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**Review of *Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark* By
William E. Foley & *William Clark and the Shaping of the West* By
Landon Y. Jones**

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Following the Lewis and Clark expedition's return in 1806, almost a decade passed before the first official record of their journey was published by Nicholas Biddle and James Allen in 1814. Two hundred years later Gary E. Moulton's definitive thirteen-volume editing of the journals was completed. In the past two centuries dozens of books and thousands of articles have explored various aspects of the Corps of Discovery and its participants. Dozens of biographies have chronicled the lives of Meriwether Lewis, George Drouillard, York, and, especially, Sacagawea. Amazingly, William Clark has received little notice. One important exception was Jerome O. Steffen's 1977 thematic treatise on Clark as a Jeffersonian man on the American frontier. Though ignored for years, several studies have been or soon will be published, including James J. Holmberg's editing of almost fifty of William Clark's letters to his brother Jonathan Clark in *Dear Brother* (2002). William Foley and Landon Jones have now produced book-length biographies, fortuitously timed to correspond with the bicentennial's commemorations. From the outset, they are very different books.

Foley, an experienced historian of Missouri and fur trade history and editor of the Missouri Biography Series, provides a comprehensive account of Clark's multifaceted life. He stresses Clark's capabilities in mapping the route, transporting men and equipment, erecting winter posts, and negotiating with the tribes that met the Corps along the way. Moreover, Foley succeeds in demonstrating that the expedition was but one episode in Clark's "wilderness journey" that included soldiering in the Ohio campaigns before the expedition as well as an illustrious career in government administration in St. Louis after. In addition to his tenure as Missouri's only territorial governor, Clark served the government as an Indian agent and superintendent of Indian affairs for more than thirty years. Usually a kind and generous man committed to assisting friends and family in need, he was also, paradoxically,

Wilderness Journey: The Life of William Clark. By William E. Foley. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2004. xiv + 326 pp. Maps, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$29.95.

William Clark and the Shaping of the West. By Landon Y. Jones. New York: Hill and Wang, 2004. 394 pp. Maps, photographs, illustrations, notes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.

a severe master who exhibited cruel treatment toward his slaves.

Jones, former managing editor of *People* magazine, provides a newsy, journalistic rendition of the "shaping of the West" with Clark cast in the lead role. He, like Foley, faced the daunting task of understanding the complexities of the world wherein Clark operated and the complications exhibited in his character and behavior. Although Clark is the protagonist, more than bit parts are filled by others, like Clark's elder brother George Rogers Clark—simultaneously Revolutionary War hero and villainous Indian fighter. The elder Clark was unusually brutal in his dealings with Indians, exemplifying behavior common to many frontiersmen living in antebellum America. Jones provides vignettes of numerous individuals who helped shape William Clark's life: Anthony Wayne, James Wilkinson, Thomas Jefferson, Meriwether Lewis, John Jacob Astor, Robert Dickson, Nicholas Biddle, Henry Atkinson, Daniel Boone, and others. An Indian presence is achieved by Jones's incorporating words and actions of Little Turtle, Blue Jacket, Tecumseh, Keokuk, Kenekuk, Black Hawk, and other Indian leaders Clark knew.

One dimension of Clark's life that warrants additional investigation is his public career in Indian diplomacy. Clark supervised an unprecedented number of tribes from the West and the East and played a key role in Indian removal. Foley paints a picture of Clark as a dutiful soldier and bureaucrat committed to national expansion yet sympathetic to the plight brought about by Indian removal. Jones's more negative view portrays Clark overseeing and implementing America's disgraceful usurpation of Indian lands by treaty and war that all too often produced a dark and bloody ground.

Foley and Jones both use Clark's superintendency records at the Kansas State Historical Society, and Foley is to be particularly commended for working with several of the National Archives collections. Neither, however, has fully explored the numerous collections of letters sent and received by the

Secretary of War relating to Indian affairs, letters sent and received by the Superintendent of the Indian Trade, letters sent and received by the Office of Indian Affairs, and the records relating to the negotiations of ratified and unratified treaties. Both authors have made excellent use of published and unpublished manuscripts, particularly those in Missouri. Foley's citations are generally sound. Jones has taken more liberties in his documentation, and there are noticeable places where attribution could have been given.

Foley and Jones have done an admirable job of trying to uncover the real William Clark and to present his life in all of its complexities. They have succeeded in fleshing out his military service on the frontier, in recognizing his contributions on the expedition, in exposing his treatment of slaves, and in praising his excellent capacities in all of his familial relationships. They have also joined the discussion surrounding the tremendous changes that occurred in Indian country under Clark's watch and his efforts to serve as an intermediary and broker to the tribes he supervised.

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