

Buchbesprechungen/Reviews

Delgado Rosa, Frederico and Han F. Vermeulen (eds.): *Ethnographers Before Malinowski. Pioneers of Anthropological Fieldwork, 1870–1922*. EASA Book Series, 44. xviii + 522 pp. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2022. ISBN 978-1-80073-531-6

The publication of this book comes at a time when anthropology is reconsidering its own imperial and colonial past, with all the caveats involved. It also coincides with the centenary of the publication of Malinowski's important work, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (Malinowski 1922). In the contemporary anthropological imaginary, Malinowski serves as a symbolic marker, as someone who (according to popular stories) established ethnographic fieldwork as we know it today, a true symbol of what it means to do 'proper' anthropology. As expressed by an important contributor to contemporary anthropological history, 'a good case can be made that Malinowski established the distinctive modern apprenticeship for social anthropologists – intensive and long-term participant-observation by a trained scholar in an exotic community' (Kuper 2015:1). Of course, this same author (Kuper) immediately mentions some of Malinowski's predecessors, and today it is widely accepted that critical anthropological research began long before 1922.

The editors of *Ethnographers Before Malinowski* have brought together twelve scholars, mostly associated with the History of Anthropology Network. One of the editors (Vermeulen) was the founder of this network within EASA, and the other (Rosa) was its Chair at the time of the publication of this volume. The book has twelve chapters divided in four parts, together with a Foreword, Introduction and Conclusion. There is also a Select Bibliography of Ethnographic Accounts published between 1870 and 1922 in an Appendix. Most of the chapters include important information about the contribution of indigenous scholars, and this is an added value of this work.

In his Foreword, Thomas Hylland Eriksen sets the tone for the book by introducing one of anthropology's forgotten ancestors, W. H. R. Rivers. Eriksen also mentions the work of some other important ancestors, like Morgan and Haddon, and goes back to remind us of the neglected contributions of Fison and Howitt, and of Spencer and Gillen. In their Introduction, the editors outline the scope of the volume, with important emphasis on the work of indigenous scholars (like Hewitt and La Flesche), who were hired by the Bureau of American Ethnology (p. 20). They also draw attention to the important aspect of the present volume: the fact that the contributors focus on the

monographs of individual scholars. This makes their analyses more focused and historically more contextualized.

The first part of the book, 'In Search of the Native's Point of View', consists of contributions by Herbert Lewis, Barbara Chambers Dawson and David Shankland. Lewis, one of the foremost authorities on the work on Franz Boas, focuses on Boas's monograph on the Central Eskimo from 1888 – the first attempt to present indigenous accounts 'from the natives' point of view.' Dawson presents the work of an Australian woman, Katie Langloh Parker, and her accounts of the people in the area where she lived. Her contribution to what Dawson calls 'the ongoing High God or All Father debate' was supported by Andrew Lang, and Parker was referred to by Émile Durkheim, as well as by the historian of religions E. O. James (p. 96). In his chapter, Shankland continues his work on the great Finnish sociologist Edward Westermarck, Professor at the LSE, and a great influence on Malinowski, with the emphasis on his monograph on *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (1926). This is already a mature Westermarck, a well-established and well-respected scholar, and it is important to see his work re-evaluated and given proper acknowledgement. As Shankland puts it, 'when Westermarck's work is studied closely, the theoretical preoccupations that he developed in his fieldwork are surprisingly modern and much more sophisticated than his critics appreciate' (p. 142).

Part two of the book, 'The Indigenous Ethnographer's Magic', presents chapters written by David Chidester, Jeffrey Papparoa Holman and Joanna Cohan Scherer. Chidester writes about one of the first chroniclers of indigenous South African religions, Henry Callaway. Callaway compiled an impressive account of Zulu religious beliefs, *The Religious System of the Amazulu*. This book was published in three volumes, 1868–1870, and in two columns, one in English and the other in Zulu, therefore given Indigenous People a voice. Chidester presents a key role that native collaborator, Mpengula Mbande, played in the formulation of some basic concepts, and how they might have influenced E. B. Tylor. Holman writes about Elsdon Best, a New Zealand adventurer who inspired generations of anthropologists, beginning with Mauss, and who was, among other things, responsible for the introduction of a key concept in the anthropological research of the Oceanic societies, *hau*. Scherer presents a story about one of the first American anthropologists, Alice Fletcher, her close collaborator Francis La Flesche (who was to become the first Native American with a PhD degree in anthropology) and their monograph about the Omaha, published in 1911, which in many respects is still unsurpassed. The chapter presents different episodes from the work on this magnificent volume, primarily through the perspective of Fletcher's relations with La Flesche and his family.

The third part of the book, 'Colonial Ethnography from Invasion to Empathy', includes contributions by Ronald L. Grimes, André Mary and Montgomery McFate. Grimes writes about John Gregory Bourke, a US cavalry officer and military ethnologist, and his amazing journey into the world of the rituals and prohibitions of the Hopis. Bourke's 1884 book is mostly forgotten today, despite its obvious qualities, and even though his work proved crucially important for several nineteenth-century

researchers, from Frank Hamilton Cushing and Jesse Fewkes to Matilda Coxe Stevenson. In his chapter, Mary focuses on French missionary Henri Trille and his travel accounts from the 'French Congo'. Trille was also interested in totemism, and the interest in the definition of key religious concepts seems to be one of the most pervasive characteristics of this whole volume. Finally, in the third essay in this part of the book, McFate writes about Robert Sutherland Rattray and his 1923 book *Ashanti*. Rattray undertook long-term participant observation after he 'was appointed as the first and only head of the newly created Gold Coast Anthropological Department in 1921' (p. 308). One of the important aspects of his monograph is that it presents a very vivid and 'surprisingly harsh view of the British colonial enterprise' (p. 309), which is even more interesting since he was a colonial officer. It also provides an example of a resolution of 'a potentially violent political dispute between the Ashanti and the British government, which provides an early example of anthropology being applied to ameliorate and resolve conflict' (p. 309).

The final part of the book, 'Expeditionary Ethnography as Intensive Fieldwork', contains contributions by Frederico Delgado Rosa, Grażyna Kubica and Michael Kraus. Rosa wrote about the explorations of the Portuguese officer Henrique de Carvalho, who lived in Lunda (today parts of Angola) between December 1884 and October 1887. De Carvalho's account of the indigenous population, their social organization and their culture in many ways contradicts the accepted anthropological canons, as Rosa clearly shows. It also displays a lot of sympathy for the indigenous population, something that does not square with the stereotypes that one has about the colonial administrations. Kubica focuses on the reception of the research in Siberia by Maria Czaplicka, an extraordinary scholar and a pioneer of Siberian studies in anthropology. The emphasis is also on the practical aspects of the researcher's relationship with her Tungus assistant, which was marked by respect, as well as irony (pp. 404–405). In the final chapter of the book, Kraus writes about the debates between German ethnographers of Lowland South America between 1884 and 1928, focusing on the work of Karl von den Steinen and Theodor Koch-Grünberg. His discussion includes an important outline of the development of ethnography in Germany and the scholarly methodology that was used by some of its key figures (like Bastian).

In their Conclusion, the editors of this volume point to the founders of anthropology, as well as to some overlooked scholars or theories. It is interesting that they also mention divergencies in the approaches of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, two figures usually regarded as the 'founding fathers' of social anthropology. They rightly point to the fact that 'Malinowski was not the inventor of intensive fieldwork' (p. 463) and list other researchers, some of whose works are discussed in the volume under consideration. The work of some others, like the Scottish Semitist William Robertson Smith, has also been recognized as important for early anthropology (Bošković 2021). It is a pity that the work of missionaries and explorers in Mexico and Central America and beyond, like Bernardino de Sahagún, is not mentioned, but perhaps this is an invitation for another project.

Taken as a whole, this is a valuable and important book, a timely and important addition to the growing field of literature in both anthropology and the history of ideas. It is also an important reminder of the valuable heritage that some learned women and men have left for us, leaving us with important lessons that can serve us well in navigating through the complexities of contemporary debates.

Aleksandar Boskovic
UFRN, Natal (Brazil); Institute of Archaeology, Belgrade (Serbia)

References

- Bošković, Aleksandar 2021: *William Robertson Smith. Anthropology's Ancestors*, 2. New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books.
- Kuper, Adam 2015: *Anthropology and Anthropologists: The British School in the Twentieth Century*. Fourth edition. London: Routledge.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw 1922: *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.

Eckert, Julia M. (ed.): The Bureaucratic Production of Difference: Ethos and Ethics in Migration Administration.

182 S. Bielefeld: Transcript, 2020. ISBN 978-3-8376-5104-1

In this edited volume, Julia Eckert and six other social and cultural anthropologists endeavor to address the question, ‘What do bureaucrats think they’re doing?’ Their focus is on diverse migration administrations, their aim being to shed light on the underlying factors influencing bureaucrats’ actions. The authors share the fundamental assumption that what bureaucrats think they’re doing shapes what they *actually* do, leading them to explore bureaucrats’ emic perspectives concerning their own work. Contrary to the widespread claim of bureaucratic indifference, the authors challenge this notion by identifying a common ethical concern for the common good that underlies bureaucratic practices. However, they also recognize that visions of this common good are often contentious and contradictory. Within the context of migration bureaucracies, these visions play a central role in negotiations regarding access to the common good or exclusion from it. Michael Lipsky’s seminal work showed the discretion street-level bureaucrats have. The authors of this edited volume set out to investigate the often ethical factors that influence the exercise of this discretion, alongside other aspects of bureaucratic practice.

In her introduction, Julia Eckert provides a comprehensive elucidation of the core concepts and theories employed throughout the edited volume, with a particular em-