fortunately, the author's subjective decisions are uniformly correct and the resultant text is enjoyable, comprehensive, and accessible. The result of the crafted tone is an authoritative book, which presents the opening of the American West as a grand adventure with lasting historical and political ramifications.

The author uses frequent brief quotes, often from Lewis or Jefferson, and presents them retaining the original formatting and spelling. This inclusion yields a tone of contemporary excitement to the text and allows the modern reader to appreciate the significant unknown nature of the territory through which Lewis voyaged. Occasional reproductions of paintings and a few selections from Lewis' hand-written journals add materially to the texture of the book. Finally, the judicious inclusion of maps and the



routine assigning of dates or date ranges to events allow readers unfamiliar with the minutia of the voyage to easily envision the time and place described.

Structure

The 511-page text is divided into thirty-eight named and enumerated chapters and includes an introduction, acknowledgements, notes, a bibliography, and an index. The text contains six maps and several illustrations.

Most chapters have titular notations, which indicate the dates of significant events described within the chapter. Because of this, nearly every major event in the text can be placed in a strictly chronological ordering; this convention materially aids the reader. Furthermore, nearly all of the material in the text is presented in more-or-less chronological fashion. That is, with some exceptions, the events of one chapter occur after the events described in a previous chapter and before the events described in a subsequent chapter. Occasionally events will be presented out-of-order by a year or two for topical continuity; when this occurs the text so states; for example, Chapter 26 discusses Jefferson's political position during the first year of the Lewis and Clark expedition. Additionally, some events retrospectively are reevaluated as the author presents additional information about them. These chronological digressions are obvious.

Note that the frequent quotations from disparate sources, including Lewis' journals, retain the grammar, punctuation, and spelling of the originals. As such, many quotes contain a notable variety of inconsistencies or syntax errors while some are actually difficult to understand. For example, Lewis was poor at spelling names whereas Clark rarely used the same spelling for 'mosquito' more than once. While these habits were perhaps acceptable for a bygone era, they today bear a certain quaint charm, which lends to the text's enjoyable nature.

Historical Context

The Revolutionary War

In 1774, the year that Lewis was born, the present-day United States was still only thirteen British colonies, but they were colonies that were dissatisfied with their lack of representation in the British Parliament. The Revolutionary War began with fighting at Lexington and Concord in Massachusetts, and the following year, the Continental Congress approved the Declaration of Independence, of which Thomas Jefferson was the primary author. The Revolutionary War ended in an American victory in 1783, and the United States of America was established.

The First U.S. Government

The first U.S. government was the Articles of Confederation. This was a relatively weak government, lacking even an executive branch, and in 1787, state delegates ratified the U.S. Constitution. George Washington was elected president of the new nation by a unanimous vote. He appointed Jefferson as his secretary of state, but Jefferson resigned that position in 1793.

Several challenges faced the new nation. Britain and France were at war, and the United States had a difficult time maintaining its neutrality. The United States also had problems with Spanish Florida and Louisiana. A 1795 treaty resolved border issues and ensured U.S. shipping along the Mississippi. At home, Washington faced conflict on the frontier. An Indian confederation launched an uprising in the Northwest Territory, which was put down by U.S. troops. Washington also sent more than 10,000 soldiers to western Pennsylvania to settle the Whiskey Rebellion, which arose after new taxes affected whiskey producers. Washington stepped down after two terms, and John Adams was elected president. During his administration, increasing divisions grew between the Federalist and the Democratic-Republican parties.

The Jefferson Years

Jefferson, an ardent Republican, was elected the nation's third president. He was the first president to be inaugurated in the new capital city of Washington. From his first months in office, Jefferson faced difficulties with his Federalist opponents. He refused to allow dozens of Federalist judges to take office. Adams had made these appointments on his last evening as president. William Marbury, one of the judges, demanded that the Supreme Court force the executive branch to hand over his commission, but Chief Justice John Marshall ruled that the Supreme Court did not have this power. His decision established the principle of judicial review—the Supreme Court has the right to declare an act of Congress to be unconstitutional.



The Louisiana Purchase

Spain had held Louisiana since 1762 until a secret treaty gave Louisiana to France. Spain was having difficulties defending the territory from American settlers. France's leader, Napoleon Bonaparte, dreamed of rebuilding France's North American empire. He hoped that by occupying Louisiana, the French would replace the Spanish as the key European power in western North America. However, a slave rebellion in the French colony of Saint Domingue—present-day Haiti—taxed France's resources, leaving few soldiers to defend the recently acquired Louisiana.

Jefferson was alarmed when he heard of the treaty between France and Spain because a French occupied Spain could block westward U.S. expansion. Also, the French could interfere with U.S. trade along the Mississippi River. Jefferson sent U.S. ambassador Robert Livingstone to France to try to negotiate the purchase of New Orleans, which would ensure continued American use of the Mississippi. The French minister stunned Americans with France's willingness to sell all of Louisiana. Napoleon had several reasons for this action. First, about to go to war with Britain, France did not want to have to fight the United States as well. Additionally, the French had no troops in Louisiana because they all had been sent to Saint Domingue. Also, Louisiana would be hard to protect, and Napoleon was able to sell it for the money he needed to buy military supplies. Lastly, Napoleon hoped that by selling to the United States, he could create a challenge to Britain's power in North America.

The two sides signed a treaty on May 2, 1803, selling Louisiana to the United States in exchange for \$15 million. The Senate approved the treaty with France on October 20, making the Louisiana Purchase official. The Louisiana Purchase doubled the size of the United States. Although the boundaries of the territory were not clearly defined—for instance, the United States did not know how far northward the region extended—Americans did know it stretched west all the way to the Rocky Mountains.

Western Explorations

Aside from the Lewis and Clark expedition, there were other important western explorations. Zebulon Pike, a young army officer, was sent on a mission to find the starting point of the Red River, which runs through Louisiana along the border of northern Texas. This river was important because the United States claimed that the Red River formed the Louisiana Territory's western border with New Spain. Pike led his expedition to the Rocky Mountains in present-day Colorado, and then in 1807, he headed south into present-day New Mexico. He and his group traveled to the Rio Grande, which was part of New Spain, where they were arrested by the Spanish cavalry. Pike was eventually released, and when he returned to the United States, he reported on the excellent opportunities for doing business with the Spanish in the Southwest.



American Indians and the United States

Since colonists had first arrived in North America, these immigrants had pushed American Indians off their lands and further to the west. In 1794, the defeat of an Indian confederation in the Northwest Territory led to the signing of the Treaty of Greenville. This treaty gave the United States access to some Indian lands in the Northwest Territory and guaranteed safe travel for U.S. citizens crossing Indian lands in that region. Throughout the early 1800s, thousands of American settlers poured into this region, establishing farms and settlements. The British government, hoping to staunch this expansion, provided military aid to Indian nations in the Northwest Territory. Shawnee chief Tecumseh dreamed of uniting the American Indians of the Northwest Territory, the South, and the eastern Mississippi River valley in opposition to the settlers. William Henry Harrison—who later became president—was the governor of the Indiana Territory. He saw Tecumseh as a serious threat to American power. In 1811, Harrison forces attacked the Indian confederation. They forced the retreat of the Indian warriors, effectively ending Tecumseh's dream of an Indian confederation.

The War of 1812

Many Americans believed that the British had incited the Indians against the United States. Members of Congress began calling for war against Britain. Some of these representatives further believed that a successful war could enlarge the United States, adding Florida and Canada to the country. Federalists from New England posed the strongest opposition to these "War Hawks." President James Madison, however, declared that Britain—which had been impressing American sailors and violating U.S. neutrality—was already at war with the United States. In June of 1812, the War of 1812 began. With the victory that came in December 1814, the United States again redrew its boundaries.

America in the 1990s

In 1992, the Democrats regained the presidency for the first time in twelve years when Bill Clinton was elected for the first of two terms. In 1994, however, voters gave Republicans control of both the House and the Senate. The Clinton administration faced domestic and foreign challenges. Under Clinton, the country experienced a remarkable economic boom and balanced the federal budget for the first time in years. Problems arose, however, over racial violence and other hate crimes. The United States confronted global crises as regional conflict grew in Eastern Europe. Thousands of UN forces, including U.S. troops, played a successful role in peacekeeping missions throughout the world, in places such as Cambodia and El Salvador. UN forces went to famine-stricken Somalia and wartorn Bosnia and Herzegovina, with mixed results.

Critical Overview

Undaunted Courage, published in 1996, was the first in-depth book about the Lewis and Clark expedition. By the early 1990s, when Ambrose first began to consider the project, no new works had appeared in about twenty-five years, even though a great deal of new research had emerged, including a revised edition of the letters and journals of the expedition members. As the reviewer for *Publishers Weekly* pointed out, the "journals of the expedition, most written by Clark, are one of the treasures of American history." Ambrose decided to use this material to write an updated account of the Lewis and Clark expedition.

Undaunted Courage, as numerous critics agreed, earned its lofty title. An immediate critical and commercial success, Ambrose's vivid retelling of this historic event captivated readers and reviewers alike. According to Dale L. Walker writing in *Wild West*, Ambrose provided a "meticulous reconstruction" of the journey of the Corps of Discovery. Gilbert Taylor of *Booklist* called Ambrose a "stimulating tour guide," one who "paces the mundane so well with the unusual that readers will be entranced."

While critics all greatly enjoyed Ambrose's effort, they were not in complete agreement as to how much *Undaunted Courage* contributed to the body of work on the Lewis and Clark expedition. Malcolm Jones Jr. of *Newsweek* called it an "absorbing new history," and Taylor praised the book for providing a "final glimpse at a pristine Eden before the crowd of trappers and settlers altered it forever." *Publishers Weekly*, on the other hand, maintained that Ambrose did not add "a great deal to existing accounts" of the expedition. Jones, however, pointed out that Ambrose "uses his skill with detail and atmosphere to dust off an icon and put him back on the trail west." Roger Miller, writing for *Book Page Review*, also commended the book for capturing the "flavor of life in the struggling nation, particularly on the frontier." From Ambrose, for example, the contemporary reader learns of the partisan politics of the Jeffersonian era.

Another important element of the book was the insight it provided into Lewis' early and post expedition life, both often overlooked aspects. "Ironically, Hollywood—not to mention grade-school textbooks—tends to draw the curtain just when the story gets most interesting," wrote Jones. "They say nothing, for example, about Lewis's manic depression, his scandal-ridden political career or his eventual suicide at the age of 35." Lewis' relationships with other people were also deeply explored, such as his relationship with Jefferson, which Walker believed was "at the heart of Lewis' life." However, as *Publishers Weekly* pointed out, the friendship between Lewis and Clark also lies at the "center of this account."

Though the great respect that Ambrose holds for Lewis and his accomplishment is clear, Jones noted that Ambrose is a "remarkably balanced historian." He is "neither a revisionist nor an apologist." Ambrose also examines Lewis' attitude toward American Indians, which may seem problematic to the modern reader. Wrote Jones, "Ambrose weighs shortcomings against positive attributes and ultimately presents us with a convincing hero." David S. Dahl in *The Region* further heaped praise on Ambrose's

style: He "lets the explorers tell their own story as [he] quotes liberally from Lewis and Clark's journals."

Ambrose wrote this book, in part hoping to inspire readers to explore the Lewis and Clark trail themselves. "The single thing I most wanted," he told Peter Carlin of *People Weekly*, "was to enlarge the circle of the those of us who sit around the campfire talking about Lewis and Clark." Ambrose's efforts have paid off. Officials at state and national parks along the route say that in 1996 tourism was up as much as 15 percent over the previous years. Miller perhaps best summed up the perception of *Undaunted Courage*: "At its conclusion the expedition seemed a grand undertaking. Nearly two hundred years later, thanks to Ambrose, it still does."

Criticism

- Critical Essay #1
- Critical Essay #2
- Critical Essay #3
- Critical Essay #4
- Critical Essay #5



Critical Essay #1

Korb has a master's degree in English literature and creative writing and has written for a wide variety of educational publishers. In the following essay, she discusses the author's presentation of Lewis and his cross-continent expedition.

Contemporaries of Lewis and Clark were captivated by the cross-continent expedition, delighting in news of its successes and yearning to learn more about the adventure. Before the expedition's return, Lewis was able to send only one report to President Jefferson. Book publishers in Washington, New York, London, and Natchez, Louisiana, quickly readied this 1805 report concerning American Indian tribes, along with Clark's map. When the Corps of Discovery returned the following year, its members were celebrated wherever they went. Along the route to Washington, "in every town and village the residents insisted on some sort of dinner and ball to honor him [Lewis]." Upon the expedition's arrival in the nation's capital, one spectator observed, "Never did a similar event excite more joy."

Despite this enthusiasm, Lewis and his exploits eventually faded from the American imagination. He never prepared his journals for publication before his early death, and within decades, it seemed this one-time hero was in danger of being forgotten. In 1891, when respected historian Henry Adams completed his multi-volume study of the Jefferson administration, Lewis scarcely rated a mention. Then in 1904, Reuben Gold Thwaites published an eight-volume edition of the expedition's journals, renewing interest in the adventure. In the twentieth century, several different editions of journals and letters have been published, and with *Undaunted Courage*, Ambrose significantly added to the body of Lewis and Clark work. His lengthy exploration of the expedition relates the drama of the adventure and what it meant for the United States. More interestingly for some readers, however, is Ambrose's personal involvement with the figures that populate his book. Ambrose is a staunch fan of Lewis, writing in his introduction that his family's experiences following the Lewis and Clark trail have "brought us together so many times in so many places that we cannot measure or express what it has meant."

The subtitle of *Undaunted Courage*, "Meriwether Lewis, Thomas Jefferson, and the Opening of the American West," indicates the underpinning of the author's true interests; in a very real sense, the actual expedition takes a backseat to the determined personalities of Lewis and Jefferson. Ambrose's admiration for Lewis and his accomplishments fairly bursts off his well-documented pages. Ambrose credits Lewis with contributing greatly to American expansionism, reminding readers that "everyone who has ever paddled a canoe on the Missouri, or the Columbia, does so in the wake of the Lewis and Clark Expedition." He asserts that "the journals of Lewis and Clark provided the introduction to and serve as the model for all subsequent writing on the American West." Lewis was not only "a great company commander," he was also "the greatest of all American explorers, and in the top rank of world explorers." Further, "Another quality Lewis had in abundance was his ability to react quickly to danger." Lewis was a budding scientist who did himself a grave disservice by not preparing his



journal for publication as he did not receive credit for numerous scientific, geographical, zoological, and botanical discoveries. "Lewis had cheated himself out of a rank not far below Darwin as a naturalist," Ambrose concludes.

Before heaping such praise, however, Ambrose provides a multitude of evidence supporting his great respect for Lewis. Lewis was a seasoned, hearty outdoorsman. It was reported that as a boy Lewis hunted barefoot in the snow and saved his family from an Indian attack. Jefferson once explained why he chose Lewis to lead the expedition: the younger man possessed the "firmness of constitution & character, prudence, habits adapted to the woods, & a familiarity with the Indian manners & character, requisite for this undertaking." Another quality Lewis had in abundance was his ability to react quickly to danger. One incident that Ambrose relates in some detail is how he saved Private Windsor from tumbling down a ninety-foot precipice. Placing his trust in Lewis and following his commander's instructions, Windsor was able to pull himself to safety.

As a leader, Lewis was also remarkable. He insisted on sharing command with Clark. Even after the secretary of war withheld the latter's captaincy, Lewis wrote to Clark, "I think it will be the best to let none of our party or any other persons know anything about the grade." Indeed, the members of the Corps of Discovery never discovered the difference in their leaders' ranks. Both Lewis and Clark were equal captains, each with his strengths and particular responsibilities.

Though Lewis and Clark were firmly in command, they did pay attention to the will of their men. An important decision arose when the Missouri River split into two branches. The "whole of my party to a man . . . were fully persuaded that this river [the northern fork] was the Missouri," but Lewis and Clark believed they needed to follow the southern fork. Though the men declared that they were prepared to "cheerfully" follow their leaders, Lewis and Clark worked to devise a sort of compromise. One small party would be sent along the banks of the northern fork to better resolve the issue. This party confirmed Lewis and Clark's decision. At other times, Lewis allowed the men to play a more active role in decision-making. When a location to build the Pacific Coast winter camp needed to be selected, Lewis and Clark put the vote to the party, including York and Sacagawea. "This was the first vote ever held in the Pacific Northwest," writes Ambrose. "It was the first time in American history that a black slave had voted, the first time a woman had voted."

Although Ambrose admires Lewis, he does not attempt to cover up certain of Lewis' very real faults. For example, he was a "lousy politician," one whose few decisions were ruled by nepotism and a drive for personal wealth. Jefferson's appointment of him as the governor of the Louisiana Territory was a "frightful misjudgment." Lewis also demonstrated a grave lapse in judgment in the decision to split up the party on the return trip. Ambrose characterizes Lewis' side trip up the Marias with only a handful of men as "a big mistake from the start," one that risked the lives of the men and the safe return of the entire party—and the overall success of the expedition. Ambrose also points out that Lewis "had a short temper and too often acted upon it," for instance, beating Indians or talking about burning their villages.



One telling event took place when the Corps readied to leave Fort Clatsop. They needed another canoe for the return journey but were unable to obtain one because the Indians' asking price was too high. Lewis decided that "we will take one of them [a canoe] in lue of the six Elk which they stole from us in the winter." However, the Clatsops had already paid for the stolen elk with food. Ambrose agrees with historian James Ronda's characterization of this incident as "a particularly sordid tale of deception and friendship betrayed . . . at worst criminal and at best a terrible lapse of judgment." In this instance, Lewis had compromised his "essential honesty." However, Ambrose also justifies, to some extent, Lewis' actions. In the case of the stolen canoe, Ambrose muses that "Lewis felt he had no choice. Perhaps he was right. . . . Giving a rifle to a native [as payment for the canoe] would have involved a violation of an absolute rule—just as stealing a canoe did. Lewis chose to steal." For further rationalization, Ambrose looks to Jefferson's writings for explanation of Lewis' overall treatment of and attitude toward Indians: "It would be a prodigy indeed who could grow up to be a slave master and keep his humanity."

Ambrose's personal admiration for Lewis does not cause him to overlook the unique talents of other members of the party. Readers learn, for instance, of Sacagawea's important contributions not only as an interpreter between the Corps and the Shoshoni but as a collector of wild edible roots. Private John Shields is singled out for his ingenious and valuable skill in repairing the party's guns. George Drouillard's skills with sign language among the Indians are noted.

Ambrose shows how William Clark particularly lent his special skills to the success of the expedition. Clark was a better land surveyor and waterman than Lewis and possessed mapmaking skills. Ambrose characterizes the map that Clark drew of the United States west of the Mississippi as a "masterpiece of the cartographer's art" and "an invaluable contribution to the world's knowledge." Ambrose acknowledges that it is Clark, not Lewis, who maintains the journals throughout much of the journey. Clark also achieves special status among the Nez Percé as a medicine man, from their point of view, able to cure seemingly devastating maladies, such as paralysis. Clark's medical practice was particularly crucial to the success of the mission because the Indians paid doctor fees in much needed food.

Ambrose reserves more praise for another of his personal heroes, Thomas Jefferson. Ambrose glowingly likens life on the Virginia plantation after the American Revolution—the life that Jefferson led on Monticello—to life in ancient Greece, the birthplace of democracy. "The political talk," he writes, "about the nature of man and the role of government, has not been surpassed at any time or any place since, and at its best the talk could stand to be compared to the level in ancient Athens." Jefferson was widely respected by his contemporaries. "Most guests found [him] to be the most delightful companion they ever met." The young Lewis had great luck in becoming Jefferson's personal secretary, which offered him the president's daily company. "No American has ever surpassed Jefferson, and fewer than a handful have ever equaled him, as friend, teacher, guide, model, leader, companion." While serving under the president, Lewis added a great deal to his much-lacking formal education. Lewis learned more about science, philosophy, literature, and history. Most importantly, he



learned how to write more cohesively. Because of this improved skill, the journals he later wrote on the expedition "constitute a priceless gift to the American people, all thanks, apparently, to lessons learned from Mr. Jefferson."

In the last chapters, in case any reader missed it, Ambrose makes his opinion of Lewis clear: "If I was ever in a desperate situation—caught in a grass .re on the prairie, or sinking in a small boat in a big ocean, or the like—then I would want Meriwether Lewis for my leader," writes Ambrose glowingly. However, Ambrose allows Jefferson to have the final word. Jefferson writes of Lewis:

Of courage undaunted, possessing a firmness & perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from its direction, careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order & discipline, . . . honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as seen as if by ourselves, with all those qualifications as if selected and implanted by nature in one body, for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprize to him.

Source: Rena Korb, Critical Essay on Undaunted Courage, in Nonfiction Classics for Students, The Gale Group, 2001.



Critical Essay #2

Winters is a freelance writer and editor. In the following essay, she commends Stephen Ambrose's *Undaunted Courage* for the succinctness of the account, "its rich detail and often entertaining tone," and its "compassionate and insightful study of Lewis' strengths and weaknesses."

When an aunt gave Stephen Ambrose a complete set of the journals of the explorers Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, Ambrose read them and was "entranced." The journals spurred him to begin twenty years of research, some of which involved books, and much of which involved retracing their journey—on foot, in a canoe, or on horses, with family and friends. Ambrose's personal experience of the land and the journey shines through *Undaunted Courage*, making it a "splendid retelling" of the original explorers' trek, according to a writer in *Kirkus Reviews*.

The book centers on the friendship between Thomas Jefferson and Meriwether Lewis, which was the catalyst for the trek; Lewis was Jefferson's secretary and spent two years living in the White House. After completing the Louisiana Purchase and thus doubling the size of the United States overnight, Jefferson chose Lewis to explore the new territory and search for a navigable water route from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean, which most people at the time believed existed. Lewis in turn chose William Clark to be co-commander of the expedition, and they set out on the trek in 1803, with a group of "good hunters, stout, healthy, unmarried men, accustomed to the woods," including one black slave named York.

The trek would take twenty-eight months and would ultimately cover eight thousand miles.

Although, as a *Publishers Weekly* reviewer notes, the original journals kept by Lewis and Clark on the journey are one of the "treasures of American history," Ambrose presents a more succinct and at times more vivid account, and also sets the journey in the context of events of that time and subsequent years. However, the real appeal of the book lies in its rich detail and often entertaining tone: Ambrose describes the plagues of mosquitoes, so thick that the men had to cover themselves with buffalo grease to repel them; tells about the rancid meat and filthy water they ate and drank; discusses the dysentery, boils, and fevers they suffered from; and details their daily schedule and the positions men were assigned to, such as night watch, whiskey rationer, or hunter. Whiskey rationing was, according to Ambrose, critical to the success of the venture; he quotes Frederick the Great on the key role of alcohol in military strategy, and then sums up by noting, in his typical vivid and entertaining style, "In other words, don't run out of booze until there is no turning back."

In the *Washington Post*, Blaine Harden called the book "intelligently conceived and splendidly written," and praised Ambrose's "impressive insight" as a historian. He also commended the way Ambrose "neatly captures the primitiveness of Jefferson's era, a time when no means of transport moved faster than a galloping horse." As Ambrose



notes, "No human being, no manufactured item, no bushel of wheat, no side of beef, no letter, no information, no idea, order, or instruction of any kind moved faster." In the age of the internet and jet travel, most people can't comprehend such painstaking slowness, or the roughness of the territory that had to be covered; Ambrose brings these all-encompassing limitations to life.

The expedition's contacts with Native Americans were often friendly, often filled with mutual cultural misunderstanding, and only once violent. Ambrose accurately depicts the attitudes toward Indians held by whites of the time; some whites considered them "noble savages" who were pure at heart and who could be civilized and made into full citizens (unlike black Americans, who were believed to be fit only to be slaves). In addition, the men subscribed to President Jefferson's Indian policy, which was that the goal of taking control of the Indians' land could be accomplished in two ways: by fighting with them, or by trading with them, civilizing them, and then getting title to their land. The second choice was the cheapest and easiest.

Ambrose notes that Jefferson and Lewis both subscribed to odd notions about the Mandan tribe, believing that they might be descendants of the Lost Tribe of Israel, but that more likely they were a wandering tribe of Welshmen. Because of these odd beliefs, Ambrose points out, Jefferson's instructions to Lewis on dealing with the Indians were "hopelessly naive and impossible to carry out," since Jefferson assumed that their European heritage would make the Indians eager to be civilized. They conceived of this civilizing process as a boon to the Indians, and never considered the possibility that the Indians might not want to become civilized and be citizens of a white-run country.

As Daniel L. Wick noted in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, "They were not especially skilled in dealing with the tribes that they encountered and managed to avoid major conflict through a combination of luck and Indian forbearance."

Despite the fact that the expedition was ultimately dependent on the help of Sacagawea, a Shoshone woman who became their guide and interpreter, Lewis says little about her in his journals, perhaps because it hurt his pride to admit he was indebted to an Indian—and a woman, at that. For example, when she found a great quantity of wild edible roots, Lewis spent five hundred words describing them in his journal but never mentioned that she had found them; Ambrose notes that the only reason we now know that she discovered them was because Clark mentioned it in his own journal. When she fell ill in 1805, from what Ambrose conjectures was chronic pelvic inflammatory disease, Lewis was concerned for her safety mainly because the expedition was dependent on her to negotiate with the Snake Indians, who provided horses to the men on their portage from the Missouri to the Columbia River. Ambrose also provides a commentary on her role as interpreter, which involved a long chain of translation: Indians they encountered would speak to Sacagawea, who would translate their words to her husband, Charbonneau, a Canadian who spoke French. A French trader who had married into the Mandan tribe, Rene Jessaume, who spoke "bad French and worse English," then interpreted the words to Lewis and Clark. Ambrose humorously observes, "That might not have been so bad, except that Charbonneau and Jessaume argued about the meaning of every French word they used."



Ambrose also notes incredulously that, in keeping with their general disregard for Indians, it never occurred to Lewis and Clark to ask Sacagawea about her people and their customs; that they didn't ask her what the land was like on the other side of the Continental Divide, although she knew; and as far as is known, the only question they ever asked her about the Shoshone was how to say "white man" in the Shoshone language.

Despite these shortcomings in his attitudes about Indians, however, Lewis unknowingly conducted "path breaking ethnology," according to Ambrose, in providing the first written description of the ceremonial dress and customs of the tribes they encountered.

In addition to being a grand exploration, route- finding mission, and Indian reconnaissance, the expedition was also a scientific mission. Lewis spent much of his time gathering botanical specimens, taking notes, and tracking the expedition's location with a sextant and chronometer. Ambrose describes how one morning, between 7:06 and 8:57 A.M., Lewis took a measurement of the distance between the sun and the moon forty-eight times, and writes, "He faithfully recorded whatever he could whenever he could, leaving up to experts back east to work out the meaning of the figures."

According to Ambrose, Lewis discovered 179 new plants and 122 new species or subspecies of animals. He describes animals, such as the grizzly bear—which, even when shot ten times, could still swim across a river—the prairie dog, and a host of birds, including the gray jay, Stellar's jay, the black woodpecker, the blue grouse, the spruce grouse, and the Oregon ruffed grouse, among many others.

As Ambrose points out, Lewis's observations are all the more remarkable because he was unable to spell or write grammatically, yet he was incredibly precise. For example, in describing a least tern, he wrote, "The tail has 11 feathers the outer of which are an inch longer than those in the center gradually tapering inwards. . . . The largest or outer feather is 2 2/4 inches that of the shortest 1 3/4 inches." In all, he used a thousand equally detailed words to describe this single bird.

Sadly, because he delayed in publishing his journals, many of his discoveries were not attributed to him, but to others who traveled west after him and "discovered" plants and animals that had not been written about before.

He also saw amazing places, such as the Great Falls of the Missouri and the Pacific Ocean—about which he was strangely silent. As Ambrose points out, however, he didn't bother to keep records on the rocks and minerals he encountered, perhaps because there was no way to move heavy, bulky samples of minerals back to the East. Ambrose excels in pointing out these technological differences between Lewis's age and modern times, and the effect they had on the expedition and its aims.

He also excels in conveying the sheer thrill of exploration, noting that very few people in history have had the experience of "not knowing what they would see when they got to the top of the mountain or turned into the river or sailed around the tip of a continent." In Lewis's mapless world, the explorers had such thrills every day.



Lewis, as the main character in the book, is a man filled with contrasts. Although he couldn't spell or write grammatically, he took vibrantly detailed, meticulous notes. Although he was a fine leader of his small group, he collapsed when, after his return, he was given the larger post of governor of the Louisiana Territory by Jefferson. He drank, took opium and morphine, and became increasingly unstable. Ambrose believes he suffered from manic depression, but notes that the mood disorder didn't seem to trouble him during the expedition. However, after it, Lewis lost the ability to cope. After a scandal involving his finances, he went to Washington to try and explain his failure, but before he got there, tried to commit suicide. His first two attempts to shoot himself failed, and in desperation he hacked at his body with a razor, finally dying from these wounds.

Ambrose presents a compassionate and insightful study of Lewis' strengths and weaknesses, including his mood disorder and his post-trip depression, which was probably exacerbated by his failure to find the much-dreamed-of water route to the Pacific. He writes that if it is true that Lewis suffered from manic depression, his success is even more remarkable: "His special triumph is that [during the expedition] he seldom let his emotional state take over, and then only momentarily."

Ambrose tells his story with immediacy and verve; he is the kind of writer who can make a reader feel the hardships, the weather, the uncertainty of dealing with people whose language, customs, and motives are unknown, and the thrill of seeing something new and unheard-of every day. He accurately conveys the sense that, as Steve Raymond noted in the *Seattle Times*, "Lewis and Clark were the astronauts of their time, something more than astronauts, in fact, for they had no way to keep in touch with those who sent them forth." The same writer noted, "The story flows as compellingly as a crackling work of fiction—except the story is better than fiction."

Ambrose mourns the apparent loss of a large chunk of Lewis's detailed journals covering the period between September 17, 1804 and April 1805. No one knows for certain that Lewis took such daily notes, but as Ambrose comments, the entries that remain imply the presence of others, now missing; there is no indication that Lewis himself was aware of any gap in his coverage of the expedition. Ambrose makes the loss real, writing that the pain caused by the missing entries is intensified by the quality of what remains because in the entries that still exist, Lewis "walks you through his day and lets you see through his eyes; what he saw not American would ever see before and only a few would see in the future."

In this book, Ambrose does the same.

Source: Kelly Winters, Critical Essay on Undaunted Courage, in *Nonfiction Classics for Students*, The Gale Group, 2001.



Critical Essay #3

In the following review excerpt, Hallock asserts that "the focus upon one individual leaves Ambrose little textual room to explore the West."

In a small but telling coincidence, two very different books on the Lewis and Clark expedition begin in the same way, with the author revealing where he first read the *Journals*. Stephen Ambrose borrowed the Nicholas Biddle edition from his aunt in 1975, plowed through the set, and the rest is (shall we say) history: the following summer, Ambrose celebrated the Bicentennial with his family, friends, and 25 students at Lemhi Pass, where the Corps of Discovery crossed the Continental Divide; he has traced the country almost every year since that glorious Fourth of July; patriotism and a profound identification with Meriwether Lewis breathe through his biography of the explorer. Paying quieter homage, Albert Furtwangler recalls the pleasure of reading Bernard DeVoto's classic abridgement on a crosscountry train home from college, and credits—in addition to the requisite camping trips along the company's trail—the education from elementary through graduate school that made the *Journals* accessible to him. Something about the subject of Lewis and Clark produces deeply personal scholarship. Both of these studies are thoroughly researched and well written; their poignancy, however, derives to a large part from the authors' candidly stated involvement in the material.

This personal stake presents some risks, of course. The expedition offers notoriously unstable ground for writers, and a close identification with Lewis and Clark leaves open the same narrative pitfalls that the original journalists met. The Corps of Discovery was (among other things) a state-of-the-art gathering machine, its leaders fulfilled this aspect of their mission admirably, and collected more knowledge about the West than any one person could ever catalogue alone. The late Donald Jackson called Lewis and Clark "the writingest explorers ever," and the literature generated by the trek—not just the *Journals* and related documents, but countless articles, a shelf of monographs, even a quarterly publication—takes years to master. One writes in retrospect about the journey by necessity, because of the time needed to sift through the primary material and relevant scholarship. The question of time, moreover, points to a second problem: organization. How does one collate into a single, intelligible account the embarrassment of riches that the Corps of Discovery amassed?

The opening of the West offers many great and tragic stories; just figuring out how to assemble the many stories is one of them. From the beginning, the conventions of 18th-century travel literature suggested two narrative modes to Lewis and Clark, each with its own structuring basis. The first, a surveyor's log or itinerary, followed a largely chronological plan, noting the events of the day as they arose. Clark wrote this way, and his consistent—if not tedious—diary forms the bulk of the *Journals*. Lewis, on the other hand, thought on a much grander scale than his partner, and would supplement the daily record with the static form of a scientific or geographic essay. Although several discourses were at work, the more-schooled of the two Captains probably sought to fuse the voyage motif with a Western version of Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia*. A



prospectus released in 1807 promised a four-volume, encyclopedic account of Louisiana: the first two installments would provide maps and a narrative of the journey, and the next two would catalogue the flora, fauna, and native inhabitants of the territory. A definitive, first-hand edition never materialized however. For reasons partly related to this authorial burden, Lewis took his own life in 1809. Jefferson and Clark (a military man but no author) scrambled to make alternatives, but the resulting *History of the Expedition of Captains Lewis and Clark* included only the daily record, and contained almost no scientific or ethnographic data. As a result of this lapse in publishing the full journals, Lewis's fieldwork in botany and zoology passed unnoticed for almost a century, and his codices of Native American languages disappeared altogether. Negotiating this same, fundamentally narrative chasm—between a linear travelogue and the tableau of a natural history has become the challenge to many later scholars who would write about the expedition.

Undaunted Courage occasionally sneaks past the problem by sticking close to its subject. All points of Stephen Ambrose's compass lead to the Louisiana Purchase. "From the west-facing window of the room in which Meriwether Lewis was born," the life begins, "one could look out at Rockfish Gap, in the Blue Ridge Mountains, an opening to the West that invited exploration." Fate appears to beckon the swaddled Virginian across the continent, and the biography—which rarely tarries or disappoints—hurries toward this promised journey. After dispensing with a few thin chapters on the early life (appetizers for the main course), Ambrose shows how a combination of family ties, luck, and ability secured Lewis's commission to survey the territory. More thorough discussions of a two-year apprenticeship under Jefferson and tutorials with leading minds of the American Enlightenment demonstrate how preparation on the part of Jefferson and his protégé yielded success on the frontier; the book does not hit full stride, however, until the Corps of Discovery actually turns its fleet upriver. With a level of detail that practically places readers on board one of the company's pirogues, Ambrose follows the travellers' path to the headwaters of the Missouri and over the Rockies, he suffers with the unit through a soggy winter on the Pacific Coast, and he comments insightfully on the party's hurried return to St. Louis. Not surprisingly, the author of a definitive study on D-Day shrewdly appraises army matters—the troop's discipline and arsenal, key tactical decisions—to show how the Captains' military acumen ensured a remarkably peaceful passage through several hotly-disputed zones.

The sad fate of Meriwether Lewis and the central tragedy of this biography, however, is that his triumph as an officer brought personal catastrophe. The return from his "tour" reaped expected rewards plus some unexpected temptations. The latter proved fatal. In Washington, Lewis became the toast of the town, deepening his problem with alcohol. With the appointment to govern Louisiana came controversies and headaches—worsened by a habit of dashing off "chits," or expenses, to the federal government—that exacerbated his already unstable condition. The hero fell into a steady decline. The last and very gripping chapters of this biography trace how a series of mishaps, an illness recognized only today as depression, and chemical dependence culminated in Lewis's suicide. A shady death on the Natchez Trace in Tennessee brings the life full circle: from the western-facing room where he was born, to the territory that



he explored, to his demise at age 36—having accomplished only a fraction of his initial promise.

The cradle to early grave format of *Undaunted Courage* moves quickly, too quickly, for the focus upon one individual leaves Ambrose little textual room to explore the West that proved bigger than his subject. In one of the book's many novelistic flourishes, the biographer portrays the party on the eve of its departure, standing on the western bank of the Mississippi:

Let's go! one can almost hear the men of the Corps of Discovery crying to the Captains. Let's go, for God's sake. Lewis decided no, not yet.

It is difficult to determine who felt most impatient to embark at this point—the soldiers, Clark, Lewis, or Ambrose. The hurried pace certainly keeps the story moving. Paragraphs are short, some sentences just phrases: "Another day on the river. Making about eighteen miles per day. Endless. Exhausting." The division of chapters by dates and the page-turning prose raises problems, however, as Ambrose struggles to account for the full range of the expedition's responsibilities. Chains of short sections that compose a chapter often lack cohesion from one to the next; facing pages can range from observations on geography and medicine to comments on the food and natural history; footnotes attempt to catch loose ends but only recall a basic question: how does one catalogue so much material? The effort to keep the party on a steady pace upstream, while juggling incompatible narrative strands, sometimes makes the territory seem like an obstacle course, placed there by destiny for the company to master. The book rarely considers the world from outside the perspective of the Corps of Discovery. In particular, a series of questionable "firsts" west of the Mississippi (first election, first map, etc.) suggests that the historical calendar for one-half of the continent began at 1804. Ambrose writes powerfully about Lewis because he can walk in the explorer's moccasins, yet this reluctance to step out of them occasionally leaves *Undaunted Courage* open to the same problems that defeated the explorer-author: namely, the journey produced more data than any individual could ever collate into a coherent account.

Source: Thomas Hallock, "Cataloguing Discovery," in *Virginia Quarterly Review*, Vol. 73, No. 1, Winter 1997, pp. 183-87.



Critical Essay #4

In the following review, Viola finds that "Ambrose presents a carefully-written, well-balanced and thoroughly researched biography of Lewis as well as a compelling history of the expedition."

Thomas Jefferson, the grand architect of Manifest Destiny, ventured no farther west than the Blue Ridge Mountains, yet he determined the westward course of American expansion as deftly as he charted his country's route to political independence. Our nation's territorial growth in large part is owing to Jefferson's vision, pragmatism, and, perhaps most important, scientific curiosity. His eyes to the West were provided by his protégé Meriwether Lewis who, with his companion William Clark, unlocked the secrets of the trans-Mississippi West.

Jefferson had looked longingly toward the West for many years, but not until he became president could he turn his dream into a reality. The Louisiana Purchase was fortuitous, but Jefferson would have sent an expedition to the Pacific Coast had that welcome opportunity failed to materialize.

The person Jefferson hand-picked to lead the Corps of Discovery was Lewis, son of a family friend and a man well known to the president. For two years Lewis lived with Jefferson at Monticello and at the president's house in Washington, giving them ample time to plan their grand adventure. It was Lewis who felt the need for a co-commander and who picked William Clark, younger brother of Revolutionary War hero George Rogers Clark. The elder Clark had been Jefferson's first choice to lead such an expedition, but he had declined the invitation.

By any standard, the Lewis and Clark expedition was as successful as it was monumental. Accompanied by Clark's slave York and a young Shoshone woman, Sacagawea, the members of the Corps of Discovery were the first Americans to cross this vast continent. They not only survived, they thrived, despite encountering hazards from angry Indians to aggressive grizzly bears. Indeed, they lost only one companion, and that was probably the result of a ruptured appendix.

Although the story of the expedition has often been told and detailed journals and diaries of the explorers have been published in a variety of editions, here is a study that merits attention from both history buffs and scholars. Stephen E. Ambrose presents a carefully written, well-balanced, and thoroughly researched biography of Lewis as well as a compelling history of the expedition.

Particularly valuable is Ambrose's profile of Lewis, a person who has defied understanding. That someone so gifted and so respected would take his life senselessly and needlessly seems improbable. Some historians have therefore preferred to believe he fell at the hands of robbers or assassins. Ambrose has uncovered considerable evidence to suggest otherwise. Lewis was probably a manic depressive who suffered from alcoholism and drug abuse. By making him governor of Louisiana Territory,



Jefferson thought he was giving his protégé an appropriate reward, but, Ambrose believes, the appointment was "a frightful misjudgment." Lewis was entirely unsuited for the job. He may have been an excellent army officer, but he was a terrible politician, incapable of compromise, short tempered, and arrogant. That the two people who knew Lewis best—Jefferson and Clark—had no doubt that he committed suicide should satisfy even the most skeptical.

Sadly, Lewis's suicide deprived the Corps of Discovery of the acknowledgment it richly deserved for its amazing success and remarkable discoveries. Because Lewis failed to publish the journals in a timely manner, others later received credit for identifying and naming the flora and fauna that Lewis and Clark discovered and described. Only with Reuben Gold Thwaites's edition of their journals, published at the start of the twentieth century, did the explorers begin to receive appropriate recognition for their efforts.

Ambrose has done a remarkable job ferreting out little-known and obscure documents and facts relating to the expedition. He is also generous in crediting scholars whose efforts facilitated his own research. Superb as this book is, however, there are a few minor caveats. This reviewer was surprised to see Ambrose leave readers with the image of a seemingly heartless Clark whipping his slave York instead of freeing him as a reward for his considerable contribution to the expedition's success. Clark later did free York and set him up in business in St. Louis. Ambrose is also silent about Sacagawea's later life. Did she die young, as most scholars believe, or did she live to a ripe old age, as some claim? As with Lewis's suicide, it would be nice to resolve that mystery as well.

Source: Herman J. Viola, Review of *Undaunted Courage*, in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. LIV, No. 1, January 1997, pp. 273-74.



Critical Essay #5

In the following review, Eckberg asserts that Ambrose "superbly conveys the essence" of Lewis and Clark and their famous expedition.

The 1803-1806 Lewis and Clark expedition was conceived by the young republic's most visionary president and conducted under scrupulous military organization and leadership. Launched into the unknown, its potential for marvelous discovery was tempered by an equally unsettling prospect of its unforeseeable demise. The palpable tension between these outcomes makes for a story more compellingly told in the eyewitness accounts of its participants.

Stephen E. Ambrose, author of a definitive history of D-Day, revisits this earlier military mission and superbly conveys the essence of the two men most responsible for its inception, its success, and its national repercussions. Ambrose fills a void on Meriwether Lewis unaddressed since Richard Dillon's 1965 biography, by drawing substantially on the subsequent work of expedition scholars Donald Jackson, Paul Russell Cutright, James P. Ronda, and notably Gary E. Moulton. The result is a masterful retelling of Thomas Jefferson's long-cherished vision of an exploration to the Pacific via the Missouri and Columbia rivers, and the officer uniquely qualified to advance its commercial, diplomatic, and scientific imperatives.

Ambrose reads well; the cadence of dipping oars, the desperate crossing of the Rocky Mountains, the patient if misguided Indian diplomacy resonate with immediacy and drama. The synergy between Jefferson and his young protege, and the nuances of Lewis's complex personality and command presence, are reinforced with every page. Lewis's intense preparation, his precise and prodigious description of flora and fauna new to western science, and his expedition's steady conduct unfurl like a well-coordinated battle plan. Dwight Eisenhower's biographer even correlates Ike's famous aphorism on that subject with that of Lewis's exploration: "plans are everything, but worthless when the shooting begins."

Ambrose's assessment of Lewis as a company commander is less satisfying. While possessing all requisites, Lewis's impetuosity and quirky moodiness were evidence of the manic-depressive disorder Ambrose persuasively argues Lewis suffered. These fleeting episodes were balanced by co-commander William Clark, an equal leader in the eyes of the enlisted volunteers of the Corps of Discovery, without whom Lewis and the exploration would not likely have fared as well. Similarly, Ambrose's characterization of Lewis the naturalist, whose inexplicable procrastination long delayed publication of his writings and thus "cheated himself out of a rank not far below Darwin as a naturalist" is extreme but excusable.

Ambrose's most useful contributions precede and follow the expedition narrative. He explores the violent, contradictory milieu of Virginia's tobacco aristocracy, whose addiction to slavery and land consumption were formative to Albemarle County planters Jefferson and Lewis. Tobacco exhausted the land; planters engaged in rife speculation



to gain more. "Small wonder Jefferson was so obsessed with securing an empire for the United States." Likewise, Lewis's abortive post-expedition career as territorial governor of Louisiana was punctuated by expansive speculation in western lands and fur trade ventures. The able military explorer, who did more to open the West to settlement, did an about face as political appointee by seeking its constraint in furtherance of Indian policy, while continuing to speculate. The tragic events leading to his suicide belie Meriwether Lewis's potential for continued, extraordinary service to his country.

Ambrose acknowledges the critical contribution of Gary E. Moulton, whose edited University of Nebraska edition of the journals of Lewis and Clark were integral to his own exploration of Meriwether Lewis. Having published the atlas and captains' journals, Moulton now incorporates the accounts of Sergeants John Ordway and Charles Floyd in a volume that sustains the reputation of its predecessors for outstanding scholarship and painstaking annotation.

Jefferson suggested to Lewis that "attendants" make verbatim copies of the captains' writings against loss of the originals. The captains modified this by ordering their sergeants to keep separate daily accounts. Before departing Fort Mandan in April 1805, Lewis wrote Jefferson that while all the men were now encouraged to keep journals, seven were so doing. Four enlisted men's journals (Ordway, Floyd, Sergeant Patrick Gass, and Private Joseph Whitehouse) are extant. Counting Floyd, Moulton posits Sergeant Nathaniel Pryor and privates Robert Frazer and Alexander Willard as the likely others. "One way or another a considerable part of the record appears to be lost, perhaps forever."

As senior sergeant, Ordway was in charge when the captains were away from the main body of the expedition. His account is the most complete, the sole member to never miss any of 863 days. Ordway exhibits interest and curiosity in the new country and its inhabitants but refrains from personal insights into its participants and commanders, an intriguing possibility from the vantage of the unit's "top sergeant." Discreet and professional, "like the captains he was writing a public document, not a private record of emotions." It appears for the first time together with the other records of the exploration.

Charles Floyd's August 20, 1804 death ended a record of the journey that is the poorer for his tragic loss. The only member to die en route, Floyd corroborated and contributed additional details beyond the captains' observations. Like Ordway, Floyd's terse, telegraphic style lends staccato urgency to his narrative. Leaders in their own right, these subcommanders of the Lewis and Clark expedition compel a realization that all shared equally in this grand adventure. Their surviving accounts give us an inclusive sense of making history with them.

Source: Scott B. Eckberg, Review of *Undaunted Courage*, in *Journal of the Early Republic*, Vol. 16, No. 4, Winter 1996, pp. 672-74.



Quotes

"From the west-facing window of the room in which Meriwether Lewis was born on August 18, 1774, one could look out at Rockfish Gap, in the Blue Ridge Mountains, an opening to the West that invited exploration. The Virginia Piedmont of 1774 was not the frontier—that had extended beyond the Allegheny chain of mountains, and a cultured plantation life was nearly a generation old—but it wasn't far removed. Traces of the old buffalo trail that led up Rockfish River to the Gap still remained. Deer were exceedingly plentiful, black bear common. An exterminating war was being waged against wolves. Beaver were on every stream. Flocks of turkeys thronged the woods. In the fall and spring, ducks and geese darkened the rivers.

"Lewis was born in a place where the West invited exploration but the East could provide education and knowledge, where the hunting was magnificent but plantation society provided refinement and enlightenment, where he could learn wilderness skills while sharpening his wits about such matters as surveying, politics, natural history, and geography." (Chapter 1, p. 19)

"Thus Lewis's first task as Jefferson's secretary was to go through a roster from the War Department listing all commissioned officers. Using a simple code of symbols (+++, or 00, or #, etc.), Lewis passed a judgment on every officer in the army. There were eleven symbols in all. The first 'denotes such officers as are of the 1st Class, so esteemed from a superiority of genius & Military proficiency.' The second showed 'officers of the second class, respectable.' The third listed 'the same. Republican.' The fourth covered officers whose politics Lewis could not 'positively ascertain.' Fifth, officers without politics. Sixth, those 'Opposed to the Administration, otherwise respectable.' Seventh, 'More decisively opposed to the Administration.' Eighth, 'Most violently opposed to the administration and still active in its vilification.' Ninth, professional soldiers without a political creed. Tenth, 'Unworthy of the commissions they bear.' Finally, 'Unknown to us.'

"Jefferson did not take a meat ax to the Federalists on Lewis's list. If one puts the list beside the names of the officers dismissed from the service, it is clear that in the winnowing process military qualifications were given much greater consideration than party preference. Federalist officers rated superior by Lewis retained their commissions; of those rated acceptable, seven of eighteen were retained. This was good politics as well as good military policy; Jefferson wanted to bring the country together, not make it more divided than it already was, and of course he hoped to win over at least some Federalists to his cause, so he had to keep some Federalists in the army. But all except one of those noted as 'Most violently opposed to the administration' were dropped." (Chapter 5, p. 61)

"At Harpers Ferry, he got fifteen muzzle-loading, flintlock, long-barreled rifles, sometimes called 'Kentucky' but more properly 'Pennsylvania rifles.' They were the *sine qua non* of the expedition. On them depended the food supply and self-defense.



"They were absolutely dependable—the U.S. Model 1803, the first rifle specifically designed for the U.S. Army, .54-caliber, with a thirty-three inch barrel. Lewis referred to these weapons as short rifles, for they were considerably shorter than the civilian Pennsylvania rifle. The Model 1803 delivered a lead slug on target with sufficient velocity to kill a deer at a range of about a hundred yards. An expert could get off two aimed shots in one minute. Lewis also selected pipe tomahawks and ordered the artisans at Harpers Ferry to make three dozen. He picked up fish gigs, knives, and so on.

"Mainly, however, he supervised the construction of the iron boat frame. It was so important to him that he stayed on at Harpers Ferry for a month, instead of the week he had planned." (Chapter 7, p. 85)

"Lewis had proceeded only three miles when he pulled over at an island and at the request of the pioneers living on it gave a demonstration of his air gun, purchased from gunsmith Isaiah Lukens of Philadelphia. It was a pneumatic rifle. The stock was the reservoir, and it could be pumped full of air to a pressure of five or six hundred psi, at which point it was not much inferior in hitting power to the Kentucky rifle. That it produced no smoke or noise astonished the frontiersmen.

"Lewis fired seven times at fifty-five yards 'with pretty good success.' He passed the curiosity around for examination. It went off accidentally; the ball passed through the hat of a woman about forty yards off, 'cutting her temple; she fell instantly and the blood gushing from her temple. we were all in the greatest consternation supposed she was dead but in a minute she revived to our enespressable satisfaction, and by examination we found the wound by no means mortal or even dangerous.' Never again did he pass the air gun around when it was pumped up and loaded.

"The expedition returned to the river. After a mile or so, 'we were obliged to get out all hands and lift the boat over about thirty yards.' Then another ripple. And another. The captain got out too, and pulled or lifted. Twice. A third time. Fortunately, the water was temperate, but when Lewis had the boat put ashore for the night, having gone only ten miles downstream, he 'was much fatigued after labouring with my men all day. Gave my men some whiskey and retired to rest at 8 O'clock.'" (Chapter 9, p. 108)

"On June 17, Clark complained, 'The party is much afflicted with Boils and Several have the Decissentary, which I contribute to the water which is muddy.' The next day, several men had 'the Disentary, and two thirds of them with ulsers or Boils, Some with 8 or 10 of those Tumers.'

"Lewis agreed with Clark's diagnosis, that the water was to blame. The captains urged the men to dip their cups below the surface when they went for a drink of water. The surface water was full of scum, mud, and debris; if the men dipped deep, they would get cleaner water.

"The captains were undoubtedly right about the bad effects of the water, but an equal culprit in bringing on the boils and other skin problems was their diet. Only on the rarest



of occasions did the party get fresh vegetables, such as watercress, and there was no ripe fruit as yet. Roman legions put vinegar in their drinking water, but Lewis and Clark had taken no such precaution. They and their men were living on meat and cornmeal. The meat was contaminated with bacteria (of whose existence they were unaware). Infected mosquito bites also contributed to their ailments.

"In camp, ticks and gnats were bad, mosquitoes a plague. They came up in droves, so thick that the men could not keep them out of their eyes, noses, ears, and throats. To escape, men stood in the smoke of the fire and coated their exposed limbs, neck, and face with voyager's grease." (Chapter 12, p. 147)

"The soldiers, meanwhile, enjoyed the favors of the Arikara women, often encouraged to do so by the husbands, who believed that they would catch some of the power of the white men from such intercourse, transmitted to them through their wives. One warrior invited York to his lodge, offered him his wife, and guarded the entrance during the act. York was said to be 'the big Medison.' Whether the Indians got white or black power from the intercourse cannot be said, but what they had gotten for sure from their hospitality to previous white traders was venereal disease, which was rampant in the villages and passed on to the men of the expedition." (Chapter 15, p. 180)

"He was entering a heart of darkness. Deserts, mountains, great cataracts, warlike Indian tribes—he could not imagine them, because no American had ever seen them. But, far from causing apprehension or depression, the prospect bought out his fullest talents. He knew that from now on, until he reached the Pacific and returned, he would be making history. He was exactly what Jefferson wanted him to be, optimistic, prudent, alert to all that was new about him, and able to describe the flora and fauna, the native inhabitants, and the skies above with scientific measurement. His health was excellent. His ambition was boundless. His determination was complete. He could not, would not, contemplate failure.

"Lewis had come to a point that he had longed for, worked for, dreamed of all his life.

"He was ready, intensely alive. Every nerve ending was sensitive to the slightest change, whether what the eye saw or the skin felt or the ears heard or the tongue tasted or the fingers touched. He had an endearing sense of wonder and awe at the marvels of nature that made him the nearly perfect man to be the first to describe the glories of the American West.

"He turned his face west. He would not turn it around until he reached the Pacific Ocean. He stepped forward, into paradise." (Chapter 18, p. 216)

"Sacagawea informed him that the expedition's camp was precisely on the spot where the Shoshones had been camped five years ago when a raiding party of Hidatsas discovered them. The Shoshones had retreated three miles upriver and hidden in a wood. But the Hidatsas had found and routed them, killing four men, four women, and a number of boys, and making prisoners of four boys and all the remaining women, including Sacagawea.



"I cannot discover that she shews any immotion of sorrow in recollecting this event,' Lewis concluded his journal entry relating Sacagawea's story, 'or of joy in being again restored to her native country; if she has enough to eat and a few trinkets to wear I believe she would be perfectly content anywhere.'

"One wonders if Lewis was comparing Sacagawea with the young black female slaves he had known, or with white women of his own class. One wonders too how the man who could be so observant about so many things, including the feelings and point of view of his men, could be so unobservant about Sacagawea's situation. A slave, one of only two in the party, she was also the only Indian, the only mother, the only woman, the only teen-aged person. Small wonder she kept such a tight grip on her emotions." (Chapter 21, pp. 259-260)

"He concluded his August 18 journal entry with an oft-quoted passage of introspection and self-criticism. 'This day I completed my thirty first year,' he began. He figured he was halfway through his life's journey. 'I reflected that I had as yet done but little, very little indeed, to further the hapiness of the human race, or to advance the information of the succeeding generation. I viewed with regret the many hours I have spend in indolence, and now soarly feel the want of that information which those hours would have given me had they been judiciously expended.'

"He shook the mood, writing that, since the past could not be recalled, 'I dash from me the gloomy thought and resolved in future, to redouble my exertions and at least indeavour to promote those two primary objects of human existence, by giving them the aid of that portion of talents which nature and fortune have bestoed on me...' and here he seems to have lost his train of though. Whatever the cause, he forgot to name those 'two primary objects of human existence,' and instead ended, 'in future, to live for *mankind*, as I have heretofore lived *for myself*.'" (Chapter 22, pp. 279-280)

"By the standards of today's canoeists, this was a Class V rapid, meaning it could not be run even in a modern canoe specially designed for whitewater. The natives, expert canoeists themselves, did not believe Lewis and Clark could do it in their big, heavy dugouts. They gathered by the hundreds along the banks to watch the white men drown themselves, and to be ready to help themselves to the abandoned equipment afterward. But, to the astonishment of the Indians, the Americans made the run without incident." (Chapter 24, p. 301)

"He was alone for about twenty minutes, in a state of anxiety and suspense. Finally the party returned, with Cruzatte, who absolutely denied having shot the captain and swore he had never heard Lewis call to him.

"I do not beleive that the fellow did it intentionally,' Lewis wrote, but neither did he believe Cruzatte's denials. He had the bullet in his hand; it was a .54 caliber, from a U.S. Army Model 1803, not a weapon any Indian was likely to have. He conjectured that, after shooting his captain in the ass, Cruzatte decided to deny everything. (Sergeants Ordway and Gass, who were with the party when it met Cruzatte, wrote in their journals that, as far as they could tell, Cruzatte was entirely ignorant of having shot Lewis.)



"Sergeant Gass helped Lewis get out of his clothes. Lewis dressed his wounds himself as best he could, introducing rolls of lint into the holes on each side of his buttocks (so that the wound would stay open and new tissue could grow from the inside out)." (Chapter 30, p. 386)

"On a more personal side, he had seen wonderful things. He had traveled through a hunter's paradise beyond anything any American had ever before known. He had crossed mountains that were greater than had ever before been seen by any American, save the handful who had visited the Alps. He had seen falls and cataracts and raging rivers, thunderstorms all but beyond belief, trees of a size never before conceived of, Indian tribes uncorrupted by contact with white men, canyons and cliffs and other scenes of visionary enchantment.

"A brave new world.

"And he had been first. Everyone who has ever paddled a canoe on the Missouri, or the Columbia, does so in the wake of the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Everyone who crosses the Lolo Trail walks in their footsteps.

"Furthermore, the journals of Lewis and Clark provided the introduction to and serve as the model for all subsequent writing on the American West." (Chapter 30, pp. 394-395)

"Lewis returned to Barton the copy of Antoine du Pratz's *History of Louisiana* that Barton had loaned him on the eve of his departure. On the flyleaf, Lewis wrote: 'Dr. Benjamin Smith Barton was so obliging as to lend me this copy of Monsr. Du Pratz' History of Louisiana in June 1803, it has since been conveyed by me to the Pacific Ocean through the interior of North America on my late tour thither and is now returned to it's proprietor by his Friend and Obt. Srvt. Meriwether Lewis, Philadelphia, May 9, 1807.'

"The inscribed book is today in the Library Company, Philadelphia, a piece of Americana beyond price. The book, along with the others in Lewis's traveling library, was one of the few artifacts to go coast-to-coast and back with Lewis. Aside from the books and the then blank journals, almost everything else he took with him from Philadelphia in 1803—medicines, portable soup, scientific instruments, trade goods, and the rest—was either used up on the voyage or sold at auction in St. Louis when he returned. About the only other item Lewis carried from Pittsburgh to the Pacific and back was his rifle.

"Books, the journals, and a rifle—these were Meriwether Lewis's essentials. With them, he had conquered and described a wilderness." (Chapter 33, p. 422)

"Mrs. Grinder began to prepare a bed for him, but he stopped her and said he would sleep on the floor, explaining that since his journey to the Pacific he could no longer sleep on a feather bed. He had Pernier bring in his bear skins and buffalo robe and spread them on the floor. While Pernier was getting the bedded, Lewis found some powder.

"Mrs. Grinder went to the kitchen to sleep, and the servants went to the barn, some two hundred yards distant.



"Lewis began pacing in his room. This went on for several hours. Mrs. Grinder, who was frightened and could not sleep, heard him talking aloud, 'like a lawyer.'

"Lewis got out his pistols. He loaded them and at some time during the early hours of October 11 shot himself in the head. The ball only grazed his skull.

"He fell heavily to the floor. Mrs. Grinder heard him exclaim, 'O Lord!'

"Lewis rose, took up his other pistol, and shot himself in his breast. The ball entered and passed downward through his body, to emerge low down on his backbone.

"He survived the second shot, staggered to the door of his room, and called out, 'O madam! Give me some water, and heal my wounds.'

"Lewis staggered outside, fell, crawled for some distance, raised himself by the side of a tree, then staggered back to his room. He scraped the bucket with a gourd for water, but the bucket was empty. He collapsed on his robes.

"At first light, the terrified Mrs. Grinder sent her children to fetch the servants. When they got to Lewis's room, they found him 'busily engaged in cutting himself from head to foot' with his razor.

"Lewis saw Pernier and said to him, 'I have done the business my good Servant give me some water.' Pernier did.

"Lewis uncovered his side and showed them the second wound. He said, 'I am no coward; but I am so strong, [it is] so hard to die.' He said he had tried to kill himself to deprive his enemies of the pleasure and honor of doing it.

"He begged the servants to take his rifle and blow out his brains, telling them not to be afraid, for he would not hurt them, and they could have all the money in his trunk.

"Shortly after sunrise, his great heart stopped beating." (Chapter 37, p. 465)

"In his 1813 letter, Jefferson wrote a one-sentence description of Lewis that is as fine a tribute to a subordinate as any president of the United States has ever written. It is impossible to imagine higher praise from a better source:

"Of courage undaunted, possessing a firmness & perseverance of purpose which nothing but impossibilities could divert from it's direction, careful as a father of those committed to his charge, yet steady in the maintenance of order & discipline, intimate with the Indian character, customs & principles, habituated to the hunting life, guarded by exact observation of the vegetables & animals of his own country, against losing time in the description of objects already possessed, honest, disinterested, liberal, of sound understanding and a fidelity to truth so scrupulous that whatever he should report would be as certain as if seen by ourselves, with all these qualifications as if selected and implanted by nature in one body, for this express purpose, I could have no hesitation in confiding the enterprize to him." (Chapter 38, p. 474)

Adaptations

A sound recording of *Undaunted Courage*, abridged by Harold Schmidt, was published by Simon & Schuster Audio in 1996.

A video recording of *Undaunted Courage* was produced by Dayton Duncan and Ken Burns. Duncan wrote the recording and Burns directed it. Turner Home Entertainment, 1997; available from PBS Home Video.

Ambrose maintains a web page at [http://www. stephenambrose.com/](http://www.stephenambrose.com/) (March 2001), with personal and professional information and links to sites with more media information on Ambrose.



Topics for Further Study

Examine early artwork of the American West, such as the paintings by George Catlin. What impression do you get of American Indian tribes or of the geography of the American West? Write a reader's response to one or more of these pieces of artwork.

Lewis underwent a quick course of scientific study before setting out on the expedition. Conduct research to find out more about early nineteenth-century scientific knowledge and learning.

How much help do you think this knowledge lent to Lewis on the expedition? Explain your answer. Ambrose states that Lewis probably suffered from depression. Find out more about how depression manifests itself and then write your own analysis of whether Lewis seemed to have suffered from depression.

Read another account of the Lewis and Clark expedition and compare it to *Undaunted Courage*.

Compare the leadership qualities of Lewis and Clark. Which man do you think was a more effective leader? Why do you think as you do? Give examples from the book to support your answer.

Ambrose asserts that Lewis was "the greatest of all American explorers, and in the top rank of world explorers." Do you agree or disagree with Ambrose? Draw on prior knowledge of famous explorers or conduct research as necessary to support your answer.



Compare and Contrast

Early 1800s: In 1803, after the Louisiana Purchase, the area of the United States is 1,716,003 square miles, stretching across the North American continent to the Rocky Mountains.

Today: The area of the United States is 3,717,796 square miles including Alaska and Hawaii.

Early 1800s: In 1805, the U.S. population is about 6.3 million, up 1 million from five years earlier. The western regions see enormous growth; for instance, the population of Louisiana grows from 77,000 in 1810 to 153,000 in 1820.

Today: The U.S. population is over 270 million.

Early 1800s: In 1803, war breaks out between longtime enemies France and Great Britain.

Today: Both France and Great Britain are members of the European Union (EU), an organization with the goal of creating economic and political ties among the countries of Europe. In 1999, the EU introduces the "euro" as its common currency.

Early 1800s: In 1803, vast quantities of the North American continent are completely unknown to Americans.

Today: In the 1990s, the United States enters into a new phase of space exploration. The United States also sends an unmanned probe to Mars. In 1997, Pathfinder travels over the planet's surface, collecting information and sending back images. In 1999, the United States launches another spacecraft headed for Mars.

Early 1800s: Very little about maintaining health and preventing disease is known. Aspirin has yet to be discovered although when Lewis gives his men the bark of willow for toothaches, he is essentially giving them aspirin. Another example is Lewis' use of mercury as a cure for syphilis, which may have contributed to the early deaths.

Today: Medicine continues to make progress. Biological researchers who use genetic engineering to alter genes hope that such research offers potential cures to human genetic disorders and some diseases.

Early 1800s: Agriculture is the mainstay of the U.S. economy.

Today: In the late 1990s, high-tech industries have offered many new career paths. Some of the biggest growth is in the computer-related fields, which need computer engineers, computer support specialists, database administrators, and systems analysts.



Early 1800s: The only form of communication between people in distant locations is through the mail, which is slow and unreliable. Sending mail between the Atlantic Coast and the Mississippi River takes six weeks or longer.

Today: People communicate using a number of methods. Almost all houses have telephones, and a growing number of households have personal computers equipped with email programs. By 1998, as many as sixty million Americans use the internet to obtain and share information.

What Do I Read Next?

Ambrose's *Crazy Horse and Custer* (1996) chronicles the striking similarities between the Sioux leader, Crazy Horse, and the U.S. general, William Custer, who faced each other in a deadly battle in 1876.

Erika Funkhouser's *Sureshot and Other Poems*, published in 1992, includes her long poem, "Bird Woman," in which she tries to enter the experience of Sacagawea.

Trail: The Story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1989), written by Louis Charbonneau, is a fictionalized account of the journey.

The Expeditions of Zebulon Pike (1987), by Zebulon Pike, tells of another important western exploration that took place in the American Southwest about the same time as the Lewis and Clark expedition.

The Making of Sacagawea: A Euro-American Legend (1996), by Donna J. Kessler, charts the evolution of the legend of Sacagawea.



Further Study

Allen, John Logan, *Lewis and Clark and the Image of the American Northwest*, Dover Publications, 1991.

This reissue of the 1975 book *Passage Through the Garden* deals with Lewis and Clark and the concept of North American geography at the time of the expedition.

Appelman, Roy, *Historic Places Associated with Their Transcontinental Exploration*, National Park Service, 1975.

The first half of this book presents a historic overview of the expedition, and the second half talks about the sites along the trail as they exist today.

Dillon, Richard, *Meriwether Lewis: A Biography*, National Park Service, 1975. This is an early biography of Lewis.

Duncan, Dayton, Lewis and Clark: An Illustrated History, Knopf, 1997.

This companion piece to the Ken Burns' documentary *Lewis and Clark: The Journey of the Corps of Discovery* includes contributions by Ambrose and other noted writers.

Jackson, Donald, Thomas Jefferson and the Stony Mountains:

Exploring the West from Monticello, University of Illinois Press, 1981.

This book explores the expedition from Jefferson's perspective.

Jones, Landon Y., *The Essential Lewis and Clark*, Ecco Press, 2000.

This book is made up of excerpts from the 1904-1905 original journal publication of the Lewis and Clark journals.

Ronda, James P., *Lewis and Clark Among the Indians*, University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

This book is considered the definitive work about the expedition's relations with native peoples.

Steffen, Jerome O., *William Clark: Jeffersonian Man on the Frontier*, University of Oklahoma Press, 1977.

This is a biography of Clark.



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Weaver, Gregory, "Corps of Courage," in *Indianapolis Star*, September 5, 2000, p. D01.

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Introduction

Purpose of the Book

The purpose of Nonfiction Classics for Students (NCfS) is to provide readers with a guide to understanding, enjoying, and studying novels by giving them easy access to information about the work. Part of Gale's □For Students□ Literature line, NCfS is specifically designed to meet the curricular needs of high school and undergraduate college students and their teachers, as well as the interests of general readers and researchers considering specific novels. While each volume contains entries on



□classic□ novels frequently studied in classrooms, there are also entries containing hard-to-find information on contemporary novels, including works by multicultural, international, and women novelists.

The information covered in each entry includes an introduction to the novel and the novel's author; a plot summary, to help readers unravel and understand the events in a novel; descriptions of important characters, including explanation of a given character's role in the novel as well as discussion about that character's relationship to other characters in the novel; analysis of important themes in the novel; and an explanation of important literary techniques and movements as they are demonstrated in the novel.

In addition to this material, which helps the readers analyze the novel itself, students are also provided with important information on the literary and historical background informing each work. This includes a historical context essay, a box comparing the time or place the novel was written to modern Western culture, a critical overview essay, and excerpts from critical essays on the novel. A unique feature of NCfS is a specially commissioned critical essay on each novel, targeted toward the student reader.

To further aid the student in studying and enjoying each novel, information on media adaptations is provided, as well as reading suggestions for works of fiction and nonfiction on similar themes and topics. Classroom aids include ideas for research papers and lists of critical sources that provide additional material on the novel.

Selection Criteria

The titles for each volume of NCfS were selected by surveying numerous sources on teaching literature and analyzing course curricula for various school districts. Some of the sources surveyed included: literature anthologies; Reading Lists for College-Bound Students: The Books Most Recommended by America's Top Colleges; textbooks on teaching the novel; a College Board survey of novels commonly studied in high schools; a National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) survey of novels commonly studied in high schools; the NCTE's Teaching Literature in High School: The Novel; and the Young Adult Library Services Association (YALSA) list of best books for young adults of the past twenty-five years. Input was also solicited from our advisory board, as well as educators from various areas. From these discussions, it was determined that each volume should have a mix of □classic□ novels (those works commonly taught in literature classes) and contemporary novels for which information is often hard to find. Because of the interest in expanding the canon of literature, an emphasis was also placed on including works by international, multicultural, and women authors. Our advisory board members□educational professionals□ helped pare down the list for each volume. If a work was not selected for the present volume, it was often noted as a possibility for a future volume. As always, the editor welcomes suggestions for titles to be included in future volumes.

How Each Entry Is Organized



Each entry, or chapter, in NCfS focuses on one novel. Each entry heading lists the full name of the novel, the author's name, and the date of the novel's publication. The following elements are contained in each entry:

- **Introduction:** a brief overview of the novel which provides information about its first appearance, its literary standing, any controversies surrounding the work, and major conflicts or themes within the work.
- **Author Biography:** this section includes basic facts about the author's life, and focuses on events and times in the author's life that inspired the novel in question.
- **Plot Summary:** a factual description of the major events in the novel. Lengthy summaries are broken down with subheads.
- **Characters:** an alphabetical listing of major characters in the novel. Each character name is followed by a brief to an extensive description of the character's role in the novel, as well as discussion of the character's actions, relationships, and possible motivation. Characters are listed alphabetically by last name. If a character is unnamed—for instance, the narrator in *Invisible Man*—the character is listed as "The Narrator" and alphabetized as "Narrator." If a character's first name is the only one given, the name will appear alphabetically by that name. Variant names are also included for each character. Thus, the full name "Jean Louise Finch" would head the listing for the narrator of *To Kill a Mockingbird*, but listed in a separate cross-reference would be the nickname "Scout Finch."
- **Themes:** a thorough overview of how the major topics, themes, and issues are addressed within the novel. Each theme discussed appears in a separate subhead, and is easily accessed through the boldface entries in the Subject/Theme Index.
- **Style:** this section addresses important style elements of the novel, such as setting, point of view, and narration; important literary devices used, such as imagery, foreshadowing, symbolism; and, if applicable, genres to which the work might have belonged, such as Gothicism or Romanticism. Literary terms are explained within the entry, but can also be found in the Glossary.
- **Historical Context:** This section outlines the social, political, and cultural climate in which the author lived and the novel was created. This section may include descriptions of related historical events, pertinent aspects of daily life in the culture, and the artistic and literary sensibilities of the time in which the work was written. If the novel is a historical work, information regarding the time in which the novel is set is also included. Each section is broken down with helpful subheads.
- **Critical Overview:** this section provides background on the critical reputation of the novel, including bannings or any other public controversies surrounding the work. For older works, this section includes a history of how the novel was first received and how perceptions of it may have changed over the years; for more recent novels, direct quotes from early reviews may also be included.
- **Criticism:** an essay commissioned by NCfS which specifically deals with the novel and is written specifically for the student audience, as well as excerpts from previously published criticism on the work (if available).



- Sources: an alphabetical list of critical material quoted in the entry, with full bibliographical information.
- Further Reading: an alphabetical list of other critical sources which may prove useful for the student. Includes full bibliographical information and a brief annotation.

In addition, each entry contains the following highlighted sections, set apart from the main text as sidebars:

- Media Adaptations: a list of important film and television adaptations of the novel, including source information. The list also includes stage adaptations, audio recordings, musical adaptations, etc.
- Topics for Further Study: a list of potential study questions or research topics dealing with the novel. This section includes questions related to other disciplines the student may be studying, such as American history, world history, science, math, government, business, geography, economics, psychology, etc.
- Compare and Contrast Box: an "at-a-glance" comparison of the cultural and historical differences between the author's time and culture and late twentieth century/early twenty-first century Western culture. This box includes pertinent parallels between the major scientific, political, and cultural movements of the time or place the novel was written, the time or place the novel was set (if a historical work), and modern Western culture. Works written after 1990 may not have this box.
- What Do I Read Next?: a list of works that might complement the featured novel or serve as a contrast to it. This includes works by the same author and others, works of fiction and nonfiction, and works from various genres, cultures, and eras.

Other Features

NCfS includes "The Informed Dialogue: Interacting with Literature," a foreword by Anne Devereaux Jordan, Senior Editor for Teaching and Learning Literature (TALL), and a founder of the Children's Literature Association. This essay provides an enlightening look at how readers interact with literature and how Nonfiction Classics for Students can help teachers show students how to enrich their own reading experiences.

A Cumulative Author/Title Index lists the authors and titles covered in each volume of the NCfS series.

A Cumulative Nationality/Ethnicity Index breaks down the authors and titles covered in each volume of the NCfS series by nationality and ethnicity.

A Subject/Theme Index, specific to each volume, provides easy reference for users who may be studying a particular subject or theme rather than a single work. Significant subjects from events to broad themes are included, and the entries pointing to the specific theme discussions in each entry are indicated in boldface.



Each entry has several illustrations, including photos of the author, stills from film adaptations (if available), maps, and/or photos of key historical events.

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