

directly in the creation of tribal knowledge and non-Native scholars respecting those contributions. As such, this will be an invaluable contribution not only for scholars of Tlingits and Northwest coast cultures, but also for all scholars of all specialties who want to see what the new community-based scholarship can look like. By honoring the cultural heritage of Tlingit-Haida communities and putting the power of their cultural heritage squarely into their own hands, this volume is central to the “repatriation of knowledge” which Native scholars like Devon Mehesuah have long argued is necessary in Native studies.

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Structuring Sovereignty: Constitutions of Native Nations. By Melissa L. Tatum, Miriam Jorgensen, Mary E. Guss, and Sarah Deer. Los Angeles: UCLA American Indian Studies Center, 2014. 210 pages. \$40.00 paper.

With several hundred Native tribes and nations that have or need statements of their fundamental law, and a tradition of representative government centuries old, one may ask why Native America hasn't yet produced a culturally appropriate, comparative guide to constitution-making before now. *Structuring Sovereignty: Constitutions of Native Nations* will serve as a common ground for a national conversation about fundamental law across Turtle Island for any Native nation that undertakes what the book calls “a collective journey of self-discovery and reflection” which expresses “who we are as a people” (xi). This journey can be profoundly unifying in principle, and, at the same time, very divisive in practice.

This clearly written book is meant to serve as a guide to Native tribes and nations that are writing or revising constitutions, as well as students of the process. It is tempting to call this book a text or “how-to,” because it does have those attributes. It is also a tutorial on how to define sovereignty, with many exacting and illuminating examples: lessons in resource management from the Osages, for example, who have managed, against copious corporate pressure, to keep a major oil resource under collective tribal control for more than a century. The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) provide advice on impeachment from their Great Law of Peace, which helped to inspire Benjamin Franklin.

This book is notable because it provides examples from both traditional councils, such as the Northern Cheyenne Council of Forty-four and the Haudenosaunee Grand Council at Onondaga, as well as those written by governments falling within United States aegis under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Some Native nations, such as the Akwesasne Mohawk (St. Regis) have both. Other books do exist that tutor Native peoples on how to assemble constitutions, but many advise cookie-cutter replication of the United States Constitution and do not, according to the authors of this book, “account for differences across communities in political organization and government needs” (xi). Such guides also “tend to focus on external limits—those imposed by

federal law—rather than the space inside those ‘limits’ and the opportunities to push outward on them” (xi). Or, as Onondaga faith keeper Oren Lyons once put it two decades ago—at a Sovereignty summit in Washington, DC, according to a contemporary account in *Akwesasne Notes*—sovereignty is as sovereignty does.

Native constitutional heritage is especially notable in historical context. As Lyons notes in describing European colonists’ reception of Haudenosaunee democracy: “It is known that American colonists had enough contact with Indians to be acquainted with the basic facts about Indian governments. They could not, and did not, fail to notice that the Indians maintained a fairly stable and violence-free society even though they had no police or state organs of coercion. . . . Haudenosaunee political organization demonstrated that a form of participatory democracy was possible on a fairly large geographic scale” (20).

This book, unlike many on constitutional law, gives some thought to the meanings of words in historical context. See, for example, Albert Hale, former president of the Navajo Nation, on the power of words (9). Language is important to this inquiry. Beware the nineteenth-century diminishment of Native American political economies as “tribes,” rather than nations or confederacies; English (and United States) real estate law allows usurpation for “highest and best use”—usually for “settled” industrial or agricultural uses—over traditional, loose-knit Native American land tenure. Bear in mind that many Native nations and groups of nations had settlements for hundreds or thousands of years before diseases, alcohol, invading armies, and other maladies reduced their populations by as much as 90 percent. In the linguistics of place, if we are honest, we will acknowledge that the “settlers” were the real nomads.

The main body of this book begins with a short profile of a specific tribe or nation’s experience while drafting a new constitution, followed by several examples from nations around the world on a specific subject, such as defining citizenry, scope of governmental authority, governmental structure, legislative and executive functions, and the judiciary. Each chapter ends with a resource list for further exploration, as well as study questions. The book also considers questions that occur in any constitution-making process, such as “The Preamble as a Statement of Identity” (27–36). Certain questions are taken up with both Native and non-Native examples. For example, a constitution need not be written, although most are. The reader is reminded that neither the United Kingdom nor the Navajo Nation has a written constitution, although both invoke cultural practices and other norms in a legal context. The authors write sagely that, “Unwritten does not mean unclear or uncoded” (4).

Structuring Sovereignty also takes up controversies that resonate in many Native communities, such as, under definition of citizenry, the role of blood quantum vis-à-vis cultural connection to a given community (46–47). This work also may be unique in its consideration of several features of Native nations’ and tribes’ constitutions. For example, the constitution of the St. Regis Mohawk (Akwesasne) guarantees a “right to a clean and safe environment,” which, given the area’s deadly pollution by toxic chemicals, has yet to be even remotely realized (64). The Osage constitution requires a “perpetual obligation to ensure the preservation of the Osage Mineral Estate. . . . [and] the rights of members of the Osage Nation to income derived from that mineral estate”

(117). This constitution created the Osage Minerals Council, an independent agency, to discharge these obligations and to represent the interests of headright owners.

Continuing its melding of Native tradition with European constitutional law, this work describes the role of clan mothers in selecting—and, when necessary, removing—male leaders of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy's constituent national councils (127), as well as the Navajo courts' incorporation of "tribal customary laws into modern dispute resolution. . . [which illustrates that] indigenous precepts can fit into Western-style litigation and decision-making" (170).

On the Internet, *Structuring Sovereignty* also includes many more reference resources as an "Electronic Appendix," including texts of several dozen constitutions from Abenaki to Yurok, as well as updates and errata (<http://www.uanativenet.com/book/Constitutions-of-Native-Nations>). It will prove valuable both in the classroom and on reservations.

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This Benevolent Experiment: Indigenous Boarding Schools, Genocide, and Redress in Canada and the United States. By Andrew Woolford. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015. 431 pages. \$90.00 cloth, \$90.00 electronic.

In the last twenty years there have been numerous books on the impact of boarding schools on indigenous peoples' lives and cultures. Surely Andrew Woolford's study will be regarded as one of the most important. Several aspects of the study are particularly notable: his framing of the boarding school story in a comparative United States-Canadian context; his argument that both countries purposely employed boarding schools as instruments of cultural liquidation and genocide; that both countries have failed to both fully acknowledge the immensity of the social and psychological damage wrought on indigenous populations by these institutions; and that as a consequence, both have failed to redress in a meaningful manner the immensity of their crime. Over the course of making his arguments, the author brings to bear a breathtaking knowledge of both primary and secondary sources, seamlessly moving from theoretical constructions to wrenching firsthand indigenous testimonies.

At the center of the study is the proposition that for both countries, boarding schools functioned as genocidal institutions. Definition is, of course, central here. Drawing upon the writings of Raphael Lemkin and others, Woolford maintains that genocidal policies can be physical, biological, and cultural, and that "genocide is important not so much because it targets the bodies of group members but because it targets the relations that hold the group together as a persistent but changing entity" (32). Since boarding schools were devoted to the elimination of indigenous cultures, they played—however justified by policy makers of the day as benevolent agencies for uplift and integration—a crucial role in the genocidal process. Drawing upon the work of Patrick Wolfe, Woolford argues that such institutions were the natural

Woolford's fear is that both nations will ultimately attempt to bury the genocide issue altogether in an effort to get past the unpleasant truth that both were "born from a genocidal impulse" (296).

There is much to praise in this remarkable book. Woolford's contributions are threefold: his comparative analysis of the United States and Canadian systems, his analysis of the nature and levels of the settler-colonial mesh, and his arguments for redress. Some readers, no doubt, will object to his employment of the word "genocide" as something of a definitional stretch and will be more comfortable with the qualifier "cultural." It should also be noted that outside of offering up new testimonial evidence on the often horrific experiences that children endured at boarding schools, there is little new here on the overall capacity of these environments to wreak havoc on indigenous identities. Indeed, by focusing on the Santa Fe and Albuquerque schools on the United States side, he may have missed some of the worst abuses of the system writ large; that is to say, abuses in those institutions where Native communities held less sway over school officials' practices. It should also be pointed out that there is really nothing new about the inextricable connection between the colonizers' designs on indigenous lands and resources, on the one hand, and their education policies, on the other. Weakening students' collective bonds while simultaneously instilling in them the outlook of possessive individualism helped pave the path to dispossession. But these observations should not detract from the extraordinary originality and richness of this volume. Without question it is a genuine contribution to the literature and will remain for years to come a major source for understanding this tragic, but nonetheless fascinating, chapter in indigenous-colonial settler relations.

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