CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In this chapter, the writer was presenting the finding and corresponding discussions of the data. The finding of white American and Indian tribes' conditions before the expedition were presented in section 4.1, and the colonization issues were presented in section 4.2.

4.1. The Condition of White American and Indian Tribes

Virginia was founded as the first permanent English colony in the western hemisphere of America. Virginia had its own first representative assembly, the House of Burgesses. This self government was assembled to encourage people who sought more freedom to migrate to the new colony. The Virginia Company, the creator of the House of Burgesses, included a provision limiting the burgess's power; the provision required the company to approve any law enacted.

Virginia failed as a trading venture because the native people had no valuable crops or products to exchange for English goods, so that colonists turned to farming. Virginia had begun to prosper by growing tobacco and exporting it to England and made Virginia the first royal colony. The royal colony meant that the King from the imperial country had direct power to manage the colony and its commodities.

Such background formed the people of Virginia into a high standard society, Thomas Jefferson for instance. Jefferson was a philosopher, educator, naturalist, politician, scientist, architect, inventor, pioneer in scientific farming, musician, and writer, and the foremost spokesman for democracy of his time.

> A Virginia gentleman was expected to be hospitable and generous, courteous in his relations with his peers, chivalrous towards woman, and kind to his inferior. (P. 31)

Some excellence standards were made for Virginian people, such as hospitable, generous, courteous, chivalrous and kind to the inferior. These were made for the white American and long lingered before the Civil War happened. The standards showed that the white was superior and the perfect one than the native, the Indians, or the black men. Their attitudes reflected them as excellence and noble society member, the centre in the margin.

The centre and the margins were determined through skin colours and race. These were happened in the society at that time, further by the civilization issue, the centre became more and more superior. The one with such characters above surely would be assumed as the sophisticated person. However, whether being aware or not, people accepted the margins as the margins accepted the centre.

Those people only continued the tradition that being made by the colonial ancestor from the imperial country, England. Nevertheless, as stated by T.S. Elliot in his essay *Tradition and the Individual Talent*, tradition was not suddenly rooted in a place since it was need great labour to remain. Virginia was the first

permanent English colony and due to the fact they adopted the culture and attitude. It turned them into a mimic man. The life standard in the society such as politeness and education was copied from their predecessor as well. Another factor that may lead them to have such behaviours perhaps was the religion base, King James I allowed the priest to build an Anglican church. Surely, at first this church was build for the English colony. So that it was not extraordinary if the value of the religion brought by the Puritans affected their generation to generation. They asserted the basic of man sins also declared that by an eternal decree God has determined that some will be saved through the righteousness of Christ despite their sins.

Their attitude was, actually, political since politics can be applied through any life aspect. If they want to reinforce their status in the society, they should make the social structure or the social system (Rees, 1971). This division made the superior to get or maintain his power and authority; moreover the more he got power the more wealth and prestige he would receive.

So that when a white man was being chivalrous toward women, then he would be called a gentleman. Then he could get attention both from women and men for his attitude. When he became kind to his inferior (slaves), the slaves might respect him more. So such attitudes could not be denied having a political goal, behind the humanity value.

> In 1785, he [Thomas Jefferson] wrote, “I believe the Indian then to be in body and mind equal to the white man.” He thought the only difference between Indian and white men were religion and the savage behaviour of the Indians, which was caused by the environment in which the Indian lives.

> Never did he say that the perceived shortcomings of the Negro—such as laziness and thievery—were caused by their condition as slaves…When Jefferson or young Virginian like Lewis and Clark looked at an Indian, they saw a noble savage ready to be transformed into civilized citizen. When they looked at a Negro, they saw something less than a human, something more than an animal. (p. 55)

Lived side by side with the Virginians were Black people and the Indian natives. They were placing these two races in different place yet equal at the time. Seeing the background, Black men were brought to America as slaves who were the property of their masters and had no rights. The white men were unwilling to allow them to learn English properly, and most slaves were denied the opportunity to learn and read. Different to the natives, the white men were eager to allow and give any opportunity to learn.

Since the beginning Jefferson showed his dualism behaviour toward the Indians and the black people. When he wrote that the Indians were equal to the white man, he placed the black men in the same position as before. As the third president of United States, he had a double standard to the races in America. He compared them by their religion and behaviours, so that, although the Indians were savage people, they were considered as people affected by their environment and circumstances. While the black men were never appreciated as people and their behaviours were never considered caused by their position as slaves.

Alas, such attitudes were also showed by other Virginians, moreover Lewis and Captain Clark. They believed that the Indians were ‘the noble savage ready to be transformed into civilized citizen’. They assumed the Indians as the

noble savage because of the civilization they had, though both were agreed that the Indian were still needed to be civilized.

As stated by Minh-Ha that

> "They do not seem to realize the difference when they find themselves face to face with it—a difference which does not announce itself, which they do not quit anticipate and cannot fit into any single varying compartment of their catalogued world; a difference they keep on measuring with inadequate sticks designed for their own morbid purpose." (1989: 215)

Lewis and Captain Clark were unaware and unable to escape from the dualism, as well as Jefferson, due to when facing such condition they unable to foresee it. Therefore they could not be fair both to Indian American and the Black.

Sharpe stated that

> "The colonial subject was produced through a discourse of 'civility' straining to affect a closure in the case of subaltern, where the violence of the colonial encounter was all the more visible. The colonialist, in this case was the white men, thought civilized life were images that showed the natives being freed from despotic rule, rose from their ignorance, and saved from cruel and barbarous practices." (1989: 99-100)

Therefore, the colonizing culture as an agent of light would help the Indians to become a civilized nation. The Indians were assumed should be freed from the repressive rule and ignorance in their tribes covering the social and political organization as well as marriage and family life. They had certain systems to maintain their social and political life such as band, tribe, lineage, clan, association, phratry, moiety, chiefdom and confederacy. These systems were built from the simplest to the complex one depending on their life environment, necessities and traditions. In their tradition, marriage was a public relationship

between two families which had obligations toward the in-law family. Kinship held an important role in organizing family life, due to the bonds of kin helped to determine potential marriage partners, place to live, a person farmed or hunted or gathered with, and a person called on for aid and advice. Such conditions were not found in the white men traditions, so that it might be assumed as primitive rules and became the reason to civilize the Indians. But essentially, it showed how rich and civilized the Indians were and how dull the white men were.

Everything about human history, Said stated, was rooted in the earth, which has meant that habitation should be thought, but it had also meant that people have planned to have more territory and therefore must do something about its indigenous residents. The Indians were fully depending on the surrounded ecology, so that their culture surely was influenced by the earth conditions. When the European colonialist recognized the America's landscape diversities for the first time, they made categorizations as each region had its own characteristic habitat made up of the prevailing climate, landforms, and natural resources, including plant and animal life. Since each tribe or group had distinctive custom, making cultural generalizations was difficult to be made. They made such categorizations to get intense information on the residents and environment potentials, next to stretch their influence, control and obtain the potentials.

Hence when Jefferson, Lewis and Clark or other Virginians realized the Indian cultures were based on their indigenous habitats, they should also do the same way to the Black and themselves. Jefferson was grown up and mingled in a

sophisticated society, whether being aware or not, adopted the Virginian ancestor culture and tradition. Lewis was born, grown up and socialized in different environments, making him a mixed person. While Clark came from a farmer family turned into a military man. Those showed that three of them were having their environment influenced, but they still did not accept the fact on the Black.

> These Indian tribes were virtually unknown except to a handful of British and French fur traders…The Indians said their band of combined Otoes and Missouris numbered 250. They were a farming as well as a hunting people, with semi-permanent towns. (p. 154,156)

In 1804, the expedition corps encountered the town of Missouris and Otos but the town was empty since the people were away hunting buffalo. The Missouri Indians were part of the Southern Sioux tribes who lived along the Missouri River with the Oto Indians. They were buffalo-hunters and farmers lived in oven-shaped, earth-covered houses grouped into towns. They were unknown except for the British and French for their buffalo fur trading, the smallpox plague could be one reason that made their number decreased into 250 people.

Minh Ha stated that

> "the margins were sited for the centre's pilgrimage. In contrary, the margin thought the sites were their fighting ground and sites of survival. When the margins reclaimed the site as their exclusive territory, the centre approved it, since the divisions between margin and centre should be preserved and clearly demarcated, if the two positions were remain intact in their power relation." (1989: 215)

The pilgrimage of the centre to the exotic place of the margin happened to gain any information which could make the best strategy to implement the

influence. Lewis and Clark expedition corps as the centre was foreigners in the margin's site. They knew none about the ecology and only used the Captain's intuition. It was impossible for any foreigner to intact in a new place easily where the natives lived. To the natives, the place was their fighting ground and sites of survival or even a play ground for their descendants. Lewis and Clark comprehended their position as foreigners so that they reclaimed the Otos and Missouris exclusive territory and authority.

The relation between the discourse centring was on the production of the colonial subject and what it occluded as an eclipse was to see that the subaltern classes were not situated outside the civilizing project but were caught in the path of its route. It happened when the leading Missouri chief, Big Horse, and main Oto chief, Little Thief, met the corps in a place, named by Lewis, the Council Bluff. When the corps and the Indians observed each other, the production process of colonial subject was started and could be appeared from both sides.

During the council, the Indians were told that they would be provided trade and protection in place of their unreliable commerce with the French and the Spanish. Such situation could prevent war as well abolished and brought justice in their political relationship.

The double standard attitudes were made by the white men to master the natives. The used approaches were through the systems of politics, economics and culture. These three systems were able to master or only to influence the natives, since for their urgency in their social life. Therefore, the colonization issues were happened through these three systems in life.

4.2. Colonization Issues

As mentioned and described in section 4.1, the attitude of the white men toward the native could lead into the colonization. Their dualism perspectives and attitudes had created the colonization issues through three systems which were politics, economics and culture.

4.2.1 Politics

Politics may be discussed about the equality and justice as well peace and war. It influenced the way people lived. Politics was causing the appearance of social structure such as strata. It also could be a proper vehicle to execute someone's ambitions.

Politics was not only occur in a government but also in a small group of people, like an Indian band. When two groups with certain politics interacted, they would influence each other. The one with a weak political system would have no bargaining position. A group called as the weak in the political system when its policies could be interfered by others, so that the policies would change or absorb the others political views.

> Rivers dominated Jefferson's thinking about North America. For the immediate future, he was determined to get control of New Orleans for the United States, so as to prevent the West from breaking away from the United States… He [Thomas Jefferson] believed in what he called an "Empire of Liberty". "Our confederacy must be viewed as the nest from which all American, North or South, is to be peopled." (p.54, 56)

The rivers dominating Jefferson's thought were great rivers such as Columbia River, Missouri River, Yellowstone River, Mississippi River and Ohio River. Those rivers were upper course of the Pacific Ocean, due to North America was surrounded by three oceans: Pacific, Atlantic and Arctic. North America was also had three enormous coastal indentations: Hudson Bay in the northeast, Gulf of Mexico in the southeast and the Gulf of Alaska in the northwest.

These geographical descriptions were enough to make a man's ambition ablaze. Jefferson's eagerness to get control over the certain territory perhaps came into sight after he had power as a president. Triggered to keep his territory from European expansionists, he felt that he must reach the North America under his authority so that the territory would not separated from the United States and got into European hands.

Minh Ha said that the centre was the margin itself. This could happen when the expedition corps entered the Indian's territories. It might caused by the natives and the foreigner's issue. Jefferson knew that every territory was surely inhabited by people who possessed the land and would do anything to hold on it. So it would not be easy to expanse his power in the name of United States. Moreover, in that territory Jefferson and other white men just the margin for the Indians. So that, the centre could be the margin in the same time depending on the situation and place where they were exist.

In such circumstances, the probability of the appearance of the mimic man was significance through a "figure", as Sharpe thought. This figure kept his own identity but mixed it with other identity so that he could be accepted in both

sides. Lewis's performance, for example, with his mixed background came with animal fur cap, his clothes almost similar with the Indians, his moccasin shoes as well; he always had his dagger on his right waist. But in the expedition corps first departed, he wore a complete uniform like Captain Clark did. Their long rifles, fancy coats, the shiny medals and put the Red and Stripes in the air. This performance could not be denied to intimidate the margin, the Indians. They would like to show that they were men with civilization came to help the Indians from their savage lives.

Jefferson's statement to Lewis that he believed that he was able to build an empire of liberty was limp, due to he also said that the people should be peopled. He spoke about justice but the application was not. He wanted to spread the liberty and democracy to 'peopled' people by doing hidden colonization through his politics. Alas, the Indians were people with politics as well so that during the expedition, the corps would have great heavy deals with certain tribes who have stable and strong politics systems. Next, the bargaining position was held as well by the Indians.

Rees quoted James Burnham in his book, Equality: Key Concept in Political Science, that

> "society cannot exist without a 'dominant' or 'political class, and the ruling class, whilst its elements are subject to a frequent partial renewal, nevertheless constitutes the only factor of sufficiently durable efficacy in the history of human development. According to this view, the government cannot be anything without other than the organization of a minority. It is the aim of this minority to impose upon the rest of society a 'legal order' which is the outcomes of the exigencies of dominion and of the exploitation of the mass of helots effected by the ruling minority, and can never be truly

> representative of the majority. The majority is thus permanently incapable of self-government. Even when the discontent of the masses culminates in a successful attempt to deprive the bourgeoisie of power, this is after all, so Mosca contends, effected only in appearance; always and necessarily there springs from the masses of a governing class. Thus, the majority of human beings, in a condition of eternal tutelage, are predestined by tragic necessity to submit to the dominion of a small minority, and must be content to constitute the pedestal of oligarchy." (1971: 53)

Burnham's view could be implemented in the issue of the majority and minority in the expedition of the opening American West. A human society no matter in the majority or the minority sides made point in wealth, prestige, privilege and power. A man could have those things by doing politics, involved in a government and maintain his position. The government itself would be just a group of minority who had an unimplemented authority without the existence of others.

Jefferson brought the American confederacy to give freedom to the Indians, without knowing the true fact and value of the Indians' lives. He would give the freedom with minimizing the war, even though he sent with Lewis and Clark a group of trained soldiers. Minimizing the war meant that Jefferson tried not to make any quarrel involving guns between the white and the natives. It seemed impossible to bring and offer peace and freedom with the existence of the trained soldier except to show off power and manipulate others.

The empire of liberty should be an empire where people have their right to make and operate their own live systems, without others' interference. It should be brought equality and justice among people, and eliminate the marginalization. It also should be a system that protects people from power and authority abuse.

The rules should not be taking sides, so that no matter whether the centre or the margin made mistakes the rules were run equally.

The politics and the politicians, however, always had two sides, just like a coin. Each side showed as if it was fighting for other people. This was causing quarrels ended by war and death, because everyone thought his perspective was the correct one. Taking steps in the name of liberalism, nationalism, democracy, socialist or even communist only made the war spreading like wild fires. Influenced not only the form of a government, politics also influence a man's personal life, it might trigger civil war. When a politician delivered a speech in front of people, it was not out of the ordinary if he would like to please all sides. He wanted his constituents pleased, but he also wanted the opposite colleagues accepted his speech without too much unpleasant feelings.

> But as a politician Lincoln knew that more justification was needed to keep the Federalists from howling at the cost. He came up with a rationale that would appeal to the New England clergy: advertise the thing as a mission to elevate the religious beliefs of the heathen Indians. "If the enterprise appears to be, an attempt to advance them, it will by many people, on that account, be justified, however calamitous the issue." Jefferson bought the idea; in his final instructions he ordered Lewis to learn what he could about Indian religion, because it would help "those who may endeavour to civilize and instruct them. (p.93)

Jefferson's cabinet was divided into five major positions; there were Secretary of State, Secretary of War, Secretary of Treasury, Secretary of Navy and Attorney General. Levi Lincoln as his Attorney General warned Jefferson once about how the opposition in the House would react on his expedition plans.

The Federalists held caucuses and conventions, primarily in the New England states, opposing the commercial and diplomatic policies of the Jefferson and Madison administrations, so that it was understandable if Lincoln was being worried about Jefferson's expedition plan.

Federalists were the dominant force in the national government, the centre in the House, while Jefferson with his cabinet was the margin. They realized the fact when the opposition tackled any policy that had been made. Thus, they should follow the centre perspective, but not too much, to let their plan and policies run smoothly. Such trick was legal in politics, no matter who was the doer.

In the House of the Representative, Jefferson was an incumbent but being the margin as well. Any margin surely was useful and useless at the same time; this kind of thought was agreed both by the centre and the margin. However, the president, in this case was Jefferson, in the execution of his authority was not perfectly independent as the Senate took cognizance of his relations with foreign powers. Moreover, the Senate had the right to revoke the president's certain act, but it could not force him to take any steps, nor to participate in the executive power execution. Therefore, Jefferson was free in his own sphere and under the inspection as well but not worked under the Senate direction.

Under this tension, it was understood if a man kept his idealism but accepted other to make his idealism more perfect. The violence of colonization was not only physically but also mentally, and any kind of colonization would

turn someone to another. Jefferson took the advice of his Attorney General, due to the pressure of the opposition.

Here, Jefferson used the defencism to the opposition so that they would be, at least, comprehend his plan to execute the expedition. Jefferson was not only needed to get agreement from the federalist but also from the New England clergy so that he must also include that the expedition was the mission of religion as well. Thus, here religion became Jefferson's political machine.

Religion or belief was the most influenced matter in a human's life. Human needed something to keep held on in his life, the idea of the soul, mind, nature and the universe surely led him to find the Creator. People with religion would live like what their religion ordered, demanded and prohibited, so that, the practice of any colonization should not occur but the fact was not like the theory.

Religion did not belong to certain people, race, and strata but belonged to the Deity. But each person had right to choose what he believed. The principle, authority and value consisted in religion would make a man respecting others, all the living things and nature. Religion was able to bring civilization and instruct the believer to follow the command.

When the expedition was discussed in the House, Jefferson agreed on Lincoln advice to bring the religion issue, he said 'those who may endeavour to civilize and instruct them'. He thought that the religion is good but there were false religion, which was belonged the Indians. The Indians believed in the Highest Spirit, their ancestor spirit, and the power of the nature. Jefferson wanted

Lewis to learn and observe the religion so that next he could deliver his power through the name of religion they believed.

> "In all your intercourse with the natives," Jefferson went on, "treat them in the most friendly and conciliatory manner which their own conduct will admit." Lewis should "satisfy them of your journey's innocence," but simultaneously tell them of the size and strength of the United States. (p. 95)

Making relationship among human could not be avoid, behind any hidden agenda, people were really connected to each other in fulfilling their needs. The way to get a sheep was to pretend as another sheep and cope in the herd. Being a part of the margin for the centre surely was not an easy thing to be deal with, but if the centre could success became the part of the margin, it would show that they were absolutely superior among all.

Being a mimic man to get influence, power and authority was not an enormous thing, but this happened because they thought they would be survive and still be the centre. Pretending and behaving like the natives without loosing his originality would drag him into someone that was not himself. The history would not show as they assumed as any one who made any interaction would be shifting their knowledge, thought, and most of all, culture.

Bribery and deceit were legal things to do to have power and authority, moreover in a place where it was still virgin. Jefferson's order on Lewis to behave friendly and pacifying was only to gain one thing, which was the Indian's trust. But he also wanted Lewis to simultaneously tell about the size and the strength of

the United States toward them only to make them feel that it was no use to reject or make quarrel with such nation.

Jefferson, a sophisticated politician, a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, as well as the drafter of Declaration of Independence, essentially was the same as other politicians. Jefferson once swore his hostility, he said, to "every form of tyranny over the mind of man." He wanted to develop a government that would best assure the freedom and well-being of the individual.

It was impossible to assure the freedom and well-being of the individual through oppressive actions. Pacifying was non-violent versions of anarchism, socialism, certain religions and humanitarianism. His pacifying actions, though did not execute directly by himself, during the expedition were politics. It was used by Lewis and Captain Clark in making relationship with the natives, another form of colonization.

> In general, Jefferson wanted Lewis to inform the tribes that the new father intended to embrace them into a commercial system that would benefit all involved, and that to make this happen the new father wished them to make peace with one another. Lewis's objectives, as given to him by Jefferson, were to establish American sovereignty, peace, and a trading empire in which the warriors would put down their weapons and take up traps. (p. 154)

Hilarious thing was there was no one among the Indians pointed him as the 'new father', besides himself. He might be thought that his position as the president of United States would give him direct command to all inhabitants along his United States' territories even if he might be were unknown by the people. A father would not behave differently to his children, but the fact was Jefferson not

a real father and the Indians were not his real children, moreover recalled on his dualism, he has no right to command or organize their life.

Jefferson wanted the natives got all benefit he could offer in his commercial system got along with other tribes, yet the political agenda's behind those pacifying actions could not be hidden except to the naïve. Therefore, another offer that he gave to the native was delivered through commerce or economic way. Therefore, the effect of colonization to the natives politically only affect the people with weak political systems.

4.2.2 Economics

Economics concerned with the production, distribution, exchange, and consumption of goods and services. It also focused on the way in which individuals, groups, business enterprises, and governments seek to achieve efficiently any economic objective they choose. This phenomenon of economics was also occurred in the journey of opening of American West.

Economics was brought up not only by the corps of Discovery but also by their previous opponent, Spain, France and British. During the exploration, the corp was intended to shift the trade between the natives and the Europe with the United States. Hence, it was used as a tool to gain more power and colonization. The expansion of power and authority through trading was supported by the geographical situations. The Indians' habitants were spreading from southeast to southwest, great basin to plateau, as well from arctic to sub arctic. They were

linked by rivers, and those rivers could be strategic place to start invading and mastering the Indians economics cycle to the colonialist interests.

> "There is on the globe one single spot, the possessor of which is our natural and habitual enemy. It is New Orleans, through which the produce of three eights of our territory must pass to market." (p.72)

New Orleans was the most distinctive and culturally diverse city located in southeastern America. It was named from regent of France under Louis XV, Phillipe II or Duc d'Orleans. It had been a leading commercial centre since its foundation and one of the most active ports in the United States. Therefore, it was understandable if Jefferson wanted to get it under his power.

Jefferson sent the American statesman James Monroe to assist the Robert R. Livingston to France, in an attempt to effect one of four possible plans advantageous to the United States, which was next known as Louisiana Purchase. He suggested several plans such as the purchase of eastern and western Florida and New Orleans, the purchase of New Orleans alone, the purchase of land on the eastern bank of the Mississippi River to build an American port, or the acquisition of perpetual rights of navigation and deposit.

New Orleans became the ultimate place of trading, so that the productions from different area were distributed and transactions could happen there. The Indians also met the European traders in New Orleans. At that time, New Orleans was still belonged to Spanish, Jefferson could wait but if the France was taken it, he would soon try to have it in possession. Actually, the Spanish was waiting for the France to arrive and take possession. Jefferson suggested France to cede New

Orleans and Louisiana to eliminate the possibility of war between the former allies. Jefferson was trying to be a mediator but actually he was trying to achieve his own purposes. Moreover, Napoleon would rather sell his possession than give it up easily.

Next, the New Orleans would be a site where the natives could exchange their harvest with metal goods, liquor, rifles and many more from the Europe. They did not realize that they started to depend on European goods and it could devastate their culture or traditional way of life. Furthermore, the Indians were becoming very consumptive with European goods. It was understandable since the end of the economic activity, no matter who was the doer, was the consumption position. They, before the Europeans contacts, established far-flung trading to exchange ceramics, copper, seashells, salt, stone hoes, and many other commodities. There was no money during the transactions. But this was soon changing after they had contact with the European, it also could be considered that they were already mastered through economics.

> Commerce being the principal object, Jefferson naturally wanted Lewis to learn what he could about the routes used by the British traders coming down from Canada to trade with the Missouri river tribes, and about their trading methods and practice. He wanted Lewis to make suggestions as to how the fur trade, currently dominated by the British, could be taken over by Americans using the Missouri route. (p. 94)

Jefferson believed that any trading would be successful if the routes were strategic. He choose a route that was used by the British traders that coming down from Canada due to the Missouri river tribes were very enthusiastic in obtaining

and possessing metal wares and other commodities. But his information was still lack, so that he asked Lewis to find out the tribes trading methods and how they practiced it.

The fur trade was not only important for Jefferson, but also long ago before Jefferson, France already aware on this. Canada was becoming prosperous as the main depot from which furs were shipped to Europe. Yet, the economic importance in global trade was slightly compared to other western hemisphere staples such as sugar, tobacco, and wheat; the North American fur trade had a major impact on the history of the continent both in Europe and America alone. It linked indigenous people to the industrial capitals of Europe. White fur traders often functioned as the advance guard of empire, blazing trails later followed by settlers and armies. In the case of Canada, the northern fur trade was not only defined the territory of the future nation. It also laid out routes to the west that would later be followed by railroads and highways.

The fur trade was remarkable for its role as a pioneer of large-scale business enterprise. Any fur company established profitable and far-flung business empires, paving the way for the giant railroad corporations for the next generation. However, the successfulness of these entrepreneurs should not be obscured the crucial role of the indigenous people, everything depended on their skill and effort. These were colonial relationship and surely would give negative consequences for the Indian tribes. The consequences were happened when they put aside their traditional way of life and adopted the white ways.

Jefferson would like to take over everything that was dominated by the British. It could be said that he wanted to have the commanding position in the Indian tribes trading. He also recognized that they were already grown dependent upon the European manufacture goods, but that was not beneficial to the United States. So that, to gain the Indians attention and acknowledgement ordered Lewis to treat them with the most respectable manner. He was also ordered to invite the Indians as Jefferson's children.

To take over the European domination in Indians' land, Jefferson ordered Lewis to start the exploration from the mouth of Missouri. The remarkable point of the rivers connected to Missouri should be recognized comprehensively. Along the route, Jefferson told Lewis, the Indians from different tribes inhabited the land, so that Lewis should make complete data about them. These data was unquestionably would be used as the base to master the Indians.

> But if the Otos did as Lewis advised them, he would see that a trading post was set up at the mouth of the Platte, where they could bring their furs to trade for "a store of goods in such quantities as will be equal to your necessities." Meanwhile, their old traders, whether French or British, could stay among them as long as they acknowledged the supremacy of the United States and gave good council. (p. 157)

During the council, the Indians were told they were the "children" of a "new great father" who would provide them with trade and protection in place of their unreliable commerce with the French and the Spanish. Lewis told them to obey their "new father", the president of United States or Jefferson. He instructed them not to obstruct in any way carrying white men and they should make peace with their neighbours. He threaten them that if the tribe disobeyed the "new

father" instructions or made false steps, then the "new father" would not allow any traders to enter the river and have any transactions with them, so that their people would be in great poverty.

They were assured that if they obeyed the instructions, the "new father" would protect them from any unpleasant situation. Jefferson knew that without any contact with the European traders, the Indians would suffer severe living stability and seriously vulnerable to their neighbours having guns and powder.

Soon, Lewis and the United States would see a trading post along the Missouri river. The post could be profitable for everyone, include the European traders only if they could accept the supremacy of the United States and gave good council on that. Jefferson still allowed the European traders since the Indians were depended on them in providing guns, powder, and any metal weapons to protect their people from enemies.

In any society the quality of live could be seen from its economic growth. Through trading, a society could be prosper and manage their live sustainability. The highest rates of economic growth would be achieved by distributing large incomes to the capitalists, who save and invest, and low incomes to the landlords spending for unskilled servants and leaving nothing behind them in return for their consumptions. Though the Indians were having their own lands but they were assumed as the servants of the United States government. This was an economical colonization applied by Jefferson, and perhaps in the name of the nations.

> Lewis hoped to make the Sioux the centrepiece of the vast American trading empire he was trying to establish, and he thought this was such a good deal for the Sioux that they couldn't say no. (p. 161)

When entering the Sioux territory, Lewis and the corps were filled by hope not by fear. They should be fear for the Sioux since they were the most aggressive and powerful Indian tribe. Yet, they could be friendly too, compared with the Teton Sioux farther upriver of James River.

The Sioux territory was vast inland region of the Great Plains culture area stretches west from the Mississippi River Valley to the Rocky Mountains and south from Canada to southern Texas. This geographical description that made Lewis wanted to establish the Sioux became the centre of the vast American trading empire and it was also a good deal for the Sioux.

Lewis was told by Jefferson that the Sioux tribes should be learned more specifically since they controlled the river and once had turned back the previous white traders coming from Saint Louis. Almost all Sioux tribes, except for the Teton, had contact with European. They were hunter and nomadic people so that their commodities to be traded were only fur, though several were also selling agricultural commodities.

Lewis, controlled by Jefferson's policy, would take over the British company which was becoming the main suppliers for the Indians but he must isolate the Sioux to open the rivers from Saint Louis and established an American trading company. He wanted to monopolize the trading as well threw out the British because he had a legal authority to do so. Yet, he had no power to force

out the British since they were providing important service in manufactured goods to the Indians which the American was not ready to replace.

To execute the plan, Lewis must explain about the new situation to the British traders. He assured that the American would never interrupt the long existed trade relationship they had with the Indians, if only they acknowledged the American sovereignty. While to the Indians he offered beneficial relationship which was not only in trading but also in security from enemies. However, he only could give them worthless medals and wardrobe rather than guns and powder they needed to protect their people. He knew that he could not provide all of the Indian necessities but he did not want the Indians knew it, so that he promised to arrange peace with their enemies and organize their chiefs to come to Washington to meet the "new father".

4.2.3 Culture

Civilization could not be separated from culture, so that civilization meant having culture and courtesy, something that differed human from animals. Culture was never pure because it was learned, created and shared, culture was hybrid. Certain culture might only appear in certain group of people, but the culture would not completely genuine. Beliefs, life values, attitude's rules, languages, arts, life styles, religions, technologies even politics and economics were included in culture.

Culture was shared and learned, thus it could be very adaptive for its flexibility and rapid to be adjusted in people's life. People in the same society

shared common behaviours and ways of thinking through culture passed down in generation to generation, but it could be occurred to different society as long as they were making relationship.

A man was not born with culture; he must learn it from his environment, both through the nature and people. Culture was learned and passed with strict rules to keep its originality. However, once in his life, at least, he would meet other people outside his society. When that happened, he collectively learned, shared, created and maintained the culture. Some people were protecting their culture by isolating themselves and had no any relationship with foreigners, but some were open armed to the foreigners to enrich their own culture.

> ”Virginians are of genuine blood,” said one traveller. “They will dance or die….Any young gentleman, travelling through the Colony is presumed to be acquainted with dancing, boxing, playing the fiddle, and small sword, and cards.”(p.30)

Genuine blood could be meant secured blood line, the aristocrat among the peasants, and the centre among the margin. The life was bigger for the centre, as they got many privileges. Whatever the laws, the centre as the superior always appear higher than the inferior. Nonetheless, the superior itself was only duplicating their forefathers, whether the superior or even the inferior one in the homeland, the Europe.

The term of ‘genuine blood’ might be referred to the Virginian people who had blood line from Virginians’ ancestor came from the imperial country, England. This was another hilarious fact of the Virginian people; they were fled to America to build a colony or ran from the obligation they had in their homeland,

but they were still proud to be the part of the place they possibly hate. They were not that genuine at all, their interaction with the natives, the black people and other Virginians, surely, made them involve in an acculturation of culture. Bloodily, they might keep married their own people, but in the society they surely adopted certain feature from other cultures surround them.

Virginian gentlemen were assumed as the perfect one, due to their perfect attitude and agility. Being hospitable, generous, courteous, chivalrous and kind to the inferior as well having excellence agility in boxing, sword were their characters. Lewis with his mixed background had more than those characters, he could be anything.

American identity was too varied to be a homogenous thing, so that the quarrel within it was between advocates of a unitary identity and those see the whole as a complex but not a unified one (Said, 1993: 6). Virginian gentlemen were very proud of their existence, they were also presumed as people knowing how to indulge themselves. Dancing was a social activity in this sophisticated environment. Thus party was only became a motor to make political and economical agreements or just to share and spread thoughts.

Discussing about the blood line, Indian tribes were also connected through kinship and blood line. The Indians were matrilineal, descent traced through women, clan-based tribes. Status and property passed to people through their mother's line. Within most tribes, all groups were commonly had equal status. Since every person belonged to a descent group, no one person ranked too far above or below another. Some tribes, however, a man could be known as a 'big

man' might earn a degree of higher status and respect than others by demonstrating bravery.

By having information about the Indians kinship, the white men would be easily to set the proper way getting their attentions and sharing power. Yet, the power sharing was never absolute since the white always become the master. However, the master himself should follow the rules and life values in his society that bind him.

> There was a high standard of politeness; Jefferson once remarked that politeness was artificial good humor, a valuable preservative of peace and tranquillity. Wenching and other debauchery, heavy drinking, and similar personal vices were common enough, but as long as they did not interfere with relations between members of the gentry they were condoned. The unpardonable sins were lying and meanness of spirit. (p.30)

Two contradictory sides of the standard could be seen here. Even politeness was just a gentle satire and rigid humour to respect or warn someone, so that misunderstood would less happen. But if the gentlemen were involved in a quarrel or a fight it was accepted as long as they did not have any quarrel with their patrons. It seemed that, the superior would become the inferior when made intercourses with the one who was the most superior. They might dislike some of their patrons attitude or policy but they would do the same when they became others patrons.

The Virginians people made struggle to keep their images clean without any scandal, so that they kept the religious values in their life. Lying and being mean became unpardonable sins. Deceiving or making trick was equal to lying,

yet in politics everything could be legal. Their religion and culture said that sins were sins but not in politics. Thus, some forces seemed could be the factors of their culture shaped were the influence of European cultural patterns in language and religious life.

The social and religious values usually delivered through a family which was from a father to all family members. In their society, father was the master and the ruler. He could become the bind between unending link of past and present. He was the tradition holder who was obeyed, addressed with respect and was loved with tempered fear.

Thus, the standard of politeness was made by men holding tightly the tradition or custom from their ancestor. Their life style was just like an aristocrat. At least, it was shown through their society life. They were allowed to drink, play card, and have a fight just to show that they were gentlemen.

In the Indians tribes certain standards were also applied to differ their people. Yet, their standards were simple and traditional based on their ways of life and the surround environment. However since their contacts with the European traders, they were becoming obsessed to the white men liquor and manufactured goods. They were often drunk but the women were never participating in this activity, they only served the men. For the Indians, animal furs were common commodity or having the regular price, but to the European furs were valuable and luxurious commodity. The Indians were unaware on this so that they were not bothered if their commodity were only priced with liquors. Their identity and

traditional life were already contaminated by the outer, the hybridity of their traditional way of life.

> Attitudes toward and relations with women are central to every man's personality and character, but seldom discussed, especially among eighteenth-century Virginia gentry…In America, Jefferson rejoiced, women knew their place, which was in the home and, more specifically, in the nursery. Instead of gadding frivolously about town as Frenchwomen did, chasing fashion or meddling in politics, American women were content with "the tender and tranquil amusements of domestic life" and never troubled their pretty heads about politics (p. 36, 37)

The Virginian people were they who griped the tradition tightly; each person knew where she or he belonged to. Man was always the central of life, but his life was always supported by another human, woman. Therefore, his attitude toward women was full of respect, gentle and chivalrous. In the family life, though father was the master, the central of family's character and personality was mother.

The higher position gained the father surely was inherited from his father. The father's figure became the centre in the family, his command should be obeyed, his advice was authoritative. This honourable position could not gain by any children, since it was only inherited to the first son in the family. He would adopt and apply his father lessons of life.

Lewis, for instance, had learnt many things about medical remedies, how to be stern and Spartan from her mother, Lucy Meriwether Lewis. Her wide knowledge was supported by her small library. Lewis inherited her sincerity, truthful, energy, courage, activity and good understanding on everything. In the

other words, Lewis was perfectly grown up in the hand of a perfect woman. Jefferson himself was a family man, having a wife and daughters. Yet, none of them, Lewis and Jefferson, discussed about women in their life.

Jefferson and other Virginian gentlemen were pleased with their women who have the tender and tranquil amusements of domestic life and never troubled their pretty heads about politics. But when this happened, it showed that the independence of the women was lost in the bonds of matrimony. However, the women themselves, perhaps, were not objection to be placed in such conditions.

The Indians as well amused with their women, not only because matrilineal people but also because they really respected them. Their women controlled domestic and village space. Most their leaders were men but their succession was continued through the women, it could be the sister's son or the nearest relation in the women line.

The interactions between the Virginian and Indians were, however, causing few impacts. Though none of the Virginian married and raised family with the Indians, they already had a picture how the white man could be a spouse for an Indian woman. Lewis and other corps' members were used to see Sacagawea, their guide, with her white man husband, Toussaint Charbonneau. They were still had no interest to have certain intimate relation with Indian women, except to had one night stand as an honour to the chiefs.

> Encounters with the Mandans were altogether different. The neighbors got along just fine. The chiefs and captains, warriors and men called on one another, went hunting together, traded

> extensively, enjoyed sexual relations with the same women on a regular basis, joked, and talked. (p. 193)

The expedition corps reached the Mandan villages in the fall of 1804 and stayed the winter in Fort Mandan, across the river from Matootonha. When Lewis and Captain Clark explained their goal, it seemed the Mandans were accepting it. When the fall came, a diversity of Indian tribes and the white men on the Mandan villages happened, they brought a rich and varied assortment of goods to be traded. They supplied the corps with food throughout the winter at their newly constructed home, Fort Mandan, in exchange for a steady stream of trade goods. When food became scarce, the corps went together with the Mandans on a buffalo hunt.

The centre and the margin got involved in a relationship intimacy; they were just like a band of brotherhood who shared anything, even their women. In Mandan culture there was a time when the husbands in the tribes offered their wives to a man assumed had great power and knowledge. This also happened to Lewis, they thought that his hunting abilities, power and medicine knowledge could be transferred through sexual relations with their wives. The corps, mostly Lewis and Clark, were involved in hunting, trading, building canoes, repairing their broken equipments. Lewis became a ‘midwife’ and a doctor for a Mandan pregnant woman, while Captain Clark became a doctor that common with medical problems. Clark was always facing the syphilis as the common disease and applied good treatments to them suffered it.

It seemed that the centre was doing good deeds by sharing knowledge they had, but actually they were doing hard work in surveying, studying and mastering

the territories. Yet, as long as the native got many advantages surely they would not realize that fact. In this condition, the centre blended with the margin. They shared anything they have for their own hidden purposes, but their relationship could be said beneficial for both sides. For a moment, there was no superior side. Each side was observing and taking any advantages as much as they could. Each side at that time as well was doing mimicry.

Mimicry was an action in duplicating other sides, however, also could be a threatening racial difference to reveal the excesses of the centre power and knowledge. In every action there should be risk waiting straight ahead, the most hazard of mimicry was its double vision in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse and disrupts its authority. The Indians adopted many aspects of the white men's material and joyful culture, and in contrary the white adopted many of the Indians ways of life.

> Jefferson had a passion for Indian language, believing he would be able to trace the Indian's origin by discovering the basis of their language. So the gathering of vocabularies was an important charge on the captains. They put a major effort into attempting to render words from various Indian languages into an English spelling. (p. 203)

Language was the most important thing in any culture, it could be taken form in symbol, sign or utterance. Language provided meaning to store, process, and communicate amounts of information that vastly exceed the capabilities of nonhuman animals. Jefferson believed that the ancestor of the Indian was the Jewish, so that he would like to trace it. Yet, he did not made any interaction with the Indians; he only counted on Lewis expedition's report or particular notes

about the Indians and sent Mac Kenzie to see the captains' work on their vocabularies.

The process of vocabularies gathering itself was not a simple work to do. A native speaker from Hidatsa would utter many words to Sacagawea, the Indian woman guide for the corps. Hidatsa was the most recorded language since the tribe was the neighbour and ally of Mandan tribe. Sacagawea, though as a Lemhi Shoshone woman, was able to speak Hidatsa language due to she was captured by members of the Hidatsa tribe when she was about thirteen years old and traded to the Missouri River Mandans. Next, she passed the language to Toussaint Charbonneau, a French Canadian interpreter who was also her husband. Charbonneau would translate it to Jessaume into English language for the captains. Such process surely had chances to make error, and there was a suspicion on the Indians concerning the white men intentions.

Through language, the centre could be a part of the margin. They could get information about their life, culture and tradition. This information, again, could be a tool to colonization by doing intense observation. Yet, the native as the margin was also giving contribution to the centre's culture. Many European and American vocabularies such as place names and terms for plants, animals, and items of native culture were come from the American natives. For example, in a book named *The West*, Oklahoma was from the Choctaw term for Indian Territory combined "okla" meaning "people" or "nation," and "homa" for "red", as well alpaca, condor, llama, puma, and quinine from Quechua language. Canada came from "Kanata" the Iroquis language for 'settlement'. Yet, there were confusions

during the naming or translating from Indians to English and vice versa. The word Canada was first appeared when the natives met Jacques Cartier of France, hundred years before Lewis, and greeted him with the only European word they knew ‘aca nada–nothing is here, in Spanish. When Lewis met them, the word was change to ‘kanata’, whether it was caused the enunciation problem or the arrogance of the white forcing the natives to accept the word.

Thus in this case, the culture of the centre became mixed, hybrid and rich from the communication with the margin, the one the assumed as inferior and savage. Consider language, during the trade every one should know how best to get along. The white would learn the Indians language, and each other would transfer culture. The transferred culture next was not impossible to create new languages or a code mixing. In code mixing, English was being used to neutralize identities one was reluctant to express by the use of native language or dialects. It referred to the use of lexical items or phrases from one code in the stream of discourse another (Kachru, 1986). The people with bilingual were the most possible side to the most influenced and turned to mimic men, so that they usually became guides, and interpreters.

> The Indians had given the white men “a very formidable account of the strength and ferocity of this animal,” but Lewis had discounted the information, because the Indians had only bows and arrows or “the indifferent guns with which the traders furnish them, with these they shoot with such uncertainty and at so short a distance that they frequently mis their arm and fall a sacrifice to the bear.” It gave him a bit of pause that the Indians, before attacking a grizzly, went through all the rituals they commonly used before going on a war party; still, he, Clark, and

> the men had faith in their long rifles and were eager to challenge the grizzly. (p. 219)

The hunting activity between the Mandan and the corps could be seen as a precise moment to show their own power dealing with wild animals. Showing forces, seeing on their equipments surely would be won by the corps, who had modern weapon like rifles and gun, between them were unequal. However, the Mandan knew better on their environment and creatures surround them, though the corps of white men had modern and practice weapons.

To the white men, that hunting was just an effort to have something for meal and to wear. On contrary, the hunting was also a ritual activity so that there was rule to be followed. They believed that the nature was another form of their ancestor spirits. Earth, animals, and plants had spiritual forces protecting them, but the spirits, called the Great Spirit. The Great Spirit was believed had many manifestations to be present in all animals, plants, water, rocks, and other natural phenomena, such as the sun, moon, weather, or sickness.

They believed that the ritual activity, even hunting, had function in daily activity; it could influence the interconnected realms of physical and supernatural existence. This fact was impossible in mind of the white men, and surely looked ridiculous. Hegel once quoted in Alienation, his own statement in On Christianity: Early Theological Writings, about the ritual activity and the necessity of human beings on thing beyond their thought.

> *Praktik religius adalah hal yang paling suci paling indah di antara semua hal; hal tersebut merupakan usaha kita untuk menyatukan perselisihan yang pasti ditimbulkan oleh perkembangan kita, dan hal tersebut merupakan usaha kita untuk membuhulkan penyatuan (terhadap elemen watak dasar kita) dalam kondisi ideal sebagai*

> *yang sungguh-sungguh eksis, yang tidak lagi bertentangan dengan realitas, dan dalam suatu perbuatan*.(1970: 34)

The Indians believed on the Great Spirit and the existence of souls, despite the fact that the white men mostly, at the time, were Christian believers they could not accept the Indians belief. The Indians believed that even nature has its own soul like every living things. The lack of knowledge concerning the Indian religion or ritual activity and the arrogance of the white men in accepting the natives belief could be beneficial to the natives since the white men would not have any interfere with their spiritual life, at least at that time.

However, it could become prove that even when the centre had no power or knowledge on the margins' sites, they would not completely show their weakness. They believed that the strength of concrete things were reliable than the spirit kind of things.

> With much ceremony, he [Lewis] put tippets such as the Shoshones were wearing around the necks of the white men. Lewis realized that the chief's suspicious still strong, that he wanted to make the white men look like Indians in case it was Blackfeet and not Clark waiting at the forks. Realizing this, Lewis took off his cocked had and put it on Cameahwait. The men followed his example, "and we were soon completely metamorphosed." (p. 275)

Blackfeet warriors encountered Lewis and the corps on July 1806. After their initial fears of the armed strangers had subsided, they decided to camp with them. During the first day and night, Lewis explained the United States was intending to bring a comprehensive peace amongst the Indian tribes. To the

Blackfeet, their plans represented direct threats and giving guns to their adversaries only could result in weakening their power. War between the Blackfeet and the corps was occurred because the Blackfeet would like to steal corps' rifles, while the Shoshones accepted their plans nicely though not completely trusted them.

Lewis was dressed like an Indian to avoid the Blackfeet assault, in case they were on his trail. When he did that, all members of the corps did the same way too. They were metamorphosed from white men to red men, not by their culture and tradition but by performance. The centre could prove that they could be anything they want because they were able and had the ability to do so. The centre would like to become the margin to disguise themselves from their enemy.

However, when any side was doing mimicry then the movement between fixity of signification and its ambivalence showed that the centre's authority was never total and complete and the existence allowed the margin intervention. Lewis was dressing like Shoshone Indian after he had connection with them through Sacagawea and Cameahwait, her reunited brother.

Culture was always associated with a nation differencing one to another and almost always came with chauvinism. It became the source of identity returned to tradition, which each culture was appeared differ on the nature. The traditional nation like Indian tribes always came up accompanied by precise codes of intellectual and moral behaviours.

Their codes on their performance could be imitated by any white man but the philosophy of the codes could not. The culture could be adopted but not the value. The white as the centre could adopt any code of Indian culture but they could not fully comprehend the meaning behind the codes. The culture that could be mixed but the true value could still linger.