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Reclaiming the Reservation: Histories of Indian Sovereignty Suppressed and Renewed. By Alexandra Harmon.

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Author

Ami, Christine

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Indigenous peoples of the Great Lakes, where they were widely used. Métis women near Lake Winnipeg, Manitoba, developed the bags, and via trade routes with inland Indigenous groups, they reached coastal communities in the late 1860s or early 1870s. Unlike some Northwest Coast art, hybrid forms do not evidence formline design principles and have been positioned as inferior expressions from “provincial” people that raise questions regarding authenticity and loss of tradition. Smetzer intends to reframe this discourse surrounding the historical canon of Northwest Coast Native art.

Smetzer provides a history of the Alaska Native Arts and Crafts Clearing House, the Alaska Native Brotherhood and the Alaska Native Sisterhood, discussing the production of Tlingit beadwork under their auspices. She also discusses attempts by Indian Arts and Crafts Board officials to promote and support the production of Alaska Native arts and crafts. Bureau of Indian Affairs field representative Oscar Lipps conducted a survey of the Native communities of Alaska in 1936, traveling with Tlingit lawyer William L. Paul. The report that Lipps submitted after his trip concluded that the Native communities of southeastern Alaska would benefit from government funding of arts and crafts. Based on Lipps’s report, his own observations while visiting Alaska, and others’ reports from northern Indigenous communities, Indian Arts and Crafts Board General Manager René d’Harnoncourt issued an additional report on the state of Alaska Native arts and crafts. D’Harnoncourt concluded that two primary markets for Alaska Native arts and crafts existed: a tourist market in inexpensive souvenirs and a high-end market of monied customers usually from the American northeast. Significantly, as Smetzer points out, D’Harnoncourt shifted the discourse surrounding “improvement” of Native arts and crafts—moving away from one centered on corruption by contaminating influences and toward one accepting of multiple influences and histories.

Smetzer concludes her study with the work of several contemporary Tlingit artists, Tani S’eiltiln, Chloe French, Lily Hope, and Shgen Doo Tan George, who, like their ancestors, have incorporated new materials into their work, drawing on diverse sources, global and local alike. These are the women who are doing the hard work of cultivating awareness of Tlingit women’s histories and perspectives. *Tlingit Women, Beadwork, and the Art of Resilience* also goes a long way toward achieving this end. It is a superb and compelling study.

Jennifer McLerran, *emeritus*
Northern Arizona University

Reclaiming the Reservation: Histories of Indian Sovereignty Suppressed and Renewed. By Alexandra Harmon. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2019. 410 pages. \$35.00 paper; \$99.00 cloth.

Inverting the “Indian Problem” framework, which presupposes dealings with tribal communities as mere burdens faced by the federal and state governments, Alexandra Harmon’s book instead tackles the burden of Native people’s encumbered assertion of jurisdiction on tribal lands over non-Indian individuals and non-Indian entities.

In other words, focusing primarily on what the author declares as the “non-Indian problem,” *Reclaiming the Reservation: Histories of Indian Sovereignty Suppressed and Renewed* is a critical analysis of affronts to tribal sovereignty. Based on converging case studies of the Quinault Indian Nation and the Suquamish Tribe of Washington state, Harmon recaps the development, impact, and transgressions of federal Indian policy within localized Indigenous communities, emphasizing the lived experiences of tribal community members not reflected in court proceedings or legal documents.

Harmon commences her study of the Suquamish and Quinault attempts to confront the “non-Indian problem” through the review of the 1978 US Supreme Court’s case *Oliphant v. Suquamish Tribe*. This case, which revealed the fragility of tribal sovereignty, resulted in a recent ruling declaring that tribes do not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians, even when crimes have been committed on tribal lands. In addition to the examination of inherent criminal jurisdiction, Harmon investigates regulatory powers of the Quinault and Suquamish tribes as they relate to economic development (lumber enterprises and fisheries), tribal membership (enrollment criteria), land titles (allotments), and tax authorization (county-tribe taxation dispute).

The questions that Harmon brings to light include: how supported are tribal nations by the federal, state, and local governances to enact and reinforce self-determination as defined by a tribe; what discriminatory aversions continue to exist inside and outside the courtroom that discredit Indigenous sovereignty; and how does the *Oliphant v. Suquamish Tribe* case produce ramifications that impact other tribal nations’ dealings with non-Indians on tribal lands? While exploring these questions, Harmon directly and indirectly stresses the discrepancy regarding the definition and application of the term *self-determination*. Self-determination as it originally often was and is understood—as a term giving permission to Native Americans to choose full assimilation—is distinct from self-determination as inherent sovereignty, which promotes revitalization of Indigenous people’s rights and abilities to establish and realize aspirations as guided by traditional ways of knowing.

Reclaiming the Reservation focuses primarily on the actions associated with the assimilationist definition of self-determination. The book explores the resolution to the “non-Indian problem” for the Quinault and the Suquamish as found within tribal abilities to maneuver the courts at local and federal levels mediated through non-Native legal representation as well as through the non-Native and Native driven efforts to raise Native Americans’ political consciousness. In doing so, Harmon introduces central Native protagonists from the Quinault and the Suquamish tribes who assert their presence in the Westernized political and legal proceedings for the sake of Indigenous sovereignty on local and national levels.

The book smoothly transitions between local, national, and legal histories and allows for presentation of central federal Indian policy and Native American history terms, concepts, cases, and laws, including that of Public Law 280. PL 280 granted states the right to assume civil and criminal jurisdiction in matters involving Native Americans on reservation lands in 1953. As Harmon addresses voids of law and practice regarding varying levels of criminal acts committed by non-Indians within the Quinault and Suquamish tribal boundaries, her work contributes to foundational literature that explores the repercussions

of PL 280, including that of Carole Goldberg-Ambrose (1997), Vanessa Jimenez and Soo C. Song (1998; 2018), and Duane Champagne and Carole Goldberg (2012).

Moreover, this body of work opens critical intertribal dialogue with Native readers across Indian country. Harmon connects the implications of these case studies to larger systemic issues brought forth once again through the Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women/People movements. This includes the analysis of jurisdiction battles that allow for non-Native and/or nontribal member batterers to avoid punishment when domestic violence is committed on tribal lands. Additionally, within the Native American studies classes at Diné College, *Reclaiming the Reservation* transforms into a catalyst to review how the Oliphant ruling impacts the criminal jurisdiction of the Navajo Nation. This text thus brings the relevancy of the Quinault and Suquamish experiences to a case study of the 2005 Ninth Circuit case *Means v Navajo Nation*, in which Oglala Lakota Russell Means unsuccessfully attempted to challenge the Navajo Nation's exercise of jurisdiction not only over non-Natives, but also Native individuals who were not Navajo Nation members.

Reclaiming the Reservation would have been strengthened through the exploration of the traditional judicial governance systems of the Quinault and the Suquamish pre-treaty/pre-contact that may or may not continue to thrive within the community. Although Harmon briefly mentions the traditional Quinault governance system which functioned under a hereditary chiefdom, it is only to establish a timeline of transition into an elected official leadership. Lost from her discussions are how non-secularized traditional laws have been upheld or suppressed in court proceedings. These ways of knowing and living, which govern inseparable human, natural, and supernatural interactions and provide guidance on what could be compared to as procedural law, would provide a point of departure for how tribes traditionally managed violations committed within their territories by nontribal members. As the tribes contend to resolve the “non-Native Problem” in the contemporary arena, such ontologically grounded guidance could lead the way to self-determination in terms of establishment of statutes, ordinances, or regulations that engage sovereignty—beyond what Harmon explains as “a late-nineteenth-century conception of tribes whose sovereignty existed only at the pleasure of the federal government and its top jurists” (294). Furthermore, such a presentation would provide a rich complication to Harmon's discussion regarding self-determination as defined by a pathway to assimilation, or a continuation of inherent sovereignty within the courtroom and beyond.

I recommend *Reclaiming the Reservation* as a point of departure for those wishing to critically analyze case studies of the “non-Indian problem” from legal, economic, and sociopolitical perspectives. Individuals seeking to broaden their personal explorations of federal Indian policy will find material in how Harmon presents the Quinault and Suquamish histories, as well as those in undergraduate and graduate studies investigating the complexities of Indigenous sovereignty. Despite its use of treaties as the starting point of review, this is a pivotal Native American studies work that boldly demands the inclusion of community experiences outside the courts as a manner to revisit, rewrite, and re-right legal and policy analyses.

Christine Ami
Diné College