The Great Father: the United States Government and the American Indians

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some farm work. Rising early in the morning, milking, pitching manure, husking corn, and tens of other odd jobs. You never were at liberty. I was town bred and longed for city life again” (117–118).

So he moved on to Chicago for more adventures, most of them as a taxi driver. Mixed in with interesting encounters was a good measure of marveling at the wonders of Chicago, among them the living quarters of thousands of blacks. “They resembled,” he recalled, “the old cave dwellers and I could hardly imagine such living quarters being maintained in a civilized country like the U.S.A.” (129). As this remark shows, he was not reluctant to criticize the land he had come to love.

He had reason to criticize it, of course, for the treatment he received when he was arrested and jailed by the immigration officials who had caught up with him. Of his detention and deportation, he made a lively tale, written with good cheer. Before leaving, he made the rounds to say farewell, and then it was off to Ellis Island. Now he was the emigrant, headed the other way. “Good-bye Manhattan.” Upon his return to the Netherlands, Leeflang pursued a career as a writer and artist, developing the skills that make American Travels of a Dutch Hobo such an engaging work. It should be taken for what it is: an impressionistic recollection of interesting adventures of an earlier time. Factual accuracy was never Leeflang’s concern, nor should it be his readers’. The book deserves to be enjoyed, and it will be.

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Readers familiar with the scholarship of Francis Paul Prucha, S. J., professor of history at Marquette University, welcomed The Great Father, rich in detail and synthesis, and not likely to be duplicated. Those unfamiliar with Prucha’s collective works discovered here the most comprehensive study yet produced on federal Indian policy. For much of the nineteenth century, American Indians commonly referred to the president, head and symbol of the United States government, as the “Great Father.” Indeed, it was common for Indians to use kinship terms, not so much to indicate genealogical descent as to underscore social arrangements and obligations. This method of address became a source for misunderstanding by whites. Indians regarded a father as possessed of both authority and responsibility, the latter tending toward considerably more indulgence than in white families. Govern-
ment officials adopted the term, thus reinforcing the supposed familial relationship and anticipating ideas about Indians as dependent—and, one suspects, dutiful—children later established in either judicial decision or congressional legislation. For example, Chief Justice John Marshall in his opinion in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) mentioned that the Cherokees addressed the president as the Great Father and thereby indicated their relationship to the United States government which resembled wards to a guardian. Prucha’s history of federal Indian policy is the story of that relationship over two centuries, of fathers and their would-be children, rarely acting as equals, and how neither one often fulfilled the expectations of the other.

Prucha believes that there has been far greater continuity and unity in the government’s policies towards Indians than either he or other scholars have previously demonstrated. The vast literature on government-Indian relations, to which Prucha has contributed an unprecedented twelve books, reflects only selected partial aspects or limited chronological periods. The author found the unifying theme to be paternalism. This is certain to upset some readers, especially those ethnohistorians who have examined federal policies from the perspective of traditional tribal histories. Yet Prucha may not be casually dismissed simply as an apologist for the Indian bureau. As he explained clearly in his preface, the white practitioners about whom he writes considered paternalism as a humane Christian approach to the serious problems that faced the nation in its relations with Indians. Many Indians themselves accepted paternalism as welcome and necessary support. The irony has been that Indians, while struggling in this century for self-determination, have nevertheless insisted that the trust obligations of the government be maintained and in some instances expanded. So that readers would not misconstrue his history of an idea as an endorsement, Prucha wrote with characteristic understatement that “paternalism also had its oppressive aspects, and criticism of it has frequently arisen. ... Throughout the two centuries covered by this study, however, the controlling force in Indian-white relations has been the policy determined by the white government, not the wishes of the Indians” (xxviii).

Prucha divided the work at 1880. The first volume covers most closely an era marked by extensive diplomacy and almost incessant warfare in one region or another. It also incorporates the greatest concentration of Prucha’s three decades of research and writing. He indicates in footnotes at the beginning of each chapter from which of his books he has synthesized the narrative. The second volume examines a century marked by programs, almost universally unsuccessful, for assimilation of American Indians into mainstream society; but in
Contrast of this 20th century with the history of disasters in federal Indian policy, the New Deal era and the 1960s and 1970s provide welcome relief in the forms of reinvigorated tribalism and renewed emphasis on self-determination.

Volume one begins with a prologue that reviews the colonial origins of federal policy and includes a discussion of "Images of the Indians" (5–9). In the subsequent twenty-three chapters, further organized into five parts, each with a formal introduction, the story progresses from the American Revolution, through Indian Removal and the Civil War, to an extensive analysis of President Grant's Peace Policy and the first stirrings of Gilded Age reform. The author concludes, by way of introduction to volume two, that "the plans and progress that came from...implementing the peace policy fell short of the firm legislative enactments that were the ultimate goal" of reformers, commissioners of Indian affairs, and secretaries of the interior. "To a large extent their exhortations were ineffective at the time, but they were not in vain. The ideas espoused in the 1860s and 1870s became the platform for a concentrated and successful drive in the next two decades that transformed the relations between the United States government and the Indians" (606).

Volume two, in twenty-four chapters and five parts, explores those transformations from the era of the Dawes Act and its emphasis on individual allotment, through the Indian New Deal, to a bold conclusion entitled "The American Indians in 1980." For the years after 1900, except for brief accounts derived from the author's The Churches and the Indian Schools, 1888–1912 (1979), the narrative is new. From the turn of the century to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Prucha explains, "the Indian Office came face to face with the problems of dealing with Indians, not as a relatively few tribal entities, but as thousands upon thousands of individual wards of the federal government. Under these conditions the paternalism of the federal government...increased instead of diminished until the bureaucracy of the Indian Service dominated every aspect of the Indians' lives" (759). Prucha is at his best when describing the changes from the theoretical, religiously oriented dreams of the Christian reformers of the late nineteenth century, to the pragmatic, practical approach, with its emphasis on efficiency, good management, and occasionally the efficacy of "social science" that marked the Progressive Era and the New Deal. Volume two, the only complete history of policy in the twentieth century, could legitimately stand on its own merits. Except for the period of the New Deal, and to a lesser extent the policy of termination in the 1950s, policies of this century have until now escaped so thorough a treatment.
Although Prucha used a variety of sources, his principal ones were printed documents from the executive branch and Congress. The orientation of *The Great Father* is, therefore, predominantly that of Washington, D.C., reflecting the growth, development, and continuity of Indian policy rather than its day-to-day application at the individual agencies. Certain readers may question the author’s reluctance to treat more fully the effects of those policies on Indian communities. Prucha would deny timidity and assert instead that to write a history of Indian responses to federal policies—considering the great diversity of Indian groups, let alone individual responses within those groups—would have required at least another lifetime of study. The author justifies his approach by explaining that, regardless of opinion or orientation, the policies and programs of the United States have had a determining influence on the history of Indian tribes and should therefore be studied in detail.

*The Great Father* is handsomely illustrated with many previously unpublished photographs. Readers would also be particularly pleased that Prucha insisted that footnotes should accompany the text. Aside from their convenient placement, the notes are unrivaled for their breadth; they complement and, in many instances, amplify the text with critical comments on the literature. Readers offended by Prucha’s scrupulously objective tone and cool style will nevertheless find ample references to dissenting viewpoints. Four appendixes contain a list of presidents, their secretaries of the interior, and their commissioners of Indian affairs; Indian population; federal recognition of tribal groups in the United States as of 1980; and the nomenclature of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Finally, a bibliographical essay will serve scholars for years to come.

*The Great Father* is an important work. In a less expensive paper-bound edition or in an abridged single-volume edition, it should achieve the wider audience it deserves. The work is of such consistent high quality, it comes as no surprise that the Organization of American Historians in April 1985 awarded it the Ray Allen Billington Prize.

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*Wolf That I Am: In Search of the Red Earth People*, by Fred McTaggart.  

*Wolf That I Am* is a paperback edition of a book first published in 1976. Except for a new foreword by William T. Hagan, the book is unchanged from the original. It is worth reviewing again, however, because it is important for Iowa readers. In the late 1960s, Fred McTaggart was a grad-