The Indian Rights Association: the Herbert Welsh Years, 1882-1904

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fashion than has previously been available. The book is well indexed, and the journals are supported by useful maps. The volume's only weakness is its introduction which, while it capably provides background on the evolution of the fur trade on the northern plains, does no more than mention many new social history perspectives on Indian life. The authors contend that the principal value of their project is that the journals will tell part of the story of Indian decline on the northern plains. The rest of the story will come into focus when these journals are "combined with the results of archaeological research recently conducted in their villages." Yet even though both authors are archaeologists active on the northern plains, there is little in this volume to suggest any new perspectives on the early fur trade. While historians will be justly grateful for Thiessen and Wood's work as editors, they also will be disappointed by their surprising reticence as anthropologists. Regrettably the task of integrating historical records with the material culture of the northern plains awaits future scholars.

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In December, 1983, the Indian Rights Association celebrated its one hundredth year of existence. Founded in Philadelphia in 1882, the IRA was the brainchild of Herbert Welsh, an upper-middle-class Philadelphian, who served as the association's corresponding secretary. In this first book-length study of the IRA during the Welsh years, 1882–1904, William T. Hagan, Distinguished Professor of History at the State University of New York, College at Fredonia, details the association's beginnings, its scope of operations, and its impact on federal Indian policy. Hagan relied extensively on the wealth of materials in the IRA archives for his book. What resulted was a highly informative, readable study, revealing the successes and failures of the most influential Indian reform organization in late nineteenth century America.

Hagan presented good background material on the principal figures who worked for the IRA, including Welsh, Charles Painter (the IRA's Washington lobbyist), Painter's successors Francis Leupp and S. M. Brosius, and Matthew K. Sniffen, Welsh's successor. Welsh held the key position as corresponding secretary and dominated the association's activities. He was an avid supporter of the total assimilation of Indians into the mainstream of American society. Indeed, Welsh believed that Indians should obtain a Christian education, hold land in
severalty, and gradually break away from government rations in order to make themselves self-supporting.

By having lobbyists in Washington, the IRA could monitor, influence, and introduce legislation dealing with Indian matters. Painter, and later Leupp and Brosius, proved to be good choices. Hagan elaborates on their strengths and weaknesses, concluding that Painter was the most effective lobbyist of the three. Leupp tended to be too busy with other pursuits, while Brosius lacked self-confidence in his speaking abilities. On the other hand, Sniffen, who began as a clerk for the IRA in 1884, remained in Philadelphia and gradually took over the reins of the association after Welsh was forced to limit his activities due to failing health.

As Hagan indicates, the number of cases with which the IRA became involved was staggering. Hagan gives many examples of the IRA helping different tribes protect their land base and natural resources, including assistance to California tribes whose lands were being threatened and to Chippewas whose timber resources were being illegally exploited. Other cases involved reservation discord between Indian Bureau employees or between Indians and their agents. The IRA also campaigned for better Indian Bureau personnel, particularly agents on reservations, and the association supported placing the Indian Bureau under civil service requirements to ensure top candidates.

In evaluating Welsh's twenty-two years of leadership, Hagan makes several important observations. Welsh was a staunch reformer who devoted a great deal of his time and energy to causes. An inherited fortune helped enable him to do so. Welsh realized the importance of cultivating people, especially those in positions of power or influence, and of utilizing other reform groups to support his causes. He had a network of contacts on Indian reservations who supplied him with pertinent information. Inspection trips to reservations, sometimes conducted by Welsh, were often beneficial in recognizing, confirming, or solving problems. He would write numerous letters and publish pamphlets to win converts to his views. His ability to raise money to help Indians was remarkable.

Such zeal, however, often irritated both friends and foes, including Theodore Roosevelt, who Welsh considered a good friend. Equally significant was Welsh's interest in other reform causes after 1895. Among his new causes were publishing a weekly paper which stressed municipal reforms in Philadelphia, and becoming an antiimperialist regarding United States involvement in the Philippines, an unpopular position to take at the time. His activities in these new areas diverted his attention from Indian reforms and weakened his effectiveness. Yet
the IRA continued to remain the most important organization to which Indian and non-Indian people could turn for redress of grievances. Hagan has written a valuable contribution to the field. The Indian Rights Association should be required reading for all students of Indian and white relations.

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Scholars interested in the study of American Indian policy have been actively pushing their research into the twentieth century in an attempt to understand the position of Native Americans in the country today. As with any neglected area of research, the rush to fill the perceived void is often filled with works of uneven quality. Such is the case with American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century, edited by prolific writer Vine Deloria, Jr., and containing selections by eleven authors, including Deloria, on various topics relating to the results of contemporary Indian policy. Instead of writing from the position of the “high ideal” of congressional intent, Deloria stressed in his introduction that this book examines the implementation of government policy at the more obscure reservation level where Indian people are directly affected and as such, this is an admirable venture into understanding twentieth-century Indian policy.

As editor, Deloria stated that the “study of government policy, at any level, is best done by hindsight” (3). Yet, no historians, those trained researchers of the past, authored any of these essays; instead, the authors primarily represent the fields of political science, sociology, and law. The essays in this book reflect these diverse academic backgrounds and vary from the short “American Indian Policy: An Overview,” by Joyotpaul Chaudhuri, to Deloria’s lengthy “The Evolution of Federal Indian Policy Making.” In addition to general essays, specific studies are included such as Mary Wallace’s article titled “The Supreme Court and Indian Water Rights,” and John Petroskey’s work “Indians and the First Amendment.”

Fred L. Ragsdale, Jr., wrote an insightful essay entitled “The Deception of Geography.” A lawyer by profession, Ragsdale carefully traced the recent legal theory which suggests that tribes residing in Indian country which have historically been defined from a geographical perspective are seen more and more as political entities. This change is significant in that it is easier for courts or Congress to diminish the tri-