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the High Desert Museum in Bend, Oregon. In September 1989, the Buffalo Bill Historical Center in Cody, Wyoming, opened an exhibition entitled "The Plateau," featuring the Roger J. Bounds Foundation, Inc. collection. One of the shirts in the catalog was this shirt. We said it may have been from the Eastern Plateau; the pony-beaded strips are much older than the hide shirt and may date to the mid-1850s, and it is said to have once belonged to Wa-tas-Ti-ma-ni, father of old Chief Joseph.

I enjoyed this enriching book for my own ethnographic reasons. My focus has been on traditional Indian art and how it binds tribes together, weaving more intricate unions among us. Each photograph in this book is ripe for repeated study because each immortalizes our people. Although we claim tribal differences, ultimately we all encountered the white man and the treaties that took our land. Our lives are improving now, but we still have a long way to go. We can draw encouragement from our ancestors. We can see they kept their dignity and beauty intact throughout the injustices. We are grateful to the photographers who preserved their images for our children and us.

The Indian people are still uncommonly beautiful today, and the world continues to improve. When next the cameras arrive in Indian Country, expect a new confident greeting: one that explains about intellectual property rights and about sharing "a piece of the pie."

Mr. Thomas Morning Owl, who works in the Language Department on the Umatilla Reservation, assures us that Mr. Moorhouse is remembered and the Language Department is working with the University of Oregon on the photographs. The people of the Umatilla Reservation are grateful for the images of their ancestors. Although the exact meaning of the name Kumasag is not known, it is still proudly used on the reservation. Thomas closes with a friendly *ay aw kwithl* (goodbye for now).

*George P. Horse Capture Sr.*

National Museum of the American Indian

**The Shawnees and Their Neighbors 1795–1870.** By Stephen Warren. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005. 217 pages. \$35.00 cloth.

Stephen Warren has brought serious attention to the Shawnee Indians in this impressive ethnohistorical study, which includes five photographs, a helpful index, and a useful introduction. Covering six chapters, Warren's work spans a seventy-five-year history that witnessed the height of Shawnee glory and the decline of this resilient people.

The thesis for this study is "to understand how and why this shift in the political consciousness of the Shawnees took place" from being ethnically diverse villages to members of nations following removal (9). The author focuses on Shawnee social organization based on communities, historical change, and Native leadership. Warren has stressed the importance of community, and this is imperative in order to understand Indian people. American Indian history needs to be studied in the context of communities

instead of tribes. *Tribe* is an anthropological term that Indians have become comfortable with during the twentieth century, and they have given it new meaning in the realm of self-determination since the mid-1970s.

This book is about change and who controls change involving the Shawnee. Control over their own destiny was lost in the War of 1812 with the fall of Tecumseh and his effort for a collective Indian army of many tribes against the United States. More important is retaining the power of one's own identity, and the Shawnee have accomplished this. This feat has not been easy, as the Shawnee people have undergone considerable change culturally while undergoing removal from the Ohio Country to Kansas in the West and then to Indian Territory. It could also be said that this book is about transforming identity as long as the Shawnee sustained themselves by retaining the traditional past. Memory and oral tradition were essentially ethnographic tools for sustaining identity and reordering the political and kinship system within the people. Effective leadership was crucial in dealing with removal, treaties, war, missionaries, and other Shawnee and Indians trying to influence the Shawnee. Forced migrations have taken a toll on many indigenous peoples on this continent and throughout the world. At the same time, the Shawnee made allies with their neighbors, and this proved to be most helpful. In the Ohio region, they negotiated alliances with other Algonquian peoples, Muskogean linguistic groups, and Iroquoian speakers, specifically the Kickapoos, Muscogee Creek, and Cherokee. At times, the Shawnee also formed alliances with the British, French, and Spanish. Their ability to form alliances frustrated US officials who found their work dealing with the Shawnee even more challenging.

Warren's methodological approach is based on careful research of archival sources and talking to Indians who are Shawnee. Why? "History" is also personal and familial, and it is conveyed at a range of rituals throughout the year" (4). Scholars who write about Indians would do well to learn to talk to Indians because they have built their careers on studying them. Most important, Warren listened to Shawnee elders. Talking to Indians is not a big deal, but it seems to be a problem for many scholars who still write "about" Indians. Scholars are afraid to talk to the people that they are writing about and feel uncomfortable due to the fact that they are writing their history for them. As Warren explains, much can be learned from these conversations, especially regarding how communities functioned. In his research, Warren has pursued primary sources in five states or more in order to reconstruct the big picture of Shawnee life. Warren notes that he tried not to make important presumptions about the Shawnee. This allowed him to learn from the Shawnee by observing their politics in operation. Warren takes an analytical approach of focusing on localism and comparing the important changes on village center presence to kinship-driven divisions among the Shawnee. This allowed him to understand the internal dynamics of Shawnee political relations.

This book is a welcome addition to the literature on the Shawnee. As a case study, it adds to the previous groundbreaking work of James Howard's *Shawnee! The Ceremonialism of a Native American Tribe and Its Cultural Background* published in 1981. Warren has done a splendid job in this significant contribution by showing how Indians have adopted new strategies. Simultaneously,

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.

*Donald L. Fixico*

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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