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the great migration of African Americans from the agricultural south to the industrial north are common, and there are now less classified if not totally declassified tales of the several secret federal enclaves built for atomic research.

What Fryer has contributed is the juxtaposition of these narratives in a manner accurate enough for those new to the issues but not too detailed to allow the conclusions to stand out. The primary conclusion seems obvious only from the safe vantage of hindsight. The failures documented here should persuade any remaining doubters that a condition of dependency is no preparation for self-government and trying to incubate democracy behind barbed wire is as futile as it is hypocritical.

*Steve Russell*

Indiana University–Bloomington

**Sequoyah Rising: Problems in Post-Colonial Tribal Governance.** By Steve Russell. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010. 194 pages. \$25.00 paper.

*Sequoyah Rising* is an engaging, intriguing book, perhaps even an influential one once it builds an audience. Author Steve Russell, a citizen of the Cherokee Nation and associate professor of criminal justice at Indiana University in Bloomington, asks some tough questions about dysfunctional reservation governance and aims them directly at the Native people who are doing the governing, while making it clear that he does not mean to offer accommodation to “new termination” advocates who would use such criticism to attack these governments, swarming, as he writes, “like buzzards to carrion” (3). “Since we plainly had governments before Europeans came,” Russell writes, “it is fair to ask: why can’t we seem to govern ourselves now?” (72). Russell goes on to say, “It is sad and ironic that we are quick to claim a major theoretical role in the creation of the American Constitution, but yet we imagine contemporary political communities only in visions derived from the colonial relation. Can we restore our vision?” (47).

The situation is not always as bleak as this. Many Native governments are in a state of transition. Witness, for example, the Muckleshoots, numbering about three thousand people near Tacoma, Washington, who used the legal recognition of fishing rights during the 1970s to build businesses and a sense of collective energy—and in just the nick of time, as their commonly held property had shrunk to one acre while the suburbs of the Seattle-Tacoma urban area advanced upon them. They capitalized on the urban area to open a casino, expanded the casino several times, and refused to make per-capita

payments, plowing their newfound income back into nation-building infrastructure and jobs. The Muckleshoots are not alone. Neither are the examples of Native peoples to whom gambling has brought factionalism and bloodshed, along with a *nouveau riche* class of individuals who use the idea of collective sovereignty as a cover for self-enrichment.

Russell has a keen eye for the contradictions in all cultures. At the time of Removal, the Cherokees owned more books than their Euro-American neighbors and were a fundamentally egalitarian culture in matters of communal landholding and gender equity that nevertheless had adopted chattel slavery (18–19). The Navajo Code Talkers served the United States in vital and unique ways between 1942 and 1945 even as the state of Arizona denied them the right to vote until 1948. The Indian Reorganization Act was fashioned to allow limited self-government, but John Collier and its other promoters set up a system in which failure to vote was taken as approval.

Russell frames many legal issues in innovative ways, as with the issue of reparations, which he suggests be argued not as compensation for past injury but “as injuries that are ongoing,” as in the recent Trust Fund class-action suit brought by Elouise Cobell (32). He also realizes that all cultures are amalgamations: “Still, I see self-evident truth in David Young’s famous remark that ‘No culture is so perfect that it will not bear improvement by borrowing from almost any other culture’” (8). The struggles to form viable governance are complicated by basic differences between Native and Western societies’ basic assumptions: Europeans sell deeds to parcels of land while “most Indian land tenure is based on what the colonists call usufruct [Jefferson was fond of this term]. We don’t believe we ‘own’ the land. Rather, the land owns us” (34).

Russell also contributes an incisive analysis of race, racism, and nationalism, finding that Europeans (along with other “races”) invented the idea of “the Indian” as a colonial administrative device, a way of defining “the other.” It is clear that Russell’s vision of future Native governance does not include appeals to race as an ideology. He quotes Ashley Montagu on race in 1942 (reacting to the Nazis when they briefly ruled much of Europe) as “man’s most dangerous myth” (108). Closer to Indian country, he could have quoted Vine Deloria Jr., who was fond of saying that although race does not exist, racism does.

This book is very engaging and thought provoking. My only complaints are minor ones, mainly having to do with some very conventional habits of word usage. These are easily correctable quibbles. Except in direct quotations, for example, I avoid using the word *settler* as a generic term for peoples who arrived from afar (usually, but not always, from Europe) to occupy land that had been used (for example, “settled”) by Native peoples, sometimes for many thousands of years. I find the word connotatively loaded not for what it says but for what it implies. Left unspoken is an assumption that the Native

peoples whom the “settlers” replaced had no established homelands and that, by the lights of Anglo-American real-estate law (eminent domain, or “highest and best use”), the new residents were making better use of the land and its resources. I may use a geographical or national affiliation (British or European, for example) of the new residents, or “immigrants.” If I am in a postcolonial mood and don’t mind drawing some right-wing flak, I may use *invaders*, which places the connotative shoe on the other foot.

Moreover, *tribe* (adj. *tribal*) is not a synonym for “group of Native American people.” A tribe is a unit of social and economic organization and is (or has been) used in many parts of the world. Many Native “tribes” are actually “nations” (referring to common origins; *natus* in Latin means “birth”). Russell is not solely afflicted with this usage. He does, however, use it with abandon, preceding dozens of words, among them: *context*, *citizens*, *press*, *newspaper*, *constitution*, *constitutional rights*, *leaders*, *sovereignty*, *democratic values*, and *elections*, including amorphous phrases such as “our tribal selves” (103). The use of *tribe* as a general reference to Native societies freezes them at a specific level of political organization—a small scale that connotatively justifies replacement by the larger, state-level, non-Indian “civilization.” Once again, Anglo-American real estate law is being invoked, often without direct reference.

One word that is often used with a certain sense of wish fulfillment is *postcolonial*, which is part of this book’s subtitle. Any group of peoples that is governed under a rubric of “domestic dependent nations” is not now in a state of postcolonial existence. Russell states as much very directly, “How can American Indian nations claim sovereignty while they concede dependency?” (37). Russell continues, “More tribes than not have been forced by U.S. policy to dream in English, but dream some kind of future we must. . . . We exist in law as exiles in our own land, involuntary citizens of the colonial state” (47).

Building a nation is difficult. Deloria points out that Native governments can be crippled by self-interested individuals (or groups) who use sovereignty as a cover for self-enrichment: “the alienation of Indian citizens who refuse to be bound by Indian community decisions and value” (46). Witness “warriors” smuggling drugs and weapons across the frozen St. Lawrence River at Akwesasne, justifying it all as an exercise of Native rights.

“Sequoyah rising”—a new form of Native government—is envisioned by Russell as evolving from a sharing of resources across reservation boundaries and by tapping new sources of income, such as taxation of people who are members of various Native nations but do not live on reservations. (“Sequoyah” was the first name proposed by the state that became Oklahoma.) “Sequoyah could rise again as the all-tribal union that eluded Pontiac, Dragging Canoe, and Tecumseh,” he writes. However, “None of this can happen while we cling to our historical role as victims, accurate as that memory may be” (149).

Oren Lyons (faith keeper of the Iroquois Grand Council at Onondaga) is fond of saying that “sovereignty is as sovereignty does.” No one asks a colonizer for a free pass to a state of postcolonialism. Peoples define their own futures. Russell ends with a look at the future that draws upon the “parallel governments” already existing outside officially sanctioned structures on many reservations, calling upon the visions of Mohandas K. Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr., and Cesar Chavez. *Sequoyah Rising* is a book worth reading with fundamental change in mind.

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**The Sierra Nevada before History: Ancient Landscapes, Early Peoples.** By Louise A. Jackson. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing Company, 2010. 209 pages. \$15.00 paper.

Louise Jackson introduces her work by noting that the prehistory of California's High Sierra is a story continually being rewritten about a region that is dynamic, demanding, and ever evolving in its dramatic topography. That theme shapes her effort to describe the Southern High Sierra Nevada region roughly bounded by Tehachapi Pass on the south to the Sonora Pass in the north, encompassing major watersheds of southeastern California and three national parks, numerous federal and state forests, and national monuments. *The Sierra Nevada before History* is a work of popular literature that will appeal to a readership interested in the natural history of the region and will be quite at home on the bookshelves of the visitors' centers of those public lands. The format of the book will appeal to that audience, in that it traces the region's prehistory from its geologic origins through early known human occupancy sequentially, replete with photographs and maps. The incorporation of a Native narrative to introduce chapters spanning geology, climate, plant and animal life, and protohistoric human settlement and occupation adds a human perspective of the interpretation of those landscapes.

That this is a popular rather than a scholarly work is its charm and its shortfall. Jackson unabashedly embraces a level of environmental determinism, which most scholars would shy away from, schooled as we are in the overreaction to that early twentieth-century paradigm. Such overly cautious scholarship sometimes denies the exploration of the strategies, responses, and influences that underpin the human/landscape relationship, and this is a challenge for expansive regional studies. Although Jackson offers an extensive bibliography, her work draws nearly exclusively from a body of scholarship that is a bit