

this was all Kikuyu country it is remarkable that there was so much disparity between the districts — but then, as this suggests again, each district of the British colonial administration (both in Kenya and elsewhere too) was more often than not a world to itself.

Sorrenson concludes, first, that of those who primarily benefited from land consolidation only about half have become full-time professional farmers; second, that next to nothing was done for the landless; and accordingly that the hoped for agrarian revolution did not occur. There is a tendency here to underplay the dramatic increase in production for the market — and not least the world market — which has ensued upon the reforms of the 1950s. But it is a fair comment that 'what is continuing to emerge in Kikuyu land is not so much a middle class as a small landed gentry'.

It is also ironic. For in important respects this was what the earlier European settlement in Kenya had done. It begins to look indeed as if the chief importance of that earlier settlement, about which Sorrenson has also written, was that it provided the model for the more energetic Africans of Kenya when they began to make their own political and economic fortunes — and that the consolidation programme in Kikuyu country, far from bringing about an agrarian revolution in the countryside, was primarily significant because it gave these people a helping hand on their way to enlarging for their own benefit that very aristocratic agrarian regime which the settlers had established. Certainly, from the angle of the early 1970s, it is the affinities between President Kenyatta and his associates — living as he does for so much of his time on his farm at Githunguri — with Kenya's earlier European settlers that is so striking, not the differences.

There are dimensions to the genesis of that irony that lie beyond the scope of Professor Sorrenson's two studies, but, as these others are explored, there will always be the firm foundation of his work to provide at least one of the starting points.

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The Observation of Savage Peoples. By Joseph-Marie Degérando, trans. by F. C. T. Moore. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1969. xi, 123 pp. U.K. price: 25s.

DEGERANDO'S *Observation of Savage Peoples*, first published in Paris in 1800 as advice to Baudin's impending expedition to survey the coasts of Australia, is an important though long neglected document in the history of anthropology. We are indebted to Dr Moore for his translation of and commentary on what appears to be the only extant copy of the memoir.

The *Observation* is important because it sets out systematically and for the first time the procedures which have become *sine qua non* of modern anthropology: prolonged fieldwork; participation in the life of the people under observation; the learning of their language; recording of oral traditions; examination of kinship structure and social relations. Critical of earlier explorers who had been content with random comments on the

physical features, material culture and apparently bizarre customs of 'savages', Degérando wanted a precise observation of the whole spectrum of their society. He recommended an examination of 'the savage in society', which included family relations, kinship and fraternity, the condition and modesty of women, divorce and polygamy; and 'society at large', by which he meant law, politics, war and diplomacy, commerce, agriculture and industry, arts and crafts, religious practice, and patriotism. Finally, he wanted inquiry into the development of 'higher faculties' — attention, imagination, memory, foresight, and reflection. Of this last quality he wrote: 'It would be interesting to know whether the savage does not possess at least some beginning of so noble a power . . .' (p. 86). In this demand for wide ranging and systematic study of non-European societies, Degérando was clearly a precursor of modern social anthropology.

Yet in other respects he was very much a product of his time. He was not, like the *philosophes* of an earlier generation, an admirer of the Noble Savage. He did not expect to 'see in savage peoples a useful object of instruction to ourselves' (p. 63); he cautioned his observers to 'avoid imputing to Savages the arguments of our philosophers' (p. 74). And, if he did not quite go to the other extreme of regarding non-Europeans as Ignoble Savages, he did share some of the vague fraternal and humanitarian assumptions which stemmed from the French Revolution and campaign against the slave trade. He spoke of 'high feelings of philanthropy' as a necessary stimulus for maintaining contact: 'What more moving plan than that of re-establishing . . . the august ties of universal society, of finding once more those former kinsmen separated by long exile from the rest of the common family, of offering a hand to raise them to a happier state!' (pp. 63-4). He wanted to take to them 'our arts, and not our corruption, the standard of our morality, and not the example of our vices, our sciences, and not our scepticism, the advantages of civilization, and not its abuses . . .' (p. 64). Governor Phillip and Chaplain Marsden would have understood these sentiments, though they were no more successful than Baudin's *savants* in applying them to the Aborigines.

Degérando was not content to observe and improve 'savage' societies: he hoped to be able to use the material collected to test various theories of philosophy and history. Though Moore does not say so, Degérando appears to have been familiar with the philosophers and historians of the Scottish Enlightenment, who were better known in France than in England. Degérando's assertion that 'our ideas are nothing more than elaborated sensations' (p. 84) would appear to be derived from Hume. And, like Mackintosh and Ferguson, Degérando hoped to find in his observation of savage societies 'the material needed to construct an exact scale of the various degrees of civilization, and to assign to each its characteristic properties . . . Here . . . we shall in a way be taken back to the first periods of our own history . . .' (p. 63). But it was the Scots rather than the sadly neglected Frenchman who were to bequeath this comparative anthropology to the later nineteenth century.

Yet for all its relevance to anthropological fieldwork, Degérando's *Observation* was neglected, even by the members of Baudin's expedition for whom it was primarily intended. Indeed the young François Péron, the 'anthropologist' in the party, totally ignored Degérando's precise in-

structions on the few occasions in which he came into contact with Aborigines. He was more intent on spying on the British. Nevertheless, the members of the expedition did not have much chance to follow Degérando's instructions: they did not stay for long in any one place; and the Aborigines did not wait to be observed, let alone to allow the Frenchmen to learn their language. Like the early British officials at Botany Bay, the French were unable to make progress with the Aborigines simply by exuding kindness and amity. The expedition was a failure in other respects — Baudin died at Mauritius in 1803, with his surveying tasks uncompleted — and this served to discredit all of those, including Degérando, who were associated with it. Moreover, as Moore argues, Napoleon set his face against colonial expansion and this was needed if the study of anthropology was to receive continued support. The infant Société des Observateurs de l'Homme expired, and with it the equally precocious subject of anthropology.

The argument is not wholly convincing. Certainly French energies were to be confined largely to Europe for the next decade. But the expeditions of Dumont d'Urville in the 1820s and 1830s and the munificent scientific and artistic publications which followed showed that the ideals of Degérando were far from extinguished.

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New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century.

Edited by Angus Ross. Longman Paul for New Zealand Institute of International Affairs, Auckland, 1969. 362 pp. N.Z. price: \$6.

NEW ZEALAND'S attitude towards the Pacific Islands has changed a great deal in the course of the twentieth century. The theories of the nineteenth-century statesmen who argued that New Zealand had an imperial destiny in the South Seas have been rejected. The decolonization of the small groups of islands which were the only and perhaps doubtful legacy of those early territorial ambitions is almost completed. The second half of the present century has seen the birth of a new kind of relationship with the islands — a relationship epitomised in the signing of a treaty of friendship with the independent state of Western Samoa, the grant of self-government to the Cook Islands, the establishment of the Volunteer Service Abroad movement, and in a wider international field New Zealand's active participation in the South Pacific Commission, the University of the South Pacific and in the specialised agencies of the United Nations.

Because in the cold light of reality New Zealand's relations with the Pacific Islands as a region have been hardly the stuff the dreams of the last century were made of, and because it has taken the New Zealander almost one hundred years to find his feet in his South Pacific environment, it was probably inevitable that *New Zealand's Record in the Pacific Islands in the Twentieth Century* should have been disappointingly restricted in its scope. Perforce the book concerns itself with those islands in which