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"The Intensive Study of Limited Areas": Toward An Ethnographic Context for the Malinowski Innovation

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prompted criticism of this relationship. Professionalism per se, however, has not been attacked, and professional identity may be strengthened as a new crisis in jobs leads to a reconsideration of the non-academic uses of anthropology.

From this perspective, Steward's concerns in pushing the reorganization of the Association seems much more significant than perhaps they did to Kroeber.

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CLIO'S FANCY: DOCUMENTS TO PIQUE THE HISTORICAL IMAGINATION

"THE INTENSIVE STUDY OF LIMITED AREAS"--TOWARD AN ETHNOGRAPHIC CONTEXT FOR THE MALINOWSKIAN INNOVATION

Although American anthropologists might contest the honor, in favor of Boas or Cushing, the founding of the modern fieldwork tradition in anthropology is still--despite the shocked reaction to his diaries--usually attributed to Bronislaw Malinowski. True, there is general recognition that Alfred Cort Haddon's Torres Straits Expedition and Williams Rivers' "genealogical method" had previously established an international reputation for "the Cambridge School" of anthropology. However, the ethnographic context of Malinowski's innovation has not been investigated in detail. As the following draft of a testimonial letter by Haddon in 1908 suggests, Malinowski's work in the Trobriand Islands between 1915 and 1918 was as much the culmination of a Torres Straits ethnographic tradition as it was the starting point of a modern functionalist one. (The original is in the Haddon papers in the Cambridge University Library and is reproduced with the permission of Haddon's son, Ernest.)

The investigation of the uncivilized races is now a matter of urgent necessity, owing to their contact with Europeans and others, which results either in their extermination or in the modification of

their former handicrafts, customs and beliefs. Such investigations are essential for ethnology, sociology, psychology, comparative religion, linguistics and other sciences, and they cannot fail to throw light, by analogy, on history in general. The information to be obtained is of great value to all who are interested in the culture, customs, ideas and ideals of mankind. The work must be done immediately as the data are becoming modified or obliterated. The investigations must be thoroughly made by trained and competent men.

The time has passed when students were satisfied with general accounts of native races made by the passing traveller or the untrained and frequently unsympathetic resident. Our watchword must now be "the intensive study of limited areas." We require to know all the conditions of existence of a given people. How the environment affects them, how they react on it. But above all we need an accurate and exhaustive study of the psychology, sociology and religion of the people studied. In the genealogical method of investigation introduced by Dr. Rivers we have a most valuable instrument for the recording of kinship terms and relationships, social structure, social functions and other data, which has already yielded extraordinarily fruitful results.

I am of the opinion that Dr. Gunnar Landtman and Dr. Rafael Karsten are by their training and ability thoroughly qualified to undertake investigations of this nature, and I feel sure that, given the opportunity, they will make memorable contributions to science.

The need for such investigation is so pressing everywhere that it is difficult to advise where it should be undertaken. Perhaps the best general rule to follow is to determine where the modification and disintegration due to the contact of civilisation are most pronounced and rapid. This is usually the case in numerically small communities--especially in islands. This process has been most marked in Oceania, and over nearly the whole of Polynesia and Micronesia it is practically too late to do much in the way of recording new ethnological data. Melanesia is becoming rapidly modified, and I would suggest that parts of Melanesia should be selected--for example the Echiquier, Hermit, or parts of the Admiralty islands, or the northern Solomon Islands, would probably be favourable fields for enquiry, or anywhere in the Bismarck Archipelago. In the South, New Caledonia is very little known. Very much remains to be done in New Guinea. Western Australia is a virgin field. The sociology and religion of all jungle tribes are worth study. Much has yet to be learnt about the Semang and Sakai of the Malay Peninsula--the Punans, etc. of Borneo, and about many of the jungle tribes of India. We really know nothing of importance about the pigmies of the Central African forests. These are only a few of the problems awaiting solution, and I sincerely hope that my friends and pupils, Drs. Landtman and Karsten, may have an opportunity of enriching science by an "intensive study of a limited area."

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There are also large areas in South America concerning the ethnology of which we know very little. A great deal remains to be done in Brazil. Of more pressing need is the investigation of the inhabitants of the Gran Chaco and neighbouring districts, as this fine healthy country is being rapidly affected by European influence.

The two Finnish ethnographers commended by Haddon were (as Malinowski was shortly to be) students of Edward Westermarck, who was then teaching both at the London School of Economics and the University of Helsingfors and who had himself carried out extended fieldwork in Morocco. Having already won their doctorates for sociological topics at the University of Helsingfors, they had (as Malinowski was shortly to do) come to England for training with the members of "the Cambridge School." Although their departure was delayed for several years, they both did in fact get off to the field--Landtman in 1910 to the Kiwai area on the Gulf of Papua; Karsten in 1911 to the Gran Chaco region mentioned in Haddon's postscript. Each of their expeditions lasted for two years, and each stayed for extended periods with particular groups. Landtman's correspondence with Haddon indicates he was nine months in a single village, and Karsten, who seems to have had an almost Malinowskian linguistic facility, learned two unrelated Indian languages.

Given the general similarity of purpose, and at least superficial similarity of style, we may reasonably ask why the "invention" of modern fieldwork should be associated with Malinowski rather than these two Finns. Part of the answer is no doubt attributable to their national self-affirmation: unlike Malinowski, who forsook his native Poland, both men returned to Helsingfors, where Karsten succeeded Westermarck in the chair of Moral Philosophy and Landtman became the first professor of sociology. Another factor was perhaps delay in publication. Although Karsten was eventually to publish numerous works in South American ethnography, and Landtman published a lengthy monograph on Kiwai before turning to more traditionally sociological problems, none of their major ethnographic writings appeared until several years after Malinowski's Argonauts. Involved in extended researches among the Jivaro of Ecuador between 1916 and 1919, Karsten did not publish a major work in English until 1926. Landtman's Kiwai monograph did not reach print until 1927, after an odyssey which included the loss of his fieldnotes in a shipwreck in the North Sea and their subsequent recovery by a hired diver. When Malinowski reviewed it in 1929, he called Landtman "one of the masters of the modern sociological method of fieldwork"--neglecting to mention that the fieldwork had in fact been completed two years before he himself left his armchair in the British Museum.

By this time, Malinowski's association with the modern fieldwork style had already been established--largely, one suspects, as a result of such factors as his literary gift, his flair for self-dramatization, his loudly trumpeted association with a new theoretical viewpoint, and most importantly, his methodological self-consciousness. Although Karsten did offer a kind of running traveller's account of the circumstances of his fieldwork in South America, there is nothing in either Finn's ethnography to match the opening chapter of Argonauts. If we know now that this is a

somewhat idealized version of Malinowski's actual ethnographic practice, that in a sense is precisely the point. Borrowing elsewhere from Malinowski's writings, we might say that he provided the mythical character for the social institution of fieldwork--or, in Kuhnian terms, the concrete exemplar of practice around which the new paradigm could be institutionalized. It is in this context that we quite properly associate the modern fieldwork tradition with his name, rather than with Landtman, Karsten, or any of the other young men who answered Haddon's call for "the intensive study of limited areas."

(G.W.S.)

BIBLIOGRAPHICA ARCANA

I. ANTHROPOLOGY AT CHICAGO

For the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the Department of Anthropology as a separate unit at the University of Chicago, George Stocking has prepared an exhibition of documents in the Special Collections Department of the Regenstein Library which will run through January 1980. Stocking has authored a 56-page brochure for the exhibit entitled Anthropology at Chicago: Tradition, Discipline, Department, which contains 24 full-page illustrations and a 16,000 word text offering a history of anthropological work at Chicago from 1892 to the present. Although the brochure will not be distributed through normal channels, copies are available for \$4.00 plus postage from the Department of Anthropology, 101 Haskell Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois 60637. Checks (in U.S. dollars) should be made out to the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago; prepaid orders will be sent postage free.

II. GRADUATE STUDENT JOURNALS

Past numbers of HAN have included listings of articles in the history of anthropology from several graduate student publications. Joseph Hanc and Bill Sturtevant offer the following additions:

A. Anthropology UCLA (Department of Anthropology, University of California, Los Angeles):

Vol. 1, no. 2, 1968. Roger Sanjek, "Radical Anthropology: Values, Theory and Context," pp. 21-32.

Vol. 8, nos. 1 & 2, 1976. Paths to the Symbolic Self, Essays in Honor of Walter Goldschmidt

Roger B. Edgerton, "Walter F. Goldschmidt--An Introduction," pp. 1-8.

George M. Foster, "Graduate Study at Berkeley 1935-41," pp. 9-18 (describes the archaic curricula of Kroeber and Lowie).

Paul S. Taylor, "Walter Goldschmidt's Baptism by Fire: Central Valley Water Politics," pp. 129-140.

Ralph L. Beals, "Anthropology and Government: Unwilling Bridegroom or Reluctant Bride," pp. 159-173 (very useful; con-