

in nearby Java and Sumatra" (193). We might also add that Burma, though it has "ancient sites" and "a heritage of ruins" has no fully inscribed UNESCO World Heritage Sites (though it has eight sites, including Pagan, on the UNESCO Tentative List), and, in addition, Malaysia "sees its heritage in a different light from that of other monument-rich countries, such as Cambodia or Burma" (187).

Chapman finally looks to the possible futures of these heritage sites in a rather mixed bag of a chapt. 7 which brings in the Thai-Cambodian dispute over the inscription of the contested Cambodian site of Prasat Preah Vihear, but focuses primarily on current and future conservation and management concerns, and then what he refers to as "broader issues" to do with the commercialisation of the sites in the context of tourism development, modern and urban transformations on those areas adjacent to heritage sites, and the problems raised by local communities which live around and sometimes on these sites, including their livelihoods, perspectives, and spiritual connections with regard to them. A brief concluding chapter covers such issues as the reappraisal of the past, the "uses" to which "ruins" are put and their interpretation, and the concept of "authenticity."

Chapman is on strong ground when he is describing the cultural and historical context of monument building; the history of conservation, excavation, exploration, and "discovery" from the colonial period onwards (and the particular issues to do with Western perceptions and interpretations of cultural history, built forms, and their representation and conservation as against local ones); the range of problems which the protection, management, conservation, and in some cases restoration of these sites engender; the technical aspects of architecture, construction, and building materials; and the ways in which conservation work is planned, organised, and undertaken. In some areas of his general historical treatment of Southeast Asia in chap. 1 he is perhaps a little less assured. Some scholars of Southeast Asia would now want to say much more about the construction and naming of a Southeast Asian region than that it emerged "as a strategic grouping devised by the Allies to fight the Japanese" (14). The term was already in use at the turn of the twentieth century in German-Austrian ethnographic literature and in early twentieth-century Japanese geographical and historical texts, and was being used at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London in the 1930s. Presumably because the book was long in the writing and in the publication process, some updating was not possible. Chapman notes, for example that "Malaysia has recently nominated the cities of Malacca and George Town, Penang, for World Heritage listing" (234), when they had already been inscribed on the UNESCO list in 2008.

Overall, the book is a most valuable contribution to the comparative study of the material expressions of Southeast Asian cultures, and specifically the history of conservation and the role and work of UNESCO, other international agencies, and local institutions in this endeavour. It is beautifully illustrated; there is a substantial bibliography and a helpful index. It will undoubtedly become an important reference work. Indeed, an abbreviated version

of the book in a lighter, more easily carried paperback form would sell very well in the tourist and travel market in airport bookshops. Chapman manages to combine scholarship with an eye on the interests of a popular readership. I am delighted to have a copy on my bookshelf. With the publication of this volume even greater weight is added to Chapman's observation that "The ancient ruins of Southeast Asia are no longer forgotten or half-forgotten piles of stones and bricks hidden in forests or spread across dusty plains ..." (195).  
Victor T. King

**Cleall, Esme:** *Missionary Discourses of Difference. Negotiating Otherness in the British Empire, 1840–1900.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012. 243 pp. ISBN 978-0-230-29680-0. Price: £ 55.00

This is a comparative study of the London Missionary Society (L. M. S.) as it operated in southern Africa and India during its formative decades. This was before its structure and routine became more fixed by the drastic economic changes after the First World War, before its organization became more bureaucratized, and before colonial governments indirectly influenced it through subsidies and increasing supervision in education and medicine. In short, the book considers an early missionary group before it began to face any contemporary "problems of success." It deals with only one English Protestant mission in two very large and very different areas, each involving a large number of widespread colonial stations, a huge number of native people, and many different cultures and societies. This does not necessarily negate the book's possible value, but its focus on only one missionary group working in two areas is seriously at odds with the book's title which implies a far wider focus on more kinds of missionaries working throughout a worldwide colonial empire. A buyer ordering this book unseen, relying only on its grandiose title, might be surprised and disappointed with its actual narrower focus. The broad title is deeply misleading, but there is even more wrong here. The author never tells us why the English L. M. S. is a good choice for trying to comprehend missionaries in the British Empire. Why was the L. M. S. chosen as the sole illustrative choice? Is it even useful to consider only one exemplary mission? If so, why? Is it useful to ignore British missionaries who were not English but instead Scotch, Irish, or even expatriates? What about the Roman Catholics? What about missions run by non-British subjects? All of these existed in the Empire and certainly were found in southern Africa and India. At the last, Cleall needs to explain the grounds for her particular choices and methods. Furthermore, she makes only a weak attempt to draw her 19th-century data into some useful discussion of what happened later. This would not have been difficult, and it would have made the text appear more relevant to current issues. This book needs better comparative and historical contextualization and justification if its claims are to be better appreciated and judged.

Cleall's aim is to consider three aspects of the L. M. S.: (1) its ideas about marriage and the family, (2) its ideas

and practices concerning illness and health, and (3) its reactions to the violence, intimidation, and coercion at the heart of all colonial enterprise. These broad themes – the family, health and healing, and violence – all, in turn, relate to ideas about gender and sexuality, ethnic and national culture, race, and the contrasts between religious attitudes about spirituality, compassion, nonviolence, and simplicity and the powerful secular forces of materialism, commerce, modern technology, and political domination. These are broad and powerful themes and readers may differ in their judgments about how successfully Cleall has addressed them. She does not directly relate them to any important and deeper social theories. Sociology and anthropology are inconspicuous in most of this volume, even though both disciplines have played prominent parts in many historians' recent works on missionaries and colonialism.

The author opens her book with an "Introduction" where she briefly describes the social and cultural differences between British missionaries and the natives they sought to change. She discusses some of the ways the various protagonists, British and natives, deal with one another. The main body of this study consists of three broad sections: (1) two chapters on changing views of the family and the households they formed, both those of the missionaries and those of their prospective native converts, (2) two chapters on health and illness, how medical work entered into missionizing, and how the difficult conditions of missionizing affected the health and survival of missionaries themselves, and (3) two chapters on how missionaries struggled with the inevitable conflicts that resulted from colonial domination, both the military conquests and threats of force by the British and the resistance to them by Indians and southern Africans. Cleall ends with a very brief "Conclusion" (9 pages).

The main conclusions of this study are that both, the British missionaries and the converted southern Africans and Indians, changed their identities, and those changes were often in ways that neither group had anticipated or entirely wanted or even fully realized. This illustrates the profound contradictions and confusions of purposes and outcomes essential to the colonial experience. The racial and ethnic stereotypes behind colonial conquest and rule were ultimately at odds with some of the deepest values of Christian fellowship as well as British notions of democracy and justice. Missionary rationalizations about these contradictions depended on assumptions of a physical and moral inequality between "races" that were difficult to cover up even with conversions into one church. While colonialism sometimes proclaimed itself as an educative, progressive process, it was also one of degradation and exploitation that confounded the supposedly salutary social evolutionism it sometimes preached. Missionaries were historically embedded in colonialism yet repeatedly sought to transcend it. None of these generalizations should be new to any contemporary scholar of the vast colonial literature.

Cleall's study emphasizes issues of feminism and the changing roles of women under colonial rule. She is inclined to see many of the differences and criticism of both

British and native southern African and Indian societies in terms of the problems of subordination and mistreatment of women. Most of her material consists of usually intelligent and sometimes probing remarks about particular facets of colonialism followed by illustrative quotations from missionaries or colonial administrators or, less often, from the natives, along with case studies and anecdotes. She is not inclined to present quantitative material. She provides a wide range of descriptions from a wide range of people over a wide range of times and places. She tries to provide roughly equal material from southern Africa and India, but she does not always seem fully aware of how geographically vast and socially varied southern Africa or India are. They may be only parts of a much larger empire, but they are still very large, populous, and complex areas where generalizations are often deceptive. Cleall paints her narrative canvas with very broad strokes so that while many of her fragmental examples appear vivid and memorable, as I read, I became increasingly uneasy about just how generally valid some of them might be. They needed more grounding in particular groups, times, and situations.

There are advantages in presenting a broad panorama of issues on an important worldwide topic such as colonialism or even just on British colonialism, as well as on missionizing, but I have always believed, perhaps because I am a sociocultural anthropologist, that detailed and intensive coverage of particular groups in space and time trumps broader studies in terms of the validity of the insights and useful data that are provided. If one wants to construct broader interpretations, these are best attempted by assembling and comparing many detailed, more holistic studies. Cleall's work seems informed and intelligent, but it also seems a risky shortcut toward finding deeper answers and understanding. It is at its best when posing numerous questions or suggesting lines for future inquiry, not in providing any integrated data or forceful conclusions.

I have published work on both India and Africa and have studied and published on one protestant missionary group in a small area of East Africa, both as a social anthropologist and as a historian. Yet I remain suspicious of really broad claims for any general study of either missionaries or colonial history. Still, I do recognize many useful comments and insights in Cleall's compendium of information and commentary. Unfortunately, it told me little new about missionaries or about India or southern Africa. Her book might best serve as a useful introduction into some of the problems posed in the current study of missionaries, as an informative digest of much that has been published. It provides no striking new theories, searching analyses, or novel information.

T. O. Beidelman

**Combès, Isabelle:** Kuruyuki. Cochabamba: Instituto latinoamericano de Misionología, 2014, 329 pp. ISBN 978-99954-859-4-8. (Scripta autochtona, 12)

El 28 de enero de 1892, en la localidad de Kuruyuki, tropas republicanas se enfrentan con un nutrido grupo de