Marginal anthropology?

Rethinking Maria Czaplicka and the development of British anthropology from a material history perspective

D.Phil. Thesis

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Michaelmas term 2017

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Abstract

This thesis explores the history of British anthropology at the start of the twentieth century through a biographical focus on Maria Antonina Czaplicka (1884-1921). The title calls into question the marginalisation of people and processes in the history of anthropology that do not explicitly contribute to the dominant lineage of British social anthropology and offers to add depth and nuance to the narrative through analysis stemming from material sources. I use Czaplicka as a case study to demonstrate how close attention to a seemingly marginal person with an incomplete and scattered archival record, can help formulate a clearer picture of what anthropology was and what it can thus become.

My research contributes to the understanding and appreciation of women's involvement in anthropology, calls into question national borders of the discipline at this point in time, highlights the networks that nurtured it, and demonstrates the potential that museum collections have for an enriched understanding of the history of anthropology. I propose that history of anthropology is better understood through a planar approach that allows multiple parallel developments to exist together rather than envisaging a linear evolution towards a single definition of social anthropology. The project lays the groundwork for further research into the role that museums can have for understanding anthropological legacy and the possibilities they may have in creating fresh understandings of the contemporary world.

Acknowledgements

The Pitt Rivers Museum, which has been my institutional home for the past five year, was the place, which first suggested this project. It is to the many museum staff, past and present, that I owe greatest thanks for hosting and aiding me in this endeavour. In particular, my supervisors: Laura Peers and Christopher Morton have helped to formulate and advance this project. I would also like to express my gratitude to Zena McGreevy, Marina de Alarcon, Nicholas Crowe and Julia Nicholson for facilitating my research with the Czaplicka collection.

At the Penn Museum, Bill Wierzbowski and Alex Pezzati aided my research with the Hall collection. Katherine O'Donnel and Anne Manuel from the Somerville College archives, Alison Vinnicomb from the Lucy Cavendish College Archive, Sarah Walpole at the Royal Anthropological Institute and Charles Greifenstein from the American Philosophical Society offered every assistance in researching and accessing their archives. My earnest gratitude also goes to Mihhail Batashev, Tatiana Blagodatova and Irina Ivanovna at the Krasnoyarsk Regional Museum who welcomed me to their institution, facilitated my research and provided many cups of tea. David Mills and Bob Parkin from the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology, University of Oxford offered helpful comments in the early stages of this thesis. To Alison Petch and Frances Larson I owe so much in knowledge imparted and advice given. The research was made possible through generous funding by the Archimedes Foundation Kristjan Jaak doctoral scholarship, Oxford University Scatcherd European Scholarship, St Cross College and the Arctic Institute in North America.

Last but not least, my family and friends have been an infinite source of support and inspiration – I could not have got this far without you. Special thanks go my lifetime tutorial partner Anna for talking about anthropology and reading my work twelve years on. Drew and Henri – thank you for bearing with me and for the PhD rocket boosters.

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Abbreviations

APS	The American Philosophical Society
ASL	The Anthropological Society of London
ASW	Anthropological Society of Washington
BAAS	The British Association for the Advancement of Science
BLSC	The Bodleian Libraries’ Special Collections
ESL	The Ethnological Society of London
EASA	The European Association of Social Anthropologists
HAN	The History of Anthropology Newsletter
HOAN	The History of Anthropology Newsletter (network of the European Association of Social Anthropology)
KKKM	Krasnoyarsk Regional Museum (Красноярский краевой краеведческий музей)
LCCA	Lucy Cavendish College Archive, University of Cambridge
LSE	London School of Economics
MAE	St Petersburg Museum of Archaeology and Ethnography
NMS	National Museum of Scotland
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Bibliography
OUA	Oxford University Archives
PRM	The Pitt Rivers Museum
Penn Museum	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
RAI	The Royal Anthropological Institute
RAS	The Russian Academy of Sciences
RGS	The Royal Geographical Society
RSG	The Royal Scottish Geographical Society
SCA	Somerville College Archives, University of Cambridge
UPMAA	University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology
WASA	Women’s Anthropological Society in Washington DC

The past… that is absent from our own mythology, the past that is withheld verbally, the past that is a subconscious *Aktuelle Macht* rather than freely circulating “shareware”, that is the past that waits to be made sense of. (Runia 2006b: 6)

Introduction

This thesis explores the history of British anthropology at the start of the twentieth century as the discipline was getting a footing in universities and intensive fieldwork was becoming an expected part of research. It does so through a particular biographical focus on Maria Antonina Czaplicka (1884-1921), a Polish anthropologist trained in the Oxford Diploma programme who carried out fieldwork in Siberia and went on to professional appointments in the discipline. I must make clear from the outset that I am not writing a biography of Czaplicka[1] - rather my aim is to illuminate aspects of anthropology's history and suggest productive methods and approaches to better grasp not only the history of the discipline but also propose how we may better write this history as anthropologists.

Maria Czaplicka was born on the 25th October 1884, however her birth date during her life and upon her death had variously also been ascribed to 1886 and 1888. [2] Her family was of impoverished Polish nobility (szlachta)[3] and the parents, their five children and elderly grandparents lived together in Warsaw resulting in a difficult financial position. During the partitions of Poland in the eighteenth century, the nobility lost many of its privileges and land leaving a

[1] Grazyna Kubica-Heller's biography, *Maria Czaplicka: plec, szamanisma, raza. Biografia antropologiczna* was published in 2015 and I believe there are plans to publish an English translation with University of Nebraska Press.

[2] This is according to her biographer, Grazyna Kubica, who has unearthed Czaplicka's birth certificate in Warsaw. On her naturalisation application, Czaplicka marked her date pf birth as 8th December 1888 while the 1911 census and Somerville College register suggest that she was born in 1886 (Spring census has her at 24 while autumn register at 25).

[3] In Poland, a fairly large percentage of the population were part of szlachta (6-12 percent) and most were small or landed gentry. However by 1795 their role had diminished significantly following successive partitions and depended largely on the ruling power (Russian Empire, Kingdom of Prussia or Habsburg Monarchy)

class of people with great sense of social status but none of the privileges associated with it. Czaplicka's biographer, Grazyna Kubica (2015a), argues that Czaplickis were a good example of the position that many of Polish nobility were in in the late nineteenth century. Having lost their estate they had moved to Warsaw where Feliks Czaplicki, Maria's father, got a clerical job in the growing railways sector. With limited financial assets, the importance of education was seen in elevated terms and thus Maria received the best education attainable for a woman.

She attended a prestigious Girl's School in Warsaw from 1894-1902 (APS, Boas papers) but also attended a self learning club on Polish history and literature – a somewhat rebellious act in the Russian-ruled Warsaw. From 1902 she attended classes of Aniele Szycowna intended to prepare her for a career in teaching (Kubica 2015a). However, she also lead a clandestine teaching group for working class children and took classes at the Flying University[4] both of which fostered her social radicalism.

In 1904 the family moved to Lipawa, present day Latvia, due to Feliks Czaplicki's work and it was there that Maria took the *matura* exam in a boys' grammar school. This certificate allowed her to take the geography teacher's exam and Maria also helped to support the family by teaching Polish locally. In 1906 the family returned to Warsaw where Feliks died that same year. This put Maria under greater strain to earn and she began to teach in a renowned Girls

[4] Flying University was an underground educational enterprise that operated from 1885 to 1905 in Warsaw, the historic Polish capital, then under the control of the Russian Empire. The purpose of this and similar institutions was to provide Polish youth with an opportunity for an education within the framework of traditional Polish scholarship, when that collided with the ideology of the governing authorities.

School, she also tutored children during holidays and acted as a companion to wealthy women. However, she also maintained her academic and political interests by taking classes at the TKN (Towarzystwo Kursow Naukowych i.e. Society for Academic Courses), which emerged out of the Flying University. She acted as a secretary of the Society's maths/science section and in 1908 was awarded a distinction for anthropological work.

She also taught in the University for Everybody and Society of Polish Culture both of which were aimed at offering education to the working classes and charitable work in orphanages and cooperative movements. She gave talks on cooperatives and prepared statistics on cultural characteristics of Poles. She published poems in pro-independece political literary magazines and in 1910 during a health trip to Zakopane became well acquainted with the socialistic intelligentsia of Poland. Her chief mentor at this time was Wacław Nałkowski (1851-1911) who had a formative influence on Czaplicka (Kubica 2015a) (cf. Chapter 4).

Czaplicka thus received a mixed and scattered education, influenced heavily by human geography and socialist ideas. Her energetic pursuit of and offering of education paid off and in 1910 she became the first woman to be awarded the Mianowski scholarship to work on a book 'Peoples of the Globe' in London (Kubica 2015a). Once in London, Czaplicka went to lectures at the London School of Economics alongside Bronislaw Malinowski. From the outset, Czaplicka found herself in London's literary and socialist circles. Her 1914 Siberian expedition included Dora Curtis, the sister of Ethel Kibblewhite who

kept a literary salon at 67 Firth Street frequented by the likes of T.E. Hulme and Henri Gaudier-Brzeska.

In 1911 she applied for the Oxford Diploma in Anthropology with a reference from Charles Seligman and character references from Ethel Voyinich (Irish novelist and musician, supporter of revolutionary causes) and Christian MacTaggart, LSE secretary (SCA, CP). At Oxford she became a member of Somerville College known for its support of the suffrage movement but careful not to undo the progress women had achieved in the ancient university. While women were no longer required to 'go unobserved' and Emily Penrose, the principal of Somerville, was permitting of political activism, she insisted on propriety and good academic results in order to not cause any controversy and thus impede the progress of women's membership of the University. In many ways, Czaplicka's career befits this model of a female student – pushing forward and yet constantly needing to check that she was conforming to expectations. She was politically active, literate and poetic, but there is a tension between the willingness to conform and assimilate in the UK and pushing against political regimes in her home country.

After undertaking the Diploma, Czaplicka embarked on a private study that resulted in the book *Aboriginal Siberia*. This work was supported by the Mary Ewart Trust at Somerville College and the Reid Trust at Bedford College (Czaplicka 1914a). Working on this compendium handbook led to plans for an expedition to Siberia and once again, with the help of Mary Ewart Trust, Czaplicka set off for a 15-month fieldwork in the Yenisei region of Siberia in May 1914. The expedition party consisted of Czaplicka, an aspiring ornithologist Maud

Haviland, an artist Dora Curtis and Henry Usher Hall who was charged with assisting with anthropometric measurements and creating a collection for the University of Pennsylvania Museum. For the main part of the expedition, Czaplicka and Hall travelled alone with local assistants and it is thought that they were romantically involved (Kubica 2015, cf. p. 270). Thereafter she became the Lecturer in Ethnology under Arthur Thomson at the Human Anatomy Department at Oxford (supported again by the Mary Ewart trust for two of the three years), a post that was filled by L.H.D. Buxton prior to World War I and to which he returned after the war. In 1921 Czaplicka went on a lecture tour in the USA and sought employment opportunities there, however none arose. In Autumn 1921 she took the post of Lecturer in Ethnology at the Human Anatomy Department at Bristol University and began to organise a course in Anthropology[5]. While at Bristol, she was nominated for the Albert Kahn Travelling Scholarship for which she became, at great speed, a naturalized British subject. Unfortunately the decision to award the Award to L.H.D. Buxton was taken before her Naturalization was completed and upon hearing the news on May 21, 1921, Czaplicka took mercuric chloride resulting in her untimely death[6].

Czaplicka arrived in London from Warsaw in 1910, the same year Malinowski (1926) used as the starting point in the development of British anthropology in his *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article. Malinowski's article pointed to the publication Frazer's four volume *Totemism and Exogamy*. However, as

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[5] See notice 96. University of Bristol. Department of Anthropology. in Man 20 (1920): 192
[6] While Czaplicka took her life upon receiving news about the award decision (Staveley to Penrose, SCA, CP) there are numerous indications that her decision was also impacted by Henry Usher Hall's marriage earlier in the year and mental health issues, which she struggled to overcome while away from her friends and support network.

Stocking points out, 1910 was also the year of Malinowski's arrival in the UK, meaning latter's cleverly placed him amidst developments which lead to the establishment of several strongholds of British social anthropology (Stocking 1995: 124). Czaplicka was just six months older than Malinowski, turning 26 on 25 October 1910.[7] However, unlike Malinowski, who held a doctorate from Jagiellonian University and had pursued interests in ethnology in Leipzig, Czaplicka's educational trajectory had been convoluted featuring a boys' grammar school, clandestine universities, and private tuition that earned her a geography teacher's qualification and a scholarship to study abroad (further discussed in Chapter 1, p. 41). Both Poles attended lectures at the London School of Economics and while they were not close friends, they were sociable enough to play pranks on friends[8] and for Czaplicka to recommend Malinowski to Robert Ranulph Marett as his secretary at the BAAS congress in Australia in 1914 (Kuper 1996: 11).

By 1910 Oxford had a Diploma program in anthropology established through the joint efforts of men like John Linton Myres and Robert Ranulph Marett. At Cambridge, Alfred Cort Haddon held a lectureship in Ethnology from 1900 and a Board of Studies in Anthropology was set up in 1904. In 1913, the Ethnology lectureship was set up at LSE, although students were attending lectures by Edvard Westermarck, Hobhouse, and Charles Seligman from at least 1907. Thus, Czaplicka was entering a landscape of anthropology already

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[7] This is based on her birth year being 1884, based on a birth certificate found in Warsaw (Kubica 2015b). In archival sources her birth year is also noted as 1886 and 1888 so her London acquaintances would probably have thought she was 24 or even younger when she arrived.

[8] In a letter to Malinowski's daughter, Helena Wayne, Anna Borenius recalls how Malinowski and Czaplicka pretended to have got engaged (LSE Archives, Malinowski 37/17).

populated with some professional appointments and official university programs, but its existence in universities was precarious with few academic positions and scarce funding for research. After a year in London, Czaplicka started the Oxford Diploma in 1911, which was followed by independent research that was subsequently published in her first book, *Aboriginal Siberia* (1914). In May 1914 she embarked on a journey to the Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia to carry out an ethnological study of the Evenki and other local indigenous groups. Upon her return she was appointed a lecturer in Ethnology at Oxford University from 1916-1919 and later in Bristol from 1920. During this time she published her popular account of the expedition, *My Siberian Year The Turks of Central Asia* (an ethnological argument on the origin of the 'Turks'),, as well as a number of entries on Siberian indigenous groups in *The Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* and popular, academic and political articles (see Appendix A for full list of publications). Before taking up the post in Bristol, Czaplicka went on a lecture tour of the USA and attempted to gain employment there without success. Following unsuccessful bids to fund further research travel and the marriage of her expedition companion, Henry Usher Hall, she took poison in Bristol on 21 May 1921 – a decision she apparently regretted but could not undo[9], thus resulting in her death at the age of 36.

I begin with 1910, when Czaplicka's training in anthropology becomes more formalised, in parallel to anthropology's own transitioning – out of the realm of learned societies and gentlemen travellers and into universities. The correlations between her and Malinowski's trajectories help to highlight her case

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[9] See Mary Staveley's letter to Emily Penrose, 31 May 1921 (SCA, CP).

as a ‘negative space’ to comment on and nuance the established narratives on the development of anthropology. I do not purport to unearth radically new facets of this relatively obscure anthropologist nor can I challenge key events in the history of the discipline and the emphasis given to them. However, I will shed light on the ‘still-shadowy’ crannies of the history untouched by George W Stocking’s (1995: 14) meticulously researched histories, drawing attention to the role of women in the early years of anthropology, highlighting the close-knit nature of the discipline and arguing for an understanding not just of the ‘key figures’, but also their students and associates. My research on Czaplicka and particularly her Siberian expedition suggests that anthropology was both international and interdisciplinary and yet very place specific. Particular opportunities and constraints imposed by specific institutions and the abilities of an individual to progress in those conditions played a significant role in the development of disciplines.

Czaplicka is not remembered as a central figure in anthropology, but by all accounts she appears to have been active and well known at the time. Her expedition to Siberia between 1914 and 1915 was extensively reported and earned her a place among anthropologists, geographers, and Siberian ethnographers. More recently, she has been highlighted as a female pioneer. During my research I encountered the names of others, who were present in the anthropology scene, but seem to have left virtually no trace of their presence. Czaplicka thus exists in a category in between, not quite a key figure with an extensive publication record and a comprehensive archive, yet she has not completely fallen into historical obscurity. Her life and career present us with a particular puzzle at the core of

which are questions of failure and success: she published several books and many articles, she was a salaried lecturer at Oxford and Bristol and also lectured in learned societies across the country as well as giving series of lectures at the School of Oriental and African Studies. Her name crops up in various archives making it evident that she was reasonably connected within the scholarly community – both anthropological and literary. Yet she warrants but a mention in the histories of anthropology as one of the women that studied at Oxford or a member of the first generation of fieldworking anthropologists.

Ruth Watts' (2007) study of women in the history of science posits that we must situate women in this history, not simply insert them as an afterthought. This to Watts means understanding the particular conditions of particular women within specific places that they occupied in the scientific landscape; to re-populate history with women who were present, but not acknowledged. In this thesis I am undertaking a similar task: by situating Czaplicka in various themes in anthropology's disciplinary development I am able to probe what *doing* anthropology was like at the time. Research into Czaplicka's academic and personal history by Kubica

(2015a, 2015b, Collins and Urry (1997) and Collins (1995) as well as the publication of her main works in an edited volume (Czaplicka and Collins 1999) have aided this task, however further investigations into scattered archival references in various institutions, newspaper articles and significantly, attention to Czaplicka's museum collection have enabled me to critically analyse the notion of anthropology between 1910 and 1921 when Czaplicka was working, and raise questions about the identity of the subject – an issue still prevalent today.

This project grew out of an interest with the Czaplicka photograph collection and a wish to reconnect the Siberian communities she visited with their material culture. However, it soon became apparent that it was impossible to treat the material fairly without understanding the conditions of its collection and so I began tracking Czaplicka's archival traces across continents. The scattered and incomplete nature of her archive has caused much frustration, none greater than the mystery surrounding the loss of her expedition manuscript material. However, this very same quality has also forced upon this study a serious need to consider tracks and traces, networks of people and things, and the question of how histories are written and told. Throughout this research I have been keenly aware of the sensory, material, and social opportunities afforded by the museum collections and the archival material and it has been my aim to apply an anthropological understanding of the material culture to the study of history. By this I mean allowing materials to speak to multiple histories and avoiding linear, chronological narratives as it is simply not the way in which real life is lived and experienced. Delving deeper and deeper into the lives of the first generation of fieldworking anthropologists, it becomes clear that there was no clear succession of events leading from classical enquiries into the history of mankind through to 'armchair' anthropologists, followed by the Malinowskian revolution of long term fieldwork.

In this thesis, I use Maria Czaplicka as a case study to demonstrate how close attention to a seemingly marginal person can help formulate a clearer picture of what anthropology was and what it can thus become. In this project, I draw from historical anthropology, microhistory, and new approaches in the

philosophy of history. Brian Axel's edited volume *From the Margins* (2002) that showed how margins in historical anthropology are in fact central to and fold into the making of history and approaches in history that prioritise experiences of the forgotten, the marginal (Ginzburg 2012) as well as the ubiquitous 'common knowledge' and presence (Runia 2006b) offer a means to rethink our conception of history by focusing not on those whose legacy we know has had an impact but on those who were ever present but seem to have left but a faint impression.

My research has been a synthesis of archival study with textual sources, a consideration of publications and presentations of the time and close work with museum collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum and the University of Philadelphia Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. However, it has also been a journey, tracking Czaplicka in London, Oxford, Cambridge, St Petersburg and Krasnoyarsk. An obvious omission is Poland, which due to a lack of linguistic skill and time constraints, is only discussed through secondary sources. Eschewing a linear chronology and instead adopting a planar approach to history[10] has enabled me to highlight interconnections between individuals, the flows and counter-flows of influence and power and demonstrate a parallel co-existence rather than successive developments in the field. Furthermore, a consideration of the 'social life' (Appadurai 1986) of Czaplicka's ethnographic collection from the 1914-15 expedition within the biography of the Pitt Rivers Museum allows me to probe how the problematic temporalities of

[10] I adopt the concept of 'planar history' from Eelco Runia who argues for history as an ongoing process whose understanding requires an appreciation for the intertwinement of continuity and discontinuity. He suggests that everyday perception of the past and history as a discipline are better understood as surfaces of different historical depths that form a city-like formation. Thus, study of history requires, a spatial approach, which allows one to 'walk around' historic events. (Runia 2006b)

anthropological knowledge in the academic and public domains affected, and continue to affect, the discipline.

Thesis structure

The first chapter situates and frames the thesis in terms of other studies in the history of anthropology and the theoretical approaches that have guided my thinking. I start by considering studies specifically concerned with the development of the discipline as a whole through genealogical tracing and particular case studies. I am particularly interested in re-examining three main themes emerging from studies in the history of anthropology: the development of fieldwork practice, specific representations of Oxford anthropology, and the notion of a nationally-bound 'British' anthropology. I highlight how the approach and narrative structure of these studies suggests a linear and seemingly seamless progression of the discipline and seldom engages with the marginal and underrepresented aspects such as the role of women during the early years of university-based anthropology. I then move on to consider studies in museum anthropology and some recent microhistories, which deal with the history of anthropology on a smaller scale through particular case studies. I argue that approaches in material and museum anthropology, along with history of science, offer fruitful avenues for a more nuanced understanding of the history of anthropology which bridge specific case studies with broader developments in the field without resorting to a simplistic 'contextualisation' that relies on linear narratives.

I further explore theoretical propositions in the philosophy of history, which prioritise notions of historical experience and presence that lead to a more multi-dimensional understanding of history. I argue that Eelco Runia's theory of presence and historical anthropology, which suggests the existence of multiple histories, allow us to build a history of anthropology that is not simply 'of' or 'about' anthropology as a discipline but that is also anthropological, thus permitting multiple historical realities to emerge. Finally, I suggest that an emerging understanding of the potential and presence-effect of material culture offers a productive way for engaging ethnographic collections in our construction of anthropology's history and highlights the need to deal with the problematic temporalities of anthropological knowledge.

Chapter 2 opens with an examination of a professional studio photograph of Czaplicka taken just after the Siberian expedition. Considering this material artefact, an assertion of a certain identity, allows me to begin to unfold Czaplicka's character, her ambitions and obstacles she faced while building a career in anthropology. The chapter is framed by the notion that she was a 'lady scientist', a title used by many popular outlets in describing her and one that I believe is revealing of several important strands in the development of anthropology at the time. It points in particular to the importance of social standing, being a 'lady', and the ambitions of the discipline to be a proper science. It also points to a tension between being a woman of a particular social standing and an academic in the early twentieth century.

The chapter gives an overview of women's entry to and presence in early twentieth-century anthropology and positions this among women's role in

science and academic scholarship more generally. I suggest that anthropology as a space for academic women was opened by liberally minded men, the example set by women travellers, folklorists and collectors and was particularly appealing due to its promise of travel. For Maria Czaplicka, however, the promise of anthropology proved to be illusory since despite lectureships, books, and fieldwork, institutional constraints limited her research, employment, and financial opportunities. Czaplicka is a distinctive example of an early professional woman anthropologist because of her determination to pursue an academic career and her reliance on it as a source of income, but women were also present as students, audience and support staff. Indeed, the ubiquity of women and the relative lack of attention that they have received make them a good starting point for understanding anthropology as it was made and experienced at the time. Thus, a sustained attention to women's role in anthropology, and a consideration of Czaplicka's career in particular, points to themes of popular interest in anthropology: gendered and class-related institutional constraints and funding issues, the role of non-university spaces in anthropological knowledge making and more general questions of *who* was making anthropology and what sort of anthropology was made.

In Chapter 3 I move to consider the particular space of Oxford anthropology in the early years of its Diploma programme. I argue that as a small and newly established discipline, it was shaped by its students as well as the better-known figures of Arthur Thomson, Henry Balfour, and Robert Ranulph Marett. Furthermore, I suggest that the growth of anthropology in Oxford was constrained by the university structures and perceived threat from other

departments, which to an extent justifies the ‘stagnation’ narrative of Oxford anthropology in the inter-war years (Rivière 2017, Barth 2005). However, these narratives focusing on named leaders of the discipline overlook their role as mentors who nurtured the ‘anthropological project’ by supporting the research of their students.

A focus on students who took the Diploma during its first years reveals that they were diverse in terms of their educational backgrounds, nationality and many took on teaching responsibilities soon after finishing their degrees, pointing again to the importance of the Diploma students in furthering the discipline. At Oxford, the Diploma students also became important contributors to anthropological knowledge-making through their collecting activities for the Pitt Rivers Museum. I argue that the latter in particular acted as an important nexus and fostered a collaborative and material approach to anthropology among the Diploma students.

The chapter concludes with an exploration of *Aboriginal Siberia* as a material artefact of Oxford anthropology in that period. As a product of Czaplicka and Marett’s relationship, it epitomized aspirations to have comparable data on peoples across the world. While there was no original research involved, Czaplicka attempted some novel classification and the book became relatively influential as information on Siberian indigenous people was severely limited until the 1950s. Czaplicka’s Siberian fieldwork report was envisaged as a continuation and supplement to *Aboriginal Siberia* leading me to

suggest that the latter could be considered a hindrance to truly original field research.

Chapter 4 situates Czaplicka academically and socially in the interdisciplinary and international world of academic anthropology. I argue that her Polish background and fieldwork in Russia aligned her with geographical and ethnographic traditions of the Slavic world but she was also enmeshed in an international network through her Oxford mentors and exchanges with Franz Boas, Lev Shternberg, and Waldemar Jochelson. Working in the Russian North meant that Czaplicka was not able to exploit colonial frameworks like most of her contemporaries and so followed a route uncommon in the British tradition. The connections she forged with commercial, academic, and political figures across the world are revealing of the ways in which anthropology functioned at the time. As an example of the international and interdisciplinary world of anthropology in the early twentieth century, I study the 1912 International Congress of Americanists and the role it played in Czaplicka's career. The proceedings of the congress give us a unique glimpse into the social world of academia at the time revealing the importance of socializing and networking.

In Chapter 5 I move on to examine the expedition Maria Czaplicka led to North-Central Siberia between 1914 and 1915 to re-examine conventional narratives about the development of anthropological fieldwork in the UK. I study the expedition in relation to existing models of fieldwork but also in terms of real financial issues faced by early fieldworkers and the institutional desires and expectations that framed these early experiments. I compare Czaplicka's

fieldwork with that of Diamond Jenness in Papua New Guinea and Bronislaw Malinowski in Mailu and the Trobriand Islands to suggest that fieldwork practices were developing in parallel rather than along a continuum and were strongly influenced by specific institutional, political, and local affairs.

Chapters 6 and 7 shift focus to the museum collections borne out of the expedition, arguing for a need to consider material culture and objects in historical investigations of anthropology. While the study of the Czaplicka collection is hampered by a lack of field diaries and other documents, the material collections are able to highlight aspects of fieldwork otherwise overlooked. An examination of the workings of Czaplicka's ethnographic collections within the Pitt Rivers Museum further reveals ways in which ethnographic representations of Siberia continue to be forged in the museum.

In Chapter 6 I consider the notion that ethnographic collections are not simply representative of the communities studied by the ethnographers but also material traces of their field experiences. I first examine the notion of a collection and argue that layers of intentionalities as well as 'happenings' in the field need to be considered to understand what made its way to museums and how. Secondly, I argue that the photographs and object from the Siberian expedition are illustrative of the uncertainty and epistemological shift (Edwards 2016) that characterized anthropology at the turn of the century. Finally, using notions of the affective affordances, 'presence' and 'abundance' of objects and photographs, I explore how ethnographic collections can build a more evocative understanding of fieldwork experiences.

Chapter 7 examines the legacy of the Siberian expedition. I argue that museums have historically been and continue to be important sites for anthropological knowledge production and thus ethnographic collections within them need to be examined in terms of the public and academic representations they create. Following Gosden and Larson's (2007) example and employing the idiom of social biographies, I examine the Pitt Rivers Museum as a field site where particular knowledge has been created with the aid of the collection. Studying the use and display of the Czaplicka collection I demonstrate how the collection has been configured to represent anthropological knowledge to students and the public. My research into the use and display of the Czaplicka collection reveals that both institutional structures and personal relationships have played a role in the 'social life' of the collection. Most significantly however, tracing the life of the collection points to a stark disjuncture between the perception of anthropology as an evolving discipline, moving through 'phases', and the actual practice in specific institutional spaces. A material approach to the history of anthropology that focuses on objects, photographs and archives thus reveals a multiplicity of academic thought and practice and highlights their respective fields of influence in personal and institutional networks and public engagement.

Following insights from historical anthropology, this thesis does not simply narrate the sequence of events and people but attempts to explain 'the production of a people, and the production of space and time' (Axel 2002: 3). My approach has been to follow the archival traces and build an image of the anthropological community from these trajectories. The image that emerges is of

a small, interlinked community led by curiosity and interest in the history of humanity keen to exploit the latest advances in scientific method. Maria Czaplicka, as a member of this community, speaks of a path that has since been grassed over and is barely visible, but it does not mean this track is not worth retracing given the crucial wider themes that are at stake.

1. Situating and framing the thesis

This project arose from a desire to understand the conditions in which the Siberian expedition of 1914-15 was undertaken and particularly the historical context of the museum collections that bear trace of this expedition. The driving force of the research has always been the object and photograph collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum, although Czaplicka's compelling biography has naturally also engaged and led my investigations. Material and museological concerns and studies have therefore consistently influenced my thinking and approach to Czaplicka as a case study in the history of the discipline. Engaging with the material objects as historical sources and focusing on the social relationships between people, things, and institutions reinserts a key focus of research in the period back into its historiography. This research is thus intellectually situated at the academic intersections between anthropology, museology, history, and the history of science which has responded to calls for a more 'democratic', bottom-up form of research (Latour 2005) that grows from materials rather than presupposing hierarchies of power and significance.

This study can be called a 'microhistory' as defined by Carlo Ginzburg in so far as it strives to move 'between close-ups and extreme long shots, so as to continually thrust back into discussion the comprehensive vision of the historical process through apparent exceptions and cases of brief duration' (Ginzburg 2012: 207). It is a study that brings to the fore the discontinuous and heterogeneous nature of historical reality (Runia) and engages with material culture through the concept of historical 'presence' (Runia 2006b). Latter provides means to

'think experience back into the historical equation' (Edwards 2015: 242) and thereby suggests future directions in which the Czaplicka collection might be mobilised to include source community voices and agency.

In this chapter I will outline the existing relevant literature in the history of anthropology, particularly focusing on the discussion of Oxford anthropology at the start of the twentieth century and the development of fieldwork. I will also give an account of the existing literature on Maria Czaplicka and outline how my approach differs from existing studies. The second half of the chapter outlines theoretical and methodological approaches that I follow. Carlo Ginzburg's concept of microhistory, along with history of science studies led by Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, both suggest productive ways in which the history of anthropology can be understood through micro and macro-level research. I also situate the thesis within recent studies in material and museum anthropology, which further inspire engagement with historical collections, some of which critically relate to the history of anthropology. Finally, I will suggest that Runia's philosophy of history, premised on the social 'presence' of the past in the present, is a useful theoretical model for anthropology and history which allows material objects to act as carriers of such historical reality as well as permit indigenous histories to be enmeshed with our own histories of the discipline.

History of anthropology

Anthropologists have been delineating both the history and historiography of their discipline for nearly as long as they have been practicing it (Haddon and Quiggin 1910). While I endeavour to steer clear from describing

studies in the history of anthropology in terms of 'forefathers', it would be impossible to write this thesis without mentioning George W. Stocking. Indeed, he has been credited with creating the field by professionalizing it (Silverstein quoted in UChicago News 2013) and also by being the foremost writer whose ability to contextualise key events in the history of the discipline has created a wealth of rich literature on the subject. Stocking's studies and the establishment of the History of Anthropology Newsletter (HAN) served as a counterbalance for presentist tendencies in the history of anthropology – the writing of these histories by anthropologists 'for the sake of the present', which were unable to assess the history of anthropological thought within its original contexts. In 1965 Stocking wrote an editorial in the *History of Behavioural Sciences* journal arguing that it was necessary for historians of anthropology to take a more historicist outlook to their subject.

> To the degree that we have lacked an active knowledge of the history of our field, we have been limited by lack of some of the perspectives that have not been transmitted to us, and by the partialness of some of those that have. A critical history can help us regain the one and transcend the other. (Stocking 1995: 216)

Henrika Kuklick, who also acted as the editor of the HAN, is another well-known figure in the field who took on the challenge of producing 'critical histories' of anthropology. Kuklick's studies on colonial governance and the relationship between the anthropologists' own cultural setting and that which they studied brought a distinct sociological analysis to the discipline. In particular her book *The Savage Within* (1991) attempts to situate the development of British anthropology in its social context with a consideration of

the social hierarchies of Victorian Britain, the role of educational reforms including professionalization, and socio-political relationships with the colonies. While her study poses important questions about the social and moral contexts of anthropologists, I agree with James Urry (1993b) that the book is speculative and generalising. In the relatively marginal and select field that anthropology was between 1885 and 1945, creating 'representative types' for communities of anthropologists is a dubious idea. In his review, Urry remarks that the challenge of a social history of anthropology is to ascertain exactly what social contexts anthropologists were enmeshed in, how these affected their life and work and what other factors may have played a role in the formation and development of the discipline (Urry 1993: 468). In particular, he points out that the 'synchronic "social" anthropology' of the interwar period, whose colonial entanglements Kuklick is most interested in, had its roots in 'broad institutional and intellectual movements' (*ibid:* 469) of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries whose conception of anthropology was more diverse than those that were solidified within university anthropology.

Urry's own work on the significance of certain developments in anthropology between 1880 and 1920 for the professionalization of the discipline points to some of the themes that I am concerned with. For example, his argument that Alfred Cort Haddon's anthropology was influenced by his practice of natural sciences, highlighting the role that *Notes and Queries in Anthropology* played in the development of field methods and delineating the elaboration of ethnographic writing (Urry 1993a) are relevant to my study of ethnographic fieldwork in Chapter 5. However, Urry's *Before Social Anthropology* is a collection

of essays with snapshots of various developments, which somewhat hampers an understanding of how these related to each other in practice. I suggest that a biographical focus such as that of Czaplicka provides a thread to link themes without imposing a linear narrative. For example, in discussing the development of fieldwork (cf. Chapter 5), a much written about topic (Stocking 1984, Roldan 1992, Skalník 1995, Larson 2011, Urry 1972, Kuklick 1991, Sera-Shriar 2013, Schaffer 1994, Kuklick 2008), Czaplicka's case study offers a means to look at the specific models, incentives and pressures that influenced fieldwork practice at the time.

If Urry outlines themes and points to neglected histories in the period when anthropology began to be professionalised and taught in universities, then Stocking's *After Tylor* (1995) studies this period in order to trace 'the process by which a narrower inquiry [social anthropology] emerged' (*ibid*: xvi) in the 1920s and 1930s. Because the book seeks to offer a chronological lineage, it does not offer 'multiple contextualization' (ibid: xvi) or deal with marginal figures and while Stocking promises to shed some light on the 'shadowy if not the dark age' during which Maria Czaplicka was building her career, he does make a disclaimer against illuminating 'every still-shadowy cranny' (Stocking 1995: 14). In focusing on Czaplicka's trajectory, I seek to shed light on these crannies of the discipline's history. Understanding the period when anthropology became institutionalised in universities, when intensive fieldwork, and especially the lone fieldworker, became the norm, and theorisation and observation merged, is crucial if we are to get a fuller understanding of the distinctiveness of anthropological research in the period.

This time period has been most intensively discussed in relation to the emergence of fieldwork methods. However, this historical approach has always had a Whiggish tendency: a desire to explain anthropology's modern identity in terms of its historical progress, an approach which constrains our understanding of the multiple realities of anthropological practice at the time. Despite the illuminating work on dispelling the Malinowskian fieldwork discovery myth, Stocking still spends page after page explaining previous fieldwork expeditions and Rivers's methodological prescriptions in terms of their consolidation by Malinowski (Stocking 1984). Similarly, Efram Sera-Shriar's (2013) detailed work on the observational practices of Victorian natural scientists as precursors to anthropology is somewhat clouded by the wish to understand where the 'ideal of fieldwork' as formulated by Malinowski came from. Perhaps it is unavoidable that despite an appreciation for Malinowski's self-mythologization, researchers wish to trace the origin of the model that became so popular. Yet it is inevitable that the focus on explaining the present in this way creates an illusion of a linear succession that somehow naturally leads to the rise of modern anthropological methods. I seek to disrupt this narrative in Chapter 5 of this thesis where I consider the fieldwork of Czaplicka and other contemporaries of Malinowski and their place in the emergence of ethnographic fieldwork methods

Stocking's dismissal of everyone but Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski in the first generation of fieldworking anthropologists due to their failure to have an impact on British social anthropology misses an important opportunity to study parallel developments and seriously consider why, or indeed if, they failed (Stocking 1984). Both Stocking and Kuklick's focus on 'British' social

anthropology also suggests that there is such a distinct entity and that there are means by which its development can be delineated – an assumption, which I question in Chapter 4. While Stocking does engage with the international aspect of anthropology in his consideration of the role Australian research played in paving the way for a 'participant-observation' approach, and also notes Malinowski's Polish background, there is no overt or sustained focus on just how small and international the field was at the time.

Kuklick's notion that one can study the history of anthropology socially as a dialogue between social conditions in Britain and research in the colonies completely overlooks the fact that anthropologists were cooperating internationally and does not offer a space in which somebody like Czaplicka, a foreigner working in a non-British colony, can be understood. Indeed, the simplicity of tracing parallels between an assumed homologous 'home social context' and anthropological research is laid bare if we consider that Kuklick at once argues that anthropology was practiced in the context of a Victorian social hierarchy where 'educated men' stood above 'inferior' members of society such as children, women and the mentally ill' (Kuklick 1991: 21) and that 'anthropology never suffered from being made a feminist issue [unlike English]; anthropological evidence could be used by both advocates and opponents of feminism' (Kuklick 1991: 53). As Kuklick's timeline starts at 1885 it makes it difficult to suggest that any anthropologists considered women to be inferior; instead historical data suggests that the liberal values of the men who sought to establish anthropology as a university discipline resulted in a considerable number of women getting involved in the subject (cf. Chapter 2).

Despite this observation, women do not prominently feature in the family tree of early anthropology. To an extent, this failure to seriously consider women's role can be explained by scant archival evidence of women's activities translating into equally scant representations in the literature. Of course, lack of historical sources is not the same as a lack of historical activity. My study of women's roles in early twentieth century anthropology (Chapter 2) shows that many women can be discerned participating in anthropology at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of twentieth century. However, a concern with impact and a discernible role in the evolution of the discipline has meant that, for instance, Stocking has either failed to realise that women did have a role or felt that this role did not significantly impact on the development of the discipline. Other historians have been equally silent on the role of women. Peter Rivière notes that the first people attending Tylor's lectures tended to be women, that the first student of the Oxford Diploma programme was a woman and there were always 'one or two' around. Kuklick's *The Savage Within* situates anthropological theories in the social contexts from which they emerged, but does not engage with the female anthropologists in the first generation of professionals or discuss the ways in which their social contexts may have affected their work. More has been said of the later generation of female anthropologists. Nancy Lutkehaus's early work on Camilla Wedgewood (1986) and more recent book on Margaret Mead (Lutkehaus 2008) are both excellent examples of thorough analysis. In 2001, Louise Lamphere's Presidential Address at the 100th Meeting of the American Anthropological Association examined the contributions of women

and minorities in the history of American Anthropology (2004).[11] More recently David Mills has discussed the central role Audrey Richards, Lucy Mair and Margery Perham played in furthering the LSE anthropology department through their own work and networking (Mills 2015), Sherry Ortner has highlighted contributions of Hortense Powdermaker (Ortner 2016) and Sophie Scott-Brown is working on an integrated biography of Phyllis Kaberra. Andrew Bank's (2016) recent study of the role of women in South African anthropology is another welcome and timely corrective to broader studies of women's engagement with anthropology.

There are numerous other studies and articles that focus on the disciplinary and institutional histories of anthropology that cannot be discussed at length here but are referred to at points in this thesis. Adam Kuper's classic *Anthropologists and Anthropology* as well as *The Invention* and *Reinvention of Primitive Society* (1988, 2005) contain relevant source material but also offer themselves up to criticism for not examining the margins populated by the less well-known anthropologists and ethnographers. From a more Europeanist perspective, Han Vermeulen and Alvarez-Roldán's *Fieldwork and Footnotes* (1995) and Vermeulen's *Before Boas* (2015) offer complementary studies on the history of European ethnology relevant to my examination of international influences in Czaplicka's work (Chapter 4). Skalník and Roldán's articles in the former volume are particularly revealing of Malinowski's Polish background and fieldwork experiences respectively and thus suggest fertile material for

[11] Lamphere's article also discusses some of the earlier women such as Ruth Benedict, Nora Zeale Hurston, Elsie Clews Parsons and Ella Deloria recognising their original contributions and pointing to ways in which these have been ignored or pigeonholed.

comparison with Czaplicka. Of other larger volumes, Barth's *One Discipline, Four Ways* (2005), Eriksen's textbook *A History of Anthropology* (2001) and Shankland's *Archaeology and Anthropology: past present and future* (2012) are worthy of mention; the former two for the sort of history of anthropology that I wish complicate and the latter for the important notion that the history of anthropology needs to be understood both alongside and in relation to other subjects such as archaeology, but also geography and folklore.

Unpublished theses such as that of David Keith van Keuren on the Victorian human sciences (Van Keuren 1982) and Sandra Rouse on the development of anthropology in Cambridge 1880-1926 (Rouse 1996), which deal with more particular institutional contexts offer valuable comparative material on place-specific conditions explored in Chapter 2. Biographical studies often offer a corrective to the more wide-sweeping narratives of disciplinary history, and this has been particularly the case with female anthropologists (Blair 2008, Van Tilburg 2003, Kubica 2015a). There are further numerous and online resources from anthropologists, museum professionals and historians that have informed my approach. In particular, 'The Invention of Museum Anthropology, 1850-1920' (Petch et al. 2012) and 'Relational Museum' (Gosden et al. 2007a, 2006) project resources at the Pitt Rivers Museum, provide critical insights and a wealth of resources. Analytical studies in material anthropology and museum studies (Edwards 1992a, Edwards 2001, Morton 2012, Morton and Edwards 2009, Peers and Brown 2003, Herle and Rouse 1998) that have resulted in an increasing interest in deeper archival and collections-based research on ethnographic

collections and nuanced existing knowledge of their histories, have guided my approach to the study of the Siberian Expedition collections (Chapter 6 and 7).

Maria Czaplicka

Maria Czaplicka is not a well-known figure in anthropology, but she is, by now, recognized in the history of anthropology. In 1997 James Urry and David Collins published a short piece on Czaplicka in *Anthropology Today* to highlight the existence and role of Czaplicka, but also, perhaps naturally, linking her to a contemporary Polish émigré, Malinowski. At the same time, Grażyna Kubica, who became aware of Maria Czaplicka as a visiting scholar in Oxford in the late 1980s, had begun her investigations into the history of this relatively unknown figure. While Czaplicka has had mentions in broader histories, these have generally been just that, mentions. Stocking lists her among his first generation of fieldworking anthropologists and women, who he notes were practicing anthropology despite 'Haddon's gendered image' (Stocking 1995: 119) and Rivière likewise notes her among always-present female students and first fieldworkers (Rivière 2007). Czaplicka has also been a recognized, if not well understood, figure at the Pitt Rivers Museum. In 1996 the then curator of musical instruments Hélène la Rue published a pamphlet on her in the Pitt Rivers series on collectors (la Rue 1996) and Czaplicka's collections have been used in two publications of the Museum's *Occasional Papers in Technology* series (Coghlan et al. 1951, Turner 1955).

David Collins and Grażyna Kubica are the two scholars who have brought most prominence to the works and life of Maria Czaplicka. Collins mostly from a

regional interest perspective, publishing an article and Czaplicka's letters from the field in the journal *Sibirica* (1995) as well as an edited volume of Czaplicka's articles, letters and publications with Curzon Press (1999). This has certainly added material for consideration but arguably has been presented to an audience already familiar with Czaplicka through her work *Aboriginal Siberia*. Kubica's work has largely been limited to a Polish language audience, although from 2005 many more articles and book contributions have appeared in English, along with various conference presentations.[12]

There are clear overlaps between the aims and materials of my own work and that of Kubica. The materials meticulously gathered over several decades have recently yielded a biography of Czaplicka that showcases details of her life and places Czaplicka in her national and academic background. Kubica has framed her research as 'anthropological biography' that offers rich contextualisation and closeness to experience (Kubica 2016). While I cannot analyse the biography in great depth due to lack of competence in Polish, I believe that our research remains essentially different. While I likewise wish to encapsulate the rich historical reality, Czaplicka in my study offers gateways into broader themes in history of anthropology rather than being a biographical focus in her own right.

Significantly, neither Kubica nor Collins engage with Czaplicka's museum collections. While Kubica strives to relay a history steeped in experience, she has not yet engaged with the material traces of those experiences and so her

[12] I should note that while I was aware of Kubica's interest in Czaplicka at the start of my research, I was not aware of the extent or the plans of the biography. By the end of 2013, when Kubica shared some preliminary work with me, I had already completed the bulk of my archival research in the UK and the USA.

biography is construed chiefly from written sources. Limited analysis of the photographic archive does not sufficiently engage with questions of authorship[13] or subsequent use. For example, suggestions that Czaplicka was attempting to 'overcome failures' of poor photography (Kubica 2014) in retouching emanate from a modern understanding of what a good photograph is and what it should do and do not consider what other standards of scientific representation she may have been following (examined in Chapters 6 and 7). The Czaplicka archive and collection thus offers considerable untapped source for further investigation of her life and the Siberian expedition but also broader themes in the history of anthropology.

History of Science

A growing literature in the history of science and in particular the seminal work of Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison (2007) has set the benchmark for critical and analytical engagement with the history of ideas, epistemic objects and the very nature of scientific observation. History of science differs from narrower investigations of particular disciplines in its concern with broader intellectual and practical developments. However, the critical assessment of knowledge cultures as demonstrated in *Objectivity* offers the means to situate other studies on the macro-level and suggests a critical approach that investigates the very foundations of science. Daston and Galison's reflections in their 2010 preface to the paperback edition reveal that one of the most 'disorienting' aspects of the history of scientific objectivity was not, as they had

[13] For example, photograph of two Evenki boys with reindeer in Kubica 2016: 401 is printed without explanatory remark to indicate that it was not, in fact, taken by either Hall or Czaplicka.

expected, the fact that objectivity had a history but rather the disjuncture between the expected and found locations of its emergence (Daston and Galison 2010). The fact that the advent of objectivity did not coincide with any of the landmark revolutions of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and that quantification and objectivity were not synonymous dispels the assumptions that even the most assiduous historians of science had long held. This key realisation of the research demonstrates the need for a detailed, material, sometimes sprawling research in intellectual and disciplinary histories that questions lineages proposed by others.

This realisation is relevant in the context of my research, because Daston and Galison show that notions of what is 'scientific' or 'objective' shift. Dismissing disciplinary history, which has not overtly contributed to current practice, would therefore distort the history of the discipline. Furthermore, their research exemplifies how attention to material practices can highlight continuities and parallel developments, which have gone unnoticed. In Chapter 7 of this thesis, analysis of the display and use of the Czaplicka collection likewise points to the persistence of broad and museum-driven anthropological teaching at Oxford well beyond the commonly accepted advent of British social anthropology.

Daston and Galison demonstrate that objectivity is a relatively recent historical construct and demarcate three epistemic virtues in the history of objectivity – 'truth to nature', 'mechanical objectivity' and 'trained judgement'. The latter, arising at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century roughly coincides with the professionalization of anthropology where

the expertise of the field collector (whether a trained ethnographer or not) became increasingly important in providing reliable data for anthropologists. In Chapter 6, I link this notion to Elizabeth Edwards's (2016) idea of a turn-of-the-century epistemic shift and demonstrate how the Czaplicka and Hall collections speak of this period of change in anthropology.

Peter Pels has argued that the history of objectivity as proposed by Daston and Galison offers a means to 'study how intersubjective epistemological conditions were interwoven with asymmetrical standards of objectivity that, more often than not, grounded a hierarchical anthropological claim to expertise in the field of classifying and understanding human difference(s)' (Pels 2014: 212). Thus situated, the history of anthropology begins to occupy a position in a landscape of shifting notions of truthfulness but importantly, one where 'different ways of making sense of the variety of phenomena coexisted in historical *layers*' (*ibid:* 215, my emphasis).

Aside from understanding different episodes in the history of anthropology in terms of this epistemic landscape, the history of science also offers fruitful avenues for conceptualising the history of anthropology as a history of knowledge and ideas. In *Biography of Scientific Objects*, Daston states that the aim of the papers in the volume was to launch 'a history that would pose transcendental questions in a highly particularist mode' (Daston 2000: ix). That is, to investigate the structures of argument, practice and classification that makes science possible. Bruno Latour's contribution to the volume is particularly relevant to my study. Latour argues that scientific concepts have a *relative* existence in spatiotemporal envelopes where their relative existence or non-

existence, i.e. how 'real' they are, depend on their associations with other objects (Latour 2000). Concepts gain in reality if they are viewed as collaborative with others and lose in reality if they have to shed associations with collaborators (both human and non-human). Latour compares scientific trajectories of Pouchet and Pasteur and argues that if their work is looked at in terms of networks and spatiotemporal envelopes, then the narrative that emerges is not one of one theory conquering another and thus a 'truth' coming to the fore while a 'misunderstanding' is proven wrong, but rather two different realities that become incommensurable through a 'slow differentiation'. In short, firmer associations in the form of institutionalisation result in the naturalisation of scientific 'facts' but other scientific knowledge never really disappears.

This visualisation of networks and associations in history is useful for appreciating multiple and parallel developments in anthropology and the changing notion of what anthropology is. While a conventional history of anthropology suggests that evolutionism and diffusionism were superceded by structural-functionalism, comprehending these theories in terms of their spatiotemporal envelopes allows them to exist side by side and allows us to examine where, when and how different theoretical models prevailed. In the case of Oxford anthropology, the persistence of a holistic conception of anthropology and the principal role of physical anthropology can thus be located in specific institutional sensibilities and wider networks of people and things.

Microhistory

The marginal status of Czaplicka in terms of her impact on anthropology through publications and students as well as the fragmented nature of the material traces of her career make her a prime candidate for a microhistory, a concept which I develop in this thesis. Its impact lies in the close up study and analysis that enables us to discern mechanisms in the past that underlie wider developments. Although there are many definitions of microhistory,[14] I find Ginzburg's take on the term – and in particular the intersections he perceives in his own approach and that remarked by Sigfried Kracauer – particularly useful. The work of both of these authors has already found its way into anthropology in the writing of Elizabeth Edwards, Christopher Pinney and Ann Stoler. Ginzburg's entanglement with ethnography makes his approach particularly fruitful for anthropologists while the parallels drawn between photography and cinematography and history have made Kracauer's work an obvious inspiration for visual anthropologists.

Ginzburg has argued for the potential of the marginal, fragmentary and unfamiliar to inform the wider 'historical totality'. He fights off accusations of microhistory dealing solely with minutia that bears little importance in the grand scheme of things and instead, like Kracauer, argues for the power of movement between close-ups and long-shots in understanding 'total history'. His formulation of 'morphology as the instrument of analysis' (Ginzburg 2013: xi) suggests that it is possible to attain greater insights into history by sustained

[14] For the diverse manifestations and understandings of microhistory in different national settings and some of their convergences see chapter 14 of Ginzburg's *Threads and Traces* (2012)

attention to parts, even though he does not prescribe the ‘serialization’ of historical events. Instead, Ginzburg in his studies of the inquisitions trials has demonstrated how ‘[b]y digging into the texts, against the intentions of whoever produced them, uncontrolled voices can be made to emerge’ (Ginzburg 2012: 2). This approach has been fruitful in historical anthropology where Ann Stoler’s work with archives has illuminated histories colonial governance (Stoler 2006, Stoler 2009, Stoler and Strassler 2000). Importantly, Stoler acknowledges that micro-history’s ethnographic approach to archives suggests productive ways for turning archives into subjects of study rather than unproblematic sources *of* studies (Stoler 2002: 90). Parallel work in visual anthropology where Deborah Poole (1997) and Elizabeth Edwards’s (2016) productive research on the ‘excess’ and ‘abundance’ of ethnographic photographs has shown how unintended information embedded in photographs can allow marginal, fragmentary and alternative narratives to emerge (cf. Chapter 6).

In *Threads and Traces,* Ginzburg invites us to contemplate the relationship between ‘the thread of narration, which helps us orient ourselves in the labyrinth of reality – and the traces’ (2012: 1). That is, how the trails and traces of past activity can be used to narrate ‘true stories’ without naiveté. Ginzburg is staunchly defensive of the ability and purpose of the discipline to reveal ‘true’ history that bears the trace of lived reality, something that according to George Marcus, made him critical of anthropology’s ‘crisis of representation’ (Marcus 1992: 116). The latter is perhaps understandable as Ginzburg was drawing inspiration from ethnographers such as Claude Lévi-Strauss to probe the more marginal, mundane aspects of historical material.

Ginzburg grapples with the issue of subjectivity in his works, which fuse interpretation and representation to tease history out of the marginal and anomalous. Both abductive reasoning and the primacy of experience, which characterize his approach, makes such history writing analogous to anthropology, questioning the ability to discern impartial truths. James Clifford uses Ginzburg's historical research on divination as an example of taking experience as a source material seriously and argues, following Dilthey, that experience and interpretation are closely linked, with the latter being construed through participation and the 'building up of a common, meaningful world…[which] makes use of clues, traces, gestures, and scraps of sense prior to the development of developed, stable interpretation' (Clifford 1988: 129). Micro-history and ethnography face similar criticism of subjectivity in attempting to capture experience. Clifford argues that it is precisely the elusive nature of experience that bestows ethnographic authority and yet it is also this very same experience that renders it subjective and requires reflexivity for contextualization. While living and learning from a community yields for an anthropologist a discernible, albeit deeply problematic,[15] way of gaining privileged understanding, the situation with history and historical sources is more complex. Ginzburg argues that micro-histories can investigate 'the invisible structures within which… lived experience is articulated' (Ginzburg and Poni 1991: 8), by following clues and traces. Conjectural knowledge of these experiences can thereby be formulated, truths attained and conventional

[15] In the same argument, Clifford argues that the 'special understanding' resulting from anthropologists personal experiences is not dialogical or intersubjective but a deeply personal account (Clifford 1988: 129)

histories challenged. The experiences are then evoked in the representation where 'hybrid borrowings' between historical and fictional narration open up spaces for new literary ventures (Anderson 2012).

Ginzburg's model relies on a combination of personal experience and trained judgment but it does not involve dialogue or intersubjectivity. He has opened up important spaces for considering archives critically and engaging with them in order to uncover experiences that are not obvious, however the mechanism of how these experiences can be accessed is not entirely clear. I suggest that Runia's conception of 'presence' – 'the unrepresented way the past is present in the present' (Runia 2006b: 1), offers a way to conceptualize the existence of historical experiences. In particular, this theory is powerful when considering objects as source materials for writing history. The 'involuntary testimonies' available in the habitual spaces of historical reality suggested by Marc Bloch (1954) can be understood within the concept of 'presence', but the latter more elegantly encapsulates the possibilities and affordances of historical materials and their capacity to speak to multiple histories.

Historical presence

> It seems that the difficulty in experiencing time as "planar", let alone "spatial", comes with modern culture… We moderns… have disciplined and straightened time so thoroughly that it requires an enormous, almost Proustian effort to "unthink" the linearity to which we have accustomed ourselves. (Runia 2015: 9)

Runia's insistence that 'innovative historical thinking does not *start* with history but *ends* up with it' (Runia 2006: 8, emphasis in the original) highlights the need for sustained attention to the unrepresented ways in which the past is

present in the present and a need to make sense of the past 'that is absent from our own mythodologies' (*ibid*). By doing this, Runia argues, we can begin to understand the entwinement of continuity and discontinuity instead of explaining the latter away through narratives of meaning. According to Runia, presence is to be found in the 'common knowledge' of history, the *mémoire involuntaire* that travels 'with our stories not as a paying passenger but as a *stowaway*.' (Runia 2006a: 315). This common knowledge, culture even, can be accessed in the 'metonymical region of language' (ibid: 314), which suggests that it *is* common knowledge rather than inviting contemplation on meaning as metaphor does. Significantly, metonymy as a 'presence in absence' (Runia 2006b: 1) points to a past that is not absent but is also not present (Domanska 2006). The latter notion makes it a powerful concept for material anthropology where latent histories can reside in material objects.

Runia's philosophy of history arises from dissatisfaction with post-structural and post-modern traditions in Western philosophy of history, which prioritises meaning and representation. Runia's theory of presence is akin to Ankersmit's theory of sublime historical experience and also resonates with Huizinga's concept of historical sensation (Ankersmit 1994, Huizinga 2009). All of these Dutch philosophers of history have sought to move away from a purely linguistic, representationalist mode of history in an attempt to connect with the past as a lived reality. They are not however without criticism. Froeyman (2012) for example argues that Ankersmit and Runia's theories are unable to deal with history's otherness and are consequently self-centred and nationalistic. While both Ankersmit and Runia do mostly use examples relevant to their own

background, and there is a heavy reliance on materials connected with wars and battles, the essential proposition, I believe, holds cross-culturally. Indeed, I propose that the concept of presence and attention to the experience of the past allows for non-Western relationships with the past to be accounted for.

Froeyman argues for a need to understand the experience of history as one with 'the other' and to treat historical sources as traces of this 'other'. My contention is that the premise of history as 'other' and the subsequent need to accommodate it in any experiential history is wrong. While Froeyman treats historical tourism, microhistories and histories of minorities as examples of history as 'other', I would suggest that they are in fact overcoming otherness. Tourists wishing to connect with history clearly do so as they feel that being physically present at historical sites gives them an access to the past that representations such as films, museum exhibitions and books do not. An argument that tourist experiences of 'otherness' cannot be explained by the notion of 'presence' because it presupposes a personal connection with such history, is based on a particular, Eurocentric view of what a person is. It is not in the scope of this thesis to elaborate on this point, but suffice it to say that people can experience things and landscapes in a variety of ways, feel connected to a sense of 'shared history' or indeed experience it through empathy with other persons. The exact mechanism is beside the point. What Runia offers is a *potential* for history to be understood as real, experiential and material. In this thesis, the appreciation of the museum collections to connect to history as experienced allows me to probe the potential of these material sources for understanding ethnographic fieldwork as a heuristic practice (cf. Chapter 6).

Material anthropology and historical anthropology both already work with such notions. From source communities having emotional and affective responses to their material culture (Peers and Brown 2009, Yellowman 1996, Tapsell 2000) to the role museum object handling sessions can have in improving the wellbeing of dementia patients (Ander et al. 2013, Camic et al. 2017), studies have shown that material culture has the potential to evoke the past in powerful and unexpected ways. I contend that this is not limited to people whose identities are linked to such histories. In museums, source community engagements are often deeply emotional, featuring crying, lamentation, singing, touching. Although partly personal responses, they also often have a performative aspect that in turn affects the museum staff present. The experiential 'presence' of the past, centred around but not directly represented by these objects, can be understood as an important dimension of such highly charged social situations, affecting not only source communities but also the museum custodians. The suggestion that Runia's approach as a European historian makes him unable to identify with minority histories is cynical as it suggests that empathy when confronted with atrocities, slavery in the form of restraint and punishment tools, places or narrative accounts, is impossible unless the person is personally and physically linked to such histories. This approach suggests that there is no common humanity in our ability to sense trauma and dismisses the possibility that we are who we are through a shared but deeply asymmetrical and unequal history. The histories that emerge from different historians are necessarily different, but it is the appreciation and attention to

presence that can yield a deeper and more nuanced understanding of this history.

Edwards (2009, 2015) and Morton and Geismar (2015) have explored the potential of 'presence' in visual anthropology for including source communities' perspective and relationship with the past. The scope of my research has not allowed for an extensive engagement with this dimension of Czaplicka's ethnographic legacy, however, I feel it is important to highlight this facet of anthropology's history and at the very least hint at the possibilities and open spaces that can be filled with alternative voices. Czaplicka's ethnographic object and photograph collection form an obvious platform with which to engage with source communities and it is precisely its ability to transfer presence that can evoke responses to the past from the indigenous communities linked to her ethnographic research.

In studying the object and photograph collections of the 1914-1915 expedition, I have sought to understand what these objects 'meant' at the time. Rather than discuss the expedition and the collections within the existing narrative of the development of anthropology, my aim is thus to see what different historical understandings emerge when we scrutinise the material traces of an ethnographer's work, paying particular attention to the margins of such sources. The notion that presence is ubiquitous, that it is like a visible stowaway that travels with historiography and forms the 'common knowledge' of our realities, signals the potential of evoking a historical reality from the mundane, unnoticed, and the material. The many women who were active in anthropological circles, the social engagements in which anthropologists met,

the photographs and objects that saturated this anthropological world, can all act as vehicles for understanding how and what kinds of anthropologies were made.

Moreover, a type of history premised on the experience of the past in the present holds the promise for a more socially engaged form of historical anthropology, one attuned to present social and cultural concerns and anxieties. As opposed to the dichotomy of 'presentism' and 'historicism' drawn by Stocking, a planar understanding of history suggested by Runia allows for past and present to be co-existent, which in turn facilitates a temporally and spatially multi-layered anthropological understanding. A need for such thinking is demonstrated by recent research in historical anthropology that actively looks to its 'margins' to understand the production of time and space (Axel 2002: 10). Talal Asad argues that we must question ethnography as we question archives, as it too produces modern society and 'new conditions of experience' (2002: 83). Asad and Stoler's work on the intertwinement of the colonial regime and anthropology underscores the importance of studies in history of anthropology than can expound the conditions under which ethnographic representations have been formed and their role in constructing contemporary social realities.

Museums and material culture

Museums and their archives have unsurprisingly been important sites for studies in the history of anthropology (e.g. Stocking 1984). However, the collections themselves have rarely been used as material sources for writing these disciplinary histories. In this thesis, I examine the Pitt Rivers Museum as an important field site for understanding how anthropological knowledge has been

shaped as well as a repository of objects that have material linkages to the past and can thus tell the history of anthropology in a different way.

The complexity of museums as sites of knowledge construction and representation, as engines of modern governmentality as well as sites of conflict has been brought to the fore by studies in disciplines such as art history, anthropology, archaeology, history, geography and science and technology studies (Lumley 1988, Vergo 1989, Clifford 1997, Bennett 2004, Bennett 2005, Macdonald 2006, Byrne 2011). Peter Vergo's *The New Museology* published in 1989 marked the beginning of a renewed, critical interest in museums as particular social institutions with specific histories, underlying philosophies, aims, audiences and responsibilities. Vergo pointed to their broad remit and thus potential to be of interest to a wide range of scholars, highlighting the need to move museum studies away from questions of internal methods and towards the *purpose* of museums, thereby making museology a 'theoretical humanistic discipline' (Vergo 1989: 3). The increasing amount of research and number of courses in museum studies are a testament to the success of this movement. Indeed, in her introduction to the 2006 *Companion to Museum Studies*, Sharon Macdonald claims museum studies have 'come of age', now being one of the most multi- and interdisciplinary fields in academia. Shelton, in a different handbook, is less enthusiastic, proclaiming that aside from few exceptions, the field of museology 'is deficient in both emic and etic ethnographic case studies' (Shelton 2006: 482) needed to propel the discipline forward.

Foucault (1984) famously described museums as types of 'heterotopia', places where objects of all times are brought together creating a place both

within and outside of time. This depiction appears particularly apt for the Pitt Rivers Museum where objects from different geographical regions and time periods are grouped together according to form or function. The museum has for the most part retained the principle of typological display to showcase 'different cultural solutions to common problems, and the diversity of human creativity and belief systems, without recourse to out-dated theories of cultural hierarchy' (Gosden et al. 2007a: 3). The concept of heterotopia suits the multifaceted and complex nature of museums because it acknowledges that museums and libraries are modern projects for organizing 'perpetual and indefinite accumulations of time in an immobile place' and act as 'enacted utopias' (Foucault 1984: 26) where other real sites can be contested and represented. Significantly, Foucault's 'crisis heterotopias' are defined along the same lines as van Gennep's 'liminal spaces' as both refer to particular spatial arrangements for dealing with temporal changes. While it is not generally the primary purpose of museums, their complex spatial and temporal configuration renders them a suitable space for such negotiations. James Clifford's seminal work in applying Mary Pratt's concept of a 'contact zone' to museums points to a similar conclusion – museums can act as 'social spaces where cultures, meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power' (Clifford 1997: 34). In this sense then, museums as particular social spaces both within and without their social surrounding, which display epistemic objects of multiple and shifting significance, can at once convey dominant ideologies and contest them.

Museums are thus epistemic and civic spaces with particular agendas and mission statements, bound by particular institutional histories. Each object

within can expand infinitely to reveal multiple and often parallel narratives and as contact zones or heterotopias they offer possibilities for cultures to 'clash and grapple' (*ibid*), for realities to be contested and for multiple narratives to emerge. An examination of historic processes of knowledge production in a museum will therefore necessarily always be incomplete as it can only partially take into account alternative narratives, relying mostly on records from the dominant force (the institution). The historic role of museums as moralising and civilising agents and their continued place in educating and arousing curiosity has recently been highlighted (Thomas 2016), so while acknowledging the incompleteness of any account, the complexity of the museum can only be embraced. Indeed, more recent attempts have sought to 'unpack' and 're-assemble' collections (Byrne 2011, Harrison et al. 2013) through network approaches thus enabling the collections to speak beyond their hegemonic configurations.

The idea that museums in their entirety can be rich field sites for historians, anthropologists and social scientists is not a new one. While the 'new museology' movement pointed to the potential of museums, their very complexity necessitated a build-up to a richer, more nuanced understanding based on extensive research. Sharon Macdonald's ethnographic study of the London Science Museum conducted between 1988 and 1990 (Macdonald 2001) led the way in anthropological studies while George Stocking's *Objects and Others* (1985) with its bi-fold attention to the 'Museum Period' in anthropology and broader relevance of museums and material culture in anthropology paved the way for a greater consideration of museums in relation to the history of anthropology. More recently, Nicholas Thomas has argued for approaching the

museum as method and highlighted, as did Gosden and Larson, the relationality of museum collections (Thomas 2016: 97). His suggestion that 'artefacts, artworks and specimens not only bear relations with other objects and works, but with the forms of documentation that are as essential to a museum's existence as premises and spaces for display' (*ibid*: 77) along with underlining the significance of the *latent* relationships within and between collections further points to the potential of museums to elucidate complex relationships on a wide temporal scale.

Chris Gosden and Frances Larson's *Knowing Things: Exploring the Collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum 1884-1945* (2007a) is a comprehensive account of the museum, making use of its detailed records through statistical analyses and in-depth biographical studies. Their central argument is that museums emerge out of the relationships and experiences of a wide array of people and things that are linked with the collections and that not only do people collect objects, but objects collect people. The authors position themselves in the 'field' akin to a Malinowskian ethnographer whose informants are temporally distant. However, unlike Malinowski, Gosden and Larson are not concerned with a 'snapshot' moment of a community but rather see the information from archival materials and digital records uncovering a 'moving image' of processes of becoming (*ibid:* 13). They identify objects, databases and individual collectors as primary informants in the museum field, but for the purposes of the book rely on archival records rather than the tangible qualities of

the objects in the collections.[16] The authors acknowledge that objects were fundamental to the thinking of Pitt-Rivers, Tylor, and Balfour and guided their choice of collectors and places to collect from. Objects were placed in categories, but they also created and changed these categories, and new objects could disrupt prevailing theories. Importantly, Gosden and Larson underline the fact that a number of anthropologists at the Pitt Rivers Museum worked earnestly with objects, resulting in a museum practice where

> Knowledge was sensate, skilled and substantiated, deriving from an interaction between the substance of objects, on one hand, and the sense and skills of the body, on the other (*ibid:* 239)

Gosden and Larson's study offers a detailed background to my own consideration of the changes through which the Czaplicka collection went in Chapter 7. Statistics on the most 'active' categories of objects within the Pitt Rivers, those with most display rearrangement, offer clues to the relative importance of objects and the distinctly 'material' anthropology promoted by the Pitt Rivers staff even after Radcliffe-Brown was appointed points to the persistence (in Oxford at least) of an object-centred cultural anthropology springing from the collections at the museum. My discussion of the Czaplicka collection is thus a deeper excavation of a particular section of the museum whose trial trenches the authors open up.

My examination of the Siberian collections in Chapter 7 stems mainly from the perspective of 'social lives' and 'cultural biographies'. The concept of object biography can be traced to 1970s archaeology when Schiffer employed the

[16] However, they concede that 'objects make past present, but we are still learning what sort of informants they can be' (Gosden and Larson 2007: 15)

idiom of 'life histories' to denote the 'life' an object may have had before it was discarded and became an archaeological deposit (Schiffer 1972). However it was *The Social Life of Things* edited by Arjun Appadurai (1986) that truly brought ideas about biographies of objects and their active lives to the centre stage of social sciences inquiry. In particular, Igor Kopytoff's notion of a cultural biography of things argued that in order to understand objects we must first understand how these are 'endowed with culturally specific meanings, and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories' (Kopytoff 1986: 68). The volume's focus on the meaning ascribed to objects by human agents and an imposition of a linear narrative upon their stories, undoubtedly constrains the potential of material culture. However, the frameworks proposed by Appadurai and Kopytoff remain useful, particularly for historical investigations. I suggest that by concentrating on objects as informants, we can trace the different epistemic configurations they underwent and the actors involved in such configurations. Concentrating on ethnographic objects and photographs reveals how anthropological knowledge was created and presented by actors other than the most prominent anthropologists and shows a different space filled by Maria Czaplicka in the history of anthropology. Drawing from Daston (2000) and Latour (2000) on relationality and relativity in the making of scientific objects, I strive to show how various institutional settings and personal interests have influenced what objects were acquired and what knowledge was to be constructed out of them.

History and anthropology

I want to bring the theoretical bearings of this research together by considering the relationship between history and anthropology. In his often-cited 1950 Marett Memorial Lecture at Exeter College, Oxford, Evans-Pritchard suggested that anthropology should be a kind of historiography. Evidently this proclamation generated quite a ripple among the audience, not a 'storm of protest' as Evans-Pritchard wrote a decade later but certainly he thought he had 'run into a bad patch of anti-historical prejudice' (1961). It is an often-cited 'event' in the history of anthropology that is linked to the reconciliation between history and anthropology and a move away from the structural functionalist approach linked to natural sciences. Indeed, as an undergraduate student at Oxford in 2004, I was asked to write an essay on the theme of 'What should anthropology do about history?' where Evans-Pritchard's 1950 lecture and subsequent 1961 pamphlet were the basis of the discussion. Of course, a closer look at the context of the publications reveal that even in 1962, when Hoebel wrote a review of the published version of the Marett lecture (1962), it elicited responses questioning the apparent divide between the two subjects. In 1962 Lucy Mair questioned Hoebel's proclamation that the reconciliation occurred in 1950 with Evans-Pritchard's article as she herself had always dated it to Evans-Pritchard's 1940s work on Amman political history (Mair 1962). The next year, Raymond Firth protested that for a reconciliation there must first have been a separation, a fact he refuted with a string of references to research in what may be called historical anthropology including Schapera's *Economic Change* in 1928, his own research,

Redfield's *Tepoztlan* and Keesing's *The Menomini Indians of Wisconsin* (Firth 1963).

I have highlighted Evans-Pritchard for two reasons. Firstly, I want to draw attention to the discrepancies in the relationship between anthropology as it happened and the historic narration of this relationship. By uncritically accepting the history originally proposed by Evans-Pritchard and then reinforced in publications a decade later, we are turned into Hoebel's imagined future historians of science who are 'bemused' by the hostility to Evans-Pritchard's 1950s lecture and 'mark it as a major document in the inevitable rapprochement between anthropology and history' (Hoebel 1962: 125). Secondly, I think it is important to consider what a 'historical anthropology' or 'anthropological history' can offer to the history of anthropology. While the relationship between history and anthropology was never completely severed in the way Evans-Pritchard suggested (and certainly not everywhere), the focusing of the relationship between the two subjects in the UK and the USA (see Axel 2002 for a helpful overview) did lead to a renewed understanding of the kinds of questions anthropologists and historians should ask and where they should look for the answers.

The most recent Marett lecture at Exeter College by Anna Tsing responded to Evans-Pritchard by questioning the very idea of what history is (Tsing 2017)? Stoler's proposition that reading along the grain of the archive can suggest multiple histories became a central framework to Tsing's question of how we can create histories without conventional sources and approach history differently. Her case study of the water hyacinth as a kind of infrastructure that

proliferates in areas of colonial canal systems and its role in changing local lives showed that past and present landscape can tell different histories than those we glean from official documents.

Tsing's study of the water hyacinth and her remark that the only research on the plant was written by people who could not but deal with it, marries well with Runia's conception of presence as the 'common knowledge', the ubiquitous. Like slander,[17] which is so effective because nobody quite knows where it has come from but does not doubt it because it is 'common knowledge', alternative historical actants such as plants and objects can illuminate our understanding of multiple historical ontologies. Axel suggests that historical anthropology has moved beyond an attempt to cross-fertilize the two subjects and instead is concerned with 'rigorous, yet open, sense of contextualisation – and about the production of time and space' (2002: 10). The contributions to *Marginal Anthropology* grapple with the relationship between the local and the global in a historic dimension, colonialism being the key issue. I would suggest that the history of anthropology can, in a similar fashion, attend to the relationship between a particular case and the broader developments in the discipline. The similarities between the archive and the field as 'monuments to the contradictions of history and anthropology – monuments which we aspire to translate and describe' (Axel 2002: 29) suggest a potential benefit in not only studying anthropology historically but also history anthropologically. The difference is subtle, as Axel points out, the interrelation between the two subjects

[17] 'Slander' is a central case study in Runia's 'Spots of Time' (2006a) used to demonstrate how 'common knowledge' can be created.

should not be seen in terms of a dialogue but a qualitatively different, productive engagement.

While an anthropologically-informed history seems perfectly logical, a historical study that chiefly investigates the ethnographic 'present' might run the risk of appearing 'presentist'. This is where a history built on a notion of presence, Runia's 'unrepresented way the past is present in the present', may allow anthropologists a new arena in which past and present co-exist within observable social phenomena, as well as the material deposits of past activity. Tim Ingold, the foremost critic of the overuse of words such as anthropology and ethnography, argues that whereas ethnography is a literary form, anthropology is a form of engagement, a way of learning from the world. He says

> [t]here is widespread agreement, nowadays, that knowledge is not built from facts that are simply there, waiting to be discovered and organized in terms of concepts and categories, but that it rather grows and is grown in the forge of our relations with others (Ingold 2014)

Likewise, history based on a notion of 'presence' grows out of an engagement and relation to material sources. Some will be more evocative than others, but a historian that probes the 'common knowledge' and critically studies our own mythodologies, can and will be able to write a history, as an anthropologist writes a monograph, that can relay an understanding that is evocative, analytical and critical as well as open in allowing further investigations and further voices to be added to it.

2. Lady scientist: gender matters in anthropology

Examining Maria Czaplicka's career seeks to illuminate aspects of anthropology's disciplinary history hitherto dismissed or poorly understood. Nowhere is it more pertinent than in the consideration of the role of women in the early history of anthropology. Women's involvement in fieldwork-based scholarship such as folklore, geography, anthropology, and archaeology has been largely overlooked in the grand narratives of the development of these disciplines. In anthropology, I suggest this has been the case for three main reasons. Firstly, there has been a tendency to disregard early phases of anthropology in Britain in favour of the development of the discipline as a distinctly social investigation, post-Malinowski. Secondly, when early history has been considered, it has focused on theorists such as Tylor, Frazer, and Marett, with practical developments forming a backdrop to the emergence of long-term fieldwork-based social anthropology. Lastly, most histories have hitherto assumed that women failed to make a distinct impact on the field due to a lack of landmark publications and the cultivation of disciples.[18] An absence of coherent archives, monographs, and teaching positions has been translated into a general absence of women in the disciplinary history. This chapter seeks to demonstrate that women were present and participating in scholarly circles, contributing to the making of anthropology as a discipline in the early twentieth century, but I

[18] Winifred Hoernlé whose work in South African anthropology is a clear exception has only been duly noted in a recent book *Pioneers of South African Anthropology* (2016) by Andrew Bank but see also Carstens' obituary and edited volume (Carstens 1985, Hoernlé et al. 1987)

also question why women did not come to occupy positions, which would have made them historically more visible.

The title of this chapter employs one of the labels used to describe Maria Czaplicka in the press after the Siberian expedition. 'Lady scientist' suggested a paradoxical merger of a practical man and socially versed woman. Many of the earlier female travellers shunned academic and scientific qualifiers as these were damaging to their social identity (see p. 76-77), but Czaplicka appears to have embraced the dual identity, which intrigued the public and capitalised on their interest in extraordinary women. While it may have been complicated for a woman to be both a lady and a scientist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was equally paramount that early anthropologists were of the right social class. Thus, the title underlines two aspects of academic anthropology – the importance of 'social capital' (Bourdieu 1979) of its practitioners and its status as a science.

In the following chapter I will discuss the historic positioning of female scholars in the UK and draw out the spaces and networks that women anthropologists relied on. It will become evident that early professional women anthropologists in the UK were constrained by societal expectations like their travelling predecessors but also suffered from the precarious position of the young discipline, which lacked means and authority to offer academic positions to women. Issues stemming from social and educational background alongside gendered boundaries in science all played their parts in defining women's involvement and role within anthropology at the start of the twentieth century. Discussing the role of women thus unveils a host of issues that dogged the

emergent discipline – different institutional and personal opportunities and obstacles, the importance of class, and the relationship between university and non-university spaces for scholarship.

Positioning Maria Czaplicka

November 27, 1915. THE LADIES' FIELD. 19

MISS M. A. CZAPLICKA.

A Portrait Study by E. O. Hoppé.

A LADY of intellect and infinite courage is Miss M. A. Czaplicka, a Russian Pole of distinguished attainments. Miss Czaplicka gained a travelling scholarship at Somerville College, Oxford, and the Oxford School of Anthropology, and the Philadelphia University Museum defrayed the costs of the expedition from which she has successfully returned. Its object was to study the tribes in the region of the Yenisei River in Eastern Siberia, and the travels and discoveries of the lady and her companions should make a wonderfully interesting book.

The district traversed is intensely cold, and its inhabitants to the last degree primitive. They have no education and no literature, but oral legends are handed down. Of Russia they know little, England they have never heard of. When she went out in May of last year, Miss Czaplicka was accompanied by Miss Curtis and Miss Haviland. On Thursday, November 18th, Miss Czaplicka gave a lecture (illustrated with lantern slides) entitled: "With the Yenisei Tribes in Siberia," at the Bedford College for Women (University of London), Regent's Park, N.W.

Figure 2.1: Portrait study of Maria Czaplicka in *Ladies' Field* magazine, November 27, 1915

On 4 September 1915, Maria Czaplicka returned to England, fifteen months after she had left to conduct fieldwork in the Siberian Artic. Sometime in the next three months, she entered the studio of Emil Otto Hoppé at 7 Crowell Place, London[19] for a portrait sitting. The photographs from this sitting were published in at least five newspaper articles and the profile photograph from the same session also appears in the inset of *My Siberian Year*. Today, cuttings from these are found in a scrapbook in which Czaplicka collected newspaper excerpts and adverts pertaining to her work and which is now held in the archives of the University of Pennsylvania's Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. The clippings are a remarkable and rare portrayal of a professional female anthropologist in the early twentieth century. It is evident that Maria Czaplicka, in her quest to establish a career in anthropology, made a substantive effort to be recognised for her accomplishments and she collected traces of this recognition in her scrapbook. I have not come across such extensive reporting on any of her peers, suggesting that Czaplicka actively used the popular press to establish herself.[20] Over ninety separate clippings speak of Czaplicka's fervent desire to be recognised, the public's appetite for the extraordinary, as well as the somewhat conflicting identities of a female researcher both as a lady and a respected scientist.

[19] Cromwell place had previously been the home of the esteemed painter, Sir John Everett Millais.

[20] For example, Barbara Freire-Marreco and Bronislaw Malinowski are predominantly mentioned in factual reporting on meetings and book publications. Diamond Jenness's departure to Papua New Guinea was extensively reported but he had little further attention after moving to Canada. Finally, although, Beatrice Blackwood's research was reported under a title of 'Girl among savages' as late as 1931 (Sunderland Daily Echo) there is no indication that she or Czaplicka's contemporaries sought out opportunities for newspaper interviews or other publicity.

Hoppé, was 'one of the leading portraitists of [his] generation… careful to cultivate the right clientele' (Prodger et al. 2011) who photographed the elite of society – celebrities, writers, scientists and the Royal Family. Philip Prodger asserts that 'to be photographed by Hoppé spoke of achievement. Those wanting to make it big hoped that a sitting would bring them fame, others sought proof they had arrived' (2011: 13). This judgement befits Czaplicka, who after just a few years in England with imperfect knowledge of the language, had earned a Diploma in Anthropology, published a book that was due to earn her a BSc[21], and returned from fieldwork that ought to have elevated her career as an anthropologist. Having been born into impoverished Polish nobility, Czaplicka had to actively position herself in British society. The publications of this photograph, over a full page in a ladies' magazine where it is juxtaposed with society women, articles of ladies' Afghan hounds and adverts offering advice on shopping during the war, is, I believe, indicative of the need for Czaplicka to be both a lady of a certain social standing as well as a respected scientist. Furthermore, the noting of the author of the photograph in all but one of the newspaper publications and in her book, suggests that having been photographed by Hoppé was in itself making a statement about her status in British society.

Hoppé was known to strive to capture something elusive about his sitters and had a particular fascination with hands, which he believed could be more revealing than a facial expression (Prodger et al. 2011: 13). In this image,

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[21] A letter from Czaplicka to Emily Penrose reveals that in March 1914 Czaplicka was unable to afford the £10 required to pay for her B.Sc. certificate (SCA, CP)

Czaplicka's serious expression is contrasted with her long, adorned hands elegantly dropping from the hand rest. There is nothing to suggest that she has recently returned from a gruelling experience in the Arctic. There is however intent and a presence affirming her place among the British social elite. The simultaneous contrast and fusion of solemnity and socially prescribed femininity captures Czaplicka's dual identity as a 'Lady Scientist', socially positioned, elegant, and serious. She lived in a society where one had to be a lady in order to be accepted in academic circles and as a foreign woman without British family connections; she needed to establish her claim to social belonging. Thus, the photograph invites contemplation on the aspirations of female anthropologists in the period and the way in which their particular institutional and personal affordances and constraints shaped their paths in the emerging discipline and by this, the very discipline itself.

Women's education and women scientists

The role of women in anthropology in Britain in the early twentieth century is intimately entwined with the history of women's involvement with science and their educational opportunities, which in turn were affected by social and political circumstances. The role that women came to occupy in anthropology in the UK was a result of the gradual growth of spaces in which women could engage with higher education and research. To understand the position that women came to occupy in these spaces in the early twentieth century, we must appreciate the diversity of involvement that women had in these fields in the preceding decades. The variety of these involvements, ranging

from supporting their male relatives' endeavours by attending and hosting social gatherings, to scientific work in a laboratory, alongside educational reforms and changing perceptions of science, research, and women's abilities, all cumulatively led to the emergence of professional female researchers within academic environments in the UK.

In Regency and Victorian societies, the role of women had mostly been restricted to the domestic sphere; middle-class women were in charge of the household, children, and offered support to their husbands.[22] Even when women remained unmarried they were expected to care for their parents or other relatives or pursue charitable work, not to embark upon an independent career. However, changes, such as women's entry to the job market and the growth of cities challenged the perceptions of women in solely domestic terms while political changes such as the Married Women's Property Act of 1870 gave women rights to their earnings and property, thus enabling them to pursue their interests. Suffragette and suffragist movements of the turn of the century further actively placed women's issues at the centre of political discussion. The social and political victories of the women's cause were small and large, often pushed through by wealthy, enlightened women with the help of progressive men. The changes were not uniform and did not result in a linear progression in women's societal positioning – as Ruth Watts has argued, 'any progress women have made has not been linear and has varied according to place, time, religion and different groups of people' (2007: 13).

[22] I limit my overview to middle and upper classes, as lower classes were absent from university-educated anthropologists although an investigation into the role of support and technical staff is another fertile ground for further study.

The nineteenth century witnessed women's popular involvement with science, the opening of higher education to women, anthropology's establishment as a separate discipline and the establishment of a number of learned societies which all contributed to women's engagement with the emergent field of anthropology. The latter was fuelled by exploration, colonial expansion and the development of the Natural Sciences, which underwent significant changes at the time. Sciences were still marginal, but 'there were vital pockets of interests and some women found places in these' (Watts 2007: 99). The most prevalent role for middle-class women to find their way into science was through writing, collecting, and illustration. Women such as Margaret Gatty (1809-1873), Maria Jacson,(1755-1829) Agnes Ibbetson (1757-1823) and Elizabeth Kent (1790-1861) all wrote books in botany helping to popularise the subjects as well as aiding their male colleagues by illustrating and collecting specimens. Marianne North (1830-1890) travelled widely painting plants in context – a collection that she later bestowed to Kew Gardens in a specially built gallery. In geology, Mary Anning (1799-1847), Elizabeth (1780-1857), Mary (1777-1838) and Margaret Philpot (?-1845), and Jane Talbot all collected important fossil specimens and gained a thorough understanding of anatomy while Mary Buckland (1797-1857) provided her husband with geological illustrations. Finally, one of the most celebrated women scientists of the time, Mary Somerville (1780-1872), was highly esteemed for her ability to digest and present the latest scientific findings in an accessible form (Watts 2007).

The early scientific work of women has often gone unnoticed because of its collaborative or supportive character. In some cases, such as that of Grace

Chisolm Young (1868-1944) and William Young, who were 'playing a game for him to win the public career denied to Grace' (Watts 2007: 155), downplaying the woman's role was a deliberate choice. In others, it was a result of social norms. For example, in archaeology, metonyms such as 'Petrie's excavation' eliminate the collaborative nature of excavations in favour of the lead male thus erasing groups of people, including women, who were collectively responsible for the archaeological knowledge created in the process (Stevenson 2016). The variations on the collaborative and supporting functions that women had in anthropology are numerous and persisted well into the twentieth century (Ardener et al. 1984). For example, Lily Frazer was instrumental in providing equipment for and advising early fieldworkers and colonial officers intent on collecting ethnographic data (OUA DC 1/4) and Brenda Seligman was an important ethnographer in her own right but almost always spoken of in connection to Charles Seligman. It is important to recognise such positioning of women when discussing their involvement with early twentieth-century anthropology where many were instrumental but seen as ancillary to men with university positions.

Concurrent with advances made in science, agitations for reform in women's higher education led by women in scholarly circles resulted in the opening of the first higher education establishments for women – Queen's College and Bedford College in 1848 and 1849 respectively. These changes were closely linked to the changing landscape of secondary education - improved provisions in girls' education meant that not only were women better prepared for further education, there was also more need for teachers for such girls (Perrone 1991). Through the efforts of activists such as Barbara Bodichon and

Emily Davies, girls' secondary education improved markedly with over 160 grammar schools and a small number of public schools set up for girls by 1900 (Watts 2007: 122). However, these changes were also clouded in struggles over social changes where '[a]gainst arguments for the better education and employment opportunities for women, great fears abounded of independent women losing their tenderness, domesticity, affection and purity' (*ibid*: 122).

It was in these conditions that women made their foray into higher education in existing institutions. The first female colleges in Cambridge opened in 1869 (Girton) and 1871 (Newnham) while Oxford followed with Lady Margaret Hall and Somerville in 1879, St Hugh's in 1886 and St Hilda's in 1893 (Howarth 1994). However, female students were not allowed to take degrees until 1920 in Oxford and 1948 in Cambridge. Howarth and Curthoys' (1987) research demonstrates that between 1881 and 1911, the proportion of women students sitting final exams increased from 44% to 75% reflecting ambivalent feelings over the necessity of such qualifications, particularly for wealthy women.[23] Furthermore, research was seen as an unnecessary pursuit for female fellows and they were not generally permitted to examine (Howarth 2000a: 285). Conversely, at London University, women were permitted to take degrees from 1878 and academic opportunities expanded when it became a federal teaching university in 1900. At Bedford College, women were involved in teaching from 1880, Dr Catherine Raisin who studied geology at University College was appointed demonstrator in botany in 1886 and later became the Head of Geology (Bentley

[23] When Oxford University decided to allow women to sit undergraduate exams in 1884, J.W. Burgon delivered a sermon condemning it as 'immoral education' and concerns were expressed over admittance of women to lectures for celibate men (Howarth 2000a: 252)

1991: 16).[24] Attitudes to women's involvement in education and research were far from uniform both by those offering it and those pursuing it. Institutional history and the perceived purpose of particular universities thus tinted women's experiences and opportunities to a considerable degree for some time after their admittance to higher education.

Predecessors: women travellers and collectors

As the terrain of women's education was changing, so was the geographical landscape navigated by women. Decades before anthropology gained a foothold in universities, women of independent means were travelling, collecting objects as well as gathering folklore. There was a range of ways in which women were engaging in what I term travel-based scholarship[25] and while it is impossible to recount them all, I will endeavour to present some examples that highlight various aspects of women's involvement with other cultures, relaying their experiences to home audiences, and inspiring the next generation of female anthropologists.

Women's travel in the nineteenth century brings forth themes relevant to understanding later academically-trained travelling women - the promise of a different social identity, freedom, power, emancipation from domestic and familial duties, and finally a means to educate the public and bring about social change. Travelling and exploration in the nineteenth century were largely seen as

[24] Raisin was thus the first female head of department in the UK. She was also head of Botany 1891-1908, resident Vice –Principle 1898-1901 and responsible for the sub department of Geography 1916-1920.

[25] Note that 'scholarship' does not equal academic output, an important point for this era as well as for later contributions of women where these would have been seen to fall outside of the academia

masculine activities due to the physical vigour needed for the latter and the history of the former, where Grand Tours of Europe constituted part of gentlemanly education. These were not seen as suitable activities for young women due to perceived concerns over their health, capabilities, and tender qualities. However, in the nineteenth century some progressive families would send their daughters to be educated abroad and the more adventurous women could even partake in solo travel. While women tourists were fairly rare, there were enough of them to warrant the publication of *Hints to Lady Travellers* (Davidson) in 1889. Leo Hamalian argues that female travellers of the nineteenth century 'could enjoy freedom of action and thought unthinkable at home' (1981: xiii) and pursued the Victorian passion of bettering oneself, where 'by educating themselves, these women travellers educated the public' (*ibid*: xv). The alternative spaces women occupied abroad, particularly in colonies, where white women had an elevated social standing, enabled them to take on new social roles. Sometimes this translated to social freedom they were seeking at home. The knowledge acquired by women such as Isabella Bird, Mary Kingsley, and Amelia Edwards during their travels was converted into social capital that gave them an access and a platform in Learned Societies as well as a public voice.

Travel writing

Travellers such as Isabella Bird and Mary Kingsley wrote accounts that can be seen as predecessors to ethnographic writing. Bird and Kingsley are both linked to the historiography of geography (Maddrell 2009) but are virtually absent from histories of anthropology. Disciplinary historiographies have so far

focused on figures with official standing and limited their investigations to institutional settings. As well as dismissing the collaborative nature and the practice of creating anthropological knowledge, this take on the history of anthropology also overlooks the nature and impact of ethnographic material that was influencing the public perception of other cultures and anthropology as a discipline. Yet, like nineteenth-century science popularisers, female travel writers were an important source of knowledge for the public.

Isabella Bird (1831-1904)[26] was probably the best-known travel writer of her time. Her travels in the USA, Hawaii, Japan, Egypt, India, China, Korea, and Tibet inspired over 10 books and numerous magazine articles and she was a hotly demanded speaker. Her popularity and demand for her public appearances were 'the tinder point' (Maddrell 2009) of the 1892 Royal Geographical Society's (RGS) women's fellowship debate. That year the Royal Scottish Geographical Society (RSGS) opened a branch in London where Bird, an honorary fellow of RSGS, gave a talk after declining an invitation by the RGS to speak to their society on grounds of ill health but also suggesting it would be contradictory to read a paper at a society that did not recognise women's work (Maddrell 2009, Bell and McEwan 1996). This comment was used by Douglas Freshfield to pursue the issue of women's membership, which resulted in Bird and 21 other women being admitted as fellows of the society between 1892 and 1893.[27] The fellowship

[26] Bird had a fairly liberal upbringing and although she did not receive formal schooling, her parents encouraged independent study. After an operation to remove a benign spinal tumour she was urged to take a holiday, which resulted in a lifetime love for Scotland and travel (Maddrell 2009).

[27] However, after a fierce debate and a meeting, the RGS decided to no accept any other female members until the final decision to admit women fellows was made in 1914 (Bell and McEwan 1996)

enabled Bird to undertake training in geographical methods at the society and thus resulted in her writing aligning more closely with geographical discourse.[28] Despite a change toward a more scholarly style, she was however careful not to cause controversy and offence by accepting the RGS's definition of a 'geographer' which would imply that her work was of scientific value (Maddrell 2009: 30). Like many other women on the fringes of academia in the nineteenth century, Bird, was cautious of disturbing the societal status quo. However, her forays into men's territory opened up spaces for women in learned societies and consolidated women's role in popular scholarship among her readership. While she did not purport to do geography or anthropology, the precedent of a woman travelling among distant cultures and writing about them was set.

Mary Kingsley's (1862-1900) books on West Africa offer another pertinent example of ethnographic travel writing. Kingsley pursued the anthropological interests of her father, a private physician who travelled widely. As with many of the women discussed in this chapter, Kingsley was firmly held by familial responsibilities, nursing first her mother and later also her father until their death in 1892. It was at this point, with a sudden lack of responsibilities and a £4000 inheritance, that Kingsley embarked on her travels in West Africa (Hamalian 1981). As with other women travellers, financial opportunities and networks were central to her ability to travel and write about her experiences. For example, her brother Charles Kingsley provided access to a network of academics and scientists which led to her collecting fish specimens for the British

[28] However, Maddrell argues that the death of Bird's sister Hennie in 1880 was also part of the reason why her writing changed from an intimate to a more scholarly style as Bird drew heavily from letters to her sister in her books (2009: 54).

Museum (Hamalian 1981: 532). Her place in the history of anthropology is acknowledged by a full-page photograph in *After Tylor* (Stocking 1995: 373) followed by a mention of her membership in the Royal Anthropological Institute[29] and its role in furthering colonial interests. However, Stocking argues that 'any role she might have had in organized anthropology was cut short by her death from enteric fever' (*ibid*: 373) thus dismissing the role Kingsley may have had through her popular books and her ethnographic collecting (see also p. 82 this chapter).

Like Bird, Kingsley also distanced herself from a professional identity. She was anti-suffragist and repeatedly undermined her scientific capabilities by suggesting that 'someone better qualified… a great thinker' should analyse her data and resisted glorification of her achievement by claiming that she was supported by the 'superior sex' (Maddrell 2009). At the same time, she snubbed 'arm-chair explorers' claiming they were unable to appreciate the relative ease or difficulty of traversing the landscapes they write about. Her *West African Studies* (1899) was markedly more studious in style than *Travels in West Africa* (1897) and demonstrated a move toward a more academic scholarship. However, despite an increasingly authoritative style in her discussion of trade and her opinion on the future of West Africa, she held on to views of 'dangerous female[s]' pursuing admittance to the RGS and Linnean Society (Maddrell 2009). Paradoxically, the opportunity and financial means to pursue travel also meant that travelling women were likely to wish, at least in public proclamations, to maintain existing gender hierarchies. The status of women able to pursue travel

[29] Kingsley became a fellow in 1898 but died less than two years later in 1900

and scientific work was often fused with a wish to maintain the societal status quo.

Kingsley's writing style, collecting of ethnographic objects, and topics she discussed warrant a consideration of her role in the development of ethnographic practices. Kingsley wrote in a diary form, which her critics saw as a personal account not sufficiently rigorous for literary or scientific purposes. However, she argued that her diary allows her to make note of the most mundane aspects of everyday life, which 'although unimportant of themselves… make up the conditions under which men and things exist' (Maddrell 2009: 85). To what extent her claims impacted on developing ethnographic practices is difficult to say, however these claims clearly resonate with our modern methods as well as the suggestions given in *Notes and Queries* (1912) about observing the everyday and not just the extraordinary. In travel writing, these mundane observations also relayed a 'sense of authenticity' (Bijon and Gacon 2009: 3), and some writers deliberately excluded the more incredible episodes of their travels in order to avoid dismissive reviews and public incredulity that befell women such as Kate Marsden[30] whose 'sensational journey with its Dante-like landscapes and extremes of climate and hardship seemed incredible for a woman to have undertaken' (Maddrell 2009: 91-92). In the light of such views, it is not surprising that Czaplicka, in her public talks and her writing made so little reference to the hardships of travel in Siberia (see also Chapter 5).

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[30] Marsden travelled to Siberia in 1891 and published her *On Sledge and Horseback to Outcast Siberian Lepers* in 1893 where she described her arduous journeys and peat fires. Marsden and her account came under intense attack by pastor Alexander Francis who in *The Times* made hints of financial impropriety and lesbianism and led an investigation into her travels with particular emphasis on the veracity of her travel account (Maddrell 2009).

Museum collecting

Both Bird and Kingsley are among a number of women whose collections are now found in British ethnographic museums. Ten objects from Bird's travels to Hawaii and Japan are now held at the National Museum of Scotland (NMS) while ninety-one objects collected by Kingsley are held at the Pitt Rivers Museum. As ethnographic museums are increasingly becoming sites of anthropological research it could be argued, that ethnographic collections of women such as Kingsley and Czaplicka are becoming more influential in anthropological thought than their writings.[31] Furthermore, as anthropology was intimately entwined with museum collecting during its emergence as a university discipline, it is important to recognise that women were part of the knowledge-making community in this mode and continued to contribute to ethnographic collections even as academic anthropology was diverging from museum collecting.

It is difficult to locate women collectors in museum databases, as collectors' gender has not historically been seen as a significant category to include in the records. While major museums now have most of their holdings on virtual databases accessible to the public, few are well equipped to facilitate research into the gendered aspects of their collections.[32] However, broad database searches and information from curatorial staff in some of the larger museums shows that many women contributed significant ethnographic

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[31] For example, see Morton's factsheet on the Mavungu collected by Kingsley https://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/mavungu.html

[32] Such information would be valuable not only for academic researchers but also allow curators to highlight of less well known women during special events such as women's rights celebrations and also offer means to quickly assess the (changing) contributions of women in museums.

collections in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and many divided their collections between several museums. For example, Margaret Tytler (1785-1822) commissioned a number of sets of models illustrating the arts and crafts of Hindustan, one of which is held by the National Museum of Scotland.[33] Olive Temple (née Macleod, 1880-1936) who wrote about her travels in Central Africa (Temple 1912) gave 135 objects from West Africa to the museum in 1925 while the collection of Isobel Wylie Hutchison (1889-1982) at the National Museum of Scotland includes over 400 objects from f Greenland and Canada. Hutchison was also an important source of Arctic material for the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge (CUMAA), where Louis C. G. Clarke acquired 64 objects from her. Baroness Hügel, the wife of CUMAA's first curator, is credited with donating 89 objects and there are a number of women donors of smaller collections, such as Albinia Wherry, a folklorist.[34] Collections of dedicated female fieldworkers mostly come later in the twentieth century. For example, at MAA, Ethel John Lindgren's collection of Asian and Scandinavian objects consists of nearly 300 objects collected during her PhD fieldwork in the 1930s and during her subsequent academic career.

Similarly, the 'pioneering women' collectors of ethnographic material noted on the Horniman museum webpage[35] are mostly from a later period. An exception is Edith Durham whose collections from the Balkans can be found at the Horniman Museum, British Museum, the Museum of Archaeology,

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[33] I am indebted to Rosanna Nicolson, the assistant curator of the Middle East and Asia collections at the National Museum of Scotland, for these insights.
[34] Albinia Wherry was a member of the Folklore Society who published several books and donated objects to the CUMAA.
[35] http://www.horniman.ac.uk/collections/stories/pioneering-women

Anthropology in Cambridge, and at the Pitt Rivers Museum. As well as being an avid collector, Durham wrote a number of popular books, contributed to *Man*, was a fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute from 1908, and a member of its Council most years between 1917 and 1933. As the Vice-President of the RAI from 1934–6, Edith Durham was the first woman to hold such a position.[36] She did not however hold a university position and even admitted to Beatrice Blackwood that since she 'always felt such a painfully amateur outsider' she did not seek more help and guidance from mentors such as Seligman and 'did not even dare' to ask if she could borrow library books from the RAI when she first joined (Blackwood 1945: 23). Her connection to the academic world was forged through her writing and collecting. Durham recalled how in 1907 when she was introduced to Charles Seligman, she suddenly found herself organising the Balkan Exhibition where the Horniman's curator, Herbert Spencer Harrison, bought all of her collection; William Ridgeway[37] also made her acquaintance which he then followed up with questions about customs and ritual and the commissioning of more objects (Blackwood 1945). One wonders how many less eminent women acted in this way, providing information based on their fieldwork and collecting which subsequently went mostly unacknowledged.

At the Pitt Rivers Museum, research on gender and collections by Alison Petch (2016) has shown that women made up a large proportion of volunteers between 1884 and 1945, but few were in paid employment. Women were also important sources of museum objects although there have always been fewer

[36] The next woman to hold the position of Vice-President was Gertrude Caton-Thompson from 1943-5

[37] Sir William Ridgeway (1858 – 1926) was the Disney Professor of Archaeology at Cambridge University

female contributors compared to male donors. Before World War II, women donated roughly a quarter of all objects, while after the war this proportion increased to a third. Significantly, in the pre-war period, Beatrice Blackwood and Brenda Seligman were among the most generous donors (*ibid*). In his gender analysis of English collections at the Pitt Rivers Museum,[38] Chris Wingfield suggests that the increase in donations from women after World War II may have occurred through change in social networks connecting women to the Museum, however it is important to note that many objects came to the museum at the end of people's lives and careers. Women who became prominent donors in the mid-1940s were therefore likely to have been actively collecting in the decades before and were likely to have had existing relationships with the Museum.[39] Men's continued dominance as field collectors before and after the period, however, also shows a historical pattern of women as secondary collectors (Petch 2016), suggesting that a number of collections were donated by widows and private female collectors. While it appears that women were infrequently themselves collecting in the field, the statistics are unable to give any information about women's role when they accompanied their male relatives abroad. Detailed research on particular collections may illuminate the collecting dynamics, however at the moment we can only rely on basic information on donors and field collectors. Maria Czaplicka's collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum, gathered specifically for the Museum with funds allocated for this

[38] See http://web.prm.ox.ac.uk/england/englishness-gender-and-donations.html (accessed 5th July 2017)

[39] One of such women was Estella Canziani, discussed later on in the chapter. It is important to note however that these statistics cannot account for women who may have collected objects that became part of larger collections such as that of Henry Balfour, which was bequeathed to the museum after his death.

purpose could thus be seen as an outlier in the period but in fact fits well with the model I have elaborated here of a wide existing network of curators that included women informants and collectors.

The 'Science of Man' in learned societies

Many of the women discussed in the previous section were enabled to contribute to academia by virtue of their involvement in learned societies. I have already noted the prominent position Edith Durham came to occupy in the RAI through her research and collecting in the Balkan region and the crucial role Isabella Bird played in the acceptance of female fellows at the RGS. In this section I will consider the role of learned societies as spaces for women's activities in anthropology in more detail. James Urry (1993a) and Efram Sera-Shriar's (2013) rich accounts of the earliest stages of anthropology have situated it within the developing natural sciences as well as the activities of learned societies such as the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS), the Ethnological Society of London (ESL), the Anthropological Society of London (ASL), and the Folklore Society. However, the membership of these societies and the networks and associations fostered within them is only just being recognised by historians of anthropology, as well as historians of the learned societies themselves. When considered from the perspective of female membership, learned societies surface more strongly as important spaces for professional women anthropologists.

The first learned societies specifically established for anthropological discussions were the ESL founded in 1843 and the ASL founded in 1863, which

amalgamated into the Anthropological Institute in 1871. In 1888, the British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) created an anthropology section (Section H). Prior to the latter's establishment, anthropological ideas were discussed in Sections E (Geography and Ethnology) and D (Biology). In 1864 James Hunt lobbied for a separate section for ethnology arguing that it contained discussion points unsuitable for a 'ladies' section' as section E was known at the time (Higgitt and Withers 2008).[40] Thus in 1866 Ethnology was incorporated under Section D, and in 1869 Section E was renamed to purely focus on Geography. Significantly, Hunt was also one of the men that instigated the breakaway ASL in part because the ESL was in favour of admitting women members (Rivière 2017). It can thus be seen how gender and scientific credentials have been a source of tension and rift in anthropology.

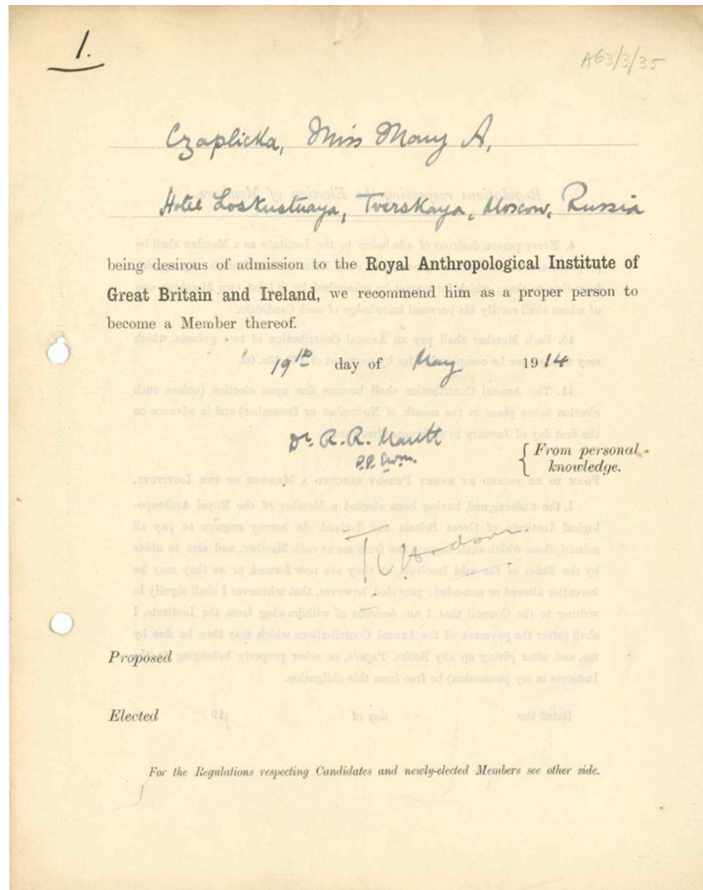
Women were only officially admitted to the anthropological society after the two societies merged to form the RAI in 1875. However, records show that Dr Lucy Sewall was admitted to the ESL in 1868. It is unclear whether the society's members knew that she was a woman since she was signed as L. E. Sewall Esquire (Walpole 2015). The first officially elected women fellows of the RAI included Lady Hamilton, Lady Parry, Hon. Lady Gordon, Barbara Murray, and Miss Anne Buckland.[41] Among other early members were Maria Eleanor Vere Cust, Anna Tylor, Mary Kingsley, Edith Durham, Margaret Murray and Ada Breton. Thus, the first women fellows were a mix of society women, wives of

[40] Higgitt and Withers argue that in the nineteenth century, women's role as passive audience could be seen as legitimating men of science by clearly demarcating their separate roles, however the abundance of women audience members at Section H began to damage its scientific credentials (2008: 14)

[41] It is interesting to note that most of the first cohort of female fellows elected in 1875 resigned their membership by 1877 (list of female fellows compiled by Sarah Walpole, RAI Archives)

academics, scholars, travellers, and collectors. Notably, the Institute's financial position was considerably strengthened by its first bequest from Emma Sarah Wolf, who left £1000 to the Institute in 1909 (*ibid*). Women were thus present and practically significant in an otherwise male-dominated Institute.

New fellows of the RAI, as in many other societies, had to be recommended by at least two existing fellows meaning that women relied on their existing networks to gain admittance. This once again underlines that societal and/or scholarly standing was a prerequisite to membership of the anthropological community. Maria Czaplicka was elected a fellow in 1914 – just as she was embarking on her fieldwork in Russia – on the recommendation of her mentor, Robert Marett seconded by T. C. Hodson. The admittance form stipulated that existing fellows 'recommend *him* as a proper person' (my emphasis, see Fig. 2). Not only does this source affirm that the RAI members were assumed to be male some forty years after first female fellows were admitted, it also highlights the personal networked nature of the scholarly community as the regulations specify that at least one member of the Institute must recommend the new fellow from '*his* personal knowledge' (my emphasis, RAI archives A 63/3/35). In line with the gendered language, this personal knowledge in the first two decades of the twentieth century almost unfailingly came from the male fellows of the institute. Between 1902 and 1921 the only women to have proposed new fellows for admittance were Ada Breton, Margaret Murray, and Maria Czaplicka who between them suggested five new fellows for election (RAI archives A 63/1 1901-1927). While the RAI had women fellows since 1875, they seldom acted as brokers for new members until the 1920s.



1.

A63/3/35

Czaplicka, Miss Mary A,

Hotel Loskutnaya, Tverskaya, Moscow, Russia

being desirous of admission to the **Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland**, we recommend him as a proper person to become a Member thereof.

19th day of May 1914

Dr. R. R. Marett

{ *From personal knowledge.*

Proposed

Elected

For the Regulations respecting Candidates and newly-elected Members see other side.

Figure 2.2: Maria Czaplicka's RAI fellowship admittance form (RAI archives, A63/3/35 –I.)

Many women had existing networks through family, friends, and university but while they had a discernible presence at the RAI, their roles were less pronounced than in the Folklore Society. This is not to say that women were unimportant, quite the contrary. For example, Barbara Freire-Marreco's work on the 1912 edition of *Notes and Queries* was instrumental in getting the volume finished and, significantly, she had influence over its content, advising Myres and contributing to several chapters (cf. Chapter 5, p. 112). Ada Breton took on much of the organisation of the 1912 International Congress of Americanists and also gave personal financial support to the event (cf. Chapter 4, p. 186). In this sense, women acted as many men did – personally investing time, effort and money into the advancement of anthropology. However, due to a lack of academic

recognition such practical and organisational work has received, many women's formative contributions have been elided from the history of anthropology as a discipline.

Anthropological discussions also took place in other societies, particularly those that welcomed explorers and travellers. Thus, the earliest evolutionary ideas by Charles Darwin were fleshed out at the Zoological Society, which accepted women from its inception, while many archaeological, geographical and folklore societies' concerns closely paralleled those of anthropology and indeed their active members often overlapped. The close relationships between anthropology and its neighbouring sciences can be tracked by studying the Royal Anthropological Institute's search for premises in London where it was initially housed at the premises of the Zoological Society while in 1900 proposals were made for joint occupation with the Folklore Society (Walpole 2015).

The Folklore Society was a particularly important site for women in anthropology. Founding members of the Folklore Society included women such as Lady Gomme, Charlotte Sophia Burne, and Eliza Gutch. Burne became the Society's President in 1909 (Ashman and Bennett 2000). However, the society also included many prominent male scholars such as Edward Burnett Tylor, Charles Seligman, Robert Marett, Henry Balfour, and Richard Temple. As anthropology became more firmly institutionalised, the Folklore Society continued to act as an important platform for the discussion and dissemination of anthropological knowledge and the records of its journal clearly show that women were participating more actively than at the RAI. Collectors of folklore were actively generating knowledge and material similar in kind to that collected

from abroad and in many instances this material was passed on to ethnographic museums and 'armchair anthropologists'. Indeed, Marett, who served as the president of the society from 1914–8, expressed the view that folklore was nothing but social anthropology applied within the home circles (Marett 1918: 5).

An early example of the links between female folklorists and established anthropologists is Albinia Wherry's (cf. p. 79) research activity and network. Her correspondence, now held at the University of Florida, shows that both Alfred Cort Haddon and J. G. Frazer assisted with her paper and the former recommended she publish her paper, 'The Dancing-Tower Processions of Italy' in *Folklore* (Wherry and Thomas 1905). The paper was then further commented on by Northcote Whitridge Thomas, the first government anthropologist appointed by the British Colonial Office (Basu 2015). Women's activities within learned societies thus fuelled debate and offered material for consideration by the more well-established anthropologists and many of the latter encouraged and welcomed women's contributions.

The Pitt Rivers Museum research projects 'The Relational Museum' and 'The Other Within' have identified a number of members of the Folklore Society who also contributed to the Museum. For example, Estella Canziani was an active folklorist who donated over 1000 objects to the Museum (Wingfield 2009). Canziani was also a highly acclaimed artist and made numerous paintings depicting costume and lifestyle of local people she encountered. Like Rachel Harriette Busk, and Evelyn Lillian Hazeldine Carrington, contessa Martinengo-Cesaresco, Canziani came from landed gentry and published numerous folklore accounts from Italy. It was common for women folklorists to be of significant

financial means, have a good education and means to travel as well as access to informants such as their servants and peasants.

While the Folklore Society was a welcoming space for women, the Royal Geographical Society has a more mixed history in this regard. Its decision to stop admitting female fellows between 1893 and 1914 highlights the precarious position women held in the scholarly community. The decision was particularly perplexing in the light of women's admittance to the RSGS and other regional geographical societies and the appointment of Marion Newbigin as the Editor of the *Scottish Geographical Journal* in 1902 (Bell and McEwan, 1996: 300). As the RGS was shunning women fellows, other geographical societies were fostering women's participation and once the RGS made the decision to admit women fellows in 1913, 211 women were noted as having become members by 1914 (*ibid*).

Maria Czaplicka became a fellow of the RGS in 1916 and in 1920 she was awarded the Murchison Grant for her work in Northern Siberia. She was the first woman to be awarded the Murichson Grant and so with Marion Newbigin, Freya Stark, and Gertrud Bell she became one of a handful of women that were honoured by the male-dominated RGS. There is reason to suggest however that these awards were in part the result of effective networking. Sarah Evans argues that sociability played a significant part in the decision-making process for RGS funded expeditions between 1913 and 1970 (Evans 2015). This sociability was practiced during meetings but particularly during post-talk dinners. Evans argues that Gertrude Caton-Thompson's success in being funded by the RGS despite doing archaeological research was largely due to her close acquaintance with Arthur William Wakefield and other social acquaintances within the RGS.

Czaplicka's close correspondence with Sir John Keltie and personal meetings with Douglas Freshfield and Arthur Hinks along with participation in meetings likewise positioned her favourably to receive the award (RGS CB7, CB8 and CB9). The RGS fellowship and the awards added prestige but offered little practical help for women in those first decades. Many were from wealthy backgrounds and did not require it, while others such as Czaplicka could hope to build on the symbolic capital that the FRGS title and the Murchison Grant conferred on them.

Finally, other spaces such as women's colleges and specifically women's clubs such the Lyceum Club (see also Keighren 2017) as well as informal women's networks were of great importance for budding researchers in the early twentieth century. Somerville College at Oxford in particular became an important hub for young female anthropologists in Oxford and will be discussed in more detail in the following sections. In the USA, one of the earliest female ethnographers, Erminnie Smith founded the Aesthetic Society, considered one of the first ladies clubs to be explicitly educational rather than social (Grundy 1969). Barbara Freire-Marreco on her part promoted anthropology by engaging the West Riding Council to include anthropology in their 'vacation course' in 1909 that saw 400 students attend an evening lecture and resulted in the establishment of the West Riding Teacher's Anthropological Society that sought to include anthropology in teacher education and promote folklore collecting in the area (Freire-Marreco 1910b). All of these places offered moral support, settings for discussions and presentations and some also financial assistance.

Women as professional anthropologists

The discussion so far has demonstrated that women were part of the spaces and networks in which anthropology was developing before it was established in universities. During this phase of anthropology's institutionalisation, women continued to play an important role in as students and teachers but also as supporting staff, museum collectors, and knowledge-contributors. As with early women scientists, the ways in which women participated, their acceptance, and their aspirations differed widely across institutions.

Anthropology in the UK began to take shape as an academic discipline amidst changes in higher education – reorganisation along professional lines, increased relevance of sciences and an increasing number of women students. Tylor was appointed Reader in Anthropology at Oxford in 1884, just five years after the first women's colleges opened. His readership meant that Oxford became the first university where anthropology gained an official foothold. It is thus significant that Tylor welcomed women at his lectures and that when proposals were made to establish the diploma course in anthropology in 1905, it was to be open to non-members of the University (including women) as 'such persons are admitted already to the Diploma courses is Geography, Education, and Economics' (OUA DC 1/2/3).

The reasoning for the need for a diploma in anthropology highlighted the practical value of such training for work emerging out of colonial contexts, as well as for museums and census work. The signatories of the proposal further specifically emphasised the need to train 'such classes of men' (missionaries,

colonial administrators, travellers, and explorers) that already attended Oxford and were likely to be brought into contact with non-European civilizations (*ibid*). Overtly, anthropology was thus situated as a complementary and useful subject for educated *men* attending Oxford. However, a parallel move to cast the net wide and allow for a larger audience also reveals the desire to increase the number of qualified people that could collect and supply ethnographic data. Women, as established travellers as well as an audience with evident interest in anthropology, were perceived to be useful for the young discipline in terms of increasing student numbers and thereby fees – a necessity as it was suggested that Anthropology would, like the School of Geography, be able to receive a basic amount of funding from the Common Fund and through student fees be able to finance itself without incurring additional costs to the University (OUA DC 1/2/3).

At Cambridge and the London School of Economics (LSE), official courses started later, but at both, women were likewise involved in the making of the discipline from very early on. Both Charles Seligman and Edvard Westermarck's lectures at LSE were attended by women including Maria Czaplicka and Barbara Freire-Marreco[42] and both in turn lectured at LSE after their fieldwork. Seligman was also instrumental in offering Czaplicka and Winifred Blackman recommendation letters to pursue the Oxford Diploma (SCA, CP; Larson, personal communication) and facilitated Edith Durham's entry into the anthropological community. Brenda Seligman was also an important presence at

[42] Freire-Marreco was also registered as a research student with Hobhouse at LSE while she held her Somerville fellowship.

LSE – she undertook fieldwork in Ceylon and Sudan jointly with her husband and publications such as *Pagan Tribes of Nilotic Sudan* and *The Veddas* were published under both of their names. However, despite this acknowledgement at the time and tributes to her contributions upon her death (Fortes 1965) her role in the history of anthropology tends to be fused with her husband's. A re-evaluation of her work and her networks may reveal that she was far more significant in her own right than hitherto assumed.

At Cambridge, Haddon mentored a wide range of students, both at Cambridge and elsewhere and has been described as a 'champion' of women students (Lutkehaus 1986). His daughter, Kathleen, accompanied him to the Torres Strait and helped him with his research and also worked on museum collections. Among early followers were Ethel Sophia Fegan, a librarian who under Haddon's influence decided to study anthropology, and Alison Hingston Quiggin [43] who collaborated with Haddon on numerous publications and undertook teaching as early as 1923 (*ibid*).

Another notable early disciple was Winifred Hoernlé who after gaining a First-class degree in Philosophy in South Africa, won the Porter Scholarship for further studies in Psychology and Anthropology under Myres, Haddon, and Rivers in Cambridge between 1908 and 1910. After Cambridge, she went on to further study in Leipzig, Bonne, and the Sorbonne (under Durkheim) and then conducted fieldwork among the Nama (Khoikhoi) in 1912 and 1913. Following an interlude as an academic wife in Harvard, she returned to South Africa in 1920 for

[43] Both Fegan and Quiggin were Cambridge graduates and worked with Haddon early on but achieved recognition in their own right much later, Quggin in 1949 with her *Survey of Primitive Money* while Fegan became Lady Superintendent of Education for the Nigerian Government in 1930 after taking the Cambridge Diploma in 1925 (GCPP, Fegan Papers, catalogue description).

further fieldwork and in 1923 became the Senior Reader at the University of Witwatersrand where she worked until retirement in 1938. At Witwatersrand she taught, among others, Max Gluckman, Hilda Kuper, and Eileen Krige and has posthumously been called the mother of South Africa Anthropology (Carstens 1985).

It is thus clear that from the very start of anthropology's presence within universities, women were part of this existence although particular institutional constraints and opportunities coloured women's experiences as did women's own aspirations and personal circumstances. It is not possible to consider all of these factors within the confines of this thesis, but I will look more closely at the opportunities and constraints encountered by the early Oxford Diploma students in the following section.

Women anthropology students at Oxford

Oxford was increasingly more sympathetic and accessible to women at the start of the twentieth century. Rules on celibacy were relaxed and male dons allowed to marry thus increasing the number of men sympathetic to women's cause and also noticeably increasing the female presence in Oxford. Marett is a case in point – he married Nora Kirkland, who had been a student at Somerville College, in 1908. Nora was a member of the Somerville Students Association (SCA, SSA AR 45) and was a council member in 1907-08 (SCA, Log book vol. 2). As an alumna and a fellow's wife, Mrs Marett would have been included in Oxford social and academic circles, and such presences by educated and forward-looking women became crucial in advancing women's cause at Oxford.

Indeed, for female students in anthropology, women such as Mrs Marett would become part of their network, aiding their cause in securing financial assistance but also acting informally as an additional point of contact with their mentors. It is clear from Czaplicka's correspondence that she was independently corresponding with Mrs Marett and even purchased 'a little trophy in the shape of a fox skin from Siberia' for her (LCCA, EJL 8). Similarly, Barbara Freire-Marreco was corresponding with Jane Myres and occasionally her letters from New Mexico were circulated among John Linton Myres, his wife, and Freire-Marreco's mother (BLSC, MS Myres 10). Both Nora Marett and Jane Myres were members of the Anthropological Society in Oxford (Pitt Rivers Museum Manuscript Collection, OUAS, Box 4) meaning they would attend meetings and be personally acquainted with Oxford's anthropological community.

It could be argued that for an ambitious woman, subjects such as archaeology and anthropology promised a liberating, interesting, and respectable academic career. In practice, women also became essential in the teaching of the subject; Oxford's Professor of Human Anatomy, Arthur Thomson, insisted on the appointment of a woman demonstrator to instruct female students and on the building of a separate laboratory in his department, where women did their anatomy practicals until 1934 (Howarth 1994: 348). Barbara Freire-Marreco, the first person to enrol in the Diploma program, gave a special lecture series on Pueblo Indians in 1911, Maria Czaplicka lectured on Ethnology from 1916-1919 and Beatrice Blackwood was a long-time demonstrator in Physical Anthropology and a lecturer in Ethnology. Women also gave papers in the Oxford Anthropological Society and at their colleges.

However, women's presence in Oxford was far from unproblematic. Pauline Adams refers to women's admission as 'infiltration', alluding to the gradual and carefully negotiated process that led to the admission of women as members of the university. For example, in 1871, Miss Shaw Lefevre was advised by the principal of Newnham college, Cambridge, to maintain a low profile so that she 'may be unobserved till people get used to the idea [of female students]' (Adams 1996: 10). By the time Maria Czaplicka joined Somerville, the college was more permitting of political activism but Emily Penrose, the principal, insisted on propriety and good academic results in order to not cause any controversy and thus impede the progress of women's membership of the University.

In 1911, the Somerville Students Association reported overt changes to women's circumstances:

> [w]e have visible signs of the change in the printing of the names of Women Candidates in the Schools' Lists; in the information in the *University Gazette*, where women are no longer included under unofficial notices; and in the entrance forms for examinations by which students enter under the University of Oxford instead of through the Local Examinations' Board (SCA, SSA, 1911: 27)

It was a time of promise – of greater acceptance and possibility for female students and researchers in the University. However, women were still to conduct their practical studies in anatomy in a separate laboratory, had to be chaperoned, and some lecturers wished female students to sit in separate areas of the lecture room (Howarth 1994).

Somerville College

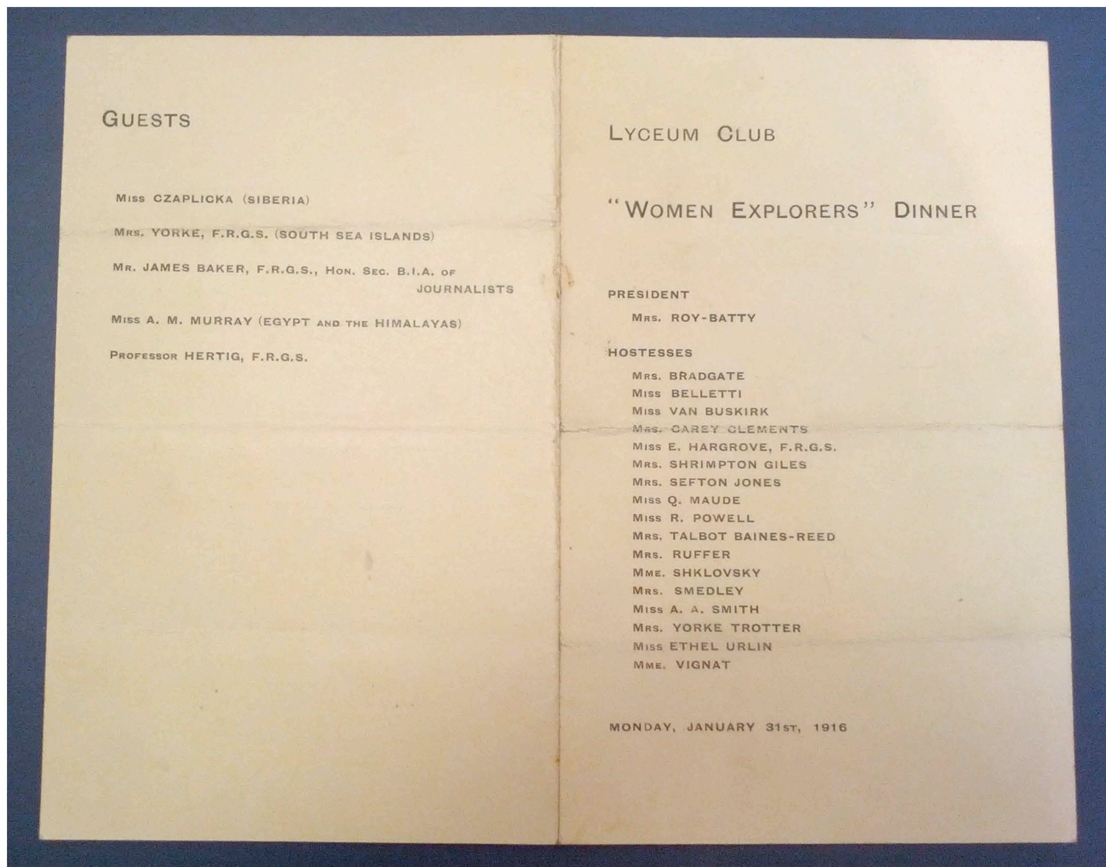
Somerville became an important nexus of support for female anthropologists. Like Newnham in Cambridge, the non-denominational Somerville attracted a much greater number of anthropology students than other women's colleges and it played a significant role in nurturing and supporting these women. In 1909, after completing her Diploma course, Barbara Freire-Marreco was successful in obtaining the Mary Somerville Research Fellowship from 1909-1913 and further the Mary Ewart Travelling Scholarship in 1912 at the college. There, she gave papers and her accounts were published in the Somerville Student Association paper. As a fellow, she was expected to keep residency at the college (apart from when in the field) and would have been a reassuring and inspiring presence for students such as Czaplicka. Both Katherine Routledge and Czaplicka also gave talks at the college after returning from the field and completing their Diplomas and Czaplicka also contributed to *Fritillary,* the newspaper of women's colleges in Oxford (Czaplicka 1912a).

When Czaplicka arrived at Somerville in 1911, she was already 26 years old and had 'been her own mistress for several years' (MacTaggart to Penrose, SCA, CP), something that was seen as a potential issue for entry to a residential college for ladies. London friends and acquaintances were instrumental in helping her to establish herself in Oxford circles. Agnes Dawson, a friend she met at the LSE, assisted her with English (Kubica 2015b) while Ethel Voynich, a novelist and a musician, provided one of the recommendation letters to Somerville (SCA, Register). Czaplicka's residency record suggests that she spent considerable time away from College in the first term – only 39 days were spent in residence in

Michaelmas compared to 55 in Hilary (SCA, Register, p175). However, in the years after completing the Diploma, Czaplicka grew closer to the college that became her chief supporter. In 1912 and 1913 when she was working on *Aboriginal Siberia*, she was awarded a grant from the Reid Trust of Bedford College, facilitated by Emily Penrose, and in 1914, just weeks before she was due to set off to Siberia, the Mary Ewart Trustees decided to award her £200 and Mrs Scott further collected £48 among Somervillians (OUA DC 1/4). Mrs Green, one of the trustees of the Scholarship paid an advance to Czaplicka from her personal account in order that Czaplicka could set off in time (SCA, CP).

Upon her return, Czaplicka gave numerous talks about the expedition and many were to female audiences. In September 1915, she wrote to Marett suggesting that if he wanted her to read a paper it would be combined with a talk to Somerville 'in a hall which could accommodate the Anthropological, Somerville, and other guests who might wish to come' (LCCA EJL 8). She further presented her research at Bedford College for Women in January 1916, which was written up for the Bedford College Magazine by I.G. Powell (Powell 1916) and in 1917 she delivered the lecture 'Through Arctic Siberia with my Camera' to the Women's Institute (UPMAA, SEF, Scrapbook). Czaplicka was also a member of the Lyceum Club, where she attended the 'Explorers Dinner' alongside other women travellers and further gave a lantern lecture in March 1916 (*ibid*). The Lyceum Club was an important site for political discussions, particularly on the League of Nations, thus being the perfect base for the politically-minded Czaplicka who in the interwar and post-war period was increasingly active in

lobbying for the Polish cause and employed arguments from ethnology to discuss issues such as the Zionist movement (*ibid*).


GUESTS

MISS CZAPLICKA (SIBERIA)

MRS. YORKE, F.R.G.S. (SOUTH SEA ISLANDS)

MR. JAMES BAKER, F.R.G.S., HON. SEC. B.I.A. OF JOURNALISTS

MISS A. M. MURRAY (EGYPT AND THE HIMALAYAS)

PROFESSOR HERTIG, F.R.G.S.

LYCEUM CLUB

"WOMEN EXPLORERS" DINNER

PRESIDENT

MRS. ROY-BATTY

HOSTESSES

MRS. BRADGATE
MISS BELLETTI
MISS VAN BUSKIRK
MRS. CAREY CLEMENTS
MISS E. HARGROVE, F.R.G.S.
MRS. SHRIMPTON GILES
MRS. SEFTON JONES
MISS Q. MAUDE
MISS R. POWELL
MRS. TALBOT BAINES-REED
MRS. RUFFER
MME. SHKLOVSKY
MRS. SMEDLEY
MISS A. A. SMITH
MRS. YORKE TROTTER
MISS ETHEL URLIN
MME. VIGNAT

MONDAY, JANUARY 31ST, 1916

Figure 2.3: The 1916 Lyceum Club "Women Explorers" Dinner guest list, menu and speeches on reverse (held at Lucy Cavendish College Archives, Lindgren papers, box 8)

The archival traces that have come to stand for Maria Czaplicka suggest that while she needed men's support to achieve her goals, women's networks were the constant lifelines of her work. Czaplicka's research in Oxford was constantly supported by the Mary Ewart Trust, which not only provided finances for the expedition but also paid for her lectureship in the first years of L. H. D. Buxton's absence (Aitken 1921). At Lady Margaret Hall, Henrietta Jex-Blake personally provided for Czaplicka's lodgings in the college (LMH Archives, Deneke diary, p. 148) and Mary Stavely, a former Somervillian, was a familiar face

once Czaplicka moved to Bristol. Women such as Emily Penrose, Mrs T. H. Green, Mrs Scott and Jex-Blake were all instrumental in ensuring that Czaplicka had financial means and moral support to carry out her work. The latter cannot be underestimated as May Staveley suggested to Penrose that it was living away from Clifton House and the support it provided that contributed to Czaplicka's suicide in Bristol (SCA, CP) and Beatrice Blackwood expressed a similar sentiment in 1971 in a letter to A Kuczynakiy:

> I heard of her death, and the manner of it, at the time from a friend, although I did not know any details of the circumstances which led to it. I was, of course, deeply grieved, but not greatly surprised as I knew from experience that she was a very temperamental person, and was apt to become depressed when things went wrong. If no one was at hand to help her through some difficult period, she would see no other way out (PRM MS Collections, Blackwood Papers, Box 43, env. 2, item 64).

Women's research and output

Several of the women trained in anthropology in university settings in this period went on to conduct their own fieldwork. However, it is challenging to draw conclusions about the differences in the anthropological research that women conducted in comparison to men in the early twentieth century due to the limited number of individuals working in the field and the difficulty in delimiting what scholarship counted towards anthropology. The fact that between 1900 and 1920, forty-nine men are identified as anthropologists or ethnographers in the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography in comparison to eleven women and conversely nineteen women folklorists are acknowledged against fourteen men is suggestive that women are more likely to be identified as

folklorists and men as anthropologists.[44] Drawing from archival material pertaining to Maria Czaplicka as well as women's publications, it is possible to suggest some gender related differences in anthropological research. However, I argue that the overwhelming difference between men's and women's research at this time is to be found it the amount and kind of outputs they produced.

In 1885, when Matilde Coxe Stevenson founded the Women's Anthropological Society in Washington DC (WASA), the society needed to overcome the '[contradictory] Victorian construction of femininity and the conventional definition of objective science' (Rohde 2004: 262) by adopting novel identities and career patterns. Joy Rohde argues that WASA was able to carve out a space for itself by 'defining feminine spheres of activity as locations for anthropological research' (*ibid*: 264). WASA members were able to bring together social roles expected of them with a notion of rigorous science that anthropology was aspiring to. For example, defining the domestic sphere as a field site, women were able to collect data from their servants without leaving home. It is noteworthy that Stevenson founded WASA after being rejected from the Anthropological Society of Washington (ASW) despite her qualifications and numerous years as an assistant at the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology. For this study, it is even more pertinent that Stevenson was encouraged in her mission by Edward Burnett Tylor's speech to the ASW where he argued that women necessarily conduct half the ethnographic research as men are simply not able to access certain social spheres (*ibid*: 264). While Tylor was specifically referring to

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[44] It is not in the scope of this thesis to examine the reasoning behind these classifications although I would propose institutional affiliation and self-assessment as possible factors.

women that accompanied their husbands or male relatives, his acknowledgement of women as important actors in anthropology this early on helped establish an appreciation that women were better suited to collecting certain types of ethnographic data. A similar sentiment was expressed by Marett in his 1916 BAAS address 'Anthropology and University Education', where he said '[a]nthropology is the science of man in the sense that includes woman; and the woman's side of human life, more especially among primitive folk, must always remain inaccessible to the mere male' (Marett 1916).

Despite this notion that women were particularly suited to discovering the 'women's side' of small scale societies, it does not appear that the first university trained women were in fact limiting themselves in such a way. This is not to say that gender did not affect fieldwork experiences, however the ways in which gender did or did not impact on ethnographic research were contingent on the particular conditions of research. For example, Czaplicka found no difficulty in being admitted to the native council *munyak* that women were generally excluded from and even her female interpreter was allowed to attend on the account that she was part of the expedition (Czaplicka 1916a: 165). Her status as a foreigner and an academic elevated her status beyond her gender. On the other hand, Barbara Freire-Marreco found it nearly impossible to access religious and ritual knowledge among the Pueblo societies she worked with (Warrior 2003). In her letters to J. L. Myres, Freire-Marreco confessed that it was possibly the worst

field site for a beginner as people were reserved and suspicious and well aware what anthropological work and publication meant.[45]

Freire-Marreco soon discovered that the only way she could gather any information was by gaining instruction in medicines and by participating in women's work and farm labour around the village (Warrior 2003). That participating in daily life meant participating in women's activities is unsurprising but the positioning of women in the medical sector does deserve some attention. Almost all of Freire-Marreco's publications from her fieldwork deal with the medical practice: she published *Ethnobotany of the Tewa Indians* with Wilfred Robbins and John Harrington in 1916 and presented 'The "dreamers" of the Mohave-Apache tribe' at the Folklore Society in 1912 . She further gave a paper 'Notes on Tewa Medical practice' at the 1910 Anthropology at Providence meeting and spoke on 'The dream element in American Indian Folk tales' at the Folklore Society in 1917. The section on 'Authority' in *Notes and Queries* that she wrote before embarking on fieldwork remained her only output in the field of her original research focus, law and government, although she did also speak about Hopi textiles and Tewa kinship terms in 1914 (Freire-Marreco 1914a, Freire-Marreco 1914b).

For Freire-Marreco, the difficulty and brevity of her fieldwork meant that the means by which she gained acceptance in the community also became her chief source of research material. Czaplicka, on the other hand, while interested in shamanism and 'Arctic Hysteria' (explored in *Aboriginal Siberia*), was unable to

[45] It is interesting to note that societies with less contact with the outside world were preferable not only because of their relative 'purity' but also because of their naiveté about the purpose of the anthropologist.

observe much in this sphere due to the persecution of shamans by the Russian government. However, her Burroughs and Wellcome medicine chest did apparently earn her the name of 'the healing woman' among the locals who sought Czaplicka to 'cure their stomach aches, their headaches and any other ailment that their own shamans could not – or would not - banish' (Czaplicka 1916a: 36). In the absence of field diaries and a fieldwork report, it is unclear how much Czaplicka owed to her medicine chest for helping her to gain access, but the description of various encounters in *My Siberian Year* certainly suggest that being a 'healing woman' placed her in situations she would not have otherwise been in. There is, therefore, a sense that women's role as carers in their home society made them more likely to adopt similar roles abroad and that these in turn granted access to certain areas of indigenous life.[46]

There was also certain wariness about the suitability of some discussion topics for women. Again, it would be extremely difficult to track themes that women did not discuss due to gender issues but it is important to have an awareness of such a possibility. For example, before her first address to the Royal Anthropological Institute, Czaplicka wrote to Marett asking for advice:

> [d]o you think I could speak about group-marriage in Siberia before that Anthr. Institute? I am afraid all the most curious points which I have in mind are so frightfully unsuited for a lady. Perhaps 'Arctic Hysteria' will do better, or my proposed classification? (November 13, 1913, OUA DC 1/4)

Grazyna Kubica has argued that this comment is framed by the restrictions of previous decades when certain topics were inappropriate for women to discuss

[46] Another example is Isabella Bird, who in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880) describes how during a stay with the Ainu in 1878, her help with the sick community members was rewarded with a trip to a sacred shrine.

(Kubica 2015a). This is an appropriate reading, however, it is worth questioning to what extent this ban was self-imposed by a woman at the start of her career careful not to sabotage it, much like the first women students in Oxford who were advised to remain surreptitious in order to slowly but surely carve a space for women at an ancient university. Additionally, Czaplicka was still only just building her networks in the UK and positioning herself as a 'lady' was particularly important. She simply could not afford to go against the grain.

Ultimately however the most noticeable aspect of these women's output is its slenderness. Despite an abundance of articles, pamphlets, talks and contributions to books, Freire-Marreco did not produce a single-authored volume. Maria Czaplicka, an equally prolific writer, never published a scholarly book based on original fieldwork and Winifred Hoernlé published all of her studies as articles which were only compiled into a single book posthumously in 1987. This lack of monograph publications is, I would argue, a result of women's precarious academic and financial stability as well as familial commitments, and not necessarily a mark of inadequate scholarship.[47] However, this perceived failure to publish hefty original contributions has been an excuse to not look at women's contribution to the growth of the discipline in more detail.

[47] Work for the Trade Intelligence Office during World War I kept both Freire-Marreco and Czaplicka occupied, with the latter also undertaking writing and lobbying for the Polish cause. Hoernlé threw herself into teaching and administrative roles much like Audrey Richards later on making it very difficult to also produce monographs. Finally, publishing academic books was difficult and costly as Oxford University Press's reluctance to publish *Aboriginal Siberia* – and later a proposed book on Poland – demonstrates (OUP OP 200/1002 and CP 70/1200, also see Chapter 3).

Academic Positions and Pay

If limited publication records were the symptom, then precariousness and scarcity of academic positions in anthropology were certainly part of the cause for women's historical invisibility. In the 1913 Bedford College for Women's magazine, a section on 'Careers for Women Science Graduates' includes a heading 'Scholastic type of work' accompanied by a comment that research positions followed by university appointments 'are not numerous and are difficult to get' (1913: 82). This sentiment remained true for much of the first half of the century and was certainly the case when Maria Czaplicka was attempting to establish herself in anthropology. In the context of the changing position of women at Oxford and the appearance of women lecturers such as Freire-Marreco, an illusion of opportunity presented itself suggesting that with appropriate credentials and research experience Czaplicka could financially support herself on an academic career. While this was true to an extent in the USA, the UK did not offer such security until steady funding from the Rockefeller Foundation was secured at LSE in the 1920s. Rather, the few men who had steady positions held on to them through existing university structures, where arguments about men's needs for a reasonable salary were held in high regard.

While most nineteenth-century female travellers and collectors relied on inherited wealth and often had to wait to be freed from caring duties, women pursuing anthropology in universities had for the most part already undertaken some higher education and were not necessarily able to rely on their families to support further studies and research or be able to expect a job that would offer financial stability. This is not to say that eminent male anthropologists

necessarily held well-paid jobs; it is clear that most had personal wealth that they relied on and used to promote causes close to their hearts (e.g. Seligman, Balfour, von Hügel). However those in a less fortunate position were able to pressure universities into offering them a paid position with a decent salary because as men they were expected to financially support their families.

For example, between 1918 and 1919 Leonard Dudley Buxton was in correspondence with John Linton Myres about his pre-war position as a lecturer in Ethnology. Despite proclaiming that the state of physical anthropology in Oxford was not good and job prospects 'gloomy', Myres facilitated arrangements that saw Buxton return on more favourable terms after the latter suggested he would find an alternative job or move to the USA (BLSC, MS Myres 6). Buxton's correspondence echoes that of A.C. Haddon with James Frazer in 1899 when Haddon suggested that unless a more stable position was created for him, he may need to abandon the cause of anthropology and accept a position in biology elsewhere (Rouse 1998: 67). The ability of these men to choose and negotiate where they would work is significant. It was certainly difficult to gain a position in anthropology, but it was much more difficult to do so as a woman. This was particularly so at Cambridge and Oxford, where male academics were more likely to be able to supplement the meagre salary from anthropology with college stipends that newer women's colleges with lower endowments could not offer.

Barbara Freire-Marreco's case demonstrates the difficulty some women had in finding a suitable career path that would not interfere with their other duties. Freire-Marreco came from a wealthy family of 'intellect' but she had to persuade her father and undertake a short, intensive study of Greek in order to

take the Classics degree at Oxford in 1902 (Blair 2008). Her family would not provide funds for study beyond her undergraduate degree, so much of the teaching, research, and editing work that she undertook after converting to anthropology helped to cover her costs. After completing the Diploma, Freire-Marreco explored options for continuing research but found that the only way to do so was by obtaining a research fellowship. Worried about her eligibility, she wrote to Myres suggesting that she may be eligible for a 100-pound fellowship for postgraduate work for professionals but that she could not expect to be a professional anthropologist and 'it was not enough to say that I hoped to write a book' (BLSC, MS Myres 16).

In 1908, she further sought guidance from Myres for prospects of teaching at universities since school teaching would remove her from home for too long when she was needed to look after her ill mother.

> Do you think that the teaching of anthropology as an educational subject is likely to develop fast enough to provide subordinate teaching for people like myself? At present, I suppose there is so little, that the important people who care to teach can take it all. I shall never be able to take school teaching, which means leaving home for too long, but if there were a chance of university work with short terms it would be a good thing to train for it. I have no money to spend on learning... I am entirely responsible for them now that my three years at Oxford are over (BLSC, MS Myres 16).

This sentiment encapsulates the difficulties new anthropologists faced – what were they to do with their training? There was little institutional justification for it as departments were small and did not need teaching staff and women in

particular were felt to be liable to get married and forsake their research.[48] Lutkehaus has commented that in the late 1920s when Malinowski's LSE seminar was flourishing, women felt more at ease at the LSE than in the more stifling environments of Cambridge and Oxford. However, there was a sense that in order to succeed, women needed to dedicate themselves to academic research and not marry (Lutkehaus 1986).

John Linton Myres deemed Barbara Freire-Marreco 'one of the ablest students in anthropology that he has had' (BLSC, MS Myres 16). She assisted him on numerous projects collecting comparative information on archaeological and ethnographic museums across the country as well as editing and commenting on written work. She edited large portions of the 1912 edition of *Notes and Queries* with Myres and contributed to six sections. Moreover, she published on her research and lectured both at Oxford and LSE. However her marriage to Robert Aitken meant she left her 'London circle to move to Hampshire' (Coote Lake 1967: 305) and subsequently only contributed to anthropology by sending articles and reviews to the *Folklore*, *Man*, and other journals along with limited activity within the Folklore Society (Coote Lake 1967). As with some other early female ethnographers, her collection of 460 objects at the Pitt Rivers Museum has granted her a place in its history. But in histories of anthropology, her name is but a footnote. Such a lack of attention misses the crucial role women such as Freire-Marreco played both in supportive roles, as the doers and administrators, and the work they conducted for popularisation and popular approval of the

[48] This notion was expressed by Ridgeway when he said that 'the best [female] researchers all get married, and those who do not get married seem to do nothing' (Smith 2009: 69).

subject evident in Freire-Marreco's West Riding Teachers' Anthropology Society and her article 'Anthropology as a Science' (1910a) outlining the role and needs of anthropology in the literary magazine *New Age* (Freire-Marreco 1910a).

Many other female Diploma graduates took up similar supporting roles, worked in museums or generated popular accounts. For example, Hannah Byrne (Mrs Cross), a Geology graduate who took the Diploma in 1913 and was elected as a fellow of the RAI worked as 'the gazetteer of native tribes of Australia and West Africa' (SCA Register). Winifred Blackman started the Diploma in 1912 and subsequently volunteered at the Pitt Rivers Museum, worked as the librarian in the Department of Social Anthropology and conducted fieldwork in Egypt.[49] The suitability of women to fulfil 'supporting roles' can also be evidenced in the post-war period in Cambridge, when several had already obtained degrees in anthropology and carried out independent research. For example, in 1927 Radcliffe-Brown wrote to Haddon suggesting Camilla Wedgwood should be given the job of editing Deacon's Malekula materials rather than Layard, as '[a] woman often does such work better than a man and Miss Wedgwood impresses me as being capable' (Lutkehaus 1986: 785).

Women also taught anthropology from early on – Freire Marreco delivered a special lecture series in 1911 while in Cambridge Alison Quiggin had been lecturing on the prehistory at Homerton Training College for some years when in 1912 she published *Primeval Man: the Stone Age in Western Europe* (Smith 2009: 5). However, offering more permanent posts to women proved

[49] This fieldwork was not viewed favourably by L. H. D. Buxton who complained to Myres in 1921 of Blackman living and collecting folklore in Egypt at 'someone else's expense' while she has a large house in central Oxford as quite unacceptable and arguing that she should find some other occupation (BSC, MS Myres 6, f. 236).

difficult. In 1923 Haddon suggested Quiggin to provide instructions in Economics and Material Culture as no suitable man was to be found but since women were not permitted to lecture to undergraduates, she had to be appointed as Haddon's deputy (Smith 2009: 69). Haddon further attempted to create a university appointment in cultural anthropology for Wedgwood as part of the Cambridge Syndicates but while the positions in social anthropology and prehistory were granted and filled by men, the third position never materialized (Lutkehaus 1986: 414). In Oxford, Czaplicka had a lectureship during the war but in 1919 L. H. D. Buxton returned to his former role. Thereafter Czaplicka went on a lecture tour of the USA followed by an appointment as a lecturer in Ethnology in the anatomy department at Bristol University. According to Kubica, Czaplicka's annual pay was £250, an amount that latter considered slightly below her minimum requirement {Kubica, 2015 #461}[50]. This salary would have been of similar magnitude to L.H.D. Buxton's £225 for the Oxford lectureship that Czaplicka was paid £60 a year (OUA HA 66/3; SCA Mary Ewart Trust Ledger). However, it is difficult to compare workload in these positions – Oxford lectureship certainly appears to have enabled Czaplicka to undertake other work. Bristol Vice-Chancellor's apparent decision to to double Czaplicka's salary just before her death suggests that her work was indeed deemed to warrant higher pay (Staveley to Penrose, SCA, CP).

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[50] The amount was considerably more than the £20 per term she received at Oxford, however she received free lodgings at latter (courtesy of Principal Henrietta Jex-Blake, cf. p. 97) and her earnings were supplemented by occasional grants from the Committee for Anthropology (OUA DC 1/2/3), work for the Foreign Office, royalties from *My Siberian Year* and pay for articles she wrote.

Beatrice Blackwood worked as a research assistant under Arthur Thomson from 1918 and became Departmental Demonstrator in Human Anatomy in 1920, later sharing the role of Demonstrator in Physical Anthropology with L. H. D. Buxton and filled his role as a lecturer in Ethnology from 1921-22. From thereon she had variety of teaching and museum roles and carried out fieldwork in North America and Melanesia. Elsewhere, Hoernlé's research and lectureship at Witwaterstand make her a rare example of an early female social anthropologist and fieldworker who trained an outstanding generation of South African anthropologists. Her supportive husband[51] and extensive academic network along with her ability to position herself at the heart of the new, but highly relevant, discipline in South Africa enabled Hoernlé to make a contribution to anthropology unlike other women of that period.

In the USA, the existence of institutions such as the Bureau of Ethnology, designed to equip the government with information on their Native American subjects, also offered possibilities for financial assistance and employment. Both Erminnie A. Smith (1836-1886) and Alice Fletcher Cunningham (1838-1923) were prominent early members and leaders of scientific societies, advisors to governmental policies who also published their research. Smith started salaried research on Native American ethnology for the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology in 1880 and subsequently published work on the Iroquois. She was elected the first member of the New York Academy of Sciences and was a member of the

[51] Carstens notes that Haddon had not approved of marriage as he worried that it would make Hoernlé lost to anthropology and to an extent this proved true during the Harvard years. However, Hoernlé's perseverance in keeping up to date with developments in the field and decision to move back to South Africa allowed her to resume her academic interests (Carstens 1985).

American Association for the Advancement of Science and the New York Historical Society. Fletcher's interest in anthropology grew from archaeological research she conducted under Fredrick Putnam at the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology. In 1881 she started fieldwork among the Omaha Indians in Nebraska and in 1882, she was hired by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to survey Indian lands for suitability for allotment. She became a principal proponent of change with the Dawes Act in 1887 and following its passing managed the allotment of the Nez Percé people's lands. Fletcher's government work left her little time for research or publications but in 1890 a benefactor endowed a chair for her at Peabody thus freeing her up to continue academic work. During her career she wrote over forty articles and monographs on various aspects of American Indian culture. She was also active in promoting the discipline by leading the establishment of the School of American Archaeology in Santa Fe[52], sitting on the editorial board of the *American Anthropologist* from 1899 to 1916 and acting as the president of the Anthropological Society of Washington in 1903 and the American Folklore Society in 1905.

Women can thus be seen to have a more prominent, visible, and financially profitable position in early anthropology in the United States, which is perhaps why Maria Czaplicka was hopeful of finding employment across the Atlantic. In 1919 Czaplicka corresponded with Franz Boas with the explicit purpose of finding employment in the USA. She cited 'personal matters' as the reason for her wish to move to the USA to continue with her research on North

[52] Santa Fe school was also where Barbara Freire-Marreco conducted her first fieldwork after being introduced to Fletcher by John Linton Myres.

and Central Asia, parts of Eastern Europe and North West America (APS, Boas correspondence). It is evident that Boas was making inquiries into the possibility of offering Czaplicka a job while the latter enlisted virtually every prominent anthropologist in the UK to write her supporting letters.[53] Her letter of 20 May 1919 suggests that Boas was seeking to find her a role at Barnard College, a women's college affiliated with Columbia University. It is unclear to what stage these preparations got, but in December 1919 Czaplicka set sail from Liverpool on the "Orduna" to lecture in the USA (Kubica 2015). There is no clear suggestion that the lecture tour in the USA was intended to secure Czaplicka a job, but she had planned this trip initially for the previous year and was hopeful to move to the USA permanently after her Oxford lectureship ended (APS Boas papers). Therefore, it is not unreasonable to assume that she had hopes to remain in the USA. This, however, did not happen and instead she took up the new post in Bristol University in 1920.

It may have been 'personal matters' that instilled the idea of relocating to the USA in Czaplicka's mind, but it may also have appeared a lucrative, or at least a tenable place for a career in anthropology, which for Czaplicka had to provide financial security. Boas had already aided women like Elsie Clews Parsons (1875-1941) who embarked on her career of field-research after meeting Boas and Pliny E. Goddard in 1915 during a trip to the Southwest. However, Parsons had already held a lectureship in Sociology at Barnard, which she resigned upon her

[53] These included G. Murray, R. R. Marett, J. G. Frazer, Arthur Keith, Arthur Thomson, Henry Balfour and A. C. Haddon (AMNH Archive, File 692, Box 52, Folder 17).

husband's election to the Congress.[54] After she converted to anthropology, she carried out fieldwork Arizona, Mexico, and New Mexico, wrote extensively on social organization, religion, and folklore publishing eight books and numerous articles on the Tewa, Hopi, and Pueblo Indians in the Southwest as well as the Andean and Zapotec Indians in Central and South America. Parsons was the associate editor of *The Journal of American Folklore* from 1918 to 1941, and was the President of the American Folklore Society (1919-1920), American Ethnological Society (1923-1925), and became the first female president of the American Anthropological Association in 1941. However, the only formal academic position she had was the early fellowship at Barnard in Sociology, although she did some teaching at the New School of Sociology whose establishment she was involved with through her activities in The New Republic Group in New York (Spier and Kroeber 1943).

Ruth Benedict (1887-1948), another contemporary of Czaplicka, became a prominent teacher in anthropology, was on editorial boards of numerous journals and served as the President of the American Ethnological Society from 1927-29 and the American Anthropological Association in 1946. In Benedict's obituary, Margaret Mead notes 143 items in her bibliography, among them *Patterns of Culture* that was translated into five languages, and lists two awards granted to Benedict. By all accounts Ruth Benedict *was* the success story that Czaplicka may have wished to be. Indeed, Benedict's first teaching experience came though assistance to Boas at Barnard College, where she taught

[54] Her responsibilities as a wife also forced her to publish two of her books under the pseudonym "John Main" after the controversy caused by her first book, *The Family*. By the time Parsons converted to anthropology, she had already published five books on sociology.

undergraduates from 1922-23, only a few years after Czaplicka was seeking employment in the same institution. However, Benedict's post-doctoral research on American folklore was funded through the Southwest Fund set up by Elsie Clews Parsons to supplement 'the very meager funds available for field research' that were particularly difficult to come by, particularly as 'Benedict was just too old for any of the fellowships which were just opening up in the field' (Mead 1949: 459). Her age was not the only inhibiting factor. Benedict was attempting to conceive and it was not until it was medically confirmed that she was unable to have children that she threw herself into anthropological research and teaching. Her research among the Pima in 1927 eventually led to the publication of the acclaimed *Patterns of Culture* in 1934 by which point Boas had already made her the Assistant Professor at Columbia, which only became possible after her divorce. Despite her accolades and presidencies, she was not however deemed suitable to replace Boas upon his retirement and her critic Ralph Linton headed the department instead (Silverman 1981). It can thus be seen that even in the USA, where career prospects were more promising that in the UK and women had more prominent academic positions and institutional positions in anthropology, family responsibilities and aspirations, financial constraints, and gender prejudices demoted and de-emphasized women's contributions.[55]

Maria Czaplicka was determined to forge a life in academic anthropology at a difficult time, facing obstacles imposed by her gender and the developing and precarious institutional footing of the new discipline. Her particular case

[55] Racial obstacles may have further played a role in the limited impact of two other Boas's mentees, Ella Cara Deloria (1889-1971) and Zora Neale Hurston (1891-1960).

highlights several important aspects of early British anthropology. Unlike many of her contemporaries, Czaplicka did not undertake many supportive roles in anthropology but she did supplement her earnings through the publication of popular articles and books, which were a priority before any academic output. Czaplicka's *Aboriginal Siberia* made no royalties until it sold 500 copies, which in 1929 meant that she never received financial reward from its publication, unlike from *My Siberian Year* for which 'Mills and Boon paid something outrageous' according to an Oxford University Press editor (OUP Archives OP 200/1002). Czaplicka's popular presence in daily newspapers and political output in journals such as *Land and Water* was also intended to raise her profile and affirm her position in British society. Being of foreign but noble background meant that she needed to position herself socially but it also afforded her certain freedoms that some of her contemporaries did not have. She was not bound by familial duties, travelled alone with a single man through Siberia, was active in the suffrage movement and yet also appeared alongside middle and upper-class ladies in the *Ladies' Field*.

Ultimately however, financial constraints were the main stumbling block for Maria Czaplicka whose debt upon her death was over two hundred pounds (Collins and Urry 1997). Yet just two years earlier, in March 1919, Czaplicka wrote Franz Boas that she was willing to take a pay cut in the USA after earning well in the previous year:

> [t]he present academic year was successful not merely morally but also financially since I had much extra work. My earnings will come to more than £500, but I do not mind starting in the U.S.A. with less (APS, Boas correspondence).

Of these earnings only one hundred pounds were received for lecturing as a University lecturer (OUA, DC 1/2/3). In the first two years as a Mary Ewart Lecturer, the trust paid twenty pounds per term (SCA, Mary Ewart Trust Ledger). The rest of the income must therefore have come from commissions with the War Office, writing popular articles, and income from *My Siberian Year*.[56]

Upon Czaplicka's death, her friends and colleagues contributed to a fund to pay off her debt (SCA, CP) and while Seligman felt it was not so great to warrant a suicide (Kubica 2015a: 375) it does pose the question of how she went from a 'morally and financially' successful year as a professional anthropologist to significant debt and a suicide. The latter was a result of numerous reasons, not least Czaplicka's own mental health and reliance on the support of her friends. The debt however points to a willingness to invest heavily in a hope for a life and career in the USA; Czaplicka's lecture tour of the USA had involved 'excessive fatigue and strain, with little profit except in making of new friends for Poland as well as for herself' (Aitken 1921). It appears that Czaplicka had virtually no earnings between her Oxford and Bristol lectureships but she did spend a considerable amount on travelling to the United States and later to Poland and Central Europe in the summer of 1920 (*ibid*). Her membership of the prestigious Lyceum club must also have incurred a considerable cost (see Keighren 2017: 664). At Bristol, building up an Ethnology school from scratch required a considerable amount of administrative and organisational work and correspondence to gather teaching materials, a job that required considerable time and personal investment at a low financial remuneration.

[56] It is of course possible that Czaplicka exaggerated her income to Boas.

Conclusion

An exploration of the roles of women in the early history of anthropology in Britain opens many themes that re-emerge in my study of Maria Czaplicka's career and material legacy. Women were present in anthropology in the early years of its institutionalisation as well as its antecedent structures yet their involvement often took forms that have not found their ways into disciplinary historiographies. Travel writing, folklore studies, museum collecting, as well as supportive roles on the fringes of academic anthropology were the predominant modes through which women became instrumental in the emergence of academic anthropology. A scarcity of academic positions was not the only an issue for women, most men of the early fieldworking generation struggled to obtain these. Maria Czaplicka's perseverance and success in obtaining lectureships in Oxford and Bristol was thus in many ways out of the ordinary. Had she not succumbed to desperation and taking her life in May 1921, she may have become a rare institutionally embedded female anthropologist in early twentieth century Britain, and perhaps secured a prominent position in the discipline's history.

Notwithstanding her relative success, Czaplicka's story also points to the struggles of women in anthropology, which in turn highlight important themes in this particular phase of disciplinary history. In particular, the influence of particular institutional spaces, the role of personal and professional networks such as colleges and learned societies, and the significance of museums as sites of female work and collecting emerge as significant areas of study.

3. 'Obedient Pupil': Oxford anthropology in the first decades of the twentieth century

Looking at the history of anthropology not from a genealogical perspective that traces the lineage of modern (social) anthropology but from a situated, planar viewpoint, foregrounds practical issues at the heart of anthropology's institutionalisation. In this chapter I seek to discern the ways in which anthropology was practiced, taught and promoted in the first decades of the twentieth century when Maria Czaplicka was building her career.

While several studies have provided an account of the first phase of the institutionalisation of anthropology in British universities (Kuklick 1991, Stocking 1995, Tedlock 1991, Urry 1993a, Herle and Rouse 1998, Rivière 2007), they suffer from a lack of attention to the role of students in the early history of anthropology. An emphasis on key theorists has understated the importance of student-teacher relationships and ways in which the first generation of students conducting fieldwork contributed to the formation of the discipline during its institutionalisation. At Oxford, Diploma students began trialling new fieldwork methods and many started teaching and publishing for academic and popular audiences soon after taking the course, thus helping to formulate a path for the fledgling discipline. By placing students at the centre of anthropology's development, I seek to shift the focus in the early history of anthropology away from theorists to teaching spaces. I re-evaluate the early history of anthropology by pointing to a broad curriculum fostered at universities offering the first courses in the subject, highlighting constraints encountered by its proponents,

drawing attention to the impact of its first students and suggesting that key figures such as Robert Ranulph Marett are better evaluated in terms of their mentoring activities than theoretical advances.

The main institutional hubs at the start of the century were Oxford, Cambridge, and the London School of Economics (LSE), all of which had a holistic view of anthropology that encompassed prehistory, ethnology, physical anthropology, and social anthropology. Yet, while the aims of the proponents of anthropology were similar and the relations between practitioners close, the ways in which anthropology was practiced varied from one institution to another. The particular landscape of Oxford anthropology in the first decades after the Diploma was established was characterised by cohorts and cooperation, close relationships between tutors and students, the broadness of the curriculum and the central position of the University Museum and the Pitt Rivers Museum, all of which contributed to a collaborative and material approach to anthropology at Oxford.

The first decade of the Oxford Diploma

Setting up a new university subject

> It was in the shady gardens of Oxford, in the midst of the splendid wealth of British libraries, and under the influence of British methods of research, that a new side of my interests in Siberia was awakened (Czaplicka 1916a: 9).

Czaplicka arrived in Oxford in October 1911 to study for the Diploma in Anthropology with a reference from C. G. Seligman, whose lectures she attended at the London School of Economics (SCA, CP). This was the fifth year of students being admitted to the course and seven students had been awarded the

Diploma.[57] While Edward Burnett Tylor had been lecturing on the subject since 1884, few students attended those lectures since they did not contribute towards an existing degree and would only be examined if Anthropology was taken as a Special Subject under Natural Science Final Honour Schools (Howarth 2000b: 438, Gosden et al. 2007b). Despite William Flower's proclamation at the 1894 BAAS meeting that 'at Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh and Dublin systematic instruction' is given in anthropology and that it is 'more or less recognised' (Flower in BMJ 1894), there were no students graduating with degrees in anthropology. It was not until the establishment of the Anthropology Diploma program under proposals drafted by John Linton Myres that anthropology at Oxford gathered a student following in earnest (Van Keuren 1982).[58] Myres 'reopened negotiations on the matter of anthropology within the University' (Rivière 2007: 40) in 1902 but most of the preparations for establishing anthropological teaching in Oxford took place between 1904 and 1905. In 1904, a memorandum was presented to the University's Hebdomadal Council calling for the University to revise its position on anthropology and proposing 'a short systematic course of training' (OUA, DC 1/2/3) and by spring 1905 a statute was passed for the establishment of a Committee for Anthropology and the Diploma course.

On 14 February 1905 Tylor wrote to Myres,

> I have not been to see you since the Diploma scheme got under way, you being so overwhelmed with business. But I want to thank you for taking

[57] Further three certificates were awarded in this time period. It is possible that more of both were attained, but we lack information on certain students (Petch et al. 2012)

[58] See Van Keuren and Rivière for a detailed overview of the attempts of establishing anthropology at Oxford by Tylor (Van Keuren 1982, Rivière 2017)

> such pains over it, and getting it straight which for want of knowledge of procedure I could hardly have done (OUA DC 1/2/2).

Rivière (2007), Stocking (1995), and van Keuren (1982) have all pointed to the importance of Myres' and Marett's collegiate affiliation and social standing within the University in the success of establishing the Diploma. Tylor's letter makes it clear that he was aware that his shortcomings in this field meant that he was uninitiated in institutional 'procedures'. It is significant that Myres was Junior Proctor at the University while negotiating a position for anthropology – as a senior officer within the University he would have known and corresponded with a wide range of University academics and officials and had considerable weight in these circles. Thus, it was with relative ease that he was able to draw support for the Committee of Anthropology (see also Rivière 2007), organise teaching and scope the anthropological literature collections in Oxford college libraries (OUA DC 1/2/2). However, while Myres was undoubtedly a skilled organiser, the development of the programme was a joint operation as testified by the numerous draft proposals and suggested literature lists circulated by Myres and returned with additions, deletions, and comments (see Fig. 3.1). The latter came from within the University as well as from advocates of anthropology elsewhere, suggesting that the school that Myres was attempting to build was to be a 'school' in a general sense, not just an 'Oxford' school.[59]

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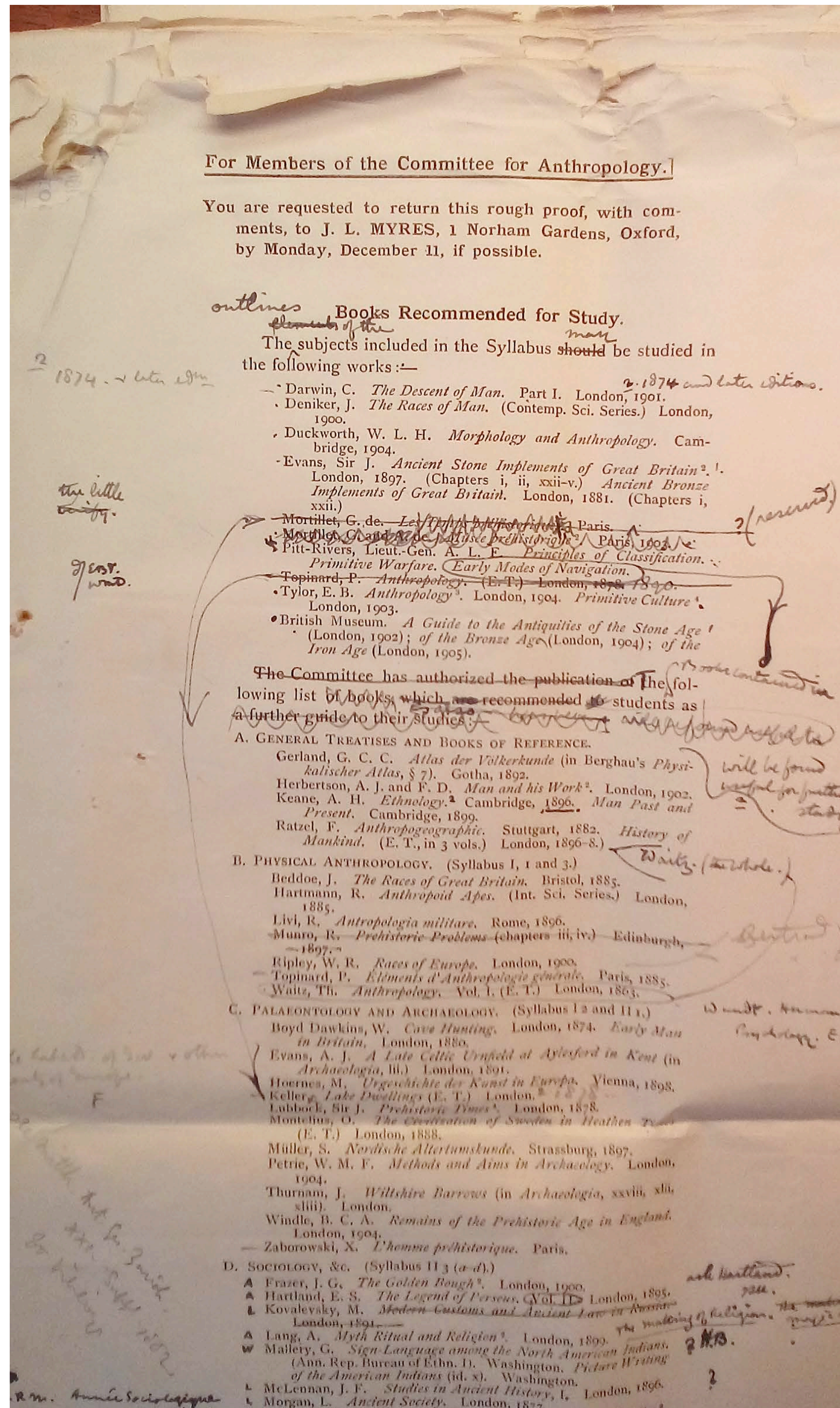
[59] In 1905, Haddon wrote to Myres wishing success with his school and explicitly clarifying that he means school in a general sense, not an 'Oxford' school (Haddon to Myres 1905, OUA DC 1/2/2).



For Members of the Committee for Anthropology.

You are requested to return this rough proof, with comments, to J. L. MYRES, 1 Norham Gardens, Oxford, by Monday, December 11, if possible.

Books Recommended for Study.

The subjects included in the Syllabus should be studied in the following works:—

Darwin, C. *The Descent of Man.* Part I. London, 1901.
Deniker, J. *The Races of Man.* (Contemp. Sci. Series.) London, 1900.
Duckworth, W. L. H. *Morphology and Anthropology.* Cambridge, 1904.
Evans, Sir J. *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*[2]. London, 1897. (Chapters i, ii, xxii–v.) *Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain.* London, 1881. (Chapters i, xxii.)
Mortillet, G. de. *Les Temps préhistoriques.* Paris.
Mortillet, G. and A. de. *Musée préhistorique*[2]. Paris, 1903.
Pitt-Rivers, Lieut.-Gen. A. L. F. *Principles of Classification. Primitive Warfare. Early Modes of Navigation.*
Topinard, P. *Anthropology.* (E. T.) London, 1878.
Tylor, E. B. *Anthropology*[3]. London, 1904. *Primitive Culture*[4]. London, 1903.
British Museum. *A Guide to the Antiquities of the Stone Age* (London, 1902); *of the Bronze Age* (London, 1904); *of the Iron Age* (London, 1905).

The Committee has authorized the publication of the following list of books, which are recommended to students as a further guide to their studies:—

A. General Treatises and Books of Reference.
Gerland, G. C. C. *Atlas der Völkerkunde* (in Berghau's *Physikalischer Atlas*, § 7). Gotha, 1892.
Herbertson, A. J. and F. D. *Man and his Work*[2]. London, 1902.
Keane, A. H. *Ethnology.*[2] Cambridge, 1896. *Man Past and Present.* Cambridge, 1899.
Ratzel, F. *Anthropogeographie.* Stuttgart, 1882. *History of Mankind.* (E. T., in 3 vols.) London, 1896–8.)

B. Physical Anthropology. (Syllabus I, 1 and 3.)
Beddoe, J. *The Races of Great Britain.* Bristol, 1885.
Hartmann, R. *Anthropoid Apes.* (Int. Sci. Series.) London, 1885.
Livi, R. *Antropologia militare.* Rome, 1896.
Munro, R. *Prehistoric Problems* (chapters iii, iv.) Edinburgh, 1897.
Ripley, W. R. *Races of Europe.* London, 1900.
Topinard, P. *Éléments d'Anthropologie générale.* Paris, 1885.
Waitz, Th. *Anthropology.* Vol. I. (E. T.) London, 1863.

C. Palaeontology and Archaeology. (Syllabus I 2 and II 1.)
Boyd Dawkins, W. *Cave Hunting.* London, 1874. *Early Man in Britain.* London, 1880.
Evans, A. J. *A Late Celtic Urnfield at Aylesford in Kent* (in *Archaeologia*, lii.) London, 1891.
Hoernes, M. *Urgeschichte der Kunst in Europa.* Vienna, 1898.
Keller, *Lake Dwellings* (E. T.) London.
Lubbock, Sir J. *Prehistoric Times*[4]. London, 1878.
Montelius, O. *The Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times* (E. T.) London, 1888.
Müller, S. *Nordische Altertumskunde.* Strassburg, 1897.
Petrie, W. M. F. *Methods and Aims in Archaeology.* London, 1904.
Thurnam, J. *Wiltshire Barrows* (in *Archaeologia*, xxviii, xlii, xliii). London.
Windle, B. C. A. *Remains of the Prehistoric Age in England.* London, 1904.
Zaborowski, X. *L'homme préhistorique.* Paris.

D. Sociology, &c. (Syllabus II 3 (a–d).)
Frazer, J. G. *The Golden Bough*[2]. London, 1900.
Hartland, E. S. *The Legend of Perseus.* Vol. II. London, 1895.
Kovalevsky, M. *Modern Customs and Ancient Law in Russia.* London, 1891.
Lang, A. *Myth Ritual and Religion*[2]. London, 1899.
Mallery, G. *Sign-Language among the North American Indians.* (Ann. Rep. Bureau of Ethn. I). Washington. *Picture Writing of the American Indians* (id. x). Washington.
McLennan, J. F. *Studies in Ancient History*, I. London, 1896.
Morgan, L. *Ancient Society.* London, 1877.

Figure 3.1: Rough proof of suggested reading for the Diploma programme circulated among committee members and returned with suggestions by Henry Balfour to J. L. Myres (OUA DC 1/2/2)

Creating a stronger and better-recognised position for anthropology at Oxford was by no means a straightforward matter. In March 1905, Myres wrote to Haddon at Cambridge to ask how they had organised the Board of Studies there

and in particular 'the position Anthropology occupies among other studies of the University' (OUA DC 1/2/2). While developments in Cambridge clearly offered some material guidance in the form of lecture notes and advice from Haddon on reading lists, Myres was most anxious about the institutional complexities that the two universities shared. He commented that '[t]here seems quite a chance that our scheme will go through now: though in a place like this anything may happen' (Myres to Haddon March 13, 1905, OUA DC 1/2/2, underlined in original). Perhaps he had in mind the influence that Percy Gardner, the Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art, may have on the process. Gardner expressed concern about the impact an Anthropology Diploma could have on his own department (Gardner to Myres, OUA DC 1/2/2,) and while he expressed readiness to help any 'genuine student' he did not sign the memorandum on the state of Anthropology at Oxford, which suggested the establishment of the Diploma.

Despite these issues, Diploma did get established and student numbers increased steadily, but its association with Humanities meant that the concerns of people such as Gardener had to be met. Thus, the Diploma was limited to the study of 'past and present savagery' (Marett 1905, OUA DC 1/2/2) even though both Marett and Myres always maintained that anthropology was the study of the whole of mankind (Marett 1941, Rivière 2017). Limiting anthropology to primitive societies was also silently opposed by Tylor, but as Van Keuren explains, '[t]o contest the issue could rekindle the interdepartmental and school conflicts that had plagued anthropology in the succeeding twenty years…

Proponents of a "greater" science of man did not yield the point of definition, but glossed over it in their articulation of a workable syllabus' (1982: 238).

The first students of Anthropology at Oxford were therefore entering a subject that was marginal in the University but that had nonetheless been established by influential men who felt that there was an urgent need to make a proper science out of the study of indigenous peoples. In 1909, when Marett was made the Reader of Anthropology and formally took over from Tylor, the latter congratulated him by saying 'I may even add the hope that the whole science is going to establish itself for the benefit of Man at large' (Marett 1941: 171). It is telling that Tylor had but the slimmest of hopes that anthropology would become an institutionally and publicly recognised staple of university education.

The difficulties that people such as Tylor, Myres, and Marett faced, and the limitations they had to impose on their subject to facilitate its acceptance within the University, reveal the constraints that anthropology faced during this early phase of institutionalization. Sandra Rouse has argued that Haddon had similar difficulties in Cambridge, where on his return from the second Torres Strait expedition in 1898 he wished to set up a school of anthropology modelled along similar lines to Franz Boas's Columbian school. However, it proved much more difficult 'to penetrate the entrenched polity of Cambridge academia than he had envisioned when he first returned to Cambridge in 1893 to begin lecturing on physical anthropology' (Rouse 1999: 18). Edmund Leach echoed these sentiments in an article in 1984 where he argued forcefully for the significance of the particular personal and social backgrounds of anthropologists in both the theories they eschewed and their success in establishing anthropology within

Oxbridge institutional structures. He argues that Haddon and Rivers failed to establish anything akin to academic anthropology in Cambridge between 1898 and 1925:

> [t]here were complex reasons for this failure but one was social class. Haddon's voluminous correspondence… shows his limitations as a university politician, but it seems to me obvious that his most serious handicap was that he was "not a gentleman" (Leach 1984: 5)

Leach's observation that the 'social handicaps' of Haddon and Rivers precluded them from forcing structural change at Cambridge is revealing. He notes the speed with which T.T. Barnard's[60] career escalated despite weak academic credentials and suggests that this was because of his social status (*ibid*: 7) while Haddon's pleas for a more stable arrangement for anthropology were repeatedly dismissed. Leach concludes that anthropology at Cambridge in the first decades of the twentieth century only survived because it was linked to the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology which was supported by 'very wealthy, very "upper crust" amateur collectors of ethnographic curiosities led by the redoubtable traveller, Baron Anatole von Hügel' (*ibid*: 6).

While Leach's assessment of the time period is deliberately polemical as shown by his dismissal of museum collectors as 'amateurs', highlighting the link between social status, financial security and the advancement of anthropology is pertinent. Ebin and Swallow have likewise pointed out that while 'the colleges [at Cambridge] might give fellowships to individuals, the likelihood of the University itself putting more money into an obscure subject called ethnology or

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[60] According to Langham, Barnard converted to anthropology under the influence of Rivers in Cambridge after doing an undergraduate in Zoology at Oxford and undertook fieldwork in New Hebredis however never published his thesis on Ambrym (Langham 1981: 208-211)p. 208-211

anthropology was minimal' (Ebin and Swallow 1984: 21) relating the success of the Cambridge museum almost entirely to von Hügel's private wealth, determination and network of friends. Few anthropologists at the time, and for long after, were able to rely on their academic career to provide them with financial stability. Both at Cambridge and at Oxford, the existence of an ethnographic museum linked to wealthy and influential members of society was key to the establishment of the discipline. Individual sponsors such as Martin White, who endowed the Sociology and Ethnology lectureships at LSE, and Anthony Wilkin, whose support enabled the fieldwork of several early Cambridge anthropologists, were also crucial.

As well as being linked to university ethnographic museums, anthropological teaching at Cambridge and Oxford was also closely linked to Human Anatomy.[61] At Cambridge, Haddon began his anthropology career as a lecturer in physical anthropology while at Oxford, George Rolleston, the first Linacre Professor in Anatomy and Physiology, was instrumental in facilitating the acceptance of the Pitt Rivers collection that marked the first step in the inclusion of anthropology at the University. Upon Rolleston's death, the Linacre Professorship was split between professorships in anatomy and physiology and a readership in anthropology; thus 'Rolleston, a great promoter of ethnology during his life, opened the way for the first post in the subject through his early death' (Gosden et al. 2007b: 27). Henry Nottidge Moseley, who was appointed the

[61] In many other universities, anthropology only existed under the umbrella of human anatomy. For example, when Richard Temple brought forward suggestions for a course in Applied Anthropology at Birmingham, it already had a BSc in Human Anatomy and Physical Anthropology. Czaplicka joined Bristol University Anatomy Department as Lecturer in Ethnology in 1921. Similar situation can be observed in the USA (MacCurdy 1902).

Linacre Professor of Human and Comparative Anatomy upon Rolleston's death, was tasked with the transfer of the Pitt Rivers collection from South Kensington to Oxford. His assistant, W. Baldwin Spencer worked with Tylor and Moseley on this undertaking and later credited the experience with growing his knowledge and interest in anthropology that led to ground-breaking field research in Australia (Petch 2009b, Spencer and Gillen 1899). Henry Balfour, who like Spencer was a Natural Sciences graduate, shared an office with Spencer, and, after being employed to unpack and arrange the collection, eventually became the first curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1890 – a position he held until his death in 1939 (Gosden et al. 2007a: 67).

Balfour is known for using his Natural Sciences training in his role as the curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum, discussing the morphology of composite bows and favouring the comparative method until his death (Larson 2007, Morton 2012). In the adjoining University Museum, Arthur Thomson taught physical anthropology to the Diploma students from 1906 to 1935 in the only department within the university that was able to offer stable employment to fresh anthropology graduates. Of the first cohort, Francis Knowles was employed as Thomson's assistant from 1909 to 1912. L. H. D. Buxton, who gained a diploma in 1912, became Demonstrator in Physical Anthropology in 1913 and in 1922 he became Lecturer in the same field. Maria Czaplicka was likewise employed as a lecturer in Ethnology in the Anatomy Department and Beatrice Blackwood worked as an assistant to Thomson from 1918 and became Departmental Demonstrator from 1922, working with Buxton.

Both the Pitt Rivers Museum and the University Museum thus became hubs for Oxford anthropology, not just in terms of teaching but also in terms of finance, providing trained anthropologists with employment. As has already been discussed in relation to Barbara Freire-Marreco in the previous chapter, teaching positions in the field were hard to come by. The positions that newly graduated Diploma students came to occupy in Oxford thus tended to be in the museum or anatomy department, reflecting the stronger institutional position of these areas in comparison to social anthropology. Without fresh graduates with fieldwork experience, the latter was naturally unable to develop much beyond its initial scope. Maria Czaplicka was the first University lecturer in Ethnology with fieldwork experience but her position was temporary and student numbers during the Great War were low thus limiting any impact she may have had.

Anthropological training at Cambridge, Oxford, and London

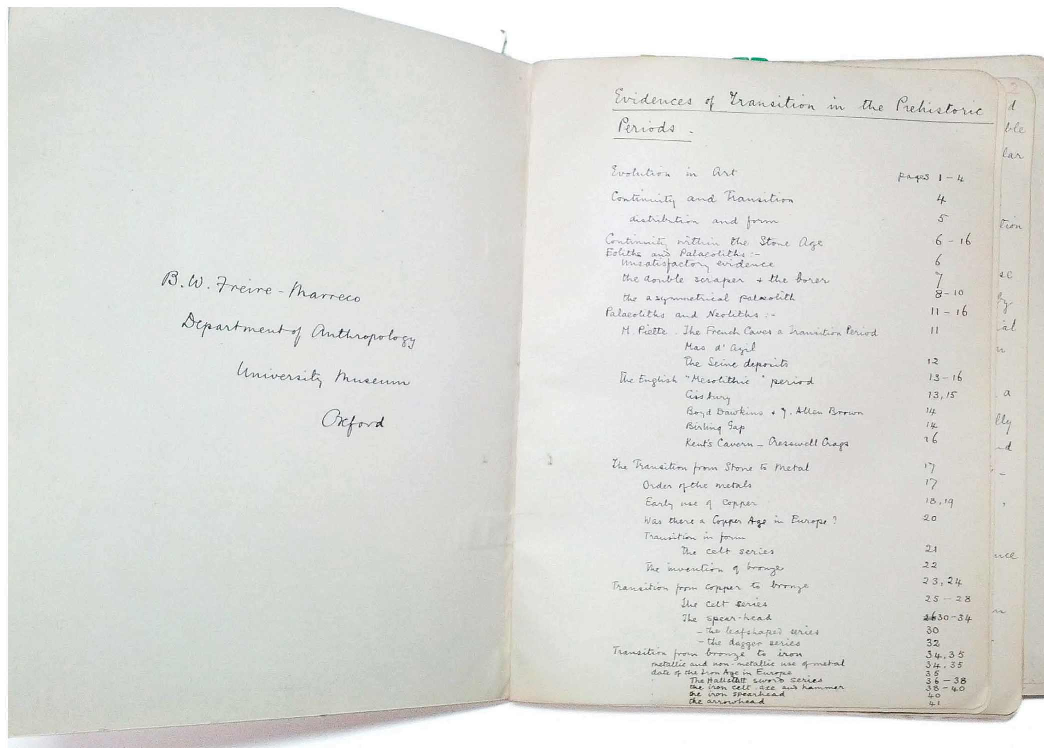
Rivière has described the early years of the Diploma program in terms of 'pre-Great War enthusiasm' (2017: 46). This enthusiasm was accompanied by a sense of urgency that the information on various indigenous people of the world needed to be collected before it was too late. Sera-Shriar (2013) has convincingly argued (and Stocking suggested before him), early salvage anthropologists were deeply concerned with the quality of their data, and training anthropologists that would be able to collect 'good data' was considered important. Haddon for instance spoke of the need for field-anthropologists, ready to extract the deeper meanings of material rather than just collecting quickly and indiscriminately

(Stocking 1984: 80) and W. H. R. Rivers suggested an 'intensive' mode of fieldwork to aid with the quality of the data one could obtain (Rivers 1913).

At Oxford, the students underwent a broad training that was to equip them with the knowledge and skills to gather as much useful data as possible and interpret it meaningfully. Thus, the course consisted of lectures and teaching in Physical Anthropology, Psychology, Prehistoric Archaeology, Philology, and further Special Lectures and Courses. For example, in Michaelmas Term 1910, Henry Balfour offered a special lecture for the Sudan Probationers on 'Comparative Technology, with special reference to the Sudan', Marett 'Social Anthropology with reference to the Sudan' and Freire-Marreco a lecture course on 'The Self-Government of the Pueblo Indians under Spanish and American rules' (OUA DC 1/2). The exam questions reflected the variety of topics but also practical skills expected of the candidates. The questions demanded a breadth of knowledge from across the world and included a practical examination that involved the handling of objects and human remains (see Appendix A).

Teaching provisions for the Diploma were secured from across University departments (Stocking 1995, Van Keuren 1982, Rivière 2007). In the first year, lectures included 'Primitive Man' by Tylor, 'The Moral Aspects of the Social Institutions of Savages' by Marett, 'Prehistoric Greece' by Myres, 'Neolithic Age' by Bell, and 'Social Psychology' by McDougall while many other scholars, including Balfour, Paul Vinogradoff, Arthur Evans, and George Herbertson expressed willingness to give informal instructions. As student numbers increased, so did the number of official lectures but teaching remained dispersed among various departments. Anthropology was a secondary occupation for most

lecturers and the only person with fieldwork experience was William McDougall, the Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy, who in 1911 lectured Diploma students on 'Mental Differences in Human Races' (OUA DC 1/2/3), and had accompanied Alfred Cort Haddon on his second Torres Strait Expedition in 1898.[62]



B.W. Freire-Marreco
Department of Anthropology
University Museum
Oxford

Evidences of Transition in the Prehistoric Periods.

Evolution in Art	pages 1 – 4
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distribution and form	5
Continuity within the Stone Age	6 – 16
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the double scraper + the borer	7
the asymmetrical palaeolith	8 – 10
Palaeoliths and Neoliths :–	11 – 16
M. Piette . The French Caves a Transition Period	11
Mas d'Azil	
The Seine deposits	12
The English "Mesolithic" period	13 – 16
Cissbury	13, 15
Boyd Dawkins + J. Allen Brown	14
Birling Gap	14
Kent's Cavern – Cresswell Crags	16
The Transition from Stone to Metal	17
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Early use of Copper	18, 19
Was there a Copper Age in Europe?	20
Transition in form	
The celt series	21
The invention of bronze	22
Transition from copper to bronze	23, 24
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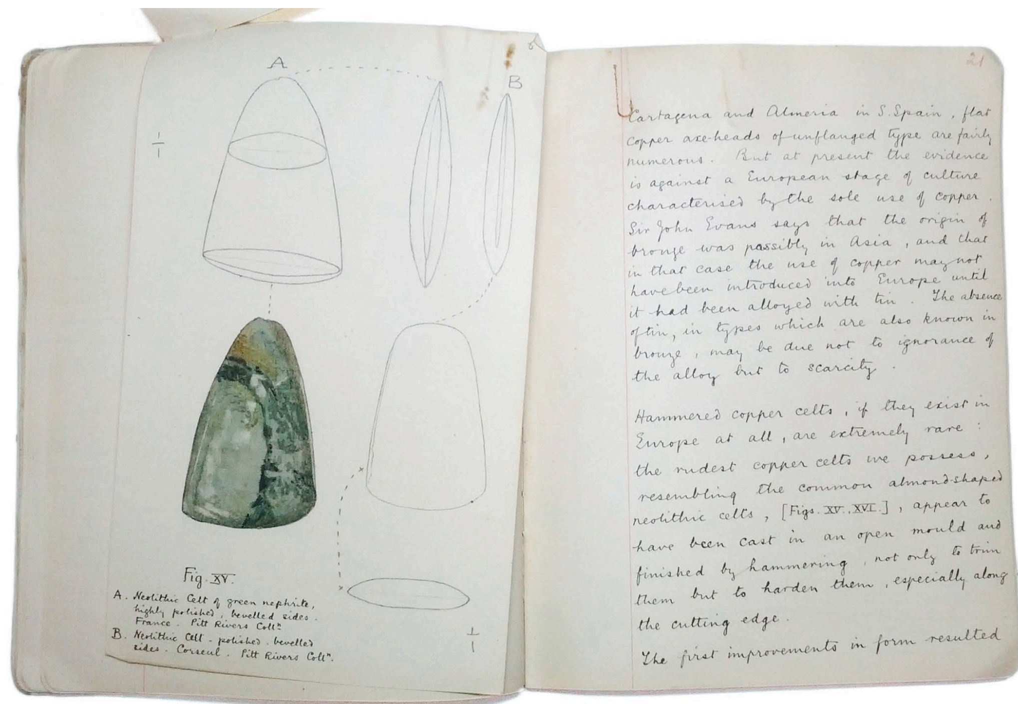
The spear-head	~~26~~30 – 34
– the leafshaped series	30
– the dagger series	32
Transition from bronze to iron	34, 35
metallic and non-metallic use of metal	34. 35
date of the Iron Age in Europe	35
The Hallstatt sword series	36 – 38
the iron celt axe and hammer	38 – 40
the iron spearhead	40
the arrowhead	41

Figure 3.2: Barbara Freire-Marreco's notebook, front page (PRM MS Collection, Freire-Marreco Papers).

[62] Charles Seligman, another graduate of the Torres Strait expedition, also gave a series of guest lectures in 1912 aimed at Sudan Probationers.


A
B
Fig. XV.
A. Neolithic Celt of green nephrite, highly polished, bevelled sides. France. Pitt Rivers Colln.
B. Neolithic Celt - polished. bevelled sides. Corseul. Pitt Rivers Colln.

21

Cartagena and Almeria in S. Spain, flat copper axe-heads of unflanged type are fairly numerous. But at present the evidence is against a European stage of culture characterised by the sole use of copper. Sir John Evans says that the origin of bronze was possibly in Asia, and that in that case the use of copper may not have been introduced into Europe until it had been alloyed with tin. The absence of tin, in types which are also known in bronze, may be due not to ignorance of the alloy but to scarcity.

Hammered copper celts, if they exist in Europe at all, are extremely rare: the rudest copper celts we possess, resembling the common almond-shaped neolithic celts, [Figs. XV., XVI.], appear to have been cast in an open mould and finished by hammering, not only to trim them but to harden them, especially along the cutting edge.

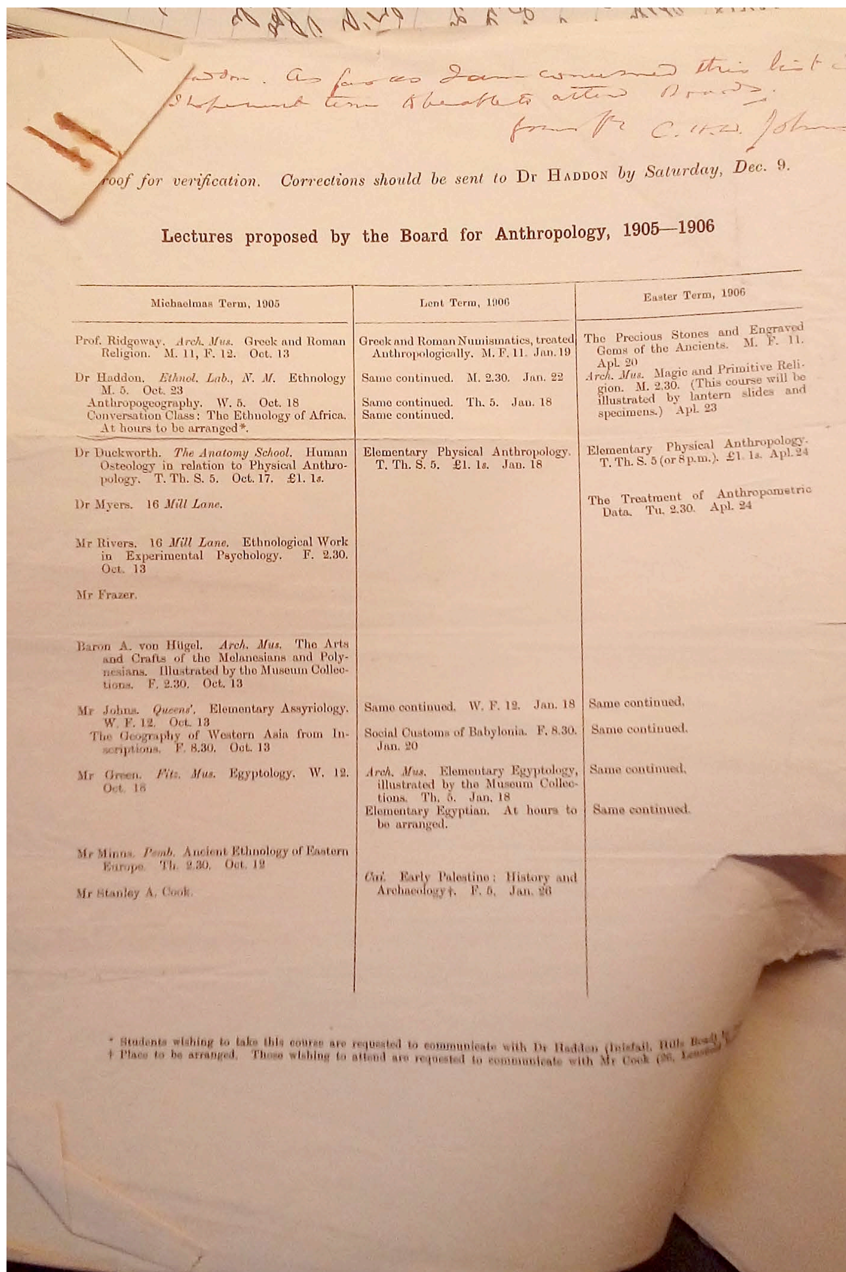
The first improvements in form resulted

Figure 3.3: Barbara Freire-Marreco notebook, section on 'Transition from Stone to Metal' notes (PRM MS Collection, Freire-Marreco Papers).

A broad approach to anthropology that encompassed physical anthropology, ethnology, social anthropology, and geography was practiced in all three universities under discussion. However, the conditions under which these strands were brought together, teaching biases and practices and the particular backgrounds of the teachers all yielded a slightly different ethos to the subject. As already mentioned, anthropology grew out of a base in Human Anatomy both at Oxford and Cambridge and university museums in both were central to the teaching. In fact, in 1913, Haddon argued that a research library and a museum are imperative for anthropological teaching at a university (Temple 1913). However, the museum in Cambridge arose from an antiquarian club and was initially attached to the Fitzwilliam Museum of Archaeology while the Pitt Rivers grew out of Augustus Lane Fox's educational collection and was housed in an annexe to the Natural History Museum. Furthermore, the Pitt Rivers, while

underfunded and lacking teaching space, had a stable existence by the time the Diploma program was established while the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge was rehoused in 1911, seven years after the Board of Anthropology was established. Not only was the Pitt Rivers Museum more explicitly educational from its inception, it was part of the raison d'être of the Diploma course.

The differences go further and are brought into focus when we look at the first proposals for anthropological teaching at Cambridge (see Fig. 3.4). From its inception, Cambridge had courses on specific regions reflecting the specialist knowledge and fieldwork experiences of those giving them. While Henry Balfour would give instruction on 'Technology and Prehistory' using the museum collections for comparative studies, Anatole von Hügel lectured on the 'Arts and Crafts of Polynesians and Melanesians', peoples that he was acquainted with after two years spent in Fiji. Myres had hoped to introduce a specialist element to the Diploma, but his proposals were voted down by Balfour, Marett, and Thomson who argued that 'the inclusion of more specialized study as a compulsory element in the course was likely both to produce an over-weighted curriculum and prevent the acquisition of a sound knowledge of general principles' (OUA DC 1/2/3).



[...]oof for verification. Corrections should be sent to Dr HADDON by Saturday, Dec. 9.

Lectures proposed by the Board for Anthropology, 1905—1906

Michaelmas Term, 1905	Lent Term, 1906	Easter Term, 1906
Prof. Ridgeway. *Arch. Mus.* Greek and Roman Religion. M. 11, F. 12. Oct. 13	Greek and Roman Numismatics, treated Anthropologically. M. F. 11. Jan. 19	The Precious Stones and Engraved Gems of the Ancients. M. F. 11. Apl. 20
Dr Haddon. *Ethnol. Lab., N. M.* Ethnology M. 5. Oct. 23 Anthropogeography. W. 5. Oct. 18 Conversation Class: The Ethnology of Africa. At hours to be arranged*.	Same continued. M. 2.30. Jan. 22 Same continued. Th. 5. Jan. 18 Same continued.	*Arch. Mus.* Magic and Primitive Religion. M. 2.30. (This course will be illustrated by lantern slides and specimens.) Apl. 23
Dr Duckworth. *The Anatomy School.* Human Osteology in relation to Physical Anthropology. T. Th. S. 5. Oct. 17. £1. 1*s*.	Elementary Physical Anthropology. T. Th. S. 5. £1. 1*s*. Jan. 18	Elementary Physical Anthropology. T. Th. S. 5 (or 8 p.m.). £1. 1*s*. Apl. 24
Dr Myers. 16 *Mill Lane.*		The Treatment of Anthropometric Data. Tu. 2.30. Apl. 24
Mr Rivers. 16 *Mill Lane.* Ethnological Work in Experimental Psychology. F. 2.30. Oct. 13		
Mr Frazer.		
Baron A. von Hügel. *Arch. Mus.* The Arts and Crafts of the Melanesians and Polynesians. Illustrated by the Museum Collections. F. 2.30. Oct. 13		
Mr Johns. *Queens'.* Elementary Assyriology. W. F. 12. Oct. 13 The Geography of Western Asia from Inscriptions. F. 8.30. Oct. 13	Same continued. W. F. 12. Jan. 18 Social Customs of Babylonia. F. 8.30. Jan. 20	Same continued. Same continued.
Mr Green. *Fitz. Mus.* Egyptology. W. 12. Oct. 18	*Arch. Mus.* Elementary Egyptology, illustrated by the Museum Collections. Th. 5. Jan. 18 Elementary Egyptian. At hours to be arranged.	Same continued. Same continued.
Mr Minns. *Pemb.* Ancient Ethnology of Eastern Europe. Th. 2.30. Oct. 12		
Mr Stanley A. Cook.	*Cai.* Early Palestine: History and Archaeology†. F. 5. Jan. 26	

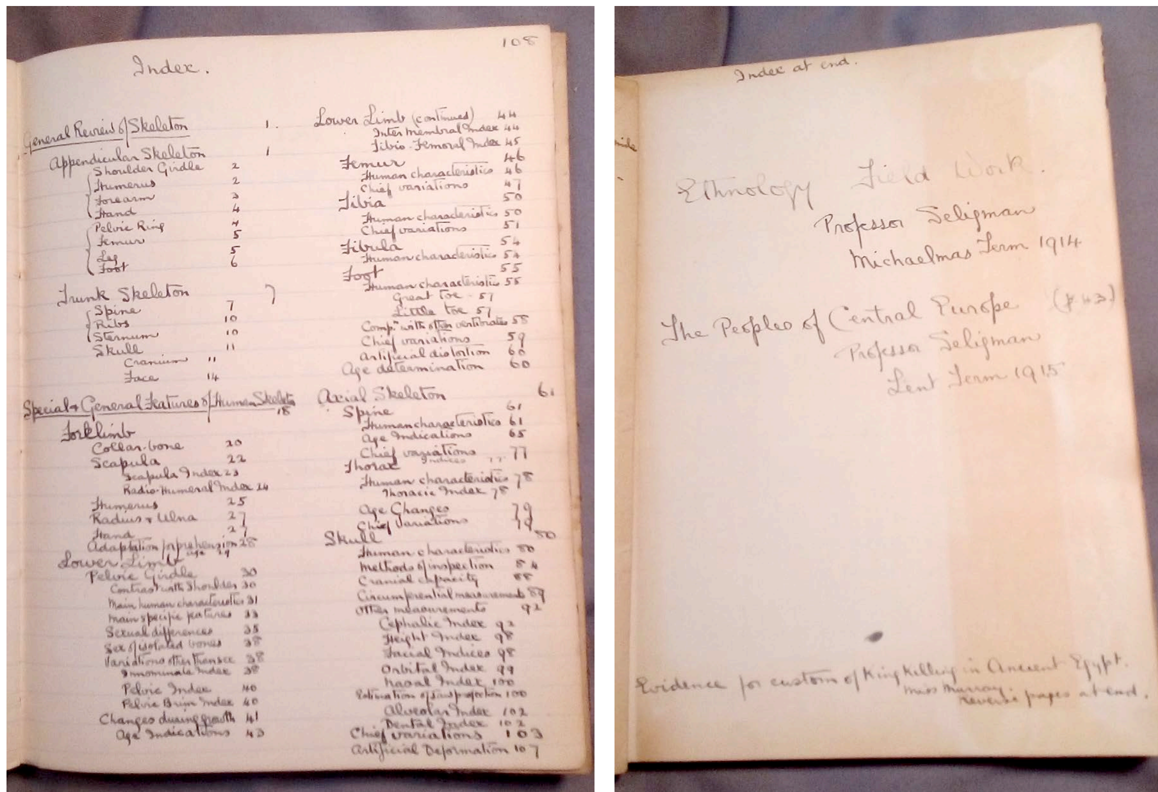
* Students wishing to take this course are requested to communicate with Dr Haddon (Inisfail, Hills Road[...]

† Place to be arranged. Those wishing to attend are requested to communicate with Mr Cook (26, [...]

Figure 3.4: Cambridge Board of Anthropology's proposed lecture list (OUA DC 1/2/2)

Marett, Thomson, and Balfour further feared that too specialist a curriculum would drive students away and thus thwart the scheme before it had a chance to take off (OUA DC 1/2/2). Perhaps they were right, as at Cambridge '[i]n the first fifteen years only five diplomas were awarded, and by 1925 only sixteen students had taken the anthropology tripos which had been established in 1920 (Leach 1984: 22). Thus, while Cambridge put more focus on fieldwork and

even had an endowed studentship to enable anthropological fieldwork[63], the number of students taking the courses was lower.


Index.

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Humerus 2
Forearm 3
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Pelvic Ring 4
Femur 5
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Foot 6
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Index at end.

Ethnology Field Work.
Professor Seligman
Michaelmas Term 1914

The Peoples of Central Europe (#43)
Professor Seligman
Lent Term 1915

Evidence for custom of King killing in Ancient Egypt.
Miss Murray
reverse pages at end.

Figure 3.5: Index from Physical Anthropology notebook and first page of Ethnology notebook by Hilda Lake (LSE Archive, LSE Small deposits/9/1)

It is hard to assess the number of students trained in anthropology at LSE beyond the key figures that went on to conduct fieldwork in the first decades of the twentieths century. Such research students pursued their studies through individual supervision as well as attending seminars, classes, and lectures suggested to them by their supervisor. However, lectures offered and taken by a broader range of students, were not dissimilar from those given at Oxford and Cambridge. A consideration of these other students, who identified with the anthropological project throws light on the similarities and peculiarities of

[63] The Anthony Wilkin (a member of the 1898 Torres Strait expedition) studentship in Ethnology was created after Wilkin's death in 1901 (Barnard 1992: 66)

anthropology taught at LSE. For example, Hilda Barnett (née Lake), who was a student from 1908-1912 and took courses until 1915, gained a degree in Economics in 1915 but in her 1940 response to the Royal Anthropological Institute's census questionnaire, she identified herself as an anthropologist with theoretical training (RAI Archives, A/71/B).[64] At LSE, she took courses on Social Evolution and Structure, Social Institutions, Ethnology, Melanesia, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, Ethnological Fieldwork, Pueblo Indians, Animism in Tava, and many others.

Lecture notes that Barnett studiously took (Fig. 3.5) offer an unprecedented glimpse into the day-to-day teaching in anthropology offered at LSE. What becomes clear is that, as in Cambridge, regional specialisation was much more pronounced than at Oxford. Seligman gave a series of lectures on Melanesia, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and Uganda where he had conducted fieldwork, Freire-Marreco gave two sets of courses on Pueblo Indians, and Westermarck's sociology courses often drew on his intimate knowledge of Moroccan communities. However, Seligman also gave broad instructions in ethnology through lectures that gave an overview of numerous cultural groups and instruction in cognate subjects was also available. Barnett's lecture notes do not reveal an intensive use of museum collections for teaching. Unlike the Pitt Rivers, which was a commanding presence for anthropology students at Oxford, who were expected to identify and comment on its objects and acquire skills to became useful collectors (see also Appendix A), students at LSE were guided

[64]Barnett's case raises interesting questions about the status and role of students in anthropology that are not officially recognised through their work or degree, but who through their training identified with the nascent discipline. In 1940, 410 people returned the census questionnaire to the RAI asking for details and specialisations of anthropologists in the UK. (RAI Archives A/71)

towards the British Museum along with ‘other great libraries and collections of material’[65] in London as resources for research students.

While the Oxford Diploma was the first course specifically designed to train ethnographic fieldworkers in the UK, it emerged at a time when both Cambridge and LSE were also beginning to offer instructions in the field. Active proponents of the subject were part of a small and well-connected community and offered both expertise and guidance to each other in establishing anthropology in universities. All three institutions fostered a broad, inclusive view of anthropology but differences in the background of key teaching staff and institutional peculiarities coloured student experiences and training received. At Oxford, official endorsement from the University did little to facilitate the growth and development of anthropology since the subject relied almost entirely on the existing collegiate and departmental affiliations of its teaching staff as well as student fees for existence. Unlike at Cambridge and LSE, Oxford initially lacked anthropologists with practical experiences, so anthropology was taught by generalists with broad interests in comparative studies. The Human Anatomy Department and the Pitt Rivers Museum were instrumental in anchoring the emerging discipline at the University both in terms of institutional space and employment opportunities, situating anthropology even more strongly as a material and comparative practice.

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[65] ‘Arrangements for Summer term 1911’ (LSE Archives, LSE Small Deposits/135/2, leaflet in notebook ‘Ethnology II’).

Oxford Diploma students

Emerging professional anthropologists

In the months after returning from fieldwork in Siberia, Maria Czaplicka penned two letters to Robert Ranulph Marett to discuss arrangements for a lecture at the Oxford Anthropological Society, and inquire about financial assistance and job prospects both of which she signed off with 'Your "obedient" pupil' (OUA DC 1/4; LCCA EJL 8). There is no clear explanation for this assumed title, but the use of quotation marks suggests that it was a private joke between the student and her mentor, perhaps alluding to the enormous task of compiling the *Aboriginal Siberia* that Czaplicka undertook after a 'light-hearted' suggestion by Marett (Czaplicka 1914a). The description however also reveals an underlying sense of duty and loyalty of the Diploma students and willingness to contribute to the cause pursued by their mentors that carried on into the second half of the century in the works of people such as Beatrice Blackwood and Thomas Penniman (discussed further in Chapter 7).

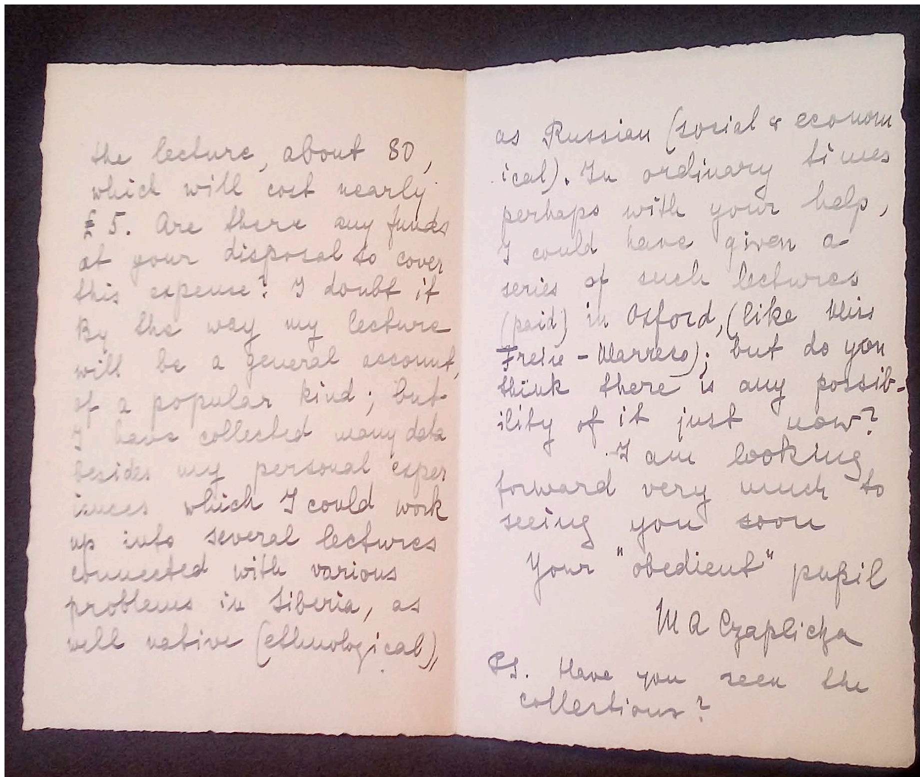
the lecture, about 80,
which will cost nearly
£5. Are there any funds
at your disposal to cover
this expense? I doubt it
By the way my lecture
will be a general account,
of a popular kind; but
I have collected many data
besides my personal exper
iences which I could work
up into several lectures
connected with various
problems in Siberia, as
well native (ethnological),
as Russian (social & econom
ical). In ordinary times
perhaps with your help,
I could have given a
series of such lectures
(paid) in Oxford, (like Miss
Freire-Marreco); but do you
think there is any possib-
ility of it just now?
I am looking
forward very much to
seeing you ~~soon~~
Your "obedient" pupil
M A Czaplicka
P.S. Have you seen the
collections?

Figure 3.6: Czaplicka's letter to Marett, 15 October 1915 (OUA DC 1/4).

The first Anthropology Diploma student was Barbara Freire-Marreco, who according to Rivière started attending lectures in Easter term 1905 with examiners accepting that she entered in Michaelmas term 1906 (Rivière 2017: fn 15). In the next three years another eight started and in 1910 the intake jumped to seven, followed by thirteen in 1911 and sixteen in 1912 (see Fig 3.7) . Students were able to start either in Michaelmas or Easter term[66] and finish at different times, so they did not necessarily form clear-cut cohorts, but the small number of students necessarily meant that those most dedicated to the subject were well acquainted. The Pitt Rivers Museum, where several Diploma students worked before, during, and after their studies became a central space for fostering relationships with each other and the institution. Beatrice Blackwood's archive at

[66] Both 'Easter' and 'Hilary' are used in archival sources to denote the spring term at Oxford.

the Museum is revealing of the longevity of connections between the Diploma students and will be discussed in the following sections.

Marett explained that the Diploma course was first and foremost designed for the 'man preparing to do research in the field' (Marett 1941: 171) and so the trainee researcher could not ignore any part of native life, meaning that the programme was both broad and comprehensive. There were students from other subjects attending certain lectures, but the more rigorous seminars were kept small and aimed at the Diploma students

> partly by introducing a rather more technical treatment of the various topics as time went on, and partly by holding such classes at 9 a.m., thereby most successfully eliminating the casual amateur (Marett 1910, OUA UC/FF/100/6/2).

Although they are not unknown, there has been relatively little consideration of the first anthropology students at Oxford as a group and their role in the development of anthropology.[67] Rivière dedicates a section to them in his chapter but unfortunately limited space means that there is little detail or depth to his account, mostly giving an idea of the number of students matriculating and sitting exams and an overview of students that took on teaching duties during or after their studies. There is mention that 'there were nearly always one or two women on course each year' (Rivière 2007: 50) and that 'fieldwork was part of the course from the very beginning' (*ibid*: 53).

Owing to the relaxed entry rules, Oxford Diploma students were of immensely varied backgrounds. Firstly, there were a variety of qualifications that

[67] However, see biographical writing on Jenness (Jenness et al. 2008), Freire-Marreco (Blair 2008), Scoresby-Routledge (Van Tilburg 2003) and Czaplicka (Kubica 2015a), and the PRM 'Invention of Museum Anthropology' website for lists of students (Petch et al. 2012).

students had prior to commencing the course. Most students in the first decade had an undergraduate degree, many (particularly from abroad) also held a graduate degree (or several), and few came with recommendations from other backgrounds. This was also reflective of the anthropological elite of the time. Notably, Tylor did not have a university degree and was running the family business before an illness took him to Mexico to recuperate and thenceforth to pursue a career in anthropology. Alfred Cort Haddon held a degree in zoology, converting to anthropology during his first voyage to the Torres Strait, while Robert Ranulph Marett was a classicist who developed an interest in 'primitive' religion. Other anthropologists of his generation, such as Westermarck, Boas, Rivers, and Seligman also held degrees in other subjects and developed a knowledge and understanding of anthropology through their own research and field experience. Sandra Rouse underlines the fact that Haddon's generation could only convert to anthropology from another degree (Rouse 1998), but this was also the case with the first academically trained anthropologists since an undergraduate degree in anthropology was not established until 1920 in Cambridge .

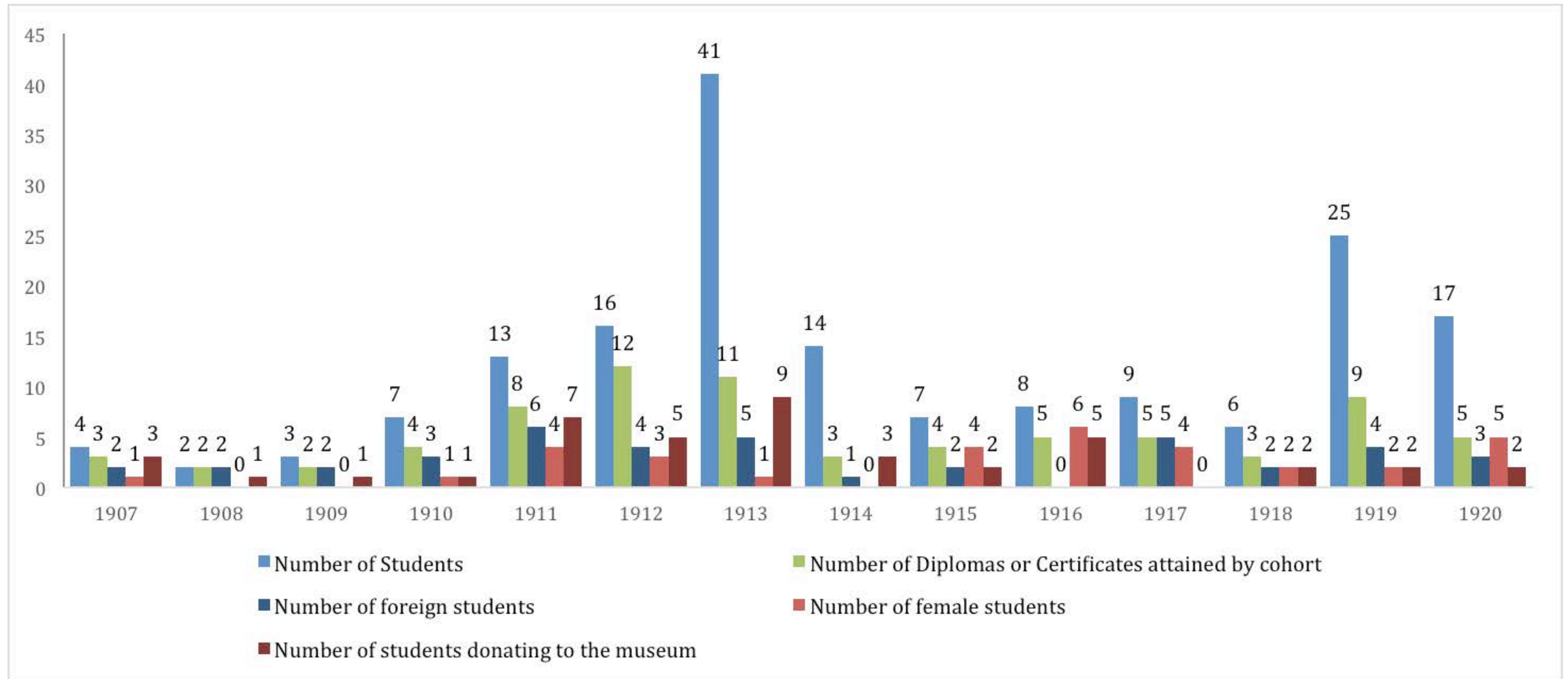

Figure 3.7: Oxford Diploma students 1907-1920[1]

[1] The data for these statistics was obtained from the Invention of Museum Anthropology 1850-1920 website (Petch et al. 2012). Note that the numbers for Diploma and Certificate attainment and foreign students may be slightly inaccurate owing to scarce biographical knowledge on certain individuals.

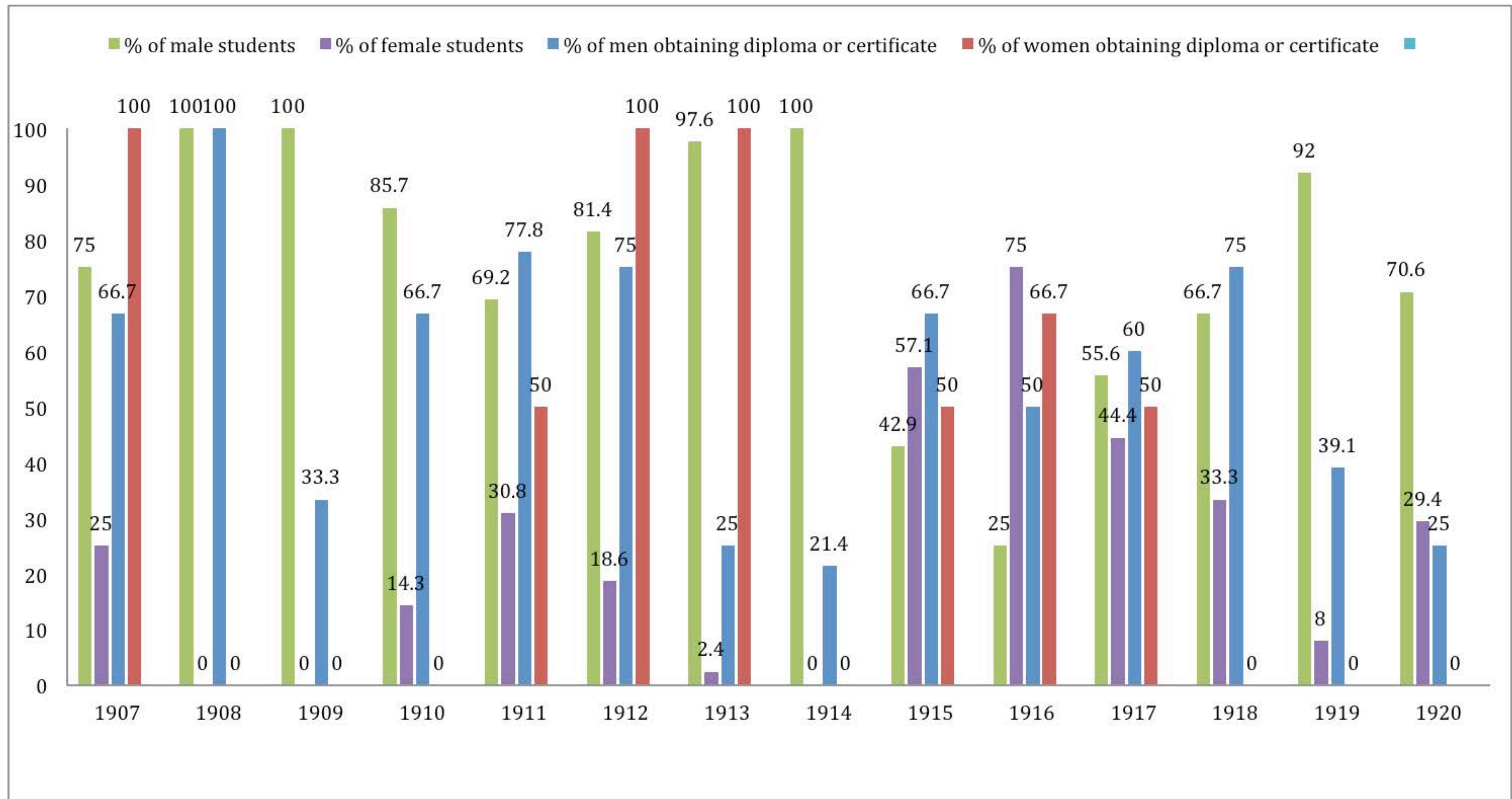

Figure 3.8: Proportion of female and male students in the Diploma programme, 1907-1920.

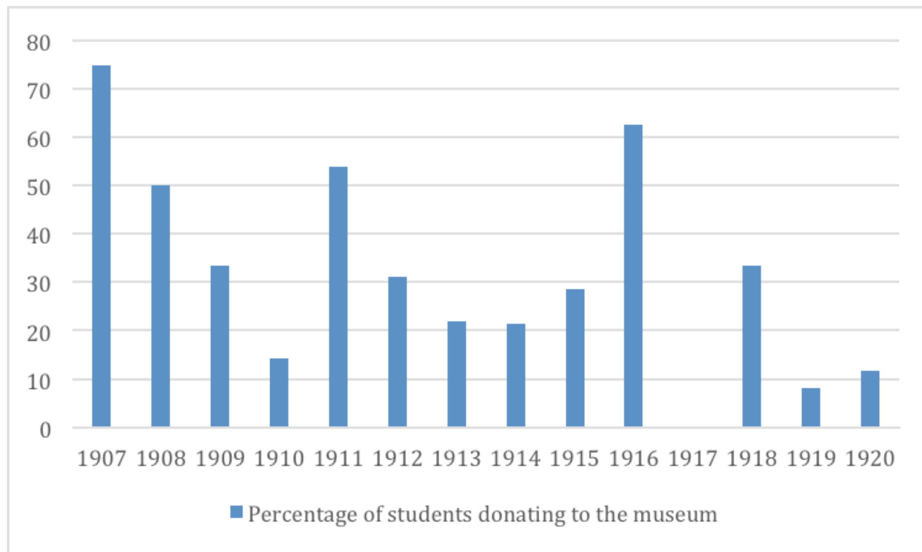

Figure 3.10: Percentage of students from the 1907-1920 intake donating to the Pitt Rivers Museum

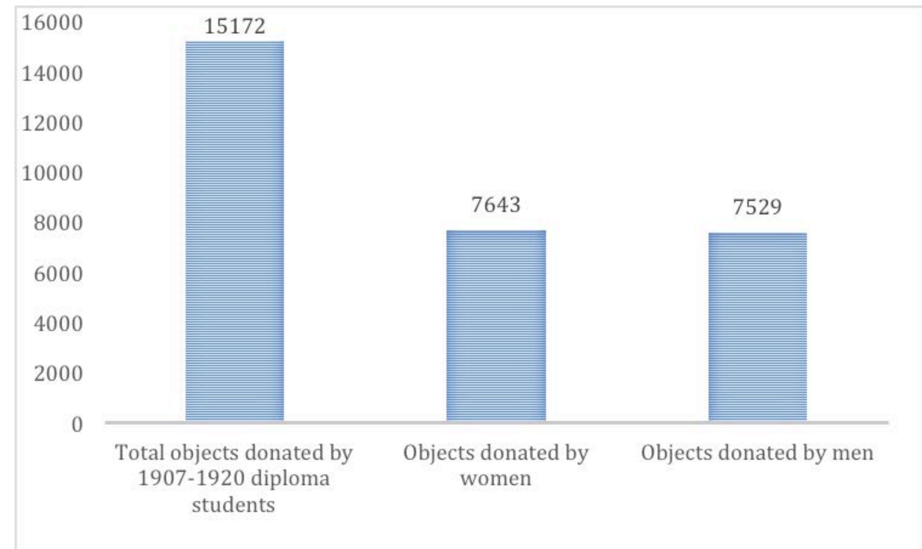

Figure 3.9: Number of objects donated by the 1907-1920 cohort of Diploma students to the Pitt Rivers Museum

The students also came from various nationalities; in fact, around two thirds of those enrolled on the course in the first 5 years were not from the British Isles. Many, such as Wilson Wallis and Marius Barbeau were Rhodes Scholars from North America, others such as Diamond Jenness and James Arthur Hartley were from British dominions, further still there were students from the European continent – for example Maria Czaplicka and a Czech student, Anna Fischer. Many British students had foreign connections - some being born in the colonies (e.g. R. S. Rattray, O. G. S. Crawford) while Barbara Freire-Marreco was born in England to Portuguese parents. Again, this was not unique to Oxford. At the London School of Economics, which Frederik Barth (2005) suggests was the only site of any intellectual development in anthropology between 1898 and 1922, Edvard Westermarck, a Finn, was teaching alongside Charles Seligman and some of their notable students included Finns Gunnar Landtman and Rafael Karsten and a Pole, Bronislaw Malinowski.

As has already been noted, there were nearly always female students among the Diploma candidates. In the initial proposal, members of the congregation pursuing the establishment of the Diploma made it accessible by allowing both members and non-members of the University to enroll as well as students with a previous degree and those undertaking their BA at the University (OUA DC 1/2/3). As women were not able to become members of the University until 1920, this allowance meant that women were also able to undertake the Diploma and thus contribute to the financial self-sufficiency of the course. Indeed, Marett acknowledges that they needed to attract students even though they 'could not promise the makings of an income to the gallant pioneers of both

sexes who, almost one by one at first, but soon in larger numbers... entered for the full Diploma course' (Marett 1941: 169).

Maria Antonina Czaplicka, as a previously educated woman and a foreigner, is thus a good example of an Oxford Diploma in Anthropology student. However, the fact that she was a Polish woman from an unstable financial background does make her position unusual. Her reliance on anthropology as a means to accomplishment and financial security marks her out as particularly invested in the professionalization and success of the discipline. While men such as Haddon and Buxton were similarly anxious to earn a living from anthropological research, they both had fall-back options, such as teaching in biology or an army career, to rely on (Rouse 1998: 67; BLSC MS Myres 6). Czaplicka's family was of impoverished Polish nobility, from whom she inherited all of the aspiration but no financial security. After pursuing education in Poland despite great difficulty, Czaplicka won a prestigious Mianowski Scholarship to study in the UK and was clearly determined to make her career a success (Kubica 2015b). Financially, the only other means would have been to marry or continue as a teacher in Poland.

When Czaplicka started the Diploma in 1911, she was 27 years old and had a considerable educational background in the study of anthropology and geography. Her mentor in Poland was a geographer, Wacław Nałkowski, who encouraged Czaplicka to pursue the study of human geography and she further benefited from instruction in social anthropology at LSE (Kubica 2015b, cf. Chapter 4). Wilson Wallis wrote that students of the Diploma were given considerable freedom to follow their own interests and indeed Marett had

pressed him to develop and pursue his own evidence and argument (Wallis 1957). Thus, we may expect that while Czaplicka would have attended all of the lectures for the Diploma (see Appendix B for the full list of lectures and instructions offered during her studies), and probably many others, she was also free to follow her interests in anthropogeography.

The graduates of the Diploma course very quickly moved on to teaching the course themselves. Barbara Freire-Marreco and Francis Knowles, both in the first cohort attaining the Diploma in 1908, were first to do so. Freire-Marreco gave a series of lectures on the Pueblo Indians in 1912, while Knowles oversaw the practical teaching of Physical Anthropology from 1909 to 1912 (Petch et al. 2012). L. H. D. Buxton was appointed Demonstrator in Physical Anthropology in 1913, a year after attaining the Diploma. Arthur Hocart had already completed several years' worth of fieldwork after taking the Greats examinations at Exeter and before starting the Diploma in 1914. During his Diploma year, he delivered a course of lectures on 'Problems in Anthropology' and served as deputy Wilde's Reader for a term while McDougall was away (Gosden et al. 2006). Thus Maria Czaplicka was following in the footsteps of many previous students when, after returning from her expedition from 1916-1919, she replaced L. H. D. Buxton to become the first female University Lecturer in Ethnology.

The fluidity between the responsibilities of students and teachers is a reflection of the freshness of the subject and the relative lack of suitable teachers. Freire-Marreco gave her lectures after fieldwork in New Mexico, Buxton had worked alongside Myres in Cyprus recording anthropometric measurements, and Hocart spent ten weeks on Eddystone Island as part of a Percy Sladen Trust

expedition and a further four years in Fiji (Stocking 1984: 83). The Diploma course was therefore able to benefit from teaching by scholars who had some fieldwork experience. The roles these young anthropologists had underline the role students played in the early years of anthropological teaching at Oxford.

Networked students and collaborative modes of research

Gosden et al. have argued that anthropology at Oxford 'was built around the Pitt Rivers Museum' (2007b: 26) where 'the complex network of people (most of whom were not professional anthropologists), objects and written documentation helped form anthropology at the time and had a lasting historical impact' (*ibid*: 27). However, the reality of a more material and participatory anthropology continued into the twentieth century through the involvement of the new generation of trained anthropologists in these material practices. Figures 3.9 and 3.10 show that the first cohort of Diploma students became important contributors to the Pitt Rivers Museum, and therefore to the understanding of anthropology at Oxford. Although only a small proportion of donors that had enrolled in the Diploma course embarked on a professional career in anthropology and many did not pursue a certificate or diploma, they were all introduced to *a vision* of anthropology and means of contributing to it. Thus, the objects that were collected and sent to the Pitt Rivers Museum by former students in different fields of life were acquired with this vision in mind and accompanied by detailed information deemed significant by the curator and their former teacher, Henry Balfour. Through the material collection of ethnographic knowledge both in the form of objects and written information, the diploma

students thus became instrumental in cultivating a vision of anthropology both at Oxford and in the wider world.[69]

Figures 3.9 and 3.10 show the number of objects donated by former students and also reveal that women students were in fact more prolific benefactors. This is largely due to the size of Beatrice Blackwood's collection, which totals 6399 objects, however Barbara Freire-Marreco, Katherine Scoresby-Routledge, and Maria Czaplicka were also significant contributors with collections of over two hundred objects each. Among men, the most significant contributors were Francis Knowles, Robert Rattray, Melville Hilton-Simpson, and Louis C. G. Clarke. The prominence of women and Blackwood in particular as object donors suggests that despite the low number of women taking the Diploma between 1907 and 1920, their academic significance as contributors of research objects to anthropology at Oxford in the first half of the twentieth century has been little appreciated to date.

Blackwood, who became a long-term employee of the Pitt Rivers Museum after her move from the Anatomy department in 1935 (Gosden et al. 2007a) also became one of the stalwarts of the original broad conception of the Diploma programme at Oxford. Blackwood in many ways epitomized the broad spectrum of the Diploma. She held an undergraduate degree in English, participated in archaeological excavations in France during her anthropology diploma studies, worked under Arthur Thomson in the Anatomy Department from 1918-1935, conducted fieldwork in North America and Melanesia and worked at the Pitt

[69] The ways in which this vision was perpetuated at Oxford further into the twentieth century will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Rivers Museum from 1936 until after her retirement in 1959 (Larson 2011). Her commitment to the breadth of the diploma course has been ascribed to loyalty to her mentors, the need to preserve the significance of the Pitt Rivers Museum within university teaching, and personal dislike for Radcliffe-Brown (*ibid*); however it is important to recognise that Blackwood was also enmeshed in the network of fellow diploma students. Blackwood's own career grew out of this network; she was introduced to anthropology by Maria Czaplicka and was later taught by her, she worked closely with L. H. D. Buxton (Petch 2012), and she continued to maintain relationships with other former Diploma students. Her archive at the Pitt Rivers Museum reveals that during her career at the Museum, she was in correspondence with Diamond Jenness, Wilson Wallis and his wife, Ruth Wallis, Barbara Freire-Marreco, and Alfred Hooton. She revisited Freire-Marreco's field sites and sought her advice, attended Hilton-Simpson's lectures in 1922 noting down 'advice on undertaking fieldwork, dealing with officials and packing medicine chest' (PRM MS Collections, Blackwood Papers, Box 23, env. 3, p. 19) and collected notes on Marius Barbeau's work. Although there is no surviving correspondence with Francis Knowles, she also collaborated closely with him and wrote his obituary in *Nature*.

It is evident that the diploma students formed a particular network that favoured collaboration. It was fuelled by strong links to a small number of mentors,[70] a shared conception of what anthropology was but also by the material nexus of the Pitt Rivers Museum where the physical space as well as the

[70] For example, Blackwood and Hooton's correspondence appears to have been ignited by the initial letter advising Hooton of Marret's passing (PRM MS Collection, Blackwood papers, Box 2, env. H)

attention demanded by the objects brought former students together. The sense of a shared cause in propelling anthropology as a discipline and collaboration was not one that cultivated the idea of a lone fieldworker. The first Oxford fieldworkers all conducted their work in a collaborative fashion – Jenness first with his brother-in-law Ballantyne and then on the Stefansson Expedition, Freire-Marreco as part of the Santa Fe school in New Mexico, Katherine Scoresby-Routledge with her husband and O. G. S. Crawford, Maria Czpalicka with Henry Usher Hall, Dora Curtis and Maud Haviland and their Sibiriak and Evenki servants and Hilton-Simpson's first fieldwork encounter (prior to starting the Diploma) was with Emil Torday to the Congo basin. Learning from each other about fieldwork and being embedded in the museum, the Diploma students were thus not encouraged to follow a solitary research model.

At the same time, at LSE, which became the hub for the Malinowskian long-term, lone-fieldworker research model, Edvard Westermarck's example of continuous research in Morroco and Charles Seligman's fieldwork with his wife offered alternative models of research.[71] The first anthropology students at LSE had a variety of entries into the field but tended to favour a more solitary, long-term residence. I suggest that this was because the school attracted students with a particular interest in social matters that required longer commitment, was not linked to a collecting institution and Seligman and Westermarck's influence on research students.

[71] Of course, the Seligmans were working in partnership (cf. Chapter 2) and Westermarck relied heavily on the help of his informant (see Shankland 2012) but I would argue that these collaborations were not seen in the same broad terms as partnerships between two or more unrelated Westerners.

Oxford Diploma graduates followed a course that was broad and offered flexibility in terms of pursuing specific interests. It was explicitly designed to give students a strong general knowledge in anthropology thereby facilitating comparative ethnological research. This approach was flavoured by questions stemming from classical scholarship privileged by Myres and Marett but the Diploma was also firmly positioned among Natural Sciences and located in the Natural History and Pitt Rivers Museums. Close links with the museums and training in museum collecting in turn facilitated close and lasting networks between Diploma students, the museum, and their mentors. Overall, the setting in which the Diploma arose and developed favoured a collaborative and material approach to anthropology.

Robert Ranulph Marett – campaigner and mentor

Robert Ranulph Marett has been blamed for the lack of intellectual development that led Oxford anthropology into stagnation (Barth 2005: 26, Kuklick 1991: 265, Rivière 2007). This view is based on his publication record and the unchanged nature of the Diploma curriculum, in which he was responsible for the social anthropology aspect from its inception until the appointment of Radcliffe-Brown in 1937. However, his role as a mentor of anthropology students and supporter of academic anthropology as a practice has largely been overlooked. Perhaps it is because, as Sera-Shriar argues in *The Making of British Anthropology 1813-1871*, the armchair anthropologists of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been judged by modern standards as well as disparaged by the following generation of anthropologists in order to distance the 'new'

fieldwork-based anthropology from the 'old' comparative anthropology. This approach fails to appreciate processes that happened and were facilitated by the 'armchair anthropologists' as crucial stepping-stones for later developments. Consideration of Marett's relationship with Maria Czaplicka and Diamond Jenness illuminates his contribution to the development of anthropology as a mentor and a campaigner.

Wallis's description of studying under Marett in 1908 is a helpful starting point (Wallis 1957). Wallis, along with Diamond Jenness and Marius Barbeau, would individually meet Marett weekly at very informal sessions where each student was able to follow their own interests, with only slight direction from Marett, who would bring up useful suggestions and recommendations. He further reports that beyond formal coursework, significant emphasis was put on pursuing one's own work in vacation time. This is also evident with Czaplicka, who spent considerable time studying in the British Library (Kubica 2015). While Wallis was able to present his studies for a BSc alongside the Diploma, Czaplicka was due to obtain her BSc after completing her research on *Aboriginal Siberia* (SCA, CP; cf. p.70).

The relative lack of formality of the course is also evident in the memorandum on the position of anthropology in the University submitted to the Hebdominal Council in 1904 whose signatories included Tylor, Marett, and Thomson. In this document, the signatories state that the diploma will be awarded to students that satisfy an attendance in courses of instruction, prove diligence in private study under supervision during a period of not less than one year and eventual proficiency in theory and practice of anthropology, which will

be tested in examination. Thus, from the very outset, it was clear that private study was to be an important part of the course. In their response (or lack of) to a question from Hebdomadal Council on the provision of teaching, the signatories replied that across University departments there were people prepared to offer instruction in anthropology. It is evident that from the outset there was no perceived need for specialist teaching fellows; rather, existing staff sympathetic to anthropology were to offer lectures and tutorials focusing on small scale societies and prehistory. Marett, although closer to the subject than most by virtue of his 1899 British Association paper 'Preanimistic religion' and close association with Tylor, was one such person.

In 1905, when the Diploma program was set up, Marett was a sub-rector and fellow of Exeter College and Tutor in Philosophy. He had been elected fellow of the RAI in 1896 (JRAI 30: 9) and his BAAS paper was published in *Folklore* in 1900, following which he became an active correspondent of the society. Bengtson has noted that like many other classically trained scholars of his time, Marett was drawn to anthropology due to perceived similarities in the beliefs and practices of ancient Greeks and Romans and some indigenous communities (1979: 647). He was a 'polyhistorian' of 'broad and many-sided erudition' (Adam 1944: 183) who treated anthropology as history of the 'long-perspective' (Marett 1912). Marett's publication record, which mostly consists of lectures and addresses fashioned into edited volumes, supports Adam's claim that he did not seek to launch a theory or create a magnum opus akin to Frazer's *Golden Bough.* Instead, he took on administrative roles as Rector of Exeter College (1928-1943),

founder of the Oxford University Anthropological Society, President of the Folklore Society (1914-1918), and continued teaching until his death.[72]

> Marett's influence on a considerable number of younger ethnologists – all those who were associated with Oxford – was great, but it was not the influence of a dogmatist who forced his students into the Procrustean bed of some uncompromising theory, for to him a theory had only the value of a working hypothesis. He was indeed the ideal of a stimulating teacher who urged his students to observe accurately and systematically record empiric facts, and in addition inspired them to build up a theory of their own (Adam 1944: 189).

The excerpt above is from Leonhard Adam's obituary to Marett. While it may be expected that Marett's virtues are overstated as the obituary was written at a time when Marett's theoretical influence on anthropology would have been deemed insignificant, archival research supports his characterisation as a charismatic person that had great influence on many of his students.[73] Seen in combination with Marett's relative lack of aspiration to pursue a theoretical agenda in anthropology, these characteristics suggest that his influence on his students is to be sought not in intellectual inclinations but practical guidance and support.

Rivière has argued that it was a 'paradox' that Marett conducted no fieldwork while offering active encouragement for his students to participate in this latest advance in the discipline (2017: 47). This insistence that the two are somehow incompatible demonstrates the prevailing desire in the history of anthropology to have a progression where each development is accepted and built upon. In reality, there was of course no paradox in Marett championing

[72] Notably, Marett's 1920 *Psychology and Folklore* was dedicated to his pupils.
[73] For example, see Smith (2009) on Marett's role on Dorothy Garrod's career.

fieldwork while remaining in his study. Stocking rationalizes Marett's aversion to fieldwork by claiming that he was 'a gentleman academic, for whom anthropology, whether of the sociological or intellectual mode, was always somewhat avocational to his collegiate life' (Stocking 1995: 164). Marett himself explains that for him archaeology was the outdoor activity while anthropology remained an occupation for the library, but 'to anthropologize in the field would have attracted me greatly, had my academic duties permitted it' (Marett 1941: 178). The truth is that Marett could probably have made time for fieldwork – he was clearly able to find a replacement during the BAAS conference in 1914, however he had a comfortable life consisting of teaching, collegiate activities, promoting anthropology and spending a healthy amount of time in Jersey (with family and excavating). Being a philosopher-anthropologist, his interest was with understanding phenomena such as magic and religion, which he felt were universal to humankind and in order to muse about these phenomena he had no need to leave his study. His guidance and support were however crucial for sending aspiring ethnographers into the field to collect good quality data.

Practical guidance in navigating the field

Marett's commitment to developing anthropology in Oxford and supporting his students is evident in his 'proselytizing' (Marett 1941: 172). activities as well as his gathering of support for his students. In the first decade of the Diploma programme, he organized a special course on the relationship between Classics and Anthropology[74], arranged the Oxford excursion for

[74] In 1908, this was published as *Anthropology and the Classics* by Clarendon Press and translated into German in 1910.

Americanists in 1912 and set up the Oxford University Anthropology Society in 1909 and made other attempts to 'interest the wider public of the University in the new venture' (*ibid*: 172). Marett's relationship with Diamond Jenness exemplifies the ways in which he used his position within the University to gather support for his anthropology students. Jenness, a New Zealander who came to study 'the Greats' at Balliol College, became infected with 'anthropo-mania' (OUA DC 1/4, f. 69) and thus enrolled in the Diploma programme in 1908, was awarded the Diploma in 1910 with a Distinction and proposed to conduct fieldwork in Papua New Guinea from 1911 to 1912. Marett negotiated funding for the expedition, liaised with him in contacting various people to buy a suitable outfit and was in regular correspondence with Jenness during the expedition as well as during his participation in the Stefansson Expedition to the Canadian Arctic afterwards. Marett even tried to use his influence to find Jenness a 'better suited' position during the war and later to get him released early so that he could return to academic work in Canada (OUA DC 1/3/1, f.200).

To fund Jenness's expedition, Marett wrote to the Committee for Anthropology as well as individually to a number of colleges, justifying the request by saying that 'fieldwork is *integral* to anthropology' (OUA DC 1/3/1, f. 6, my emphasis). He further suggests that other universities had brought honour upon themselves by supporting such ventures, thus playing on the University's wish to be seen as being at the frontline of science and discovery. Marett knew that fieldwork was a necessary component for anthropology to be a successful science and he used his position to facilitate it.

The networks into which mentors like Marett introduced their students and helped them make necessary acquaintances, is what really enabled fieldwork to happen. This theme is considered in more detail in the following chapter, but some indication of how men like Marett, Haddon, and Seligman were furthering the discipline through their networks and their students is warranted here. Sandra Rouse's discussion of Haddon's influence as a teacher and mentor to a number of students and his efforts in raising anthropology's profile gives a good account of the efforts that his generation of anthropologists made to develop and nurture anthropology. She says, 'for fifty years he [Haddon] was either personally acquainted with or corresponded with most, if not all, of the major figures in anthropology and related disciplines world-wide' (Rouse 1998: 75). This, perhaps to a lesser extent, is also true of Marett; while Haddon wrote letters of introduction to Malinowski and alongside Seligman sought funders for Malinowski's expedition to Australia in 1911, Marett did the same for Diamond Jenness in 1910 and a few years later, for Maria Czaplicka.

The interconnectedness and permeability of these networks and the important role of mentors becomes clear when we consider Czaplicka's career. As she had no private means, Czaplicka was particularly reliant on the help that Marett could arrange for her. After completing the Diploma, Czaplicka started to work on *Aboriginal Siberia*, a textbook style compendium that was going to present the best available information on indigenous people of Siberia to an English-speaking audience. The idea for this work originated from the 1912 International Congress of Americanists, where Marett met several Russian ethnographers working in Siberia and their American colleague, Franz Boas (cf.

Chapter 4) and became interested in the magico-religious types of Siberia. Thereafter he suggested that Czaplicka undertook to introduce Siberian anthropology to English-speaking scholars. Czaplicka duly complied, but the publication of the book was not straightforward; Clarendon Press initially rejected it as it was felt it had little to offer in terms of original thought. However, Marett engaged Arthur Keith, the president of the Royal Anthropological Society and Sir Richard Temple, the president of Section H of the BAAS to provide endorsements of Czaplicka's work and to testify to the inaccessibility of her sources and the consequent need for her work to be available to other scholars (LCCA EJL 8). This had the desired affect and on 27 January 1914, Chapman wrote to Marett that the Delegates of Oxford University Press

> still feel very strongly the difficulty in their producing as a substantive book a compilation which however meritorious is of the nature of raw material and would most suitably be published in such a series as you yourself desiderate. But they are impressed by the terms of your recommendation of Miss Czaplicka's work, and in consideration especially of the inaccessibility of her sources they will not refuse their imprint if the work is completed to your satisfaction and up to the standard of the specimen chapters (OUP Archives, 70/1200)

These internal correspondences make it clear that publishers were uncomfortable and uncertain about publishing a book by a woman with limited credentials, writing to a small audience. Marett's influence and perseverance were instrumental in getting the book out.

Young anthropologists such as Czaplicka thus needed authoritative mentors and referees in order to obtain support from funders and publishers not directly involved with the subject. As a further example, when Haddon

approached the Sladen Trust to obtain funding for Malinowski's expedition to Australia, the latter refused, but were willing to consider giving financial assistance if the expedition was run by Charles Seligman. During the hardship of finding funds for Malinowski, Seligman despairs in a letter to Haddon – 'It is queer that people will find money to publish books which are only extracts from other books yet jibe at providing for field work' (CUL, HP, envelope 4).

Preparations for the Siberian Expedition started some time in 1913 when the writing of Aboriginal Siberia was already underway. Archival material testifies that Czaplicka was initially hoping for financial assistance from Russian sources (SCA, CP), however this funding never materialized. This avenue was proposed and facilitated by Paul Vinogradoff who corresponded with Marett and Czaplicka and made arrangements with Russian colleagues, which to Czaplicka's disappointment did not materialise (cf. Chapter 4).

Marett's connections with the international scholarly community also facilitated the financial assistance received by Czaplicka's expedition companion, Henry Usher Hall. Hall secured substantial funding from the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Penn Museum)[75] in order to collect for them during the expedition. As a result, the 1914 Yenisei expedition has been referred to as a joint venture between them and Oxford University. However, Henry Usher Hall had no prior connection to either the museum or the University of Pennsylvania. In fact, it was Marett that made the

[75] At the time of the expedition, the Museum was usually shortened to 'University Museum'. For avoidance of confusion I use modern abbreviation of Penn Museum.

suggestion for Hall to turn to George Byron Gordon, the Director of the Pennsylvania museum, and provided references for him.

Marett was aware of an expedition to the Amazon that the Pennsylvania University Museum had planned but was no longer undertaking. Henry Usher Hall wrote to Gordon in the autumn of 1913 asking if financial assistance might be available for the expedition, citing the break up of the Amazon expedition and providing references (UPMAA, OD 8/10). Marett also wrote to Gordon on 16 October 1913 about Hall, who he admits to not knowing well, and describes Czaplicka's plans for the expedition; Hall's role was to help with the physical anthropology side (*ibid*). Thus we are seeing a complex web of connections materialise in surviving letters, which testify both to the interconnectedness of the discipline in the early twentieth century, but also to its small size and reliance on references from established figures (who themselves usually did not conduct active fieldwork), enabling anthropologists to conduct fieldwork and collect for institutions that they had sometimes only tangential links to.

Council and collaboration

While Jenness sent Marett detailed accounts both from Papua New Guinea and the Canadian Arctic, Czaplicka instead sent her updates to Emily Penrose, the Principal of Somerville College. I believe there to be several reasons for this. Firstly, Marett was due to attend the BAAS conference in Australia in 1914 and Czaplicka would have known of it, thus sending letters to him would have been difficult. Further, after she learnt of the outbreak of war she assumed (and apparently was led to believe) that Marett had enlisted. In fact she says as

much when she writes to him upon return apologizing that she had not written before, but that she thought he was in 'khaki' (OUA DC 1/4). Indeed, this was Marett's intention, but there was no need of him in Jersey and in Oxford he learnt that the University had decided to keep him from service in order to form the 'skeleton cover' to continue teaching at the University for those who were not in the army (Marett 1941: 209). However, Czaplicka also felt personally closer to Penrose and it was to the Mary Ewart Travelling Trust that she was answerable to in terms of funding.

While there is little evidence remaining, it seems that Marett's relationship with Czaplicka was not as personal as it was with Jenness. The latter had been an undergraduate student of his while the former entered the Diploma programme with clear ambitions. After completing the Diploma in 1911, Jenness wrote to Marett:

> My varsity career is all over now. Will you let me say how grateful I am to you for all your kindness throughout – for your staunch championship of my anthrop. 'mania' & for all the trouble you have had over the expedition. I must succeed in it, if only to justify your faith in me! (OUA DC 1/3/1, f. 69-70)

After his expedition to Papua New Guinea, Jenness asked Marett to 'rewrite it as much as you like, & insert photographic illustrations wherever you think them suitable' (OUA DC 1/3/1, 142), illustrating the complete confidence he had in his mentor, alongside his own inexperience, coupled with a lack of academic focus. In contrast, Czaplicka wrote to Marett upon her return from Siberia with questions about her book deal, arrangements for her lecture at Somerville and financial assistance with lantern slides as well as asking for Marett's assistance

with procuring additional copies of her book. The difference in their interactions reflects both different personal relationships, different stages of their careers, and also a slight shift in fieldwork goals and methods.[76]

Czaplicka was, of course, older than Jenness when she went to the field; she had already studied and taught geography in Poland and attended Seligman's lectures at LSE before doing the Diploma. After writing *Aboriginal Siberia* and spending several years in British anthropological circles, Czaplicka would have been more confident about fieldwork. Coupled with Marett's lack of fieldwork experience and limited knowledge of the geographical area she was studying, there was also little theoretical assistance he could give her, and as already argued, Marett was open-minded when it came to his students' work.

Yet Marett remained a close ally and supporter. In 1921, when Czaplicka was nominated for the Albert Kahn Travelling Fellowship it was Marett who acted as the main referee in her Naturalisation Application. The latter was processed at tremendous speed (four weeks) with the hope that Czaplicka would be a British subject before the fellowship decision was made (National Archives, HO 144/1703/418169).

Czaplicka's self-ascribed title of an 'obedient pupil' most aptly describes her relationship to Marett in the early years, particularly with regard to the writing of *Aboriginal Siberia*, while later, in preparation for the expedition and during her teaching career, Marett primarily acted as a facilitator, lobbying for additional financial backing from the Committee for Anthropology and

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[76] Developments in fieldwork methods are discussed in Chapter 5

suggesting her as a replacement for Buxton. In these roles, Marett was instrumental in shaping the next generation of anthropologists.

Aboriginal Siberia

Maria Czaplicka's first book, *Aboriginal Siberia*, was published in 1914, when she had already left for fieldwork in Siberia. As a product of the desires and aspirations of various actors in anthropological circles in the period, its formation is an ideal case study for analyzing the intellectual and practical state of affairs in the discipline. As already mentioned, the book was suggested to Czaplicka by Marett and did not entail original research. Rather, the aim was to enable existing scholars of anthropology to access material on Siberian indigenes that was otherwise inaccessible due to language barriers. In this way, it was to serve much the same purpose as museums, offering materials for cross-cultural comparison. It epitomized the student and teacher relationship and the fervent aspiration in the period to have comparable data on peoples across the world.

Czaplicka had reached Golchikha at the mouth of the Yenisei by the Kara Sea, when she wrote to Emily Penrose:

> I do hope Clarendon Press will send you at the beginning of next term[77] a copy of my book. I am all anxiety to see how it will look and whether it will be read by anyone. It is not as easy to talk to advantage with the natives as it is to write about them. But so far I have not found out anything that contradicts what I have written. I only wish I could gather enough material here to be able to offer you another book for all you have done for me (Czaplicka and Collins 1999: 69).

[77] Michaelmas Term 1914

In another letter sent on September 6 1914, Czaplicka inquires whether her book has already appeared and if it might be possible to send it to her, as she is very anxious to see it and indeed a copy was sent to her to Monastir-Turukhansk in April 1915 (*ibid*: 72-73). It is evident that she was rather pleased with the book as she states in another letter to Penrose from Krasnoyarsk:

> I am writing to Clarendon Press for several copies of my book to be sent to Moscow. People are quite astonished that my bibliography is so full; they did not know (e.g. the local geographical society) themselves how much material there is. I am proud the two Somerville fellows have been pleased to see it and that it gave you some satisfaction (Czaplicka and Collins 1999: 76).

Czaplicka's anxiety while awaiting the publication, subsequent pride as well as comments about its reception and comparison with fieldwork, provide a departure point for unraveling the content and context of *Aboriginal Siberia*. It is with regard to this book that her self-proclaimed title 'obedient pupil' is most fitting. The success of the book was to solidify Marett's support and create a reputation for her, while the research that went into making it also served as preparation for fieldwork in the Yenisei region.

Aboriginal Siberia is a compendium, it gathers together and categorizes available material on native groups of Siberia and is intended as a handbook for students. First and foremost, its reviewers and publishers saw its value as presenting previously inaccessible material to an English-speaking audience. One may wonder what the incentive was for Czaplicka to write it as it did not employ the comparative method to make original claims nor was it based on fieldwork, something that was actively promoted at the time. The answer lies in the preface

written by Marett, where he confesses that when he made the 'lighthearted' suggestion for Czaplicka to undertake this work, he had not realized its magnitude. His letter to Penrose inquiring about potential funding further clarifies the origin of the book:

> Many admirable observations bearing on the life of the more primitive tribes of Siberia – in particular, the so-called "Hyperboreans" – are at present virtually inaccessible to the scientific world because they lie buried away in reports, periodicals, and so on, written in Russian or some other Slavonic language. I have had the advantage of discussing the matter with Drs. Shternberg and Jochelson, and know how anxious they are that their own work and that of their fellow-anthropologists should be given greater publicity through the medium of some widely spoken tongue, preferably English (SCA, CP).

Marett suggested to Penrose that Czaplicka was well prepared for this task due to her intelligence and language skills and that he himself would oversee the weaker part – her English.

Thus having had the opportunity to meet members of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition, whose report was the only recent source of information (in English) on the native groups in Siberia, and realising the potential for his pupil to undertake this work, Marett proceeded in materialising this desire. While this type of compendium could not make a name for Czaplicka as an influential anthropologist, there were obvious incentives to undertake this work – increased recognition, better chances of support for further work. Czaplicka may also have hoped to earn income from the book, however she never earned royalties from it. The book was only to yield her income after 500 copies were sold. This happened

in 1929, eight years after Czaplicka's death (OUP 200/1002)[78]. The need to please Marett should also not be underestimated – after all, it was his support and influence that could propel her career. Indeed, most reviews of the book give the full title of the work: *Aboriginal Siberia: a study in social anthropology with a preface by R.R. Marett*. The preface by Marett was clearly an important factor to entice readers and give the work additional credibility.

Marett further sought financial means to enable Czaplicka to undertake the task after finishing the Diploma, during which she received a scholarship from Somerville College. We learn from his correspondence with Emily Penrose that the College was unable to provide funding for another year and Marett dismissed Penrose's suggestions that money could be sought from Russian or Polish colleagues, nor through an advertising appeal in the *University Gazette* or *Man*; he called the situation a 'desperate predicament' and suggested that Penrose approach Martin White [79] (SCA, CP). Eventually the year spent researching and writing the book was sponsored by a grant from Somerville College along with two grants from the Bedford College Reid Trust, where Penrose had been Principal before returning to Oxford (Czaplicka 1914a: xiv).

Aboriginal Siberia is divided into four parts: Ethno-Geography, Sociology, Religion, and Pathology – the first three sections grow in length (with Religion being the largest overall) while the last section only contains one chapter on "Arctic Hysteria". The first part gives an account of the geography and climate of the areas under discussion as well as the main groups that will be discussed and

[78] In November 1915, only 70 copies had been sold, increasing to 384 in 1922, and 409 in 1924. In 1969 750 copies were reprinted as part of the Oxford Reprints Series, which was 'intended to make available again Oxford books of lasting worth which have long been unobtainable' (OP 200/1002).
[79] White was the benefactor that financed anthropology teaching positions at LSE.

it is here that Czaplicka also suggests her classification of the groups into Palaeo- and Neo-Siberians, the first being the ancient stock while the latter she dubs newcomers that have acclimatised to Arctic conditions. In other sections she gives an account of various "tribes" according to this classification, covering topics such as the social unit, marriage rules, blood feud, shamanism etc. Not all chapters have the same representation of groups, reflecting the patchwork of sources that she had to rely on. The way in which the subject matter is treated parallels that of contemporary ethnological lectures and is remarkably similar to Czaplicka's own lecture material on 'Slavs' and 'Turks'[80] as well as various lectures by Haddon (CUL HP, envelope 4075).

Czaplicka is credited with a critical and analytical handling of her sources as well as some original treatment of the subject matter. The latter included her classification, analysis of shaman's gender and discussion of 'Arctic Hysteria'. The reviews were generally favourable (Fallaize 1916, Hartland 1915, Carruthers 1915, Lowie 1918, Jochelson 1915), however both her classification system and treatment of the shaman's gender were criticised. In particular, Jochelson, whose work Czaplicka relied on heavily, argues that her hypothesis on the third gender of the shaman does not withstand criticism and refutes Czaplicka's suggestion that he and Bogoras have claimed shamanism to be a North Asian phenomenon (Jochelson 1915). Robert Lowie, reviewing the book in America in 1918 described it as 'a painstaking compilation by an enthusiastic novice' (Lowie 1918: 325). The latter description underlines the sheer amount of work that went into writing the

[80] Some of these survive in the archives of Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge (LCCA EJL) and the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology Library, Oxford.

book (Jochelson counts 230 Russian authored titles in the bibliography) but also suggests that Czaplicka lacked expertise and experience in the subject matter – an odd notion considering that she was one of the first university educated anthropologists in the UK.

Despite the book's shortcomings it has been relatively influential as one of the few English sources on Siberia's indigenous peoples. Czaplicka's classification of Palaeo- and Neo-Siberians, described by Marett as a working classification, and dismissed by Jochelson, was taken up by Haddon, Buxton, and Blackwood (CUL HP; PRM MS Collections Blackwood papers, box 32; Buxton 1925). Further, as Russia became more inaccessible to Western scholars after the October Revolution, the book remained the main reference work on Siberian native groups until 1966 when the English translation of Levin and Potapov's *The Peoples of Siberia* was published (Levin et al. 1964).

It is not clear if Czaplicka would, of her own accord, have chosen Siberia as the regional focus of her studies (she later spent considerable time and effort working on "Slavs" and "Turks" instead of writing up the manuscript). However, once she committed to writing *Aboriginal Siberia*, doing fieldwork elsewhere would have been difficult. Yet, Arctic Siberia is an incredibly challenging area to work in – travel in the tundra is only possible in the winter, the cold is nearly unbearable and necessitates having a lot of provisions, the transportation of which is difficult and costly. These made Czaplicka's chances of a successful 'intensive study of an area' slim. She chose the Evenki, or as they were called then Tungus, as her subject in accordance with the prevailing concerns of anthropologists at the time. Namely, she expected them to be relatively "pure",

being tucked away in the northernmost Tundra with little contact with other groups; they were also relatively unstudied. However, making the move from British libraries to the Arctic field was going to be difficult, more so because Czaplicka did not have an existing support framework in which to conduct her studies in the field. While most British researchers were exploring colonial dominions, where they could rely on the support of colonial administrators, missionaries and teachers, Czaplicka had to rely on knowledge from her books along with a few contacts fashioned through British and St Petersburg contacts. Czaplicka's letter from the field in which she claims not to have found contradictions to her earlier study (cf. p. 170-171) suggests that *Aboriginal Siberia* may have been a hindrance to truly original work, as the fieldwork became a matter of checking its accuracy and adding detail where it was lacking.

Conclusion

The Oxford Diploma in Anthropology was created in order to establish anthropology as a credible university subject and to further its cause. Similar efforts were made at Cambridge and at LSE by a small group of scholars who wished to see the subject thrive. As many authors have pointed out (Kuklick 1991, Rouse 1998, Van Keuren 1982, Urry 1993a, Stocking 1995), the crucial changes that were initiated during this time were to incorporate fieldwork into anthropological research and to train anthropologists who would be able to act as collectors and interpreters. This generation of anthropologists has been overshadowed by their mentors on one side and the Malinowskian influence on British Social Anthropology from the 1920s on the other. In this chapter I have

sought to shift the focus in this period onto students of anthropology and to examine the role they played in the development of the discipline.

It is apparent that students' relationship with their mentors was central to their successes and failures. Robert Ranulph Marett and John Linton Myres, both scholars with strong collegiate and university positions, played a central role in establishing the Diploma in 1905. They further became key mentors to anthropologists such as Barbara Freire-Marreco, L. H. D. Buxton, Diamond Jenness, and Maria Czaplicka. Marett in particular was instrumental in gaining moral and financial support for Jenness and Czaplicka's expeditions, enabling Czaplicka to publish her first book and furthering interest in the subject by establishing and maintaining his role in the Oxford University Anthropological Society. While none of these acts may have resulted in a landmark event in the history of the discipline, they ensured the continuation of the subject at Oxford. Further, the teaching of the Diploma and the research that stemmed from it reflected the transitional nature of the discipline at the time when it was finding its place between fieldwork and study.

The development of anthropology at Oxford after the war did not reflect the rapid movement towards an explicitly social anthropology (as under Malinowski's leadership at LSE) until a Chair in Anthropology was established in 1937, to which A. R. Radcliffe-Brown was appointed. I have argued that in part this was due to the particular context of Oxford anthropology where the Diploma students became enmeshed in a community of mentors and fellow students centred around the Pitt Rivers Museum that fostered a broad, material and collaborative approach to anthropology. While the broad conception and the

perceived need to salvage ethnographic material was analogous to the way anthropology was understood elsewhere, the particular combination of a course attended by students from varied backgrounds, a strong attachment to a museum and allegiance to the vision of anthropology fostered within it, yielded a particular anthropological practice that resisted change even beyond the passing of the triumvirate (Thomson, Marett, Balfour).

Like many of her contemporaries, Maria Czaplicka was spurred on by interests developed during her earlier education and was guided by her mentor at Oxford; she entered the network of influential thinkers by publishing *Aboriginal Siberia* which offered new material for scholars with an interest in anthropology. She was further able to make her mark by embarking on an anthropological expedition to Siberia, lecturing at Oxford and elsewhere and publishing papers. None of this work came easily and as with her contemporaries, she had to struggle for every inch of progression, perhaps more so as she was a woman of modest means. However, immersion in the Diploma programme opened doors that would have otherwise remained shut, and in Robert Ranulph Marett she found a mentor who would assist her in the quest to further the cause of anthropology.

4. International and disciplinary intersections in Maria Czaplicka's work

In the previous chapter I established that anthropology was conceived as a wide-ranging university subject taught by a range of scholars whose networks of influence were instrumental in establishing the discipline and creating research opportunities for their students. This chapter further explores the international and interdisciplinary links emanating from these networks and broad remit of the subject. The international and interdisciplinary character of Maria Czaplicka's career underlines the argument that 'it is misleading speaking of British anthropology as a breed apart' (Wallis 1957: 781) in the early twentieth century as it was not, at the time, distinctly bound in national or disciplinary terms.

Despite clear difficulties in demarcating national traditions, which 'refuse to stay in their separate boxes' (Darnell and Gleach 2014: ii-iii), the histories of anthropology have tended to limit their focus on national contexts (Stocking 1995, Vermeulen et al. 1995, Kuklick 1991, Sera-Shriar 2013). Attempts to populate the history of British anthropology with foreign 'others' (Hann 2005, Kuklick 2008) have suffered from the pre-set division of traditions according to nationalist settings. At the same time, a focus on the theories and practices of a handful of individuals has obscured the interchange of ideas and practical counsel that guided the professionalization of the discipline. While recognising

that there were national influences in various anthropological traditions (Hann 2005), I argue that the fluid interchange of ideas and practical counsel governed the way anthropology was practiced in the formative decades of the early twentieth century. My analysis of the association and influences between various 'schools' and persons in Maria Czaplicka's career demonstrates the intercontinental and interdisciplinary character of the incipient discipline. I argue that learned societies and museums in particular were spaces that fostered this international and interdisciplinary notion of anthropology and were central in shaping Czaplicka's academic career.

In the following pages, I will discuss Czaplicka's anthropological training in Poland and the UK to suggest that the broad scope of the Oxford Diploma program and its links with geography facilitated Czaplicka's ethnological studies following the German anthropogeography tradition. I will further outline the role of scholarly networks in Czaplicka's academic life and highlight the impact of the 1912 International Congress of Americanists on her career. An examination of the influences of Russian ethnographic practice and fieldwork experience in Siberia explores the wider periphery of influence on Czaplicka's ethnographic practice. Finally, Czaplicka's involvement with geographical circles and an aspiration to move to the USA serve as a case study to explore the entanglement of anthropology and geography and argue that there was a strong confluence between the two subjects in the UK at the start of the twentieth century.

Polish roots and anthropogeography

As discussed in Chapter 2, Maria Czaplicka had a scattered education through which she eventually gained the necessary qualifications and experiences to pursue higher education abroad. Her Polish roots were a strong influence in her professional career that saw her traversing the borderland of anthropology and geography and express strong political views in her academic work. I suggest that the close association of geography and anthropology in the Diploma program, links with the Royal Geographical Society and the wide-ranging interests of her mentors at Oxford were particularly conducive for nurturing her existing interests.

After gaining a geography teaching qualification in Warsaw, Czaplicka attended classes at the clandestine Flying University and University for Everyone and studied and worked at the Society of Academic Courses (*Towarzystwo Kursów Naukowych*). One of her teachers there was Wacław Nałkowski (1851-1911) who had a formative influence on Czaplicka (Kubica 2015). Like his disciple, Nałkowski received the Mianowski scholarship to study abroad (1885-1886) but due to lack of funds he never completed his doctorate in Leipzig and thus never held a university position in Poland. He is now however recognised as one of the leading figures of Polish geography at the turn of the century. Nałkowski was a member of the Polish radical intelligentsia and is best known for his writings on political geography. Alongside his political activism, Nałkowski was a prolific writer and an educationalist – he developed a geography textbook for schools in 1876 and earned a living teaching at private schools but also in institutions such as the Society of Academic Courses and received students at home. It was under

these circumstances that Czaplicka studied with him and became close friends with his daughter, Zofia Nałkowska (Kubica 2015).

Nałkowski followed emerging trends in geography at the end of the nineteenth century and like his contemporary, Friedrich Ratzel[81] was heavily influenced by Darwinian evolutionism and the emerging methods in empirical science. However, Nałkowski saw the aim of geography first and foremost as a site of synthesis, generalisation and understanding general laws of phenomena. Thus, for him, geography was akin to philosophy, albeit offering 'partial' rather than full synthesis (Babicz 1962). The central question for Nałkowski was the relationship between Man and Nature. In this respect, Nałkowski was less deterministic than Ratzel and moved beyond Ritter's[82] one-sided view of the natural environment affecting and shaping humans (*ibid*). Franz Boas, who was also influenced by Ritterian geography, held similar views as he sought to 'stress human-environment interactions in geography, and particularly their mutual influence' (Powell 2015: 23). Influenced by Marxists and the Polish progressive socialist movement, Nałkowski asserted that the relationship between humans and nature was always linked to the cultural progression of the people and insisted that human evolution was more complex than that of other living organisms due to their ability to adjust to and influence their environment. Nałkowski's interest in pushing the boundaries of geography, investigating the social as well as environmental conditions of people and interest in discerning

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[81] Ratzel (1844-1904) was a German geographer and ethnographer whose chief interests lay in human migration, cultural borrowing, and the relation between man and the many factors of his physical environment (Encyclopædia Britannica)

[82] Carl Ritter (1779-1859 is, with Alexander Humboldt, widely considered to be one of the founding figures of modern empirical geography

general laws were all closely aligned with the emerging discipline of anthropology that he encouraged Czaplicka to pursue (Kubica 2015). The purpose of Czaplicka's studies in London funded by the Mianowski scholarship was to work on a book 'Peoples of the Globe' (Kubica 2015). It appears that this project never materialised, however her later work in *Aboriginal Siberia* and articles for the *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* certainly suggest a preference for descriptive work based on library studies that situated indigenous groups in their geographical and historical settings.

The broad approach to anthropology that prevailed in the UK when Czaplicka first undertook her studies at the LSE and Oxford was conducive to the type of comparative human-geography that she set out to do. It is clear that there was also a general awareness of the developments in German human-geography among British anthropologists even if the relationship was not particularly close. For example, Tylor's introduction to Ratzel's *History of Mankind* (1896) does little to either endorse or criticize the volume. Indeed, in a manner suitable to an English gentleman, Tylor asserts that 'to discuss the theoretical part, attacking or defending Professor Ratzel's views… would be to go outside the purpose of this introduction', instead opting to praise the usefulness of this 'lesson-book for the learner' and 'reference book for the learned' in terms of its content and particularly its wealth of illustrations (Ratzel et al. 1896: vi, xi). It is noteworthy that the book was introduced by the leading anthropologist of the UK rather than a geographer and that another Oxford-based anthropologist, Henry Balfour, proofread the volume (translator's note in Ratzel 1896). It appears that Czaplicka also felt that her new mentors in Oxford followed ideas compatible with her

previous education. In her favourable review of *Notes and Queries* in the Russian journal - *Ethnographic Review,* Czaplicka suggests that John Linton Myres, in his numerous contributions to the volume, follows the anthropogeographical ideas of Ratzel and de Preville[83] in explaining social facts

Shortly after completing her course in Oxford, Czaplicka gave a paper at the 1913 British Association for the Advancement of Science (BAAS) meeting in Birmingham. Her paper, 'The Influence of Environment upon the Religious Ideas and Practices of the Aborigines of Northeast Asia', later published in *Folklore*, displays her commitment to the anthropogeographical outlook. In the article she defines 'environment' not just as the physical conditions but also the botanical and zoological conditions of a locality and thus argues that it is bound to play a large part in 'determining the nature of the mentality of the inhabitants and in moulding the form of their religious institutions' (Czaplicka 1914b: 34). In order to demonstrate this reasoning, she examines the characteristics of shamanism in Northern Asia with reference to two types of geographical environment (tundra and continental steppes) inhabited by 'neo' and 'palaeo-siberians' and argues that the differences between the two demonstrate that 'environmental conditions' form the main part of indigenous mentality (*ibid*). The concept of 'mentality' was further explored in chapters on shamanism and 'Arctic hysteria' in *Aboriginal Siberia*. Environmental descriptions continued to featured heavily in her later writings and lectures. For example, in 1918 Czaplicka was giving public L.C.C.

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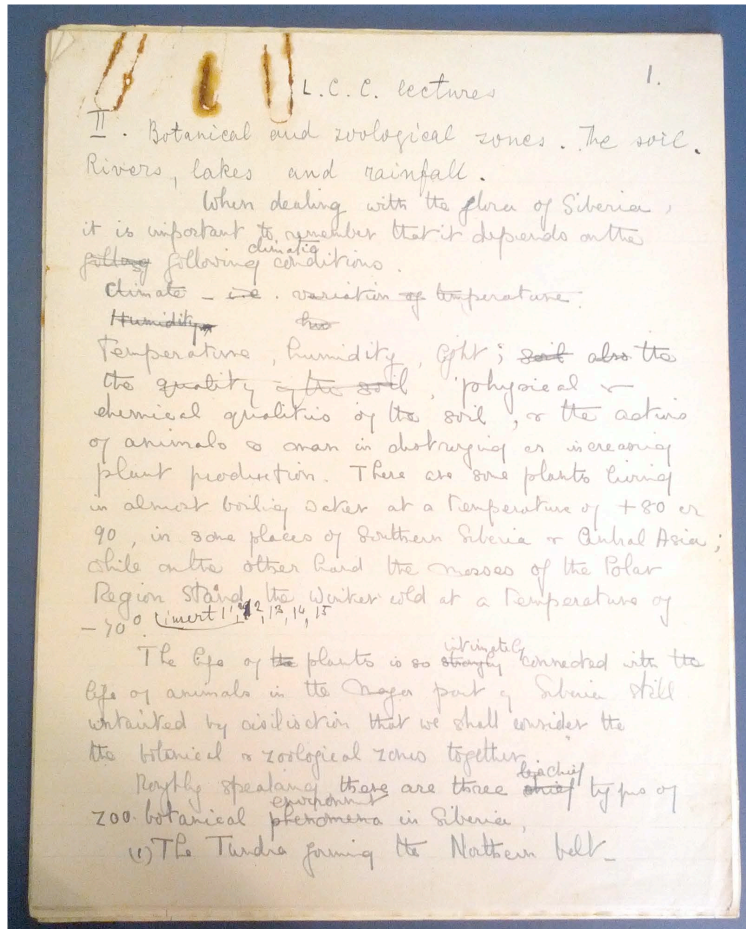
[83] Louis Armand Barbier de Preville (1842 -?) was a French ethnologist best known for his *Les Societes Africaines: Leur Origine, Leur Evolution, Leur Avenir* (1894) which was concerned with types of societies prevalent in Africa and their relationship with environmental context (Heawood 1895, Haddon 1918)

(London County Council) lectures at the London School of Oriental Studies in which she described the botanical and zoological zones of Siberia at length (see Fig. 4.1.).


L.C.C. lectures 1.

II. Botanical and zoological zones. The soil. Rivers, lakes and rainfall.

When dealing with the flora of Siberia, it is important to remember that it depends on the following climatic conditions.

Temperature, humidity, light; also the quality, physical & chemical qualities of the soil, & the action of animals & man in destroying or increasing plant production. There are some plants living in almost boiling water at a temperature of +80 or 90, in some places of Southern Siberia & Central Asia; while on the other hand the mosses of the Polar Region stand the winter cold at a temperature of −70°. (insert 11, 12, 13, 14, 15

The life of the plants is so intimately connected with the life of animals in the major part of Siberia still untainted by civilisation that we shall consider the botanical & zoological zones together.

Roughly speaking there are three chief types of zoo-botanical environment in Siberia,

(1) The Tundra forming the Northern belt –

Figure 4.1: Maria Czaplicka's L.C.C. lecture notes (LCCA EJL 8)

Maria Czaplicka’s education in geography set her on a course to pursue anthropology in the UK along the lines outlined by the German anthropogeography movement. The conception of the new discipline as a broad, comparative study in human history allowed and nurtured such an approach. At Oxford, the centrality of the Pitt Rivers Museum, which fostered a comparative approach to material culture, and the Human Anatomy department with a focus on physical anthropology, was especially favourable to Czaplicka’s interests. Growing up in partitioned Poland and as a member of impoverished nobility,

participating in underground education and mixing with radical intelligentsia also primed her for sympathy towards the Russian ethnographic tradition, which was largely set up by scholars with similarly politically charged backgrounds. Czaplicka's educational and personal background did not determine her career, but her skills and knowledge did suggest work in the Russian North to her mentors, which in turn further strengthened her existing interest in human-geography, physical anthropology and wider interest in political and economic conditions of inhabitants of Siberia.

Entering Social and Academic Networks

As pointed out in the previous chapter, few of the Oxford teaching staff had fieldwork experience but it was deemed crucial for developing and improving anthropology. And to go to the field was to enter into international and interdisciplinary networks of collaboration and exchange. It is at this point that universities and tutors were most influential as access to funding, academic circles and government officials for fieldwork and research purposes was acquired through personal contacts, recommendations and institutional support. Most anthropology students were able to garner some assistance through their own social circles as the field was very much dominated by members of the 'intellectual aristocracy' and upper middle classes; however even for them, their mentors were essential in getting established. For example, Myres arranged for Freire-Marreco to make acquaintance with Alice Fletcher, a leading figure in the founding of the Santa Fe school, which became Freire-Marreco's field base (BLSC MS Myres, 8). Freire-Marreco also introduced *Notes and Queries* to her American

colleagues[84] and collaborated with Wilfred William Robbins and John Peabody Harrington (Robbins et al. 1916). After his first expedition to Papua New Guinea, Diamond Jenness, received an offer from Edward Sapir, 'Barbeau's chief' (Jenness to Marett, OUA DC 1/3/1, 122) to join Vilhjalmur Stefansson's expedition to the Canadian Arctic and then followed in Sapir's footsteps to become the Chief of Anthropology at the National Museum of Canada.[85]

The key figures in British anthropology acted as brokers and mentors who connected their disciples into the academic networks that made anthropological work possible. Academic communities and particularly those of anthropology were small and comprised of elite members of the society resulting in an ease and fluidity of interaction between its members. People such as Haddon, Rivers, Myres, Marett and Balfour were influential across disciplines, evidenced in their activities in learned societies such as the Royal Geographical Society, the Royal Anthropological Institute, the Folklore Society and the British Association for the Advancement of Science and participation in congresses and meetings. In such contexts, they were able to promote the 'Science of Man' and meet their counterparts from abroad while their international reputation allowed them to forge opportunities for their students. It is noteworthy that personal references were a prerequisite for acceptance in societies such as the RGS and the RAI whose fellowship was a form of symbolic capital and opened doors for funding and training as well as opportunities to socialise with other fellows. These

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[84] In March 1913, Freire-Marreco wrote to Myres 'Notes and Queries is most useful to me – its chief fault is, that Mr Owen of the Field Museum, who is collecting at Second Mesa, likes it so much that he borrows it all the time' (BLSC MS Myres, 16)

[85] Marius Barbeau studied with Jenness and Wilson Wallis for the Diploma between 1908 and 1910.

societies and institutional and private benefactors did not adhere to strict disciplinary boundaries, instead supporting ethnographic fieldwork whose aim was provide information for the wider benefit of academia, governance and museum collections. British anthropologists (and I use the term loosely, referring to those emerging from British institutions) entering international arenas were to their main supporters, on a par with students of geography and explorers of the nineteenth century. During the period when anthropology had not fully established itself or secured stable funding, its disciples relied heavily on interdisciplinary and international networks. The 1912 International Congress of Americanists, which became a pivotal point in Maria Czaplicka's career, was one such networking event, where leading international scholars met, discussed ideas, exchanged materials, and sought opportunities for further research and collaboration.

International Congress of Americanists

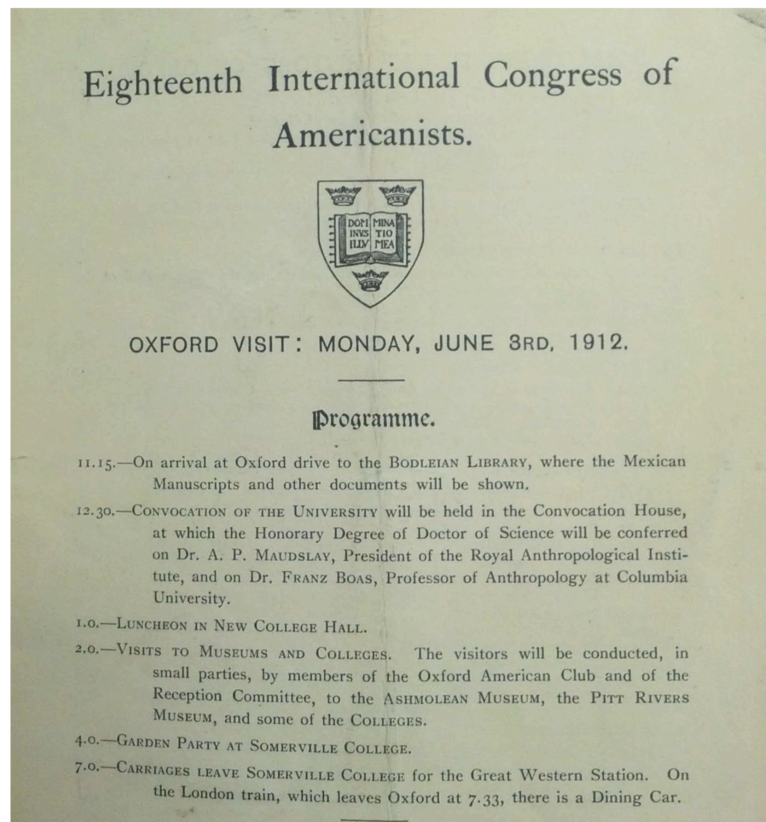
At the closing meeting of the 1910 International Congress of Americanists in Mexico it was decided that the next conference would be held in London in 1912. The Royal Anthropological Institute invited the congress to London and at least formally was at the helm of organising the international event.[86] The organizing committee included R.R. Marett, Henry Balfour and J.L. Myres from Oxford (Boas and Breton 1913). The congress constituted a decisive point in Maria Czaplicka's career, as it was there that Marett met Lev Shternberg and Vladimir Jochelson alongside Franz Boas and was alerted to anthropological

[86] In practice the organization of the conference fell largely to its chairman Alfred P. Maudsley and Honorary Assistant Secretary and Treasurer Adela Breton with the latter complaining that the RAI's resources were simply insufficient to offer much assistance (McVicker 2005).

research done by Russian scholars inaccessible to English readers due to the language barrier. In his letter to Emily Penrose later that year, Marett said that Shternberg and Jochelson were anxious 'that their own work and that of their fellow-anthropologists should be given greater publicity through the medium of some widely spoken tongue' and that 'Miss Czaplicka, as familiar with Polish, Russian and English, might profitably devote herself to a synthesis of recent Russian work on the tribes of the far North' (SCA CP). This proposal was apparently received with enthusiasm and Shternberg and Jochleson 'undertook to supply her with the fullest information as to literary sources' (*ibid*). Czaplicka's research and collaboration with Russian colleagues resulted in *Aboriginal Siberia* (Czaplicka 1914a), which included thirteen photographs from Peter the Great Museum and three from Bronislaw Pilsudski's collection (probably provided by Franz Boas). The research for the book also led to plans for original fieldwork in Siberia facilitated by the contacts made in 1912.

To understand the context from which *Aboriginal Siberia* and the Yenisei Expedition arose and within which Czaplicka's anthropological career was shaped, we must understand how the international networks were created and maintained. The International Congress of Americanists was an event at which the leading figures of American anthropology, linguistics, archaeology, history and ethnology gathered to share their research. However, it was also a site of sociability for delegates, their companions and members of the hosting nation. It is the social sphere of the conference that I wish to focus on; as it was in this arena that Czaplicka's future career was set on its path.

The preliminary meeting of the congress was held on the 27th May 1912 at the University of London where after various council positions were conferred on 'distinguished members' and the 'Organizing Committee entertained the members of the Permanent Council to luncheon at the South Kensington Hotel' (Boas and Breton 1913: xxii). After lunch, the Inaugural Meeting of the Congress was held at the Jehangir Hall of the University 'in the presence of a distinguished audience, including the representatives of thirty-three Governments and of sixty-five Universities and Learned Societies' who listened to the Presidential Address of Sir Markham. In the following week, the delegates attended meetings and listened to presentations but they were also invited on excursions to Cambridge and Oxford (see Fig. 4.2), to view private collections and visit prehistoric and historic sites and were entertained at luncheons, tea parties, receptions and dinners. Every night of the congress ended with some form of entertainment including a soirée at the Natural History Museum and the 'splendid reception' (*ibid*: lxxi) by the American ambassador at Dorchester house.


Eighteenth International Congress of Americanists.

OXFORD VISIT: MONDAY, JUNE 3RD, 1912.

Programme.

11.15.—On arrival at Oxford drive to the BODLEIAN LIBRARY, where the Mexican Manuscripts and other documents will be shown.

12.30.—CONVOCATION OF THE UNIVERSITY will be held in the Convocation House, at which the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Science will be conferred on Dr. A. P. MAUDSLAY, President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and on Dr. FRANZ BOAS, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University.

1.0.—LUNCHEON IN NEW COLLEGE HALL.

2.0.—VISITS TO MUSEUMS AND COLLEGES. The visitors will be conducted, in small parties, by members of the Oxford American Club and of the Reception Committee, to the ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, the PITT RIVERS MUSEUM, and some of the COLLEGES.

4.0.—GARDEN PARTY AT SOMERVILLE COLLEGE.

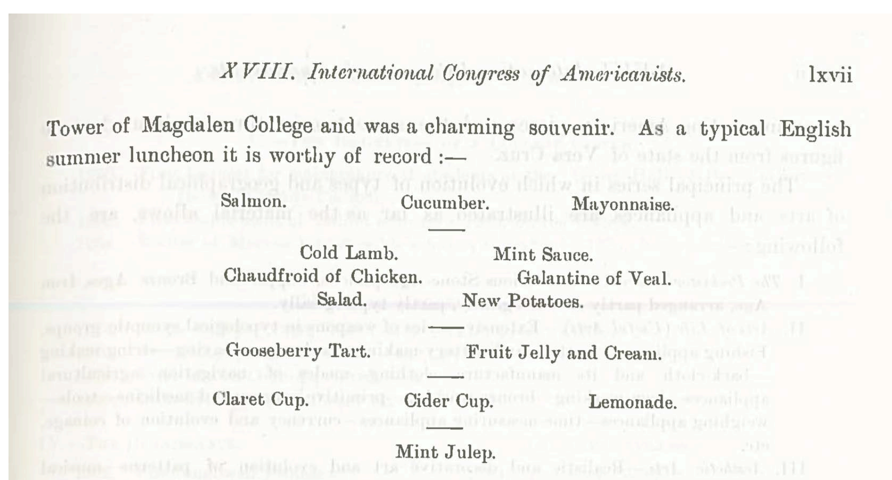
7.0.—CARRIAGES LEAVE SOMERVILLE COLLEGE for the Great Western Station. On the London train, which leaves Oxford at 7.33, there is a Dining Car.

Figure 4.2: Detail of the Oxford excursion programme for the International Congress of Americanists (SCA, Log Book Vol. 2)

In the *Proceedings* (Breton and Boas 1913) of the London session of the International Congress, the excursion covered in greatest detail was that to Oxford. The editors devoted seven pages to this visit compared to half a page that Cambridge and 'other excursions' get each. Perhaps this was because Adela Breton, who carried the main responsibility of editing the proceedings,[87] accompanied the delegates on this excursion or the effort put into the event by the Oxford reception committee. Members of the latter certainly saw an opportunity to strengthen the position of anthropology at Oxford. For Marett, it gave an opportunity to collaborate with Franz Boas on setting up the International Congress of Anthropology (Shankland 2015, APS Boas

[87] The other editor was Franz Boas, who received an honorary degree from Oxford during the visit but he recognised that Breton bore the brunt of the work (MacVickers 2005: 169)

correspondence). The visit was slightly longer than the one to Cambridge and besides usual college and museum visits, included a lunch with the Vice-Chancellor at New College, a degree ceremony where honorary degrees were conferred on Franz Boas and Alfred Maudsley, a special viewing of Mexican codices at the Bodleian, which MacVickers believed to be 'a highlight of the congress for many delegates' (MacVickers 2005: 164), and a garden party at Somerville College. The unusually detailed description in the *Proceedings* not only relays the degree ceremony speeches in Latin but also notes that the menu card from the lunch 'was headed by a view of the Towers of Oxford from the Bell Tower of Magdalen College and was a charming souvenir' and gives details of the food offered (see Fig. 4.3). The editors even included a history of mint julep at New College. This almost excessive detail of non-academic context of the congress demonstrates the significance attributed to a good welcome and the sociability of the event.


XVIII. International Congress of Americanists. lxvii

Tower of Magdalen College and was a charming souvenir. As a typical English summer luncheon it is worthy of record :—

Salmon. Cucumber. Mayonnaise.

Cold Lamb. Mint Sauce.
Chaudfroid of Chicken. Galantine of Veal.
Salad. New Potatoes.

Gooseberry Tart. Fruit Jelly and Cream.

Claret Cup. Cider Cup. Lemonade.

Mint Julep.

Figure 4.3: Lunch menu served at New College to delegates. Reproduced from p. lxvii of the *Proceedings* (1913)

Maria Czaplicka's name does not appear among the lunch attendees or the welcoming committee and she was not a delegate at the congress. Yet it is evident that Czaplicka met some delegates at Oxford since on 5 June she sent Lev

Shternberg a postcard to London inviting him to the Oxford University Anthropological Society lecture at Oxford (RAS Archive, f. 282., op 2, f. 308., p. 10). Kubica suggests that Czaplicka was one of the 'hostesses' at the Somerville garden party (Kubica 2015: 170), which may be true although there are no archival traces to prove it. The *Proceedings* only refers to 'pretty girl students' (Boas and Breton 1913: lxviii) serving tea after which Morris dancers from Eynsham entertained the guests. Certainly, it seems likely that Czaplicka would have been present at the party hosted at her college and quite probably also helped with excursions to colleges and museums.

However, it is not just the fleeting meetings that Czaplicka may have had with Lev Shternberg and Vladimir Jochleson which are worthy of notice. Members of British academic and political circles created a cordial atmosphere and space for socialising that were conducive to anthropological cooperation and future work. Events such as this became the arena where relationships for exchange and cooperation were fashioned. For example, Sergei Korsun has traced the importance that Americanist links played in furthering ethnography in Russia by linking them to the efforts of St Petersburg's Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography (MAE) to grow their collections (Korsun 2010).

Preparations for a new exhibition at MAE in 1902-3 led to the realisation that the museum had significant regional and cultural gaps in its collections and caused its director, Vasilii Radlov, to seek the expertise of foreign museums. This in turn resulted in Lev Shternberg undertaking several international trips of which his attendance at Americanist Congresses in Geneva, Vienna, and London were perhaps most significant. Increasing cooperation with museums abroad

meant that the museum needed to collect more actively in order to exchange objects with other museums. Having duplicate objects or even entire collections was standard in order to facilitate collecting via exchanges with other institutions and MAE was well placed to supply museums abroad with Siberian collections. For example, at the 1908 Congress in Vienna, Shternberg secured an agreement for the exchange of material with the *Naturhistoriska riksmuseet* in Sweden (Korsun 2010: 18). The congresses continued to serve as an important platform for Russian scholars to network and cooperate with their colleagues and the 1912 Congress was no exception.

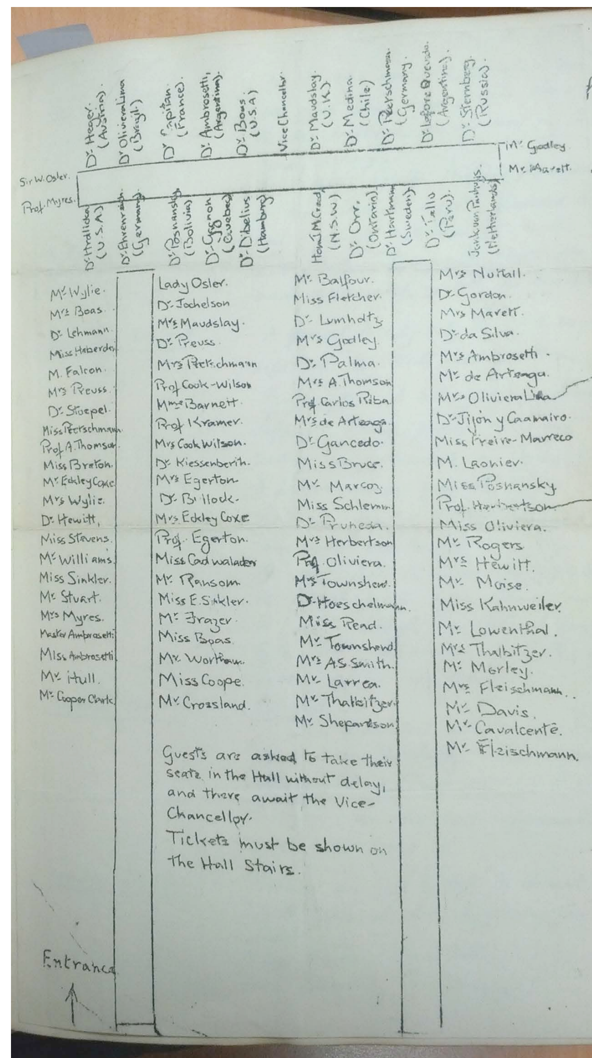


Figure 4.4: Seating plan for the lunch at New College (SCA, Log Book Vol. 2)

It is important to appreciate that deals were struck, acquaintances made and ideas discussed in the social settings that were part and parcel of these congresses. It is clear from the *Proceedings* that most leading academics travelled with their wives (and often also children) and Korsun's examination of Shternberg's activities at the congresses reveals his collecting and networking outside of the congress setting. Thus, the congresses were social gatherings, family holidays, sites of academic discussions, opportunities to carry out work abroad and networking all wrapped up in one. Furthermore, fringe events such as the Oxford excursion allowed for mentor figures such as Marett to introduce their students, who were not delegates, into the networks that they belonged to. Scant archival records make it difficult to unearth the particular details of the more social interactions of the London meeting, but envisaging George Byron Gordon sitting next to Mrs Marett and opposite Henry Balfour at a lunch in an Oxford college (Fig. 4.4) gives a new insight into the network out of which Robert Marett suggested that Henry Usher Hall should contact Gordon for funding in 1913 and his subsequent letter endorsing Hall and the expedition (cf. Chapter 3, p. 75 and Chapter 5, p. 108). Likewise, William Osler's[88] involvement in the reception committee gives a sense of how he was enmeshed in Marett's efforts to promote anthropology and gives some background to why Marett later uses his proxy to approach American Geographical Society's president to find financial support for Czaplicka's proposed expedition to the Obi valley – a moment that I will discuss later in this chapter (cf. p. 212). By considering

[88] Sir William Osler was a Canadian physician who was appointed the Regius Professor of Medicine at Oxford in 1905.

archival materials of seemingly limited importance, such as the conference delegation lunch seating plan, networks and associations between people can emerge in more real terms that those traceable through letters and publications. Thus situated, emerging professional anthropologists such as Maria Czaplicka, begin to occupy a place in scholarly and social spaces, which cultivated relations that were instrumental in facilitating ethnographic fieldwork.

Epistolary anthropology

In *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951*, George W. Stocking draws attention to a 'previously unappreciated form' of anthropology that he dubs 'epistolary ethnography'. This, he argsues, consists of written correspondence that underpinned the work of scholars such as Tylor who gathered their material not only via questionnaires and published work but also through close relationships acted out on paper. Gosden et al. misquote Stocking by referencing 'epistolary anthropology' but suggest that the notion of 'material anthropology' of which letters are just a part, is more apt (Gosden et al. 2007b). The authors in both cases justly draw our attention to the modes and practices of anthropological knowledge-making in the early days of the discipline. However, Gosden et al.'s suggestion that there was a specific period before the establishment of anthropology in the university setting that was more 'material' in its association with museums and letter-writing, is somewhat misleading. While Malinowski's monograph and subsequent seminar at LSE certainly paved the way for a more socially oriented anthropology whose aim was to procure immediate and authentic ethnographic experiences and relay these in literary

form, museums and museum collecting continued to play an important role in anthropological work (cf. Chapter 7). Professional correspondences, while steadily reducing in significance as direct sources of ethnographic data, remained essential for the existence and development of the discipline.

The mutation of 'epistolary ethnography' into 'epistolary anthropology' in the chapter by Gosden et al. can however be useful in thinking specifically about the role of letter writing in the history of anthropology. As *exchanges* that took place between the anthropologist and various collaborators in producing, disseminating, refining, and promoting anthropological work, letters were not limited to gathering data, but also included advice and support. Considering early twentieth-century anthropology an epistolary activity thus recognises that the discipline and knowledge within it was not simply created by academics and distributed in academic settings.[89] In the early twentieth century, letters were an extension of the professional anthropologist, offering a way to cultivate relationships with people one had limited or no personal contact with. The relationships Maria Czaplicka forged on paper were arguably just as crucial to her anthropological output as those made in the field and within the academic community.

Czaplicka's international relationships intensified during preparations for fieldwork and in the field. In the introduction to *Aboriginal Siberia* she acknowledged help from Vera Haruzina and Alexander Nikolaevich Maksimoff

[89] Alice Stevenson makes this point about the role of Amelia Edwards in early Egyptology. While not recognised as a professional Egyptologist, Edwards was instrumental in promoting careful, context-oriented excavation methods and garnered significant popular support for the discipline (Stevenson 2016). Similarly, pluralistic conception is put forward by Richard Powell with regard to geographical canon, which he sees as consisting of text, practices and people (Powell 2015: 21)

from Moscow as well as Lev Shternberg and Vladimir Jochelson from St Petersburg. In particular, she recognized Jochelson's 'endless patience' (Czaplicka 1914a: xiv) in aiding her. She also sought illustrations from Lev Shternberg at the Peter the Great Museum in St Petersburg and Franz Boas at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH 52/17/692) for the book. The former provided the bulk of the images, including some from Sergei Shirokogoroff, who in 1929 commented that

> [s]ix photographs taken from my collection in the Anthropological and Ethnographic Museum of the Academy of Science (St. Petersburg) have been found, to my great surprise, reproduced in Miss Czaplicka's compilation (Shirokogoroff 1929: xii)

Shirokogoroff further commented in a footnote that he only learnt of Czaplicka's work after his study had been partially published and that some of her information 'badly needs corrections and completion' (*ibid*). Conversely, Czaplicka's correspondence with Shternberg conveys that Czaplicka was fairly familiar with Shirokogoroff as she laments the lack of publications and asks whether there was any news of him and his wife (RAS, f. 282, op.2, d. 308, l. 18-20). In this instance, Shternberg, an anthropologist with institutional standing, was instrumental in facilitating the movement of information and material output of an anthropologist without creating any personal link between Czaplicka and Shirokogoroff. In the case of AMNH, it appears that Boas forwarded Czaplicka's original request to Clark Wissler, who was unable provide many useful images. However, in September 1914 Czaplicka wrote to Boas thanking him for images (APS, Boas correspondence) and making arrangements

for payment, so it is likely that photographs from Pilsudski, a Polish ethnographer working with the Ainu, came to her via Boas.

Czaplicka's link with American scholars further tightened though Henry Usher Hall's participation in the expedition and his financing by the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. I have already pointed to Marett's role in facilitating links with the museum's director, George Byron Gordon (cf. p. 165). Czaplicka corresponded with the latter extensively, assuring him about prospects and arrangements to do with museum collecting, ascertaining what his wishes were and giving details about the expedition (UPMAA OD 4/1, cf. Chapter 5). Her international networks further expanded towards Russia and the USA via letters exchanged and advice sought after the expedition.

Czaplicka relied heavily on Russian scholars, both those she knew personally and those she did not, in planning and carrying out her fieldwork. Paul Vinogradoff who sought to facilitate the funding of Czaplicka's expedition had served as a Professor at the Moscow University and was well acquainted with members of its academic circles. Thus, in October and November of 1913, Vinogradoff wrote two letters to Marett confirming that he is seeking financial assistance for Czaplicka from the Moscow Ethnographic Museum, however he warned that 'it would not be possible to give her a large sum' (OUA DC 1/4). This is at odds with the perception that Czaplicka had, who both in her letters to the Mary Ewart Trust (SCA, CP) and to Lev Shternberg (RAS, f. 142, op. 1) suggests that majority of her funding was expected to come from Moscow but this plan had suddenly fallen through. Her letter to Shternberg from the 5th May 1914

where she explains to Shternberg the financial ‘mess’ she is in is particularly revealing (RAS, f.142, op. 1, d. 67). Czaplicka suggests that there has been a misunderstanding with Moscow and lays the blame on the fact that Vinogradoff has been away in India and she does not know anyone in Moscow *personally*. She wonders if things would have turned out differently if she had been able to arrange a trip to Moscow earlier but regrets that she did not have time nor money to go for an ‘interview’. That the support from Moscow did not materialize, once again underlines the importance of well-connected mentors and personal acquaintance and Czaplicka’s observations suggest that in the absence of these conditions, the practical arrangements were liable to fall through as these were made in good faith, relying on personal recommendations and not a result of an official procedure.

However, one can understand the irritation Czaplicka felt, revealed in her indignation that Moscow expected her to attend an ‘interview’. After all, she had published a summary of Nikolai Yantchuk’s paper on Nikolai Miklukho-Maclay in *Man* (Czaplicka 1914) as per Vinogradoff’s suggestion.

> In connection with Miss Czaplicka’s projected journey to Siberia I have warmly recommended her to a leading Moscow ethnologist, Mr N. Iantchuk and he has promised to arrange for a certain subsidy for her. Now he sends me a very interesting paper on the career and work of the great Russian explorer and ethnologist Miklukho-Maklay and I think it would be desirable to publish a Summary of this paper in England. Miss Czaplicka would, I believe, willingly do it. Could you arrange for its publication in the Journal of the Anthropological Institute or similar periodical?’ (Vinogradoff to Marett, 10th November 1913, OUA DC 1/4)

The article was a translated summary of Yantchuk's presentation at the meeting of the Imperial Society of Friends of Natural Sciences[90] in 1913 followed by an extensive bibliography (compiled by Yantchuk) of Miklukho-Maclay's articles published in English, French, and German. There has been some misunderstanding about the role and meaning of this article in Czaplicka's career. Collins and Urry, although correct in identifying the impact of the Russian ethnographic tradition on Czaplicka's work, somewhat erroneously use this article as evidence of this influence (Collins and Urry 1997: 20) while Alexander Reshetov sees it as an indication that Czaplicka had close ties with Russian ethnographers who sent her the article (Reshetov 2010). Reshetov credits Czaplicka with some original treatment of Yantchuk's article and highlights her reasoning for the need to introduce Miklukho-Maclay's work to Western audiences and goes on to suggest that Marett must have shared Czaplicka's sentiment in deciding to publish the article (*ibid*: 27). This demonstrates how minor assumptions in explaining an academic's work can be misleading when understood in isolation from the social interactions that governed the production of said work. In light of Marett and Vinogradoff's correspondence, it becomes evident that the publication of this article was part of an academic exchange in which Russian ethnography was to gain greater exposure among Western scholars while an anthropologist from a British university would receive some material assistance in her research. The translation and editing of Yantchuk's pamphlet by Czaplicka and Marett's publication of the article in *Man* were

[90] Общества любителей естествознания, антропологии и этнографии при Императорском Московском университете

brokered by Vinogradoff and not necessarily indicative of any personal connections or sentiment. Such a give-and-take transaction can also be evidenced in Czaplicka's interactions with Lev Shternberg after the Siberian expedition.

Shternberg assisted Czaplicka with the choice of field site as well as the practicalities of securing letters of introduction and answered questions about buying tickets and provisions for her expedition. After the expedition, Shternberg became instrumental in keeping Czaplicka up to date with developments in Siberian anthropology sending her books and subscribing her to journals. In return Czaplicka promised to write about Shternberg's work in English journals or even do translations. In June 1916 Czaplicka wrote to Shternberg saying that she intends to publish twice a year a report on the original work in anthropology and ethnology by Slavic scholars (SPB RAS f. 282, op. 2, d. 21), however due to the length of World War I and the outbreak of the Russian Civil War, these plans did not come to fruition. While *Aboriginal Siberia* remains the most important contribution that Czaplicka made in introducing Siberian scholarship to English-speaking audiences, plans revealed in Czaplicka's letters suggest the potential for greater interchange between Slavic and Western scholarship.

Locating the field: the role of the Russian ethnographic tradition in Maria Czaplicka's work

Czaplicka's choice of specialisation and field site affected her academic output through the influence of the Russian ethnographic tradition, Siberian local concerns and the particular affordances of her fieldwork. *Aboriginal Siberia*

was compiled largely from studies by Russian researchers and served as a springboard for her independent research. Indeed, Czaplicka envisioned the outcomes of her research to form the basis of a second volume – *Aboriginal Siberia: a study in physical anthropology* (LCCA EJL 8). Russian ethnographic practices that were nested within regional studies and bordered on geography aligned well with Czaplicka's own background and thus it is unsurprising that the book starts with a section on geography which Marett comments to be 'in accordance with modern method' (Czaplicka 1914a: vi). The 'biographical sketches' found at the end of the book provided information about some of the modern researchers in the field. In this list Czaplicka included Polish and Russian ethnographers – Vladimir Bogoraz, Dordji Banzaroff, Vladimir Jochelson, Dmitri Klementz, Felix Kohn, Gregory Potanin, Nikolay Przewalski, Bronislaw Pilsudski, Wacław Sieroszewski, Lev Shternberg, Basil Wierbicki and Nikholai Yandritzeff. Notably, she also included Mrs Potanina and Dr Dina Jochelson-Brodsky along with their husbands. Most of the ethnographers that she chose to feature belonged to a class of socialist intelligentsia exiled to Siberia for their political thoughts. Most were also coming out of a tradition of ethnography that was closely linked with human geography.

Aside from the influence of the St Petersburg anthropologists discussed in the previous section, Gregory Potanin remained perhaps the most prominent authority in Czaplicka's future work. Like many other Russian ethnographers, Potanin started his career in academia as a political exile. He and his wife undertook several expeditions to Inner Asia, he wrote extensively on the geography and ethnography of the region and discovered many plant species.

However, it was his writing on Siberian self-government that impacted on Czaplicka. *My Siberian Year* had two chapters dedicated to the issue of Siberian identity through its old European inhabitants (Sibiriaks) and the discussion of 'Siberia as a Colony'.[91] She also elaborated on this theme in her talks to learned societies and in her popular appearances and further pursued the theme with vigour in the context of World War I. 'Siberia and some Siberians', presented to the Manchester Geographical Society featured a popular account of the expedition but was mostly focused on the economic and political prospects of Siberia. The latter included a discussion of the 'magnificent system of natural interior waterways' (Czaplicka 1916b: 41), Siberian exports and the need for better education and self-government in order for the area to properly progress. Incidentally, she also argued that this would benefit the indigenous communities, thus linking the 'enlightenment' of peoples with their ability to cope with their environment according to Nałkowski's conception. 'A Plea for Siberia' and 'The War in Asiatic Russia' published in *New European* in 1916 were a more strongly worded and politically motivated calls for the Allied forces to aid Siberia in the war and its attempts at self-governance in order to benefit from the rich resources that it has to offer. She names Potanin as a capable leader for Siberia.

Sergei Alymov convincingly argues that the direction that Russian ethnography took in the late nineteenth century was strongly influenced not only by the networks of men practicing it in St Petersburg, but also the nationalist

[91] This term is eponymous with the title of Nikolai Yandritsev's 1887 book, which outlined the case for Siberian autonomy. Yandritsev was a close friend of Potanin and the two men are seen as guiding figures of the Siberian separatist movement.

sentiments they were carrying (Alymov forthcoming). Namely, many of the guiding figures of Russian ethnography were ‘Malorussian’ - an identity attested to those coming from the region of present day Ukraine and opposed to the ‘Great Russians’. The search for and efforts to demonstrate the uniqueness of this group in comparison to the Great Russians gave rise to the *etnos* theory[92] and the binding together of a sense of ethnic identity, language, culture, and right to sovereignty. While the latter was not applicable to the ‘other’ nations known as *inorodtsy*[93] - a term which refers to indigenous inhabitants, there was a strong sense that Russians in distant Moscow and St Petersburg should not be solely in charge of administering lands so far from them. Siberia had a strong class of intelligentsia – political exiles banished from European Russia for their radical ideas. It was those same radical, progressive ideas that by the likeminded (including Czaplicka) were seen to be helpful in ‘aiding’ the indigenous groups in their quest for progress while tradesmen working under the protection of the Russian empire were diverting them onto the path of drink and poverty.

Maria Czaplicka’s leaning towards geography in her publications can be credited to her field site as well as Polish upbringing. She drew from the practices of scholars who worked via local branches of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society. Teasing the two influences apart would be difficult as both the Russian ethnographers and Czaplicka were shaped by similar ideas and political sentiments. Although her contact with local ethnographers in Siberia was

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[92] The 'etnos' concept based on primordialism has generally been associated with Soviet statebuilding, however a 2013-2017 ESRC research project based at University of Aberdeen and led by David Anderson demonstrates a historical transnational life of the concept tracing its beginnings to late nineteenth century.

[93] *Inorodtsy* comes from the words *inoi* and *rod* meaning other nation, race or clan.

limited, she nevertheless absorbed their output through journals such as the *Etnograficheskie obozrenie, Zemlevedinie* and journals of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (IRGS) and its regional subsections (particularly the East-Siberian subsection). Czaplicka and her companions only spent a day in Krasnoyarsk on their way to the field, however on their return journey, Czaplicka and Hall spent two weeks in the city of 80,000 people. Aside from a handful of newspaper articles giving a brief account of their expedition, there is nearly nothing in the local archives to suggest that they were ever in the city. In part this was because local scholars conducted their research in the summer months when they were able to travel along river routes and carry out archaeological and geological investigations. This work was generally done under the auspices of the local branch of the East Siberian subsection of the IRGS. The latter was also the custodian of the Krasnoyarsk Regional Museum, which would have been the natural centre for Czaplicka's Krasnoyarsk activity had it not been in the process of being moved to a building that was being constructed and the curator of the museum being on a European excursion.[94]

Instead, Czaplicka's local facilitator was the Siberian Steamship Company, which offered her support in procuring necessary provisions and assistance locally (cf. Chapter 5). She was also connected to Revillon Frères, a fur trading company, which assisted Hall and Czaplicka with the transportation of the collections (UPMAA, OD 4/1) and whose directors, the Peacock brothers, they spent time with. Both associations served to focus her attention on the economic

[94] Arkadii Tugarinov, the Museum curator, was in fact travelling in the UK at the time of Czaplicka's visit.

and natural resources of Siberia and their potential. In particular, Alfred Derry and Jonas Lied's steamship company whose ship carried Czaplicka's companions, Maud Haviland and Dora Curtis, back to Europe via the dangerous Kara Sea route in 1915, was heavily invested in the potential of the Yenisei river to trade.

Czaplicka was also acutely aware of the impact Fridtjof Nansen's visit had on the region and suggested that her own expedition will be the highlight of the year for people living on near the river giving them much to gossip about (SCA, CP). Nansen's visit from 1913 was indeed an event that has become firmly etched into the history of the region. The reception of such an esteemed guest suggested future prospects and he was duly greeted with an orchestra and lavish dinner. His arrival via the Kara Sea route also once again opened up the topic of a North Sea route to Siberia making it more easily accessible for trade. During my visit to Krasnoyarsk in 2013, the city was celebrating the 100-year anniversary of Nansen's visit with an exhibition at the State Archive. In contrast to Czaplicka, who left almost no trace and is not remembered locally today, Nansen is well known and incorporated into the history of the region. The opening of the North Sea route was a prevalent concern among Siberian intelligentsia discussed on the pages of local newspapers, scholarly articles and various presentations. It also became a topic discussed by Czaplicka in her popular book, *My Siberian Year,* and in many of her public lectures.

Czaplicka's concern for the political and economic independence of Siberia, that later turned into calls for Allied intervention {Czaplicka, 1918 #1219}, was beyond the anthropologist's usual task of gathering facts and data about 'primitive people'. Her education, shaped by the German human geography

tradition and nourished in Oxford, where anthropology only reluctantly limited itself to 'primitive' people, contributed to this outcry, as did her political stance. However, in her straddling of the political, economic, radical, and ethnographic, she was also very akin to her Russian colleagues, many of whom she admired greatly. After all, many of them held progressive social and political views that sent them to Siberia and for many, the study of indigenous groups and their surroundings was at once a means to occupy oneself intellectually as well as to explore the affordances of their new homeland.

Anthropology and Geography

It is evident that throughout Czaplicka's career, the close relationship of anthropology and geography defined and guided her research. As such, her case study allows us to fill a gap in studies of history of anthropology where the role of geography has largely been overlooked. Larry Grossman has suggested that '[c]ultural geographers and anthropologists are like brothers separated in infancy and taught to speak different languages' (1977: 126). Indeed, several authors have underlined the shared ancestry and, in some cases, continued cross-fertilisation and mixed approaches of the two subjects (Powell 2015, Anderson 2011). If we agree with Grossman's statement, then infancy must refer to the nineteenth century before the arrival of separate institutional settings in the twentieth century that led to different "languages" being spoken. However, I would argue that the separation that occurred was limited and the differences in language more akin to different dialects.

Roy Ellen suggests that both anthropologists and geographers are 'the nomads, foragers and bricoleurs of the human sciences' (Ellen 1988: 230), whose shared interests and general subject matter are particularly apparent in the nineteenth century when both were focused on empirical inquiry 'linked to European expansion and discovery' (*ibid*: 232). His overview of the links between anthropology and geography during this time however underplays the closeness of these subjects in the UK, focusing on the Germanic tradition and the USA instead. While Ellen notes the overlap in the membership of learned societies, journals used, organisation of expeditions and sponsorship, it only serves to lead up to the 'notable exceptions' in the 'persisting unification' (*ibid*: 233) in the work of Herbert John Fleure and Darryl Forde and some administrative links in university structures.

In Ellen's otherwise excellent overview of the interrelations of the two subjects, the lack of attention to the links between the disciplines at the turn of the century is demonstrated in his assertion that the overlap in publishing activity was but residual quoting Colonel Close's 1911 study, which showed that only three per cent of all papers published by *Geographical Journal* between 1906 and 1910 could be classified as ethnography or anthropology. What Close's research really showed was that fifty-seven per cent of all the publications could be classified under exploration and that most others, totalling less than ten per cent each, could be accommodated in other specialist journals. Thus, the majority of the publications in the journal were of a generalist character, much like the two subjects. Furthermore, with the first university course in anthropology not yielding graduates until 1910, the study does not take into

account freshly trained anthropologists, whose fieldwork may have been published in *Geographical Journal.* A quick survey shows that of the first academically trained anthropologists to conduct fieldwork only a few names escaped a review on the pages of the journal, notably Malinowski. Czaplicka, Blackwood, Routledge, Buxton, Layard, and Hilton-Simpson all published in the journal. The representation of Oxford graduates[95] among the anthropologists who published in the *Geographical Journal*, in contrast to the lack of names such as Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski, is indicative of the broad approach suggested by their tutors who had close ties to the Royal Geographical Society.

The crossovers in membership and presidency of the RGS and the RAI make evident that the two subjects had joint followers. Henry Balfour's obituary in the *Geographical Journal* states that he joined in 1908 and served on the Council for many years and despite never reading a paper at the society, he was deemed a valuable member who contributed to discussions and reviews and in 1936 was elected to be its President (Ellen 1988: 230). Like Balfour, John Linton Myres was equally recognised for his 'broad outlook and versatility' and 'his grasp of studies other than his own speciality' (MacKendrick 1954: 541) and acknowledged as 'an early convert to geography' through the influence of MacKinder and Herbertson (*ibid*). His involvement with the RGS is evident in his continued and prolific presence on the pages of the *Geographical Journal.* At Oxford, Myres was also central in establishing the Geography Honours School some years before the Anthropology Diploma and even served as the first Chair of Examiners (*ibid*: 542).

[95] Arthur Maurice Hocart is a notable exception to the Oxford alumni contributions.

Czaplicka became a fellow of the RGS in 1916 and also spoke at the meetings of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and the Manchester Geographical Society in that year. Through meeting Douglas Freshfield, the president of the RGS, and Arthur Hinks, the secretary of the RGS and editor of the *Geographical Journal*, a proposal was made for her to give a lecture on Siberia. However, Czaplicka's worry that Colonel Harold Swayne was also to speak on Siberia and her feeling that it was time to move on to the more pressing matter of the 'geographical, economic and ethnological questions of Poland' meant that the plan was set aside:

> I have lately been writing and lecturing so much on Siberia and my big book, the Report on the Expedition, is being brought out by the Clarendon Press as soon as the war is over, so that I almost think I have done my share on that subject even without lecturing at the RGS (Czaplicka to Keltie, Nov 4, 1917, RGS Archive CB8)

Czaplicka acted as a discussant on Swayne's lecture on Siberia in 1917, and after some delay presented her paper on Poland in April 1919. The possibility of RGS funding her research was also discussed around this time, as on 17 June 1918 RGS president, Thomas Holdich wrote to Czaplicka:

> I am glad to hear that you will be able to undertake the scientific mission to Russia, which has been suggested. The Royal Geographical Society of London has many friends in Russia, and we are deeply indebted to Russian Geographers for much valuable information in the past. I trust that in the present unsettled conditions which prevail in that country no obstacle will be placed in your way, and that we shall receive from you in due time the report of your ethnographical and geographical studies which you have undertaken for our Society (RGS Archive CB8).

Although I have not found other evidence of this plan, Czaplicka became firmly placed in the structures of geographical circles when, in 1920, a mere six years after women were formally and finally accepted as fellows,[96] she was awarded the prestigious Murichson Grant by the RGS. This was the fourth time an RGS Medal or Grant was awarded to a woman and only the second award given to a female fellow, placing her firmly in the institutional history of the society. [97]

The relationship between geography and anthropology in the USA has had a more recognizable mutualism that has received more attention due to the status of Franz Boas, a key figure in American anthropology. It is general knowledge that Boas was trained in geography but as Koelsch argues, '[b]iographical statements from Boas's students, and others drawing on them, typically treat the geographical episode, if at all, as an ailment to Boas's scholarly adolescence, a kind of intellectual acne' (Koelsch 2004: 2). Overthrowing the myth created by Boas and his students about his conversion to anthropology in the field, recent scholarship instead suggests he became an anthropologist by adapting to disciplinary boundaries at Clark University where he later 'redefined the scope of anthropology to correspond to his own interests' (Darnell 1998: 108). Thus, the intimacy between geography and anthropology in the USA can be traced back to Boas's training in Germany under Fischer (who in turn was influenced by Ritter), as well as Boas's ambition to 'become a central figure in American geography (Anderson 2011: 2).

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[96] See Chapter 2, page 79, with regard to the RGS women's fellowship and decision to rescind the 1893 decision to accept female fellows.

[97] Lady Franklin received the Founder's Medal in 1860 and Mary Somerville the Gold Medal in 1869. However among women fellows, Gertrude Bell was the first woman to be recognised with the prestigious Founder's Medal in 1918 while Marion Newbigin received the Black Award in 1921.

In 1919, Czaplicka, was seeking Franz Boas's help to relocate and establish her academic career there, a proposal that was accompanied by an array of supporting letters from the leading scientists in the UK (G. Murray, R.R. Marett, J.G. Frazer, Arthur Keith, Arthur Thomson, Henry Balfour and A.C. Haddon) (AMNH b. 52, f. 17, f. 692). Boas sought positions for her at Barnard College but his efforts were fruitless (APS Boas correspondence). There were obvious correspondences between Czaplicka and Boas's approach and research interests. Both were influenced by a German tradition of anthropology stemming from the likes of Ritter, Humboldt, and Ratzel[98] and were invested in Arctic research. Czaplicka's first scholarly article 'The Influence of Environment upon the Religious Ideas and Practices of the Aborigines of Northeast Asia' strongly echoes Boas's aim to explore 'the reaction of human mind to the environment' (Trindell 1969 quoted in Anderson 2011: 2) in Baffin Land. The study led Boas away from environmental determinism toward 'a vision for the study of both subjects (anthropology and geography) that was not tied to simplistic understandings of human-environment relations' (Powell 2015: 27). Thus, both Czaplicka, as a disciple of Nałkowski, and Boas were practicing a type of anthropogeography that sought to understand the mutual influence of humans and their environment. But whereas Boas with his grand aspirations and sharp mind was able to create a whole program of anthropology first at Clark University and later through the AMNH and Columbia University, Czaplicka's limited opportunities in the UK

[98] Incidentally, Potanin also cites Ritter and Humboldt as forefathers of Russian geography in a 1913 newspaper article (Potanin 1913).

and various political commitments thwarted her attempts to influence the course of anthropogeography in the UK.

It was not just Czaplicka's intellectual disposition that led to links with geographical societies and encouraged her ambition to move to the USA. As a woman of modest means, she relied on institutional funding to carry out any work, and as a woman it was infinitely more difficult for her to gain that funding. Thus, support was sought from where it could be found and the RGS was better situated to provide financial aid. Likewise, the emerging philanthropic backing of human sciences and museums in the USA made it an attractive option for new anthropologists. For example, in yet another bid to find support for Czaplicka from American institutions, Marett wrote to President Osborne at AMNH in May 1919. After stating that they have not personally met, but that he is sending him an article about Mousterian caves, Marett proceeds

> I have asked Sir William Osler to write to you on behalf of my friend and pupil Miss Marie Czaplicka, so that you may, if you see fit, use your influence with Mr Huntingdon[99] to finance an expedition to the Obi valley (AMNH b. 52, f. 17, f. 692).

This letter encapsulates the essence of how, in difficult conditions of poor funding and limited work opportunities, anthropology was fostered within a relatively small circle of well-connected individuals. Mutual acquaintances, academic recognition and a university position along with a polite academic exchange were sufficient to approach a colleague overseas about funding. Indeed, in this case to orchestrate a string of letters from an influential Oxford-based Canadian doctor to the President of the American Museum of Natural History for

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[99] Huntington was a railroad magnate and former American Geographical Society president.

the latter to approach a railway magnate and former president of the Geographical Society. Mirroring 1913, when he wrote to George Byron Gordon to garner support for Henry Usher Hall, Marett used his influence and status in the academic community to find support for his student in the USA.[100] Nothing much came of this prospect, although suggestions were made for approaching the Geographical Society directly and for the possibility of work on the Jesup report. Czaplicka made further inquiries for expedition support to Clark Wissler of the AMNH in late 1920 (AMNH Central Archive) but assistance was not forthcoming.

Conclusion

I have argued that anthropology in the UK at the start of the twentieth century was international and interdisciplinary, or as Wilson Wallis put it 'the periphery of influence was wide' (Wallis 1957: 781) making it impossible to speak of a distinctly British anthropology in this time period. A focus on the first generation of professional anthropologists, who I have shown to be an intellectually and internationally varied group (cf. Chapter 3), demonstrates that it is impossible to trace a neat genealogy of British anthropology. Instead, the discipline appears to have existed in a landscape dominated by learned societies, influential members of the intellectual upper classes and museums.

In this landscape, Maria Czaplicka was defined by her close proximity to the subjects of human-geography. Her previous training in geography in Poland along with political views that sought to distinguish and define Slavic nationals and fieldwork in Russia all aligned her with the discipline of geography as well as

[100] Balfour also made somewhat lacklustre inquiries for funding from the RGS in 1914 for Czaplicka's planned expedition companion, Arthur Whyte (RGS Archive CB8).

anthropology. The Murichson Award from the Royal Geographical Society in particular highlights her position within geographical scholarship. I have argued that the close relationship between the two subjects and in particular shared membership between the more public-facing institutions of the RGS and the RAI, as well as the closeness of geography and anthropology at Oxford, were conducive to Czaplicka's research in anthropogeography. Furthermore, I have suggested that the practical issues of financing and arranging fieldwork generated close cooperation between different subjects as well as different institutions internationally to enable these costly operations to benefit the wider scholarly community.

5. The Siberian expedition and its place in the history of ethnographic fieldwork

In 1910 Barbara Freire-Marreco proposed that anthropology was entering its fourth stage of development that would see the discipline attaining a true scientific status and developing its own scientific method (Freire-Marreco 1910a). She argued that the 1898 Torres Strait expedition marked a turn towards anthropologists collecting their own scientific data in the field, which in turn would yield more detailed ethnographies and less comparative work. History has proven her right – in the years that anthropology became established in British universities, fieldwork became an obligatory element of the subject. However, there is little research on how ethnographic fieldwork was planned, conducted and communicated. A whole generation of anthropologists who went to the field before or at the same time as Bronislaw Malinowski have silently been ignored. While some authors have argued that anthropological fieldwork practice and the merger of the roles of fieldworker and theorist developed lucidly from nineteenth-century observational practices (Sera-Shriar 2013, Urry 1993a), the popular view still holds that intensive fieldwork by a single person was a Malinowskian discovery, or indeed, an invention.[101]

Fieldwork continues to be a central tenet of anthropology and, for many, it is *the* defining feature of anthropology whose method of 'participant-observation' in the field is deemed its only distinctive trait (Ingold 2014). While

[101] Adam Kuper's historiography in which modern British anthropology starts with Bronislaw Malinowski, is a case in point (Kuper 1996)

there are voices that advocate the de-fetishization of fieldwork (Allen 2000), it remains a dominant feature both in teaching and research. In order to understand this crucial move towards 'participant-observation', central to our definition of what anthropology is, it is necessary to appreciate multiple developments that were underway in the first decades of the twentieth century. The first generation of academically trained anthropologists ostensibly invented fieldwork methods from an array of previous models and examples while pursuing contemporary aspirations and managing institutional and personal pressures. An examination of the 1914 Siberian Expedition reveals some of these issues and helps to exemplify how Malinowski's generation was negotiating this new approach to doing anthropology. The picture that surfaces from this study complicates the conventional linear narrative of the ever improving and developing discipline and instead suggests multiple parallel spaces, in which anthropologies of slightly varying kinds coexisted.

Malinowskian myth

Despite concrete efforts to demonstrate that Malinowski's claim for the 'invention' of the fieldwork method and creation of modern British anthropology were largely the result of his self-promotion and self-mythicization (Stocking 1984), the discussion of fieldwork in the history of anthropology still either leads up to Malinowski or discusses his contribution with a side-comment on other practitioners of the 'intensive model' (Kuper 1996, Stocking 1984, Urry 1993a). For example, in his 1984 essay 'Ethnographer's Magic', George Stocking 'probe[s] historically the mythic origins of Malinowskian fieldwork tradition' by placing his

'Trobriand adventure in the context of earlier British fieldwork' (Stocking 1984: 71). Stocking's account is comprehensive and rich with detail, guiding the reader chronologically through stages such as 'armchair anthropology', the Torres Strait Expedition, Gillen and Spencer in Australia and 'the "intensive study of a limited area" before the great war' (*ibid*: 80) before culminating with the study of Malinowski's fieldwork experiences in Mailu and the Trobriands. However, the presentation of the context and "origins" of modern fieldwork implies a continuous progression from the "armchair" to Malinowskian fieldwork tradition that obscures the messy reality of early fieldwork.

Adopting a spatial approach to history (Runia 2006b), where multiple histories can occur alongside each other, allows us to better appreciate the multifarious and co-existing methodological and theoretical frameworks in anthropology. Significantly, this approach also highlights the variation in different institutional, political and social circles within the anthropological discipline. Czaplicka's fieldwork experiences as well as those of her contemporaries at Oxford reveal the roles of funders and other stakeholders as well as the actual field site in shaping the fieldwork. This in turn throws Malinowski's fieldwork in sharp relief and delineates some of the reasons for the success and persistence of his methodology and mythology.

Arturo Álvarez Roldán's study of the change in Malinowski's writing and fieldwork methods from his initial Mailu ethnography to the 'Baloma: Spirits of the Dead in the Trobriand Islands' article attempts to trace the changes in his methodology and argues that his experiences in the field changed his 'praxis' and 'revolutionized anthropological methods' (Roldán 2002). He claims that in

Kiriwina, Malinowski abandoned the role of an ethnographer 'who went to the field to collect indiscriminately… in order to provide armchair anthropologists with facts that confirmed their theories' (Roldán 2002: 146). It should be clear by this point that none of the trained ethnographers went to the field to collect 'indiscriminately' or indeed just to supply data to a third party. In particular, Efra Sera-Shriar's *The Making of British Anthropology* demonstrates how concerns for the quality and kind of data were paramount to those furthering the cause of anthropology. Roldán also argues that Malinowski's transition from an indiscriminate collector to a pioneering participant-observer was caused by 'conditioning' within Trobriand society but fails to demonstrate how this change in methodology happened in the field. Instead he assumes that since Malinowski's theoretical training did not change between Mailu and the Trobriands, then the change in his approach and output was caused by the location itself. This conclusion does not take into account the number of factors that affected each fieldwork venture. For example, Michael Young has demonstrated that responsibilities to funders and supporters, lack of local knowledge and fieldwork experience, and limited training in methodology all contributed to the 'failing' of Malinowski's first fieldwork venture (Young 1984). Roldán's dubious logic is further compounded by Skalnik's observation that many traits of Malinowski's writing style in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and the functionalist approach can in fact be traced to his early involvement with the Young Poland movement (Skalník 1995). *Argonauts* can thus be seen as the crystallization of Malinowski's theoretical interests and concerns, methodological

innovations by the likes of Rivers and his ability to experiment with different approaches after fieldwork in Mailu.

Malinowski was also not the only one to undergo a transformation between their first and second fieldwork experience. Diamond Jenness's first fieldwork in Papua New Guinea in 1911 yielded an 'old style' report heavily reliant on information from local missionary Andrew Ballantyne and based on survey type work in the D'Entrecasteaux archipelago. Jenness later commented on his early work as unsatisfactory and went on to produce rich, empathetic ethnographies based on his extensive research and close interactions with the Inuit in the Canadian Arctic.[102] Parallels between the two men support Stocking's assessment that Malinowski appropriated 'to himself experience that had... been shared by others' thus enabling him to 'make himself the spokesman of a methodological revolution' (Stocking 1984: 111). However, Stocking's suggestion that the dominance of Malinowski over his contemporaries in the history of anthropology is due to 'accident' or 'obscurity' that befell others (Stocking 1984: 83) suppresses the extent to which Malinowski's authority was a result of a series of well-orchestrated accidents, including his ability to conduct research and publish during the time when the careers of nearly all of his contemporaries were hindered by the war.

Malinowski was able to stay in the same locality for an extended period of time and dedicate uninterrupted time to writing his ethnography in Australia. Harnessing his own and his wife's literary skills he then went on to produce a

[102] However see Colin Buchanan's account (Buchanan 2006) of his role and view that Indigenous Canadians needed to be assimilated to prosper.

compelling ethnography starkly different from conventional expedition reports. While anthropologists such as Freire-Marreco were concerned to establish anthropology's scientific credentials while also popularising the subject to gain public support, Malinowski's great achievement was to do both in the form of an ethnographic monograph. His assertiveness, serious engagement with sociological questions and concern with method yielded a unique product; however his approach to fieldwork and engagement in the field were not, in the first instance, significantly different from those of his contemporaries.

Maria Czaplicka's personal background is remarkably similar to that of Malinowski, although being a woman she had to exert more effort in order to pursue education and was not able to obtain a degree in Poland before moving to the UK. Strong parallels are however to be found in their involvement with the Young Poland movement and their artistic tendencies. Here, Maria surpassed 'Bronio', having published several poems and being a much stronger advocate for an independent Poland. Her close friendship with Polish writer Orkan (see Kubica 2015b) mirrors Malinowski's relationship with Wietkewicz (see Skalník 1995) but it would seem that for Czaplicka, the ideals and goals that she admired in Poland remained with her, while Malinowski chose to remain in Australia when the war broke out and later refused a post in Cracow in order to establish himself in the UK (Skalník 1995). Both Polish émigrés studied under Westermarck and Seligman in 1910, Czaplicka moving to Oxford in 1911 while Malinowski remained Seligman's protégé. Significantly, Czaplicka's academic background was rooted in the human geography tradition while Malinowski moved from Philosophy to Sociology. Thus in 1914 when they went to Siberia and

Australia respectively, they took with them to the field a broadly similar cultural background, same guidelines (*Notes and Queries*) but different academic agendas. Exploring her fieldwork experiences offers a unique insight into the factors that affected this emergent mode of anthropological research.

Existing models for fieldwork

Survey and intensive study of a limited area

At the end of the nineteenth century anthropology was following the path shaped by the Natural Sciences, attempting to mould theories from ethnographic facts much like naturalists were drawing conclusions from collected specimens. Barbara Freire-Marreco described this period as unsatisfactory for anthropology as it was not keeping pace with advances in science and lack of specially trained professionals meant that

> English anthropology was suffering from a very dangerous division of labour, between self-made anthropologists in the field – travellers, traders, missionaries, administrators – who were acquiring fragmentary details of savage life, and the literary anthropologists working them into theories at home (Freire-Marreco 1910a: 6).

The 'literary anthropologists' were making attempts at bettering their facts by supplying their field collectors with guidebooks such as *Hints to Travellers*, *Notes and Queries on anthropology* [103] and Frazer even came up with his own questionnaire (Urry 1972: 48). However, the 'new age' of anthropology was heralded by the 1898 Torres Strait expedition, which specifically set out to collect comprehensive data in physical anthropology, ethnology, and psychology.

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[103] *Hints to Travellers, Scientific and General* was the guidebook edited for the Royal Geographical Society while *Notes and Queries* edited for the British Association for the Advancement of Science and, since 1899, published by the Royal Anthropological Institute.

The Torres Strait expedition was conceived of as a survey, mapping different social, mental, physical, and material forms in the region through the efforts of a specialist team including a linguist, experimental psychologist as well as field anthropologists (Stocking 1995: 107). The expedition acted as a platform for numerous subsequent ethnographic surveys such as the Seligmans' research in New Guinea (1904), the Percy Sladen Trust expedition to Solomon Islands (1908)[104] and Northcote Whitridge Thomas's West African surveys (1909-1915). However, in the same year as Haddon led a team of researchers to Melanesia, Edvard Westermarck also began his long-term engagement with ethnographic research in Morocco. Westermarck would travel extensively in the country between 1898 and 1913 and spent two years there from 1900 to 1902. While his research was characterised by considerable travel, he was equally notable for returning to the same country and same informants, learning the local language and attempting to participate in festivities (Suolinna 2000). With the support of Martin White, who accompanied him to Morocco in 1907, Westermarck became a Professor in Sociology at LSE that same year. There, along with Charles Seligman, he became the leading figure of the emerging school of anthropology. Seligman is known for his survey fieldwork, but he also responded to calls for a more intensive study of an ethnic group in its geographical environment by studying the Veddas in Ceylon. Thus from very early on multiple models for ethnographic research existed and were developed into workable methodological

[104] The Percy Sladen Expediton was headed by William H. R. Rivers and also initiated Arthur Maurice Hocart and Gerald C. Wheeler in fieldwork practice.

approaches to respond to perceived needs to salvage ethnographic facts but also to gain a deeper understanding of particular ethnic groups.

The 1912 edition of *Notes and Queries* reflected the changing notion of a fieldworker, being aimed more at a professional with a considerable degree of knowledge in anthropology and less at a lay traveller or a missionary. The work on the edited volume began in 1907 (Urry 1993a) and was thus compiled at a time that many of the first anthropology students were beginning to undertake their first fieldwork. Radcliffe Brown set off to the Andaman Islands in 1906, Wheeler and Hocart accompanied Rivers to the Solomon islands in 1908, Barbara Freire-Marreco worked with Pueblo Indians in New Mexico in 1910 and 1913, Gunnar Landtman was based in Papua-New Guinea from 1910 to 1912 and Rafael Karsten worked in South America from 1911 to 1913. All of these early anthropology students set off before the new *Notes and* Queries was published while Maria Czaplicka and Bronislaw Malinowski both departed from the UK in 1914 with the new edition to guide them in their work.

In his preface to the 1912 edition, Charles Hercules Read highlights that *Notes and Queries* has changed considerably responding to the changing needs of anthropology and the fact that the methods one has to follow to respond to those needs needed to 'more precise and exacting' (Read 1912: iv). The editorial committee of the edition included Haddon, Myres, and Seligman, which suggests with a degree of certainty that they could instruct their students in accordance with the needs of anthropology and best methodological practices as collectively agreed by contributors. The volume consists of three parts: Physical Anthropology, Technology, and Sociology with suggestions for collecting useful

information, measurements, objects and equipping readers with some hints for comprehending foreign customs. W.H.R. Rivers's contribution on Sociology is widely accepted to be the most significant and influential addition. Rivers provides an in-depth account of methods to aid would-be ethnographers in the field, pointing to the downfalls of direct questioning, the importance of language skills and note-taking and introducing his celebrated genealogical method. *Notes and Queries* was aimed at emerging professionals who would impartially study the mode of life, sociology, religion, language, and technology of people to 'obtain complete knowledge of any one department of anthropology' (Rivers 1912: 114) but it was reluctant to let go of the 'self-made anthropologists in the field'. This was due to anthropology's perceived need to salvage, collect and record and the limited resources and trained people at the disposal of its advocates. Thus while 'intensive study of a limited area' was singled out as the desired kind of fieldwork, collecting data, objects, and information wherever possible was equally important.

Re-examining Rivers's 1913 report on present conditions and future needs of ethnography to the Carnegie Institution in Washington reveals that even Rivers, credited with innovating anthropological field research, did not suggest that all anthropological work would uniformly follow his ideal 'intensive study' mode (Rivers 1913). Stocking refers to Rivers's 1913 report as 'a kind of footnote to the new edition of *Notes and Queries*' (Stocking 1984: 92). However, as the new edition of the guidebook was a collaborative effort that was begun in 1907, it is highly likely that Rivers's innovative section on Sociology was written years before the publication leaving him plenty of time to discuss, refine, and revise his

ideas on anthropological method by 1913. This point is significant for two reasons. Firstly, it demonstrates that anthropologists such as Czaplicka and Malinowski were following guidelines formulated some years before the 1912 publication date. Secondly, it also points to the fact that these guidelines were already being reassessed and depending on their specific networks, the anthropologists going into the field could have been exposed to different variations of these guidelines.

In his report, Rivers distinguishes between 'survey' and 'intensive' type of studies, former covering a region and 'different tribes and places' while the latter is described as being *typically* of one year or longer duration among a community of approximately 500 people that the researcher gets to know intimately. Rivers had a clear preference for trained researchers conducting 'intensive' studies, however his report makes allowances for survey work alongside 'intensive study' both as a preliminary survey for the latter and as a means to investigate the surrounding area. He further suggests that 'intensive' studies are not possible among people 'wholly untouched by western influence' as 'a friendly reception and peaceful surroundings are essential to such work' (Rivers 1913: 7). Permitting a survey style of work alongside intensive studies demonstrates that the main aim of anthropological fieldwork was to collect information and while it was desirable to collect *good* information, *some* information in certain cases was deemed better than none. This point of view is embedded in the following formulation of anthropology's mission:

> The aim of anthropology is to teach us the history of mankind, of his physical structure, mind, social organization, language, morals, religion, and the useful and aesthetic arts (Rivers 1913: 5).

Anthropology as history was only interested in an intensive, participating method in so far as it was more likely to yield accurate answers to questions that interested anthropologists. And in the same vein, peaceful surroundings were essential for such a study. Thus, the Malinowskian transformation occurred by employing these methods and considerations in a sociological rather than historical study. Prior to this reconfiguration of anthropology's aims and indeed, long-after in Oxford, anthropological concerns remained in the realm of Classics and History whose questions could be answered through a combination of intimate interactions and systematic observations.

A multi-skilled expedition?

The 1914 Siberian Expedition was assembled for an ethnological investigation, but members of the party also included an artist and ornithologist and there were plans to include a geologist. Czaplicka's plan to have representatives of different sciences in the expedition group has been interpreted as an indication that she was following the anthropological fieldwork tradition started by A. C. Haddon in the Torres Strait which itself was emulating nineteenth-century maritime expeditions (Collins and Urry 1997). This suggests that Czaplicka was following a somewhat outdated model – as already mentioned, a more solitary and intensive type of research was emerging with Westermarck's research, and Spencer and Gillen published their influential *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* in 1904. Following the Torres Strait

expedition, Rivers outlined his 'Genealogical Method' in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* in 1900 and went on to test his experimental method among the Todas of South India (Rivers 1906) consequently refining his proposals for anthropological fieldwork and methods. With the exception of Diamond Jenness, who joined the Stefansson Expedition in 1913, none of the British anthropology graduates were embarking on multi-skilled expeditions. So how is Czaplicka's expedition placed in relation to early twentieth-century British ethnographic field research?

Czaplicka wrote reviews of the 1912 *Notes and Queries* in Polish (Kubica 2015b) and Russian journals (Czaplicka 1912b) indicating that she was thoroughly aware of the latest methods and perceived needs of the subject. She was also close to Barbara Freire-Marreco, one of the editors of the new volume and a fresh fieldworker herself. It is thus more likely that Czaplicka was assembling a group not because she was following in the footsteps of the Torres Strait Expedition but due to more practical and material reasons. Of other multi-person expeditions, the Siberian expedition is perhaps better compared to the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition to the Solomon Islands. The latter is described as a smaller enterprise than the Torres Strait Expedition and, significantly, with 'a more sharply defined anthropological agenda' (Hviding and Berg 2016: 2). Indeed, the chief purpose of the Siberian expedition was always defined as anthropological although, in the light of limited knowledge of North-Asia among English-speaking scholars, it was suggested that other disciplines may wish to acquire information through it. In May 1914, just weeks before the expedition party set off, Balfour wrote to the Secretary of the RGS, John Keltie, about Czaplicka's expedition:

> She [Czaplicka] is very anxious to see you in order to ascertain whether there are any geographical details which require attention and whether the RGS would assist with advice. One of those going with her is a man already trained, I understand, in forestry and he would be willing to undertake to make observations of a geographical or climatic nature if desired. If it can be done, I think that a small grant of say £50 from the RGS would enable some such work to be carried out as a by product of the expedition which is mainly to be anthropological (RGS, CB 8).

Keltie agreed to meet both Czaplicka and Arthur Whyte, however he regretted that while there was much work to be carried out in Siberia 'in studying its physiography and the relation of the geographical conditions to the varied populations' (*ibid*) he was not certain that Whyte was capable to carry out such work and thus could not promise any financial assistance. While no specific arrangements were made for the collection of geographical data, Czaplicka's previous training and predisposition to human geography did enable her to contribute to geographical scholarship in the UK (cf. Chapter 4).

It transpires that Czaplicka's 'multi-skilled' expedition was never multi-skilled in Haddon's sense (drawing on the expertise of various scientists to study the human condition), rather it tried to capitalize on group size for financial and practical reasons. The original expedition group was to consist of Czaplicka, Maud Haviland, Dora Curtis, Henry Usher Hall, G.A. Whyte and one other unidentified person.[105] Aside from Czaplicka, Hall was the only other person with anthropological training, although it is not clear how systematic it had been. He had attended Seligman's lectures in London and his role in the expedition was to

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[105] Hall's report in the UPMAA Archive suggests six original members: a man from School of Forestry and 'Scotch University' as well as Czaplicka, himself, Curtis and Haviland (UPMAA, SEF).

‘assist with physical measurements’ (UPMAA, 8/10). Dora Curtis was an artist and Maud Haviland an ornithologist full of ‘youthful optimism’ but ‘without preliminary training’ (Haviland 1926: 6) while Whyte was to study physiography. In her letter to the Mary Ewart trust on 9 May 1914, just days before leaving England, Czaplicka claims that the four named people were to be members of the expedition and they were all ‘with funds’ (SCA, CP). Whether Whyte was indeed still committed to the expedition at that point is a matter for speculation, but even if he did indeed cancel his plans days before leaving, the expedition would still have been far from Haddon’s model as only two members of the expedition were to study indigenous people. Further, it is clear that from the outset, both Curtis and Haviland were to return to England after the summer.[106] The involvement of Curtis, Haviland, and Whyte makes sense for financial reasons as many costs could be split (see ‘share outfit’ in Fig. 5.1) and because an expedition group conveyed certain authority, making it easier to obtain references and letters of recommendation, which they needed in order to gain access to the area. Czaplicka certainly did not intend to produce a report based on the skill-set of the group, in fact, in her letter to Emily Penrose she worries about Curtis writing about the ethnological side of the expeditions, as ‘her facts are wrong and everybody knows she was with me’ (Collins 1995: 76).

[106] Whyte, too, would probably have had little to do in the freezing, snowy tundra in the winter.

My expenses in the Yenisei Expedition.

Amount received from various sources.	
Mary Ewart Travelling Scholarship	£200
Collected by Miss M. C. Scott among old Somervillians	49
Grant from Pitt-Rivers Museum	25
From my mother.	50
Received by sale of part of outfit.	20
From a Pole in Warsaw interested in my work (incognito).	40
Spent in excess of receipts	105
	£489

Expenditure	
Personal outfit & instruments	£60
Travelling expenses from England via Petrograd & Moscow to Krasnoyarsk.	45
My share of communal outfit.	10
My share in expenses of summer 1914, including provisions, servant, and museum specimens collected during that time.	72
My share of remaining provisions and other communal articles bought by Mr Hall and me from us four at end of summer 1914.	27
My share in winter travelling expenses, including wages of Tungus companion, services of various kinds rendered by Sibiriaks along river, museum specimens; and journey to Krasnoyarsk.	115
Travelling expenses Krasnoyarsk - Minusinsk & steppe country, and expenses in Krasnoyarsk.	35
Travelling expenses Krasnoyarsk - Moscow - Petrograd; and expenses in Moscow & Petrograd.	85
Travelling expenses Petrograd - London (with loss due to unfavourable rates of exchange).	40
	£489

The journey from Krasnoyarsk southwards would not have been undertaken, in view of war prices, but for our having to stay in Krasnoyarsk to await arrival of permits, money etc. for several weeks, so I took this opportunity of doing some more work. The enforced delay of several weeks in Petrograd was also occupied in work in museums & with specialists on Siberia. The expenses Petrograd & back were covered by my Mother.

Figure 5.1: Maria Czaplicka's fieldwork expenses as outlined in a letter to R. R. Marett (OUA DC 1/4)

Assembling an expedition group was also necessitated by Czaplicka's status as a lone female researcher and the location of her field site. Arctic Siberia is a difficult area for solo travel and while Czaplicka created some contacts in Russia through Lev Shternberg, she was not able to join a group in the field like Freire-Marreco whose base was the Santa Fe school (cf. Chapter 2, p. 116). Henry Usher Hall was the first person to join the expedition party, however Marett was

uneasy sending his young and female student into the field with a solitary man and so, in the autumn of 1913, the expedition party began to be assembled (Marett to Gordon, UPMAA OD 8/10). Hall and Czaplicka conducted the bulk of the 'intensive' anthropological research in the Illimpei tundra after Haviland and Curtis returned to Europe in September 1914. The pair's work in the winter months can be conceived of as that of the fieldworker and her assistant. Unlike the Seligmans who clearly worked in tandem and contributed to different parts of the ethnological research, Hall's reports from the expedition fully mimic those of Czaplicka with clear acknowledgement that she was the leader of the expedition (UPMAA, SEF; Hall 1916). As he did not speak any Russian he was unable to communicate with interpreters and was wholly reliant on Czaplicka. In her letters, Curtis complained to Emily Penrose that Hall was not a capable man and she would feel much happier if Czaplicka remained in the field with someone 'of recourse' (SCA, CP).

The Siberian Expedition did not exactly follow the recommendations for an 'intensive' type of fieldwork that Rivers called for, as the climate and landscape made it difficult to get intimately acquainted with a whole community. Czaplicka and Hall travelled from one family to another covering over 3000 km in the tundra in what today is the Evenki autonomous okrug. However, Czaplicka's commitment to learn native languages, decision to stay in native *chums* (tents) and focus on one geographical area and one cultural group was in line with the suggestions made in *Notes and Queries* and was closer to Rivers' conception of 'intensive' study than 'survey' work. Czaplicka had already made Siberia her special area of interest; she had identified gaps in knowledge and also

decided on the location of her fieldwork as it was there that she expected to find 'most primitive and comparatively the purest type of this [Tungus] race' (Czaplicka and Collins 1999). However, ability to travel in the region also offered opportunities for broader survey work for research in comparative ethnology and historical migrations.

Czaplicka had studied the works of Russian ethnographers and was in correspondence with Lev Shternberg and Vladimir Jochelson (Reshetov 2010), so she would have had some awareness of the realities of fieldwork in Siberia. Further, as she was hoping to receive funding from Russian institutions, it may have been practical to follow local models of fieldwork. Russian expeditions were generally coordinated via local geographical society networks that conducted 'regional studies' (*kraevedeniie*) and took place in the summer with the aim to enrich local museums and reveal information about regional resources and potential for the development of the area as well as its history and culture. This much broader conception of fieldwork is evident in *My Siberian Year*, where Czaplicka writes about her travels, anthropological themes such as indigenous religion and shamanism, as well as about the role of fishing, the nature of Sibiriak 'colonists' and the importance of a northern sea route to Yenisei for economic development of the area. While it may not have been an overt plan to make these wider observations nor does it appear that they would have been included in the official expedition report, it is nevertheless evident, that local concerns and existing literature were moulding the way in which Czaplicka carried out fieldwork.

Incentives, pressures and desires

> At last I, too, was sent to Siberia. But, unlike that of many of my countrymen, my year's exile was a voluntary one, the outcome of my own eager desire and interests; and I was urged on through the difficulties of the journey not by the Cossack's knout, but by the friendly encouragement of an English University, and by willing courtesies offered by the Russian Government to an English expedition (Czaplicka 1916a: 4)

In the reasoning for undertaking the arduous journey to and through Arctic Siberia in her popular account, *My Siberian Year*, Czaplicka takes full ownership of the decision to do 'field-work' giving those around her only a role of 'encouragement' and 'courtesy'. However, a closer look at archival material reveals that the Siberian Expedition was planned and conducted in response to circumstances particular to her and to Oxford. Factors such as training, institutional pressures and incentives, funding, personal circumstances, and support networks were all imperative in shaping fieldwork experiences of the first academically trained anthropologists. For this generation, fieldwork was no longer an optional path, it was seen as an essential part of the discipline (Stocking 1984), much as it is today. However, in the absence of a clear model of fieldwork, the approaches these anthropologists took varied according to their background, region of study and institutional context and can be best described as 'experimental' (Hviding and Berg 2016, Basu 2015). A close examination of the backdrop and actuality of the 1914 Yenisei Expedition offers an insight into the 'making of' fieldwork during this time and offers a chance to draw comparisons and parallels with the developments enacted by Bronislaw Malinowski.

Early fieldworking anthropologists did not only have diverse models of research to consider, they were also particularly guided and sometimes constrained by funding opportunities, institutional and governmental expectations and curatorial desires. In answering why Malinowski chose to go to the Trobriands, Michael Young relays the significance of the network of men whose support Malinowski relied on during his fieldwork (Young 1984). It is apparent that even the mythical hero of anthropological fieldwork was constantly worried about straying from the course set for him by his superiors. He felt that he was indulging his curiosity in Kiriwina in the face of the *need* to collect information about areas not studied by others. Young describes Malinowski's constant apologies to Seligman for deviating from his plan and suggests that Malinowski avoided areas already 'done' by Haddon and Holmes[107]. He further underlines Malinowski's awareness of the need to satisfy the wishes of government officials locally and museums at home (Young 1984: 14). In Maria Czaplicka's case this need was even more apparent due to the funding difficulties and a distinct lack of local support that her mentors could garner for her.

Collecting objects

Initially, the only financial assistance that Czaplicka received from Oxford was from the Committee for Anthropology to collect for the Pitt Rivers Museum. Alongside it came the status of a research student. In her letter to Balfour, Czaplicka asks him to present her proposed fieldwork before the committee and

[107] Reverend John Henry Holmes was appointed by the London Missionary Society to the Fly River District, Papua and later also lived in the Elema District (Gulf of Papua), Jokea and Orokolo, and from 1910 in Uriki in the Purari Delta. Holmes collected anthropological data for A.C. Haddon and also wrote articles himself (Haddon 1934).

hopes that it will grant her 'moral support and material aid' so that she can spend at least a year studying the natives (OUA DC 1/4). However, she also suggests 'making and publishing a survey of all the Russian (European and Asiatic) collections relating to Northern Asia' and to bring back a 'general ethnological collection from Siberia for the Pitt Rivers Museum' (*ibid*). As previously discussed, she was expecting the majority of her funding to come from Russia through Prof Vinogradoff's connections. Her letter therefore assured Balfour that since Russian museums were already rich in North Asian collections, she would only need to gather very specific items and thus these activities would not interfere with the work she could do for the Pitt Rivers. She sent the same letter to Marett explaining that it is chiefly museum work that she can promise beforehand and asking for his approval (*ibid*).

Balfour's endorsement was crucial for the expedition planning and Czaplicka's letter demonstrates how the new generation of anthropologists had to plan novel fieldwork while at the same time appealing to the 'armchair anthropologists'. Czaplicka argues that her research had shown that there are still significant gaps in knowledge on the region and suggests that her work would be useful for 'English anthropological publications and museums' (*ibid*). While the funding that she received from the Committee was modest – just £25[108] – it was useful in obtaining further support for Henry Usher Hall. As was discussed in Chapter 4, Hall was encouraged to approach the University of Pennsylvania Museum's director, George Byron Gordon, by Marett. Omitting the

[108] As a comparison we may consider that Charles Seligman offered Malinowski £50 from his personal funds to aid the latter's fieldwork aspirations. (CUL, HP, envelope 7)

sum promised, Hall wrote to Gordon at the end of December 1913 anxious to hear if a decision had been reached as to his financing and claiming that Czaplicka had been appointed as a research student, her funding was in place and the expedition party was now being assembled. While Czaplicka's funding was not actually in place until May 1914, Hall's letter created at once the sense of urgency prevalent in anthropological collecting and adding credentials to Czaplicka and the expedition by stating that she is a research student at Oxford.

Both Czaplicka and Hall relied on their ability to collect in the field to garner support and receive funding. While Balfour was keen to augment his typological displays with specimens from around the world to allow anthropological 'weavers' to formulate theories (Balfour 1938), Gordon sought to have 'representative collections' to compete with other prestigious museums (Pezzati et al. 2012). From the outset of their correspondence, Gordon demanded to know if Hall would be in the position to collect for him and provide 'complete collections' with regard to art, industry, religious and social life of the tribes he encountered and Hall assured him that collecting was one of the 'principal aims' although the quality of the collections would depend on financing (UPMAA OD 8/10). Gordon's chief interest was in obtaining an extensive and fully representative collection and assurance that the collection would be safely transported from Siberia to the USA. Hall and Czaplicka both wrote to Gordon to further his interest, asking what sort of objects he would like to obtain, reassuring him that they have made the necessary arrangements to get collections transported and even suggesting that some of the collection may end up elsewhere if he did not commit to funding Hall (UMPAA, 8/10). In March,

when the need for funding had become very urgent, Czaplicka wrote to Gordon advising him that Hall was in touch with Aleš Hrdlička from the Smithsonian and that the latter was prepared to buy photographs from Hall. In the letter she suggests that both Hall and herself felt strongly that Hall should collect only for the University Museum and goes on to reassure Gordon once more that she has all the necessary letters of introduction to store objects in various towns and settlements on the way (UPMAA OD 4/1). After this last push, Gordon sent Hall a cheque for $1500 (£307.13.10).

It is noteworthy that despite long negotiations and deliberations (September 1913 – March 1914) Hall secured all of his funding from one source – a museum that he had no prior association with. Evidently assurances from Hall and Czaplicka and a reference letter from Marett along with a strong desire to obtain a unique collection for the museum were enough for Gordon to send a cheque for $1500 (and later a further $500 for the transport of the collection). At the same time Czaplicka relied on five different sources despite having an academic background in the study of Siberia, being the leader and organiser of the whole expedition and being appointed a research student at Oxford University. One may say that financial opportunities at Philadelphia were much better than in Oxford, which would undoubtedly be true, however Marett had been able to secure £183.3 for Diamond Jenness by simply writing to a number of colleges outlining the need for such an expedition (OUA DC 1/4). Vinogradoff's early correspondence with Marett shows that the former did not expect full funding from Russian institutions with any certainty. One thus wonders why Marett, who had encouraged Czaplicka's Siberian research and sought funds for

both her work and Jenness's, did not attempt to secure other funding as he had for Jenness.

His correspondence with Emily Penrose with regards to financial support for Czaplicka's during the writing of *Aboriginal Siberia* is revealing as it suggests that 'cold calling' for funding was not an option because she was a woman. Namely he rejects Penrose's suggestion to advertise in journals or the Gazette and instead offers that perhaps those with Polish sympathies or 'cause of the advancement of women' are worth asking. Frances Larson explores similar difficulties that women employed by Henry Wellcome encountered in financing their work. She argues that women anthropologists 'felt indebted to his generosity as they tried to find a niche for themselves in a male-dominated sphere,[and] were given less freedom to steer the course of their research' (Larson 2009: 213). Czaplicka eventually gained most of her funding from a sympathetic Mary Ewart traveling scholarship, administered specifically for women, rather than wealthy sponsors or institutions wishing to associate their name with an adventurous pursuit for new knowledge as many of her male contemporaries did.

The issues surrounding the funding of the Yenisei Expedition exemplify just how unpredictable and difficult it was to receive financing for ethnographic fieldwork and the fact that in order to receive funding, the ethnographer had to place him or herself firmly in the framework of the 'old style' fact and object collection driven anthropology. Securing support by promising to fulfil the desires of museum curators meant that the fieldwork was necessarily going to be affected by the need to gather material specified by them. There is an extent to

which some of these requests were not met and could be explained away. For example, Hall was not able to secure a shaman's dress as no shaman would part with one (cf. Chapter 6, p. 271). However, the fieldwork was, by and large, dominated by the need to collect objects, tales and take photographs as well as gather descriptive information about these.

Collecting people

Czaplicka's Oxford background, interest in the influence of environment on humans[109] and racial origins meant that collecting physical anthropology data was also inherent to the fieldwork. Collecting anthropometric measurements, objects and tales from as many people as possible was a prerequisite of ethnographic fieldwork in the 1910s. While Rivers argued that collecting object and taking physical measurements impeded intensive style fieldwork, he did not fully dismiss them, but rather suggested that one should wait until a firm relationship with the indigenous community had been established, after which 'he may often obtain objects ungrudgingly which would never even be seen by the mere collector' (Rivers 1913: 12).

> If the physical measurements be postponed till a later stage of the inquiry, all that is wished can be done, and done far more effectually and completely, while other lines of inquiry will prevent misunderstanding and confusion which may be the chief outcome of the measurements alone (Rivers 1913: 13).

[109] Arthur Thomson's most notable contribution in human anatomy was the formulation of Thomson's Nose Rule according to which people from cold and dry climates tend to have long and thin noses while those from warm and humid climates appear to have shorter and stouter ones (Thomson and Buxton 1923). Czaplicka's data is likely to have been used in the formulation of this thesis. Buxton certainly used her data extensively in his 1925 *Peoples of Asia*.

He further underlines that collecting in the intensive mode makes each object more meaningful as the researcher is in the position to understand how it is manufactured and its role in the society. Thus, while Rivers's suggestions have been seen as critical in moving away from collecting-centred fieldwork, his approach in fact reveals that his chief concern was with the quality of the data.

Indeed, as Young's analysis of Malinowski's early fieldwork demonstrates, it was imperative to salvage anthropology to use one's time efficiently and gather as much as possible in the time one had. For Malinowski, this meant covering areas of Melanesia that anthropologists had little information about. For Czaplicka it meant getting anything and everything possible from the area she was exploring. While her chief interest was with the Tungus (Evenki), she also gathered material about the Nenets, the Enets, the Ket, the Dolgan, and the Yakut. She further made a trip to the Abakhan steppe in the Minusinsk region to visit Minusinsk Museum and obtain archaeological specimens. Her publications demonstrate her wide-ranging interests with observations on not only indigenous groups but also the 'Sibiriak' – Russians that had adapted to living in Siberia.

The discourse of salvage anthropology demanded that the ethnographer paid attention to as much as possible and rescued 'facts' about the native people he/she encountered. This was at odds with the encounters that the emerging 'intensive fieldwork' mode yielded and the growing need for a more nuanced understanding of social life.[110] It would seem that the new wave of professional

[110] This shifting understanding of anthropology's task is discussed in Chapter 6 in terms of an 'epistemic shift' and move from controlling excessive information to embracing the abundance of human experience (Edwards 2016) in the form of ethnographic monograph.

ethnographers were only able to respond to the demands of the latter after the needs of the former had been attended to. Even in the 1930s, when Beatrice Blackwood conducted fieldwork in the Solomon islands, she only felt at ease to carry out 'Malinowski-style' fieldwork and focus on her own agenda in Kurtachi after she had collected the bulk of Balfour's 'wish list' in Petats (Larson 2011: 84).

While collecting both material objects and physical measurements may have been a more prevalent concern at Oxford, and it certainly remained so for much longer than elsewhere, these obligations were present for all early fieldworkers. It was the gradual development of field methods through an increasing number of anthropological expeditions that shifted the focus elsewhere. The support and demands from museums and 'armchair anthropologists' were central to the first generation of professional anthropologists and as such, they understandably influenced the output of these anthropologists. The existence of an ethnographic museum and its position at the heart of anthropology in Oxford delayed the shift towards anthropology oriented at the sociology of groups and as we can see in Blackwood's case, inhibited the realization of the potential that the researchers had. However, the fieldwork activities of the first generation of Diploma students do not suggest that Oxford anthropology was somehow inherently backward (as suggested in Barth 2005) with regards to fieldwork or indeed that its students could not or would not engage in nuanced and empathetic ethnographic fieldwork.

In the field: influence of the location

Once the fieldwork was planned and funded, the anthropologists were still to contend with the specific opportunities and constraints that their chosen field site offered. Young's examination of Malinowski's choice of fieldwork location gives some indication of its significance to his research (Young 1984). Much in line with Rivers's suggestion that one should choose a site where people have been subject to 'the mollifying influence of the official and the missionary' (Rivers 1913: 7), Malinowski enjoyed relative comfort and support in Kiriwina thanks to its sympathetic and meticulous governor R.L. Bellamy.[111] He further benefited from considerable background knowledge on the area through Seligman's work, which enabled him to quickly grasp which topics required closer attention. Young's analysis highlights the role of the network of men that supported, influenced and at times, obstructed, Malinowski's research – a theme that I will also consider with regards to Czpalicka's work. However, more basic considerations of the climate and landscape of the field site are also central to the effect that the location had on the outcomes of anthropological research.

The 'limited area' in Czaplicka's 'intensive study' was that of the Lower Yenisei region, with a particular focus on the Illimpei tundra. Due to special conditions of travel in the area, it was impossible for her to get to her chosen area before the winter and she needed to leave before the spring. While her research proposal makes it clear that her chief object of study was going to be the Evenki,

[111] While Malinowski later fell out with Bellamy and the two report unfavourably on each other, Young suggests that Bellamy's narrative style and systematic accounts may have drawn Malinowski in. In comparison to Mailu, Malinowski certainly seemed to get on better with Trobriand islanders, perhaps due to the relative 'civility' of the place.

she made allowances to simply go into the area and do *some* work. Indeed, in her requests for funding support to the Mary Ewart Travelling Scholarship Committee, Czaplicka indicates that she would need at least £100 in order to stay for summer only while £200 would allow her to stay in Russia for a year (SCA, CP). If she stayed for the summer only, she would not have been able to travel inland to study the Evenki.

Both Jenness and Czaplicka did a great deal of travelling in their first fieldwork, as indeed Malinowski was intending to (Young 1984). This is at odds with the idea of a lone-fieldworker studying minute detail of the life of one community advocated by Rivers in 1913. Jenness went to the field in 1911, before Rivers' publication and indeed before the heavily edited *Notes and Queries* of 1912. Following advice from Marett, Haddon, Seligman, and Frazer among others, Jenness embarked on fieldwork that differed from Haddon's survey in degree rather than kind through a limited focus on a specific area. He produced more detailed information, but the extent of engagement with native communities was essentially mimicking earlier survey work. Indeed, Marett comments in his preface that 'touring… proves the ideal method of anthropological research' (Jenness and Ballantyne 1920: 7) as Jenness and his brother-in-law, Rev. A. Ballantyne, visited villages known to the latter. Close cooperation with a local missionary is a further indication of how this research was conducted in a mode discouraged by Rivers in 1913 while Jenness' lack of ownership of the material[112] is symptomatic of what Malinowski dubbed 'collectioneering of facts'. Jenness'

[112] In his letters to Marett, Jenness advises Marett that he may do as he wishes with the report and in the preface of the report he credits his brother-in-law with any merit that may be found in it (cf. Chapter 3, p. 164).

attitude towards the writing of the report certainly suggests that while he felt obliged to finish it (and indeed he was, as part of his funding criteria), he was well aware of its shortcomings and possibly wished to disassociate from it in some ways (see also Wright 1992).

In contrast to Jenness's Papuan undertaking, Czaplicka was better prepared for her fieldwork in terms of specialist knowledge and having the more recent edition of *Notes and Queries* to guide her. However, she had very little in terms of local support and knowledge networks. While her contemporaries explored areas subject to British colonial rule and thus could rely on a letter of reference from their supervisor to the local governor, Czaplicka had to mobilise her contacts through personal networks in order to receive letters of introduction that would enable her to carry out the research. She counted Sir Edward Grey, British foreign secretary, and Sir George Buchanan, the British Ambassador in Russia, among those who helped her with recommendations and official letters (OU SCA Library PS III B). She further sourced an official letter from the Yeniseisk province duma member, Stefan Vasilevich Vostrotin. The fact that she travelled alone ahead of the party to St Petersburg to secure the necessary permits and letters demonstrates the effort she personally imparted to ensure the expedition was situated within the Russian administrative network. Her main source of practical local support was the Siberian Steamship Company – an Anglo-Norwegian company led by Alfred Derry (London) and Jonas Lied (Norway) whose right-hand man, Gunnar Christiansen became an indispensable ally in organising provisions, travel, guns, and managing expedition finances from the local centre – Krasnoyarsk.

Figure 5.2: Building which housed both Revillon Frères and the Siberian Steamship Company and was the headquarters for the Siberian Expedition. Today it stands derelict on the central street of Krasnoyarsk.

The lack of knowledge of her expedition in Krasnoyarsk and a lack of references to her in the State Archive and the Krasnoyarsk Regional Museum Archive[113] testify to the absence of relationships with local ethnographers. An exception was Mr Kosmin, an active member of the Northeast Siberian subsection of the Imperial Geographical Society from whom Czaplicka learnt about the history of the region in the Spring of 1915 (Czaplicka 1916a: 256, 280). During the journey to Siberia, the party spent just a Sunday evening in Krasnoyarsk during which they collected provisions and arranged their affairs with Mr Christiansen's help, before hurrying to catch the steamer North. Thus there was no chance to meet any members of the local intelligentsia and it does

[113] The only material traces that I was able to discover was one letter from Czaplicka to Avramenko in the Regional Museum archives (see p. 248) and a handful of notices in local newspapers announcing their return from the field.

not appear that Czaplicka had contacted anyone locally prior to the journey. On the return journey, Hall and Czaplicka would have found the town rather empty of ethnographers as the local museum curator, Arkadii Tugarinov, was on a European excursion and his assistant on an expedition in the Western Yenisei region (KKKM 7886/206); summer was the prime time for regional researchers to conduct archaeological and ethnographic investigations in remote areas of Siberia.

During their research, Czaplicka commissioned the help of a political exile, Avramenko, who was in charge of a weathering station near Dudinka, to fill in questionnaires about natives that he encountered there during summer 1914. On 23 June Czaplicka sent Avramenko a letter accompanied by 'questionnaire no. 219'. In this letter she asks him to fill in the questionnaire for each native that should come to Dudinka over the summer. She goes on to say that she wishes to gain as complete a picture as possible of 'all natives of the Yenisei' and only certain people can help her in this endeavour as most 'ordinary people' do not understand what is most interesting about native inhabitants. She further asks him if he could ask the indigenous people to come to his house when the last steamer passes it on the way south, so that she and Hall could come ashore and take their physical measurements in exchange for 'gifts' (tobacco and tea). Finally she says that if he has a chance to collect any 'ostyak' (Ket) or 'tungus' (Evenki) objects such as a shaman's coat or drum, a bow, or fire making implements, then they would be glad to purchase those for up to 30 roubles, however he must be careful to note who he got those from and the entire history of the object (KKKM 6019/54).

These instructions are entirely in keeping with the advice promulgated by *Notes and Queries*, employing a 'knowledgeable' person to attend to the questioning and obtaining a comprehensive understanding of the natives of an area. Czaplicka's writing indicates that she thought highly of political exiles in Siberia, who she felt were intellectually capable people forced into the fringes of the empire (cf. Chapter 4, p. 200). She compared their relationship to authorities in European Russia to those between Canadians and the British (Czaplicka 1916a: 305). Thus, when employing Avramenko, she clearly thought he was better than the 'ordinary person', perhaps more akin to exiles-turned-ethnographers Jochelson and Bogoras, and thus suited to collect trustworthy information.

There is no evidence that Czaplicka engaged other Europeans in a similar manner, however, reference in *My Siberian Year* and various lectures, make apparent that she associated with a number of traders and exiles in this way, so it is likely she collected information from them. For example, Czaplicka acknowledges Ivanoff, a trader she met on Christovo Island, for his knowledge and relationship with the Yurak (Nenets), who counted him as one of their shamans (Czaplicka 1916a: 17-19). Further, Hall's notes on the photograph collection reveal that two photographs collected by the pair were taken 'by a political exile of the name Dudin' and given to them by a 'Lett' (Lithuanian) in exile at Turukhansk (UPMAA, SEF). So it is possible that she may have given questionnaires to other people she met along the Yenisei and whom she expected to see again on the return journey to Turukhansk. She used the help of a local catechist, Mikhail Suslov, to learn the Evenki language but according to her book he was only one of three European men that she and Hall met during their

winter journey (Kubica 2015b: 11). In the spring she had two political exiles, Schochin and Dannenberg, help her with more measurements and developing photographs in Turukhansk while waiting for the ice to break to journey back south (Czaplicka 1915). The role of the exiles, deemed suitable to provide good quality information, offers a different perspective on the gathering of ethnographic material in the early twentieth century. The picture that emerges of the expedition's involvement with non-natives is rather different to that of Jenness and Malinowski in Papua New Guinea, where colonial administration and missionaries were a visible presence. However, in all of these cases, a patchwork of sources and influences can be observed.

The Yenisei Expedition displays a mixture of fieldwork methods and traits, reflective of the developments in the discipline but importantly also responding to local conditions. The expedition party was only able to travel via the Yenisei River, which meant that they were relying on the river being free of ice and a steamship travelling in the right direction. [114] Thus, they left Krasnoyarsk on June 7, 1914 to travel to the mouth of the river by the Arctic ocean, and spent just over two months in Golchikha. The location was not conducive to sociological work as the people Czaplicka encountered there were mostly impoverished Nenets, Enets and Nganasan families that were obliged to fish for Russian traders to repay their debts. While it was possible to obtain certain 'ethnographic facts', photograph and take physical measurements, there was little to explore in terms of on-going social life.

[114] Land travel would have been possible from Krasnoyarsk in the winter months, however it would have been much more expensive

The journey back to Monastir-Turukhansk, from where Czaplicka and Hall embarked on their journey inland, took over two weeks, and in Turukhansk they had to wait longer still until 'the frost becomes severe and snow deep enough for sledge travel' (Czaplicka 1915: 68). Czaplicka used this time to learn Evenki and employ an Evenki woman, Michikha, into her service as a companion and interpreter. When they were finally able to set off, they travelled from one family compound to another employing native guides and their reindeer. Significantly, they mostly stayed in the *chums* of their host, only using their own tent for a total of about three weeks during the five and a half months that they travelled a distance of over 3000km (Czaplicka 1916b, Hall 1916). Thus on the one hand the research was conducted on the move and stays in any one place were limited, but on the other, Hall and Czpalicka situated themselves in intimate proximity to their informants, sleeping side by side with them.

The glimpses into the daily life in the tundra that we get from *My Siberian Year* are brought to life in descriptions such as that of the women rising early in freezing temperatures.

> The housewife requires no small effort of resolution to get herself out of the sleeping bag... in the bitter cold of the winter, when the moisture of the breath freezes on the coverings that she has pulled up over her head, so that she has cautiously to pull away the hide or cloth that has stuck to her face, slip into her clothes... and set to work in temperatures many degrees below zero to rekindle the fire (Czaplicka 1916a: 57-58).

The detail and sensory engagement that Czaplicka's narrative evokes attests to the personal experiences and witnessing of the daily life of her subjects. Czaplicka and Hall travelled by reindeer, dressed in native boots and furs, ate

with their hosts and limited washing to just their face and hands with a cupful of water a day. However they were but guests among their informants and were in many respects forced to adopt the local way of life in order to cope with the cold and scant resources. Moving on every few days inhibited gaining insights that Malinowski gained in Kiriwina or Jenness did in the Coronation Gulf area. However, the harsh Arctic climate necessitated assuming an indigenous mode of life immediately and intimately and was not the result of a deliberate change of tactics in search of greater sociological insight.

Fieldwork genres: merging theory, training and skills

One of the main challenges of examining attempts at anthropological fieldwork, particularly ones that took place over a century ago, is the teasing apart of the lived experience and its ethnographic representation. Indeed, it is perhaps impossible to do so. The dissonance between Malinowski's authoritative and compelling monographs and his diaries resulted in a series of reassessments of his fieldwork experience and subsequent ethnography which in turn have resulted in a stronger comprehension that the Malinowskian fieldwork model was as much the result of his assertive self-promotion as of qualitatively different fieldwork engagements. Educational and institutional backgrounds, training, and field location influenced the way in which the first generation of academically trained anthropologists began to weave together their theoretical training with fieldwork experiences and the kinds of outputs this generated.

Both Maria Czaplicka and Bronislaw Malinowski had published specialised research on the area that they intended to investigate further through

fieldwork. Indeed, Czaplicka recommended that Marett employ Malinowski as his secretary at the British Association meeting in Australia so that the latter could see 'with his own eyes those people of Antipodes about whom he had hitherto known from books alone' (Marett quoted in Kuper 1996: 11). Czaplicka employed similar language with regards to her fieldwork – *Aboriginal Siberia* being the study that fired her desire to see the 'native tribes' for herself. The crucial difference between the work that the two Poles undertook and one that is reflected in their subsequent approach to fieldwork is in the range of topics studied. Malinowski was working under Seligman at LSE. His book, *The Family Among the Australian Aborigines: A Sociological Study*, as the title suggests, only dealt with the sociology of the family, clearly following the sociological leaning of LSE anthropology. It reveals Malinowski's approach and preoccupation with detail as even in this 'armchair' study he dedicates the first chapter to 'Exposition of problem and method' where he sets out current problems in the treatment of the topic and how he intends to tackle these. Czaplicka, on the other hand, compiled a handbook covering a breadth of anthropological aspects of a multitude of native groups in response to the need to provide data inaccessible to Western scholars. The broad subject matter is reflective of both the teaching of anthropology at Oxford and the need to provide data for theorists employing the comparative method. However, her attempt to introduce a new classification method of Neo- and Palaeo-Siberians is also in line with her training in geography and subsequent interests in distribution, migration, and the effect of environment on its inhabitants.

The seeds of these different approaches, stemming from educational and institutional backgrounds, are cultivated during fieldwork. Malinowski's early writing based on his fieldwork experiences generally centres on one sociological topic such as economy or religion, whose discussion entails the totality of social life (Malinowski 1916, Malinowski and Young 1988). His letters to Seligman, pointing to aspects that he thinks deserve closer attention (e.g. *kula*), suggest that he was also thinking through such themes in the field (Young 1984). Furthermore, in his 'Baloma' article he argued that interpretation *was* the scientific fact in anthropology and as such, ordering, classifying and interpreting needed to occur in the field where such interpretations can 'fix facts' of organic life (Malinowski 1916: 418-19). It is clear that the way in which Malinowski approached anthropological research in general (and particularly the sociological slant) affected his methodology in the field – a long-term and intimate relationship with his subjects yielding best results.

While the bulk of Czaplicka's post-fieldwork writing was in a more popular genre, there were several addresses to learned societies, where she gave detailed accounts of the journey and commented on racial purity, certain social and religious rites of the native inhabitants and discussed the economic and political context of Siberia more generally. Fittingly, her work was chiefly presented at and published by geographical societies. The few clues found in archives on the subject of the expedition report also suggest that her prevalent concerns were those of 'racial composition', the division and old migration patterns of native groups, relations between Russian Siberians and native inhabitants and the development of the 'Sibiriak type'. The focus of her concerns

is more closely aligned with Russian Ethnographers working in Siberia than those that developed by British anthropological research in its colonies. In the surviving pages of what appears to be a draft manuscript, she suggests that the 'scientific' report of the expedition was to 'supplement' *Aboriginal Siberia* (LCA EJL 8). It is apparent that the aim with which she went into the field was to fill gaps on the geographical region of the Northern Yenisei to provide a more holistic overview of a region, offer new information and elaborate on her ideas about historic migration and mixing between indigenous groups. Thus her 'intensive' research was aimed at yielding more accurate and detailed data for different branches of anthropology in accordance with the perceived needs of the subject at the time (Rivers 1913).

Engaging with the field

It is apparent that a number of factors, such as fieldwork location, personal aims, institutional context and funding determined how the work was carried out, analysed and presented. However, there was a range of skills and training (or lack of) that was broadly common to the first generation of professional anthropologists and it appears that these were used in broadly similar ways – in fact, the actual engagement with the 'field', at least initially, followed a similar pattern, not dissimilar to what students are advised to do today. The elements of fieldwork practice employed by researchers were assuming a social identity among their informants, proximity to the subject, language learning as well as the use of interpreters and native informants. Early attempts at 'intensive' study clearly have in them the making of 'participant-

observation' and while it is impossible to know, I think it is likely, that Czaplicka, like Jenness and Malinowski, would have engaged in a more exhaustive fieldwork on second attempt although unlikely to have produced anything akin to Malinowski's work due to the marked differences in their academic interests. The concerns and approaches she developed during her short academic career point to anthropology more akin to the North American tradition. In particular, Boas's anthropogeography and interest in the influence of environment on humans is evident early on in Czaplicka's career and is further supported by her communication with him over the possibility of finding a job in the USA (cf. Chapter 4, p. 206)

At the core of participant-observation method of fieldwork is the ability of the researcher to intermingle with his or her subjects, learn their language and live their life as they do while at the same time maintaining some distance in order to 'observe' and generalise. The beginnings of this method can clearly be seen in the work of early twentieth-century fieldworkers and are most clearly detailed in Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. According to Stocking, Malinowski was able to assert his ethnographic authority on Trobriand islanders through his command of the language and long-term habitation in the village, however these were not innovations in fieldwork. From the early fieldworkers group (Stocking 1995) most went into the field before Malinowski and many learnt the language of the local communities. Czaplicka states that she made an effort to study several languages in the field, in particular she notes that she learnt some Yurak (Nenets), but nothing close to the proficiency that she obtained in Tungus (Evenki), which she knew well enough to check her

interpreter's translations (Czaplicka 1916a). Czaplicka was a polyglot, like Malinowski – a necessity of being an intellectual in a country divided among different powers. She spoke Polish, Russian, German, English, and French and by all accounts seemed to have a similar ability to grasp a new language quickly. Czaplicka did not however dwell on her knowledge of the local language nor attempted to use it as a particular indication of her authority, rather relying on facts and events of the expedition to communicate her experiences.

Similarly, her description of staying in native *chums* during their travels in the tundra does little to suggest that this was out of the ordinary:

> [b]y travelling as we did [hiring a native guide and his reindeer], we were able to spend the time between stages in the native chums or tents, which, of course, was just what we wished to do (Czaplicka 1916b: 34).

Czaplicka's description intimates that living with her subjects was always the intention and the most logical way of obtaining the information she was after. In contrast, Malinowski decided that he must live in the village rather than on its outskirts, only after dissatisfying results in Mailu. Indeed, his diaries reveal that during his first bout of research in Mailu he discovered that his occasional stays in the village provided the best data, however he was finding the proximity and intensity of such stays uncomfortable (Stocking 1984). One wonders whether this discomfort and subsequent conscious effort to overcome it for research purposes played a role in Malinowski advocating it so strongly as a necessary part of fieldwork.

It is difficult to assess the exact conditions of Czaplicka's fieldwork as the location of her and Hall's expedition diaries are unknown. However, the existing

archival and published material reveals how fieldwork in Siberia was shaped by the perceived needs of anthropology, local conditions, institutional background as well as wider socio-political circumstances. Comparing the Siberian expedition to those of Jenness and Malinowski helps to situate all of them in a context dominated by the expectations of the discipline, advice offered by *Notes and Queries*, the dominant concerns of institutions representing the development of different *kinds* of anthropology, and how this work further developed through the fieldwork experience. The Yenisei expedition offered Czaplicka a means to popular representation and certainly helped her obtain a role in Oxford and then Bristol, but in the academic work she managed to publish, fieldwork material gets little use. Instead, Czaplicka relies on other sources to discuss Asian migrations and the existence of the 'Tungus race' while fieldwork experiences become a vignette adding colour and examples to her general claims and 'a contribution to this little known people' (Czaplicka 1917: 302).

Czaplicka's leaning towards geography and preoccupation with racial types and migrations is more strongly aligned with prevalent concerns in North American and Russian anthropology in contrast to the social anthropology that developed in the UK under Malinowski's guidance. As such fieldwork was still primarily a collecting mission and survey of a limited area. Had she pursued her interests in the region her engagement in the field may have resembled more closely that of Jenness, who did not pursue topics of sociology[115] in the way

[115] As government anthropologist, Jenness was tasked with producing scientific reports based on his research.

Malinowski did but certainly became fully engrossed with his subjects over two years of intensive fieldwork in the Canadian Arctic.

Conclusion

In her response to Terence Wright's article comparing Malinowski and Jenness' fieldwork photography in Melanesia, Elizabeth Edwards says:

> [n]o one would be foolish enough to claim that Jenness was as fine an ethnographer or as visionary an anthropologist as Malinowski, but a different interpretative strategy would perhaps place him on a continuum of developing anthropological method, which underwent a brilliant crystallization with Malinowski (Edwards 1992b: 90)

My study of early ethnographic fieldwork suggests that early professional anthropologists were not so much on a continuum, but rather situated within a number of parallel developments in anthropological method. These had certain common features emanating from the works of people such as Haddon, Rivers, and Seligman, but at the same time the researchers drew from other traditions and were influenced by their particular circumstances. Jenness' transition from a fairly superficial survey work done in the D'Entrecasteaux archipelago to intimate and intensive participant-observation among the Inuit was result of both his previous experiences and the conditions created in the field. Czaplicka's mission to collect physical measurements, tales, and objects in Northern Siberia created a certain immediate intimacy with her informants, but the research itself was nomadic and not conducive to a close sociological study. However, if we consider that Malinowski's legacy to anthropology was also to steer it strongly towards *social* anthropology, then perhaps Czaplicka's role in the history of anthropology

in its more holistic guise points to the beginnings of a fieldwork-based approach which was also grounded in material culture.

This chapter has argued that the first generation of fieldworking anthropologists were experimenting with field methods based on the models available to them and their work depended largely on the influences and desires of their supporting institutions and funding bodies. Initial experiments in anthropological fieldwork naturally leaned towards 'collectioneering' and indeed in many cases had to first satisfy the needs of funders before embarking on any innovative study. Further, the location of the fieldwork itself dictated how the fieldwork could be carried out as well as what theoretical models would be employed. Thus, Maria Czaplicka's expedition, although conducted under the auspices of Oxford University, was heavily influenced by the experiences of Russian ethnographers such as Bogoras, Jochelson, and Shirokogoroff. Further, the Arctic conditions of Czaplicka's as well as Jenness' second fieldwork, necessitated an intimacy with informants from the outset, rather than being the result of perceived academic need, as with Malinowski. However, the combination of the broad spectrum of Oxford anthropology along with the impact of World War I – and in Jenness's case close collaboration with the Canadian Government – in the work of early Oxford anthropologists meant that the insights gained from fieldwork were not elaborated into concrete methods and passed onto the next generation.

6. The material history of the Siberian expedition

In the previous chapter I argued that institutional desires and expectations were a dominant force in shaping Maria Czaplicka's fieldwork. Highlighting the influence of museums in shaping the expedition emphasises the role of ethnographers as collectors and the guiding force of institutional agendas, however the collections can also point to the everyday realities, mishaps, and social interactions in the field. In this chapter I will explore the potential of the Siberian collections to speak of an uncertain period in the history of anthropology, of intersecting and layered intentions, material experiences of the field and relationships forged during it.

Elizabeth Edwards has argued that turn-of-the-century anthropology was undergoing an epistemological shift characterised by an increased interest in human presents over pasts and by an emergence of the ethnographer's body as the observational tool leading to 'the marginalization or even disappearance of the technologies of document making' (Edwards 2016: 112). This shift can be understood in terms of changing notions of objectivity proposed by Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison (2010). The change in anthropology can thus be seen broadly in terms of the move from 'mechanical objectivity' characterised by the use of cameras, measurements and instruments such as tintometers[116] to 'trained judgement', where the ethnographer became the means by which one may 'get to the reality' (*ibid*: 360) and relay this reality to an audience.

[116] Tintometer was an instrument intended to measure peoples' relative sensitivity to different colours. An illuminating discussion about this apparatus can be found in Martin (2016).

In her analysis of three key statements on the relationship between photographs and anthropological evidence in this period, Edwards concedes that these do not form a 'neat or satisfying chronological or methodological progression' (2016: 91). Rather, the epistemic shift in the discipline was characterised by 'struggle to create adequate scientific documents during a period of methodological development and uncertainty' (*ibid*). Czaplicka's fieldwork, carried out within the broad remit of the Oxford school (cf. Chapter 3) but also guided by the 1912 edition of *Notes and Queries* (cf. Chapter 5, see also Edwards 2016, Urry 1972), is, I argue, enmeshed in this period of uncertainty and shift towards trained judgement in anthropology. Her collection of objects and photographs as well as her textual outputs acted both as ready 'facts of anthropology' (Poole quoted in Edwards 2016: 93) and as an 'extension, a prosthesis of the fieldwork persona' (Edwards 2016: 116) pointing to the human experience of the field.

In the absence of field diaries and the manuscript of the expedition report, the photograph and object collections held at the Pitt Rivers Museum (listed in Appendix C) and the University of Philadelphia Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology offer alternative evidence about Maria Czaplicka and Henry Usher Hall's fieldwork in the Siberian Arctic. Whilst the lack of diaries and field notes makes it difficult to contextualise this material, it prompts the question of the possibility of using material sources to write histories. Drawing from recent studies in visual anthropology that emphasize the potential of 'presence' in the study of museum photographs (Edwards 2015, Morton and Geismar 2015, Pinney 2005) as 'a way of thinking experience back into the historical equation' (Edwards

2015: 242), I argue that museum objects as well as photographs speak beyond the evidence or representation they were intended to convey. Attention to materiality's 'excess' (Poole 1997, Pinney 2005), 'abundance' (Edwards 2015) and looking to their 'margins' (Axel 2002) opens possibilities for multiple and layered histories.

When Czaplicka first presented the outcomes of her exhibition in the lecture room of the Natural History Museum in Oxford, the room was adorned with objects from her collection bearing physical trace of her presence in the field. Objects, like photographs, have presence embedded in 'the ontological stream of the medium' and can act as 'conduit[s] for affect' (Edwards 2015: 239). Presence as 'the unrepresented way the past is present in the present' (Runia 2006b: 1) sticks to the objects even as they are displayed according to representational conventions of a museum and are made to tell a story. The other pasts – those of the fieldworker, the maker, the grandson, whose grandmother's remains were taken to Oxford for scientific examination (cf. p. 300) - cling to objects. This, I argue, is the abundance of materiality, a field of affective intensity, excess 'which can never be encompassed by linguistic-philosophical closure' (Pinney 2005: 266) that yields new questions and narratives.

In this chapter I will explore the potential of the material abundance in understanding the Siberian Expedition. I do this in two parts - firstly by considering collections as a product and secondly as a process of anthropological knowledge making. I begin by considering the institutional creation of the collections with a particular emphasis on the Hall collection and argue that while the collection was created in response to George Byron Gordon's instructions,

this narrative is not sufficient for explaining which objects came to Pennsylvania, why they did nor what they mean. Instead, I propose a model based on intersections and layering of intentions, relationships, and mishaps to explain the 'coming together' of a collection. In the second part of the chapter, I rethink the Siberian collections as a material trace of field experiences by examining the Hall and Czaplicka collection through notions of 'presence' and 'abundance' and showing how the ethnographers' social and bodily encounters in the field were transmitted to the museum through photographs, clothing, and other material traces. I further argue that the provenance of many objects retrieved from graves points again to an uncertain phase in the history of anthropology, where the needs of anthropology preoccupied with human pasts and material facts were in conflict with the needs of anthropology that was concerned with human presents and advocated building relationships in the field.

The Czaplicka and Hall Collections

Figure 6.1: Maria Czaplicka and Henry Usher Hall with some of their collection (Pitt Rivers Photograph Collections 1998.271.40)

Most of the objects and photographs from the Siberian expedition are held at the University of Oxford's Pitt Rivers Museum (Czaplicka collection) and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (Hall collection). The Czaplicka collection consists of 156 objects and approximately 230 photographic images. The Hall collection consists of 74 objects and 73 photographs.[117] Object catalogues reveal that objects were acquired from the Lower Yenisei region where the expedition party spent the summer, the Illimpei

[117] These object numbers denote units as collected by Czaplicka rather than separate entities accessioned (e.g. the mammoth ivory chess set is counted as one object). The photograph collection includes negatives, prints, glass negatives, and lantern slides with approximately 131 original photographic images. Most of the photographs exist in both collections; negatives from the Hall collection are only preserved in digital form.

tundra along the Yenisei River, Monastir Turkhansk and from the Minusinsk Museum. The accession records at the Pitt Rivers Museum are detailed containing objects locations, local names and explanations and while current catalogue records for the Hall collection are rudimentary, the original typescript held in the museum archive shows that Hall's documentation was similarly thorough. However, Hall's records denote only six locations – the Illimpei tundra, Turukhansk, Middle Yenisei, Lower Yenisei Valley, Lake Yessei, and Minusinsk, while Czaplicka's records note 28 separate locations as well as two with specific geographical coordinates. The disparity in the level of detail between the two collections could be linked to the durability of documentation or simply the amount of information deemed necessary for their respective host institutions. Alternatively, they could point to collecting practices that were concentrated in a few main sites but where the documentation of 'original' sources implies collecting beyond those locations.[118]

In accordance with the broad scientific interests cultivated by early anthropologists, Czaplicka did not only collect ethnographic material for the Pitt Rivers Museum. She also brought back animal skins and skeletons (held at Oxford University's Natural History Museum),[119] she is named as a collector of Russian Asian material in the Fielding-Druce Herbarium Collectors list (Harris

[118] During attempts to map the collecting locations of the objects held at the Pitt Rivers Museum, it became clear that there is an uneasy fit between locations noted in catalogue records and actual geographical location. Collecting practices that prioritised the accrual of comparative material along with the nomadic lifestyle of people that Czaplicka met and her own ability to use trading posts along the Yenisei river means that there is no certain and direct correlation between the ethnographer's field site and the original source of the object.

[119] Currently, at least 15 specimens of skins and skeletons of animals such as the Arctic fox, stoat, Siberian weasel, Siberian flying squirrel, Siberian chipmunk and European water vole are known to be held at the OUMNH (Nowak-Kemp 2017).

2015) and it is known that she also collected mammoth bones, sound recordings (la Rue 1996), and human remains (Czaplicka 1916a). The documentation pertaining to the latter collections is more fragmented, absent or inaccessible compared to the ethnographic collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum, making it difficult to assess their place in anthropology. A distinct move away from physical anthropology practices within anthropology may be responsible for the absence of material and data on the human remains. In the successive events of the dissolving of the Oxford University Museum's Human Anatomy department and the Physical Anthropology department, the actions taken in relocating or disposing of material is not well recorded making it virtually impossible to know what happened to the human remains gathered from Siberia. The realisation that human remains of known individuals were removed from graves and shipped to Oxford but that nothing else of their fate or current location is known, is unsettling.[120] Without this knowledge, it is difficult to reconcile the history of the expedition with the contemporary significance of the collection to the museum and the source community.

Czaplicka's companions also contributed to the gathering of information, ethnographic and otherwise, of Siberia. Henry Usher Hall's collection is the most notable one and it appears that he collected ethnographic material exclusively for

[120] Documentation is very scarce and scattered. The human remains also appear to have been particularly anonymised and thus it is difficult to discern what happened to this specific collection. It may be that some remains were transferred to the Royal College of Physicians in the 1940s when the Museum's Human Anatomy department closed or transferred to the Physical Anthropology department. It is also possible that these were discarded. For example, in 1935 Dudley Buxton and Beatrice Blackwood deposited unwanted specimens of human skeletal remains in the foundation of the New Chemistry Building (OUMNH Life Collections Archives).

the Penn Museum,[121] however as will be discussed in the following sections, his collecting activities in the field are nearly impossible to tease apart from those of Maria Czaplicka. Of the other expedition members who stayed in Siberia until September 1915, Maud Haviland made a collection of bird eggs for the Museum of Natural History in London as well as taking photographs and describing bird species she studied in books, lectures and articles (Riviere 1941). Dora Curtis, a well-respected professional artist, is described as drawing landscapes and indigenous people, but again, the fate of these drawings is unknown.[122] Therefore, despite the 1914-15 Siberian expedition being most noticeably represented by Hall and Czaplicka's ethnographic collections and Czaplicka's *My Siberian Year*, the material traces of the expedition are distributed across a number of public and private spheres. All four expedition members wrote about their experiences, and all made some collections. Objects collected were given as gifts, kept in the personal realm or accessioned into institutional collections. Photographs circulated between academics but also from private hands such as those of Miss Jennings, Barbara Aitken, and Maud Brindley to Ethel Lindgren in the 1930s. Together, these traces suggest a narrative of ethnographic fieldwork that strove towards scientific objectivity but was equally enmeshed in human relations.

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[121] Mr Harrison, friend of G. B. Gordon, approached Hall with a request to acquire some horns for his animal trophy collection but it is not clear whether this transaction took place.

[122] In a letter to Emily Penrose, Czaplicka says that Curtis has made some of the drawings for her, but is taking them to England ahead of her own return (SCA, CP). Between 1933 and 1935, Ethel J Lindgren attempted to trace these with the help of Charles Seligman and Maud Brindley, however as Dora Curtis died in 1920 and did not have good relations with her sister, it was felt likely that her material would have been destroyed (LCA EJL 8). In 2016, contact with Thea Abbot, biographer of Diane Poulton, Curtis's niece, yielded no further information.

Institutional provenance

The Siberian collections have been described as 'divided between the Pitt Rivers and the Pennsylvania University Museums' (Collins and Urry 1997: 19) implying that a set of objects were collected and only separated after the fact. However the histories of their formation and institutional life have divergences and particularities linked to their respective host institutions. The most striking difference between the Hall and Czaplicka collections today is in their physical surroundings. While 61 objects from the Czaplicka collection are on permanent display in Oxford,[123] the entirety of the Hall collection is stored in modern storage facilities in Philadelphia. Considering that the latter museum fully sponsored Hall to assemble the collection, it is noteworthy that the objects were only displayed for a short period of time subsequently. Hall transported the collection back to the USA in February 1916 after which it was accessioned into the museum's collections. The museum report of March 1916 states:

> [t]he collection has been catalogued and placed in exhibition cases in the old lecture room. In the same room have been installed the collection acquired through Mr. Wanamaker and collected by Captain Bernard among the Eskimo of Coronation Gulf and Victoria Land; some examples of the decorated pottery collected by Dr. Farabee, seven finely carved and painted Bagobo shields and a remarkable bamboo carpet measuring 32' by 12'. (UPMAA Board of Managers Minutes, Dec 1915- June 1920, pp. 22-23)

It is unclear whether the collection remained in the 'old lecture room' until they were stored since documentation pertaining to displays in this early period is scarce (Pezzati, personal communication). At the Museum Archive, Hall's 1928

[123] At the time of writing, a temporary display 'My Siberian Year' (discussed in Chapter 7) had been running for nearly thee years, increasing the total number of Czaplicka objects on display.

proposal to publish a portion of the Siberian expedition manuscript is accompanied by a note clarifying that Hall had been on the expedition and brought back 'valuable collections which until recently were on exhibition in the Eskimo and Northwest Coast rooms (UPMAA, SEF). Thus, it appears that the collection was displayed for approximately a decade and at least for some of the time alongside objects from other Arctic cultures.

The collection has remained in storage since being taken off display in the late 1920s and in the intervening years several of the items became badly damaged and consequently discarded in 1957. Many others hardly resemble their original form after being eaten by moths, treated with arsenic or degrading due to lack of preventative conservation (see Figs. 6.2 and 6.3). It is not clear whether the perceived value of the collection has diminished but there is a sense today that the collection has been largely overlooked because of its ethnographic nature. It is significant that the collection is housed in the American rather than Asian section of the museum's collections – a classification that signifies that the perceived parallels between the Siberian and Native American ethnographic collections rank higher than actual geographical designations. William Wierzebowski, the curator of the Americas collection, expressed the opinion that a combination of a sustained preference for decorative art and archaeology by successive museum directors and a focus on civilized cultures by curators of the Asian section resulted in Hall's collection receiving limited attention since its accessioning.[124] This inattention appears to have begun with the museum's first

[124] G. B. Gordon's successor as director of the museum was Horace H. F. Jayne, formerly the curator of Eastern Art Collections.

director (George Byron Gordon) who preferred elaborate, aesthetically pleasing, and arresting objects.

Figure 6.2: Henry Usher Hall in a Samoyed (Enets) winter clothing, holding a Ket drum. Both the coat and the drum are held at the Penn Museum (image reproduced from Hall 1916: 33)

Figure 6.3: The coat (A1510) and drum (A1588) from Fig. 6.2. as stored at the Penn Museum

In his letters to Hall, Gordon asked for assurances that Hall can make extensive and fully representative ethnological collections and transport them back to the USA safely. He further specifically instructed him to seek out artistic

production such as ceremonial dress and find illustrations of the aesthetic side of culture relating to religious life. Although Hall was at liberty to collect according to circumstances to make the best 'representative collection', the 'experiment' Gordon proposed was still rather prescriptive.[125] It is difficult to tease apart Hall and Czaplicka's collections as they are experientially and relationally deeply entwined. Their probably romantic involvement[126] and close collaboration and reliance on each other in the field blur the lines between their collecting activities. However, Gordon's directions provide a useful point of departure. While there are strong correlations between the two collections and many objects are duplicates of each other,[127] Hall's collection does, on the whole, appear to have a higher proportion of ornate objects and the only figurine (see p. 278). Czaplicka's collection on the other hand appears to focus on the representation of everyday life and technologies with a number of models specifically made for the Pitt Rivers Museum.

In contrast to Hall's collection in Philadelphia, a large portion of the Czaplicka collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum has been continuously on display since 1915. The display and use history of the collection will be considered in more detail in the following chapter but it is worth noting that it has had a more active 'social life' with objects and photographs used for teaching, and some have

[125] University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Archive (UPMAA LB 13).

[126] There are numerous indications that Hall and Czaplicka were in a relationship. They used the same address, 58 Torrington square, in London when corresponding with Marett and Gordon (but never the same address for the same recipient), Hall also saw Czaplicka on his way to the front in 1916 and Czaplicka referred to 'personal circumstances' (APS, Boas correspondence) for her wish to move to the USA.

[127] By this I mean that they are the same type of object from the same cultural group rather than being identical or copies of each other.

additionally appeared in temporary displays and even foreign exhibitions. This relative activity can be explained by the museum's distinct ethnographic and pedagogical nature. Although both museums are university museums established in the 1880s, the Penn Museum grew out of existing private collections and excavations in Mesopotamia (Pezzati et al. 2012) while the Pitt Rivers Museum was built to house and expand General Augustus Pitt-Rivers's explicitly pedagogical collection. Penn Museum was reliant on philanthropists and was not integrated with university teaching until after World War Two, when Froelich G. Rainey arranged for teaching positions for curators and linked the museum more firmly with academic anthropology (*ibid*). It can therefore be seen how the two museums, despite overt similarities in their affiliation to a university and with a focus on archaeology and anthropology, imbued different sets of values onto the collections they desired to collect.

The collection representing the aesthetics of Siberian cultures that Gordon sought did not materialize. Instead, Hall's collection was more reflective of Czaplicka's research interests and the specific geographic region. The lack of a shaman's coat, *the* 'artistic' expression of religious life, is conspicuous. Hall admitted as much in his letters to Gordon where he reported on his collecting enterprise. In September 1914, shortly before venturing into the Illimpei tundra, Hall wrote to Gordon stating that he had acquired some objects to illustrate notions of art yet had so far not been able to get any shaman to part with their costume or drum (Hall to Gordon, September 18, 1914, UPMAA, SEF). At this point Hall was still hopeful that a winter among the Evenki would result in a collection desired by Gordon, however in his post-expedition report to the

Director he admitted that 'examples of purely representative art independent of religious usage were not observed among any of the tribes visited, apart from figures of reindeer (one of a horse) scratched upon the surface of combs made of mammoth ivory by the Tungus' (Hall expedition report, UPMAA SEF, p.6). Hall's report describes indigenous ornamentation and shaman's ceremonial dress at length, perhaps in an attempt to make up for the lack of the coveted costume, which he was unable to obtain due to 'the extensive confiscations of shamanist paraphernalia carried out in recent years among the Yenisei Tungus by the Russian church authorities' (*ibid*, p.10-11). Intriguingly, in his report Hall lays the blame for the lack of a shaman's coat on the Russian authorities rather than the unwillingness of shamans to part with their belongings as he had earlier. He goes further in his report to suggest that as a result of prohibitions, the symbolic representations had shifted from shaman's coats to aprons, thus effectively elevating the importance and value of the apron he did obtain.

Czaplicka and Hall spent similar amounts on the expedition,[128] however Czaplicka was only awarded £25 by the Pitt Rivers for collecting (although a further £25 was awarded after she returned), while a third of Hall's stipend of 1500 dollars (approximately £100) was intended for obtaining a collection.[129] It is thus noteworthy that Czaplicka gave the Pitt Rivers Museum 156 objects while Hall's collection is about half the size at 74. This could in part be explained by the relatively higher value of Hall's collection that proportionately contained more religious artefacts and Czaplicka spending beyond her budget. In 1915, Dora

[128] In her expenses Czaplicka states that she spent £489 while Hall's funding from Gordon was in the region of £410 (it is uncertain what private funds he may have also had at his disposal).
[129] Hall received a further 500 dollars to reach England and safely transport the collection from the UK to the USA.

Curtis wrote to Emily Penrose expressing her concern for Czaplicka's well-being as she believed her to have insufficient funds for winter travel in the Illimpei tundra. She comments that they all had similar amounts of money in Krasnoyarsk at the start but 'she [Czaplicka] spent a good deal more than we did buying dresses, pipes, models for the museum at Oxford. That is why she was left with less money than we were' (SCA, CP). Henry Balfour agreed to support Czaplicka with a further £25 upon her return as 'her collection is of real value and decidedly worth more than the £25 given her' (OUA DC 1/4). It is thus evident that Czaplicka collected more than her budget allowed. However, I would speculate that the deeply entwined personal narratives of Czaplicka and Hall mean that their activities were carried out in unison and with a shared budget. While the Siberian collection was compiled with the aim of supplying both museums with desired assemblages, I argue that the collecting activities in the field were joint and thus it is likely that the Penn Museum finances also contributed to Czaplicka's collecting by providing upkeep, supplies and additional travel funding.

Materialisation of collections

In order to understand how the Siberian collections came into being we must look beyond their institutional provenance. The nature of museum collections has been discussed at length since the 'new museology' movement (Vergo 1989). Some definitions highlight a collection's value, categorisation, sequencing, *gestalt* and obsession but Susan Pearce argues that most significantly 'a collection is not a collection until someone *thinks* of it in those terms' (Pearce

1994: 157). Institutional and personal demarcation and singularization of museum collections certainly deserve our attention, however these modes of analysing collections have limited value for understanding ethnographic collections specifically gathered for museums. Definitions that arise from art-historical conceptions of collections do not allow for complexities of relationships that are at play during fieldwork and thus limit our ability to comprehend the uneven power relationships between institutions, ethnographers, source communities, and middlemen.

Nick Thomas offers a helpful concept of 'intentionality' to unpack some of the processes that underline the formulation of a museum collection. Thomas argues that layered and intersecting intentions underpin collections much as layers of accumulation and loss make up an archaeological site. Thus, he suggests 'a collection is less a mass of individual things than a materialization of successive intentions' (Thomas 2016: 89). This conception of a museum collection in many ways parallels Pearce's suggestion that collections are mentally ascribed. However, Thomas's focus on *intentions* opens the space to also consider other agents, whose intentions have determined the nature of a collection. In the case of ethnographic collections, source communities and individual makers are the obvious agents. They do not necessarily have to have any conception of objects becoming part of a collection and yet they often have a decisive role in defining the form of the collection obtained by the ethnographer.

However, there are also other forces that can affect the final composition of a collection whose affect cannot be discussed in terms of intentions. Indeed, it may be more apt to speak of the materialization of intentions as well as of

accidents.[130] For example, Diamond Jenness's collection from Papua New Guinea was nearly destroyed in the fire on the S.S. Zurakina and there was a real worry that Henry Usher Hall's and Czaplicka's collections would not make it safely out of Siberia during the war (OUA DC 1/4, f. 122). Environmental context can also affect the materialisation of a collection. For example, Czaplicka attributed the scarcity and poor quality of the photographs from the expedition to weather.

> We had to learn by bitter disappointments which attend photographic work in those latitudes; the excessive damp in summer and the very low temperatures and peculiar conditions of illumination in the winter were responsible for the ruining of several dozens of films, exposed and unexposed. (Czaplicka to Gordon 13 November 1915, UPMAA OD 4/1)

Furthermore, as Henry Usher Hall and Maria Czaplicka travelled across the stony Illimpei tundra, all of their possessions as well as collected items would often be thrown off the sledges as they travelled across rough terrain. Czaplicka relays how only their metal boxes would withstand the battering objects underwent when transported by reindeer and they had 'many offers of furs and reindeer in exchange for them' (Czaplicka, 1916: 26). Thus, it is easy to conceive how the very landscape of the field could start to play a role in what actually could be collected and safely transported back to the museum.

The outcomes of human and non-human influence on the materialisation of a collection do not however only occur in transverse to the linear intentionalities of its human collectors. It is more fruitful to think of the meeting of weighted forces rather than 'intersections' of intentions as a driving force

[130] Thomas's definition can be seen to encompass accidents as they are the flip side of intentions – lack of intentionality or failed intentions. However, it is more difficult to encompass the bearing that other *objects* have on the collection, i.e. the ways in which certain objects draw others to join them.

behind the making of a collection. Intersections imply linear paths that cross and affect each other at one particular point whereas in the real world, unequal power balances between institutions, fieldworkers, and members of the source community means that their intentions as well as ‘accidents’ encountered along the way will have varying degrees of influence over the shape that a collection takes. These forces are not necessarily accumulative but rather exist in parallel in the time-space of collection making.

Whereas there is a clear understanding that museum collections are *made* in the minds of people, through their intentions and practices, museum objects are still talked of in terms of collecting. The idea that collectors seek out and pluck objects from circulation[131] or gather them as suggested by the title of *Hunting the Gatherers* (O'Hanlon and Welsch 2000) overlooks the fact that museum objects are almost always *made*. They are sought out, noticed and picked up by collectors because of a pre-existing idea of what could belong to a collection or a museum.[132] This notion is shaped by curatorial and institutional desires, existing paradigms, personal preferences and views. In a more pragmatic sense, and as Thomas notes in his critique of the ‘naturalism of the object’ (Thomas 2016), many things in ethnographic collections were created specifically for the ethnographer. For example, in the Czaplicka collection, fifteen out of a hundred and fifty-four objects collected during the Yenisei expedition are models. These models were commissioned to represent certain aspects of

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[131] Pinney makes a similar point where he says that images can not be ‘plucked from their pathway’ and linked to sociological or political context in any simplistic manner (Pinney 2005:267).

[132] However, see Stevenson (2016) on ‘object habits’ for a wider sphere of influence on the conception of what objects from the field are made into museum objects.

indigenous material culture and way of life. Many other objects in the collection are those used or worn by the expedition members while others have been taken from graves and at least 22 were obtained from the Minusinsk Museum. Thus, the extent to which a thing in an ethnographic collection bears relevance to the material life of the culture it is intended to represent is debatable. The ways in which the objects in the collections are *configured* to become representative of a culture will be discussed in the next chapter, however for now the important notion is that the objects in the Maria Czaplicka collection are, in significant ways, traces of her lived experiences in Siberia and not necessarily gathered material removed from its pre-existing 'social life'.

A 1568 – 'a charm'

Let us consider an object from the Hall collection to 'unpack' (Byrne 2011) some of the intentions, crossed paths and power relations in determining which Siberian objects made it to a museum store at the University Museum in

Philadelphia.

The object above, A1563, known only as a 'charm' for hunting luck in the museum catalogue, stands out from other objects in the two expedition collections. It is the only carved reindeer figure in either collection described by Hall as a rare example of 'artistic skill'. Other carvings found in the two collections include rough fish and raven figurines removed from graves, small fish lures and three *parge* – wooden figures of shaman spirits wrapped in textile (two are in the Hall collection and one in the Czaplicka collection). It is perhaps unsurprising that this particular figurine found its way to the Penn Museum

Figure 6.4: A carved wooden figure of a reindeer from the Hall collection (A 1568, photograph by the author, ©Penn Museum)

collection, as Hall was specifically asked to seek out such objects while Czaplicka's main concern was to compile a collection that could represent the 'technologies' of her Siberian groups and offer points of comparison with other collections in the museum. In 2013, during a research visit to the museum, this carving was specifically pointed out to me by the curator indicating that the object was indeed felt to be of particular interest, perhaps a reflection of the affinities it was deemed to have with North American Arctic communities' artistic representations.

While the museum catalogue holds scant information about the object, the museum archive has Hall's original handwritten notes on all of the objects that transfer much greater detail. In Hall's original catalogue descriptions, item '22' is described as follows:

> Representation of wild reindeer (*bayun*) in wood stained with the blood of wild reindeer. This charm was made under the direction of a shamaness to secure success in hunting reindeer (Hall report, UPMAA SEF)

Hall further elaborates on this piece in his 1916 museum report:

> [o]ne model of a wild reindeer contained in the collection, carved from wood and stained with the blood of a deer, shows careful workmanship and a true feeling for form (Hall 1916: 6).

This object is further described by Czaplicka in *My Siberian Year* where she recounts meeting Myanda Hutukagir at Lake Chirinda after the latter returned from Lake Ekonda.

> And he put his hand into the bosom of his *hun* (fur tunic) and pulled out the figure of a reindeer carved in wood and stained a dark reddish brown' – "We killed a reindeer for the spirit of hunting, she [shamaness] dipped this

> reindeer, which I made, in the blood, and now I shall have great luck in the chase" (Czaplicka 1916a: 203).

Thus, a small wooden figure bagged and stored in a drawer in the University of Philadelphia Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology takes on a new significance, presence, and relation to the history of the expedition. A maker and a former owner, Myanda Hutukagir emerges along with a shamaness from Ekonda and a sacrificed reindeer who contributed to the making of the object. The social relations in which the object was enmeshed force new questions. How did the two anthropologists intent on acquiring this charm for their museums persuade Myanda to part with it? Did he have great luck in the chase or did the interfering ethnographers preclude him from using his charm? What did Myanda get in exchange for his charm?

On the one hand, the charm acts as an anthropological fact, a concrete piece demonstrating 'careful workmanship and true feeling for form' (Hall 1915) in the Penn collections and something that could have represented 'magico-religious' forms among the Evenki for Marett. On the other hand however, the figurine has an affective nature linked to ritual action. The presence of this blood-stained object in the museum does not simply represent artistic skill, it metonymically stands for the absent past (Runia 2006b). Runia advocates that past steeped in experience is to be found in the metonymical part of language, which offers access to a past that is neither absent nor present (Domanska 2006). Material objects such as the charm in the Penn Museum collection, which have an enduring link with historical experiences, can thus open new spaces that allow histories that are not overtly represented in the museum to emerge.

My study of the material traces of the Siberian expedition supports Runia's notion that presence is ubiquitous, like a visible stowaway that travels with historiography and forms the 'common knowledge' of our realities. The collections that so far have only been seen as material outputs of ethnographic fieldwork have the potential to speak of that fieldwork and relations formed during it. Sustained and close attention to the 'common knowledge', catalogue descriptions as well as visual and material characteristics of objects enables the objects to speak of those experiences.

Rethinking the Czaplicka collection as a trace of field experiences

Edwards sees the turn-of-the-century period in the history of anthropology as a prequel to the brilliant crystallization of field methods in Bronislaw Malinowski's work (2016: 110). As I argued in Chapter 5, one of Malinowski's greatest achievements was combining popular literary output with credible scientific claims. Thus, the ethnographic monograph became the main manifestation of the 'trained judgement' of a fieldworker (cf. Chapter 1, p. 43). In Czaplicka's case, as during Malinowski's first ethnographic fieldwork, the desire to produce tangible anthropological documents such as photographs, collections, and reports was split from popular representations that privileged the experiences of the fieldworker.

Maria Czaplicka's research is situated at the cusp of this shift and it is possible that the expedition report never materialised precisely because the perceived need for such documents was passing. The Siberian expedition report, intended to present physical anthropology data alongside some social and

material descriptions of the indigenous communities encountered, was never published. Czaplicka's correspondence with John Keltie at the RGS in 1917 suggests that the Siberian topic was not her top priority at the time (cf. Chapter 4) while Hall's note from 1928 shows (cf. p. 268) that he was intending to publish twelve Tungusian tales with translations and explanatory footnotes, a grammar of Limpiisk dialect and an introduction with notes on Tungusic customs and makes no mention of physical anthropology data. The epistemological shift described by Edwards may have contributed to the eventual jettisoning of the physical anthropology aspect, central to Czaplicka's conception of the Siberian fieldwork, in Hall's publication plans.

The ethnographic report envisioned by Czaplicka was formulaic and reminiscent of *Aboriginal Siberia* consisting of sections on the environmental characteristics of the region along with mental and bodily characteristics of the native inhabitants (cf. Chapter 3, p. 168). Hall's proposed publication was likewise meant to relay ethnographic facts in the form of tales and grammar. However, Czaplicka's popular book, *My Siberian Year*, is rich with passages evoking sensory experiences from the field. For example, in a chapter describing being lost in *purga* (a snowstorm) during which she grew cold and hungry she writes:

> Now I understood how the Tungus could drink with a relish the blood of a freshly slaughtered deer, and tear the smoking raw flesh with their teeth (Czaplicka 1916: 125).

Later, when writing about attending a meeting of the clans, *munyak*, she describes the sensation of being packed inside a small *balagan* (a wooden hut) with the heads of all the Illimpei Evenki families:

> [I]nside, a populous gloom, thick with the stench of crowded fur-clad bodies, and pungent with the reek of half a hundred pipes (Czaplicka 1916: 164-5).

These glimpses into the reality of fieldwork experience flavoured with Czaplicka's characteristic literary flair suggest a history of the expedition that is immersed in physical and social relations with indigenous communities, a material engagement with the environment, people, their animals and 'artefacts' as they are now known in the museum. In the following sections I will explore some of the histories suggested by the materials held at the Pitt Rivers and Penn Museums and archives in the UK and the USA.

Photographs as conduits of experience

In her exploration into the historic dimensions of the relationship between anthropology and photography, Elizabeth Edwards argues that it can be described in terms of an unsolvable tension between evidence and affect (Edwards 2015). While the understanding of what constitutes anthropological evidence has changed over time, photography has never neatly corresponded with this desired evidence. As Edwards puts it, 'what is desired is evidence, but what is traced is a conduit for affect' (ibid: 239). In essence, 'the abundance of photographs, both in inscription and the social act of making' (ibid: 240) always holds greater potential for affect and alternative meanings than the dominant discourse wishes to capture from them. The photograph collections from the Siberian expedition can thus speak of many histories and forms of

anthropological knowledge.[133] Here, I will firstly focus on the ways in which the photographs are suggestive of the 'epistemic shift' and 'uncertainty' in the anthropological project during the expedition and its immediate aftermath. Secondly, I will discuss how the photographs highlight the relational aspect of the fieldwork.

Figure 6.5: A Yurak (Nenets) man, published in Czaplicka 1916, p. 60. The photograph shows a European woman in the background, possibly Czaplicka

At the turn of the century, photography's indexicality granted it a privileged place in anthropology, which sought to gather the most accurate data in the field. It has been comprehensively shown that photography was

[133] The mutability of this knowledge through reproduction and continued use by other actors is discussed in the next chapter.

considered central to the emerging discipline (Edwards 1992a, Morton and Edwards 2009, Herle 2009), with Alfred Cort Haddon insisting on having the best equipment with him on the second Torres Strait expedition in 1898. Edwards (2016) argues that with a shift towards an anthropology focused on social life understood through the ethnographer's bodily engagement (participation), the purpose of photography became less clear. The Siberian Expedition, carried out at the cusp of this epistemic shift identified by Edwards showcases the lack of clarity about the purpose of photography for fieldworking ethnographers. Ostensibly there was a requirement to gather ethnographic evidence – images of racial types and depictions of technology – yet the actual photographic output of the expedition was largely composed of group photos of locals (both indigenous and European), the expedition party, and with the exception of a selection of front and profile photographs that are of good quality (type photographs), the photographs do not conform to any standards of anthropometry then current.

The clearest instructions with regard to photography during the Siberian expedition came from G. B. Gordon who from the outset included 'photographs of types' alongside collections of myths and legends as a desirable outcome of the expedition for the museum (UPMAA LB 12). When the decision to finance Hall was finally made in April 1914 Gordon wrote to Hall:

> [i]t is understood that during this expedition you will work for this museum alone. The money that has been appropriated for you should be used for making collections, but a small amount may be used in connection with making notes and photographs (*ibid*).

While these instructions suggest that photography was an auxiliary activity that only limited amount of finances should be spent on, the fact that it formed part

of the conversation between Gordon, Hall, and Czaplicka in the planning of the expedition and in the aftermath is noteworthy. Gordon clearly had a sense that photographs were an important part of an ethnographic collection and as such mentioned them from the outset. A few weeks later, before any funding decision had been made, Czaplicka wrote to Gordon claiming that Hall was training in photography to provide the museum with images (UPMAA, OD 4/1). After the expedition had concluded, Gordon was keen to learn of the fate of the photograph collections, as Hall did not mention them in his initial post-expedition report. Again, Czaplicka was ready to alleviate Gordon's worries and assured him that Hall had already sent a batch of photographs and would be sending more, however she also mentions the 'disappointments' they had had with photography (see p. 275).

Figure 6.6: Images from a negative (left) and glass copy negative with the background retouched out (right) showing an unnamed person by the Golchikha trader's hut. Image on the left shows Henry Usher Hall in the background on the left side (PRM 1998.321.58 and 1998.505.7)

The sense that photographs should be part of a museum field collection and an appreciation that specialist training was required to produce good, accurate photographs conveyed in the correspondence between Gordon, Hall,

and Czaplicka, underlines their role as an anthropological document. However, there was no clear understanding of the photographs' purpose in the museum, reflected in the hesitation to allocate any significant funding for their making. Fieldworkers' limited technical knowledge and a lack of standard practice meant that the final quality of the photographs was not such that they would have been particularly useful for comparisons in racial typology. Photographs of people in front and profile views are often out of focus and have others in the background (see Figs. 6.5 and 6.6) revealing not only a lack of technical skill but also the opportunistic nature of field photography – snapping moments in which their subjects held a pose that vaguely conformed to a typological visual framework. The majority of the photographs in the collection speak of messy everyday life in which the ethnographers struggled with unfamiliar equipment and difficult environmental conditions, photographic subjects getting on with their daily lives and Europeans creeping into shot. In many cases photographs were doctored back in London to remove the 'excess' (Poole 1997) background noise and create anthropological documents (see Fig. 6.6 and examples in Chapter 7, p. 320).

Whilst the Siberian expedition took place at a time when anthropological knowledge began to be extracted through immersive social experiences, the aims and outputs of the expedition were still oriented towards the production of anthropological facts, including photographs. However, as well as being experimental and attempting to create visual records for museum purposes, the photographs from the Czaplicka and Hall collections were the result of social interactions in the field. These relations are rarely articulated in published sources but the photographs themselves and the inscriptions they bear allude to

the relations implicated in their production. For example in Figure 6.7 the shadow of the photographer quite literally imprints the ethnographer onto their subject and makes evident the process of capturing that moment. Two group photographs in Figures 6.8 and 6.9 further illuminate the role of photography in the field.

Figure 6.7: Photographic print showing a man in the Lower Yenisei region holding a pipe and the shadow of the photographer on his coat (PRM 1998.258.10.43.2)

The two photographs depict the same group with Figure 6.8 including one of the expedition members holding a child (possibly Czaplicka or Dora Curtis). Significantly, Figure 6.8 shows another photographer taking a similar image and a rucksack left in front of the photographer. Perhaps the woman took the first image and then joined the group to be photographed with them.[134] The images show both a desire to capture the fieldwork experience and human relations with 'subjects' in a photographic form as mementos of foreign experiences as well as the actual process of recording and incidental 'excess' that was later removed. For example, the photograph in Fig. 6.9 shows members of the expedition party enjoying a drink seemingly out of the frame but very noticeable due to deep focus and lack of sharpness across the whole image. Closer examination of this seemingly failed photographic

[134] The bulk of photographs in the Czaplicka and Hall collections are either square format like Fig 6.8, rectangular and of quite coarse quality like Fig. 6.9 or rectangular with a shallow depth of field and sharper quality like Fig. 6.5, suggesting the use of at least three cameras during the summer phase of the expedition.

experiment further suggests that the subjects of the photograph were assembled mid-activity with the man on the left holding a cloth and the woman at the front a bunch of flowers. Thus the photograph, taken by neither Hall or Czaplicka, but now in latter's archive, begins to talk of co-producers of ethnographic artefacts and the reality of the framing and capturing of an ethnographic still-life.

Figure 6.9: Group photo at Golchikha showing one of the expedition members holding a child (PRM 1998.321.029)

Figure 6.8: Group photo at Golchikha showing a photographer on the right (1998.321.124.1)

Figure 6.10: Photograph depicting a group of locals with two members of the expedition party in the background (probably H. U. Hall and Czaplicka) (PRM 1998.231.116)

Notes and inscriptions on the photographic images taken or collected during the expedition also allude to relational aspects of the expedition. Some photographs have been annotated for publication purposes, others with racial classifiers to be distributed among anthropologists. For example, in the Lucy Cavendish Archive in Cambridge, E. J. Lindgren's attempts to reassemble Czaplicka's legacy has resulted in a small number of prints from A. C. Haddon, Miss Jennings,[135] and Maud Haviland being brought together. Typological signifiers such as 'Northern Tungus' and 'Semitic type of Samoyed' were attached to photos sent to Haddon while the Jennings assortment contains a number of

[135] It appears that Jennings was a typist who helped Czaplicka prepare work for publication.

photographs of the Peacock brothers[136] during a hunting party underlining the facilitating role of the fur traders Revillon Frères for the expedition. Photographs from Maud Haviland further identify a man, only described as 'Samoyed Tavje' in the Haddon collection, as 'Sylkin'. These six letters written on the back of the photograph allow for the person to be connected to Czaplicka's description of

Figure 6.11: Front and back of a photographic print showing Silkin - an Enets man described by Czaplicka as her interpreter – who lived permanently at Golchikha (PRM 1998.258.10.45)

her interpreter, Silkin, a Karasinsk Samoyed (Enets) of Bai clan in *My Siberian Year* (Czaplicka 1916a: 73).

[136] Peacock brothers were the directors of a fur trading company, Revillon Frères, that shared offices with the Siberian Steamship Company and the Norwegian consulate. The trading company appears to have been tasked with the shipping of some of the collections (UPMAA, OD 4/1).

Silkin,[137] only described as 'Type A Samoyed' on the print held by the Pitt Rivers Museum, emerges as a crucial intermediary for Czaplicka, acting as her interpreter and teacher of Enets and Nenets (Samoyed and Yurak) languages. She describes him as 'the perfect type of intelligent native whose natural shrewdness had degenerated into low cunning through contact with dishonest Europeans' (*ibid*: 73-74) and comments how her own astuteness saved her from being cheated and tricked. Silkin was an important informant, broker and teacher with whom Czaplicka formed a significant relationship. However, the absence of identifying features and his objectification as a 'type' in the museum photograph also reveals the extent to which the production of 'anthropological documents' could lend a double existence to the fieldwork encounter. Like the popular travel book and the planned expedition report, intended to separate and convey ethnographic experience and fact, the photographs too could speak of different realities. This multiple framing of social encounters in the field is also evident in the presentation of Chunga[138] who is discussed at length and whose photographs appear in *My Siberian Year* with captions naming him. However, in the museum his photograph is again inscribed only with the typological classifier 'Type D Elderly Tungus' (PRM 1998.258.10.61). It is perhaps self-evident that anthropologists had social relations with the people that they measured, photographed, and questioned. However, it is the capacity of the photographs to facilitate the re-assembly of the social relations in the field that is potent. A focus

[137] Silkin (rus: Силкин) refers to a common surname among the Bai clan making it unclear whether Czaplicka knew his forename.
[138] Chunga or Nikolai Mihailovich Hiragir was the head of one of the most influential families in the Illimpei tundra and had been the 'prince' several times. Czaplicka dedicates a chapter of her *My Siberian Year* to Chunga's misfortunes, credited to shaman's curse.

on photographic abundance, those areas of the image peripheral to the original intention and focus, opens up a space where historic experiences and relations can be collected, creating a platform for engagement with source communities for whom the photograph alone may not yield strong responses.

The expedition photographs speak of experimentation, interactions between novice fieldworkers and their informants, and the uneasy role played by the latter as anthropological subjects and social agents. There is also a suggestion that photographs from the Siberian expedition may have had a social role as exchange items (see also Edwards 2016 on Haddon's use of photography in the Torres Strait). In Chapter 10 of *My Siberian Year* Czaplicka describes how Chunga came to Monastir Turukhansk, where Czaplicka and Hall were waiting for a steamer to return to Krasnoyarsk, asking to borrow fifty roubles with a promise that his son-in-law would return the money along with a photograph taken by a Russian geologist – 'probably the only photograph in the whole of Limpiisk tundra' (Czaplicka 1916a: 223). A trader brought the money and the photograph to Czaplicka a few days later in a brown packet.

It is evident that despite Czaplicka's image of the 'pure Tungus', her closest liaisons were networked with Russian traders, governors and exiles stationed in settlements on the Yenisei River and acquainted with their modern technologies through such contacts. Indeed, Hall notes that two photographs sent to the Penn Museum were obtained from political exiles stationed at Turukhansk. Several glass-plate negatives depicting a Ket shaman, a Ket man using a composite bow (Figure 7.10), Czaplicka's companion, Michikha, and other taken in the winter at a settlement indicate that Hall and Czaplicka had access to

different photographic equipment (a glass plate camera) whilst at Turukhansk. It is thus reasonable to suggest that photographs may have had a degree of circulation in the Lower Yenisei region at this early date. Yuri Klitsenko has additionally suggested that Czaplicka may have sent images to Chunga since in 1926 the latter appeared to have some papers from 'an English person' bearing the imprint 'Kodak Bristol'[139] (Klitsenko 2014). Further research with archival materials in Tura and Krasnoyarsk is needed to substantiate this idea, however the presence of these papers at Chunga's once again points to material links between the ethnographer's field and home contexts.

The photograph collections from the Siberian expedition demonstrate that fieldwork was a relational and experimental activity. The uncertain nature of the anthropological document and the novelty of fieldwork practice itself meant that photography acted both as an activity capturing and generating social relations but also as a mechanism to generate 'ready facts' for anthropology. Scrutinising the photographs in the collections reveal that the photographs were taken by different people and different cameras, make evident the presence of the photographer as well as their subjects and capture the group dynamic of the expedition party. The further re-assembly of material traces, such as inscriptions on prints, can give identity to represented people and thus build a platform for a closer engagement with the source community. In this way photographs, as traces of lived experiences, can become powerful agents for deeper, more

[139] Klitsenko makes the connection to Czaplicka based on the knowledge that she was based in Bristol in the 1920s.

engaged and nuanced understandings of the ethnographic encounter and its legacy.

Bodily encounters

Field experiences are also embodied in a number of objects in the Hall and Czaplicka collections, which have a direct relation to the field through their use by the two collectors. Correlating photographs with the objects in the museums reveals that both collections contain coats worn by Hall and Czaplicka, both collections also contain reindeer-skin rugs for sledges and snow goggles that the pair are known to have used. The boots in both collections are also likely to have been worn. At Philadelphia, the boots were destroyed in 1957, however the pair at the Pitt Rivers appear too large to have been worn by locals.[140]

All of these objects have a sensory quality; the clothes worn close to the body, keeping the fieldworkers warm, reindeer rugs laid on the sledges offering some comfort and warmth, snow goggles preventing the snow from damaging their eyes. Today, consulting some of these items, often evokes an overwhelming reaction to the strong smell of reindeer. It is difficult not to imagine what it would have been like to be covered head to toe in reindeer-hide while lying on reindeer skin rugs and being driven by reindeer. Czaplicka alludes to this state in her passage commenting on her dog-hair mittens:

> [t]hey should be thoroughly washed and aired before being worn, though even then the characteristic "doggy" smell will cling to them. But it is necessary to cultivate an indifference to animal odours in the tundra. The smell of reindeer is not exactly alluring, but your outer garments are of

[140] This insight was offered by Tatiana Sem from the St Petersburg Ethnographic Museum during consultation with the collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum in March 2016.

> hairy reindeer skin, you sit in a sledge or *chum* on reindeer-skin rugs, you sleep on and perhaps under rugs of the same material, eat reindeer, drive behind reindeer – so that before long you become thoroughly habituated to an atmosphere of reindeer fustiness, the addition to which of a trace of dogginess does not make much difference (Czaplicka 1916: 29)

If Malinowski located his authority to speak about the Trobriand Islanders in his 'being there' as evidenced by detailed descriptions and photographs of the ethnographer's tent by the village, then clothes worn by Czaplicka can be seen to act in a similar manner. Photographs of the ethnographers in the field, wearing their native clothes (Fig. 6.12) were used to convey this ethnographic presence in Czaplicka's travelogue, newspaper articles about the expedition and lectures illustrated by lantern slides (cf. Chapter 7, p. 331.). A physical acquaintance with the materiality of everyday Evenki life through clothes worn, transportation used, and staying in their *chums* undoubtedly gave Hall and Czaplicka an intimate insight into their hosts' daily lives. The mundane experiences of being packed away in layers of reindeer skin and attempting to keep the blood circulation going by doing 'cabined gymnastics' premised on the make-believe that they were captives attempting to escape (Czaplicka 1916: 30) were essential for understanding and appreciating the native way of life. However, this appreciation derived from bodily engagement and experience was not conceived of as a basis for a scholarly understanding of indigenous peoples as it may be today. Instead, Czaplicka's popular talks and travel book, *My Siberian Year*, are full of anecdotes and allusions to practical matters and material encounters, while her proposed report was modelled on the example of *Aboriginal Siberia*

with overviews of social life, religion, technologies and the physical characteristics of local people.

Early twentieth-century anthropology at Oxford has been described as material with regards to the teaching of the subject in the Pitt Rivers Museum with objects and the role that collecting networks played in promulgating and developing the discipline (Gosden et al. 2007b). However, the Czaplicka collection suggests a deeper and messier entanglement of objects with the creation of anthropological knowledge. For example, the accession records note that the coat worn by Czaplicka in Fig. 6.12 was known as *sakui* in the Yakut jargon, prompting the question of whether this could be the same coat given to Czaplicka by Chunga's wife upon the death of her son (Czaplicka 1916a: 221).[141] The bodily encounters and physical intimacy of ethnographers with the 'artefacts' in the Siberian collections thereby speak of their material engagement with fieldwork and pose questions about the ways in which these informed and guided their knowledge production.

[141] Czaplicka described how she was offered the *sakui* of Chunga's dead son in relation to a narrative of a 'shaman's curse'. As the wife was convinced that all her children would die due to the curse, she felt no need to keep hold of the coat for her younger son.

Figure 6.12: Photograph of Hall and Czaplicka from Hall 1916 and photograph of the Evenki reindeer-skin coat in the Pitt Rivers Museum collections (1915.50.106)

'Recovering' past from the dead

The uncertain and sometimes paradoxical nature of the Siberian fieldwork is further illustrated in the use of graves as sources of anthropological knowledge. While Hall and Czaplicka were intimately linked with their informants – sleeping side by side with their Evenki hosts and lending money in times of need – they were also carrying out intrusions into graves to retrieve coveted ethnological specimens and objects of interest to the museums. Czaplicka describes the activities carried out on 'the slopes of the low hills behind Golchikha dotted with old wooden tombs of the Samoyed and Yurak'.

> Our investigations of these tombs had to be carried out surreptitiously, for the natives would not have regarded my curiosity in matters touching their dead so leniently as they did that concerning the living. (Czaplicka 1916a: 41)

She further elaborates that opening the tombs took time and was undertaken at risk, describing how once she was forced to lay on the ground beside the coffin in order that locals passing by in the distance would not notice her. Even more remarkably, Czaplicka jokingly describes an incident where she was preparing some bones removed from a grave for transportation.

> [s]ome bones taken by Mr. Hall from a Samoyed grave were boiling away in a pot in front of our log-hut... They were what remained of the grandmother of our Samoyed friend Tilka. Miss Curtis was behind the Shanty. Suddenly I was dismayed by a shout from her: "I say, cover your kettle! Here comes Tilka. For goodness' sake, don't let him see you making a soup of his granny's bones." (Czaplicka)43

I have already alluded to the difficulty in reconciling this history with the scant records and knowledge of the fate of these human remains (cf. p. 265). The fact that Czaplicka and Hall carried out these activities despite an awareness of the strong beliefs associated with the dead and that being found out would have precluded them from carrying out studies into the social and cultural aspects of indigenous life, clearly indicates that human remains had a high perceived value to anthropological 'science'. The deeply problematic ethics demonstrated in this case study, where Czaplicka can refer to Tilka as her friend but at the same time raid his grandmother's grave, highlight the ambiguous mechanisms that underpinned the procurement of anthropological knowledge within turn-of-the-century ethnographic fieldwork. Czaplicka, seeking to trace the historical migrations and origins of Siberian indigenous people, treated graves as a legitimate source of data for her research.

As I have already noted, human remains, collected to supply comparative materials for physical anthropology and ethnological investigations during this expedition, are absent from the museum records. Their history is partially known due to Czaplicka's unapologetic description of her collecting activities in *My Siberian Year*, not because of actual material traces in the museum. However, catalogue records show that many objects in the collections were retrieved from graves. Thus the objects in the collections can also draw attention to this aspect of the Siberian expedition. For example, a wooden model of a fish and a raven were taken from the Tungus-Yakut shaman Nakte's grave while items such as a bow-drill and knives were taken from Samoyedic graves in the low tundra. Some objects, such as the raven model, are displayed in the museum as part of the 'Treatment of the dead' display. However others are not explicitly acknowledged grave goods even if it is noted in the accession records. Thus for example, a bow-drill (PRM 1915.50.55) is displayed among other tools in the Lower Gallery of the Museum suggesting that these objects are and have been used to exemplify 'timeless' indigenous technologies.

Obtaining objects from graves to exemplify material technologies of the Siberian communities can thus be said to fit the ethnographic present paradigm where indigenous culture is given a timeless character – objects from graves are fit to describe the living people encountered in the field. Yet again it emerges that the subjects of the Siberian expedition were both the dead and the living and one could stand for the other with the main aim being to gather as widely as possible. For example, there is no indication that Czaplicka and Hall met Selkup people as they are not mentioned in any of the writing or in photographs. There

are however several shamanic objects attributed to the Selkup among the Siberian collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum. It is highly likely that the Selkup items were retrieved from graves, as many other shamanic items have historically been. We know from photographs that Hall and Czaplicka visited an Evenki shaman's grave (PRM 1998.321.90) and during my research at the Krasnoyarsk Regional Museum I learnt that much of their shamanic material, including coats, had been acquired from graves. Indeed, in the light of Hall's comment that no shaman would part with their coat and drum and Czaplicka's confession that they were not able to witness any shaman ceremonies during the summer they spent at the mouth of the Yenisei, it seems likely that objects were acquired in other ways. Of course, it may be that during the winter months, when Hall and Czaplicka became more closely allied with the Illimpei Evenki and had the assistance of Michikha, whose grandfather was a shaman, they were able to persuade their hosts to part with shamanic items.[142] However, the potency of shamanic objects as related by Czaplicka, and still felt today, has an uneasy fit with the existence of these objects in the Czaplicka collection.

The opening of the graves and the seemingly unproblematic transportation of grave goods and human remains along with the unclear provenance of some objects and the unknown fate of the human remains raises important issues pertaining to this period in British anthropology. It demonstrates the dual and uncertain role of indigenous communities as sources of data that can be extracted by those in the position of power and their role as

[142] Indeed, one item in the Czaplicka collection, a sun symbol attached to a bear skin, is identified in the catalogue as having belonged to a deceased shaman, Hukochar Lange who was Michikha's grandfather.

social agents facilitating the emergence of an immersive social anthropology. While Czaplicka discusses her use of graves as sources of information freely, in other cases scrutinising the provenance of objects in ethnographic collections is likely to bring forth uncomfortable histories of ethnographic research and force moral and ethical reconsiderations of anthropology's past.

Conclusion

The photograph and object collections from the Siberian expedition are products of complex institutional histories, personal narratives and layered intentions and 'happenings' in the field. As products of an anthropological project they reveal desires and underlying assumptions of the discipline at the time but they also have the capacity to connect to the historical experience of the fieldwork on a much deeper and more complex level.

The objects in the Czaplicka collection speak of the corporeal reality of being in the field and her relations with indigenous informants; however, they also speak of asymmetrical power relations and a lack of regard for the rights of indigenous 'subjects'. The necessity of following local methods for protection from the extreme weather during the winter journey place Hall and Czaplicka firmly within the environmental reality of the people they were studying and yet the surreptitious opening of graves connected to their 'friends' kin places them in a parallel reality to that of their informants. Henry Usher Hall and Maria Czaplicka's museum collections exemplify the uncertain epistemic shift that anthropology was undergoing at the time. The clothes in the museums' collections that speak of the ethnographers' intimate acquaintance with the local

life and photographs that speak of real human relations clash and grapple with objects and photographs that reduce the local communities to subjects of scientific inquiry. The material traces of the Siberian expedition thus show this ethnographic fieldwork to consist of multiple processes of knowledge-making, all serving different means.

7. Czaplicka’s legacy and the afterlives of the collection

> Museum collections and collecting echoes this notion of history as an on-going process, as deep pockets of history stored on the plane of the present, as well as the intertwining of the continuous and the discontinuous. The work of compiling, cataloguing and displaying history is a translation, albeit a fraught one, of time into space (Bencard 2014: 33-34)

In the previous chapter I argued for the importance of using ethnographic collections for studies in history of anthropology from the perspective of their real and enduring link with the practice of doing anthropology at the time. In this chapter, I will focus on anthropological knowledge that is made and remade within ethnographic museums and which has a complex relationship with the knowledge created by the collector/ethnographer. While it is acknowledged that museums actively create anthropological knowledge, in histories of anthropology they are, for the main part, treated as sites, which were only central for anthropological thought before the emergence of fieldwork anthropology at the start of the twentieth century. Thus, relegated to a particular time, a ‘phase’ in the history of anthropology, museums cease to be seen as continuous and active players in the construction of the discipline. This chapter seeks to reconsider the role of museums in the history of anthropology by examining how an ethnographic collection aids the construction and presentation of certain kinds of anthropological knowledge.

There is a disjuncture between the relative obscurity of Maria Czaplicka in academic anthropology for most of the century since her expedition and the visibility and ‘success’ of her collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum. Both Henry

Balfour and Beatrice Blackwood used her collection for teaching, a large proportion of her object collection is currently on display, and in 2014 a special exhibition was mounted to celebrate the centenary of the expedition sparking public interest and inspiring artistic endeavours. I am interested in the variety of anthropological knowledge and ethnographic representations that have been promulgated through the collection over its life at the Pitt Rivers Museum. For the objects acquired and made during the 1914-1915 Siberian expedition continued to shape scholarly and public perceptions of Siberia long after Maria Czaplicka took a lethal dose of mercury in Bristol in 1921.

The increased interest in objects and material culture as sources for historical research noted in the previous chapter sets the scene for the following discussion. Particularly, the increased focus on objects in the history and philosophy of science, such as Daston and Galison's (2007) exploration of atlases and visual images that 'counters the classical interest of historians and philosophers of science in the succession of theories and discoveries of new facts or technologies, and, as a result, the interest in breaks with previous ideas' (Pels 2014: 215) guides this discussion. As argued previously, objects offer an alternative platform for understanding history in its multiplicity, however, rather than stress the continuity in material practices as opposed to apparent breaks from one paradigm to the next, as Pels has, I wish to highlight the parallel and intersecting nature of academic knowledge generated through academic publications, teaching, popular writing and museums.

The Pitt Rivers Museum as a field site

Following Gosden and Larson (2007a), I will treat the Pitt Rivers Museum as my field site and employ its archival materials to engage historic persons and objects as informants. In their 'trial trenches' into the history and collections of the Pitt Rivers museum, Gosden and Larson argue that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, anthropology in Oxford was thoroughly material – 'the world at large was given form and character in the Museum through carefully structured interactions between people and things' and in this construction of the world, the museum acted as a kind of laboratory (Gosden et al. 2007a: 122). For Gosden and Larson the concept of a laboratory is informative as it shows how early Oxford anthropologists such as Balfour and Tylor used the collections to train the eye and the mind of their students, to tests hypotheses and develop new theories through arranging and rearranging museum objects. This analogy is particularly suited to the nineteenth century, when broad inquiries into human history began to grow out of natural sciences, which themselves were still largely collections-based, comparative practices (Sera-Shriar 2013).

Tony Bennett (2005) has, on his part, likened museums to laboratories in order to employ insights from science and technology studies (STS) for understanding how institutions such as museums can create 'distinctive forms of cultural objecthoods' (*ibid*: 542) and thus govern social relations in a particular way. He draws on Karin Knorr-Cetina's conception of laboratory practice as a displacement of 'natural objects'. Knorr-Cetina argues that laboratories work with purified versions of natural objects, displaced by being brought into the laboratory where their temporal regimes are altered thereby creating 'new

configurations of objects that they [laboratories] match with an appropriately altered social order' (Knorr-Cetina 1999: 27). Bennett proposes that museums similarly contain 'non-natural' objects, which are never identical to themselves or events that they are traces of and are displaced and amenable to reconfigurations (Bennett 2005: 527). Thus, museums contain and work with *epistemic* objects that have complex and unfinished structures with a potential to 'unfold infinitely' (Knorr-Cetina: 181).

Bennett's example of Baldwin Spencer, an Oxford graduate and an early anthropologist, demonstrates how museum practices have fabricated specific kinds of cultural objecthoods through programmes of social management. Spencer's early involvement with the Augustus Pitt-Rivers collection and arrangement of typological displays informed his methods of classification at the National Museum of Victoria. Bennett argues that Spencer's subsequent understanding of culture in evolutionary terms contributed to his belief that mixed-race Aborigines could be afforded cultural development if they were moved through successive social spaces. This in turn led to the introduction of principles of sequence into civilizing programmes for Aboriginal 'half-castes'.

While Spencer put this ideology, honed through material practices at museums, to use through his administrative role, General Pitt-Rivers envisaged his collection as an educational tool for the working class, which would demonstrate that change is achieved through incremental progression, not revolution (Bennett 2005, Morton 2012). The mode though which the social was governed in these two cases is different, but in both instances, the epistemic nature of the museum and its objects is central. From its inception and certainly

in the first decades of it existence, the Pitt Rivers was thus meant to act as a kind of laboratory testing and creating ideas about human history as well as promoting certain conceptions of societal progress among its visitors.

Bennett sees the laboratory analogy as a useful tool to bring to attention to how various technologies and actors within museums 'bring objects together in new configurations, making new realities and relationships both thinkable and perceptible' (Bennett 2005: 526). While I agree that a broad STS approach to museums is useful in forcing objects to be seen in terms of their networks, past and present, and allowing to see them both in terms of biographical approaches and more sensorial and emotive affect, the laboratory analogy's usefulness is limited to a certain *kind* of museum, most often a nineteenth century space designed to enlighten, entertain and educate.

Pitt Rivers Museum during Henry Balfour's curatorship was one such space. It acted as a scientific institution akin to a laboratory where theories were formulated with and through objects. Indeed, for many years, the Lower Gallery was used as a preparation and working space that was closed to the public. This laboratory-like space would have been visible from the Upper Gallery making museum work more visible than it has been post-Balfour. As a site for research and teaching of university students, the museum was thus a closed network system more like a laboratory and less like a public gallery. However, museum's identity begins to change with a gradual opening to a larger and more diverse pubic through increased opening hours, outreach programs and general changes

in the city's population.[143] The ways in which the public interacts and understands museum displays begin to disrupt the laboratory analogy as procedures and outcomes from laboratory research are seldom open to public scrutiny and (mis)understanding. Employing the Pitt Rivers Museum and the Czaplicka collection as a field site in a historical study of Oxford anthropology thus enables me to consider both the collection in terms of its epistemic configurations and its broader affordances.

I will study the collection from three main perspectives. Firstly, I will consider the influence and use of the Czaplicka collections by specific persons. Secondly, I will look at how the objects have been displayed in the museum, and thirdly, I will examine materials in the museum, which have been formed in relation or response to the collection. Studying not only the original object and photograph collections but also derivative objects enables a move away from a singularly linear conceptualisation of the object or collection 'life'. For example, a consideration of photographs taken at the museum of the Czaplicka collection reveals how attention afforded to certain objects has been linked to changing concerns for objects, interest in particular illustrations, individual research topics and more recently conservation issues. However, this study also suggests a circularity of interest created by such photographs, as visually recorded, known objects are more likely to be selected for further investigation. It will become apparent that it is nearly impossible to speak of the collection in a chronological or linear manner as the multiple agents evoke different chronological 'times'.

[143] For example, Oxford's transformation into an industrial city in the decades following the opening of the Morris Car manufacturing plant in 1913.

The use and identity of the Czaplicka collection

The ethnographic objects collected by Czaplicka bear a real trace of her field experiences and are thus intimately linked with both the ethnographer and the field, but they have, from their inception, also been museum objects. Thus, they conformed to a certain idea of an object that would fit the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1915 and they have been subject to series of operations as museum objects, which has seen their association with Czaplicka change. In considering the social life of the Czaplicka collection, I want to begin by looking more closely at the connection between the ethnographer and the museum collection. In the museum, the objects and photographs from the Siberian expedition are classified as the 'Czaplicka' collection making both accumulations of material ostensibly 'hers'. However, to what extent is the collection really Czaplicka's?

Ethnographic collections made in the nineteenth and early twentieth century were intended to bring home indigenous cultures in ways not dissimilar to travel books, ethnographic reports and eventually monographs. However, the multivocality of an object collection prevents the boundedness and directionality afforded by a Malinowskian monograph where the ethnographer describes 'his' or 'her' people on his or her terms. In terms of the framing and representational direction taken, the Czaplicka object collection could also be described as the Balfour collection. Several authors (Larson et al. 2007, Gosden et al. 2007a) have noted the curatorial power yielded by Balfour who arranged and developed the museum's collections according to 'series' developed by him. Unlike the founding collection in which pre-existing collections got subsumed under General Pitt-Rivers's name, Balfour meticulously noted and retained original donors'

identities. However, the museum collection was doubtlessly constructed around Balfour's theoretical viewpoints. Thus, while there is no denying Czaplicka's role as a field collector, the provenance of the collection as an epistemic and didactic tool within the museum firmly lies within the institutional and intellectual framework drawn up by Balfour.

Nearly all of the collection from the Siberian expedition was accessioned in 1915, immediately after Hall and Czaplicka's return. In the 1915 Annual Report, Balfour writes:

> [t]he Museum has especially been enriched by the collection brought back by Miss M. Czaplicka as a result of her recent expedition to Siberia, under the auspices of the Committee for Anthropology and of Somerville College. The collection comprises antiquities, chiefly from the Minusinsk district, and modern native objects principally from Arctic Siberia, collected among the Samoyed, Dolgan, Yurak, Yakut, Tungus, and Ostyak tribes. Previously the Museum possessed hardly any specimens from this interesting region. The funds for the purchase of the specimens were granted by the Committee for Anthropology. The School of Anthropology in Oxford has every reason to feel gratified with the results of Miss Czaplicka's very successful field-work.

The museum and the School of Anthropology were indeed so gratified that in recognition of the extent of the collection that they presented Czaplicka with a further £25 for the collection (OUA DC 1/2/3). The *Oxford Times* further reported that the Pitt Rivers Museum was 'raised to a position attained by few others in Europe' as a result of acquiring the Siberian collection (Nov 6, 1915). The collection was accessioned in categories of 'antiquities', 'hunting appliances', 'tools and domestic appliances', 'reindeer harness', 'games', 'music', 'clothing', 'ornaments' and 'ceremonial', which, with the exception of the reindeer harness,

reflected museum's existing classification. There are hints in the collection that Czaplicka was highly aware of the on-going interests of Balfour and thus that the collection was formed both as a representation of the indigenous groups she encountered, but also as a missing segment intended to fit with the existing collections at the museum and aid its curator in developing his series.

In particular, two knives from the Pitt River's founding collection and Balfour collection respectively are of interest. The two knives identified as 'Samoyed' (Enets or Nganasan) are among the few Siberian objects that were held at the museum prior to Czaplicka's expedition.[144] Significantly, the knife from the founding collection (1884.24.223.1-.2) was originally classified as African but its provenance was changed to 'Siberian' once it was transferred to the Pitt Rivers Museum. The online database tracks the changing description of the object through various display labels and accession book entries and comments that it is 'unclear' where the second, 'radically different' provenance comes from. As Balfour was dealing with the collections nearly singlehandedly for the most part of the late nineteenth century, it is reasonable to assume that he oversaw this reclassification. A second, pre-Czaplicka, Samoyed knife with a sheath similar to the one acquired by Pitt Rivers, was bought by Balfour in Tromso, Norway and accessioned in 1899. Whether this object and information gleaned from and about it on a trip to Norway were the cause for the reclassification of the Pitt-Rivers knife is unclear, however the radically changed provenance of the first and

[144] In total, there are 36 objects in the museum collections that are classified as Siberian and not part of the Czaplicka collection. Of these, two originate from the expedition but were accessioned after Balfour's death and three are microsections created in 1950 from the objections in the Czaplicka collection. Further four are of unclear provenance. Only seven appear to have been acquired before or at the same time as the Yenisei expedition material.

the acquisition of the second certainly point to a particular interest in such objects by Balfour. This brings me to two Samoyed knives acquired by Czaplicka during her fieldwork.

The knife collected by Balfour is ascribed to the Samoyed of the Yenisei, the same region traversed by Czaplicka. It is reasonable to assume that Czaplicka would have been aware of it and perhaps also aware of the Pitt Rivers knife with its disputed provenance. This may suggest why she collected not one, but two knives from the same group (Karasinsk Samoyed, now known as Enets), one with a sheath taken from a woman's grave near Golchikha and a modern sheath displaying 'similar construction' to the former 'wood overlaid with skin and bound with brass' (PRM Collections Database). Particular attention to the technique and an attempt to demonstrate continuity is demonstrated in the display of the two sheaths in a single case (see Fig. 7.4). Considerable attention to the knives is further demonstrated in Czaplicka's note (PRM RDF) explaining the provenance of the knife and relating that a photograph has been taken of the grave that the knife is from. Presuming that my supposition about the relations between these four objects are correct, then to what extent do the two knives acquired during the expedition begin to belong to Balfour's intellectual project at the Pitt Rivers, relegating Czaplicka the role of a well-trained collector and what relevance does it bear on her anthropological output on one hand and the work done by her collection on the other?

Figure 7.1: Samoyed knife from the Pitt-River's founding collection (1884.24.223.1-2)

Figure 7.2: Samoyed knife and knife sheath purchased by Henry Balfour from Norway (1899.16.6.1-.2)

Figure 7.3: Karasinsk Samoyed (Enets) knife retrieved by Czaplicka from a grave near Golchikha(1915.50.53)

Figure 7.4: An 'old' and 'modern' Samoyed (Enets) knife sheaths (PRM 1915.50.53 and 1915.50.54)

Czaplicka's publications, public lectures, expedition report outlines and lecture notes kept by Beatrice Blackwood do not display the type of reliance on objects for anthropological thinking eschewed by Balfour. The one occasion when we know she did use objects, was the first lecture on the expedition presented to the Oxford University Anthropology Society and Somerville College when the University Museum lecture room is described as being 'hung with her spoils of material kind, technological treasure such as has not its equal in this country' (Oxford Magazine, Nov 5, 1915). Objects in this lecture, presented to her main funders, were central to the display of palpable 'results' of the expedition and were readily available as props before being incorporated into the museum displays. Czaplicka's lecture notes on Ethnology of Europe and Northern Asia (PRM MS Collections, Blackwood papers, box 20, env. 3), on the other hand, do not reference particular objects. This could partly be attributed to her institutional placing. Namely, as a lecturer in Ethnology she was located in the Human Anatomy department and primarily concerned with describing cultural groups in their entirety along the classificatory lines drawn up in *Aboriginal*

Siberia. Balfour was concurrently running his courses on Prehistoric Archaeology and Technology which were based in the museum and drew heavily on its collections (cf. Gosden and Larson 2007), thus while objects acquired by Czaplicka may have been used in teaching, they would have probably been used by Balfour and not Czaplicka.

This is not to say that the materially oriented teaching at Oxford and the need to collect did not influence Czaplicka's intellectual practices. Aside from the descriptions of 'technique' in her lectures on Siberian indigenous groups, her lectures also discussed the material aspects of rituals surrounding childbirth, burial, appeasement of spirits and shaman's initiation (PRM MS Collections, Blackwood Papers, box 20, env. 3). The latter includes a detailed description of shaman's costume and other paraphernalia. For the most part, references to objects however remain on a descriptive level, although she does on occasion refer to material practices as evidence of a southern origin of the Yakut and the Evenki. I propose that Czaplicka prescribed to Balfour's notion of 'Spinners and Weavers' according to which anthropological knowledge needed to be spun from carefully collected data. However, she acted both as a 'spinner' and a 'weaver' - scouring publications of Slavic scholars, gathering linguistic and anthropometric data, genealogies and notes on customs for her own purposes and collecting materials for Balfour for this. From this perspective, the object collection was her contribution to a different kind of anthropology, central to the overall ethos of the discipline at Oxford, but not her particular specialism.

In contrast to the object collection, Czaplicka used her photograph collection extensively - photographs and lantern slides were essential in public

and academic presentation of ethnographic information and were clearly a selling point in attracting audiences. Czaplicka's *Aboriginal Siberia* was advertised with a note that it contains 16 plates, while the title page of *My Siberian Year* notes that the volume is accompanied with 'thirty-two illustrations from photographs'. Her lecture to the Oxford Anthropological Society in the Natural History Museum lecture theatre was supported by lantern slides that were 'warmly appreciated' by the 150 people present (*Oxford Times,* Nov 6 1915) while *Oxford Magazine* reports that 'Miss Czaplicka wielded the camera with singular success, alike in defiance of the winter darkness and with the aid of the midnight sun, so that every phase of her adventures was abundantly illustrated by slides' (Nov 5, 1915). In a similar vein, most press reports of her public lectures note the use of lantern slides to illustrate talks.

It is important to bear in mind that photography was expensive and difficult at the time. The ability to use large projections to 'bring home' experiences of distant and exotic locations was paramount. While Czaplicka did attempt to take anthropometric images, and manipulated opportunistic photographs of indigenous people taken on the steamer to appear more scientific (cf. Chapter 6, p. 283, see Figs. 7.5 and 7.6), her lantern slides most importantly served to amuse, arise curiosity, affirm her presence in the field and to bring the field to her audiences. In particular, considering Czaplicka's early creative output and her charismatic style in public lectures and *My Siberian Year*, it is not difficult to imagine how projections of snowy tundras and fur-clad 'natives' and ethnographers worked to evoke a particular sense of Siberia. Unlike objects, which were difficult to transport and promised to the museum, lantern slides

were readily available to amaze, entertain and add credibility to her performances. The importance Czaplicka attached to lantern slides can be judged from her letter to Marett prior to the aforementioned lecture at the University Museum. In it, she writes:

> I have ordered some lantern slides for the lecture, about 80, which will cost nearly £5. Are there any funds at your disposal to cover this expense? I doubt it. By the way my lecture will be a general account of a popular kind; but I have collected many data besides my personal experiences which I work up into several lectures connected with various problems in Siberia, as well native (ethnological) as Russian (social and economical). (Oct 15 1915, OUA DC 1/4).

Despite the financial burden and not knowing if she would be able to get the cost reimbursed, Czaplicka ordered a significant amount of lantern slides to be made for her debut account of the expedition.[145] It is not clear whether all of these lantern slides remain at the Pitt Rivers today but it appears that at least part were incorporated into the teaching slide collection by Beatrice Blackwood. It is difficult to assess which images were made into lantern slides by Czaplicka as Blackwood may have ordered additional slides later on (more on her use of the Czaplicka collection below), however a number of photographs were manipulated for use as lantern slides and publications and have been marked variously for such purposes.

[145] It is interesting to note that upon starting her post as a lecturer in Bristol, Czaplicka immediately set herself the task of building a teaching slide collection for which she approached Haddon requesting copies that she could include in her library (LCCA EJL 8).

Figure 7.6: From left to right: film negative showing two men on a steamer on the river Yenisei (PRM 1998.321.33) and a photographic print with the background removed (PRM 1998.258.10.6)

Figure 7.5: Lantern slide from the Blackwood teaching slide collection (PRM 1998.385.5.30)

The variety of types of and ways in which the photographs have been manipulated draws attention to the kind of knowledge and sensation Czaplicka wanted them to evoke. From adding contrast to landscapes to removing backgrounds from photographs aimed at representing 'types' of people the trail of negatives, prints, glass negatives and lantern slides provides clues to the ways in which different modalities of photographs were put to use in constructing people, place and the ethnographer (cf. Chapter 6, also see Edwards 2016, Poole 1997). Photographs of the expedition members, indigenous people and Russian settlers, landscape and reindeer photographs as well as images depicting artefacts or technology such as dwellings illustrate *My Siberian Year*. Most numerous are photographs of people but representations of material culture come as a close second, particularly as many photographs of indigenous 'types' also depict clothing, drums and bows. The importance of relaying the exotic 'other' to the public through their material world is also underlined by the fact that the bronze implements acquired from the Minusinsk museum as well as the snow goggles accessioned to the museum had been specifically photographed for reproduction in the book.

Most of Czaplicka's output in relation to the expedition remained in what could be deemed the popular domain, however as scholarship at the time was conceived in broader terms, her lectures to learned societies[146] needed to appeal to a wider audience. Press reports on these lectures make it evident that she was skilful in conjuring up distant lands and relaying her experiences in a humorous

[146] For example to Manchester Geographical Society, Scottish Royal Geographical Society, and Royal Asiatic Society

manner while also injecting a healthy does of scientific credibility. A report in the *Lady* describes how Czaplicka drew 'powerful word pictures of the various communities… and illustrated the whole history of her recent travels with some realistic and beautiful lantern slides', her colourful and vivid language was also noted by the *Manchester Guardian* while the *Glasgow Herald* notes that her lecture to the Manchester Geographical Society was 'illustrated by a series of vivid photographic views.' There is much more that could be said about the role and power of lantern slide technology in the early twentieth century but that is an investigation in its own right. For the purposes of this chapter, it is worth noting the importance of photographs in their various forms and modifications for the dissemination of knowledge on a distant region and distant peoples. While to an extent, photographs taken in accordance with conventions of representing anthropological types (Edwards 1992a) and edited to exclude background views intended to convey scientific information, most importantly for Czaplicka her photographs acted as means to bring Siberia home and attach authority to her own account. The object collection was equally meant to represent Siberia, but through the institutional framework of the Pitt Rivers Museum rather than Czaplicka's use of it.

Figure 7.7: Lantern slides from the Czaplicka collection in the 'Northern Asia' series of Blackwood teaching collection showing a painting of the 'stony tundra' and Maria Czaplicka in indigenous clothing in the winter (PRM 1998.385.5.30)

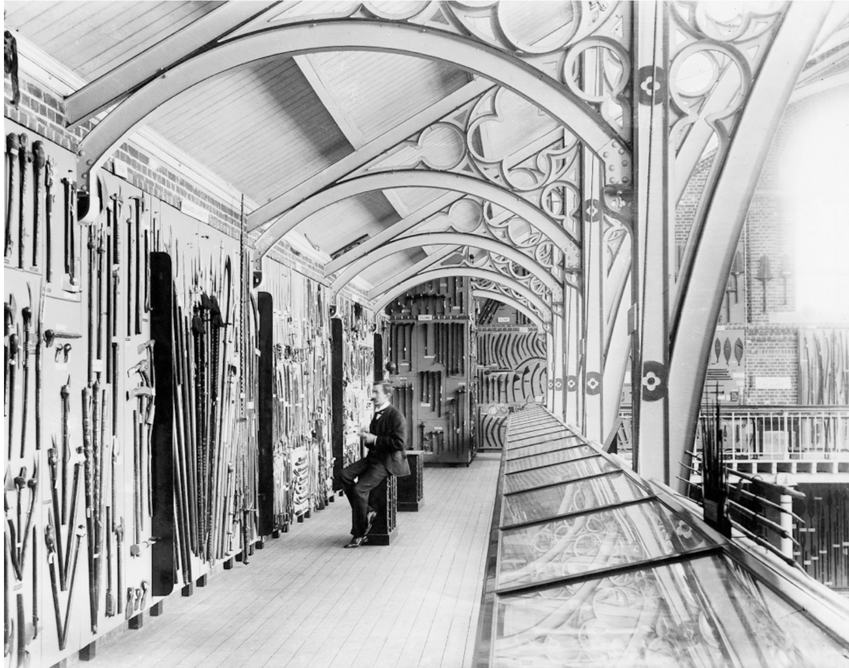

Figure 7.8: Henry Balfour in the Upper Gallery of the Pitt Rivers Museum (PRM 1998.267.94.5)

To assess the place of Czaplicka's collection in the teaching of anthropology at Oxford, it is necessary to examine how the collection fits with Balfour's teaching and museum management. Balfour began his career at the Pitt Rivers Museum helping to move and arrange the founding collection, but soon began to take on greater responsibility. After being granted curatorship in 1890, Balfour became a central figure in Oxford Anthropology alongside Tylor, Marett, Thomson and Myres. He was committed to the study of material culture and determined that 'that research on social customs should not obscure work on material culture or the study of physical anthropology' (Larson 2011: 78).

He also persisted in carving out a space for himself and the museum at the University, successfully lobbying for his curatorial position and wages and securing increased provisions for the museum in his lifetime, although lack of

funds for staff and lack of space were a constant worry.[147] Balfour's grievances on the latter topic were put on display yearly in the museum Annual Reports published in the University Gazette where repeated and increasing desperation over museum conditions were aimed to elicit a response from the governing bodies. For most of his curatorship, Balfour was singly in charge of the museum and for periods did not even have an assistant (1901-1905 and 1936-1939) but he constantly arranged and rearranged the displays, added to the collections and tasked assistants and volunteers with labelling and cataloguing duties. He also taught throughout his career at the museum.

Balfour firmly believed that anthropology students needed a strong general background on different cultures of the world and decried Radcliffe-Brown's[148] attempts of creating specialists in social anthropology (Gosden and Larson 2007: 170–171). Wilson Wallis recalled studying with Balfour in the museum 'before exhibition cases which frequently were supplemented with trays or handfuls of additional specimens' and commented that Balfour was in particularly concerned with 'the development and distribution of technological products and processes' and sought to demonstrate both independent origins and diffusion' (Wallis 1957: 786). The displays were supplemented with maps and drawings to illustrate these ideas. There is limited evidence of which specific objects Balfour used in teaching, but by all accounts it appears that he used a wide array of displays and specific artefacts, and perhaps even using objects as prompts for his discussions (Gosden et al. 2007a).

[147] It is however also important to note that Balfour was able to do so because, like his contemporary Anatole von Hügel, he had a private income (cf. Chapter 3)

[148] Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown became the Chair in Social Anthropology in 1937 (Gosden et al. 2007a: 170)

As previously discussed, it is difficult to tease apart the curator, his teaching and collections at the museum, suggesting that Balfour and the Pitt Rivers Museum's ever-growing collection were mutually constitutive. This is particularly evident in the accessioning of Balfour's collections (held at his house and his museum office) after his death. The difficulty of untangling his personal collection from that of the museum meant that all of the objects were accessioned as 'Balfour collection' despite the fact that it contained objects such as a gun flint (PRM 1936.35) collected by Czaplicka in Siberia. Its accessioning to museum collections in upon Balfour's death poses the question whether this particular object was held back by Balfour due to personal interest or whether it was presented to him specifically by Czaplicka. In either case, the splitting of collections between museum and Balfour demonstrates the blurred line between the two.

Figure 7.9: Display of the composite bows series with distribution maps.

Another example of an object in Czaplicka's collection that closely corresponded to Balfour's interests is the Ostyak (Ket) composite bow. The bow seen 'in action' in Fig 7.11 responds to Balfour's 1889 paper on 'The Structure and Affinities of the Composite Bow' in which Balfour discusses, in great detail, 'the anatomy' of 'primitive' and more advanced bow. It is particularly pertinent that one of Balfour's detailed studies in the article is of a Tungus (Evenki) bow from the British Museum. There are no Evenki composite bows in the Czaplicka collection and it is unclear whether she encountered any, but she describes the Ket bow at length in *My Siberian Year*

> The Yenisei-Ostyak make a beautiful compound bow of three layers of birch and pine cemented together with fish-glue and covered with birch-bark, which has served as a model for all similar weapons between the Taz and Vilui. The Yurak are still much addicted to the use of the bow in hunting; but they purchase most of their bows from the Ostyak (Czaplicka 1916a: 136-37)

The bow is currently on display with other composite bows, predominantly collected by Balfour himself, in the upper gallery of the Museum adjacent to arrows and quiver from the Czaplicka collection. The bows and arrows in the display are grouped according to region and although the display is more three-dimensional and dynamic, the departure from the linear mode adopted by Balfour is not radical. I have not been able to identify the Ket bow in early display photographs (such as Fig. 7.9), but as these are seldom well dated, it would be difficult to ascertain much about its display history.[149] In the 1940s, when Blackwood was lecturing on Siberia, she indicated that the compound bow

[149] The bow does not appear to be displayed in Fig. 8 but the photograph may have been taken before the accession of the Czaplicka collection.

is to be found in the arrows case (PRM MS Collection, Blackwood Papers, box 20, env. 3). Czaplicka's collection also contributed to the series on arrows, musical instruments and fire making implements – subjects that Balfour had paid particular attention to in his publications (Petch et al. 2012) and two model cradles she acquired are displayed in a special case on 'baby carriers' whose display objects were actively collected during Balfour's curatorship. The use of these was also extensively illustrated in photographs collected by Balfour and arranged into series in 1930s.

It is difficult to make more specific claims about Balfour's collecting and exhibition practices without embarking on a separate research project analysing all of the museum's display photographs and records,[150] thus my assertions about his relationship with the Czaplicka collection are necessarily deductive. However, Balfour's use of the expedition photographs in his typological and regional series is better known.[151] In line with the didactic aims of the museum in arranging objects to produce a scientific argument about cultural development across the world, Balfour's thematically arranged photographs in series such as 'Food Quest', 'Land Travel and Transport' and 'Magic and Religion' sought to visually collect cross-cultural examples in these categories. He pasted photographs from different geographical regions and times onto large boards and gaps were left to complete series much like his displays had constantly been re-arranged (see Fig. 7.10). Morton (2012) argues that Balfour's attempt at organising

[150] And even then, the paucity of material would probably prohibit from making specific claims regarding the Czaplicka collection. A more in-depth analysis of later periods in the museum's history could, however, be possible with laborious research in the photograph and manuscript collections

[151] The museum holds Balfour's "B" and "C" series, in which photographs mounted on boards are arranged regionally and thematically.

the vast number of photographs in the museum into a systematic archive in the early 1930s was a ‘still born’ project arising both from the Victorian legacy of cultural comparativism and a wider universalizing archiving moment. He suggests that the series ‘mirrored Balfour’s own research methodology’ (Morton 2012: 377) and sought to emphasise the evidential and indexical potential of images in comparative research but a move toward social functionalism in British anthropology and the reinvention of the Pitt Rivers Museum along technological and archaeological lines, the archive remained unused and incomplete.

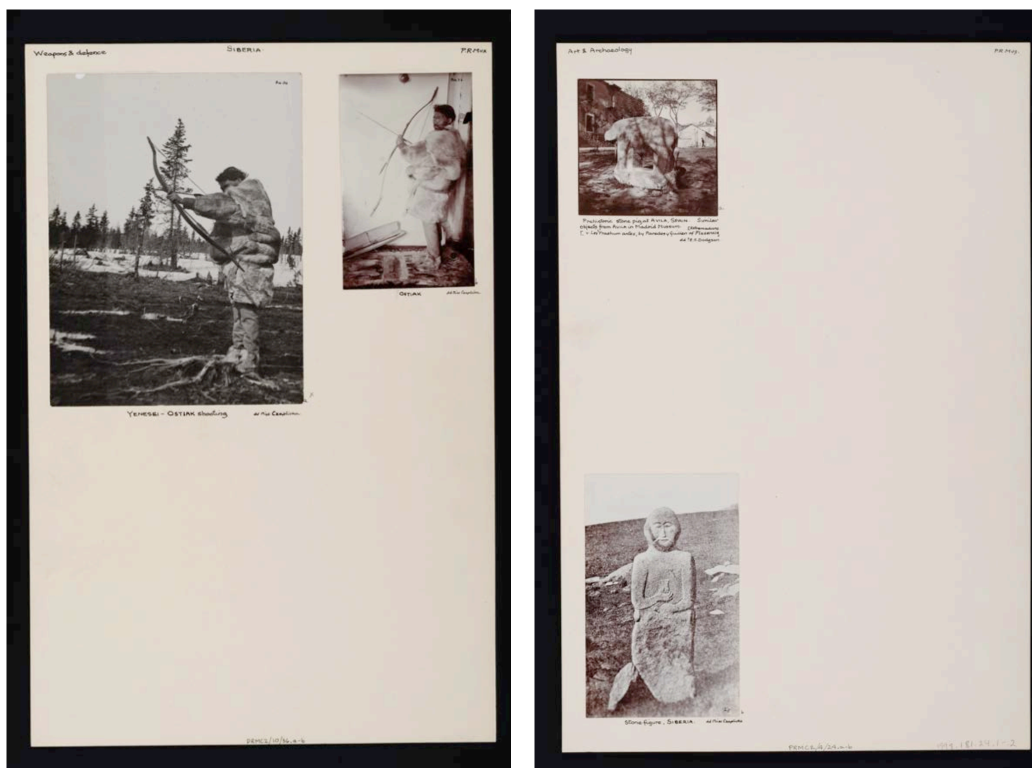

Figure 7.10: Two of Balfour's boards from the "C" series displaying photographs from the Czaplicka collection (PRM C 2/10/36 and C 2/4/24)

Most of Czaplicka's photographs in the series are presented in the regional series on Siberia and Northern Europe (B 59) where over fifty field photographs of indigenous people are presented according to racial typologies. Photographs in the thematic series are also grouped together showing all of the Siberian photographs together rather than juxtaposing them with other collections. Balfour's mixed geographical series and regional grouping in thematic categories suggests an affinity with the museum catalogues. Until the 1980s the museum was using and adding to card catalogues started by Balfour, which since 1985 were slowly beginning to be computerized.[152] These were arranged typologically reflecting the display series but Tom Penniman and Beatrice Blackwood also began to catalogue objects according to geographical regions.[153] Thus, it may be useful to consider Balfour's photographic series as a type of visual catalogue of material practices across the world that was to serve as a resource for general anthropological teaching at the university.

Seen in such terms it can be viewed as part of the teaching that Beatrice Blackwood and Tom Penniman sought to maintain after Balfour's death. Larson has commented that Blackwood's teaching in the 1940's demonstrated an impressive geographical range but 'prevented Blackwood from delving into any single area in any depth at all, and many of her lectures were basic and introductory' (Larson 2006). The photographic archive may have assisted such

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[152] The bulk of the work on putting all the information from card catalogues online took place since 1999 when the museum was awarded a major grant for this work (PRM AR)

[153] The 1942 Annual Report states that the Museum House was used to store 'valuable specimens and to use the shelves and screens they occupied in fitting our basement so as to collect together all of our lantern slides, negatives, cinematograph films, photographs, and specimens regularly used in some of our courses, together with the slowly growing card catalogues arranged by regions, subjects, and donors.'

broad geographical and thematic teaching aimed at giving students a broad and general overview before embarking on specialist studies. Thus the photographs from the Yenisei expedition and images collected by Czaplicka for her own research and teaching were arranged into sets reflecting museum categories and contributed to a generalist teaching in physical and social anthropology as well as archaeology.

Beatrice Blackwood's material anthropology

Figure 7.11: Czaplicka's lantern slides after being incorporated into Blackwood's teaching collection (these include slides added by Blackwood)

Beatrice Blackwood was Czaplicka's friend, student and a colleague and her archive contains transcripts of Czaplicka's lectures as well as notes on which images and objects Blackwood used in her own lectures In addition, images from the Siberian expedition made their way into museum's teaching slide collection that Blackwood expanded during her work there. Blackwood was a diligent administrator and kept nearly everything to do with her work at the museum,

making her papers a rich source of data on the history of the museum and offering a glimpse into a particular type of anthropology born out of the Oxford holistic approach over the course of nearly sixty years. For the present study, Blackwood papers have been invaluable in their detailed information about displays but moreover they reveal a unique trajectory of the Czaplicka collection as a result of personal and institutional intersections.

Blackwood and Czaplicka first met when they were both students at Somerville College – former working on a BA degree in English and latter on the Anthropology Diploma. In these early days, Blackwood became one of the many English friends that Czaplicka relied on for language assistance. Later, after returning from Siberia, Czaplicka and Blackwood met again at a friend's house and upon learning that Czaplicka was struggling to prepare her notes for publication, Blackwood offered her assistance. The pair worked together on *My Siberian Year* until autumn 1916 when Czaplicka commenced her lectureship in Oxford. It was her encouragement that led to Blackwood returning to Oxford at the same time and starting the Diploma course (Larson 2006). Thus, Blackwood had a close personal association with Czaplicka as well as an intimate knowledge of her academic work and field experiences and was one of Czaplicka's pupils during her lectureship.[154]

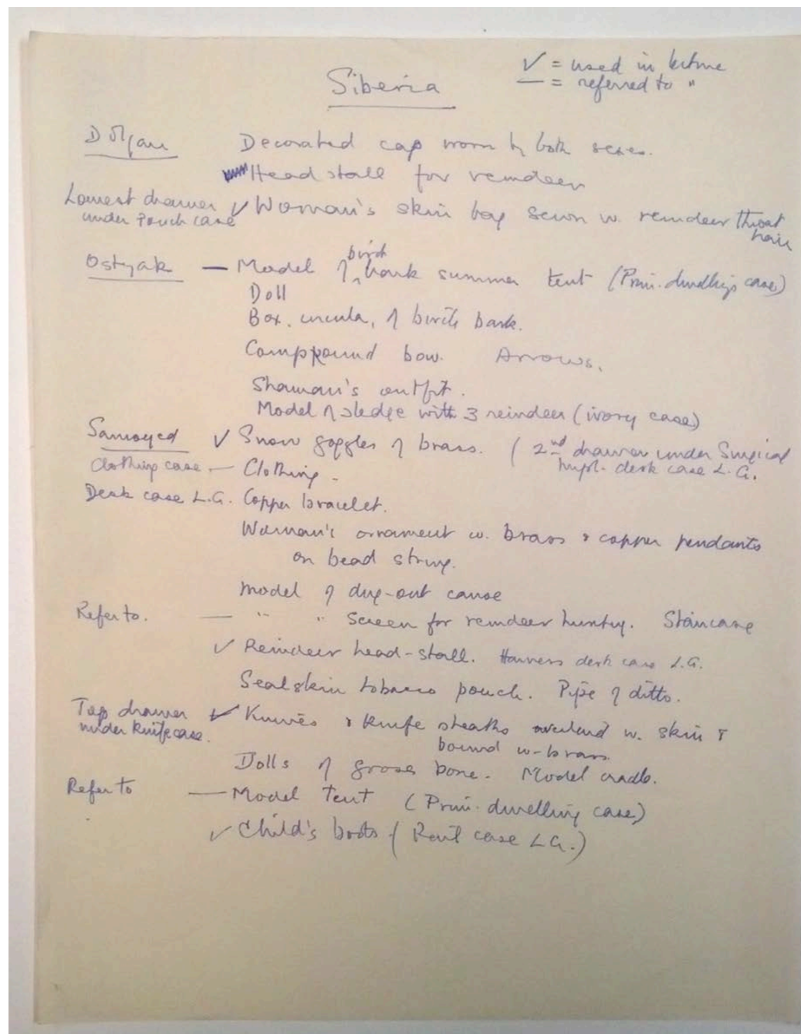
Following the Diploma, Blackwood, like Czaplicka was primarily situated in the field of Physical Anthropology and gained employment in the Human Anatomy department. While Czaplicka was employed as a lecturer in Ethnology

[154] This information is gleaned from Blackwood's letter to Anatoli Kuczynizkiy in 1971 (PRM Manuscript Collections, Blackwood papers, Box 43, envelope 5, d. 57)

with specialisation in Europe and Northern Asia, Blackwood became a demonstrator in Physical Anthropology. In 1934 after Arthur Thomson retired and the department was taken over by Le Gros Clark[155], much sharper disciplinary boundaries between anatomy and anthropology were drawn up (Gosden and Larson 170). This shift, forced by Le Gros Clark, resulted in Blackwood's position being moved to the Pitt Rivers Museum in 1935 and it is from this point onwards that Blackwood began to lecture on broader anthropological themes and specialist regions with the aid of collections. Since Blackwood was conducting fieldwork in Melanesia from 1936 to 1939 (Larson 2011), it was not until after that she started in her new role as a Demonstrator in Ethnology under Balfour. However, in 1939 both Balfour and L. H. D. Buxton passed away, leaving her to fill in for both and resisting change proposed by Radcliffe-Brown in the absence of her long-term mentors (Larson 2006). It was in these circumstances that Blackwood began to teach in the museum with museum objects. In 1937, she admitted to Penniman, who succeeded Balfour as the curator, that 'work there [in the museum] is not exactly in my line of interest either, but I suppose I shall come back and settle down to sticking on labels till I get too restless to stand it any longer' (Larson 2006). Despite this sentiment, she felt that taking the position at the museum may allow her a degree of freedom to undertake further fieldwork. After the deaths of Thomas, Balfour, Buxton and Marett, a sense of duty and loyalty appear to have influenced her decision to

[155] Sir Wilfrid Edward Les Gros Clark became the Lees Professor in Human Anatomy in 1935 and immediately set about restructuring the department. In particular, he found Blackwood's position within the department anomalous.

continue working at the museum and maintain the legacy of her mentors (Larson 2011).


Siberia

✓ = used in lecture
— = referred to "

Dolgan — Decorated cap worn by both sexes.
Head stalle for reindeer
Lowest drawer under Pouch case ✓ Woman's skin bag sewn w. reindeer throat hair

Ostyak — Model of birch bark summer tent (Prim. dwellings case)
Doll
Box, circular, of birch bark.
Compound bow. Arrows.
Shaman's outfit.
Model of sledge with 3 reindeer (ivory case)

Samoyed ✓ Snow goggles of brass. (2nd drawer under Surgical Impl. desk case L.G.
Clothing case — Clothing.
Desk case L.G. Copper bracelet.
Woman's ornament w. brass & copper pendants on bead string.
Model of dug-out canoe
Refer to. — " " Screen for reindeer hunting. Staircase
✓ Reindeer head-stalle. Harness desk case L.G.
Sealskin tobacco pouch. Pipe of ditto.
Top drawer under Knife case. ✓ Knives & knife sheaths overlaid w. skin & bound w. brass.
Dolls of goose bone. Model cradle.
Refer to — Model Tent (Prim. dwelling case)
✓ Child's boots (Revil case L.G.)

Figure 7.12: Notes on objects used in Blackwood's lecture on Siberia (Pitt Rivers Museum Manuscript Collection, Blackwood Papers, Box 20, env. 3)

Blackwood lectured on a range of subjects including North American Indians, Polar Regions, Melanesian Ethnology and Burmese Arts and Crafts (PRM AR, 1938-39) to Diploma students in Anthropology and Geography students who took anthropology as a special subject. Her lectures on Asiatic Polar regions all drew on Czaplicka's research and collections. In her lecture on Neo-Siberians, Blackwood employed the classification introduced by Czaplicka despite noting Jochelson and Boas's criticism of it and used Czaplicka's lecture notes from 1917

for the description of various Polar communities. In her 1945 Michaelmas lecture, Blackwood lists over forty slides to be used with her Northern Asia lecture, most from the Czaplicka collection (PRM MS Collection, Blackwood Papers, box 20, env. 3). Likewise, she referred to and used museum objects in her lectures with the aim that students could acquaint themselves with objects after the lectures (see Fig. 7.12). She also ran practical classes, which Larson (2006) notes, 'were more informal affairs and seem to have been held in the Pitt Rivers Museum' pointing out Blackwood's introduction to the 'Lands and Peoples' lecture

> We shall look at pictures of the people and of their country, and examine the things they make and use. The anthropologists will have an opportunity of seeing the things themselves at the practical class on Monday afternoons. The rest of you will, I hope, stay behind after each lecture for half an hour or so to look at them…The value of this course lies mainly in the pictures and in seeing the specimens themselves, so it will not be the same thing at all if you cut the lecture and borrow someone's notes. The practicals will be quite informal, and questions are welcomed at them. (PRM MS collections Blackwood papers box 22, envelope 3)

In this lecture series, Blackwood dealt with some topics relating to the Czaplicka collection. For example, her lecture notes on Asiatic and Polar regions (*ibid*) suggest that a 'simple lecture on Reindeer herders on Asia' and a discussion of 'some Polar culture traits'[156] were held as part of the series.

Nearly all of the objects used in these lectures were from the Czaplicka collection and from Blackwood's list we can ascertain that at least a third of the

[156] Blackwood notes that these were discussed as part of a 1954 Michaelmas term lecture on Lapps in the 'Lands and Peoples' series and could be developed into a larger lecture with more time (Pitt Rivers Museum Manuscript Collection, Blackwood Papers, Box 20, env. 3)

collection was either on display or otherwise used in teaching.[157] Her lists also draw attention to how objects of different time periods would be used together in teaching. For example, objects acquired by Czaplicka in 1914-15 were used alongside the ivory model bought by Augustus Pitt-Rivers in the nineteenth century, a Tungus goose-bone doll bought at an auction in Covent Garden in 1925, and a Samoyed goose-bone doll acquired through exchange with the Danish National Museum in 1935. Blackwood's teaching did not simply replicate Czaplicka's, she actively added lantern slides from more recent sources (e.g. Jochelson's publications) to lecture on Northern Asia and she sourced objects from across the museum collections. For instance, in her special lecture on Shamanism, Blackwood draws on material from the Czaplicka expedition but also Haida ritual objects (see Fig. 7.13). There is a sense in which the collections in the museum aided and directed the course of teaching by Blackwood although her personal connections with Balfour and Czaplicka were also instrumental. Furthermore, the need to maintain Balfour's legacy and affirm museum's position as a teaching institution was paramount to her teaching activities.

[157] It is difficult to give an exact number as it is unclear from her notes whether all of the objects mentioned are on display. For example, Blackwood does not specify the number of arrows considered in class.

Specimens for Lecture on Shamanism

Iron model of diver from Shaman's coat.
" " " eagle " " " } Tungus
Shaman's head ornament with iron figures
Ostyak-Samoyed - Yenisei.
Iron "sun" symbol from Shaman's coat. Tungus
Shaman's apron with iron figures Ostyak
~~Model in wood of Shaman~~
Iron staff used by Shaman - Tungus.
(not found 1945) Wooden figure of Parge. Ostyak-Samoyed
Shaman's single-membrane drum. Tungus or Ostyak.
Drum-stick - Tungus -
Shaman's iron crown Samoyedic-Ostyak.

For Haida Shaman's [illegible] see Regional Index - Haida 'Ritual Objects'.

Figure 7.13: Beatrice Blackwood's notes on objects used in a lecture on Shamanism (PRM MS Collection, Blackwood Papers, Box 20, env. 3)

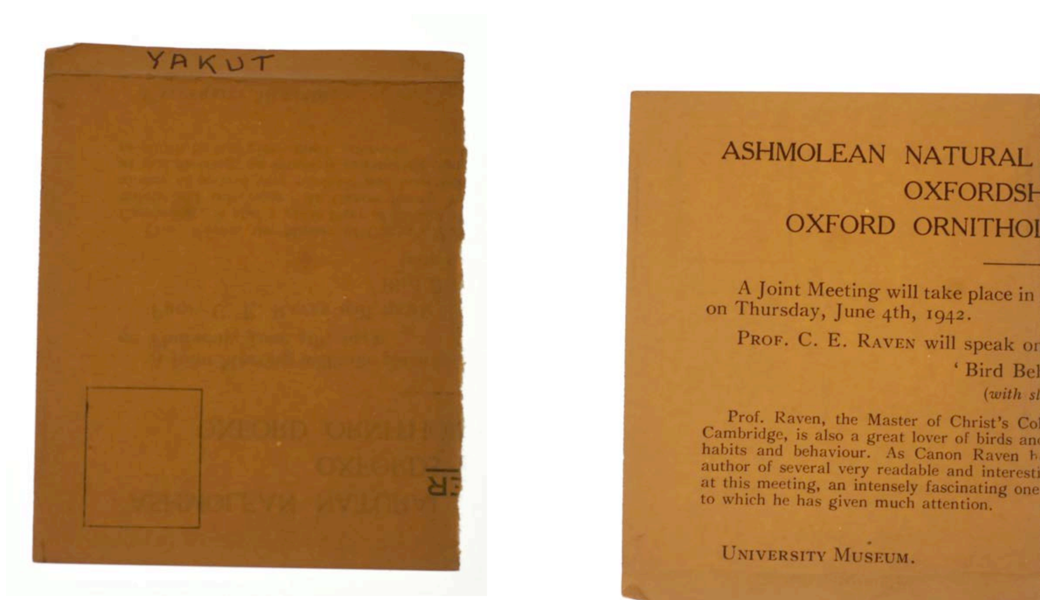


Figure 7.14: Dividing cards used by Blackwood to separate lantern slides. The back side of the 'Yakut' card reveals information from an issue of 1942 University Gazette (PRM 1998.385.5.30)

Blackwood's use of objects in teaching was also situated in Thomas Penniman active campaign to demonstrate the relevance of the museum and resist changes suggested by Radcliffe Brown. In is noteworthy, that from 1942 Penniman begun to include visitor numbers in his reports. In the 1938-1939 Museum Annual Report, Penniman states that a Practical Museum course has been started during which students would be shown how to make flint implements and use certain appliances made among indigenous communities, he comments that 'such work is a most important preliminary study of their ethnological significance and leads to a deeper understanding of peoples, especially among those being trained for field-work' (PRM AR). In the year 1940-41 the report describes the museums reception room where students are able to make tools and 'try their hands at spinning or weaving, work out the scales of primitive musical instruments or listen to recordings of them, spread out big maps, or read' as well as looking to obtain further models and equipment for students to 'practice the basic processes and mechanisms before they begin their study of native arts and crafts and their distribution' (PRM AR).

Tony Bennett argues that museum objects like scientific objects can be reconfigured (cf. p.308) but they never completely lose their previous relationships. Perhaps something similar could be said of Blackwood, Penniman and Oxford anthropology. Latter has been seen as static and stagnating because it does not fit the chronology of social anthropology evolving from armchair evolutionist, through to classification based science to fieldwork and structural-functionalism. However, this chronology and classification of stagnant Oxford

anthropology does little to address the kind of anthropology that was promoted by people like Blackwood and Penniman and significantly, why it was promoted.

Blackwood's involvement in archaeological digs during holidays and then work with human skulls collections at the Anatomy department (Larson 2006) reveals a profound rooting in material practices fostered at Oxford. She wished both to return to Physical Anthropology and 'her skulls' (*ibid*) but also to conduct more fieldwork, even if it did not favour physical anthropology investigations (Larson 2011). As Czaplicka, whose use of ethnographic objects was limited due to institutional placing and preference for physical anthropology, Blackwood's use of material anthropology varied according to circumstances. Blackwood and Czaplicka's practices of 'material anthropology' demonstrate, is that there was no clear Oxford way. There was a strong material focus fostered by Balfour with his museum work, Thomson with anthropometric measurements and Marett and Myres with archaeology. Institutional framework meant that it was easier to gain favour for work related to the Museum, an immovable part of the University and an asset that needed caring for (even if the resources were never plentiful), or to do with science. With Thomson's support Physical Anthropology was able to flourish while social anthropology was hampered by its perceived similarity with other Arts subjects.

Institutional life of the Czaplicka collection

As well as being used by particular people as part of a particular discourse in anthropology, the Czaplicka collection is also a product of the Pitt Rivers Museum and is continually remade within in. Artefacts and photographs that

comprise the collection are epistemic objects, which carry relations past and present and are also configured in relation to future aspirations. To use Husserl's terms, the objects are influenced by their retentions and protentions, existing in a spatio-temporal field with multiple relations and forces affecting their existence at any one point (see also Gosden 1994). In the museum, the clearest indication of the way in which the objects are both of the time and not, is the strength of inertia derived from their past intellectual configurations. Quite simply, the persistence of classificatory categories at the Pitt Rivers Museum and the longitudinal tenacity of physical spaces, which the objects occupy, result in the persistence of representation qualities, which may not be of 'our time'.

The Pitt Rivers Museum carries the legacy of typological classification and display of its objects designed by the General Pitt Rivers. Although the museum no longer subscribes to the out-dated evolutionary series eschewed by the late colonel and Henry Balfour, its unique selling point is still the grouping of objects according to form or function, not geographical regions or cultural groups (Gosden et al. 2007a). The classification of objects and the creation of series was embedded into the very existential fabric of the museum by Henry Balfour whose professional life and identity became fused with that of the museum in the fifty-four years that he worked there. The personal relations he had with Tom Penniman and Beatrice Blackwood ensured his legacy was respected and continued even if the former wished to modernise and lighten the space (Larson and Petch 2006) and latter yearned to return to the field (Larson 2011).

The exact fate of the Czaplicka collection upon accession is unclear, but the lack of external storage at the time, the importance of the collection in terms

of the geographical novelty, along clues from Blackwood's notes and the number of objects on display today, suggest that a large proportion of the collection would have been displayed or held in storage in the museum. Blackwood's notes on the location of some of the Siberian expedition objects along with her directory of object series in the museum offer a glimpse into the layout of the museum in the 1940s (PRM MS Collections, Blackwood Papers, env.20; Blackwood's directory).

Considering Blackwood's archive, I was struck with how familiar the display case and series titles were and the extent to which the physical location of display types has remained constant. For example, the Upper Galley currently advertised as the location for 'Shield, Spears and Samurai' was also the home of various weapons in the 1940s (and indeed in late 1800s as seen in the photo of Henry Balfour in Fig. 7.8). Displays on 'human form in art', 'magic' and 'writing' remain in the Court while bow drills, snow goggles and beadwork are in the Lower Gallery. The perseverance of the geographical layout of typological displays at the museum is largely a practical matter – moving objects increase the chances of damage and requires time and effort from the human agents charged with their care, thus museums will not do this without good reason. While changes in displays have been constant through museum history (PRM AR), large-scale relocation of artefacts was only really considered in 1970s when Bernard Fagg, then curator, began to pursue plans for a new purpose-built building for the museum (O'Hanlon and Welsch 2000, Airs 2017).

Blackwood's directory and notes seldom have exact locations of objects, but it is possible to trace which galleries objects were in and, in some cases,

pinpoint a more precise locations. It is clear that all weapons were in the Upper Gallery and so the arrows, compound bow and quiver collected by Czaplicka that are currently displayed are quite likely to have been in a similar place since 1915. We know from photographs that the compound bow display has moved from the southeast corner to the north-east corner, but in general, the objects have not moved far. Likewise, ornaments, beadwork, snow-goggles and bow-drills are shown to be located in the Lower Gallery in the Pitt Rivers Directory that Blackwood compiled in 1942. Displays of clothes and objects relating to 'magic, witchcraft and sorcery' also appear to have historically maintained their location. The latter displays contain a significant number of displayed objects from the Czaplicka collection. The clothing display was redesigned to represent 'Arctic clothing' in the 1970s (see Fig. 7.15) while the 'Magic and Witchcraft' display in its current form was put up in 1986 (PRM AR).

Some of the changes in displays do however direct attention to smaller alterations in the museum, not highlighted in annual reports. For example, Blackwood notes the location of child's boots in the Lower Gallery but none of the boots from the Czaplicka collection are on display now and none were displayed in the temporary exhibition dedicated to the centenary of the expedition. The reason stems from the physical properties of the objects. Namely, the susceptibility of fur garments to deteriorate in display conditions has led to curators favouring to keep them in climate controlled conditions in specialised store-rooms (from sixteen objects of clothing given by Czaplicka only six are currently displayed). The display of coats in the central part of the Arctic clothing display (see Fig. 7.16) notwithstanding the conservation concerns

indicates their high representational value. Indeed, the display seen in Fig. 7.15 suggests that there is a long history of fascination with the Arctic region. The inclusion of snowshoes and skis in the case suggests a desire to show an 'outfit' relevant to the geographical region rather than types of objects. While snowshoes today are displayed in the Lower Gallery, contemporary display still capitalises on the notion of the 'Arctic' by including a Koryak map in the case. [158]

Figure 7.15: A photograph of the clothing display in the Southwest corner of the Court, 1970s

[158] For more on displaying the Arctic in British institutions see Warrior (2011)

Figure 7.16: The Arctic Clothing display in the Southwest corner of the Court as recorded in the Virtual Tour of the museum (2009)

Changing ideas about the role of the museum and curatorial preferences can also be traced through examining the collection's history. For example, none of the twenty antiquities[159] that Czaplicka collected are currently on display, but the annual reports make it clear that in 1950s some of the objects were shown in a series explaining Ancient Metallurgy and a number of micro sections were taken from some of the objects and discussed in fourth volume of the *Occasional Papers in Technology*. The absence of these objects today points to the decline in interest for archaeological material in the museum until recently.

As well as changing preferences of the museum staff, the visibility and accessibility of objects in the collection plays a role in their use within the museum. Thus, the initial photographing of the antique bronze implement from the Minusinsk museum, whose images are included in the accession books and the card catalogue may have facilitated their choice for further inspection through micro sections in the 1950s (Coghan 1951, Voce) while display of Evenki

[159] These were mainly metal artefacts from archaeological investigations acquired from the Minusinsk museum

tool box, Selkup head-gear and the Nganasan coat lent themselves to an examination by Geoffrey Turner[160] in 1955. However, latter research was also almost certainly also facilitated by Beatrice Blackwood and Turner's long-standing volunteering at the museum, which would have enabled him to research and acquaint himself with objects using hair embroidery.

It can therefore be seen how Czaplicka's ethnographic collection has been used and reconfigured in museum activities and how these in turn continue to affect how the collection is perceived and used today. The biography or social life of the collection accumulates in historical layers in which previous actions affect future activities surrounding the collection. By unpicking these layers, the epistemic and representational role of ethnographic collections within anthropological knowledge-making, can begin to be delineated.

Contemporary interest and redisplay

The information on the use and display of the Czaplicka material after Beatrice Blackwood retired from teaching in 1959 is scant, but the Museum Annual Reports, catalogue records and the image database give some idea of the collection's use in the intervening years while more recent use can be gleaned from current museum staff. The museum collections continued to be used in teaching by lecturers such as Audrey Butt Colson, however it was done in relation to the geographical and cultural expertise of the lecturers. Objects would be removed from display for lectures and other teaching thus disrupting their

[160] Turner was an Assistant Secretary to the Delegates of the University Museum and was also the librarian of the Ashmolean Natural History Society. He volunteered at the Pitt Rivers Museum and contributed to its intellectual life for over 40 years and eventually earned the title of honorary curator (Petch 2009a)

typological placement within the museum (Morton 2012: 360). As Russia became inaccessible to Western scholars, it is perhaps unsurprising that there would have been few researchers interested in the Czaplicka collection from a regional perspective and with a decline in comparative studies, fewer still would have studied the collections from such a viewpoint. Having said that, a third edition of Geoffrey Turner's 1954 study of hair embroidery in North America and Siberia featuring objects from the Czaplicka collection was published in 1996 while the musical instruments in the collection received attention in the 1980s by Hélène la Rue who took the post of an Assistant Curator of Ethnomusicology at the Pitt Rivers in 1982.

Figure 7.17: The bows and arrows display as seen in the PRM virtual tour (photo 2009)

The music gallery, planned by la Rue, was opened in the Balfour building on Banbury road in 1986. Catalogue records show that la Rue researched the drums, jew's harps and the chatigan in the Czaplicka collections between 1987 and 1989. The music gallery intended 'not only to show various types of musical instruments from all over the world, but to enable visitors to hear selected

instruments being played by means of a sophisticated audio system' (PRM AR) reflecting la Rue's object-oriented, hands-on approach. All of the musical instruments in the collection were photographed by 1985, the earliest photographs of the jew's harps being taken in 1953 while the Ket drum and the chatigan were photographed by between 1970 and 1985 and catalogued with musical instruments. la Rue's article on Czaplicka in the pamphlet on Pitt Rivers collectors (la Rue 1996) suggests that the objects in the collections triggered la Rue's further interest in Czaplicka and her biography. The annual report for 1985-86, which recorded the opening of the Balfour galleries further states that 'a gallery devoted to hunter-gatherer peoples, past and present' should be accommodated at the site. The hunter-gatherer gallery was intended to 'deal with the nature and extent of the archaeological evidence for man's hunting and gathering activities in various parts of the world from the earliest known periods down to the present day' (*ibid* 1985-86). The latter gallery also displayed some of the Czaplicka objects. For example the fish-shaped lure of reindeer horn (1915.50.49) and the Evenki gorge were shown in a display 'Quest for Protein' at the gallery before it was dismantled in October 2001 (PRM AR, 2001-2002).

Some of the objects from the Siberian collection have also featured in special exhibitions at Oxford and abroad: an Evenki fur cap (1915.50.117) was shown in a 1986 Pitt Rivers special exhibition 'On top of the World, an Exhibition of Hats and Headgear' in a section titled 'Hats for protection' and in 1994, the Evenki model cradle acquired by Czaplicka in 1914 was displayed in an exhibition 'Beloved Burden' at the Tropenmuseum (PRM AR, 1993-1994). Latter sought to demonstrated the cross-cultural and historically rooted practice of carrying

children and juxtaposed it with the lack of such practice in modern Western world.. Finally, in 2002, the Evenki drum from the collection was displayed in a PRM special exhibition 'Transformations' which sought to demonstrate the universal notion of recycling across different cultures. The drum was chosen for display because the beater (*gihu*) is backed with printed tin (see Fig. 7.18). It is evident that the objects were mostly displayed and researched in the context of object assemblages rather than in relation to their link with the indigenous communities in Siberia or social function they may have had. Thus, while the history of the anthropology tells us that British anthropology was of the strictly social kind, the anthropology promulgated through these objects was one, which contemplated human diversity and similarity in material culture. Even as anthropology was apparently making a 'material turn', objects were used in multiple ways. From a somewhat 'embarrassing' representation of 'Witchcraft and Magic' in 1986[161] to la Rue's staunch belief that curator's duty is to 'know' her objects and the sensory and bodily engagement in their play, the objects were transmitting different kinds of anthropological knowledge.

[161] The notion that the display is uncomfortable and embarrassing for contemporary curators was expressed by one of the museum curators in an informal interview.

Figure 7.18: Evenki drum and drum stick (PRM 1915.50.141 and 1915.50.142)

In recent years, redisplay projects have sought to modernise the way the museum exhibits its material while remaining committed to the arrangement by form and function that reveals diverse solutions to common problems. Most of the redisplay pertaining to the Czaplicka collections has taken place since 2009 and some of it has been part of a major five-year 'VERVE' (Visitors, Engagement, Renewal, Visibility, Enrichment) project that started in 2012. However, these attempts demonstrate some difficulties in interpreting and representing an ethnographic museum collection. Despite an attempt to link the objects more firmly with their geographical, cultural and collecting provenance, the embedded classifications and museum records alongside limited specialist knowledge have,

in fact, confused and distanced the objects from their field sites. For example, in the display labels designed for the Arctic clothes display, regional attribution of different jackets, an apron and photographs varies between 'Eastern Siberia', 'North-Central Siberia', and 'North-Eastern Siberia'. Maria Czaplicka's expedition, however, only covered a small territory of Siberia – the Yenisei River north of Krasnoyarsk and the Illimpei tundra between Yenisei and Lena rivers. Although Czaplicka and Hall travelled over 3000 kilometres around the tundra, the territory is minuscule in relation to the overall size of Siberia, which is most of Russia east of the Ural Mountains. Czaplicka herself denoted the territory she explored as 'North-central Siberia' while the Russian Ethnographic Museum classifies Krasnoyarsk region as Northwest. The confusion in the labels has most probably arisen due to original labels noting the location as 'east of the river Yenisei' as well as from designating locations in relation to wider notions of cultural groups. For example, the Evenki occupy a vast territory in Russia, Mongolia and China, some of which can be classified as 'eastern Siberia', while the Nenets today are generally found in North-Western and North-Central areas.

The 'Tungus' objects are all now also catalogued under the name 'Evenki', however, it is not always evident that the objects acquired by Czaplicka came exclusively from the Illimpei Evenki who strongly affirm their distinct identity as opposed to Southern Evenki whose language has been employed in developing the written Evenki (Mamontova 2014). Not only do the Illimpei Evenki objects at the Pitt Rivers Museum thus come to stand for the Evenki more broadly (perhaps as Czaplicka would approve as she believed them to be 'the purest Tungus') but their artefacts as well as those of their neighbours in the Yenisei region in the

early twentieth century are also framed as 'Siberian' or 'Arctic'. Most of the contemporary typological displays featuring Siberian objects only feature small and distinct Pitt Rivers labels or writing on the objects that hold the same information as that originally obtained. To an extent this means that the objects very much speak for themselves, however in terms of giving clues of provenance, the most recognisable words used are 'Siberia' and 'Arctic'. Occasionally, the location is simply 'E. of r. Yenisei', sometimes 's. of Arctic circle' or 'Arctic Siberia'. I venture to guess that for an average visitor, these words evoke more than 'Tungus' or the native names of the objects. The year of accession - 1915, is prominently displayed on most objects clearly tagging the objects as part of Siberian history. The objects from the Siberian collection thus come to stand for a historical, imaginary Siberian or Arctic culture.

Where an attempt has been made to note contemporary conditions of the groups represented, the results are a romanticising notion of 'traditional' herders. A display label in the Arctic clothing case suggests that 'today, nearly half of the Evenki population continue to live by herding and hunting reindeer' and 'like the Sami... strive to retain their traditional culture and life-style'. Not only does this statement conflate all of the Evenki into one monolithic group, the claim is also not true as most of the contemporary Evenkis live a sedentary lifestyle in villages and cities in Russia and have struggled to maintain reindeer herding activities since the collapse of the Soviet Union (Sirina 2004, Anderson 2006). The temporality of such a display label is also deeply problematic. Without any evidence as to when the label was written, it is wholly unclear what is meant by 'today'. Indeed, it could be argued that the museum is creating a kind of

ethnographic present in which the Evenki past displayed through historic objects and the Evenki present voiced in the display label mix in an ambiguous manner.

Centenary display 'My Siberian Year'

The temporal limbo of the Siberian collection and its detachment from source communities is further evidenced in the centenary display mounted in 2014. The central narrative of the special display, 'My Siberian Year', is that of Maria Czaplicka and her remarkable journey. The exhibition was mostly designed to showcase the collection and the story of the expedition, thus the objects were mostly chosen for visual appeal, links to the narrative of Czaplicka as well as for practical reasons of size or difficulty of display. Furthermore, the decisions relating to the choice of objects are done in consultation with technical services and conservation in an attempt to minimise unnecessary movement of objects and potential damage from display (Nicholson 2016, personal communication).

The special display demonstrates some aspects of the particularities of the museum space and the multiplicity of ways in which objects can be active. The display case is located in a north-eastern corner of the Court, where the Education department keep various trolleys and boxes that are used for school visits. There is also a long wooden bench in front of the case. Being at a location where school groups gather, the 'reindeer skin kickers', chosen for display for they 'quirkiness', have become a point of interest pointed out to the children by education officers. A detailed examination of visitor engagement and responses is beyond the remit of this thesis, but this anecdotal evidence shows how specific

location of displays embosses its own significance upon the effect of collections, potentially along trajectories quite different from those envisaged by curators.

Figure 7.19: 'My Siberian Year' display in the Pitt Rivers Museum Court. Photo by Malcolm Osman ©Pitt Rivers Museum

The layout of the display has been designed to accommodate a mix of objects that are visually interesting and link to the narrative of the Siberian expedition. The objects have been grouped in terms of size and the types of technical fixtures needed.[162] The Evenki apron seen at the bottom of the display case is the most fragile object and required conservation work before the display.

[162] However, all of the objects linked with shamanism appear to be grouped in one area on the left-hand side.

While it would have been worn hanging down, the condition of the object necessitates current flat positioning. Most of the other objects have been mounted on the vertical wall showing them floating in the display space with captions describing the type of object and the cultural group provenance and in some instances including quotes by Czaplicka from *My Siberian Year*. The quotes beneath the object captions are not dated and while quotation marks and italics are used for these, unless visitors look through the whole case and appreciate that the quotes are drawn from the book, also on display, it may not be apparent that the information given about the objects is a century old.[163] The indigenous groups are for the most part simply referred to in object captions, although the panel under the sleigh reads

> The Evenki were reindeer herders. They depended on their herds for transport, meat and milk, and use their hair and hide for clothing. Reindeer were also a vital to spiritual wellbeing.

The use of past tense, particularly in conjunction with the contemporary term 'Evenki' conveys a sense that the indigenous group Czaplicka set out to study is no more or that they no longer herd reindeer (directly challenging a permanent display label in the Arctic clothing case), neither of which is true. While one cannot perhaps speak of 'dependence' on reindeer today, there are still reindeer herders in the Illimpei tundra today who use reindeer hides for clothing while the meat is consumed more widely.

The exhibition acts as a visual feast of singular objects that one cannot study in detail. With chief information on the objects being derived from

[163] However, in response to my comment during the consultation time of this exhibition, a text panel was added informing the audience that most of the quotes were drawn from the 1916 book and do not reflect present situation

Czaplicka's original commentary the display is thus reminiscent Czaplicka's 1915 lecture at the University Museum, which was adorned with 'spoils of material kinds'. In both cases, the chief narrative is that of the ethnographers and their experiences. On the museum website, the 'My Siberian Year' exhibition is described to explore 'the expedition, the extraordinary hardships its members endured, and the Evenki people that were the focus of their research'. However, there is little exploration of the Evenki the main focus resting firmly with Maria Czaplicka, the planning and execution of the expedition and the resulting travel book.

The discrepancy between the public-facing representational strategies of the museum and intellectual and political drive to engage with source communities and utilise the museum collections for positive change (Peers and Brown 2003, Peers and Brown 2016, Morton and Oteyo 2009) again underlines the parallel, and sometimes diverging, knowledge-making in anthropology. In a lecture to the Department of Anthropology in Oxford, Laura van Broekhoven (2017) highlighted this exact divergence between the research and ethos that the museum promotes and the public perception of the museum, which is strongly, and positively, linked with Victorian era, colonialism and treasure troves. The issues arising from the representation and use of the Czaplicka collection demonstrate the need for ethnographic museums to seriously consider ways in which they handle historicity and representation. A careful handling of different temporalities – that of the expedition, the donation, the history within the museum and contemporary understanding must all be taken into account in order to unlock the potential of the objects. Currently, these historical layers are

oversimplified through texts, which connect museum objects with geographically and temporally absent communities.

However, the exhibition also demonstrates how different responses and outcomes of museum displays can be. During my research I chanced upon a page titled 'Czaplicka Collection' on a website 'Woven by Laurence'. The site belongs to Laurence Adler, a professional weaver who in 2015 visited the Pitt Rivers for research. The visit led to the creation of a collection of eight textiles woven from lambswool. Through the resultant range of wall hangings and cushions, the artist created new materials that linked to the original fieldwork through textual information posted online but also through a visual and material response to objects in the collection.

Adler's case study highlights the alternative social lives that collections can take on by being exposed to a varied audience. The case also points to a contemporary feature of the museum – its appeal to makers. Indeed, the motto of the VERVE project mentioned earlier is 'Need/Make/Use' and under this slogan, the museum has invited indigenous craftsmen, design students, artists and craftspeople to engage, learn from and respond to the collections. While in the 1940s, Thomas Penniman was vigorously engaging students in handling and learning from the object collection, in 2010s, this type of engagement is promoted among the creative industry. Conversely, undergraduate students on the 'Museums and Collections' course in 2016 studied museum objects from displays and through the online catalogue while academic researchers book visits during which they are able to examine and handle objects brought out to them. The studies in 'material' anthropology are thus at risk of not engaging with the

materiality of objects, an issue highlighted by Sandra Dudley, who suggests that 'much of that 'materialist' analysis has simultaneously led us away from the reality, significance and very tangibility of material surfaces, encouraging us instead to leap straight into analyzing the role of objects and the sensory modalities through which we experience them' (Dudley 2010: 2). There is an important lesson, I think, for anthropologists both in the hands-on approach advocated by museum lecturers and curators such as Balfour, Penniman, Blackwood and la Rue and the material engagements of artists and craftsmen with the Pitt Rivers Museum collections today.

Conclusion

A consideration of Maria Czaplicka's ethnographic collection reveals many pertinent themes in the history of anthropology. In terms of the general understanding of the state of anthropology in 1915, the relative lack of involvement Czaplicka had with her collection demonstrates that scholars could contribute to a generalist, holistic approach promoted at Oxford through the museum without necessarily practicing the same kind of comparative material anthropology.

In many ways, the material focus of anthropology at Oxford intensified in the years following the war with the work undertaken by Tom Penniman and Beatrice Blackwood. However, these developments are generally dismissed in histories of anthropology, as they do not fit with the chronology of social anthropology. Blackwood's teaching on Polar regions drew heavily from Czaplicka's own lectures and involved numerous references to and use of objects

in the Czaplicka collection. The contrast with Czaplicka's use of her collection shows why it is not sufficient to describe anthropological research and teaching in terms of 'phases' that are at once described as paradigm shifts from one theory to the next and also described as continuously flowing from one to the next. If Czaplicka's research activity fell to a time of early professionalization, 'formative years' (Rivière 2007) that led to the prevalence of an intensive, participant-observation approach in fieldwork and the backgrounding of material culture and the role of museums then how do we then reconcile the fact that in 1940s, two decades after the Siberia expedition and the start of 'modern' social anthropology (Kuper 1996), the Czaplicka collection was actively used to depict and examine Siberian indigenous communities and the wider Polar region? Furthermore, how do we address the continued representations of Siberia and its peoples afforded by this collection to the hundreds of thousands of visitors who have been to the museum since its accession? Is it appropriate to speak of a 1970s 'material turn' in social sciences when Beatrice Blackwood was *still* working at the Pitt Rivers Museum? Such questions prompt a reconsideration of phases and 'turns' in anthropology and instead argue for a focus on institutional spaces and individual practitioners. They also necessitate a move away from a valorisation of publications and citations which bestow greatest agency and representativeness for discipline to those with most 'symbolic capital'. A 'material approach' to the history of anthropology thus proposes to build the history from bottom up recognising the multiplicity of academic thought and practice and attempts to draw out their respective fields of influence and affect to personal and institutional networks and public engagement.

From entering an intellectual laboratory governed by Henry Balfour to their use by Beatrice Blackwood, institutional structures as well as personal relationships have been central in the use and representation of the Siberian collection. However, they have also been and still are governed by the categories drawn up by Augustus Pitt Rivers and elaborated by Balfour. The persistence of these categories is demonstrated in the current display of the objects, which largely occupy same territories that they did a century ago. If museum visitors are educated and 'civilised' during their visits, then how does the historically similar physical layout and display at the Pitt Rivers play out in the visitor experience? This question is beginning to be asked by the museum director, but it is also a pertinent question for a historian of anthropology.

Conclusion

Reflections

This thesis has sought to re-examine and add to the scholarship on the history of anthropology through the case study of Maria Czaplicka. The title calls into question the marginalisation of people and processes in the history of anthropology that do not explicitly contribute to the dominant lineage of British social anthropology and offers to add depth and nuance to the narrative through 'bottom up' research steeping from material sources. While I hope the study has also given a just account of Maria Czaplicka's life and work, this has not been the primary aim. Rather, a close examination of her life and the 1914-1915 Siberian expedition has been the structure that holds together detailed analysis and fresh outlooks on established narratives of the development of anthropology in the UK. Thus, I add what in Geertz's terms may be called 'thick description' to counterbalance and complicate existing accounts. The biographical focus on Maria Czaplicka, who, by all accounts, had little impact on major developments in British anthropology, allows exploration of the more minute details of the practical ways in which the discipline was finding its feet in the first decades of its academic existence. Reconsidering and appreciating this period in the history of anthropology in such a way can inform present-day anthropological discussions on anthropology's identity, ethnographic representations and role of ethnographic museums.

In particular, this research contributes to the understanding and appreciation of women's involvement in anthropology, calls into question

national borders of the discipline at this point in time, highlights the networks that nurtured it, and demonstrates the potential that museum collections have for an enriched understanding of the history of anthropology. The latter in particular is central to my methodological proposition that history of anthropology is better understood through a planar approach that allows multiple parallel developments to exist together rather than envisaging a linear evolution towards a single definition of social anthropology.

I have highlighted the ubiquity and role of women in the emerging professional discipline. With a growing appreciation of women's instrumental role in building the LSE department of social anthropology (Mills 2015) and the publication of Bank's *Pioneers of the field* (2016), this study thus adds timely historical depth to women's engagement and contribution to the field. Despite the limited 'impact' that women may have had in the advancement of theory and their meagre outputs of single-authored, innovative publications, women were at the heart of the discipline contributing to teaching, research, popularisation and not less significantly, being a willing and supportive audience to the discipline from its inception.

It is perhaps unsurprising that one of the key themes to emerge from this research is the role that women played in anthropology from the very early days of its institutionalisation. However, it was not a well-defined aim in the early stages of the project. Rather, it was an issue that arose from the sources and demanded attention. At the outset of this research, I believed that scholarship on early female anthropologists was virtually non-existent. Yet I soon learnt that female anthropologists' work had been acknowledged and highlighted, mostly by

other women, over the past four decades. However, the lack of an authoritative publication that would emphasize the part women played in early anthropology and lack of such accounts in seminal works such as those of George W Stocking, has meant that women's participation in early anthropology is still clouded in conventional narratives.

The unacknowledged role that women played in the early anthropological scholarship is most visibly discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis where I position Maria Czaplicka among her fellow female anthropologists but also trace predecessors of women's ethnographic research in folklore and museum collecting and travel writing. However, it also permeates other parts of the thesis. For example, Barbara Freire-Marreco's writing on the position of anthropology and her contributions to the 1912 edition of the *Notes and Queries* form a significant part of the state of ethnographic research pictured in Chapter 5. Likewise, Beatrice Blackwood's teaching at the Pitt Rivers Museum from 1935 onwards is discussed in relation to Czaplicka's museum collection and anthropological knowledge formed of it after Czaplicka's death. Thus, paying attention to women's work suggests new sources for the understanding of anthropology, which do not solely focus on accepted key figures.

The national boundaries of anthropology, during its emergence in early twentieth century British universities, is another supposition called into question in this thesis. While it cannot be said that British anthropology has been actively construed as a separate and historically distinct entity, its highly interlinked international character has not been emphasised in existing literature. Rather, the common practice of writing about national traditions creates an

understanding in which nationally distinct practices and theories are presumed and followed by exploration of links and interchanges. A biographical focus allows for the practical and theoretical connections that propelled the discipline to emerge more clearly. Czaplicka is an exceptionally interesting case study not only because she was a woman but also due to her strong intellectual and political leanings towards Polish nationalism and Slavic ethnographic practice, which had strong links with quests for national self-identification. Her association with Franz Boas, fostered through the International Congress of Americanists and solidified through mutual interest in the study of circumpolar communities, further highlights links between anthropological practice in the US and the UK.

Focus on Czaplicka's scattered and incomplete archive directs attention to networks of people and things central to the developing discipline. In Chapter 2, I show how social networks were imperative to women's entry to the scholarly community while women's own support networks offered financial and moral support to first fieldworkers. In Chapter 3, John Linton Myres' position at Oxford University was shown to have been central to the establishment of the Diploma in anthropology while the wider scholarly community contributed to the syllabus and teaching in the first years of the course. Focus on networks also highlights relations between students, their mentors and the Pitt Rivers Museum. I argue that the latter became a nexus of the Oxford anthropological community created and maintained through links between people and objects.

Chapters 4 and 5 further demonstrated the centrality of international connections in the shaping of anthropology. International and interdisciplinary

links fostered through Learned Societies, for example, proved critical in bestowing social capital on Maria Czaplicka and creating opportunities for fieldwork while connections to influential political and trade figures were imperative for the practical arrangements of fieldwork. I argued that networks nurtured through organisations such as the International Congress as well as various learned societies were imperative for the advancement of anthropology.

Examination to the processes through which scholars were accepted into such circles demonstrates that these were highly gendered spaces almost exclusively occupied by upper and middle classes. From the membership to future connections, freshly trained anthropologists relied on their mentors to forge new connections that enabled fieldwork to happen practically and financially and directed this generation of professional anthropologists to jobs. However, the lack of academic positions in anthropology and the institutional constraints in places such as Oxford meant that women had more difficulties in accessing funds for fieldwork and struggled to get academic positions. Women's networks became an imperative in supporting young anthropologists like Maria Czaplicka and Barbara Freire-Marreco in the UK, and gendered connections extended abroad with Alice Cunningham Fletcher supporting Freire-Marreco's research in New Mexico and Vera Haruzina hosting Czaplicka in Moscow.

A close study of the Czaplicka and Hall collections from the Siberian Fieldwork (Chapters 6 and 7) demonstrates that material objects are rich sources for our historical understanding of these networks that layered upon one another make up our current understandings of the discipline. Foregrounding objects in the ethnographic collections from the Siberian expedition in Chapter 6, for

example, emphasizes relations the collectors had with indigenous and non-indigenous locals. It further poses questions about the processes through which the collections made it to their respective institutions and underlines the multiple and concurrent relations ethnographers had with their local informants. The afterlife of the Czaplicka collection in the Pitt Rivers Museum (Chapter 7) further leads me to conclude that objects remain active actors within networks of anthropological knowledge making.

Throughout this research, mindfulness of materials and materiality - the fabric of history, and the tangible ways in which ethnographic work was done and been memorialised - has guided and underpinned my understanding of Maria Czaplicka and the development of British anthropology. Czaplicka's untimely death, unstable institutional position and lack of family connections in the UK have left us with a scattered and incomplete archive of her life, necessitating a meticulous excavation of those sources that do remain. Moreover, I examined and analysed the museum collections from the Siberian expedition as sources for history in their own right. Following calls from historians such as Karen Harvey (2009) but more significantly, seeking to 'think experience back into the historical equation' (Edwards 2015: 242), attention to such materials allows for fresh understanding of ethnographic work to emerge. Research with museum collections as legacies of anthropological projects further underlines their continuing role in generating anthropological knowledge and ethnographic representations thus placing renewed demands not only on museum professionals, but also anthropologists, to attend to these collections and use these to convey relevant contemporary issues from the field.

Placing material sources at the heart of this historical investigation follows from growing research with ethnographic museum collections that has proliferated in the last two decades and responds to recent calls in material and museum anthropology where scholars such as Dan Hicks (2016) and Paul Basu (2016) have probed the potential of museum collection on reassembling and illuminating aspects of the history of anthropology. Significant to this research is Basu's exploration of museum 'affordances', which seeks to identify how ethnographic collections can be understood as legacies of anthropological research and reconfigured in future anthropological work. In Chapter 6 I argued that re-imagining ethnographic collections as traces of field experience effectively brings together different strands of these anthropological legacies enabling the history of these collections to be understood as multidimensional and layered. Such an approach further suggests productive means in which objects can be activated to reconcile those pasts, inform cultural revival or simply offer a platform for engagements with contemporary source communities.

Limitations

Reflecting on the outcomes of a project also reminds one of paths that revealed themselves in the course of the work but were not taken and many explorations that would have improved the research. I already noted one of the limitations of this study in the introduction – namely the lack of research with Polish sources and limited consideration of Czaplicka's Polish background. Making use of the insights offered by Grazyna Kubica, who has consulted Czaplicka's letters to Orkan in Krakow, partly rectifies this absence. However,

overall, for the purpose of this thesis, consultation with the scarce Polish sources would not have yielded significant added insights. A further investigation of possible object donations to Polish museums from the Siberian expedition could, however, illuminate material links between ethnographic representations in Europe.[164]

The nature and role of biological anthropology in Maria Czaplicka's work is another theme that has perhaps not been treated with as much depth as it may have been. My positioning of biological anthropology amidst other aspects such as museum collecting and geography that were part of early anthropology's broad outlook may be seen as diluting or not addressing this troubling part of the discipline's past. The need to further study this aspect of Czaplicka's scholarship is particularly obvious in my discussion of her museum collections in Chapter 6. The knowledge that human remains were collected and formed part of the ethnological enterprise has an unsettling presence, which, due to poor documentation, has not been satisfactorily dealt with in this thesis. A separate study of Czaplicka's use of anthropometry and its role in historical ethnology such as *Turks of Central Asia* where science and politics intersect would fill this gap.[165]

Finally, as a historical research, this thesis can only be seen as one side of the coin. While I spent two months in Krasnoyarsk and conducted some preliminary interviews with the Evenki community with the Czaplicka collection,

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[164] During a research visit to the Pitt Rivers Museum, Kubica-Heller and researchers from the Seweryn Udziela Ethnographic Museum in Kraków suggested that some Siberian material in the museum may have originated from Czaplicka.

[165] I have considered Czaplicka's political agenda and the use of anthropology in it in a talk 'A zealous anthropologist: intersections of political activism and scientific objectivity in Maria Czaplicka's work' (Oriel College Oxford, November 2017).

the history of the Siberian expedition as understood locally is only discussed in prospective terms. The preliminary work with the community in Siberia made it clear that photographs from the expedition and of the collected objects alone have limited traction with a community for whom the most historically significant moments are connected with the introduction and subsequent collapse of the Soviet rule. Evenkis have been extensively studied by Soviet ethnographers, and have a local museum in Tura, and another accessible museum in Krasnoyarsk, meaning that knowledge of museum objects is not necessarily seen as desirable knowledge. For those interested in cultural revival, language knowledge and upkeep of reindeer herding are central issues that do not clearly connect with historic ethnographic research. It is with detailed knowledge of the expedition, the local families that Czaplicka and Hall stayed with and the legacies of their work, that meaningful conversations with local groups can be started.

Projections

This project lays the groundwork for further research into the role that museums can have for understanding anthropological legacy and the possibilities they may have in creating fresh understandings of the contemporary world. In particular, the notion that museum objects are not simply epistemic but through their presence can evoke multiple histories and ontologies is fertile ground for exploring *how* museums as public spaces can work within anthropology to produce and convey these histories and ontologies. A recent conference, 'Remaking the Museum: Curation, Conservation, and Care in Times of Ecological

Upheaval', at Aarhus University stated that 'the capacity of museums and their objects to perform particular relationships between nature, culture, and history has always been important' and it is now time to explore the potential of museums to act as catalysts of social change in the Anthropocene. The connection between the idea that museums need to be remade and act in relation to contemporary environmental issues and a study of a historical ethnographic collection may not, at first sight, be obvious. However, the realisation that historic collections, dogged with issues of power relations and colonialism, require deep institutional change – remaking - in order to be rethought and displayed and the understanding that museums can and do act as powerful catalysts of change is significant.

One way in which collections in institutions such as the Pitt Rivers Museum can begin to untangle their complicated history and, at the same time, act as catalysts of change is to use the collections in their care to convey multiple narratives and bring contemporary communities into a conversation with these collections. Significant work has already been done where source communities have an active interest in the objects held at the museum however where such interest is limited, new material in the form of films, photographs and objects may enable contemporary audiences to relate to communities represented in the museum. As in the case of many indigenous communities, environmental change and extraction of natural resources in the Arctic has irrevocably changed local life. Ethnographic museum collections offer a unique opportunity for engaging with anthropological legacy and introducing museum audiences to key issues among contemporary source communities.

Researching history of anthropology also provides a unique opportunity to stand back and consider what anthropology really is. The crisis of identity in anthropology most recently vocalised in debates on the pages of *HAU Journal of Ethnographic Theory* (Ingold 2014, Col et al. 2017) have a long-standing pedigree harking back to the formation of the discipline. It is not coincidence that there is a renewed interest in history of anthropology[166] at the same time as debates about the purpose and legacy of the discipline abound. However, any attempt to rethink the subject will struggle while the conventional framing of anthropology in terms of its rise in the early twentieth century is taken for granted.

In a preface to a new section in *HAU,* 'Shortcuts', Giovanni da Col states that 'contemporary anthropology is traversed by critical shortcuts, worn paths we often take without reflecting on them… 'Shortcuts" aims to investigate and question the analytical, historical, and interpretative arguments that have become common knowledge in anthropology' (Col et al. 2017). Like Runia, in his quest to trace historical experiences, Col introduces a new section aimed at scrutinizing and re-evaluating the 'visible stowaway' of the discipline. Crucially, however, *HAU*'s attempts appear to limit themselves to what may also be called the canon, that is, accepted and institutionalised outputs in anthropology. In order to disrupt the status of the 'common knowledge' in anthropology and offer fresh vantage points to old debates, we must also dig into the histories of these debates. By uncovering and examining the history that does not appear among our freely circulating "shareware" (Runia 2006b: 6) we can reassess and make

[166] This interest is evidenced in the recent RAI History of Anthropology conferences, History of Anthropology panels at the 2016 EASA conference and subsequent creation of the History of Anthropology Network and the revival of the History of Anthropology Newsletter.

new sense out of the anthropological canon. Bringing the historical reality surrounding these works to light is key for re-assessing the foundation of anthropology. Appreciating the multiplicity of anthropological research alongside key figures, for example, would immediately complicate students' understanding of the history of anthropology while an appreciation of women's role and museum collections may suggest different sources of inspiration. Perhaps, the history of anthropology can suggests ways in which to move away from the inward burrowing tendencies of anthropology and 'return to curiosity' (Thomas 2016).

Appendix A

Maria Antonina Czaplicka's publications

1912. Gods of the Australians. *Fritillary*.
1912. Review of "Notes and Queries" edited by J.L. Myres and Barbara Freire-Marreco. *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie [Ethnographic Review]*.
1914. *Aboriginal Siberia : a study in social anthropology,* Oxford, Clarendon Press.
1914. The Influence of Environment upon the Religious Ideas and Practices of the Aborigines of Northern Asia. *Folklore,* 25, 34-54.
1914. The Life and Work of N.M. Miklukho-Maklay, *Man*, 14:98, 198-203
1915. Anthropological Work in the Yenisei Valley. *SSA Annual Report*.
1915. Tribes of the Yenisei: the Oxford Expedition, *The Times Russian Supplement*, 13, p.6
1916. *My Siberian Year,* London, Mills & Boon.
1916. Siberia and Some Siberians. *Journal of the Manchester Geographical Society,* 32, 27-42.
1916. Contribution to the Study of the Physical Type of the Northern Tungus. *Man* 16, pp. 141-142
1916. The Siberian Colonist or Sibiriaks in *The Soul of Russia* (ed. Stephens, W). London, Macmillan
1916 (26 February). A Mujik's Calendar, *The Times Russian Supplement*, 17, p.5
1916 (25 March) Fairy Tales: Russian Folk Stories, *The Times Russian Supplement*, 18, pp. 6-7
1916 (24 April). Mujik's Marriage, *The Times Russian Supplement*. 21, p.8
1917. On the track of the Tungus. *Scottish Geographical Magazine,* 33, 289-303.
1917. The Ostyaks. *in* Hastings, J., Selbie, J.A. & Gray, L.H., *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1917. Russia's Revolution of 1905 and 1917. *Land and Water*, 65: 2865, pp. 289-303
1917. Rights and Limitations of Small Nationalities. *Land and Water*, 69: 2869, pp. 10-11
1917. Kerenski and Korniloff. *Land and Water*, 70: 2892, pp. 8-10
1917. Review of "In Far East Siberia" in *Man*, 17: 79, pp. 113-114
1917. Review of "Scythians and Greeks" in *Man* 17: 108, pp. 164-165
1918. A Plea for Siberia. *New Europe*, 6: 76, pp. 339-344.
1918. The War in Asiatic Russia. *New Europe*, 8, pp. 173-177
1918. *The Turks of Central Asia in history and at the present day: an ethnological inquiry into the Pan-Turanian problem, and bibliographical material relating to the early Turks and the present Turks of Central Asia*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
1918. The Evolution of the Cossack Communities. Journal of the Central Asian Society, 5(2) pp. 42-58
1918. Czaplicka, M. and Urquhart, L. The Future of Siberia: Discussion. The Geographical Journal, 51(3), pp.159-164.
1918. Review of "The Polish Peasant Through American Eyes" in *Folklore, 29*(3), 248-251.
1919 Review of "Problems of Eastern Europe" in *The Geographical Journal, 54*(4), 249-252
1919. Poland. *The Geographical Journal, 53*(6), 361-376

1919. Pilsudski, The Polish Leader in *Land and Water*, 72: 2957, p23
1919. Poland of Today in *Land and Water*, 3005, pp. 18-20
1919. Review of "The New Eastern Europe" in *Geographical Journal*, 54: 4, pp. 249-252
1920. Poland of Today. The Polish Premier and His Ministers in *Land and Water*, 3008, pp. 14,16,36
1920. Poland of Today. The New Polish Army in *Land and Water*, 3009, pp. 13-14
1920. Poland of Today. Education, Art and Science. In *Land and Water*, 3015, pp. 24-25
1920. Is Danzig a Free City in *The New Europe*, 21 October 1920, 17: 210, pp. 45-48
1921. History and Ethnology in Central Asia. *Man, 21*, 19-24
1920. The Samoyed. *in* Hastings, J., Selbie, J.A. & Gray, L.H., *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1920. The Siberians. *in* Hastings, J., Selbie, J.A. & Gray, L.H., *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1920. The Slavs. *in* Hastings, J., Selbie, J.A. & Gray, L.H., *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1921. The Tungus. *in* Hastings, J., Selbie, J.A. & Gray, L.H., *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1921. The Turks. *in* Hastings, J., Selbie, J.A. & Gray, L.H., *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.
1921. The Yakut. *in* Hastings, J., Selbie, J.A. & Gray, L.H., *Encyclopædia of religion and ethics*, Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark.

Appendix B

Lectures and other Instructions in Anthropology, 1911-1912 (Transcribed from OUA DC 1/2/3 Committee for Anthropology minute books, 73-78)

Michaelmas Term 1911

Physical Anthropology

A course of instruction in the Elements of Physical Anthropology arranged by the Professor of Human Anatomy in Michaelmas and Hilary Terms at times to suit the convenience of students intending to proceed to the Diploma.

The practical course necessary will be supervised by Mr. F.H.S. Knowles

The Waynflete Professor of Physiology (Dr. Gotch) is prepared to arrange for practical work on *The Structure of the Special Sense-Organs, and of the Skin* (including the phenomena of Pigmentation); and for a course of lectures on *Sensation*, if required.

Dr. E. H. J. Schuster, M.A., D.Sc. (New College), is prepared to lecture of *Elementary Statistical Methods as Applied to Anthropometry*, at the Museum, at times to be arranged.

Psychology

The Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy (Mr. McDougall) will lecture on *Mental Differentiation in the Human Race*, on Fridays, at the Examination Schools, at 5.45 p.m.; and will give informal instruction in various branches of Psychology, at times to be arranged.

Geographical Distribution

The Professor of Geography (Mr. Herbertson) will lecture on *The Distribution of Peoples*, at Acland House (40 Broad Street), on Tuesdays and Fridays at 10 A.M., beginning on Friday, October 20.

The Junior Demonstrator in Geography (Mr. Crawford) will give informal instruction on *Geography of Southern England and the Distribution of Prehistoric Remains*, at the same place, at times to be arranged.

Prehistoric Archaeology

The Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum (Mr. H. Balfour) will give demonstration-lectures on *Prehistoric Archaeology*, in the Pitt Rivers Museum, on Mondays and Thursdays at 12 noon.

The Professor of Geology (MR. Sollas) is prepared to arrange, if required, a short course on *Stages of Human Culture and the latest Episodes in the Earth's History*,

to meet the requirements of students of the early history of mankind, and will receive students informally, and for laboratory work.

The Wykeham Professor of Ancient History (Mr. Myres) will give informal instruction on *The Prehistoric Archaeology of Eastern Mediterranean*, at times to be arranged.

Mr. A.J.M. Bell, M.A. (Balliol College) is prepared to lecture on *The Growth of the Conception of Prehistoric Times in Modern Europe*, at the Ashmolean Museum, on Fridays, at times to be arranged; and will receive students informally for discussion of early traces of Man in Europe.

Mr. E. T. Leeds, M.A. (Brasenose College) will receive students informally for the discussion of questions relating to *The Bronze and Early Iron Ages*, at the Ashmolean Museum, at times to be arranged.

Technology

The Curator of the Pitt Rivers (Mr. H. Balfour) will give informal demonstration-lectures, for those who have attended his course during the past year, on *Comparative Technology*, in the Pitt Rivers Museum, at times to be arranged.

Mr. E.F. Carritt, M.A. (University College), will receive students informally for the discussion of Philosophy of Art

Social Anthropology

The Reader in Social Anthropology (Mr. Marett) will lecture on Social Anthropology: Terminology and First Principles, at Exeter College, on Wednesdays and Fridays at 12 noon; and will hold a Seminar on Geographical Distribution of Culture, on Tuesdays at 9.A.M., and a Seminar on Religion: Rudimentary Forms, on Thursdays at 9 A.M. [Printed lists of Seminar subjects, with bibliographical aids on application to the Readers.]

Mr. Marett will, as Secretary to the Committee for Anthropology, be glad to discuss arrangements for the Term's work with students on Monday, October 16, between 11 A.M. and 1 P.M.

The Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence (Dr. Vinogradoff), will lecture on Origins of Legal Institutions, at Corpus Christi College, on Wednesdays and Fridays, at 10 A.M., beginning on Wednesday, October 18.

Dr. L. R. Farnel, M.A., D.Litt. (Exeter College), will receive students informally for the discussion of Oriental Influences on Hellenic Religion, at times to be arranged.

Mr. C. Bailey, M.A. (Balliol College), will receive students informally for he discussion of Roman Religion and Folk-lore, and on Indian Archaeology in relation to Religion, at times to be arranged.

Mr. H. W. Blunt, M.A. (Christ Church), will receive students informally for the discussion of The Method of Cultural Anthropology (psychology of evidence, statistical treatment of incomplete data, &c).

Dr. J.E. Carpenter, M.A., D. Litt., will lecture on Theories of the Origin and Classification of Religions, at Manchester College, on Wednesdays, at 5 P.M., beginning on Wednesday, October 18.

Mr. P. Manning, M.A. (New College), will be glad to give practical hints to students, who call on him at 6 Aldate's. with regard to the prosecution of Fok-lore researches in the Oxford district.

Philology.

The Corpus Professor of Comparative Philology (Mr. Wright) will receive students informally at 119 Banbury Road, on Mondays and Wednesdays, from 5.30 to 6.30 P.M., for discussion of questions of Philology.

Professor J.A. Smith will receive students informally, at Magdalen College, for the discussion of questions concerning Primitive Language in its relation to Thought, at times to be arranged.

The Jesus Professor of Celtic (Sir J. Rhys) will give informal instruction, if required, in Celtic Philology and kindred subjects.

The Professor of Chinese (Mr. Bullock) will receive students informally for the discussion of questions relating to the people of China.

For lectures on Indian and other Oriental Languages, &c., see the terminal announcements in the Gazette.

Special Lectures for Sudan Probationers.

The Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum (Mr. H. Balfour) will lecture on Comparative Technology, with special reference to the Sudan, in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, on Mondays at 11 A.M.

The Reader in Social Anthropology (Mr. Marett) will lecture on Social Anthropology, with special reference to the Sudan, at Exeter College, on Tuesdays, at 11 A.M.

Special Course.

Miss B. Freire-Marreco, Somerville College, will, at the invitation of the Committee, deliver a special course of lecture son *The Self-Government of the Pueblo Indians under Spanish and American administration*, at a place and time to be arranged.

Hilary Term 1912

Physical Anthropology.

A course of instruction in the Elements of Physical Anthropology arranged by the Professor of Human Anatomy in Michaelmas and Hilary Terms at times to suit the convenience of students intending to proceed to the Diploma.

The practical course necessary will be supervised by Mr. F.H.S. Knowles, B.Sc., for the Professor.

The Waynflete Professor of Physiology (Dr. Gotch) is prepared to arrange for practical work on *The Structure of the Special Sense-Organs, and of the Skin* (including the phenomena of Pigmentation); and for a course of lectures on *Sensation*, if required.

Dr. E. H. J. Schuster, M.A., D.Sc. (New College), is prepared to lecture of *Elementary Statistical Methods as Applied to Anthropometry*, at the Museum, at times to be arranged.

Psychology.

The Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy (Mr. McDougall) will lecture on *Psychology in relation to Ethics*, on Wednesdays and Fridays, at the Examination Schools, at 5.45 P.M.; and will give informal instruction in various branches of Psychology at times to be arranged.

Geographical Distribution

The Professor of Geography (Mr. Herbertson) will lecture on The Distribution of Peoples, at Acland House (40 Broad Street), on Tuesdays and Fridays at 10 A.M., at times to be arranged.

The Junior Demonstrator in Geography (Mr. Crawford) will give informal instruction on Geography of Southern England and the Distribution of Prehistoric Remains, at the same place, at times to be arranged.

The Map-room of the School of Geography is open to students daily, except on Saturday, from 2.30 to 5 P.M.

Prehistoric Archaeology

The Professor of Geology (Mr. Sollas) is prepared to arrange, if required, a short course on Stages of Human Culture and the latest Episodes in the Earth's History, to meet the requirements of students of the early history of mankind, and will receive students informally, and for laboratory work.

The Wykeham Professor of Ancient History (Mr. Myres) will give informal instruction on The Prehistoric Archaeology of Eastern Mediterranean, at times to be arranged.

Mr A.J.M. Bell, M.A. (Balliol College) is prepared to lecture on The Growth of the Conception of Prehistoric Times in Modern Europe, at the Ashmolean Museum,

on Fridays, at times to be arranged; and will receive students informally for discussion of early traces of Man in Europe.

Mr. E. T. Leeds, M.A. (Brasenose College) will receive students informally for the discussion of questions relating to The Bronze and Early Iron Ages, at the Ashmolean Museum, on Saturdays, at 9 A.M.

Technology

The Curator of the Pitt Rivers (Mr. H. Balfour) will give demonstration-lectures on Comparative Technology (Useful Arts), in the Pitt Rivers Museum, on Mondays at Thursdays at 12 noon.

Mr. E.F. Carritt, M.A. (University College), will receive students informally for the discussion of Philosophy of Art

Social Anthropology

The Reader in Social Anthropology (Mr Marett) will lecture on *The Psychology of Primitive Belief,* at Exeter College, on Wednesdays and Fridays at 12 noon; and will hold a Seminar on *Classical Origins in the light of Anthropology*, on Tuesdays at 9.A.M., and a Seminar on *Early History of the Family*, on Thursdays at 9 A.M. [Printed lists of Seminar subjects, with bibliographical aids on application to the Readers.]

Mr. Marett will, as Secretary to the Committee for Anthropology, be glad to discuss arrangements for the Term's work with students on Monday, January 22, between 9.30 and 11 A.M.

The Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence (Dr. Vinogradoff), will give informal instructions on *Origins of Legal Institutions*, at Corpus Christi College, at times to be arranged.

The Wykeham Professor of Ancient History (Mr. Myres) will lecture on *Political Institutions of the Greek City State,* in the Examination Schools, on Wednesdays and Fridays at 11 A.M.

Dr L. R. Farnell, M.A., D.Litt. (Exeter College), will lecture on *Greek Ritual*, at the Ashmolean Museum, on Tuesdays at 5.4 P.M.; and receive students informally for the discussion of *Oriental Influences on Hellenic Religion*, at times to be arranged.

The Boden Professor of Sanskrit (Mr. MacDonell) will give informal instruction on *Indian Religion and Customs*, and on *Indian Archaeology in relation to Religion*, at times to be arranged.

The Deputy Reader in Indian History (Mr. Vincent A. Smith, M.A., St John's College) will give informal instruction in subjects relating to *Indian Archaeology and Art*, at times to be arranged.

Mr. H. W. Blunt, M.A. (Christ Church), will receive students informally for the discussion of *The Method of Cultural Anthropology* (psychology of evidence, statistical treatment of incomplete data, &c).

Dr. J.E. Carpenter, M.A., D. Litt., will lecture on *Theories of the Origin and Classification of Religions*, at Manchester College, on Wednesdays, at 5 P.M., beginning on Wednesday, January 24.

Mr. P. Manning, M.A. (New College), will be glad to give practical hints to students, who call on him at 6 Aldate's. with regard to the prosecution of Fok-lore researches in the Oxford district.

Philology.

The Corpus Professor of Comparative Philology (Mr. Wright) will receive students informally at 119 Banbury Road, on Mondays and Wednesdays, from 5.30 to 6.30 P.M., for discussion of questions of Philology.
Professor J.A. Smith will receive students informally, at Magdalen College, for the discussion of questions concerning *Primitive Language in its relation to Thought*, at times to be arranged.

The Jesus Professor of Celtic (Sir J. Rhys) will give informal instruction, if required, in Celtic Philology and kindred subjects.

The Professor of Chinese (Mr. Bullock) will receive students informally for the discussion of questions relating to the people of China.

For lectures on Indian and other Oriental Languages, &c., see the terminal announcements in the Gazette.

Special Lectures for Sudan Probationers.

The Curator of the Pitt-Rivers Museum (Mr. H. Balfour) will lecture on *Comparative Technology, with special reference to the Sudan*, in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, on Mondays at 11 A.M.

The Reader in Social Anthropology (Mr. Marett) will lecture on *Social Anthropology, with special reference to the Sudan*, at Exeter College, on Tuesdays, at 11 A.M.

Special Course.

The Rev. J. Roscoe, Hon. M.A., Cambridge, will at the invitation of the Committee, deliver a special course of lectures on *Animism amongst the Northern Bantu Tribes*, in the Geography School, Old Ashmolean Building, on Fridays, at 5 P.M., beginning on Friday, January 26.

Easter and Trinity Terms, 1912

Physical Anthropology.

The Waynflete Professor of Physiology (Dr. Gotch) is prepared to arrange for practical work on The Structure of the Special Sense-Organs, and of the Skin (including the phenomena of Pigmentation); and for a course of lectures on Sensation, if required.

Dr. E. H. J. Schuster, M.A., D.Sc. (New College), is prepared to lecture of Elementary Statistical Methods as Applied to Anthropometry, at the Museum, at times to be arranged.

Psychology.

The Wilde Reader in Mental Philosophy (Mr. McDougall) will lecture on Subconsciousness, on Wednesdays, at the Examination Schools, on Problems of Sensation, on Fridays, at the Museum, at 5.45 P.M.; and will give informal instruction in various branches of Psychology at times to be arranged.

Geographical Distribution

The Professor of Geography (Mr. Herbertson) will give informal instruction on The Distribution of Peoples, at Acland House (40 Broad Street), on Tuesdays and Fridays at 10 A.M., at times to be arranged.

The Map-room of the School of Geography is open to students daily, except on Saturday, from 2.30 to 5 P.M.

Prehistoric Archaeology

The Professor of Geology (Mr. Sollas) is prepared to arrange, if required, a short course on Stages of Human Culture and the latest Episodes in the Earth's History, to meet the requirements of students of the early history of mankind, and will receive students informally, and for laboratory work.

The Wykeham Professor of Ancient History (Mr. Myres) will give informal instruction on The Prehistoric Archaeology of Eastern Mediterranean, at times to be arranged; and on Homeric Arhcaoelogy, at New College, on Tuesdays, from 5 to 7 P.M.

Mr. A.J.M. Bell, M.A. (Balliol College) is prepared to lecture on The Growth of the Conception of Prehistoric Times in Modern Europe, at the Ashmolean Museum, on Fridays, at times to be arranged; and will receive students informally for discussion of early traces of Man in Europe.

Mr. E. T. Leeds, M.A. (Brasenose College) will receive students informally for the discussion of questions relating to The Bronze and Early Iron Ages, at times to be arranged.

The Reader in Egyptolog (Mr Griffith) will give informal instruction on questions relating to Ancient Egypt, at times to be arranged.

Technology

The Curator of the Pitt Rivers (Mr. H. Balfour) will give demonstration-lectures on Comparative Technology (Aesthetic Arts), in the Pitt Rivers Museum, on Mondays at Thursdays at 12 noon.

Mr. E.F. Carritt, M.A. (University College), will receive students informally for the discussion of Philosophy of Art

Social Anthropology

The Reader in Social Anthropology (Mr Marett) will lecture on Leading Aspects of Primitive Society, at Exeter College, on Wednesdays and Fridays at 12 noon; and will hold a Seminar on Early Legal Institutions, on Tuesdays at 9.A.M., and a Seminar on Primitive Religion in relation to Ethics, on Thursdays at 9 A.M. [Printed lists of Seminar subjects, with bibliographical aids on application to the Readers.]

Mr. Marett will, as Secretary to the Committee for Anthropology, be glad to discuss arrangements for the Term's work with students on Monday, April 29, between 11 A.M. and 1 P.M.

Dr L. R. Farnell, M.A., D.Litt. (Exeter College), will receive students informally for the discussion of Questions relating to Greek Religion, at times to be arranged.

The Boden Professor of Sanskrit (Mr. MacDonell) will give informal instruction on Indian Religion and Customs, and on Indian Archaeology in relation to Religion, at times to be arranged.

The Deputy Reader in Indian History (Mr. Vincent A. Smith, M.A., St John's College) will give informal instruction in subjects relating to Indian Archaeology and Art, at times to be arranged; he will also deliver a special lecture on The Indian Caste, at a time and place to be arranged.

Mr. H. W. Blunt, M.A. (Christ Church), will receive students informally for the discussion of The Method of Cultural Anthropology (psychology of evidence, statistical treatment of incomplete data, &c).

Dr. J.E. Carpenter, M.A., D. Litt., will lecture on Buddhist Parallels to Christianity, at Manchester College, on Tuesdays, at 5 P.M.

Mr. P. Manning, M.A. (New College), will be glad to give practical hints to students, who call on him at 300 Banbury Road, with regard to the prosecution of Fok-lore researches in the Oxford district.

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The Reader in Social Anthropology (Mr. Marett) will lecture on Social Anthropology, with special reference to the Sudan, at Exeter College, on Tuesdays, at 11 A.M.

Special Course.

Monsieur A. van Gennep will deliver two Common University Fund lectures, the first in French, the second, possibly in English, La method comparative de Sir E. B. Tylor, et apres lui, on Tuesday, May 7, and L'interpretations par la survivance, on Thursday, May 9, at the Ashmolean Museum, at 8.30 P.M.

Professor J. Hope Moulton, D.Litt., will deliver the second half of his Hibbert Cours eof lectures on Early Zoroastrianism, at Manchester College, on Mondays, April 29, May 6 and 13, at 5 P.M.

Appendix C

1912 Oxford Diploma in Anthropology Exam questions[167]

Practical Examination, June 20 9.30 AM
1. Measurements and recognition of various crania and other osteological specimens 2. Measurements of the living subject. 3. Subjects of photographs to be referred to their respective ethnic groups, the reasons for the identification being stated. 4. The nature and provenance of various archaeological and technological specimens to be explained. 5. On a map supplied, mark in the distribution of *either* (a) the bull-roarer, *or* (b) the musical bow.

Archaeology and Technology, June 18 – 2pm
1. Estimate the value of the evidence cited from England for the existence of worked flints earlier than those of the drift-type. 2. Describe in detail the methods which you suppose have been employed in the manufacture of (a) a *coup-de-poing* of the drift period; (b) a neolithic scraper; (c) a ground Neolithic celt; (d) a perforated stone axe-blade. Offer alternative suggestions wherever it may seem necessary. 3. What evidence of a continuity of culture extending from one period to another is to be derived from the form and material of implements? Confine your remarks to the transitions (a) from the neolithic to the bronze periods, (b) from the bronze to the early-iron periods. 4. Can any connexion with magico-religious purposes be plausibly assigned to the cave-drawings of the late pleistocene period? 5. Sketch the distribution of megalithic monuments, and classify them according to their leading types. 6. Describe the early development of commerce amongst primitive peoples, with special reference to the methods whereby the interchange of commodities is facilitated. 7. Describe the various methods whereby pottery is made. 8. Describe the essential structure of musical instruments sounded through the medium of a 'free-reed', and give their geographical distribution. 9. In what regions are to be found special implements for accelerating and improving the flight of missile spears? Describe the different appliances used. 10. How would you classify the various objects and methods applied to personal decoration?

Physical Anthropology, June 18 – 9.30am

[167] University of Oxford Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology Library Archives, un-catalogued materials (transferred to the Pitt Rivers Museum Photographs and Manuscript Collection in 2017)

1. A skull is brought to you for examination and report. State concisely the features on which you would lay most stress, and explain how you would record them.
2. Describe the varieties of human hair (irrespective of colour) commonly met with. Explain how these differences may be accounted for on structural grounds.
3. What suggestions might you be able to make regarding the postural habits and gait of a man, the bones of whose lower limb you had an opportunity of examining?
4. Describe the curves of the adult vertebral column in man. Compare them with those of the infant at birth, and explain how the differences have been induced. How does the human adult column compare with that of the anthropoid apes?
5. A mandible (presumably human), with some teeth still *in situ* , is found in circumstances which suggest great antiquity. In what respects may it differ from the modern type, and how might you possibly account for these differences?
6. The human hard palate displays certain diversities of form. How would you classify and record these? With what other features in the skull would they in all probability be correlated?
7. Explain the technical meaning of the following terms: - Akrocephalic, Phaenozygous, Leptorhine, Microseme, Frankfurt plane, Steatopygia, Mongolian eye.
8. Is there any reason to suppose that the mental powers of man have undergone progressive evolution since the Palaeolithic period?

Ethnology, June 19th 1912, 2pm

1. Describe the distribution and physical characters of the people of Negrito type found outside of Africa.
2. Discuss the evidence for the theory that the Australian aborigines are the modern representatives of the Mousterian man.
3. What light does the study of the decorative art of primitive people peoples may throw upon the question of culture-contact and racial affinity? Give instances in illustration of your remarks.
4. Describe the effects of environment on the industrial life of (a) the Eskimo, (b) a Polynesian people.
5. Describe the *habitat* cultural peculiarities of Pueblo Indians.
6. Sketch, in relation to the geographical conditions, the distribution of ethnic groups in any *one* of the following areas: - (a) Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, (b) Northern and Southern Nigeria, (c) British East Africa, (d) British Possessions south of the Zambezi.
7. Will the geographical differences between South-east and Central Australia suffice to explain the cultural differences displayed by the natives of the two regions?
8. Describe, and as far as the evidence allows, explain the distribution of ethnic types in the Pacific region (taken as exclusive of Indonesia).
9. How would you classify the peoples of Europe (a) according to their languages?, (b) according to their somatic types? Which of the two seems to you the better criterion of race?
10. Is it sound method, in regard to the explanation of customs and beliefs, to employ parallels taken indifferently from every part of the savage world?

Social Anthropology, June 19th 1912, 9.30 am

1. In what sense, and in relation to what classes of facts, have the terms ‘totem’ and ‘totemism’ been used; and how, in your opinion, ought they to be used?
2. Define mother-right; and discuss the question whether under mother-right the

position of women is better than under father-right.

3. Explain the meaning and application of any *two* of the following expressions: - *mana, churinga, manitu, Baraka, eng-ai, sacer.*
4. 'Primitive society advances simultaneously from democracy and magic towards despotism and religion (Frazer). Discuss this dictum.
5. Examine the viewing that the complex social structure of some primitive communities is the outcome of deliberate design.
6. Show the importance of the principle of collective responsibility as a consolidating factor in primitive society.
7. Examine the primitive notion of re-incarnation as it applies to *either* (a) initiation *or* (b) kingship.
8. To what extent is communism a feature of primitive life?
9. Show, by means of illustration, how primitive thinking is largely a collective thinking.
10. Is primitive language adequate to express thought clearly?

Appendix D

Objects in the Czaplicka collection at the Pitt Rivers Museum

Location	Cultural Group	Description	Acession No.	On display?
Mouth of river Yenisei				
	Dolgan	Flask for gunpowder	1915.50.51	No
	Dolgan	Small bag	1915.50.69	No
	Dolgan-Orok (?)	Iron bladed instrument	1915.50.59	Yes
	Samoyed-Dolgan	Wooden pipe with tin bowl	1915.50.83	Yes
	Dolgan	Head-stall	1915.50.89	No
	Dolgan	Doll in a cradle	1915.50.99	No
	Dolgan	Fur and felted wool cap	1915.50.119	No
	Samoyed [Enets]	Wooden arrow	1915.50.30	Yes
	Khantaisk Samoyed [Enets]	Model fox trap	1915.50.43	No
	Samoyed [Enets]	Reindeer-horn rake	1915.50.47	No
	Samoyed [Enets]	Head-stall (from grave)	1915.50.88	No
	Yurak [Nenets]	Child's hooded jacket	1915.50.107	Yes
	Yurak [Nenets]	Adult winter jacket	1915.50.108	Yes
	Samoyed [Enets]	Child's hooded jacket	1915.50.110	Yes
	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Copper bracelet	1915.50.123	No
	Yurak [Nenets]	Model of reindeer driving pole (from a grave)	1915.50.128	Yes
	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Model screen for stalking reindeer	1915.50.45	No
location not specified	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Goose wings (reindeer trap)	1915.50.46	No
location. not specified	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Model of canoe dug out with spear and paddle	1915.50.48.1 - .3	Yes
Golchikha				
	?	Cast bronze iron figure of a god	1915.50.139	Yes
	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Knife (from grave)	1915.50.52	Yes

	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Knife (from grave)	1915.50.53	No
	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Knife sheath (from grave)	1915.50.54	
Lower Yenisei/Low tundra				
location. not specified	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Brass tubular needle case w/ pendant	1915.50.58	Yes
location. not specified	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Steel on chain with large brass rings	1915.50.67	Yes
location. not specified	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Seal-skin pouch for tobacco	1915.50.68	Yes
location. not specified	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Snow goggles with Dolgan beadwork	1915.50.76	Yes
location. not specified	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Iron pipe	1915.50.86	Yes
	Samoyed [Enets?]	Model cradle	1915.50.70	Yes
	Yurak [Nenets]	Model cradle	1915.50.71	Yes
70"30'N, 92E	Avamsk Samoyed [Nganasan]	Tobacco pipe made Turdagin Sola	1915.50.82	Yes
	Samoyed [Enets?]	Reindeer skin summer jacket	1915.50.109	No
location. not specified	Samoyed [Enets?]	Children's reindeer-skin boots	1915.50.114	No
location. not specified	Samoyed [Enets?]	Fur cap	1915.50.118	No
Karasinsk	Karasinsk Samoyed [Enets]	Brass and Copper pendants on a beaded hide thong	1915.50.122	No/T .exh
near Dudinka				
	Karasinsk Tungus	mammoth ivory calendar	1915.50.79	Yes
West of the River	Ostyak [Khant (Selkup?)]	model of bark tent	1915.50.73	Yes
	Ostyak [Khant (Selkup?)]	Carved wooden doll	1915.50.98	No
	Samoyed [Enets?]	Model of reindeer skin tent	1915.50.74	Yes
Yenisei river				
	Ostyak-Samoyed [Selkup]	Wooden model of shaman's staff	1915.50.136	No
	Tungusized Yakut (Basil Batulu)	Wooden model of iron arrow head	1915.50.37	No
	Tungusized Yakut (Basil Batulu)	Wooden model of iron arrow head	1915.50.38	No
	Tungusized Yakut (Basil Batulu)	Wooden model of bird iron arrow head	1915.50.39	nN

Sim river, Middle Yenisei				
	Tungus (Evenki)	Beaded leather belt with pouch	1915.50.121	Yes
	Tungus (Evenki)	Shaman's apron	1915.50.115	No/temp exh
	Ostyak-Samoyed [Selkup]	Head ornament with iron bird figures	1915.50.133	Yes
Taz river	Samoyedic Ostyak [Selkup]	Iron crown with horns	1915.50.145	Yes
	Samoyedic Ostyak [Selkup]	Trident shaped iron staff	1915.50.146	Yes
Khantaisk	Khantaisk Samoyed [Enets]	Brass chest ornament for women (crescents)	1915.50.125	Yes
	Khantaisk Samoyed [Enets]	Reindeer driving head-stall	1915.50.90	Yes
location not specified				
Yenisei river	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Drum and beater	1915.50.140	No
	Sibiriak?	Dog-hair mittens	1915.50.147	No/T.exh
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Composite bow	1915.50.24	Yes
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Compound bow	1915.50.25	No
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Forked head bow for birds	1915.50.26	Yes
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Arrow for big game	1915.50.27	Yes
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Arrow for big game	1915.50.28	Yes
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Arrow for big game	1915.50.29	Yes
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Quiver for arrows	1915.50.40	Yes
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Birch bark box	1915.50.63	Yes
	Yenisei Ostyak [Ket]	Shaman's apron with metal figures		
	Ostyak-Samoyed [Selkup]	Wooden figure of shaman spirit (Baishinski clan?)	1915.50.138	Yes
East of Yenisei river				
	Pankagir Tungus [Evenki]	Heavy arrow	1915.50.34	Yes

	Pankagir Tungus [Evenki]	Heavy arrow	1915.50.33	Yes
	Pankagir Tungus [Evenki]	Bone-headed arrow	1915.50.35	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Model reindeer sledge	1915.50.96	Yes
	Tungus [Evenki]	Winter reindeer skin boots	1915.50.112 .1-.2	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Inner-boots to go with above	1915.50.112 .3-.4	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Reindeer skin knickers	1915.50.111	No
location. not specified	Tungus [Evenki]	Reindeer skin summer boots	1915.50.113	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Iron pipe	1915.50.85	Yes
location. not specified	Tungus [Evenki]	Reindeer bridle	1915.50.91	No
location. not specified	Tungus [Evenki]	Pack-saddle	1915.50.93	No
location. not specified	Tungus [Evenki]	Model of wooden grave made by Hunka Yoldagir	1915.50.127	No
location. not specified	Tungus [Evenki]	Forked bird arrow	1915.50.31	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Fur fillet (vaasia)	1915.50.120	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Fur cap	1915.50.117	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Saddle bag	1915.50.95	No
location not specified	Tungus [Evenki]	saddle bag	1915.50.94	No
location not specified	Tungus [Evenki]	Reindeer-skin quiver	1915.50.41.1	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Reindeer-skin quiver	1915.50.41.2	No
	Tungus [Evenki]	Sledge cover	1915.50.97	No
Northern Tungus	Tungus [Evenki]	jacket with hood	1915.50.106	Yes
		Bow drill (from grave)	1915.50.55	Yes
Twinsk, North of Arctic circle	Tungus [Evenki]	Cast brass pendant	1915.50.124	Yes
location not specified	Yakut	Fish shaped lure of reindeer horn bought from Grigor Botulu	1915.50.49	No
Illimpei tundra				
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Mammoth ivory Jew's harp	1915.50.101	Yes
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Mammoth ivory Jew's harp	1915.50.102	
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Large drum	1915.50.141	No/Temp. ex

	Bahalakan Oyogir (bought from grandson)	Drum beater	1915.50.142	No/Temp. ex
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Arrow for hunting reindeer	1915.50.32.1	Yes
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Arrow for killing birds	1915.50.32.2	Yes
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Reindeer-skin quiver	1915.50.42	No
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Model of a fox trap	1915.50.44	No
c.68oN	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Fish gorge	1915.50.50	No
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Bow drill (Havarilla)	1915.50.56	Yes
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Instrument for engraving dot and circle patterns	1915.50.57	Yes
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Elk horn spoon	1915.50.60.1	No
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Sheep horn spoon	1915.50.60.2	No
south Illimpei tundra	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Wooden spoon	1915.50.60.3	No
South Illimpei tundra	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Mammoth ivory fork (Rus influence)	1915.50.61.1	Yes
South Illimpei tundra	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Mammoth ivory combined fork-spoon (Rus influence)	1915.50.61.2	No/Temp. ex
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Wooden bowl	1915.50.62	No
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Wooden box decorated with deer-skin and bead-work	1915.50.64	Yes
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Woman's belt decorated with beadwork + pouches	1915.50.66	No
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Model of a cradle	1915.50.72	Yes
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Snuff box with decoration	1915.50.80	No/Temp. ex
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Sheep-horn headstall for viscious reindeer	1915.50.92	No
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Women's leather apron decorated with beads	1915.50.116	Yes

	Chiragir Tungus [Evenki]	Iron diver model from shaman's coat	1915.50.131	No/Temp. ex
	Chiragir Tungus [Evenki]	Iron model of an eagle from a shaman's coat	1915.50.132	Yes
	Hukachar Lange , Tungus [Evenki]	Iron sun symbol attached to bear scalp [from deceased shaman, so probably from a grave]	1915. 50.134	Yes
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Reindeer-skin shaman's drum cover	1915.50.143	No
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Mammoth ivory double comb	1915.50.77	Yes
Lake Murukta				
	Illimpei Tungus [Evenki]	Mammoth ivory double comb with incised animal figures	1915.50.78	Yes
Lake Chirinda				
	Tungus [Evenki] of Yakut origin	Wooden model of a raven from shaman's (Nakte) grave	1915.50.129	Yes
	Tungus [Evenki] of Yakut origin	Wooden model of a fish from shaman's (Nakte) grave	1915.50.130	No
Ekonda				
	Tungus [Evenki]	Man's copper pipe	1915.50.84	Yes
Vilui District				
	Yakut	Chess pieces	1915.50.100	Yes
L Turkunda				
	Turiisk Tungus [Evenki]	Shaman's iron staff (daragdi)	1915.50.137	Yes
L Yessei				
	Yakut	Steel Jew's harp in wooden box	1915.50.104	No
Yessei tundra				
	Yakut	Circular wooden box	1915.50.65	No
loc = 100 east, 70 north	Tungus-Yakut	Snuff box	1915.50.81	No
loc not specified	Yakut	Tinned brass pipe bowl, Chinese make	1915.50.87	No
loc not specified	Abakan tatars [khakas]	Jew's harp of iron and steel with wooden case	1915.50.103	Yes
Tributary of Khatanga river	Yakut or Tungus	Iron arrow head	1915.50.36	No

Abakan steppe	Kachints, Minusinsk tatars	Tuda (imitation drum handle)	1915.50.144	No
	Minusinsk tatars, Sagai?	Chatigan, zither	1915.50.105	Yes
	Minusinsk tatars, khakas?	Embroidered black velvet	1915.50.126	No
Minusinsk museum				
		Bronze pointed and socketed spud for spear-shaft	1915.50.2	No
		Bronze dagger from kurgan	1915.50.1	No
		Bronze knife with ring at the end	1915.50.3	No
		Bronze knife with perforated grip	1915.50.4	No
		Bronze knife with fluted grip	1915.50.5	No
		Bronze socketed axe	1915.50.7	No
		Bronze knife with openwork grip	1915.50.6	No
		Bronze rectangular pin	1915.50.8	No
		Bronze knife handle	1915.50.9	No
Kavskopskoye village		Bronze button	1915.50.11	No
Bolshaya Inya village		Bronze perforated object	1915.50.10	No
Malaminus r.		Pottery spindle-whorl	1915.50.12	No
Lugavka village		Iron arrow head	1915.50.13	No
Imis village		Iron arrow head	1915.50.14	No
Syelo-Kavkopskoye sand dunes?		Iron arrow head	1915.50.15	No
Krivyetskaya pasture-land		Iron arrow head	1915.50.16	No
Malaminus r.		Iron arrow head	1915.50.17	No
Krivyetskaya pasture-land		Iron arrow head	1915.50.18	No
Novo-Troitskaya pasture-land		Iron arrow head	1915.50.19	No
Lugovskaya village		Iron arrow head	1915.50.20	No
Lodeyiki village		Bronze hair pin found by Mr Kibort	1915.50.21	No
Lodeyiki village		Perforated stone bar found by Mr Kibort	1915.50.22	No

Lodeyiki village		Portion of ground stone object found by MAC	1915.50.23	No
Bought at Minusinsk				
Sayan mnts	Uriankai	Soapstone figurines	1915.50.148	Yes
Not specified	Tungus [Evenki]	Reindeer-hide thong	1915.50.75	No

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