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Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence. By Stephen Cornell.

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thus the index, researchers are apt to miss this information (to compound the difficulty, there is no category for either "photographs" or "images").

Nevertheless, Edmunds effort in gathering together a wealth of information on the Potawatomies is a welcome addition to furthering understanding of these important people—the understanding of scholars and of the people themselves. Edmunds' adoption into the Turtle clan is well-deserved.

*Richard L. Haan*  
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**Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence.** By Stephen Cornell. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. 278 pages. \$29.95 Cloth.

*Return of the Native* is a readable, informative, and stimulating account of the vicissitudes of the relations between the diverse native peoples of North America and the somewhat less diverse peoples who invaded their territories. This is an ambitious book in that it seeks to encompass the broad sweep of Indian-white relations since the landing of Christopher Columbus, and in that it seeks to do so in a way that is intelligible to a wide audience while remaining firmly rooted in the author's home discipline, sociology. To anticipate the punchline of this review, Cornell not only manages these ambitious tasks, but does so with grace and wit.

Even so, this is a difficult book to review. On the one hand, the diversity of its intended audience makes a global assessment difficult. What one audience will see as a strength may well be perceived as a weakness by another. On the other hand, for a reviewer who was both a participant observer of events of the type Cornell discusses (I was an instructor at Navajo Community College in the early 1970s), and who has written on closely related topics, achieving intellectual honesty and objectivity in a review is difficult.

In addressing a broad audience the tension between a narrative account and a theoretical analysis becomes central. For those disciplines that stress narrative accounts, the downplaying of sociological theory and the chronological presentation of changing Indian-white relations are strong points. For those disciplines

that stress theoretical analysis and critique, the narrative account is at times a handicap in that it buries and truncates theoretical discussions. Cornell's balance between these two is a reasonable one, but does slight the theoretical side somewhat. This is probably to the detriment of his entire audience, but especially for sociologists who are interested in the implications of his study for the study of political sociology, social change and social movements. For readers not familiar with debates about intergroup relations in sociological and anthropological theory, Cornell's summaries of these debates and his arguments for specific positions may slide by unnoticed. His summaries, while cogent, are too brief. A reader who becomes intrigued by one or another theoretical proposition may be hard put to begin exploring it further if s/he is not already familiar with the literature. For the theoretically inclined, especially those involved in current debates, the implicit statements of positions and suggestions of new insights are at once stimulating and frustrating. There is the tease of something new and valuable, but an occasional uncertainty about just what it is.

A brief example from my own bailiwick will illustrate the problem. In several places Cornell discusses the significance of the broad sociological, economic, and political context for geographically and temporally limited processes. This suggests at least a cautious relevancy of world-system theory (or any other theory of global geopolitical-economy) to the analysis of Indian-white relations. I am heartened by the general similarity of my conclusions to his about the utility and limits of such theories, especially because we arrive at them from divergent theoretical premises, and base them on different empirical evidence. However, I remain uncertain how much we agree in our criticisms, and whether we are exercising the same types and degrees of caution.

For readers not familiar with the myriad sociological debates surrounding political-economic theories of intergroup relations, Cornell's contributions are not obvious, nor is his breaching of the ghetto walls that so often surround ethnic studies by linking them with mainstream debates in sociology. These are significant. First, Cornell has brought a needed balance to political-economic analyses by accenting the "political" and complementing the accent on the "economic" in world-system and Marxian analyses. The shift from "economics *versus* politics" to "politics

*and economics*'' is welcome and long overdue. Second, Indians are frequently trotted out as the ''poorest of the poor'' in discussions of race and ethnic relations, but rarely is the examination of these ''poorest of the poor'' used as a basis for reformulating theories of poverty and intergroup relations. Cornell's analysis demonstrates, albeit for the most part implicitly, that not only is it bad manners and bad politics to ignore Indians in sociological analyses, it leads to bad theory.

These comments notwithstanding, Cornell's discussions of theoretical issues are highly readable. There is only one occasion—and that one well justified—where he even approximates the type of Parsonian gobbledegook that has given sociological theory such a bad name. This is when he constructs a familiar two by two table of orientations toward the larger society and toward Indian-white relations. He describes the resulting labels for the cells of the table as ''four tongue-twisting categories of goals'' (page 153). Having issued this caveat, he proceeds with an insightful analysis of how these divergent sets of goals—transformation versus reform of Indian-white relations and segregation from versus integration into the larger society—give rise several divergent goals with different, yet overlapping, constituencies within Indian communities. Cornell deftly employs his typology to construct a subtle and nuanced analysis of the complexities of an emerging ''American Indian political resurgence.'' Even after fifteen years of reflection on the politics surrounding the founding and development of Navajo Community College (which Cornell does not discuss), I gained new insights into processes I had observed first hand. This is no accident. Cornell is at his best when exploring how closely similar processes, under only slightly different conditions, can give rise to nearly opposite effects.

This emerges in the discussion of the relative roles of land and labor of early Indian-white relations. Analyses of the fur trade as a type of labor exploitation, and of the dispossession of Indian land resources are not new. Cornell's contribution is in linking these analyses both with changes in the social organization of various Indian groups and with the changing geopolitical context which promoted a shift in interest from labor to resources. Throughout, there is careful attention to how slight changes in the degree and type of political incorporation of Indians—whether as groups or as individuals—into Euro-american society

transformed Indian societies and their relations with white societies.

Cornell makes another useful contribution in his distinctions among supra- and sub-tribalism, pan-tribalism, and pan-Indianism. Supra- and sub-tribalism refer to the emergence of new levels of Indian social organization that emerge from the complex interactions between Indian communities and the federal government. Especially after the Indian Reorganization Act (1934), federal emphasis on tribal governments attenuated the voices of some elements with tribal communities, and simultaneously made it more difficult for tribes with common interests to act in concert politically. This gave rise to considerable factionalism within tribes, such as the all too familiar opposition between "progressive" and "traditional" groups. It also encouraged the development of inter-tribal organizations (e.g., CERT) which sought to pool scarce Indian resources in the pursuit of common goals. Similarly, the urban relocation programs of the mid-twentieth century led to the mixing of Indian individuals in an inhospitable urban setting, reinforcing a broad "Indian" identity which formed the basis of pan-Indian movements (e.g., AIM).

Throughout these narrations and analyses there is a welcome emphasis of the positive and active role played by Indians in shaping their own destiny. One cannot read Cornell's account without gaining—or for many readers, renewing—respect for the skill and dedication of Indian leaders in balancing preservation of their unique cultures with adaptation to and accommodation with conquering societies. Cornell's study sheds new light on the fundamental conundrum of sociology: how human beings, by their individual actions, create the very social structures that constrain their behavior. On the surface this work provides a rich account of changing Indian-white relations. With a little digging and reflection it also provides some important contributions to social theory and our understanding of the human condition.

I cannot end this review without making a few comments on some unfortunate compromises made by the publisher in the pursuit of efficient book making. In the name of general readability endnotes were used for both references and tangential comments. My own preference runs to in-text references, but many writers, readers, and editors find that system gauche. Eschewing discussion of stylistic preferences, either choice carries con-

sequences. When using an endnote system a scholarly work should include either a complete, rather than a "selected," bibliography or a comprehensive index to all works cited (preferably both). Also in a book of many chapters, headers in the "Notes" section would help readers quickly find the correct "note 5" without needing to flip through to make sure it is for the relevant chapter. Headers are inexpensive; long bibliographies and indexes are not. Still, the few dollars added to the price would be worth it. Authors seldom have control over these decisions, yet those decisions reflect on them. My criticisms here are directed at the publisher, not the author.

In conclusion I have several recommendations with regard to *Return of the Native*. First, Professor Cornell should develop and elaborate his tantalizing, yet implicit, theoretical insights in future papers. Second, Oxford University Press should publish an inexpensive text edition which includes a complete bibliography, an enlarged index, and a few new notes to direct readers to appropriate introductory material on theoretical issues. Doing so will facilitate the following recommendations. Third, teachers who discuss any aspect of Indian-white relations should give serious consideration to this book as a text. Fourth, anyone interested in Indian-white relations should read this book—the time invested will be amply rewarded.

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**American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492.** By Russell Thornton. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987. 292 pages. \$29.95 Cloth.

One of the most tragic consequences of the European colonization of the Americas was the rapid decline of the indigenous population of North America. In the main, the depopulation was due to the transmission of various infectious diseases to the native population. The transmission of an array of European-borne diseases, sometimes accidentally and many times deliberately, was one of the prime variables in breaking the resistance of many American Indian tribes to European colonization. The *American*