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American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title

American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82. By Robert H. Keller, Jr.

Permalink

<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/5ct1921g>

Journal

American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 9(1)

ISSN

0161-6463

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Publication Date

1985

DOI

10.17953

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Cruikshank's ideas slightly, while extending several others. Cruikshank obviously appreciates the multivocalic nature of myths and she stresses the open-endedness of her own analysis. Some lines she might want to consider more fully in the future in relation to these stories are: the traditional consequences of entering a marriage not arranged by one's parents; "residence rules" after marriage, which are somewhat oversimplified as presented; the paucity of children resulting from marriages between humans and superhumans; and the specific patterning of stories in which such offspring do occur. She might also consider the structural manipulation and literary nuances of her two narrators, who speak three distinct native languages in addition to English (Tlingit and Athapaskan in the case of Mrs. Sidney, and Tutchone in Mrs. Smith's case). Each narrator manages to engage both the aesthetic and moral sensibilities of their localized groups, making uniquely their own stories told by Tlingit and Athapaskan speakers over a wide area of western North America. Also, the actual interpretation of the tales by younger Indian women should be assessed. The list of possibilities is, of course, endless, and Cruikshank has already demonstrated her capacity to generate and follow through her own valuable ideas.

The book has a few typographical errors, and my count of the number of stories does not jibe with Cruikshank's (p. 4), but the importance and timeliness of the publication totally override these very minor matters. The only significant misfortune is that the original title of the monograph is shortened on both the cover and the title page; thus I have supplied "Oral Narrative" in the heading of this review, and corrected the "e" of "Women" to "a," giving the book its full and correct title.

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American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869–82. By Robert H. Keller, Jr. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983. 359 pp. \$27.50 Cloth.

The Indian policy reform movement of the late nineteenth century has attracted the attention of many historians in the last two

decades. Robert H. Keller, Jr.'s interest in religious history, particularly First Amendment issues, led him in 1967 to write a dissertation on Grant's Peace Policy, which officially linked church and state in the governance of Indian reservations. Keller's *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy, 1869-82* updates his original study, and adds much to the readers' appreciation of the complexity of Indian affairs in the period. In his strongest chapter, the author stresses that the Peace Policy, rather than forging a new partnership, was the culmination of 250 years of governmental encouragement of mission efforts, indicating that in the period, "the First Amendment, like ethics of property rights and contracts, did not apply to Indians" (p. 168).

In *American Indian Policy in Crisis* (1976), Francis Paul Prucha, the foremost scholar in this field, describes the Peace Policy as "Basically . . . a state of mind," and as such, difficult to define or date (p. 30). Keller decided to do so anyway, limiting it to the years between 1869 and 1882, and defining the Policy in terms of four "radical innovations" President Grant made in 1869-70: 1) the appointment of Seneca General Ely S. Parker as the first Indian to serve as Commissioner of Indian Affairs; 2) the allocation of control of the appointment of reservation agents to the churches; 3) the creation of the Board of Indian Commissioners, composed of prominent Protestants, to oversee the Indian Office; and 4) the expansion of federal aid to Indian education and missions. This definition provides clarity, but does not ease the problem of establishing a termination date for the Peace Policy. Parker resigned in 1871; the Board of Indian Commissioners suffered a cut in Congressional funding in 1882 but lasted until 1934; and federal support of mission schools not only continued, but increased after 1882. What did actually end in that year was the acceptance of church nomination of agents, the practice most often associated with the term "Peace Policy," and the focus of much of Keller's book.

Using materials gathered from extensive research in church and government archives, Keller amply demonstrates that Peace Policy politics were anything but peaceful. Initial church reluctance to participate was overcome, but interdenominational squabbling, low priority assigned Indian concerns by many churches, and conflicts among missionaries, agents, reformers, and politicians continued, despite some instances of ecumenical cooperation. The Board of Indian Commissioners, with its joint

control diluted to supervision, was rendered nearly useless by 1882, Keller asserts, referring readers to Prucha for a judgment less "excessively harsh" (p. 274). I would also suggest Paul Stuart's *The Indian Office* (1979), an excellent institutional study that Keller does not cite, for an explanation of the importance of the Board's functioning throughout the 1880s and 1890s.

While specific examples can only be used sparingly to illuminate issues in a monograph such as this, those that Keller provides enhance our appreciation of the different denominational perspectives and difficult personalities involved in the Peace Policy. The intrepid and intransigent reformer William Welsh is prominent, and Ezra Hayt appears determined to engender his homonym. Keller makes the complexities of an agent's position abundantly clear in his brief sketches of those caught among the conflicting demands of church and government policy, Eastern and Western public opinion, and Indian needs at White Earth, Kiowa, Devil's Lake, Cheyenne-Arapaho, Yakima, and Neah Bay. The interest these case studies inspire points to fruitful areas for further research on biographies of missionaries, reformers, and agents, as well as in-depth studies of the workings of the Peace Policy on specific reservations. The author approvingly cites Clyde A. Milner's fine book, *With Good Intentions* (1982) as "a model study of the Policy's impact on tribal life" (p. 317); many more such works are needed.

Keller's chapter on the cultural impact of the Peace Policy, entitled "Gentle Genocide," suffers from the paucity of tribal histories centered on this period. He concentrates largely on reformers' views of the necessity of Indian assimilation, and does not present evidence to support his claim that "cultural destruction was by far the major impact of the Peace Policy on the majority of Indians" (p. 154). In his introduction to a six page appendix of charts evaluating the success of the Policy in achieving its assimilationist goals, Keller questions the reliability of the reports on which his data are based, but does not explain that the quantifiable indices of Indian "progress" (cleanliness, adoption of American style homes and dress, farming, and the presence of schools and missions) do not add up to "cultural destruction."

The Peace Policy thus proves as problematic to evaluate as it was to define. Following the reformers in using the outward signs of "civilization" noted above, Keller hesitantly states that

the Policy achieved at least moderate success on approximately 70% of its reservations (p. 70). However, Keller concludes that overall, the Policy was a failure due to "An endless list of unforeseen difficulties," including "malicious politicians, . . . public indifference, . . . chance, honest error, . . . lack of time, . . . alien Indian cultures, . . . A booming population . . . human ignorance, . . . disease, and deception," among many other factors, that "overpowered the good intentions" of the Policy's proponents (p. 215). Keller also asserts that the Protestant reformers "ignored the fact, or did not realize, that religion is only one element in history" (p. 215).

Keller chides contemporary Indian historians for a similar fault: "Just as United States history too often is written omitting Indians, Indian history can be written as if it were central to America's past. It was not" (p. 15). That, it seems to me, depends on one's perspective, and whether or not one defines "America" in strictly white male terms. The study of Indian policy is not, strictly speaking, Indian history. It is a complex field defined by multiple intersections: of tribal histories, intellectual trends, religious and reform movements, and economic, political and cultural realities, and generally concentrates more on the white side of Indian-white relations. For Keller to dismiss works emphasizing the Indian side as marginal is ethnocentric and condescending. Perhaps he was overstating his case for the importance of context, but the remark is inappropriate and disturbing nonetheless.

In spite of this, I recommend *American Protestantism and United States Indian Policy* for specialists in Indian policy studies who need to understand the denominational context of the Peace Policy, which has not been covered as completely previously. Keller's mentor, R. Pierce Beaver, includes a chapter on the Peace Policy and missions in his *Church, State, and the American Indian* (1966), but Keller provides much more detail on denominational differences. Keller's work presents the complexity of the Peace Policy more fully than two other early policy studies: Loring Benson Priest's *Uncle Sam's Stepchildren* (1942, 1969) and Henry E. Fritz's *The Movement for Indian Assimilation* (1963). Since Keller mentions Catholic involvement in the Peace Policy only briefly, Peter J. Rahill's work, *The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy* (1953), is still a useful companion volume. Similarly, Robert Winston Mardock's *The Reformers and the American Indian*

(1971), which emphasizes public opinion during the period, and Paul Stuart's *The Indian Office*, which places the policy in its institutional setting, provide important contextual information. Clyde Milner's *With Good Intentions* focuses on Quaker work among the Pawnees, Otoes, and Omahas, and provides an essential reservation perspective missing from most policy studies. Still, if I were required to recommend only one book on Indian policy in this period, I would name Francis Paul Prucha's *American Indian Policy in Crisis*, which includes the Peace Policy years in a clear and balanced analysis of late nineteenth century reform, and provides all the detail most readers would need.

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Navajo Sandpainting: From Religious Art to Commercial Art.
By Nancy J. Parezo. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1983.
251 pp. \$29.95 Cloth.

Parezo's book constitutes a milestone in studies pertaining to art and culture change. While there have been numerous important publications about Navajo sandpainting, including those by Reichard and Wyman, Parezo's study is the first to address the process of secularization and concomitant development of commercial sandpaintings. Because of the integral role played by sandpaintings in ceremonial life, the transition from sacred art to commercial art represents a particularly illuminating example of continuity and change in contemporary Native American societies. Parezo resolves the apparent anomaly of a secularized orientation of a sacred art by a sensitive analysis of the process by which traditional values adapt to new realities.

Cultures are dynamic: they can and do change, they can and do survive. Adaptability has been a salient characteristic of Navajo culture since the people arrived in the Southwest some time between A.D. 1000 and 1500. By the 18th century, the Navajos had borrowed a significant number of traits from the cultural inventory of the Pueblo Indians, the original inhabitants of the land. In addition to farming and weaving, certain aspects of the Pueblo belief system were integrated into Navajo ritual prac-