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chose to do so; (4) termination, during which the objective was to break off all relationships of protection and assistance with the federal government; and (5) tribal restoration, phase II, during which tribal corporate adaptation to American society was again encouraged and cultural choice was reaffirmed. (p. 176)

Unfortunately, this chapter is too brief to give the reader a full understanding of the evolution of federal Indian policy. However, the author does refer the reader to suggested titles for further inquiry in this and all other chapters.

The American Indians should be acquired by all scholars and librarians who cannot afford the master volume encyclopedia, published at \$60.00. It is a healthy expression of the importance of the complex ethnic tapestry of North American Indians, past and present, and will remain a standard reference work incorporating the important ethnohistorical conceptual framework respectfully associated with Edward H. Spicer.

William R. Swagerty
University of Idaho

Arapahoe Politics, 1851-1978: Symbols in Crises of Authority. By Loretta Fowler. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982. 373 pp. cloth. \$23.50.

As a graduate student in the late 1960s Professor Loretta Fowler went to the Shoshone-Arapahoe Wind River Reservation in Wyoming planning a conventional ethnographic study of current Arapahoe economic and political organization. Like others of her generation she soon recognized the limitations of this synchronic strategy for analysing processes of social and cultural change and instead embarked upon a lengthy combined historical and field research program. The results of her prolonged labors, here partially reported in *Arapahoe Politics*, is a brilliant exposition of a Native American success story.

In her first contacts with these Plains Algonquians the author was pointedly directed to attend to a salient social fact. There was a strict division of labor among the Arapahoe; she was instructed: to learn of economic and secular matters she was to go to the Business Council, while to obtain information of religion and traditional history she had to seek permission and

information from "the old people." These were two institutional forms closely linked by a complex political process, Professor Fowler determined, with the public rules-of-order deliberations and votings of the "elected" council preordained by the private consensual decisions of a kind of House of Ceremonial Elders.

As her work progressed the author proceeded to a series of striking and surprising observations. Clearly the Arapahoe were a political and social anomaly among Plains reservation communities (and among most Native American societies generally, this reviewer will emphasize), for they had sustained and likely enhanced their social cohesion; they had largely avoided internal divisiveness and factional strife; they had carefully controlled and moulded the inward flow of innovations; they had evolved a magnificently effective system of decision making and leadership; in an unusually stressful reservation context (originally without recognized rights to Shoshone lands) they had effectively manipulated their larger social and political environment to obtain for themselves a relatively secure and respected place and position; they had skillfully presented acceptable images to contact agents near and far; and over a century of recurrent threats and challenges to their fundamental values and institutions they had prevailed, their basic cultural integrity intact and flourishing. Moreover, the Arapahoe have accomplished all this not by a rigid and unyielding adherence to antique and empty forms, which in other Native American communities so often has resulted in the sacralization of obsolete political roles, the mechanical adoption of disruptive, alien public identities, or by pathetically ineffective posturings, but by a masterfully creative and effective flexibility, tinkering with and trimming the social parts without losing sight of the meaning and form of their whole system.

Professor Fowler's report on the Arapahoe is, therefore, a sterling example of what is coming to be called a study of political ecology, a close analysis of processes of adaptation engendered in a society locked into asymmetrical relationships with a larger social environment ever pressing, often changing, demands. Her methodological approach is that of ethnohistory, and she is a master of the genre, for *Arapahoe Politics* is a deep ethnohistorical description of the very best kind. Her ideas are original and strong; her interpretations rich, numerous and productive; her penetration into the back regions of Arapahoe social life—historic as well as contemporary—full and enlightening;

her account of the Arapahoe social-political system brilliant; her presentation of the process of change in Arapahoe culture and society detailed and contributory; her grasp of inner Arapahoe perspectives full and illuminating; her field research observations superb; her documentary study meticulous and exhaustive; and her analysis and correction of earlier anthropological studies of the Arapahoe of special value. If there are defects in this study they are minor, and these few soft spots reflect the limitations of the ethnohistorical case-study strategy and deep-seated anthropological biases generically, as well as her too narrow reliance on the older tactic of "close controlled comparison" in particular.

The author has clearly studied among the Arapahoe, she has not simply studied them, and clearly she has learned from, not just about, this Plains Indian community. Hence, aside from her major contribution to particular knowledge of the social dynamics of one reservation community, she has made important additions to general knowledge of various kinds. Among its other significant contributions this volume contains a major work of political anthropology, likely one of the finest political studies of any Native American community. Professor Fowler's analysis of leadership roles, patron-client relations, intermediary functions, and decision making processes are especially noteworthy. But her work is also an important example of symbolic anthropology, for her analysis of the skillful creation, manipulation and employment of symbols of legitimate power and prestige, especially in crises situations, forms the logical dynamic of this book. Moreover, it is a close and revealing study of the workings of one of the rare North American age-grade and age-set systems, which has been of central importance to the Arapahoe in controlling and reducing internal conflict. Finally, to employ a phrasing the author avoids, this is a study of the workings of what is clearly a wise, benevolent, persistent and, above all, effective *gerontocracy*. If the author has not already made plans to do so, this reviewer can readily imagine a medical anthropologist, upon reading this volume, hurrying to organize a study of Arapahoe elders and the aging process. What could be more salient in a society where males of forty and fifty years are considered too immature to have full political authority, much less access to supernatural power?

Yet a few modest critical suggestions are in order. *Arapahoe Politics* is excessively long and repetitious, sometimes to the

point of being annoying. Partly this unnecessary length reflects the basic logical structure of the book, which consists of detailed examinations of Arapahoe responses to a series of critical threats to their leaders and political system. But it also apparently reflects the growing unwillingness of both commercial and university presses to invest time and resources in editorial revisions, a short term economy that is no economy at all to reader or purchaser. However, readers do not have to be told emphatically a dozen or more times that "religious experiences were focal in the lives of Arapahoes," or that elders worked effectively to minimize dissension, especially when the strong narrative account makes its own detailed case, abetted by a little introductory and concluding emphasis.

More importantly, the strong reliance on the old tactic of controlled comparison, in this instance mainly with the adjacent Shoshone and secondarily with other high plains societies, deflects the author's attention from what might have been more interesting and productive contrasts. To be certain, Professor Fowler does reach out occasionally for a broader analytic linkage, as in her contrasting of the Arapahoe case with several age-graded African societies, but there are analogous systems closer to home. Viewed from the perspective of the Prairies and the Upper Great Lakes, there is a faint but discernible Central Algonquian ethos and pattern to some Arapahoe adaptive maneuvers, and Arapahoe leaders were not the first who set off to do diplomatic combat with colonial authorities so as to reinforce their own positions at home and to deliver valued goods and services to their people. This linkage might have also drawn the author to an additional longer term conclusion, for just as the Arapahoe of long ago, starting as sedentary Upper Mississippi horticulturists, made a rapid and successful adaptation to horse nomadism, so later they quickly adapted to the exigencies of a sedentary reservation existence, growing increasingly dependent upon the larger social environment for economic sustenance. If their ancestral Algonquian congeners were less successful in the latter adaptations, it may have something to do with other than the absence of a functioning age-grade system. Indeed, the emergence of age-grading among high Plains Algonquians deserves full explanation in its own right.

An even broader comparison is suggested by standard Arapahoe devices for reinforcing social values, for quelling internal

sub-group dissent, for controlling individual deviance, for relieving internal stress engendered by the social system itself, and for managing the inward flow of innovations, which jointly are almost Amish-like. To this reader the Arapahoe social system has interesting parallels in other, unrelated, enclaved religious communities. The difference, of course, is that the Arapahoe, like most other Native American groups, have made economic dependency into both a fine art and a sacred symbol. If there is anything maladaptive in the political and economic system developed by the Arapahoe in the past century, it may lie in this domain, since the religious perpetuation of economic dependency certainly does not represent a capacity for flexible adaptation to a future American society.

These suggestions aside, the reviewer leaves *Arapahoe Politics* with only one basic qualm. He wishes that the author had treated American institutions, values, patterns and actors with the same penetrating insight and insightful humanity so richly afforded the Arapahoe. Professor Fowler places each of many named Arapahoe actors carefully into historical and social space, rendering their actions entirely intelligible and meaningful. In so doing she has rescued hundreds of individual Arapahoe from historical oblivion, noting their contributions to the successful perpetuation of their society. The behaviors of American actors—too often generically referred to with the noxious racial label “whites”—modifications in American policy and changes in American institutions remain unanalysed and unintelligible.

Hence, while the reader is made consistently to appreciate and understand the activities of a Black Bear and a Goes in Lodge, why Agency Superintendent H. E. Wadsworth was such a very different sort of humane manager of Indian affairs than his immediate predecessor, the much disliked Joseph Norris, remains a mystery. The author might at least have mentioned that the imperiously autocratic Reuben Haas, the Arapahoes' part-Potawatomi superintendent in the 1920s, was such an up-through-the-ranks of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, super-conforming, reaction-formative, pathologically compulsive product of a late nineteenth century boarding school that he was an example of a type, and that the Arapahoe were by no means the only Indians to suffer at the hands of such authoritarian converts in the 1920s and 1930s. However, the absence of such humane inquiry into American orientations, values and motivations represents a continuing defect of the anthropological

paradigm—it is not a delinquency of the author. Indeed, to an important degree Professor Fowler rises well above the posture of many anthropologists and historians who, in their studies of Indian history, forget their fundamental commitment to seeking truth and project their own private values onto past actors and relationships, converting scholarly study into a kind of trial by history. Loretta Fowler, in sharp contrast, here reveals many strong truths on the Arapahoes' side of their recent history, while remaining essentially nonjudgemental, if vague, as regards Americans. Yet, if the ethnohistorical strategy, whose strengths are fully demonstrated in this finely crafted study, is to proceed to larger understandings, it must take the whole social and cultural context of Native American adaptive maneuverings into account.

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Bibliography of North American Indian Mental Health. By Dianne R. Kelso and Carolyn L. Attneave. Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 1981. 404 pp. cloth. \$39.95

This unique bibliography encompasses mental health studies about American Indians and Alaska Natives. It draws together material from several disciplines including psychology, psychiatry and anthropology. Such a bibliography has been long awaited and the authors should be lauded for their effort. While it is specifically addressed to scholars of human behavior and to mental health delivery personnel, the bibliography will also be useful to many others.

Diane Kelso and Carolyn Attneave give a detailed description of the procedures and rationale involved in developing their bibliography. For example their search strategy involved three categories: 1. Native Americans; 2. Mental Health/Illness; and 3. Related Subject Areas. Those materials which combined categories 1 and 2 or categories 1, 2 and 3 were selected for the bibliography. They also discuss recent trends in research regarding American Indian mental health. These trends include a renewed research interest in the use of traditional healers in standard service delivery as well as exploring the use of peyote