

usw.. Genau solche Beobachtungen habe ich zu Mutter-Kind-Beziehungen und Ziehkindschaft in Nordnigeria gemacht (K. Werthmann, Nachbarinnen. Die Alltagswelt muslimischer Frauen in einer nigerianischen Großstadt. Frankfurt 1997). Sie bestätigen, dass viele Frauen trotz des sozialen Drucks zur Distanzierung von Primärbindungen an der Beziehung zu den leiblichen Kindern festhalten oder zumindest Mittel und Wege zu finden, etwas über die Kinder zu erfahren und in Kontakt zu bleiben.

Dass und wie sich Normen und Praxis seit der Kolonialzeit gewandelt haben, zeigt Alber sowohl anhand einiger Biografien als auch anhand einer Untersuchung im städtischen Raum. Als Tendenz zeichnet sich derzeit ab, dass das Weggeben von Jungen nachlässt und dass Kinder aus dem ländlichen in den städtischen Raum gegeben werden, aber kaum in die umgekehrte Richtung. Beides hängt zusammen mit der zunehmenden Bedeutung von Schulbildung, dem Entstehen einer urbanen Mittelschicht und neuer Lebensentwürfe. Außerdem treten neue Varianten von Kindspflegschaft auf, wie etwa eine geteilte Verantwortlichkeit zwischen leiblichen und sozialen Eltern, die Übernahme sozialer Elternschaft durch Nichtverwandte, eine Förderung ohne gemeinsame Residenz sowie neue Akteure in Gestalt von Mittelspersonen. In jüngerer Zeit prangern internationale Organisationen in Benin "Kinderarbeit" an, wobei auch die Institution der Kindspflegschaft in den Verdacht ausbeuterischer Praktiken geriet. Alber hebt den kategorischen Unterschied zwischen Pflegekindern und Dienstmädchen in städtischen Haushalten hervor, deutet aber auch an, dass es zu einer Verwischung dieser Grenze kommen kann. Eher beiläufig erfährt die Leserin, dass es unter den Baatombu Muslimen gibt, aber ob und inwiefern der Islam als normativer Referenzrahmen eine Rolle für den Wandel der Kindspflegschaft – oder generell – spielt, wird nicht erwähnt.

Das Buch ist in einer auch ethnologischen Laien zugänglichen Sprache geschrieben. Die vielen Auszüge aus Interviews und Feldtagebüchern veranschaulichen, wie mühsam und kleinteilig die Feldforschung zu einem Thema ist, über das oft nur vage und widersprüchlich gesprochen wird. Das fängt schon mit vermeintlich unverfänglichen Fragen nach der Anzahl der Kinder an. Alber bezeichnet ihren Gegenstand metaphorisch als Zwiebel: unter jeder entfernten Haut liegt eine weitere. Von Vorteil für die Interpretation widersprüchlicher Aussagen waren vor allem zwei Dinge: erstens, dass Alber seit mittlerweile 20 Jahren immer wieder nach Benin kommt und zweitens, dass sie im Lauf dieser Zeit selbst Teil eines Verwandtschaftsnetzes und Pflegemutter wurde. Die größere soziale Nähe bringt jedoch ähnliche Schwierigkeiten mit sich wie jede soziale Beziehung: als Teil einer Dynamik, deren Entfaltung man nur teilweise zu überschauen vermag, wird man auch Projektionsfläche oder Konfliktpartei, ob man will oder nicht. Dies schildert Alber sehr offen am Beispiel von zwei Fällen, mit denen sie ihr Buch abschließt. Beide verdeutlichen die Umbrüche, in denen sich die Institution der Kindspflegschaft derzeit befindet und im Verlauf derer alle Beteiligten um ihre Definition und Ausgestaltung ringen. Wie in allen sozialen Konflikten, in denen es um die Verfügungsmacht über vitale Res-

ourcen geht (z. B. auch in Landrechtskonflikten), steht dabei die Frage im Vordergrund, wer unter welchen Umständen überhaupt auf welche Normen verweisen darf. In einem Kontext von Rechtspluralismus müssen die Akteure ständig überzeugende Narrative produzieren. Wie dabei im Fall der Kindspflegschaft heute neue Kommunikationstechnologien und der Bezug auf global zirkulierende Diskurse über Kindheit und Familie ins Spiel kommen, ist hochinteressant und enthält Potential für weitere Forschungen.

Das Buch ist ein Beitrag zur neuen Verwandtschaftsethnologie, zur Ethnologie der Kindheit und zur Analyse von Machtstrukturen innerhalb sozialer Nahbeziehungen. Am Beispiel von sozialer Elternschaft und Ziehkindschaft verdeutlicht es sehr schön sowohl die Beharrung als auch den Wandel sozialer Normen und Beziehungen in einem Kontext global zirkulierender Vorstellungen von Kindheit, Elternschaft und sozialer Zugehörigkeit.

Katja Werthmann

Anderhandt, Jakob: Eduard Hensheim, die Südsee und viel Geld. Biographie. 2 Bde. Münster: Verlagshaus Monsenstein und Vannerdat, 2012. 581 pp.; 620 pp. ISBN 978-3-86991-626-2; 978-3-86991-627-9.

This comprehensive biography of the influential German entrepreneur Eduard Hensheim, who in the 1870s together with his brother Franz founded Hensheim & Co, set up trading stations throughout the northwest Pacific region, and as German Consul was in many ways the architect of the German colonial interest in the area, consists of two volumes of 581 and 620 pages in length, with detailed chapter contents at the beginning of each volume, and footnotes and indexes of persons, places, ships and companies for both volumes at the end of the second volume. There are illustrations throughout, some in colour, and useful maps of the western Pacific at the beginning of each volume, although part of the legend at the bottom of the map in the first volume has been cut off in the trimming process.

The first part of chap. 1 is written in the present tense in the manner of a novel, from Eduard Hensheim's point of view, caught aboard a ship in a raging storm in the Pacific, and wondering how his family in Mainz will react to the news of his death, which then allows the author to move to the past tense in exploring Hensheim's family background in Mainz. The description of Hensheim fighting for his life sets the tone for the whole biography, because if nothing else Anderhandt brings home to us just how difficult it was for Pacific Island traders at the time, their sheer existence being constantly under threat. Quite apart from the ever-present threat of death from malaria, and the extraordinary lengths that rival traders would go to undermine their competitors' viability, relations with the indigenous population, understandably suspicious of the European traders' motives, were unpredictable. For instance, Anderhandt gives a graphic account of the death of Captain Alexander Ferguson, who anchored his ship the "Ripple" at Numanuma in the Solomon Islands. His first mate, Davies, is handing out barter goods when he sees

a Solomon Islander in front of him raise his tomahawk; Davies shoots him, then discovers Ferguson dead in his cabin together with a female passenger, hacked to pieces (I: 418–421). In other incidents, Anderhandt relates, on the Gazelle Peninsula, Lord Lyttleton discovers that what he thought were the remains of banana trees floating in the water were actually the bodies of three European traders (II: 438–444); and the trading ship “Freya,” which ran aground at the entrance to the Hermit Islands, was attacked by a group of armed indigenous warriors and only managed to escape by jettisoning its cargo of copra, suffering two casualties and 20 bullet holes in the process (II: 50–53).

However, it is not just the living conditions which Anderhandt describes in such detail. He also gives us valuable background information as to why Bismarck’s Samoa Bill was voted down by the Reichstag on 27 April 1880. Bismarck’s bill proposed that Germany should provide financial backing for the firm which was to take over the Godeffroy trading interests in Samoa. The vote was lost after a speech by Ludwig Bamberger, which, as it turns out, was based on an article by Eduard Hensheim for the *Kölnische Zeitung*, which argued that the extent of the Godeffroy plantations in Samoa had been exaggerated, that large profits could not be expected from trade with the Pacific islands, and that the proposal could turn out to be an expensive mistake. Anderhandt shows that Eduard Hensheim was in correspondence with Bamberger and later regretted having done so, as he supported the aims of the Samoa bill to purchase as many plantations as possible on unclaimed islands. Anderhandt suggests that the problem lay in the simple fact that the Hensheim brothers could not agree on the question of plantations in the South Pacific and on this issue were speaking “with two tongues” (I: 424–428).

Other fascinating insights afforded by Anderhandt include the following:

- Le Prevost, Governor of the French Colony Nouvelle France in New Ireland, had attempted to set up a French settlement on Irish Cove, but it had had to be abandoned in February 1881 after severe flooding. However, the colonists refused to land in Noumea because of its status as a convict settlement and eventually started a new life in Sydney (I: 460–462).
- The reported intention of the Australian colony Queensland to annex the east coast of New Guinea, capped by the raising of the Union Jack at Port Moresby on 9 April 1883, gave new impetus to German interest in the region, leading to a request from the firm Robertson & Hensheim in Hamburg for formal German protection of its possessions in the South Pacific (II: 201–205). Annexation followed the following year.
- In 1888 Hensheim brought out an anonymous flyer on the future of the Bismarck Archipelago as a German colony, which was circulated throughout Germany. One of his demands, that Germany appoint independent public servants to administer the protectorate, was acceded to in May 1889 (II: 360–364).
- When the Spanish government offered the Caroline Islands to Germany in 1899 for purchase, Franz Hensheim,

asked by the German government for his expert opinion, suggested that the economic value of the islands was insignificant and advised against paying more than two million Marks for them. However, according to Hensheim, the critical part of his report was suppressed by the Foreign Ministry, and Germany ended up purchasing them for more than seventeen million Marks (II: 441–443).

Jakob Anderhandt’s biography of Eduard Hensheim is an excellent piece of scholarship. Based on published and unpublished sources, it contains a wealth of information on the development of German commercial interests in the Pacific in the 19th century. It is well written and well presented, and the comprehensive indexes make it an invaluable reference tool for all those interested in the German connection with the Pacific.

James N. Bade

Bell, Joshua A., Alison K. Brown, and Robert J. Gordon (eds.): *Recreating First Contact. Expeditions, Anthropology, and Popular Culture*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2013. 261 pp. ISBN 978-1-935623-14-4. Price: \$ 49.95

The editors of this very interesting and animating book are looking at expeditions taking place mainly between the two world wars and their visual and material outcome. A complex array of questions about knowledge, colonialism, popular culture, and visual economies are put forward. The role of transport and recording technologies, salvage ethnography and first contact situations, collecting materials in the name of science, and producing images for the public at home are reviewed in the context of the formation of the first scientific societies and the building of international networks among explorers. “The imperialist undertones of many of these expeditions is directly demonstrated in that expeditionaires never questioned their ‘right’ to go anywhere in the name of ‘science.’”

The participation in expeditions asked for certain values as “masculinity, endurance, good physical condition, toughness, ability to think under pressure.” Women participated sometimes as spouses or as unequal partners and they “were also used to glamorize new technology.” As the technological challenges were so crucial, financial support came very often from the (automobile and film) industries being interested in testing their innovations.

Anthropologists used film to document customs and to give public lectures; museums had an interest in films for educational reasons and fundraising. Many professional filmmakers started with filming wildlife and then continued with ethnographic and travel films being also used for educational purposes. The editors resume: “One consequence of these technological advances was that the borders between popular entertainment and scientific endeavors became increasingly blurred.” Questions of what later became known as “authenticity” arose among anthropologists. Photography and film impart the notion that one has “been there,” that one has the authority to tell the story. “The camera was the immortal eyewitness.”

But it is crucial that the expeditions and their outcome may not be dismissed as harmless entertainment. They