

BOOK REVIEWS

CATHERINE A. LUTZ, *Unnatural Emotions: Everyday Sentiments on a Micronesian Atoll and their Challenge to Western Theory*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press 1988. xiv, 245 pp., References, Index, Plates. £27.95/£14.50.

Despite the long tradition that constitutes psychological anthropology, it is only comparatively recently that anthropology has begun to look at indigenous notions of psychological states, rather than continuing to put forward universalist explanations that rely entirely on Western categories. The present volume is very much concerned to get away from such categories in its delineation of the emotional states actually recognized by the Ifaluk, who inhabit an atoll in the Caroline Islands. But this is not just an ethnography, and the usual feeling that the anthropological endeavour should promote a degree of reflection on the values of the societies from which most anthropologists come is energetically carried out here through a continual process of comparison, bringing in both Western categories of emotion and Western academic discourse upon them.

In accordance with her persuasive arguments in favour of the cultural and variable, not universal and constant, character of views of what constitutes the emotions, Lutz stresses that Ifaluk see them as part of the process of social interaction rather than as inner states chiefly of significance to the individual, as in the West. Ifaluk assume 'that people are oriented primarily toward each other rather than toward an inner world of individually constituted goals and thoughts' (p. 81). No doubt this contrast comes from the general atomization of Western society, in which the individual has an autonomy often lacking in non-Western ones. From this it follows that differing concepts of personhood necessarily form a crucial element of the study. But further, Ifaluk emotionality is seen as having both cognitive and moral force in relationships with others, a view totally divorced from the Western view of emotion as a condition either enhancing or diminishing one's personality, as the case may be. Here, thought and feeling form a unity largely unknown in the positivist West, where fact is divided from value, and cognition divided at once from morality and emotion. Also, the importance of speech in Ifaluk means an emphasis on discourse and oral expression as marks of emotional maturity.

Lutz thus locates Western psychology too in its social and historical context. Despite a degree of sympathy for the psychodynamic approach of Melford Spiro, she distances herself from it on the grounds of his own use of Western psychological categories as universals. Rather, her work entails an ethnopsychological approach as regards both the West and the Ifaluk, thus concentrating on the cultural categorization of the emotions and leaving aside the whole thorny question of identifying the inner states actually being experienced by others. In any case, the contrasts that can be drawn between Ifaluk and Western ethnopsychologies do not appear to be limitless. For instance, one could imagine Lutz's suggestion that

'in many contexts, declarations of fear can be seen as attempts to negotiate the meaning of behaviour that has disturbed others' (p. 201) applying equally well to the West as to the Ifaluk. Indeed, she herself ends by suggesting that in reality Western emotionality also has a social dimension, despite the cultural focus on individual well-being, individual inadequacy, individual rights, and so forth.

Lutz is also interesting on the question of fieldwork, believing it should be an interaction between two cultures through the medium of the anthropologist, not a confrontation between a Western anthropologist and a non-Western society. None the less, her actual experience 'was profoundly affected by what the Ifaluk expected of me' (p. 33)—in particular, her own expectation that she would be treated as an honorary male anthropologist was not realized. Certainly there are gender contrasts in Ifaluk society, though the dominant values are not all on the one side, and the contrasts do not really appear to extend very far into Ifaluk emotional life.

A persuasive volume with regard to what it sets out to achieve, *Unnatural Emotions* should stand as an exemplar for any further studies into the culture of the emotions in non-Western societies, and as a warning against assuming too hastily that our essentially emic psychological categories are also theirs.

ROBERT PARKIN

MICHAEL F. BROWN, *Tsewa's Gift: Magic and Meaning in an Amazonian Society*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press 1986. 205 pp., Bibliography, Indexes, Plates. \$19.95.

Michael Brown's field research was conducted between 1976 and 1978 in several communities located in the valley of the Alto Rio Mayo, a tributary of the Huallaga River in northern Peru. *Tsewa's Gift* contains interesting descriptions of magical practices, but the importance of the book lies in the distinctiveness of the author's approach and the value of his presentation.

With an anti-theoretical advance into the everyday world of magic and meaning among the Aguaruna, Michael Brown unravels an heterogeneous array of extraordinary beliefs and practices. His ethnographic presentation deliberately threatens the ordered and systematized formulations of many anthropologists. He seems to be at pains to distance himself from the cultural relativism that so often results in a sense of complete internal cultural hegemony. He points more towards the question of a historically experiencing self, with all the conflicts and uncertainties that it involves, embracing such notions as the undecidability of the signifier, where 'immutable facts often prove illusory' (p. 172) and ineffable, not just to the anthropologist but also to the participants themselves: 'the search for order is being called into question... My goal is to make explicit the implicit

assumptions that underlie Aguarun magic while avoiding the temptation to explain too much or exaggerate the coherence of magical strategies' (p. 162). Anthropologists have too often overstated the rigidity of ritual causality. Brown attempts to show both that Aguarina magic has enough loose ends and ambiguities for everyone to be an 'intersubjective' reader and how their 'shared knowledge provides the mental forestructures that allow people to interpret experiences in ways that are distinctive' (p. 163).

Among the Aguaruna, the words of their mythical garden songs are indices of powerfully structured thoughts. The garden is a spiritually charged realm posing dangers to the unwary. It is the principal point of contact between women and an array of powerful beings, especially Nuguki who lives in the topsoil and gives life to cultivated plants. More than anything, a woman's interest in the garden, is a concern for the 'souls' of her plants. Plants are people, and like people can become very dangerous when angered. Plants are most dangerous during their early months. If they are unsatisfied, badly kept or abused they will relieve their insatiable thirst by 'drinking the blood' of those who wander through the garden unprotected. Blood is an abstract symbol of both vitality and women's fertility. Blood is the medium by which thought is conveyed in the body, and so, analogously, the 'blood' water, died red from achiote pulp, transfers the thoughts of the songs from the gardener to her plants, demonstrating the synergistic relationship between the plants and people.

Magical stones aid the productivity of the manioc plot. Like the manioc, they are potentially dangerous for they 'drink the blood' and 'eat the souls' of unprotected people who pass through the garden. It is important for a woman to identify herself as a friend by being painted, so when she plants a new section in her garden she crushes a pod of achiote and uses the red pulp to paint lines on her cheek-bones. The stones' dangerous thirst is satisfied by leaving them in a bowl of water reddened with achiote pulp. As well as drinking blood and eating souls, they assume human form in dreams and move by themselves as if alive. Women avoid newly planted gardens during menstrual periods because the smell of menstrual blood 'burns' the plants, turning them yellow and sickly. The system of taboos, planting rituals and songs protects the family from the perils of the garden.

In his portrayal of garden magic, Brown is extrapolating an argument about the embeddedness of magic within the technology and mechanics of gardening, and about magic being as much instrumental as expressive. Originally, he was involved with ethnobotanical research in Peru, and, as an 'on the ground' anthropologist with the reservations and limitations that seem to come along with being a 'biologist', he launches an attack on those anthropologists he calls 'symbolists', 'idealists' and those intellectuals in 'hermeneutico-psychedelic' waters. So although limited in analysis, *Tsewa's Gift* is a readable description of magical activities as 'practical signification'.

Brown attempts to reveal the disparities and variations that exist between different people's understandings and practices (as well as their similarities and

uniformities). He does not, however, probe deeply enough into local notions, language and ritual. Indeed, he is much too suspicious about the analysis of ritual and language, and thus limits himself at the outset. His concern is with magical activity as operational procedure. He shows a good understanding of the meaning of actions and reveals the power of song recitation. More than simply performance, the songs are constituted by an evocative imagery immersed in an ancient source of knowledge. People attribute to magic a strong but not infallible power of compulsion. Through Brown's presentation of Aguaruna beliefs we are shown how signification is the essence of technology, and more than anything, we are shown that no action, practical or otherwise, is free from the burden of signification—adapting Geertz's insight into the Negara, we realize that far from being opposed to it, the mechanics of power *is* its poetics.

GARETH BURR

DAVID M. GUSS, *To Weave and Sing: Art, Symbol, and Narrative in the South American Rain Forest*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1990 [1989]. xiii, 246 pp., Bibliography, Index, Photographs, Map, Line Drawings. \$12.95.

The Yekuana of Southern Venezuela are among the better, perhaps the best, documented Carib-speaking peoples. The cosmic significance of the Yekuana's elaborately constructed round houses has long been appreciated, and this, after a preliminary general introduction, is the starting-point for Guss's own work. From here he moves on to the dual nature of reality, the geography of the person, and the techniques, in particular that of singing, whereby invisible forces are made safe for cultural purposes. While adding interesting detail, he offers little here that will not be familiar to most Amerindianists. It is in Chapter 4, when he turns his attention to baskets and weaving, that the book really takes off.

The Yekuana have long been famous for their basketwork, which is both beautifully made and decorated. Guss, however, goes far beyond such considerations in his exploration of basketry and argues that the study of this art form must include four interlinking features: narrative, graphic, technical and functional. The first concerns the stories the Yekuana have to tell about the baskets and their origins; the second concerns the nature of the designs that are woven into them; the third involves the actual making of the basket, including consideration of such aspects as types of material and the different weaving techniques; and the last involves the conditions, as well as the purposes, of use.

When all these aspects are taken into account, Guss argues, one can recognize replicated in the baskets the same configuration of cosmic symbols as, for example, one finds in the construction and layout of the round house. Indeed, Guss states "all things made" [including houses and baskets] are intended as

portraits of the society that inspired them' (p. 91). Houses and baskets are mutually reflexive, and just as the former is the created representation of Yekwana social and cultural existence, so too is the art of weaving an act of creation. This creativity reaches its supreme expression in the master basket-maker who, through his knowledge and skill, is able to resolve in the designs he weaves the dual nature of reality, thus making things whole; an ability he shares with the shaman.

It was through learning to weave that the author found himself in a position to participate in Yekwana life, and it was through this activity that he came to understand their culture. The argument is mainly plausible, and even if in places the imagination seems to outrun the evidence it does so in an intriguing and provocative manner that indicates further directions for investigation.

The book is clearly written and contains 50 plates depicting basketwork designs as well as other numerous illustrations. Publications on lowland South America often fail to attract as wide a readership as they deserve. It would be a pity if this book did not receive the attention of all anthropologists interested in art and material culture.

PETER RIVIÈRE

D. GEORGE SHERMAN (with the assistance of Hedy Bruyns Sherman), *Rice, Rupees, and Ritual: Economy and Society among the Samosir Batak of Sumatra*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 1990. xv, 366 pp., Plates, References, Index, Maps, Figures, Tables. \$42.00.

Samosir is a region in the highlands of north-central Sumatra comprising the west coast of Lake Toba and what is almost an island within that lake. The Samosir Batak make up part of the Toba Batak, about which there is an important literature, much of which is in Dutch. The Toba Batak are frequently referred to in comparative discussion of asymmetric marriage alliance and patrilineal descent. Students with no specialized interest in Southeast Asia may have come to know of them through Leach's detailed comparison of the Kachin and Batak in his essay on 'The Structural Implications of Matrilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage'.

This book focuses on their economy, and is concerned primarily with economic transformations during colonialism, particularly those associated with the introduction of exchange by currency. Reports from 1913 showed that trade took place then through barter, with rice as the medium of exchange. Dutch officials were unable to purchase goods with money. Today, however, only cash is accepted in the market-place. Money was certainly known before the Dutch arrived and it already figured in ceremonial transactions and as bridewealth.

Sherman shows that money did not simply replace barter, but eventually substituted for the previous medium of exchange. He concentrated his research on

rice production and the question as to whether the shift to cash and exposure to the capitalist profit motive brought increased individualism and the dissolution of Batak society. A good deal of the book is devoted to an argument with a few pages of Marshall Sahlins's essay on the sociology of primitive exchange (reproduced as Chapter 5 in *Stone Age Economics*) that discuss very tentatively Southeast Asian societies as exemplified by the Iban, Land Dayak and Lamet. Sherman also takes issue with other writers, such as J. H. Boeke on the implication of 'dual economy', and with Meillassoux's Marxist interpretation of the consequences of money substituting for goods in marriage transactions.

Among Sherman's arguments are the following. Feasting is not progressively redistributive but in fact represents a form of investment that may produce a profit for the feast giver, though it may also produce a loss. Commercialization of village agriculture is not necessarily detrimental to indigenous cultures. Rice is often borrowed and repaid, with and without interest. The social value, as opposed to the commercial exchange value, of rice is far more important in Batak society than in Sahlins's model. It may be impossible to refute the Marxist view that systems of beliefs and values amount to 'false consciousness', but Sherman nevertheless rejects it. Meillassoux is wrong to say that where money replaces local matrimonial goods women become equivalent to livestock. In spite of the overt changes in Batak life, there has been no disintegration of traditional social institutions. Long suppressed, feasting has again become common. The Batak are and have long been expert at cultivating land overgrown by swordgrass, despite the conventional view that this grass is impossible to eradicate. Labour has not been commoditized to a significant degree.

Like others who have worked in Indonesia, Sherman rejects Leach's view that societies with matrilineal cross-cousin marriage will necessarily be class stratified. He also rejects the view that such societies become stratified through the rise of cash economy. The uses and effects of money have been less than might be expected given its importance in market transactions, schooling and travel. Despite a moral imperative against converting down (trading prestige goods for subsistence goods), all kinds of conversions took place in pre-colonial society and the existence of differentiated exchange spheres depended on this convertibility. Feasting is a way of competing for *sahala*, soul force or power.

The book is original and stimulating, even if the theoretical literature it responds to often seems poorly conceived for Southeast Asian purposes. On the other hand, Sherman often neglects work on Indonesia directly related to his own arguments. More than one Indonesianist has taken issue with Leach concerning the relation between asymmetric marriage alliance and class stratification. Eastern Indonesianists have had a good deal to say about the relationship between external trade and the internal circulation of prestige goods related to marriage alliance, as well as about the restricted role of cash in partially monetarized economies. Finally, given his comments about comparing feasting with the potlatch and about the pursuit of *sahala*, one would have expected Sherman to have referred to F. D.

E. van Ossenbruggen's *Het Oeconomisch-Magisch Element in Tobasche Verwantschapsverhoudingen* (1935).

R. H. BARNES

OLAF F. SMEDAL, *Order and Difference: An Ethnographic Study of Orang Lom of Bangka, West Indonesia* [Oslo Occasional Papers in Social Anthropology, no. 19], Oslo: Department of Social Anthropology, University of Oslo (Akademika) 1989. x, 278 pp., References, Index, Maps, Tables, Figures. No price given.

The Lom are another mostly undocumented people who have attracted an ethnographer and, partly in consequence of that, acquired ethnic identity. Some 752 persons on the tin-bearing island of Bangka, off the coast of Sumatra, they sometimes describe themselves as non-Muslim Malays. The ethnonym 'Orang Lom' is locally glossed as 'persons who have not yet accepted religion'. Like other non-Muslim communities on the peripheries of the Malay world, the Lom are sensitive to Malay derogations and cautious about discussing their affairs with strangers.

Among their singular characteristics are prohibitions on the use of pen and paper and on the construction of schools and religious buildings. They are prohibited from planting coffee, from practising wet rice agriculture and from selling rice, timber and certain other products. They may not use umbrellas or wear shoes. Unlike neighbouring Malays, they may and do eat pork. They practice incision of the prepuce, but not circumcision, and they bury their dead with the head to the east. They further differ from other Malays in dialect, clothing and various aspects of economic activity. As opposed to the Chinese community, with which they generally get on well, they share a common sense of being Malay. Among their most unexpected notions is their conviction that the world was created and their customs given to them by Gajah Mada, who is otherwise known as the historical chief minister of the Javanese fourteenth-century empire of Majapahit.

Smedal finds little coherence in the means by which the Lom may be identified as a distinctive ethnic grouping, nor does he find much structure in their cosmology or social symbolism. Their future is under some threat from a modernizing national government that has little sympathy for economic and cultural eccentricity. Eight chapters include, in addition to the topics already mentioned, discussions of birth and mortuary practices, of the economy, of sexual prohibitions, and of affinity and consanguinity. The book is based on about fourteen months of research. Various of its analytic observations are subtle and plausible. Nevertheless, most of the marginalized or aboriginal groups in the Malay region present similar interpretative difficulties that have been discussed by

other authors. An attempt to situate the Lom more directly within these discussions would have been welcome.

R. H. BARNES

DAN ROSE, *Patterns of American Culture: Ethnography and Estrangement*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1989. 117 pp., Index, Plates. £17.95.

Dan Rose's new book combines different genres of writing to discuss the varied but fashionably related themes of poetics, ethnographic practice, alienation and cultural criticism. For the most part, the use of these genres gives the book a high degree of sensitivity, but its strength resides in the rich insights and suggestiveness of its ethnography. By the same token, the book is at first most frustrating when it digresses from interpretative ethnography at the expense of providing clear definitions of central terms such as 'colonisation' and 're-configuration'. More seriously, Rose refrains from providing the comprehensive and holistic picture of contemporary American society for which his extensive fieldwork and interpretative acumen seem to make him uniquely qualified.

The book's central theme is that America was fashioned out of the private chartered companies first established by the British to exploit the newly discovered land and its natural resources. Such corporations pioneered a hierarchical and managerial society motivated by profit and laid the foundations for contemporary institutions. Rose contends that the early crown charters provided the basis for the American constitution, while representative government was established as a managerial task. The impetus to colonization survived independence and continued in a restless cycle of re-configuring previous patterns and trends on the landscape. Rose refers to this as re-colonization and regards it as a fundamental activity of the modern corporations that exercise hegemony over public values and the American landscape. The country, he argues, is made up of triads: the three branches of government (executive, legislative, and judiciary); three levels of public administration (federal, state, local) and the three corporate sectors (public, private, non-profit). The private corporation provides the model for the public and non-profit organizations. The corporations integrate large sectors of individuals into a society. Individuals hold multiple corporate memberships that, taken together, define life-styles and values and take the place reserved in other societies for kinship, i.e. for establishing primary social experiences.

Not all citizens are incorporated into this complex enterprise. Many remain outside. Drawing on earlier fieldwork amongst Black Americans in Philadelphia, Rose argues that an underground, pre-capitalist economy exists in Black urban life that provides an instant if unequal credit system forming the basis of interactive

networks and establishing a source of 'communitas' outside the world of monopoly capital. Such an organization defines its own values, which are monitored and policed by interested parties in face-to-face contact—the absence of any third or disinterested intermediary party often leading to violence.

I have dwelt on the ethnography (and, it might be said, its implicit cultural criticism) to the exclusion of other issues, because of a personal puzzle and the contending and paradoxical feelings of estrangement and attraction that I experienced during a sabbatical leave in Washington, D.C. Time and time again I wondered about the relationship between the successful production and reproduction of a common national ideological position amongst a culturally disparate population—which in my neighbourhood was made up of Salvadorans, Whites and Blacks, who either ignored dominant organizations and values or who sought to construct an alternative history, each claiming their ancestral society as the fountainhead of a civilization that had been appropriated and distorted by the West. In this way, they sought not only to domesticate history and reverse their unsympathetic representation by and in it, but also to sculpture a sometimes superior identity. It is dangerous and politically conservative to overemphasize the autonomy of any subordinate sector of a society from the dominant institutions and sector that arch over it, but *Patterns of American Culture* offers very engaging and provocative insights into the puzzle of what keeps America together as a nation.

ANTHONY SHELTON

SERGEI KAN, *Symbolic Immortality: The Tlingit Potlatch of the Nineteenth Century*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press 1989. xvi, 353 pp., Glossary, References, Index, Plates. \$32.50.

Kan's work is concerned primarily with reconstructing the traditional mortuary practices of the Tlingit of southeastern Alaska. To achieve this he draws on ethnohistorical materials, including previously neglected Russian-language sources detailing early contact by both missionaries and explorers. This diachronic approach is complemented by his own ethnographic researches among the Tlingit, conducted mainly in the 1980s. Affirming Mauss's description of the potlatch as a 'total social phenomenon', Kan is concerned to bring out all its aspects in his account, refusing to reduce it to either a solely religious or solely political activity. Doctrinal use of anthropological theories—functionalist, structuralist, Marxist or whatever—is rejected in favour of descriptive ethnography and awareness of the 'texture of native experience' (p. 7).

Outlining a symbolic approach (on the basis that the ritual activity in question is the central ceremonial system of the culture), Kan moves on to draw out of the data indigenous notions of personhood, both in themselves and in relation to the

social order as a whole. This leads to an analysis of the root of the concept of *shagoon* (which, depending on context, may refer to, among other things, an individual's or matrilineal group's ancestors, heritage, the clan crest, destiny, the totemic animal and even an abstract supreme being) that is similar to the Nuer *kwoth* in that its plural meaning encompasses the spiritual life.

As to theory the book is modest, the author preferring to pen an exemplary study of mortuary rites and of the potlatch in its various religious, political and emotional aspects, rather than admonish reductionism by extensive argument. His comparativism is likewise cautious, moving slowly and surely through regionalism toward the wider vistas of circumpacific analogies. The local comparison is with the western subarctic Athapaskans (Katchin, Koyukon etc.) and with the neighbouring peoples of the Northwest Coast (Tsimshian and Haida). Similarities between aspects of Tlingit society and those of the simpler northern groups are explained by a Proto-Athapaskan base, common to both, to which the archaic stratum of the Tlingit mortuary complex belongs (cremation and the organization of society along moiety lines being cited as examples). This set of earlier practices is overlaid by 'classic' Northwest Coast cultural features—lavish gift exchange, complex ranking and property rights.

Concerning Oceanic and wider parallels, Kan suspends judgement on the grounds that the literature on death in Indonesia, Melanesia and Madagascar is too often of the either/or type (i.e. emphasizing either religion or politics) and that more data is required. Whether or not the time is right for such widespread comparativism, we cannot expect Kan to develop his monograph too far toward such an enterprise since its Tlingit focus does not allow it. Although he takes issue with his theoretical sources (Hertz, Mauss, Bloch and Parry) on specific points, his work affirms rather than denies their main insights.

Overall, the work should be seen as contributing to the general theory of the anthropology of death only in its critique of reductionism. Its strength lies in its subtle combination of the historical and ethnographic in a single text. For the regionalist, it provides stimulating discussions on the use of the terms 'class', 'caste', 'status' and 'rank' in the Northwest Coast context, as well as reconciling the sociological view of orchestrated mourning with genuine individual expressions of grief. Kan's book provides a rich, detailed and unusually sensitive account of the Tlingit mortuary complex and thus must be an essential text for those prepared to take up the challenge of wider comparisons.

RICHARD RUDGLEY

MARY TAYLOR HUBER, *The Bishops' Progress: A Historical Ethnography of Catholic Missionary Experience on the Sepik Frontier*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press 1988. xii, 264 pp., Bibliography, Index. \$29.95.

Early anthropologists, certainly up to the time of the Second World War and perhaps for two or three decades after it, tended to exclude missionaries from their concerns. Those bearers of an alien religion and culture intruded into 'sacred' territory and helped to destroy the pristine state of preliterate peoples. For various reasons, one of which is the shortage of tribes as yet unstudied, anthropologists have now changed course and are busily examining the work of missionaries, along with that of administrators, traders, and other groups of 'colonizers', as well as visitors and tourists.

Despite its rather odd title, *The Bishops' Progress* is a straightforward historical account, sprinkled with some sociological apperceptions, of the development of Catholic missionary work in Papua New Guinea. To use her own words, Mary Huber approached her task as a 'generalized American mainstream Protestant' who undertook the necessary fieldwork between 1976 and 1977, although she had been in the area before. She concentrated on the East Sepik province, and particularly on the town of Wewak, which was the missionary centre.

Papua New Guinea, once a German colony, has become a fertile ground for missionaries of all denominations. In 1966, 76 per cent of the population of the East Sepik region were Roman Catholic. The main thrust of the Catholic activity came with the arrival of members of the Society of the Divine Word (SVD). The order emerged from a missionary seminary in Germany in the late nineteenth century. Its headquarters were established in Holland. One of its members was the learned Pater Wilhelm Schmidt, who helped to edit *Anthropos*, the journal founded by the order. The SVD fathers pioneered missionary work based on anthropology. They also gathered around them large numbers of lay brothers who were skilled craftsmen. One result of this was that when mission work began in the Sepik in 1896, the order 'went into industry', developed sites, put up buildings, supplied the area with timber and created plantations.

Chapters are devoted to the historical stages through which the mission has passed. They begin with the economic success from the early days until the First World War. Papua New Guinea was then taken over from Germany by the Australian government who ruled the country until the Japanese invasion. In the early part of the interwar period German nationals were repatriated, although in the mid-1930s three-quarters of the mission staff were German. During the Japanese invasion many acts of cruelty were inflicted on the locals and expatriates. Cargo cults appeared in the 1930s in the form of the Mambu movement and the Four Black Kings. They were studied by the ethnologist and SVD priest Georg Hôltker. The mission preached against cults without much success, and the government removed the leaders when their followers refused to pay taxes. Needless to say, the public blamed the missionaries for the outbursts.

After the war, missionaries faced not so much political as ecclesiastical problems. These were centred on having to deal with the reforms that stemmed from Vatican II, coupled with the decline in European missionaries. The changes demanded by Rome met with opposition from some clergy as well as native Catholics. There was the demand for indigenization, by adopting some of the components of local culture—a *volte face* from an earlier policy when locals had been told to sever themselves completely from their culture. Bishops now appear in feathered mitres and vestments of local design. The call for localization meant the replacement of European manpower with local manpower. The attempt to recruit men to priestly and lay work, and also women to be sisters, has not been as successful as had been hoped. In 1976, there were 227 diocesan personnel, 40 per cent of whom were SVD brothers and sisters: 10 per cent were locals.

One would have liked to see the author pay more attention to fieldwork amongst local Catholics. At no stage was one 'introduced to the people': they seemed scarcely to exist. Mary Huber relied almost entirely on written sources, which meant that her work concentrated on church leaders, their policy, their organization, and the difficulties they faced. In short, we learn about some aspects of the bureaucratic structure. Also, relatively few theoretical issues, anthropological or theological, are raised. Even at the level of leadership there is little about the tensions of enculturation and the fear of syncretism.

An interesting but not compelling book.

W. S. F. PICKERING

Visual Anthropology, Vol. III, nos. 2-3 (1990) (Special Issue: *Picturing Cultures: Historical Photographs in Anthropological Inquiry*; ed. Joanna Cohan Scherer), 235 pp., Illustrations. No price given.

Anthropologists display a growing awareness of the usefulness of analysing both historical and contemporary photographs. It is, indeed, one of the sub-specialisms attracting an increasing amount of academic interest from anthropologists and historians. The present volume is a special edition of the quarterly journal *Visual Anthropology*, repackaged as a book, and considers the study, use and production of anthropological and ethnographical films, videos and photographs. It aims specifically at analysing historical ethnographic photographs through a variety of research methods. There are three separate sections entitled: 'In Search of the Image', 'In Search of the Image-Maker' and 'The Image as Anthropological Document'. The first section deals with three photographic collections and is the most purely descriptive in style, the second concentrates on two specific photographers, and the third interprets photographs in their historical and intellectual context.

The descriptive essays dealing with the photographic collections at the National Anthropological Archive, Washington, the Hungarian Ethnological Museum, Budapest, and the Tuscan Photographic Archives, Florence are only likely to be of interest to those working specifically in these geographical areas. However, the first essay does make some general points on the collecting policy of the museum.

The same is likely to be true of the essays reviewing the work of two photographers of American Indians, James Moody and Joseph K. Dixon. These take into account such historical aspects as the perceived need to photograph the 'vanishing race' and the practical difficulties of photography in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and whilst they might be seen as case-studies, the development of broader theoretical issues, only hinted at here, is missing.

The analytical essays in the third section are more likely to interest the majority of readers. Elizabeth Edwards' essay, 'Photographic Types: The Pursuit of Method', analyses the physical 'type' photography of the 1860s and 1870s, the main purpose of which was to illustrate the characteristics of racial groups. She reviews in detail two specific collections, the Berlin Project and Professor Huxley's project in Britain. Another useful essay in this section, by Christopher Pinney, analyses classification and fantasy in the photographic construction of caste and tribe in India, tying it to wider representational modes. The final essay in this section is an interpretation by Christraud Geary of ethnographic photographs from the Cameroons. These essays are good examples of the kind of detailed analysis that can be carried out on historical, ethnographic photographs and which breathes life into moribund and derided spheres of historical anthropological investigation.

The penultimate essay, by Flora S. Kaplan is entitled 'Some Uses of Photography in Recovering Cultural History at the Royal Court of Benin, Nigeria'. It shows one way in which contemporary and historical photographs can be used by the anthropologist in the field.

In their various ways, the essays make a contribution to the changing view of images as a source of anthropological information complementary to traditional forms. The collection does not make a consistent book, however, and shows very clearly its origins as an issue of a journal. The presentation and style of the essays vary very greatly and it is unlikely that any reader will find every essay of equal value and interest. Like many collections of essays it is a lucky dip aimed at every reader in general and none specifically; each reader has a chance, however, of finding something of interest. Whilst this is a volume that should certainly have a place in anthropological libraries, there may not be a place for it on every anthropologist's book-shelf.

ALISON PETCH