

history and biography by Helm and Gruber do not go far enough. Intellectual history is frequently intertwined with personal history as I believe Parmenter's account in particular shows, and as, I think, Stocking's account (*op. cit.*) of the "conversion myth" about Boas' Central Eskimo field work proves beyond a doubt. If the destiny of those who are ignorant of the intellectual history of their science is to repeat its mistakes—and this does often seem to be the case—those who know nothing of the lives and times of individual anthropologists repeat tired little myths, charter only for intellectual slovenliness and distortion. *Pioneers of American Anthropology* supplies fact for fancy and knowledge for ignorance about all too few pioneers, but for those few it does very well.

Stranger and Friend: The Way of an Anthropologist. HORTENSE POWDERMAKER. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1966. 315 pp., selected bibliography, index. \$6.50 (cloth), \$1.95 (paper).

Reviewed by LAURA BOHANNAN
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In *Stranger and Friend*, Hortense Powdermaker has given us an autobiographical handbook of field technique and method that is so far all but unique among anthropological writings of the same genre, for this is not among those novels that absorb and present the anthropologist's empathetic discoveries (e.g., Kuper's *Bite of Hunger*), nor the private exuvia of field work tension (such as Malinowski's *Diaries*), nor the afterglow—*et ego in arcadia*—of extraordinary field rapport (Turnbull's *The Forest People*). What the *Anthropologist at Work* does with biography, *Stranger and Friend* achieves with its amalgam of autobiographical data and anthropological theory. Given here are Powdermaker's background as child and young woman (from middle-class German Jewish family to Goucher and life as a labor union organizer); as student at L.S.E. under Malinowski and with such fellows as Evans-Pritchard, Schapera, and Audrey Richards; and as a field worker in Lesu, Mississippi, Hollywood, and the Rhodesian Copperbelt. The sheer weight of experience in such different fields would of itself make this book a prerequisite for anthropological training.

From the wealth of material presented, only a few main points can be mentioned. Among the critical determinants of field work (along with language and psychological involvement), Powdermaker discusses physical proximity to the people studied; almost a matter of course to those anthropologists who have been involved only in the sort of traditional research here rep-

resented by Lesu. Of course one lives in the village! But where there is no village? Where in fact there is no local community, as in Hollywood? Or where the social parameters of the problem prohibit identification with any segment of the population, as in the Copperbelt? Then what happens to this cherished and almost basic anthropological technique?

On the question of language Powdermaker grants theoretical obeisance. Only in Lesu did she implement her stated conviction that knowledge of the language is necessary to the understanding of a culture. In two of her four field experiences—Mississippi and Hollywood—no language barrier existed; in the fourth, her pre-learning of a lingua franca (Swahili) was negated by her forced shift from Uganda to an area in which Cibemba held sway. It is relevant here to raise her distinction between the "marginal man," characteristic, she says, of those anthropologists born before 1915, and the "ethnographic semanticists" born between 1915 and 1930. As one of the latter, by birth date at least, I feel the distinction is an artificial one; being accustomed to "stepping in and stepping out" of one's own culture and society (Powdermaker's catch phrase for marginality) does indeed prepare one to withstand the shocks of field work more adequately but is not a phenomenon ending at a given date. Precisely such marginal people continue to be attracted to the field situations of social and cultural anthropology. "Learning the language" has become a code expression for such experience; like Malinowski, we place much of our data in folk categories—of necessity linguistic. The distinction is more apparent than real.

On the theme of psychological involvement, Powdermaker makes a most important distinction: that between ethno- and ideocentricity. Able to hold in abeyance ethnocentric judgments on the value of magic, the norms of aggression, and the validity of marriage among the peoples she studied, she nevertheless found herself shocked by the lack of commitment exemplified by Hollywood writers: "I couldn't do that!" Those trained in anthropology have acquired defenses against immediate ethnocentrism. Our primary values, however—for example, that each man be true to his own values—are more diffuse, less conscious, and hence less readily discounted than those values we consider culturally determined. I have not heretofore seen this point so well documented.

There is no space to cover adequately the many valuable issues Powdermaker raises in passing: the importance of luck in field work (whom one first meets, that person's position), the difficulties of combating mistrust (especially when one's work leads one into such divided

communities as the Copperbelt), the difficulties of locating a good interviewer—indeed, all the difficulties and dilemmas of selecting a problem and implementing the research necessary to its elucidation.

This is not the place to cite correlations between this book and the published findings of Powdermaker's field research. It is the place to say that we and our students will be wealthier for the opportunity of studying both field report and field insight.

A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term. BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI. Preface by Valetta Malinowska. Introduction by Raymond Firth. Translated by Norbert Guterman. Index of native terms by Mario Bick. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1967. xxii, 315 pp., frontispiece, 4 maps (1 endpaper), note. \$6.95.

Reviewed by IAN HOGGIN
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Because I agreed to review this book I read it right through from beginning to end. The publisher, printer, and proofreader must also have done so, but presumably they were paid for the job; so far as the general public is concerned there can be no doubt that I will remain unique. The blurb on the dust jacket describes the diary as containing "acute observations of native life and customs." This is not true. Raymond Firth, in the introduction, is more modest when he says that "in its purely ethnographic sense [it] cannot be ranked as more than a footnote to anthropological history," but even that statement is a gross exaggeration. In my view the volume holds no interest for anyone, be he anthropologist, psychologist, student of biography, or merely a gossip. Why the journals were translated from the Polish, let alone printed, must remain the publishing mystery of the decade.

The diary is purely personal and covers the periods 1914–1915 and 1917–1918, when Malinowski arrived in New Guinea, carried out his initial field work among the Mailu, and made his main expedition to the Trobriands. It tells nothing of his problems and the way they developed: indeed, it consists entirely of trivia. The following extract is typical:

The day of 11.12 was exceptionally active. In the morning I took a bath. Then I accomplished a great deal, wrote and collated information efficiently. 11.13. After a rather good night's sleep I got up fairly early, wrote my diary, and then went fairly early to a little village (Charlie and Maya). Collecting information was rather hard, though not without results. It was very hot. I began to feel miserable. Came back almost in a

faint. Took a nap on some cotton bags. Then dinner—ate too much [p. 37].

There are frequent mentions of his deep devotion to Elsie Masson of Melbourne, who became his first wife (later much beloved also by his students; she predeceased him by a few years), and of his loathing for "the niggers," as he describes the Trobrianders and other Papuans. Obviously he was obsessed about his health; and his survival, if he did in fact take as much calomel and epsom salts and administered as many enemas and arsenic injections as he said he did, must be a miracle.

The translator has been at pains to give an explanation or commentary on all references to people and places in Europe, but he is lamentably inaccurate about the antipodes. Thus he tells us that Broken Hill is a town in southwest Australia (it is 500 miles from the east coast) and that the principal shipping and trading firm in the South Seas is Burns Philp (really Burns Philp). Hosts of other proper names are misspelled.

For the final record perhaps only one fact is worth noting. Various writers have remarked that Malinowski ignored the missionaries in the Trobriands who had been there for over a generation before his arrival. The diary now reveals that he was misleading about his associations there with Europeans. He was a frequent visitor in their houses, and they often paid calls on him.

The Position of Women in Primitive Societies and Other Essays in Social Anthropology. E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD. New York: The Free Press (a division of the Macmillan Company), 1965. 260 pp., charts, 4 illustrations, index, map, references. \$6.95.

Women in the Modern World. RAPHAEL PATAI, ed. New York: The Free Press; London: Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1967. 519 pp., chapter bibliographies, charts, notes on the editor and the contributors, tables. n.p.

Reviewed by RUTH LANDES
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Entering the fields of woman's status and culture research almost simultaneously, I observed people, in seven or eight unfamiliar societies, with naïve eyes and probably ready identification with my sex. Thence I found that the focus of most writers (usually men) on "woman's position" (as expressed through science, fiction, philosophy, poetry, religion) was confusing or mischievous. The reasoning used to justify or explain females' social statuses left mystery. Perhaps this mystique of "position" underlies