

deprived Brazil's natives not just of mineral rights and labor but also of land, making it perhaps the most devastating model for contemporary peoples. However, this insight might have been woven into a more comprehensive "Iberian" treatment. Further, the chapter draws attention to Seed's silence about French and Dutch ideological and legal systems in the Americas and challenges to Spanish and British models in the land-poor and quickly depopulated Caribbean. Similarly, a chapter aptly titled "Fast Forward" flags the importance of the two-hundred year period between the colonial systems and present societies, but, in a mere ten pages, only hints at important connections and continuities.

American Pentimento raises the bar in the comparative tradition in Atlantic history by offering a new paradigm, not only of the "invention" of Indians as an ideological process, but also of the complex intertwining of morality, avarice, history, culture, and ideas drawn upon by European societies to justify their right to extract wealth—territories, minerals, labor—from the Americas. Reaching back, Seed demonstrates that it is imperative to understand the cultural origins of each colonizing society, and, looking forward, she convincingly shows how colonial ideologies defined the roles and boundaries that Native Americans seek to redefine in the present. For scholars and students of Atlantic history, this book is a virtuoso demonstration of how key themes such as cultural encounters, empire and governance, religion and society, Atlantic economy, and the circulation of ideas can, as the metaphor in Seed's title implies, be painted into a multilayered picture that, when scratched, reveals links between past and present. *American Pentimento* will provoke lively discussions in graduate seminars and advanced-level undergraduate courses in colonial, Atlantic, and, it is hoped, European intellectual history for some time to come.

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Dear Brother: Letters of William Clark to Jonathan Clark. Edited by James J. Holmberg. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, in association with the Filson Historical Society, 2002. Pp. xxx, 322. Illustrations, introduction, notes, sources cited, index. \$35.00.)

It has been William Clark's fate always to be overshadowed, first by his brother, George Rogers Clark, and subsequently by the mercurial Meriwether Lewis. Yet he was a considerable figure in his own right. A veteran of Indian wars in the Old Northwest before joining Lewis's great journey of discovery, he held important posts

thereafter, becoming brigadier general of militia and United States Indian agent for the Louisiana Territory in 1807 and governor of Missouri Territory in 1813. Based in Saint Louis after 1808, he was at the hub of western and Indian affairs. Throughout, Clark remained an entrepreneur at heart, but he also dabbled in ethnography and natural science. Yet, despite an honorable contribution from Jerome O. Steffen, published in 1977, no biographer has captured the fullness and complexity of Clark's career. When that task is undertaken, *Dear Brother* will prove itself an invaluable instrument.

The book publishes fifty-five letters written by William Clark, dated between 1792 and 1811, most of them addressed to his brother Jonathan and all but four only recently rediscovered. Clark was no belletrist. His spelling and grammar were eccentric, and his style was studiously matter-of-fact, while gaps in the correspondence damage continuity. But James J. Holmberg has edited the letters painstakingly, and his accompanying remarks and extensive notes streamline the collection and enhance its value considerably.

While only eight letters relate to the transcontinental expedition itself (all but one of them new), they supply lost details, and additional letters illuminate Clark's further dealings with members of the expedition. They provide fresh evidence of Lewis's troubled state of mind in 1809 and reinforce the probability that his mysterious death in Tennessee resulted from suicide. And there are revealing and tragic glimpses of York, Clark's slave, who accompanied him to the Pacific. Afterwards, York's desire to remain with his enslaved wife in Kentucky and his pride and "notion about freedom" (p. 183) created difficulties with Clark, earning him both a "Severe trouncing" and a spell of jail in 1809 (p. 201).

Indeed, slave management runs as a thread through the letters, which mirror the views of the day. Clark regarded slaves as chattels, to work, hire out, or sell at will. Not without compassion, he took measures to ensure slaves did not "Suffer when they have become infirm" (p. 251), but he regarded them as "Sleepy creatures" (p. 193) in need of occasional flogging. Similarly, Clark's eagerness to turn every opportunity to pecuniary advantage faithfully reflects his class and time. Within months of arriving in Saint Louis, he was assessing the profitability of lead mines, salt licks, and prairie land and planning to ship trade goods from the east to exploit local shortages. In 1809 he purchased a town lot "best Situated . . . for Commerce and Storehouses" (p. 189) and established the Missouri Fur Company. His activities exemplify the association of public service, economic enterprise, and territorial development.

The dispossession of the Indian was one inevitable consequence, and Clark himself helped liquidate the Osage title to land in 1808 "for a verry Small Sum" (p. 154). That said, historians familiar with Clark's detailed reports to the secretary of war will find little new about his important role in brokering peace between different groups

of Indians and the United States and in handling the growing native unrest in the years before and during the War of 1812. What this book does provide is useful vignettes of life on the upper Mississippi in the early nineteenth century and a sharper picture of Clark and his family that calls for a new biography. Coming as they do within years of the Lewis and Clark bicentennial, these letters cannot fail to excite interest.

JOHN SUGDEN, Cumbria, England, is author of *Tecumseh, A Life* (1998) and *Blue Jacket, Warrior of the Shawnees* (2000).

Tennessee Frontiers: Three Regions in Transition. By John R. Finger. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001. Pp. xxiii, 382. Illustrations, maps, essay on sources, index. \$39.95.)

Tennessee Frontiers is one of the volumes in the History of the Trans-Appalachian Frontier series from Indiana University Press. Some readers might question the wisdom of a series devoted to the study of American frontiers in this post-Turnerian age, and University of Tennessee historian John R. Finger addresses this issue head on, making a good case for the utility of a frontier framework for understanding the Anglicization of the region now encompassed by the state of Tennessee. Finger finds some of Frederick Jackson Turner's insights, "especially his suggestion of certain recurring patterns in the sequence of settlement zones," useful in explaining the transition of the Tennessee area from American Indian dominance to Euro-American control (p. xviii). According to Finger, Tennessee experienced several overlapping frontiers between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, with those of "land taking" and "market making" (the development of a market economy) being of particular importance. Finger argues two major themes: that opportunity in the form of land drove settlers into the region and that a marked tension between local autonomy and central authority characterized Tennessee in this formative period.

Finger, the author of two monographs on the eastern Cherokees, incorporates Indians into the story throughout the book and emphasizes that "Native American adaptability and creativity amid changing circumstances is one of the great underappreciated themes of frontier history" (p. 7). Indians such as the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Shawnees are portrayed by Finger as real people, who disagreed with one another while sometimes impeding Euro-American expansion and sometimes assisting it through warfare, treaties, and trade. Finger also pays notable attention to the diverse physical environment of Tennessee and the ways that nature shaped human actions while simultaneously being altered by settlers.

The bulk of the book follows a narrative format, with chapter-length excursions into the "social fabric" and the "frontier economy"