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American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

The Shoshone-Bannocks: Culture and Commerce at Fort Hall, 1870-1940. By John W. Heaton.

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/0p1414gd>

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 30(4)

ISSN

0161-6463

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Publication Date

2006-09-01

DOI

10.17953

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Indians like the Shawnee have retained their Native identity in spite of the ever-changing world around them that also includes them. Interestingly, they separate themselves from changes that they cannot control, especially external political forces, as they guide the development of their political and social infrastructure. Perhaps the last sentence of the book reveals not just the author's assessment of the Shawnee but respect for their struggle through centuries of external pressure to change or defeat them. "The Shawnees continue to fight for greater control over their lives, and the result of their efforts reveals deep continuities in the Shawnee commitment to independence and their response to various colonizers over time" (173). It bears repeating that Warren has written an impressive case study with a proven approach of talking and listening to Indians in order to understand the Indian voice. As a Native scholar, I applaud Stephen Warren for his braided historical approach of using archival research and for speaking with Indian people to understand the Shawnee from the inside.

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The Shoshone-Bannocks: Culture and Commerce at Fort Hall, 1870–1940. By John W. Heaton. Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 2005. 340 pages. \$39.95 cloth

This book provides a much-needed sequel to Brigham Madsen's pioneering works, *The Bannock of Idaho* (1958), *The Northern Shoshoni* (1980), and *The Shoshoni Frontier and the Bear River Massacre* (1986). The book's message is that Shoshone-Bannock culture did not disappear when Native populations were more or less forcibly relocated to the Fort Hall Reservation. Rather, Shoshone-Bannock culture merely changed. Although this axiom is obvious to anyone familiar with the configuration of reservation-based Native American cultures, Heaton has turned up some surprising conclusions from his analysis of government agents' reports and correspondence. One is that capitalism took root very early and that capitalist strategies became an important variable in reservation politics. Another is that communalism—reflected in the persistence of hunting, gathering, and fishing, and the sharing of these subsistence products among kin, as well as in the use of tribally owned land for grazing cattle—was an equally powerful and more widespread cultural behavior pattern and value system well into the mid-twentieth century.

A second truism that historian Heaton embraces is that ecological circumstances set limits but do not dictate human responses. Invoking anthropologists Marshall Sahlins, Loretta Fowler, and Patricia Albers, the author takes the stance that people exercise human agency to make choices based in the cultural symbols that are familiar to them. These choices create a dialectical relationship between "culturally mediated signs and symbols" and "material reality," in which the material and the cultural exist in reciprocity (12). While not denying the usefulness of the core-periphery model

proposed by earlier scholars such as Joseph Jorgensen in his *The Sun Dance Religion* (1972), Heaton adds to the critique of that approach in so far as it assumes and emphasizes the powerlessness of Indians within a non-Indian-dominated political economy. Historians Richard White, David Rich Lewis, and Frederick Hoxie ultimately provide the models that Heaton invokes to thread a materialist discussion through the eye of an interpretivist needle that picks out individual interpretations and motivations, the role of human agency in political conflicts, and the testing of adaptive options embedded in social relations as material conditions are assessed and change.

Because agency reports reflect minimal interest in social values and social relations, ethnohistorians are often frustrated in their attempts to figure out just what people were thinking and how they were interacting. Heaton does an admirable job of working around the usual omissions in these agency reports about values and other ideological matters. The standard insistence that particular groups and individuals were superstitious and exhibited hostility, backwardness, and intransigence limits a full ethnographic reconstruction of Shoshone-Bannock culture in the first seventy years of reservation life, but Heaton successfully uses quantitative agency data to provide a window into meanings behind Indian actions (73, 144). The positing of a dialectical relationship between more global external forces and more local internal forces results in a well-informed story of what appear to be several paradoxes. One of these paradoxes is that Fort Hall Shoshone-Bannocks had some of the best water, range, and farm resources, plus good connections to national markets through railroads whose right-of-ways were approved by the politically powerful cattle owners, yet successfully subverted some of the individualist elements of allotment and other government policies aimed at breaking apart tribal solidarities. Another conundrum was that Pocatello—a leader who emerged in the 1860s as a politically and militarily effective opponent of the US takeover of Shoshone and Bannock lands—defended an obviously corrupt agent in the 1890s and led the “hay cutters” that Heaton glosses as the capitalists (chapter 5) in an alliance with non-Indian ranch interest to favor allotting grazing land in the 1920s (116–17). Other surprises are that cattlemen favored ceding the Fort Hall bottoms for the American Falls Dam, despite the fact that the area provided some of the richest grazing land available and that by 1937 an agency-introduced agricultural fair had become the second most popular social event after the Sun Dance even though three-quarters of the population still lived in tents and maintained high seasonal mobility in order to do some amount of hunting, gathering, or fishing (179–84).

Heaton accounts for these conundrums by suggesting that cultural and economic forces dueled in rivalry. His analysis of quantitative and qualitative data reveal three major economic interest groups—agriculturalists (52 percent of the population), mixed-blood wageworkers (23 percent), and the elderly/infirm (23 percent)—as well as rivalries between the Bannock Creek district (Northwestern Shoshones led by Pocatello), the Blackfoot District (Shoshone and Bannock cattlemen), and the Agency District (wage earners). Heaton also assesses the cross-cutting influences of three groups: the 131 “first families” who settled at Fort Hall, the group that the agency perceived as the “progressive

mixed bloods,” and the ostensibly hostile band of Shoshone, led by Tendoy, that relocated from the Lemhi Reservation in 1907 (76). The people labeled loosely as “mixed bloods” did not always correspond to any kind of blood-quantum formula that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) is so infamous for implementing (132, 139). Rather, they were those who tended to speak more English, lived in permanent log houses rather than tents, worked at the agency, or were simply more familiar to agents. The first families cut across the three major economic interest groups, and, to some extent, the political and cultural profiles of the districts (initially four, then three) perceived by the agency may have been variables of distance from the agency headquarters more than anything else. The first families, the three major economic interest groups, and the three districts successfully pursued their own agendas, which sometimes brought them into conflict with one another, and at other times enabled them to present a united front. At the same time, “kinship connections, shared values, and face-to-face interactions [that] continued to bind the people” meant that “culture continued to assert a degree of control over change” and effectively limited the influence of purely economic interests. Thus, these diverse forces at times made it appear that Shoshone-Bannocks were resisting government policy, yet in other cases it appeared that they were marching in lock step with the BIA’s agenda. Peeling away the veneer of BIA policy, Heaton successfully reveals the reality of the Shoshone-Bannocks’ efforts to confound the colonial authorities in their efforts to create a seamless journey toward civilization.

If Heaton’s purpose was to minimize the impact of the reservation as a political and economic institution on the Fort Hall community’s cultural configuration, however, some argument could be made with the success of this endeavor. For example, Heaton makes it clear that implementation of the allotment policy “shook the community along the fault lines” of capitalism and communalism (158–59). Therefore, one could question that political unity remained an important goal at all times throughout the early reservation period. Equally in question is the assumption that a generalized cultural profile persisting from pre-reservation days underpinned this goal of political unity. Although the Sun Dance and the fair were unarguably unifying factors along with kin and marriage ties, the fact that today the Bannock Creek Shoshone hold their own “women only” Sun Dance must reflect either some ongoing cultural differentiation persisting from pre-reservation days or its recent development. Equally, the powerful influence of capitalism seems to lead to the inevitable conclusion that the economically important core did drive a good deal of behavior and attitude formation in the Shoshone-Bannock periphery. The question then becomes whether this situation developed as a result of the reservation as an institution or was simply a transference to other pursuits of economic attitudes and behaviors that had already developed prior to 1870 through the trade in bison products. As well, the question of what role the Ghost Dance played in enhancing cultural persistence and channeling political opposition to US takeover is given little more than a mention-in-passing. Gregory Smoak’s (2006) *Ghost Dance and Identity* makes this question even more salient. Smoak focuses on Fort Hall and, although not particularly rich in ethnographic description, expands Jorgensen’s argument that the

Sun Dance, brought to Fort Hall in 1901, became a unifying cultural force precisely because it offered a redemptive, communally oriented ideology that replaced the failed, transformative Ghost Dance that had spread to Fort Hall in 1870 and persisted until it was renewed in 1890.

No doubt cultural continuity played an important role in defining the social and political profile of Fort Hall. However, as Katherine M. B. Osburn has shown in *Southern Ute Women* (1998), turning the spotlight as much on the non-Indian players as on segments of the Native population reveals much about the power that agents and directors of acculturative agendas actually did exercise. Heaton's careful reconstruction of Fort Hall's society and economy in the early reservation period adds to work that has preceded and followed it but also lends weight to the argument made by scholars such as Ann Stoler ("Making Empire Respectable: The Politics of Race and Sexual Morality in Twentieth-Century Colonial Cultures," in *American Ethnologist*, 1989) that attention to the premises on which colonial authority was constructed and to the consequences of its implementation are as important as focusing on the standard, colonized subjects of ethnographic and ethnohistorical investigation.

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Working the Navajo Way: Labor and Culture in the Twentieth Century. By Colleen O'Neill. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2005. 235 pages. \$29.95 cloth.

Colleen O'Neill has created a fascinating case study that also engages significant theoretical issues. She has managed to reverse the ordinary historical question of how twentieth-century economics and wage labor have impacted Native society, politics, and gender, to asking how Navajos effected change from *within* their cultural and social existence. This requires that the author control the historical literature and gain a far from superficial grasp of the ethnography. She conceives of her subject in an appropriately large scope, placing it within regional development, capitalist growth, and race and class structure, without losing contact with the essential human reality. She argues that Navajos have "selectively engag[ed] in the capitalist market as wage earners, producers, and consumers," while doing so only "on their own terms" (82, 105).

Although Navajos entered into wage employment as early as the 1870s, O'Neill focuses on the period from 1930–70. She discusses the little-known hand-dug coal production by Navajo men for the local market, which she balances with the more familiar women's weaving, in order to establish the gender-specific nature of wage work. The former was attached to a technology and marketing system external to Navajo culture, while the latter was channeled through on-reservation traders. The first was a commodity defined as valuable by the larger capitalist industrial system but produced seasonally in order to accommodate the demands on male labor for subsistence horticulture, pastoralism, and household maintenance. In contrast, the latter