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Carlson, K. T., Lutz, J. S., Schaepe, D. M., & Naxaxalhts'i (McHalsie, A. "Sonny") (Eds.). (2018). *Towards a new ethnohistory: Community-engaged scholarship among the People of the River.* University of Manitoba Press. 304 pp.

Review by Patrick Koval, Lisa Martin, and Jessica Barnes-Najor

Towards a New Ethnohistory successfully combines ethnohistory with community-engaged research, providing excellent examples of mutually beneficial and meaningful research in collaboration with members of the Stó:lō Nation. These examples are often contrasted, implicitly or explicitly, with disengaged and harmful research practices, such as defacing burial sites or failing to consult Indigenous communities directly. Each chapter maintains the underlying criticism of harmful conceptions of objectivity while presenting a more empowering alternative.

The book's titular framework allows scholars to adopt these alternative practices in their own research. The text delineates tenets of the New Ethnohistory, many of which are shared by community-based participatory research (CBPR; Israel et al., 2001; Israel et al., 2017; Leung et al., 2004; Minkler & Wallerstein, 2011), a framework for engaged research applied within many disciplines.

The importance of these precepts is not restricted to a finite selection of disciplines but extends to all scholarly research that includes humans as subjects. Even at the most explicitly individual level, they resemble the principles of phenomenological psychology (Giorgi, 2010; Reid et al., 2005), a lens of analysis that prioritizes the experiential perspective in truly understanding both the world at large and the experiences of others. Each chapter outlines research that, in itself, successfully advocates for this experiential perspective. Chapter after chapter provides the lived experience of those involved, which could not be replicated using antiquated conceptions of objectivity (Montuschi, 2004).

The prologue to *Towards a New Ethnohistory*, by Naxaxalhts'i (Albert "Sonny" McHalsie), provides an excellent introduction to the volume. Although the relevance of many prologues is not immediately obvious, it is clear from the start that this prologue plays an integral role in telling the story of the Ethnohistory Field School. As a member of the Stó:lō Nation and an editor of the volume, the author shares impressions of the Ethnohistory Field School, the trust earned by members of the Ethnohistory Field School from Stó:lō Nation elders, and efforts to disseminate findings in partnership with fellow editors. The prologue speaks the truths of today while remaining hopeful for tomorrow, elucidating the role of community-engaged scholarship in a better future.

Keith Thor Carlson, John Sutton Lutz, and David Schaepe's Introduction to the volume, "Decolonizing Ethnohistory," does well in setting the stage for the rest of the book. It begins by describing the Stó:lō Nation and recounting a story representative of the research partnership between the Stó:lō and the Ethnohistory Field School, which is undergirded by strong relationships and cross-cultural collaboration. The subsequent sections within the chapter describe the role of the Stó:lō in the growth of the New Ethnohistory out of the old. The history of the discipline may be too specific for general audiences or those from disciplines other than ethnohistory, but the overall message regarding this foundational collaboration is an important one, particularly for its emphasis on community-driven research for generating research questions and interpreting cultural practices and stories.

The book applies this emphasis in Chapter 1, "Kinship Obligations to the Environment: Interpreting Stó:lō Xexa:ls Stories of the Fraser Canyon," which portrays performing research in a deeply rooted cultural context. Author Adar Charlton examines the stories of the Fraser Canyon and the integral re-

lationships Nation members experienced between themselves and all beings while offering, as a broader underlying message, a caution against seeking fixed interpretations for stories or practices. How Nation members share and receive these stories illustrates both personal interpretation and interpretation within the contemporary cultural context. Taking a lead from those in the community who are in the role of learning and sharing traditional stories, the author notes that "there is room left for multiplicity and personal interpretation" (p. 41) and the importance of "finding out what [the stories] mean for yourself" (p. 42). The process by which interpretations are documented in this chapter offers examples for research stemming from many disciplines.

Continuing in the examination of Nation members' relationships with their environment, Chapter 2, "Relationships: A Study of Memory, Change, and Identity at a Place Called I:yem," shares this complicated story in the context of colonialization. Conflicts over the natural environment resulting from peoples being uprooted by colonizers or various forms of bureaucratic intervention in turn spark conflicts between Indigenous peoples. They upset Indigenous historical ways of being that have survived through many generations. The chapter describes this phenomenon as it applies to the Stó:lō and Yale peoples' battle over fishing rights and the relationships that were strained because of it. As described by a Yale elder, the relationships were built upon traditional relational practices that emphasize respect for each other, for the land, and for the relationships within and across all. Chapter author Amanda Fehr concludes that it is important for Indigenous communities to explore their identity and relations outside colonial structures, returning to traditional relational practices.

Fishing sites continue as a topic of importance in Chapter 3, "Crossing Paths: Knowing and Navigating Routes of Access to Stó:lō Fishing Sites." This chapter captures how disruption of access to fishing sites, a central aspect of life for Stó:lō people, can produce cascading effects, impacting generations. Access to fishing sites implies not merely the ability to catch fish for economic gain, but the inherent right of the community to continue their way of life as a people. Author Katya C. MacDonald captures how the act of fishing is connected to the Stó:lō people's guiding cultural principles of communal living, generosity, and caring for elders.

The following chapter, "Stó:lō Ancestral Names, Identity, and the Politics of History," continues with the cultural principle of identity. Author Anastasia Tataryn depicts the importance of names—both to the individual and to the community—in understanding the roles and responsibilities of people and groups. Beyond the functional role they serve, names connect the people to their ancestors and histories. But these names do not simply create connections with what is gone. Naming ceremonies create *living* connections among the Stó:lō people. As with fishing, the use of names helps to foster a deeply rooted cultural identity and a sense of belonging to the living community of the Stó:lō Nation.

The focus on living traditions continues in Chapter 5, "Caring for the Dead: Diversity and Commonality Among the Stó:lō," which highlights the importance of respect regarding burial, reburial, and taking care of the dead within Stó:lō communities. Author Kathryn McKay uses anthropological data to determine how sacred burial practices have been impacted by settler colonialism. The demonstrated adaptation is coupled with interviews illustrating that the community knowledge and practices around death are still used today. The continuing relevance of the Stó:lō guiding principle of reverence for the dead signifies the immortality of these traditional values despite adaptation to a changing world.

A similar perseverance of traditional values is examined with respect to food in Chapter 6, "Food as a Window Into Stó:lō Tradition and Stó:lō–Newcomer Relations." The chapter not only weaves stories of what foods are traditional but also discusses the importance of how the foods are harvested or gathered. Nation members describe hesitancy to consume store-bought meat due to their uncertainty about its treatment as sacred in its hunting or, in all likelihood, its harvesting from factory farms. Their concern is not just about eating, but also about the relationship with and interconnectedness of the foods, the land, and the people that are nourished by them. When foods are consumed in this way, the food benefits all aspects of the person. Chapter author Lesley Wiebe documents the impact of settler colonialism on access to traditional foods and on the relationship to these foods.

As a testament to the Stó:lō Nation's mission to preserve tradition as a living thing as well as a connection to ancestors, Ella Bird's Chapter 7, "'Bringing Home All That Has Left': The Skulkayn/Stalo Heritage Project and the Stó:lō Cultural Revival," describes the struggles and successes of the Stó:lō to ensure that their culture survives and thrives. An integral facet of this program was the cultural recording and revival of the Nation members' own language. The program provided a chance for the Nation to write its own histories, refusing the characterization of "Indians" as a monolith and without the inherently clouded perspective of the colonizer.

Chapters 8 and 9, by authors Christopher Marsh and Colin Murray Osmond respectively, build on the previous chapter's documentation and revival of Stó:lō history and culture. These subsequent chapters serve as histories of pride and proclamation. Chapter 8, "Totem Tigers and Salish Sluggers: A History of Boxing in Stó:lō Territory, 1912–1985," begins the duo with recreation, documenting the significance of boxing in the Nation and the resulting presence of Nation members in the sport at the professional level. Chapter 9, "'I Was Born a Logger': Stó:lō Identities Forged in the Forest," describes the "work" complementing Chapter 8's "play" in its topic of Stó:lō men and their role in the area's logging industry.

Both chapters address important activities for Stó:lō men. These activities were sources of pride in hard work and sport. They served to disabuse others of the notion that "Indians" were lazy, weak, or useless. The chapters also address the tensions present in both activities. Osmond relays interviews with loggers grappling with the sense of conflict between the veneration of nature and wage work in an extractive industry. Marsh describes the potentially insidious mission of boxing as a means of encouraging assimilation within a Foucauldian lens as well as the reasons given by the boxers themselves. Although the use of Foucault's framework regarding games and oppression does not feel necessary or organic to the overarching narrative, this pair of chapters generally strikes a good balance between documentation and analysis.

Noah E. Miller's Chapter 10, "'They're Always Looking for the Bad Stuff': Rediscovering the Stories of Coqualeetza Indian Hospital With Fresh Eyes and Ears," serves as a proper bookend to the volume's Introduction in its description of the potential downfalls of postcolonial studies as a singular lens. Beginning with the title—"They're Always Looking for the Bad Stuff"—the chapter takes little time to lay out its contention that the identity of "the colonized" is reductionist when taken in isolation and must be properly complemented with identities affirming First Nations' agency. The author provides the example of an area tuberculosis hospital, which is at once a symbol of colonialism and a site cherished in memory. Miller's description of the hospital as "a site of contested meanings" succinctly conceptualizes the dynamic relationship of colonizer and colonized, which is often reduced to a relationship of unilateral action.

Similarly, the Epilogue, "Next Steps in Indigenous Community-Engaged Research: Supporting Research Self-Sufficiency in Indigenous Communities," by Adam Gaudry, carries the torch of the Introduction's enumeration of philosophical tenets within the New Ethnohistory, providing a path toward more engaged scholarly research and, as a result, better research.

Although each individual chapter provides a great contribution, the editors of the text do not completely make the book more than the sum of its parts. The only explanation of the 1969 White Paper in Canadian Indigenous history, a proposal of forced assimilation via the elimination of Indian status (Chrétien, 1969; First Nations Studies Program, 2017), is in an endnote after the Introduction. Further, the difference between nations and bands is not laid out. Both of these concepts are integral to many of the chapters, indicating that a general introduction to each would be a logical addition.

Moreover, elements that could form ties between chapters often go underappreciated. Maps and descriptions of regions/buildings appearing in multiple chapters (e.g., Stó:lō fishing sites, Coqualeetza Indian Hospital) could build a more three-dimensional representation of the Nation within the text. The Introduction and conclusion should do more to highlight these commonalities in location and sources of power, allowing a more complex narrative to be woven. As an example, Chapter 3 describes fishing sites passed down through generations as a means of access to food. More explicit connections to class and the potential requirement to find work elsewhere is a pre-

dominant theme in Chapter 9, which details Nation members' presence in the logging industry. Highlighting this connection would serve to helpfully bring together the narrative fragments in each discrete chapter.

Where this elucidation exists within the chapter, the thematic analysis shines. The emphasis on the dynamic relationship between colonizer and colonized, particularly as symbolized by the Coqualeetza Indian Hospital, provides a thread connecting several points made throughout the book.

Overall, similarities and interconnections among the chapters contribute to a larger message shared by the authors and editors; however, one chapter deviates from the rest in a seemingly contradictory way. Chapter 8's Foucauldian analysis appears as a non sequitur and does not contribute to the chapter or provide anything missing from Nation member testimony. The research represented in this book works best when Nation member testimony is allowed to speak for itself, with analysis reserved for the establishment of overarching themes. In contrast to this approach, however, Chapter 8 relies on isolating testimony for anatomical examination, a process that erases its significance or meaning. This outside lens of analysis renders Stó:lō history unable to speak on its own terms.

Even with infrequent missteps, *Towards a New Ethnohistory* adheres to the principles it sets forth in its Introduction. It is clear that the scholarship the authors have undertaken with the Stó:lō Nation is the product of strong and ongoing relationships. Nation member input regarding research questions and subject matter clearly reflects the collaborative nature of the scholarship.

The authors outlined the principles of the New Ethnohistory with an eye toward ethnohistorical applications; however, the principles' similarity to those of community-based participatory research (CBPR) warrants description, as it demonstrates the broad applicability of these ideals. Both emphasize long-term and deeply rooted collaborative scholarship with the goal of publication and dissemination to a broad audience. Both aim to center the community, allowing it to speak with its own voice. These similarities indicate that the principles of the New Ethnohistory can, and should, be applied broadly. From ethnohistory and sociology to social work, psychology, and human medicine, these principles center voices that often go unheard. And so long as these voices remain unheard, problems—and solutions—remain unidentified. With rare exception, within the New Ethnohistory, these voices speak for themselves. The scholarship is not *for* the community but *by* it, resulting in authentic depictions of oppression, pain, joy, and rebellion without contamination via the lens of an outsider. Through *Towards a New Ethnohistory*, the authors, editors, and community partners take these principles and make them their own. It is a process that all disciplines and all organizations working with marginalized or underserved communities should consider.

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