

some explanations and also acknowledging the fact that for some things there are no explanations. Like the umbilical cord buried in the prologue, stories can sometimes be tangled and remain haunting until the right storyteller comes along.

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Roots of Our Renewal: Ethnobotany and Cherokee Environmental Governance. By Clint Carroll. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015. 256 pages. \$87.50 cloth; \$25.00 paper.

In addition to a twenty-first-century model for activist anthropology, in *Roots of Our Renewal* environmental anthropologist and Cherokee citizen Clint Carroll offers a treatise on the intersection between tribal state formation and tribal natural resource management, or environmental governance. The book draws on Carroll's twenty-one months of ethnographic fieldwork with the Oklahoma Cherokees, during which time he worked for the tribal government's Natural Resources Department (NRD) as an ethnobotanist. Carroll's fieldwork and his work with the NRD was designed around abetting the efforts of nongovernmental Cherokees to salvage and protect ethnobotanical knowledge regarding medicinal plants. To this end, Carroll was instrumental in organizing a group of elders knowledgeable about traditional medicines and plant use into an advisory board for what Carroll terms the "ethnobotany project" that he ran from his governmental office.

Carroll characterizes the elder group's approach to oversight of the natural world as traditional "relationship-based," wherein the foundational principle is that the human/environment nexus is reciprocal. Humans have a divine charge to maintain a healthy relationship with not only plants and animals, but also with the inanimate things of the natural world such as soil, rain, and wind. The modern Cherokee tribal government (or state), on the other hand, is largely modeled on a Euro-American corporate/business model of governance, and the Cherokee state, therefore, approaches environmental issues through a "resource-based" lens that emphasizes management, commercial use, and business.

Rather than viewing the two approaches as irreconcilable opposites, Carroll argues that both approaches are necessary to forming a modern indigenous state. In fact, Carroll is careful to note that state structures are essential for the protection and stewardship of Cherokee lands, and hence, the modern indigenous state cannot and should not be replaced by a purely relationship-based form of governance. Instead, the state should endeavor to incorporate a relationship-based perspective, and by so doing the modern indigenous state becomes more responsive to its citizens and conforms more to a general indigenous understanding of the way the world works. Carroll, then, advocates for a blending of the two approaches and argues that a synthetic approach could prove transforming of the modern Cherokee state.

The environment in question in *Roots of Our Renewal* are the Cherokee “trust lands” and “restricted lands,” or tribally owned lands that, due to a tortured and complex history of settler colonialism, are now discontinuous parcels in two counties of Oklahoma totaling about 100,000 acres. Contentions over the use of this land for hunting and gathering have erupted between rural tribal members and the Cherokee state; Carroll’s ethnobotany project is situated squarely in the middle of these tensions.

Carroll examines the roots of these contentions in two chapters on the history of Cherokee environmental governance and nation building. I applaud Carroll’s concern with the deep history of the modern conundrum he is examining, and his reconstruction of this history aids immeasurably in understanding the tensions today in Cherokee country. He contends that in the past, “traditional” Cherokee government was relationship-based and grounded in ideas of community and ceremony. However, the pressures of settler colonialism forced the Cherokees to move toward political centralization and to develop a state apparatus that ultimately compromised town autonomy, closely knit political relationships, and mostly excised the sacred. Carroll relates how the modern Cherokee state arose out of this turbulent past and re-formed itself along Western, “resource-based” lines. Yet Carroll finds a profound silver lining in this history when he argues that these difficulties and processes helped to forge new relationships between the Cherokees and their new lands in Oklahoma. Even so, he points out that commercial exploitation and private ownership eventually supplanted communal ownership and that the result was the fracturing of tribal lands and extreme environmental degradation. In addition, contemporary state governing bodies lost any real connection to rural communities, generating skepticism and distrust among rural Cherokee citizens toward their government.

This takes us to Carroll’s own entry into the Cherokee Nation and the inauguration of the ethnobotany project. After carefully establishing his own relationships with communities, Carroll convened the elders’ group as a way for him to access information about medicinals, as well as a way to involve community members in a state-led initiative to record the plant life on Cherokee lands and salvage traditional medicinal knowledge. Carroll spends much time with this group, exploring the elders’ understanding of the natural world, medicine, and the relationship-based approach to the environment. He also goes far in dissecting the reasons for their distance from their tribal government. Carroll makes it clear that his position in Cherokee country informs his analysis and ethnography. With one foot in a relationship-based endeavor and one foot in a resource-based endeavor, Carroll realized the utility of a synthetic model for tribal governance and devised work with the elders’ group as a testing ground for it.

The results are modest, but promising. Carroll, as a representative of both the state and the elders’ group, could bring the elders’ deliberations and concerns to the table at the NRD for serious consideration. The result is that the NRD reformed some of their practices to include more community-based initiatives. Likewise, tribal officials, through their exposure to the NRD efforts, incorporated more relationship-based and community-oriented protocols in their environmental and other management strategies. Conversely, the elders’ group eventually began to seek sanction and funding from

the Cherokee state to further their preservation and conservation agendas. Hence a synthesis begins to form. Through this case study, then, Carroll achieves his activist goal of knitting a subset of rural community members to their government, thereby both empowering these typically silenced citizens and opening a door to transforming Cherokee state governance to a more sensitive, representational government that includes the indigenous worldview of ordinary citizens.

Carroll's insistence that Western-modeled state structures are necessary and should not be jettisoned altogether stands in contrast to a growing voice among indigenous scholars that any Western-influenced state apparatus has no place among indigenous governments. Carroll presents a thoroughly convincing case to the contrary. For one, he demonstrates that the long history of nation building among the Cherokees was and is a salient and effective response to settler colonialism and not simply another form of colonialism. He carefully details how and why indigenous understandings, over time, were divested from these efforts, but he also offers a compelling model for reincorporating these into indigenous governance. *Roots of Our Renewal* will undoubtedly spark some controversy over these issues, and it remains to be seen if Carroll's synthetic approach sustains in Cherokee country. Still, *Roots of Our Renewal* demonstrates how good activist anthropology, through direct involvement, careful parsing of a problem, and a careful offer of a solution, can make a difference to the people we study, to the discipline, and to conversations taking place on the larger stage of indigenous rights.

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Sovereignty for Survival: American Energy Development and Indian Self-Determination. By James Robert Allison III. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015. 256 pages. \$45.00 cloth.

Mineral development, particularly in the production of energy, is a constant struggle for indigenous communities in North America. For many tribes in the United States and in Canada, extractive industries are profitable and a much-desired form of employment. They provide profound material benefits in the form of jobs and revenues. But they also create significant environmental impacts on the land, displace local residences, and leave long-lasting health threats for impacted communities. *Sovereignty for Survival* takes a unique approach to the old tensions between the perceived need to develop natural resources and preserve the integrity of the land. The author draws our attention to the early history of coal mining for the Crow and Northern Cheyenne. Based on dissertation work, James Robert Allison III expands the geographical and temporal boundaries of previous research on mining and energy development in Indian country to tell a different kind of story—how the contestation of coal in the 1970s led to changes in federal law that ultimately benefited tribes.

His book follows several recent publications in environmental history that pays considerable attention to the role of tribes in postwar energy development in the