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be put. In short, what took Euro-Americans some five centuries to do, the Hualapai have accomplished in 150 years: form a nation.

Shepherd's direct work with the Hualapai Tribal Council makes this book one of the few written about a tribe with that tribe's perspective in mind. This makes it a very valuable text not only for students of western tribal history and students of American Indian culture in general, but also for those interested in writing about indigenous cultures. Although Shepherd could have made more use of his personal interviews with tribal members and included more of their thoughts and opinions on previous scholarship concerning their culture and history, his compilation of so many diverse sources of information into one place makes this book an important contribution to American Indian studies.

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Wives and Husbands: Gender and Age in Southern Arapaho History. By Loretta Fowler. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2010. 400 pages. \$39.95 cloth.

Loretta Fowler, past president of the American Society for Ethnohistory, has written several distinguished books on Plains Indian history, based upon intensive historical research in a wide range of archival sources combined with significant years of ethnographic field research. As she states in *The Columbia Guide to American Indians of the Great Plains* (2003), Fowler consistently pays attention to processes of how "individuals' strategies and ambitions in social contexts" interact with symbols, as the "ideas people have about their world change in response to external social events" (217). In a series of sophisticated and insightful monographs about closely related Plains cultures, Fowler has explored the Wind River Indian reservation in Wyoming (in 1982's *Northern Arapahoe Politics, 1851–1978*); Gros Ventre cultural and political history from 1778–1984 on the Fort Belknap reservation in Montana (in 1987's *Shared Symbols, Contested Meanings*); and Southern Cheyenne-Arapaho politics from the 1869 establishment of their shared Oklahoma reservation until 1999 (in 2002's *Tribal Sovereignty and the Historical Imagination*). In each of these books, Fowler highlighted the significance of the Arapaho age-grade system, in which individual males gain increasing levels of knowledge, prestige, and leadership, but did not examine gender in similar depth.

In *Wives and Husbands: Gender and Age in Southern Arapaho History*, Fowler does. This richly detailed and excellent book demonstrates how the “Arapaho gender system articulated with the age system” in determining each “individual’s status and role” in a “sociocultural framework . . . permeated by the reciprocity principle” (5). Change here occurs not as an amorphous outside force pushing hapless victims, but as a process resulting from individual decisions based on consciously chosen survival strategies. By 1936, Southern Arapahos had adapted some features of the gender egalitarianism and age hierarchy that marked their lives in the early 1800s, but they maintained their essential emphases on reciprocity and mutual respect.

Fowler structures the book around women and men in five age cohorts who experienced challenges to their expectations about age and gender as each group moved together through key periods of Arapaho history. (The paperback edition helpfully lists the names and birth years for each cohort in an appendix, and Fowler refers to them often.) Fowler traces the experiences of these cohorts in three long chapters, proceeding chronologically through Southern Arapaho history from 1805 to 1936. The oldest cohort, named for Little Raven and his sister, Walking Backward, were born between 1815 and 1829 and grew up during the Southern Arapahos’ peak of independent power. This generation led the fight to preserve their way of life, negotiated the treaties of the 1860s, and arrived on the reservation in 1870 as mature political and religious leaders. Times were still good when Owl, daughter of Little Raven’s brother, and Left Hand, an orphan, and their peers in the second cohort were born between 1830 and 1845. As teens or young adults they defended themselves from US Army attacks and witnessed the treaty councils. Arriving on the reservation in 1870 as adults in their prime, they worked to adapt to new ways of subsistence while protecting their values.

Members of the third cohort, born 1846–1859, were children during the times of buffalo hunting and intense warfare. In the Washita Massacre some died, but as a boy Medicine Grass survived. He and his cohort, including Bichea and her husband, reached the reservation as young adults deemed too old for school. Guided in religious and economic life by members of the two elder cohorts, they were mature adults in the 1890s, when the Ghost Dance and peyote religions arose, and generally practiced both old and new rituals. The cohort born between 1860 and 1879, named for Jessie Spread Hands and Little Raven Jr., spent most or all of their childhood on the reservation, and many of them attended schools. Most members of this generation practiced the newer rituals, sometimes in combination with Christianity and the traditional Offerings Lodge (Sun Dance). All tribal members in these cohorts received land allotments when the government divided the reservation into individual farms and sold the “surplus” lands to white people in 1892, but the

youngest members of the youngest cohort did not. Born between 1880 and 1899, Jess Rowledge, Myrtle Lincoln, and their peers in the fifth cohort all attended school and had no opportunity to progress through the traditional age-based ceremonial lodges. As adults, many were active in the peyote religion and later gained political leadership in elective tribal governments.

At the outset of the first chapter Fowler explains how and why the Arapaho, a large and powerful tribe of buffalo hunters based in eastern Colorado and Wyoming in the early nineteenth century, became the smaller remnant who settled on an Oklahoma reservation in 1870. The treaties they signed with the US government in 1851 and after did not protect their lands from invasive settlers and unprovoked attacks. Arapaho leaders who had survived decades of war and disease developed a conciliatory strategy toward Americans, hoping that a guaranteed homeland close to their original territory would enable them to live according to their own values. After thus setting the context, Fowler presents the “Rules of Life” governing the Arapaho gender and age systems that prevailed between 1808 and 1869. Using specific examples from a wide range of sources, Fowler follows men and women moving through the life cycle, working separately and together in economic pursuits, religious lodge rituals, and political decision-making, fulfilling reciprocal responsibilities as members of each age grade. The author shows individual women and men as having varied interests and skills, and different families as having more or less property and power, although all of them faced an increasingly dangerous world.

In the second chapter Fowler outlines the “civilization strategy” the Arapahos developed in their first three decades on the reservation, 1870–1901. By maintaining their religious rituals and polygamous family structure that fit their male-deficient gender ratio, while applying their communal work and sharing patterns to new freighting and ranching enterprises, “they cooperated with the agents in accepting new kinds of work and schools, but did so on their own terms” (112). Fowler highlights how individuals of each cohort from young school and older camp children, through older religious and political leaders, coped with the challenges of their new lives while honoring their old values. While older Arapahos continued their age-graded lodge initiations and Offerings Lodge ceremonies despite agents’ disapproval, many younger married couples, and some older ones, challenged both agents and elders, preferring new Ghost Dance and peyote rituals. Although Arapahos accepted allotment in 1892, most families continued to live in tent communities, rather than on individual homesteads, and moved with the seasons. Men and women maintained their complementary gender traditions within a strong extended family context.

Fowler’s third chapter focuses on the early twentieth century, when Arapahos increasingly suffered the consequences of federal policies: poverty,

land loss, dishonest management, and paternalistic control over individual lease accounts. Allotment regulations, reflecting American assumptions that women and elders needed protection, complicated family relationships, as only the groups that agents deemed “incompetent” retained their land. As the gender ratio evened out, monogamy became more prevalent, and couples of the fourth and fifth cohorts worked as partners, pooling income as they tried to fulfill responsibilities to extended families. Politically, Arapahos became defiant, seeking redress of wrongs and broken treaties from the federal government. Although older ceremonial and political chiefs joined protest delegations to Washington, younger educated landless adults served as district chiefs and as delegates on the first agent-appointed tribal councils. Later they sought election to similar posts created by tribal government reorganization in the 1930s. By then, peyote had become the dominant religion on the reservation but the Offerings Lodge was still practiced and respected, and women and men shared ceremonial authority in both rituals.

Fowler’s conclusion summarizes how women and men in each cohort coped with situations unique to their generation, but together followed a succession of strategies that enabled them to maintain key values. She emphasizes that marriage played a crucial role in Arapaho leadership throughout their history: “partnering, necessary to leadership as well as to a successful life career in general . . . reflected the ideals of a gender system based on complementarity” (297). Fowler then directly challenges previous scholars’ contentions of gender inequalities among Plains peoples, particularly debunking women’s decline in status during the trade era and hunter/warriors’ allegedly greater loss of role on the reservation.

Despite its complex structure and daunting level of detail, I found *Wives and Husbands* interesting and readable. This book is unique in its doubly longitudinal approach, covering the full length of individuals’ gendered lives as they responded to changing conditions over many years of Arapaho history in many aspects of life. The book is especially recommended to anyone seeking a Southern Arapaho ancestor, since Fowler provides information about many people mentioned in government records, ethnographers’ field notes, newspapers, and oral histories.

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