

Contents

<i>Acknowledgments</i>	<i>page xiii</i>
Introduction	I
o.1 Division of the Book	3
o.2 A Note on Terminology	3
PART I FROM SOVEREIGNS TO WARDS: THE HISTORY OF TRIBAL NATIONS AND THE LAW	
I The Original American Governments	7
1.1 The First Americans	7
1.2 Early North American Civilizations	9
1.3 Indigenous Institutions	17
2 “Discovering” and “Founding” America	23
2.1 Voyaging to America and the Law of Discovery	23
2.2 Spain and Indigenous People	26
2.3 Britain’s American Colonies	30
2.4 The Pequot War	34
2.5 King Philip’s War	35
3 Commerce and Culture	38
3.1 Indians and Guns	39
3.2 The Birth of Indian Horse Cultures	43
3.3 A New Way of Life	47
4 World War and American Revolution	52
4.1 Enter George Washington	53
4.2 The French and Indian War	54
4.3 The Seeds of Rebellion	55
4.4 The Revolution Begins	57
5 Governing the United States and Tribal Rights	61
5.1 Tribal Resistance	62

x	<i>Contents</i>	
	5.2 Indian Tribes and the United States Constitution	66
	5.3 The Creek Treaty	69
	5.4 From Treaties to Trading Posts	71
	5.5 Title to Indian Lands	74
6	Indian Removal and the Cherokee Cases	79
	6.1 The Cherokee and Georgia	80
	6.2 Andrew Jackson and Indian Removal	83
	6.3 Removal in Motion	88
	6.4 Is the Cherokee Nation a “Nation”?	89
	6.5 The Laws of Georgia Can Have No Force	94
7	Reservations and Federal Power	98
	7.1 Fading Treaties	98
	7.2 The Last of the Indian Wars	100
	7.3 Reservation Life	103
	7.4 Indian Blood and Tribal Citizenship	105
	7.5 Spotted Tail, Crow Dog, and Tribal Law	108
	7.6 Criminal Law, Assimilation, and Plenary Power	112
8	Allotment and Assimilation	117
	8.1 The General Allotment Act	118
	8.2 Tribal Consent Not Needed	120
	8.3 Accelerating Allotment	123
	8.4 The Last Arrow but Still an Indian	125
	8.5 Indian Boarding Schools	127
9	The Indian New Deal to Tribal Termination	131
	9.1 Jim Thorpe	131
	9.2 Indian Citizenship and the Great War	133
	9.3 The Indian New Deal	136
	9.4 World War II	139
	9.5 The Tribal Termination Era	141
	9.6 “Every American School Boy Knows ...”	144
10	Tribal Self-Determination	146
	10.1 Sheep and Sovereignty	146
	10.2 Buffalo Tiger and Fidel Castro	149
	10.3 Indians in the Great Society	152
	10.4 Tribal Self-Determination	154
	PART II SELF-DETERMINATION MEETS PATERNALISM	
11	An Unfit Guardian: Ongoing Federal Paternalism	161
	11.1 The Federal Government and <i>Peabody Coal v. Navajo Nation</i>	162
	11.2 The Largest Class Action in United States’ History	166
	11.3 The Supreme Court Shields the Federal Government Again	169
	11.4 Double Standard for Tribal Governments	170
12	Excessive Federal Bureaucracy	174
	12.1 Trust Land	175
	12.2 Land Fractionation	177

Contents

xi

12.3	The HEARTH Act	179
12.4	Rights-of-Way	180
12.5	Indian Trader Regulations	181
12.6	Natural Resource Development	185
12.7	Gaming	187
13	Criminal Justice Crisis	190
13.1	Indian Country's Peculiar Jurisdictional Regime	191
13.2	<i>Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe</i> : Facts and Consequences Don't Matter	192
13.3	<i>Duro v. Reina</i> : Stretching <i>Oliphant</i> Further	200
13.4	Minor Public Safety Improvements	201
13.5	The Jurisdictional Quagmire	204
14	Tribal Economic Development and Uncertain Civil Jurisdiction	210
14.1	<i>Montana v. United States</i> : A New Path	212
14.2	The Path Is Not Clear: <i>Dollar General v. Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians</i>	216
14.3	Taxation or Theft?	221
14.4	What Is Legal?	223
14.5	Tribal Sovereignty and the Digital Frontier	225
PART III BECOMING NATIONS AGAIN		
15	Federal Recognition	231
15.1	Recognized Tribes	231
15.2	Achieving Federal Recognition	233
15.3	Problems with the Federal Acknowledgment Process	235
15.4	The Coushatta Journey	237
15.5	The Houma's Ongoing Quest	241
16	Territorial Jurisdiction	249
16.1	Sovereignty and Land	249
16.2	Replacing Trust Land with Tribal Land	251
16.3	Tribal Land and Jurisdiction	256
16.4	Jurisdiction over Noncitizens	259
16.5	Why Tribes Should Have Criminal Jurisdiction over Non-Indians	262
17	Tribal Legal Institutions	266
17.1	Tribal Law	267
17.2	Tribal Courts	271
17.3	Tribal Legal Bureaucracy	274
17.4	Strengthening Tribal Law	277
17.5	Strengthening Tribal Institutions	278
17.6	Tribal Institutions and Economic Development	279
18	Tribes as Nations	282
18.1	State Opposition	283
18.2	Tribal Self-Governance and the Federalist System	287

xii	<i>Contents</i>	
	18.3 Tribal Sovereignty Can Benefit States	288
	18.4 Tribes as Shields from State Protectionism	289
	18.5 Tribal Self-Governance and a Mississippi Miracle	291
19	Education, Ethics, and the Law	295
	19.1 The Education System	295
	19.2 Recognizing a Civil Rights Trailblazer	297
	19.3 Legal Education and Tribal Sovereignty	300
	19.4 Legal Ethics	305
	Conclusion	309
	<i>Index</i>	311