BOOK REVIEWS

MEYER FORTES, *Rules and the Emergence of Society*, London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland 1983, [Occasional Paper No. 39]. iv, 46 pp., References, Index. £3.60.

The late Meyer Fortes, one of the most distinguished anthropologists of his generation, has been generally regarded as a direct heir to Radcliffe-Brown, taking over in particular the latter's 'structural-functionalism', his penchant for the synchronic, and his rejection of the search for origins. And indeed Fortes has himself written disparagingly of 'the historicist urge' in anthropology (*Kinship and the Social Order*, p. 33). It may seem paradoxical, then, that he should have left, as his last word on his subject, a densely-textured and closely-argued attempt to answer the most crucial of all questions about 'origins', how did man become and remain 'critically distinguished from the other primate species'?

But perhaps we should not be too surprised. Fortes was a psychologist before he was a social anthropologist, and throughout his life he retained a concern with (and for) individual human beings and their development, both biological and social. In this he followed Malinowski rather than Radcliffe-Brown; human beings and their 'roots' (a word which recurs several times in the work under review) were a basic concern, though certainly he took account of Radcliffe-Brown's 'networks of actually existing relations' too. Indeed, even in the 'evolutionary' context adopted here the (social) structural dimension is very much in evidence. Ultimately the social and the biological complement each other, and Fortes takes both of them into account.

His problem is twofold. First, are humans and the other primates really all that different from each other? And second, if they are, how was the transition from one to the other actually, or likely to have been, accomplished?

First of all, people have 'culture', the rest of the animal world does not - at least not in any anthropologically acceptable sense of the term. And culture is shared; it is a 'social possession' and 'exists only in society' (p. 2). Fortes acknowledges the importance of language as a component of culture, but he suggests that as far as origins are concerned we should rather look for these in man's material achievements, that is, in material culture. Thus regarded, language is 'a kit of tools'. And like everything cultural, it is transmissible and transportable, both from generation to generation and from society to society. Fortes goes on to state his central thesis, the essentiality of 'rules'. 'Everywhere and in all our ways of

life rules constrain, shape and order our behaviour, beliefs and values' (p. 7). This will not come as a surprise to social anthropologists, though probably most of them are more at home with the even broader category of 'order'. 'Rule' is, of course, as Fortes recognizes, a rather tricky word, and there are obvious dangers in assimilating the rules of a grammar, say, to those implied in the obligations of lineage membership, a set of marriage regulations, or a game of chess. Both classes of rules may express or sustain order, but Fortes is concerned with rules in the second sense, i.e. as morally binding; not regularities but precepts. It is in this sense that 'having rules' distinguishes man from other animals, which do not (*malgré* Kipling and *The Jungle Book*) sit down and legislate for themselves or for one another. It was, Fortes concludes, 'the emergence of the capacity to make, enforce and by corollary, to break rules that made human society possible' (p. 6).

These reflections lead, unsurprisingly perhaps, to a reconsideration of the incest taboo, said by Lévi-Strauss, and others, to mark 'the transition from Nature to Culture', and being generally regarded as in one form or another universal. The theme of sibling incest, in particular among gods and between 'superior' humans, is familiar, but evidence has recently been forthcoming (from a study of Roman Egypt) of the existence and acceptability in at least one culture of brother-sister marriage among ordinary people. But there have to be *some* rules, for without them 'orderly social life would be impossible' (p. 14).

Next Fortes takes issue with those 'biological anthropologists' (including Robin Fox) who recognize that rule-making is distinctively human, but do not fully understand that it is precisely this that marks off humans from the other primates. Fortes writes:

> Monogamy, polygyny and polyandry are conjugal relationships freely attributed [to non-human species] by ethologists and socio-biologists....But these are no more than metaphorical attributions. An African polygynist has more than one wife by legal entitlement, and in virtue of customary rules...not by reason of physical dominance....This difference is crucial (p. 17).

It is indeed. Fortes returns to further consideration of Fox, and of another 'biological anthropologist', P. Wilson, in a substantial Postscript to his essay (pp. 35-9), where recent work by these two authors is discussed, and substantial convergences shown.

There follows (pp. 18 ff.) a discussion of lineage, motherhood and (especially important in this connection) fatherhood. Non-human primates do not have 'lineages', at least not in the sense in which social anthropologists understand the term, for the very good reason that for people lineages are systems of ideas as well as systems of action; as Fortes puts it, 'human lineages are groups of people conceptually rather than physically

distinguished'. And there is no evidence that such conceptual distinctions are made and acted upon at the infra-human level. Is it conceivable, Fortes pertinently asks, that two chimpanzees of opposite sex would refrain from mating because they recognized each other as kin through a common grandmother or great-grandmother?

The theme of fatherhood has a key role in Fortes' argument. 'There is nothing in monkey or ape behaviour patterns that is homologous with the recognition of institutionalized paternity in human society' (p. 19). More than that, Fortes suggests, institutionalized fatherhood is

> associated with the emergence and existence of [human] society, as the bridge between...the domestic domain... and the extra-familial spatial and temporal relationships that make up the socio-political structures distinctive of humanity....Fatherhood is a creation of society, a social status marked out to serve, figuratively speaking, as the fount of the rule-making and rule-following that is the basis of social organization (p. 20).

And this is true of the father whether the social organization in a given society is predominantly patrilineal, matrilineal, or neither. Fortes returns to this theme also in his Postscript, there taking account of recent work by P.J. Wilson, whose analysis of fatherhood as a creation of society not of "nature"' represents a 'basically common approach [with that of Fortes] to the problem of the transition from non-human primate to societal man' (p. 39).

The rest of Fortes' long essay (pp. 22 ff.) is mainly concerned with another of his principal interests, the emergence of what he has elsewhere called 'the axiom of amity', now designated 'the rule of prescriptive altruism'. This 'underpins the institutions of social control in all societies'; the capacity for it is 'continually generated in the ['core'] relationship of mother and child', and thence it is extended to siblings and so to the other recognized categories of kin (pp. 23-4). Thus, in evolutionary process, and through motherhood as well as fatherhood, the transition from 'biographically rooted bond' into 'prescriptive rule', and so into specifically human society and culture, takes place.

There is much more in this concentrated monograph than can be considered here, but one further issue must be mentioned. Some of Fortes' readers may gain the impression that, for him, it is man's capacity to *make* rules, rather than the nature of the rules themselves, that is all-important. And indeed in a logical sense the capacity must come first, the content second. But, as Fortes is well aware, rules have to be *about* something, they must have content as well as form, and at the end of his essay he tells us, in terms reminiscent of Tylor's famous definition of culture, what that content is. It comprises 'the needs, wants, relationships, emotions, desires, aptitudes, thoughts and beliefs

of men, women and children as defined and ordered by their culture' (p. 34). Pre-eminent are rules calling for the promotion of altruism where this is appropriate, and, the corollary of this, for the containing of aggression. And the 'structural machinery' for achieving these ends can be seen as having 'evolved', on the lines which Fortes has indicated, in response to the desiderated needs. As befits his human material, Fortes' 'evolution' is forward-looking and problem-oriented; in a fundamental sense his interest is in human social organization and its conditions and implications, rather than in precisely what happened, where, and when.

Perhaps Meyer Fortes would have developed some of these themes further if he had had the time to do so. Certainly he would have incorporated (rather than adding as a lengthy post-script) his consideration of the new and relevant work of Fox and Wilson which, on Fortes' own showing, goes a long way towards providing a forum for a new rapprochement between social and biological anthropology. Meyer Fortes' last work, in spite of the constraints of time and ill-health under which it must have been written, is itself an important and original exercise in bridge-building. It leaves us more than ever in his debt.

JOHN BEATTIE

VERONICA E. VELARDE TILLER, *The Jicarilla Apache Tribe: A History 1846-1970*, Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1983. viii, 248 pp., Maps, Illustrations, Bibliography, Index. £19.20.

This book ends on an optimistic note, but tells a melancholy story. The Jicarilla Apache were at one time regarded as one of the most troublesome groups on the southern plains. Never more numerous apparently than about 1,000 individuals, the Jicarilla are one of several Apachean-speaking tribes and were divided into two bands of plains people, Llaneros, and mountain-valley people, Olleros, ranging freely through the central and eastern reaches of the present northern New Mexico and southern Colorado. Subject to hostilities from other Apaches and from Comanches, the Jicarilla maintained mostly peaceful and friendly relations with the Spanish in the eighteenth century. Under Mexican jurisdiction from 1821 to 1846, New Mexico began to fill with whites travelling the Santa Fé trail in response to Mexican offers of free trade and land grants. The Mexican government awarded eight private grants and five town grants from Jicarilla lands without knowledge or permission of the Jicarilla. In 1846 at the close of the Mexican War, the United States army took control of New Mexico. Under continuous pressure in their homeland from

travellers and settlers, the Jicarilla participated in several raids, which brought them into conflict with the army. Through the rest of the century efforts by interested parties with the participation of the Jicarilla to arrange a suitable and peaceful settlement failed through mischance, ignorance, interested opposition and above all through the indifference and bad faith of the United States government. Reservations arranged for them in 1874 and 1880 were abrogated for a variety of reasons, including in the first case Jicarilla opposition. Only in 1887 did the tribe finally achieve the security of its own reserve. By then several whites had illegally established themselves on portions of the reservation, causing long-lasting problems.

The new reservation was to be allotted for individual possession in accordance with the new Dawes Act of 1886. Perhaps fortunately this provision was applied with a lack of coordination, energy and commitment which had become a familiar aspect of the Jicarilla's treatment by the government. The allotment was not successfully made until 1909, by which time evidence was accumulating from other tribes that the chief effect of the Dawes Act was not the aimed-for self-sufficiency of American Indians, but large-scale loss of their remaining lands to whites. Tiller sets out the other avoidable hardships of early reservation life. A large portion of the reservation intended for Jicarilla livestock was initially leased by the government to non-Jicarilla for nominal fees and the promise to develop water resources, so that the Jicarilla could not use most of their own land. Funds from the sale of timber, which were intended to provide livestock for the tribe, were instead deposited in their name in a non-interest-bearing account of the United States Federal Treasury. The tribe meanwhile suffered from poor housing, poor sanitation and poor health. Tuberculosis became a major health problem. The population declined steadily from 853 in 1896 to 588 in 1920. The tribe's search for adequate schools was met with bullying and harassment from outside agencies until the government met a long-standing promise to establish a boarding school in 1903 and two day schools in 1908 and 1909. But the schools themselves were overcrowded and were instrumental in spreading tuberculosis.

Slowly these and other difficulties were rectified. A major change resulted from the Wheeler-Howard or Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which reversed the philosophy of the Dawes Act. As a result of this legislation, individual allotments were surrendered to the tribe in return for the right of beneficial use, and white-owned land on the reservation (often resulting from illegal occupation in the first place) was bought back. Freedom to practise Jicarilla custom and religion was guaranteed. A tribal council was established and a co-operative store set up. For a time these measures helped to bring prosperity, especially through sheep and cattle raising, but national economic changes in the 1950s caused further dislocations. The store was brought to an end by mismanagement, and the market for sheep products collapsed.

In the 1960s, the lot of the tribe improved, partly through

independent economic initiatives by the tribe, partly due to increased revenue from oil and gas. Also important was the settlement in 1971 of a $9,950,000 land claim against the United States government for the land taken from the tribe during the nineteenth century beyond the bounds of the reservation. Unfortunately, the original Mexican grants of about 4.8 million acres were excluded from this settlement on the grounds that they had never become a part of the public lands of the United States. In the same year the Indian Claims Commission determined that the government had failed to pay proper interest on the Jicarilla trust account.

Tiller describes the tribe in 1970 as gathered in the town of Dulce with schools, modern housing, tribe-owned services, an increasing population, a variety of tribal enterprises and a growing prosperity. Of the land claim settlement, $1.5 million was invested in public facilities and $3 million was invested in various developments with commercial potential. The reader may doubt though whether the tribe made the best decision in dispersing the remaining $4.5 million in per-capita payments amounting to a mere $2000 per person.

Other than a chapter summarizing Jicarilla culture, the work of anthropologists does not loom very large in this book, though many anthropologists would be pleased to have a historical study of this calibre available as an aid to their own researches. Of interest nevertheless is the role various anthropologists have played in Jicarilla history. The infamous Dawes Act was the end-result of a well-intentioned political campaign to secure for Indians citizenship and the means for economic independence. The act was modelled on the Omaha allotment carried out in 1883 by the anthropologist Alice Fletcher and expressed her political philosophy. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs enlisted the anthropologist Oliver La Farge in 1934 to explain to the tribe the Indian Reorganization Act reversing the Dawes policy when that bill was pending in Congress. Recommendations made in the same year by another anthropologist, Morris Opler, influenced the implementation of the new Act in respect of the Jicarilla. In 1956 the tribe itself hired another anthropologist, Frank Hibben, to help in preparing its land claim. They subsequently also hired two historians and a geographer. Nothing in this book except the Jicarilla family name Valarde indicates that the author has any connection with the tribe. She denies that her book is written from the Indian point of view and generously acknowledges that the cultural background derives largely from the publications of white authors. That the tribe can now employ anthropologists and other scholars for specific and limited projects is a minor sign of a larger success in gaining self-determination as well as a telling indication of the shifting relation between anthropology and the people it studies. Tiller's brief description at the book's close of the tribe's new economic security leaves the reader wondering how fragile it may prove. Surely with their many disappointments over reservations, schools, health care, land management and so on, the Jicarilla more than most people know from first hand the truth of the observation

that what the government gives it can also take away, though they have often had little choice. The book is attractively produced and illustrated, and it is clearly written.

R.H. BARNES

VIRGINIA KERNS, *Women and the Ancestors: Black Carib Kinship and Ritual*, Urbana etc.: University of Illinois Press 1983. xv, 197 pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Index, Illustrations. £14.40.

The charge of concentrating on the male spheres of activity at the expense of the female can least be levelled at those anthropologists working in the Caribbean. This characteristic, however, is not the result of a peculiarly enlightened approach by the Caribbean ethnographer in contrast to the perspectives adopted by their contemporaries in other geographical areas. Rather it is the result of the absence of any readily identifiable areas of male community-based activity for analysis. Formal economic and political processes are physically removed from these localities and the indigenous male population generally appears peripheral to them. These essentially residential communities have fostered the study of household and kinship by the anthropologist who has found females to be all powerful in this sphere. The term 'matrifocal' has been coined to describe social relations in this context.

Kerns' work is a study of Black Carib village life in Belize. In common with communities studied in the Caribbean these are residential communities characterised by the out-migration of men and younger women owing to the lack of locally-available sources of remunerative employment. The focus of the study is upon the way in which mature females in these communities organise rituals which serve to perpetuate Black Carib culture in the face of an uncongenial socio-economic climate. In her study of this ethnic group, Kerns attempts to synthesise the approaches taken by her two most eminent predecessors in the field. She combines the essentially historical explanatory framework of Douglas Taylor with the more synchronic analysis characteristic of Nancie Gonzalez's work.

It is with an account of the historical antecedents that her study begins. The present-day characteristics of Black Carib culture are firmly located in their sixteenth-century origins with the amalgamation, in St Vincent, of the native Carib population and the shipwrecked black African slave. It traces the development of the culture and the movement of the population from the West Indian island to the South American mainland. This historical chapter is one of the many in the book which does not

deal specifically with the topic of kinship and ritual. Kerns argues that the early chapters of the book prepare the ground 'not in overzealous pursuit of holism but in order to clarify the nature of ties between females' (p. 2). It is only in the final five chapters of the book that the reader obtains a detailed account of household and kinship, death and ritual.

I have said that Kerns' work is in keeping with the Caribbean anthropological tradition in that it concentrates upon the activities of women. I would suggest that where she differs is in her perspective for analysing such spheres of activity. Kerns rejects the idea that women attain a central position in families merely as a result of men's inability to fulfil their gender-prescribed roles. Such polarisation of gender-specific 'spheres, roles and modes of action' is replaced in her account by a perspective which looks at the relationships between women *per se*. She also rejects explanations of the importance of these relationships between women as solely the result of emotional intimacy. Women are not seen as confined to home and family but are recognised as contributing to community solidarity through more public activities.

Kerns argues that it is the links between women as mothers that provide the stable framework of social life. The mother-child bond is the most enduring and strongly reciprocal of all relationships, especially that of mother and daughter. She quotes an informant who says that 'a son gives [to people] outside, a daughter brings into the home' (p. 1). This relationship is carried on even in death with the remembrance of deceased lineal kin. Older women, mothers of the living and daughters of the dead organise the requisite rituals, mobilising community resources in order to finance them and taking the most prominent parts in the ritual process. Among the Black Carib motherhood is strength.

Kerns' major contribution is the isolation of various stages in the life-cycle of women. She achieves this by determining the power and autonomy specific to each. The position of women varies most according to their procreative capacity. Where this capacity is present, then the female is usually under the control of others, most often, her 'husband' or her mother. Where such potential is seen to be absent, then her autonomy is enhanced. This is most commonly achieved with old age and it is therefore later in life that the female usually maximises her power and consequently her social status. Conformity with gender-specific and age-related behaviour on the part of females is ensured, not so much by the weight of domestic duties, the possibility of supernatural intervention on the part of spirits, or as the result of male expectation, as by the opinion of other women.

It is in the field of gerontology that Kerns' work is most convincing. I feel, however, that she has missed an opportunity by limiting her analysis to women only. While realising that fieldwork constraints may have influenced her choice of subject (it is difficult enough for the male ethnographer to research male areas of activity in the Caribbean, as the dearth of

literature on the subject illustrates), I cannot help but point out her reluctance to give any causal validity to male economic marginality in the shaping of Black Carib domestic relations. Kerns rejects the idea that 'men [in Caribbean societies] fail and women make do' (p. 3).

Let me illustrate this point with reference to her explanation of 'matrifocality'. She argues that girls learn about their responsibility to lineal kin from a young age. Females are socialised into motherhood and learn to 'bear a comprehensive and lifelong duty to protect lineal kin' (p. 4). For Kerns this pattern of behaviour is not to be seen as merely an outcome of the inability of males to support a wife and family. This pattern of behaviour is transmitted from generation to generation through women and is therefore a part of Black Carib culture. It is not the product of the prevailing socio-economic climate. What Kerns fails to stress adequately, although she provides ample evidence to support the view, is that Black Carib communities have always existed on the periphery, first of colonial, and then of national, society. Prolonged male absence from the community and inability in most cases to fulfil the role of regular provider to the domestic unit has a long history. Such norms and values are transmitted from generation to generation by women in the context of the expectation of the domestic marginality of men in the community. Culture and prevailing economic conditions interact to produce an enduring pattern of behaviour. I would suggest that Kerns is able to propose the determinant role of culture only by ignoring the position of men in the community. Both they and younger women who seek remunerative employment provide the link between Black Carib society and the wider national society of which it is a part.

Kerns devotes much of the work to preparing the ground for her analysis of ties between women. This preparatory section includes much information on men without which her analysis of women would be incomplete. She seems to have fallen into the very trap of which she accuses other ethnographers, selecting only that information for analysis which is of particular interest to her. Relationships between men, and between men and women, clearly influence relationships and ties between women. Yet only ties between women are analysed.

To be fair to Kerns it is not only she who has failed to integrate men into an account of lower-class community life in the Caribbean. Yet it is much more disappointing in her work, since she appears to have attained a position from which she might have achieved this task. Her concentration upon the life-cycle is clearly an important contribution to the analysis of Black Carib community life which appears to be applicable to other areas of the Caribbean. However an examination of the male life-cycle remains to be presented, and in a work on the scale of Kerns' some conclusions could have been reached. Women may not be 'making do' but the question still remains, if men aren't failing, what are they doing?

P.L. HARDING

ROBERT A. PAUL, *The Tibetan Symbolic World: Psychoanalytic Explorations*, Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press 1982. x, 304 pp., Bibliography, Index. Diagrams. £9.50.

In this book the author makes an analysis of Tibetan cultural symbolism from a position which is described as integrating psychoanalytical theory with aspects of structuralism and symbolic anthropology. He brings this approach to bear on a wide spectrum of Tibetan culture. Following the introduction there are chapters on Sherpa and Tibetan Concepts of Descent, Sherpa Religion (Cosmology and Pantheon, Religious Roles, Rituals and Pawa Cherenzi and the Maternal Imago). There follow chapters on the Life of Padma Sambhava, Four Tibetan Dramas, the Life of Milarepa, the Tibetan Epic: Gesar of Ling and Tibetan Royal Traditions.

The fundamental premise on which the book is written is the unargued (one gets the impression that from Paul's point of view it is unarguable) Freudian concept of the Primal Horde and the Oedipus Complex.

> It will be the thesis of this book that political and sacred authority (which I take to be aspects of the same thing, the 'centre' of society) are always accompanied by Oedipal symbolism, which is itself concerned directly with the problem of the succession of generations.

Four characters are identified as playing out the drama of succession: the Order figure, the Usurper, the Avenger and the Innocent. The first and fourth are the father and his son and heir, and the two intermediary figures are necessary to play out and consume the animosities and guilt inherent in the situation. Paul utilises this model to interpret four examples of the transference or process of power: Royal succession in Ancient Tibet, family succession among the Sherpas, the interplay of power in the Sherpa pantheon and among Sherpa religious specialists. According to the theory behind the model, the opposition between father and son (or of wider application, between 'senior male' and 'junior male'), poses the impossible imperative that senior males must kill and not kill junior males and vice versa. Paul takes examples from Tibetan popular and religious literature with the expressed aim of illustrating Tibetan culture's response to this contradictory demand.

The analysis unfortunately appears to depend on the task of discovering as much sexual symbolism in every aspect of Tibetan culture as possible. A religious monument such as the *chos-rten* becomes 'a breast with a nipple', the heart becomes 'an internalised genital organ'. Even Buddha himself gets the treatment:

> There is psychological truth in the idea that it was the sight of his [Buddha's] own son at his wife's breast which aroused his deeply buried fundamental anxieties, forcing him to abandon his parental responsibilities and take to the forest.

Determination to make the point over and over again takes up over a hundred pages of the book and unfortunately we do not learn much about the Sherpas, let alone the Tibetans. Paul claims that his analysis 'has the strength of showing formal unity in a wide corpus of materials'. The formal unity, however, is only evident in the symbolic construct which has been created by the anthropologist. The anthropologist in this case has further fallen into the trap of picking out examples of how the generative rules of the system have been obeyed. As Paul himself says:

> While I believe it [gLand-dar-ma's assassination] is generated by the model I have proposed, it has an entirely different meaning for the Tibetans and Sherpas themselves in their own conscious reflection.

Is it not the task of the anthropologist to seek out the meaning events hold for the people he is studying? Paul relies heavily on secondary sources for his materials on Tibetan culture and literature. His own fieldwork among the Sherpas is not much in evidence. Anyhow, a study of a literate culture such as that of the Tibetans (and by cultural extension, that of the Sherpas) demands a knowledge of literary Tibetan. What is welcome is Paul's tracing of Sherpa words back to their original Tibetan. If it were done thoroughly, the scope of the book would be vast. Perhaps for this reason there have been some errors in judgement. How can two brothers form a polyandrous union with five hundred women? (p. 219) How true is it to say that there was ever British power in Tibet? (p.287) *The Tibetan Symbolic World* follows in the wake of Sherry Ortner's *Sherpas Through Their Rituals* (1978). The earlier book was a disappointment, and Paul has not improved on bringing anthropological insight to the Sherpas due to the rewardless limitations of a psychoanalytic analysis.

CRYSTYN CECH

BRIAN MORRIS, *Forest Traders: A Socio-Economic Study of the Hill Pandaram*, New Jersey: Athlone Press 1982 [London School of Economics Monographs on Social Anthropology 55, Man.ed. A.Gell]. xiii, 210 pp., Figures, Maps, Tables, Index. £18.00.

One of the problems in the study of tribes in India is the nature of their relationship to the surrounding caste society. This problem is one of Morris's main concerns in this study of a group of hunters and gatherers of the Ghat forests in South India. Earlier writers have either treated such groups as a pristine culture, a 'survival', or as a part of the caste system of the plains, interpreting their cultural features as the result of harassment by plains people or as adaptations to their specialised role as gatherers of marketable forest products. Morris seeks to combine these 'internal' and 'external' factors, seeing Hill Pandaram culture as syncretic, to be explained both in terms of the imperatives and possibilities of their food gathering economy, and as the product of a long history of adaptation to pressures from the surrounding culture. In regard to the latter, he emphasises the significance of the influence of government agencies and especially the contractual system associated with urban traders. The gathering economy is now geared to satisfy the urban market economy rather than local village needs, and this has had important consequences.

The first two chapters provide background on the history and nature of the links between the exploitative and hostile caste environment and the forest tribes, showing that they cannot be seen as isolates. The Pandaram suffer from disabilities in the 'village' context and see the 'forest' as a refuge from exploitation, but they do not avoid the outside entirely since they depend on it for basic commodities. Clearly they are part of a wider economic system, but their isolation from village life has left them untouched by the ideological aspects of caste. From a detailed description of their economic life, it emerges that trade is more important than food gathering itself, and linked to this trade, their 'fragmentary' and 'individualistic' culture is seen as an adaptive response to external pressures and their economic enslavement in the wider economy of a pre-industrial state. In describing their 'patterns of social interaction', Morris is refreshingly frank about the difficulties of characterising the apparently amorphous and formless nature of their society. He argues that the predominance of 'personalistic' criteria, the normative stress on the self-sufficiency of the individual and on symmetrical relationships, and the transience of relationships are functions of their economic system, which demands nomadism and flexibility. Despite this general looseness in social organisation, however, affinal relationships structure interpersonal links to an important degree, and the system of cross-cousin marriage links all the local groups into a cohesive whole, making them essentially an endogamous group. The importance of affinal links is made clear in the last chapter, which

analyses group formation. Explanatory theories based on external economic dependence, or on inter-cultural pressure and harassment, contain some validity but are not sufficient. Ultimately the reason why camp aggregates consist of two or three families is because honey-collecting requires two or three men, and with few exceptions men associating together are invariably affines. The book ends with a discussion of why recent attempts to settle the Hill Pandaram have failed.

Focussing as he does on socio-economic life, Morris leaves out material that could be included in a fuller ethnography. For instance, it would be interesting to know more about the Hill Pandaram's 'warm feelings of attachment' for the forest as reflected in their songs and conversation, but the lack of such material does not detract from the force of the argument itself. The production of the book is good, and the various maps, figures, and tables are well laid out, with the exception of the table on p. 183 where the second column of figures does not add up. The book, however, is a useful addition to the study both of hunters and gatherers, and of tribes in India.

CHRISTIAN McDONAUGH

DHIRENDRA NARAYAN MAJUMDAR, *Culture Change in Two Garo Villages*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India 1978. xii, 153pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Illustrations.

B.B. GOSWAMI (ed.), *Cultural Profile of Shillong*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India 1979. vii, 183pp., Map. (Paper).

SUKUMAR BANERJEE, *Impact of Industrialisation on the Tribal Population of Jharia-Raniganje Coal Field Areas*, Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India 1981. 136pp., Appendixes, Bibliography.

These three books all concern change of one sort or another - respectively agricultural change, urbanization, and industrialization. The middle volume is the least rewarding, but the other two have some interest for specialists without developing any considerable theoretical perspectives - workmanlike rather than inspiring, hovering in the grey area between sociology and anthropology that is typical of so much of the work of the Anthropological Survey of India, and relying at least as much on statistics (which are ample in both cases) as on the attitudes and statements of the people being studied.

The Garo are a Tibeto-Burman speaking tribe living in the Garo Hills of the State of Meghalaya. Majumdar's monograph is a

comparison of the economic changes brought about by the pressure of increasing population in two different villages of the western hills, both of which originally pursued shifting cultivation as their main economic activity. One, being relatively isolated, has increasingly adopted permanent, wet-rice cultivation for its greater year-round productivity. The other, nearer the district headquarters of Tura and other markets, has retained swiddening to a greater extent, and has also been able to enter the money economy, through labouring and producing cash crops. These economic changes have not as yet produced much in the way of radical social change. In Matchakolgiri, the village near Tura, there has been some atomization of society, with the total decline of extended or joint families as the economic and domestic units, and a decline in village co-operation and the authority of the headman and elders, as well as in the security of property; while in the remoter Wajadagiri there has been a shift in the division of labour, with agriculture becoming relatively male-dominated. But in both villages the traditional matrilineal descent and inheritance have survived, little status difference has arisen, and income remains precarious. Surprisingly, perhaps, Wajadagiri seems to be the more prosperous of the two; it has retained greater economic self-sufficiency and is able to attract families in search of wet-rice land to settle within it. It is doubtful, however, whether other changes have much to do with these economic developments. One change is the breakdown in the traditional exogamy of the *chatchi* or clan-groupings, which seems to be due simply to their unequal growth, rendering strictly exogamous unions impracticable. Also, the desire of a lineage to avoid its obligation to provide a replacement spouse in the event of the death or illness of the first may not be a recent phenomenon, though it is more likely to survive where property is involved - the husband-giving lineage has effective day-to-day control of this, despite the matrilineal system of descent and inheritance. But while in Wajadagiri the traditional system of residence - uxorilocal for one daughter and her husband (or *nokrom*), neolocal for the rest - has survived, providing at least the *nokrom* with access to land, in Matchakolgiri this is no longer the case, since with the cash economy access to land is no longer imperative; here the *nokrom*'s position has come to be associated less with prestige and benefits and more just with the onerous responsibilities that go with it. One line of escape from this, and possibly from expensive ritual lineage obligations also, is the adoption of Christianity, but we are given only a tantalizing glimpse of this interesting phenomenon.

Eastern neighbours of the Garo are the Khasi, also matrilineal, though in many other respects quite dissimilar, not least in speaking an Austroasiatic language. They form the original, and still most numerous segment of the population in the area of Shillong, though Bengali, Assamese, Nepali, etc., dominance is today evident in the town itself. Shillong, a creation of the British Raj, remains an administrative and military town, under Independence as in colonial days a symbol of non-tribal dominance

in a tribal area. The *Profile* contains a disparate clutch of papers from an inter-disciplinary seminar held in 1973 in which anthropology was only one of many disciplines represented, and accordingly there is little here of interest to anthropologists. The papers are divided into three groups: 'Shillong as an Urban Centre'; 'Cultural Core and Diversities'; and 'Emerging Cultural Features of Shillong'.

Another Indian tribe speaking an Austroasiatic language is the Santal, though their connection with the Khasi is quite remote, and they have little else in common with them. They are found chiefly in Bihar and West Bengal, and since at over three million strong they are one of the largest tribes in India they have received their fair share of ethnographic attention. Banerjee's monograph studies them in an industrial situation, and as such may be compared with Martin Orans' studies of Santal workers in the Tata steel plant at Jamshedpur in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The coal-miners of the Jharia-Ranigunge coalfield are drawn from many areas of caste and tribal society, and only a certain percentage, on which the study concentrates, are Santal. Banerjee divides them into three classes: those long resident on the coalfield; those living in nearby villages, who come in as daily or weekly commuters; and those who have migrated from other parts of Bihar and West Bengal, and even further afield, to settle and work, usually on a temporary basis, near the mines. All three groups continue to cultivate land in their spare time. Indeed, few Santal seem to regard mining as their sole source of income, though traditional hunting and gathering activities have sharply declined (perhaps in part through government forest restrictions). The changes that this industrial environment has wrought on these three groups vary, but they clearly concern traditional political organisation, which has become considerably attenuated, more than fundamental social attitudes in respect of kinship, marriage, ritual observances, etc. (This contrasts strongly with Orans' experience in Jamshedpur, especially as far as marriage is concerned.) The author rightly points out the desire of Santal of all groups to preserve as much as possible of their traditional culture in the face of industrialization, but he does not really hit on the most likely cause. The fact is that this is not merely an industrial environment, but a Hindu-cum-caste-dominated one, and the conscious identity that the Santal preserve of themselves as a tribe, and their decided opposition to the Hindus ('Dikus' as they call them), from whom they wish to mark themselves off most firmly, is well known and well developed. In the penultimate chapter, Banerjee examines the fact that the Santal have not fully accepted, nor been fully accepted by, the mining industry, despite decades of involvement in it and their reputation as efficient miners when actually on the job. The last chaper is devoted to the Santal reaction to this state of affairs, which has taken two forms: withdrawal from the industry in favour of unskilled labouring; and political organization, not in the established trade unions, which are

Hindu-dominated and ineffectual, but in 'social uplift' types of organization, such as the *Sanot Santhal Samaj* ('Cleaner Santal Society').

In respect of all three books one can criticise their idiosyncratic English, which is occasionally totally obfuscating, and made worse by inadequate proof-reading. As far as the two monographs are concerned there is also the fact that although they are supposed to deal with social change - a topic demanding a certain promptness in writing up research - they are based on fieldwork up to twenty years old. Then there is the question of the outmoded and/or inappropriate theoretical assumptions on which all three volumes rely. One could go into reams about such matters in connection with these and many other Indian anthropological books, but to do so would hardly be either kind or fruitful. They are best regarded - as they were presumably intended - as ethnographic records, pure and simple.

R.J. PARKIN

NIGEL J.H. SMITH, *Rainforest Corridors: The Transamazon Colonization Scheme*, Berkeley etc.: University of California Press 1982. xvii, 186 pp., Appendixes, Bibliography, Index. £18.75.

Nigel Smith's account of the Transamazon colonization scheme is a lucid, succinct description of the dangers to both humans and the environment engendered by over-rigid central planning in an area characterised by complex and varied micro-ecological conditions. This book suffers badly however, in comparison with its recent predecessor, E. Moran's *Developing the Amazon* (Indiana University Press 1981). Moran's is a much more detailed analysis of the same scheme and while Smith acknowledges his debt to Moran, he shows little appreciation of the importance placed by Moran on the human factors which contributed to the complexity and ultimate failure of this massive enterprise.

The most interesting and important contribution of Smith, a biogeographer and naturalist, is his chapter on the interaction of humans who act as hosts to pathogens in an environment transformed by deforestation and the effects of the construction of the Transamazon Highway. This newly created environment provides hospitable conditions in which vectors - both natural ones and those introduced into the area with imported seeds, vegetation and other raw materials - proliferate. These vectors - mosquitoes, worms, beetles, snails, etc. - acquire pathogens from disease-carrying migrant settlers and roadbuilders and transmit them to others in the area, establishing a relentless and, according to Smith, uncontrollable spread of disease. While these diseases are not necessarily fatal they are always

debilitating, contributing to the lack of productivity of the settlers and thus their inability to achieve the standard of living necessary to combat the conditions which promote the disease cycle.

Regrettably Smith omits any reference to the indigenous peoples of the area, the Amazon Indians. He mentions them only once, referring to their hostile reception of the early road-builders and settlers. It is central to Moran's thesis that the loss of indigenous knowledge of the site, and of the specific, microecological systems of Amazonia, resulting from the death and dispersal of the Indians, contributed significantly to the poor planning and maladministration of the scheme. Moran appears naive in ascribing the failure of the scheme to lack of information, problems of communication and bureaucratic ineptitute, but Smith appears equally naive in totally ignoring the wider national and international political and economic issues which initially led to the adoption of the scheme by the Brazilian government, and which despite more than a decade of destruction and failure to attain that government's goals, encourage its continuation unabated and unmodified. As an example of that failure, Central Independent Television's recent production of the documentary film *Decade of Destruction*, filmed in 1982 and 1983, presents a vivid, graphic and comprehensive description and compelling analysis of the effects of the Transamazon scheme in Rôndonia, the area most recently opened for colonization. In it many of the issues which Smith has ignored and to which Moran has only alluded are debated in depth. One suspects that neither are as naive or as ignorant as their conclusions suggest, but that they have chosen not to enter the political arena.

ANN ELIZABETH FINK

OTHER NOTES AND NOTICES

BERARD HAILE, *Women Versus Men: A Conflict of Navajo Emergence* (Edited by Karl W. Luckert [American Tribal Religions, vol. 6]), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1981. viii, 118 pp.

BERARD HAILE, *Upward Moving and Emergence Way* (Edited by Karl W. Luckert [American Tribal Religions, vol. 7], Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1981. xv, 238 pp., Illustrations.

These two volumes present previously unpublished Navajo texts left by the Franciscan Father Berard Haile. The first was collected in 1932. Haile says it describes only part of the emergence story, having to do with the separation of the sexes, a resulting flood, and flight from the lower world to the habitat at present occupied by humans. The book is divided into two parts, the first comprising an English translation, while the second reproduces the Navajo text. Not only does Haile comment that the account is brief and incomplete, but he asserts that important details are told better in the Emergence Way. This more extensive story is the subject of the second book. The editor describes an English version of Haile's text, published with his acquiescence by Mary Wheelwright in 1949, as 'very abbreviated and stripped of many of its original Navajo characteristics'. Haile recorded it in 1908 before he had become expert in the language. He was dissatisfied with the text and with irregularities he perceived in the narrative. The book offers only Haile's original English version. There are also many informative illustrations. The narratives are rich and valuable, but only a Navajo expert could hope to cope with the many interpretative problems deriving from the manner and circumstances in which they were recorded. Despite helpful notes supplied by the editor, neither book stands by itself. They are best approached only after extensive reading elsewhere in Navajo ethnography.

R.H.B.

PAULA BROWN and DONALD TUZIN (eds.), *The Ethnography of Cannibalism*, Washington: Society for Psychological Anthropology 1983. 106 pp. $7.50.

This collection of seven papers, including a preface and a conclusion, is the product of a symposium held at the AAA Meetings in Washington in 1980. In part the symposium was convened as a reaction to Arens' *The Man-Eating Myth* that had been published in the previous year. However, for most of the contributors to this volume his work might never have appeared, and even those who are concerned with points raised by Arens make no mention of him. This is true both of Gillian Gillison writing about the stereotyping of women as cannibals among the Gimi of Papua New Guinea, and of Carol MacCormack's discussion of accusations of cannibalism as a political manoeuvre among the Sherbro of Sierra Leone. More interesting though is the total lack of concern among the authors about whether cannibalism existed or not. It quite clearly did occur in Fiji, which Marshall Sahlins writes about, but Donald Tuzin can find no evidence that it was practised among the Arapesh of New Guinea. He stresses that he is interested in the image rather than the practice of cannibalism, and a similar position is adopted by Fitzjohn Porter Poole with regard to the Bimin-Kuskusmin. This approach raises the study of cannibalism to a new level of sophistication, because the understanding of anthropophagic ideas is at least as interesting as that of the practice itself, and there is no arguing that the *former* do not exist.

P.G.R.

G. HUBERT SMITH, *The Explorations of the La Vérendryes in the Northern Plains 1738-43* (edited by W. Raymond Wood), Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press 1980. xvii, 152 pp., Illustrations, References, Index. £8.40.

This volume is an excellent reappraisal of the contributions of the La Vérendryes to our knowledge of the ethnography of the northern great plains Indians at the time of their first contact. The historical background to the La Vérendrye explorations is clearly laid out. All of the available documentation is examined and new translations of critical documents are presented. The evidence is carefully sifted and criticism and cautions in interpretation are well explored. Previous faulty interpretations of the evidence are presented and errors exposed. The conclusions reached are sound and based on the use of all possible valid forms of evidence. This is a fine example of critical scholar-

ship that will be of value to all those interested in early North American history.

C.J.W.

MOHAMED A. ALAWAR (gen. ed.), *A Concise Bibliography of Northern Chad and Fezzan in Southern Libya*, Wisbech, Cambs.: Arab Crescent Press 1983. xxiv, 229 pp., Author Index, Maps. £19.00.

This bibliography is not merely an academic exercise - though it is that too - but an attempt to bring together all the major items that concern the border issue (i.e. the Uzu strip) in the Chad-Libya dispute. Documents concerned with Libyan-Chadian relations in general, and materials relating to the geographical, historical, economic and political backgrounds of northern Chad and Fezzan in southern Libya are included. The maps do not mark the boundary between these countries.

The editor and his contributors (Charles Gurdon, George Joffé, Katherine Leclercq, Keith McLachlan and Geoffrey Parkes) have surveyed the English- and French-language sources, as well as principal works in the major European languages but Arabic sources are not included. In a bibliography containing 4732 entries (1741 on Chad and 2991 on Libya) there are bound to be errors, but in this case they seem to be few and minor. Some items in the Sudanese literature relating to peoples who live in both Sudan and Chad are missing - presumably for reasons of space - and only one Sudanese bibliography is included. Reference to the various bibliographies published by the National Council for Research, Economic and Social Research Council of Khartoum, Sudan (in particular its *Bibliography of Bibliographies* published in May 1982) would have obviated these limitations. The bibliography is well and clearly arranged (one suspects that bibliographies are the forte of the word-processor), and covers maps also. There are, therefore, no quibbles other than minor ones, and this work will aid all students of Libya and Chad immeasurably in coming to terms with a complex and otherwise uncoordinated literature.

J.C.

KATRIEN POLMAN, *The North Moluccas: an Annotated Bibliography* [Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographical Series 11], The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff 1981. xx, 192pp., Maps, Indexes. No price given.

KATRIEN POLMAN, *The Central Moluccas: an Annotated Bibliography* [Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Bibliographical Series 12], Dordrecht: Foris Publications Holland 1983. xxvi, 324pp., Maps, Indexes. No price given.

These brief and handy bibliographies list publications on the North and Central Moluccas in Dutch libraries from the years 1849 to 1940 and 1800 to 1940 respectively, as well as some later works. These are the third and fourth in a series beginning with Madura and Minahasa. Further bibliographies on Flores and South Moluccas will appear later. The chief virtue of these bibliographies is that the entries are annotated in English. Scholars able to read Dutch will find Ruinen and Tutein Nolthenius's two-volume *Overzicht van de Literatuur Betreffende de Molukken* (1927, 1935), from 1550 to 1933, more comprehensive. (W.A. Seleky has brought the latter work up to 1964 in an Indonesian language supplement at the Royal Tropical Institute, Amsterdam.) Both of Polman's books include historical introductions by Ch. F. van Fraassen.

R.H.B.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Dear JASO,

You kindly offered me the 'right to reply' to the report (*JASO* XIV, no. 3) on the GAPP training workshop held at LSE. May I say therefore that the report seems to me to be a very fair reflection of what went on and I agree with your conclusion that the workshop conveyed, as intended, an idea of what a post as an anthropologist outside the university might entail. You also rightly say that we ran out of time for a full discussion of some of the more general issues but I hope we managed to correct this fault at the Salford and Goldsmiths workshops by changing the structure of the last sessions.

There are a couple of minor points in the report which require comment. 'GAPP *staff*' gives an impression of an elaborate organisation, when it is just a network of interested people giving their time voluntarily. 'Applied anthropology' in the sense that there is a distinction from 'pure anthropology' is of no interest to any member of GAPP but we do feel that anthropology can be used in areas of policy and practice. Perhaps you will allow me to set out some further reflections on the workshops:

1. As I moved from one workshop group to another I became very conscious of the way in which the dynamics of the groups themselves determine the ways in which problems are approached. This is an obvious point for teachers but it needs to be stated; there is an obvious relevance to some of the issues that Mr Parkin raises. In one group at LSE the participants were discussing 'the overturning of existing [indigenous] relationships with perfect equanimity'; in the other group the ethics of such a consequence of the development scheme were discussed at great length and eventually a technical reason for ruling out the tropical forest as a subject of study was found. One point about the workshop was that we were able to discuss actions to be taken, and that no harm would come to anyone, but I hope that in the proper reflection on the experience the participants would be aware of what would be at stake. In the workshop we have the chance to think about what is right and what we would do about it, and how we would present our views in order to influence others. Each group finds its own answer to the problem of acting to implement theory.

2. It was not the intention within the workshop to resolve the question whether it is possible for the anthropologist to have an influence on events, though I would hope that in seminar discussions later participants would at least be aware of the issues

and the sorts of strategies available. I feel it is important that anthropologists do their thinking *before* they enter the field; learning about such issues whilst on a contract (and handling them ineptly) is potentially damaging for the profession as a whole. Mr Parkin comments that there was no attempt to 'convert' participants: far from it, I would hope to make people aware of issues and *dissuade* those who are unable or do not wish to tackle them from entering this field.

3. In setting up the case study on development I was aware of three contentious issues. The forest tribes were the first concern. Eventually all the groups realised this was a red herring; there was no way that, in the foreseeable future, the forest could be exploited to solve the energy crisis in the hills. The second issue was the lower salary of the anthropologist, and the differential between that paid to the development specialist compared with the researcher in the social services. This is a proper concern for a workshop even if we did not reach conclusions.

The third issue was the one which I considered of real importance for the case: was £¼m justified for a study of energy utilisation anyway? No one questioned this in the workshops, perhaps because anthropologists are committed to the idea of 'doing studies'. In my review at the end I tried to show that the foresters disputed the morality of the whole enterprise: we have enough general studies of energy and the conclusions are that people need more fuel-wood; with that much money quite a few forest nurseries could have been started and Zingali would have been well on the way to solving the rural energy problem; to spend the money on another study of this kind was a gross waste. This does not mean no study at all was required; the woodlots programme of the Forest Department in Zingali had been a failure and the reasons should have been studied with the aim of improving the programme or finding a viable alternative. In this an anthropologist could have done a useful 3-month study for relatively little money, perhaps in collaboration with a forester and local researchers.

What are the issues in the above? Such a study would have implications for the hill people, especially the women. At present in Zingali they are going further and further afield to find firewood, fodder and water, so any attempt to bring wood closer would be beneficial. (Strange how the workshop participants were worried about the tribesmen but forgot about the hill women.) A small study would have to ensure that the women participated in the design of any scheme. But how would the firm react to such a small study proposal which cuts out many of the other disciplines and costs much less? The Atlantis Development Bank's cost is the firm's salaries. How are we to present such a study proposal to the firm? As a component of a larger survey? And how does the Bank react to it? As an entrepreneurial anthropologist I have to hope that no other firm has the idea, and that the proposal strikes the right chord with the Bank's advisers so

that at least this small study, which I believe in, is funded. Nor would I feel guilty about being paid a decent salary whilst saving Zingali millions of pounds on misplaced investments!

In conclusion I do not feel that we have to do something which is not anthropology; nor do studies necessarily become immoral. However, the context in which we work is different and there are different approaches to the study. The above (at 3) is not a 'correct' solution but it is an approach to the problem which developed as I went from one group to another. I hope that, as Mr Parkin states, people can make up their own minds about their ability to take on this kind of work and that discussion in university seminars can be informed by such simulation exercises.

SEAN CONLIN
Group for Anthropology in Policy and Practice (GAPP)
c/o Royal Anthropological Institute, London

Dear JASO,

May I add a couple of observations to the report you included in your last issue (*JASO* XIV, no. 3) about recent research in the Sudan, as some readers might get the impression that the discussions we had last November constituted a formal conference. In no way were we attempting to cover all aspects of recent work, nor did we plan to invite a representative range of participants. The seminar was originally intended as an informal meeting between two or three students who had started fieldwork in the Sudan last year, so that they could exchange ideas before returning to the field. At the last moment the plans for the seminar snowballed, as several others (including historians) let us know that they were interested in attending. All came at their own expense, since we had no special funding.

Had the seminar been planned on a substantial scale from the start, or been intended as a definitive conference, we should have made every effort to include participants from such centres of Sudan research as Hull and Durham in this country, and Bergen, in Europe; and from Khartoum and Juba.

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