

## Culture



**John G. GALATY, Dan ARONSON, Philip Carl SALZMAN, and Amy CHOUINARD (eds.), *The Future of Pastoral Peoples: Proceedings of a Conference Held in Nairobi, Kenya, 4-8 August 1980*, Ottawa, International Development Research Centre. Pub. in Holland: E.J. Brill, 1981. 396 pages, US \$24**

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the generosity of native peoples as exceeding that of Europeans. Gagnon goes too far in claiming that European descriptions of native people reveal much about themselves but little about the people they are describing. Up to a point his argument is valid, but if it were literally true ethnohistorians would not have been able to learn as much as they have about native groups in the 17th century. Their work requires, however, familiarity not only with more recent native cultures but also with the biases of their European sources.

The most disappointing aspect of this book is Gagnon's analysis of Champlain's illustrations. He offers thematic and structural analyses of individual pictures that are interesting but not always convincing. For example, his snowshoed Huron bearing a lance is almost certainly a hunter not a warrior, since Iroquoians did not wage war in the winter. This casts doubt on his assertion that Champlain always had Huron men portrayed as inactive warriors. Gagnon does not draw on his knowledge of European art to elucidate systematically the relationship between Champlain, the engravers of his illustrations, and his printers. It has long been noted that the hammocks, palm trees, and many details of native dress that appear in his books are derived from 16th century illustrations of the Tupinamba of Brazil and the Timucua of Florida. Gagnon relates some of these motifs to the well-known illustrations of Theodore de Bry. Yet he does not analyse these resemblances in detail, nor does he seriously consider why Champlain allowed such inaccuracies to appear in his works—or, indeed, if he had any say in the matter. It is not enough to suggest that the French regarded all Indians as basically similar and hence depictions of them as interchangeable. This hiatus calls into question Gagnon's claim that these engravings accurately document specific aspects of native culture not referred to in Champlain's writings. Nor does Gagnon's analysis of Champlain's painted illustrations of his voyage to the West Indies provide convincing evidence that these works have any independent ethnographic value.

Finally, while it is worthwhile to understand the nature of pejorative stereotypes about native Canadians in the 17th century, it is doubtful that these views, which were shaped by religious beliefs and theories about the effects that history and geography had on human behaviour, do much to explain modern prejudices, which are above all a product of 19th century racist doctrines.

John G. GALATY, Dan ARONSON, Philip Carl SALZMAN, and Amy CHOUINARD (eds.), *The Future of Pastoral Peoples: Proceedings of a Conference Held in Nairobi, Kenya, 4-8 August 1980*, Ottawa, International Development Research Centre. Pub. in Holland: E.J. Brill, 1981. 396 pages, US \$24.

By Daniel Rosenberg  
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Pastoral peoples today face enormous pressures and challenges in their encounters with powerful political entities and in the transformation of their subsistence and market economies. Their lands are diminishing in size and quality, and their autonomy is eroding as national governments seek to more fully incorporate pastoralists politically and economically. Although pastoral peoples certainly have a future, there is profound disagreement among social scientists, development planners, and pastoralists themselves about what that future will be. At the same time, development schemes for African pastoralists have in general been dismal failures, frequently exacerbating the problems they sought to alleviate. It is clear that greater collaboration is needed among the players in this unfolding human drama, although their interests and goals are widely divergent.

The 1980 conference on which this book is based sought to facilitate communication among all those concerned with African pastoralism (indeed, a more accurate title would have been *The Future of Pastoral Peoples in Africa*). Despite the absence of the voices of pastoralists — a concern repeatedly expressed by conference participants — the resulting volume offers a panorama of perspectives of livestock-raising in Africa, and is essential for anyone interested in pastoral issues.

The twenty-nine papers (in addition to an integrative introduction, and opening addresses) are organized in five sections, each with a short but useful introduction: the role of anthropology in pastoral development, the political economy of pastoralism, the economics of pastoralism, the role of government in pastoral development, and the research process. At the end of each paper is a transcript of the discussion which followed; these highlight divergent perspectives and add significantly to the value of the book and the pleasure of sifting through its contents. These discussion sections provide a model for books resulting from conferences; even papers of lesser quality are often followed by interesting discussion, and these exchanges provide the reader with a guide to more general issues raised by specialized presentations. John Galaty and Dan Aronson have contributed a useful summation of research and

development priorities drawn from the contributions to the conference, which gives specific recommendations for (1) furthering livestock development in a manner supportive of the interests of pastoral peoples; and (2) the future of pastoral research, emphasizing a “*rap-prochement* of anthropologists and development planners” and specific areas of future investigation relating to the influence of the state, regional perspectives, the impact of the market, the nature of the household economy, and relationships between pastoral systems and environmental resources of semi-arid lands.

One theme emerging from these papers is that the complexity of land use for pastoralism defies many generalizations. Harold Schneider’s controversial work on the meaning of cattle for African pastoralists, Peter Hopcraft’s observations that pasture care and improvement is not rewarding since the individual cannot claim the benefits, and Walter Goldschmidt’s summary of development program failures (such as the attempts to impose ranching schemes) are just a small part of the eloquent testimony in this volume to the disastrous results of making assumptions about livestock-raising that are not informed by detailed knowledge of local and regional systems. Generalization is also hindered by lack of data on even the most crucial questions, such as the sources of desertification, and this points to the importance of the research priorities outlined by Galaty and Aronson.

A central focus in this volume is a political economic perspective on pastoralism. This emphasis on the regional context of pastoral production reflects not only the enormous expansion of political economic thought in the social sciences in the last decade, but also the very real changes in the boundaries of African pastoral social systems. As the editors note:

Today, government interventions in the form of livestock marketing systems, pricing policy, schemes of settlement development as well as education have fundamentally influenced pastoral societies. Not only do pastoralists live within political economies of nation-states and international relations but are directly affected by intergroup dynamics of power operating through the state. (p. 129)

Viewed in this context, governmental development schemes for pastoralists often represent perspectives at variance with and even hostile to the interests of pastoralists, as several papers note.

The goal of fostering communication among specialists in pastoralism leads the conference organizers and editors to stress commonalities of interests among the participants, however, and the result is that the conflicts inherent among the participants are downplayed in the presentation of the proceedings. This may explain the African focus as well — a discussion of pastoral development in China, Mongolia and the Soviet Union might have raised issues that would

not foster the diplomatic goals of the conference, but they would have provided important new perspectives on the political economy of pastoral development. While the concentration on African issues unifies the papers, it also limits the range of possibilities given serious consideration. The collectivization of pastoral production deserves discussion in relation to Africa, where the twin concerns of cultural survival of pastoralists and national development needs have not been successfully joined.

*The Future of Pastoral Peoples* should be in every academic library. It serves as both a superior review of major issues and research regarding African pastoralism and pastoral development, and as a “text” to be analyzed to better understand the current state of discourse on this topic and on the relationship of anthropology to development. Ten or twenty years from now, it will be fascinating to look back to see the extent to which this conference addressed vital aspects of the social transformations affecting and affected by pastoralists.

N. MIKLOUHO-MACLAY, *Travels to New Guinea: Diaries, Letters, Documents* (D. Tumar-kin, compiler), Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1982, 519 pages, \$7.95 (cloth) — in Canada: through Progress Books, Toronto.

By John Barker  
University of British Columbia

Much of the early writing on the indigenous peoples of the South Pacific resembles nothing so much as the frippery today peddled by authors of travel brochures and racy novels: goggle eyed glimpses of dusky stereotypes moving restlessly under the palm trees. Fortunately, a few extended and often sensitive accounts arising out of early encounters between Europeans and Islanders survive from various parts of the Pacific. Eastern New Guinea fared somewhat better than other areas, for it came within the orbit of the colonial powers at a relatively late date when interest in the study of ethnology was rapidly growing in Europe. A small number of missionaries, administrators, and natural scientists — caught up in the spirit of the times — wrote articles and books of their observations and experiences for educated audiences in Europe and Australia. Of this select group, none surpasses in importance the Russian researcher Nikolai Miklouho-Maclay.

Born to a railway engineer in 1846, Miklouho-Maclay developed a taste for the natural sciences in his early adolescence. He attended universities in Russia and then Germany, where he was a student of Ernst