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American Indian Holocaust and Survival: A Population History Since 1492. By Russell Thornton.

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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.

Thomas D. Hall DePauw University

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 resistence of many American Indian tribes to European colonization. The American *Indian Holocaust and Survival* provides a descriptive chronicle of the depopulation and resurgence of American Indian people residing within the continental United States.

Although Thornton is primarily concerned with North American Indian demographic history after 1492, in the first chapter, the author briefly discusses the arrival of American Indians *via* the Bering Strait. The discussion revolves around the question of establishing an approximate date for the arrival of American Indians into the continent. The question of what diseases and parasites may have been carried over the Bering Strait is virtually ignored, although this is an important issue. The author then examined the pre-Columbus attempts of New World colonization by the Norsemen and later explorations by other Europeans. He concludes that prior to the landing of Columbus, there was no sustained contact between Europeans and American Indians and consequently, these early contacts had no lasting impact on Native American demography.

In Chapter 2, Thornton grapples with the question of how many American Indians there were at the time of contact. After reviewing potential sources of data, past methodologies for arriving at population estimates, and previous estimates by other scholars, the author concludes that there were 72-plus million Indians in the Western Hemisphere of which 5-plus million resided in the conterminous United States. While his methodology is based on mere impressions for the hemispheric estimate, the author determined the United States population estimate by assessing the extent of population decline during the 1800s, and then projecting these figures backward to 1492. Admittedly these are no more than gross estimates, yet it is essential to ascertain a baseline population against which to measure the magnitude of American Indian depopulation.

A population can change—either increasing or decreasing through births, deaths, and migrations. The third chapter reviews the various factors responsible for the rapid population decline. American Indian depopulation occurred not only from disease, but also because of warfare, genocide, removal and relocation, destruction of lifeways, and fertility decline. In addition to the above factors, the author cites possible genetic changes and the dramatic growth of the non-Indian population as important variables in the demographic collapse of American Indians. The result was an unprecedented population collapse over the next four centuries.

Chapters 4 and 5 highlight the impact of the above variables beginning in 1500 to circa 1900. Using selected historic examples, the author describes how these factors contributed to the demographic decline of Northern American Indians. His examination of the demographic collapse, while lacking analytical depth, more often than not, provides the reader with sufficient evidence regarding the impact these variables had on North American Indians. After outlining the evidence, Thornton concludes that prior to 1800, disease, warfare, and the destruction of American Indian lifeways were the prime movers in their decline to approximately 600,000. Afterward, these factors in combination with the governmental policies of relocation and removal and frontier genocide, resulted in a population nadir of 250,000 between 1890 and 1900.

Before discussing the population recovery of American Indians, Thornton in the next chapter examines the 1870 and 1890 Ghost Dance as a response to the demographic and cultural loss incurred by nearly three centuries of culture contact with Europeans. Much of this data has been published elsewhere by the author and it is not surprising that he arrives at the same general conclusion. That is, the Ghost Dance was closely linked to depopulation and that those tribes which participated had as their central objective a demographic revival through the return of the dead. While the argument is interesting, there remain a number of questions which weaken his thesis. For example, among many tribes only certain factions or bands performed the Ghost Dance and not the entire tribe. If the social group were reacting to a mass demographic collapse, would not the whole tribe and not selected social groups participate in the performance? Such questions in this publication and in his previous works are never addressed.

The final three chapters in this book describe the post-1900 demographic recovery of the North American Indian population, the problems associated with defining and enumerating American Indians, and finally, the process of urbanization. It is in these last three chapters that Thornton makes the greatest contribution to the growing body of literature about American Indian demography.

His discussion of the interplay between the decline in mortality and the subsequent rise in fertility because of the increased intervention of health care for Indian people is superb. Furthermore, the synthesis of information regarding the various definitions and difficulties in enumerating historical and contemporary American Indians provides the reader with a clear sense of the dilemma faced by Indians themselves and the larger society in deciding who is an American Indian. Finally, Thornton summarizes the process of urbanization which has so profoundly affected American Indian lives. While he argues that American Indians have begun to recover demographically from four centuries of colonization, he also notes that urbanization may represent the the final chapter in American Indian existence as a distinct ethnic group. As more American Indians urbanize there will occur less natural increase, a reduction in traditions and tribalism, and more intermarriage with non-Indians. These three factors, the author suggests, "will ultimately eliminate American Indians as a distinct population, whereas 400 years of population decimation after European contact did not" (page 239). While these words may prove to be prophetic, I suspect that American Indians will survive, not only as a distinct demographic population, but will continue as culturally distinct societies well into the future.

It would be easy to criticize the American Indian Holocaust and Survival at a number of levels. The book is highly ideographic and largely atheoretical. In addition, the data presented by the author is rather selective, reifying what most social scientists already knew with respect to the factors involved in the demographic decline of North American Indians. But to levy such criticisms would be to anticipate what the work should have been, and would be to take the book out of its original context. American Indian Holocaust and Survival is out of necessity broad in scope and descriptive in nature. This is the work's value. It provides a foundation from which more specific questions and theoretical models can be generated to further our understanding of American Indian demography. For this contribution, Thornton should be commended.

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