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Review: [untitled]

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LeVine describes her subjects as passive participants in their own culture who deny any personal responsibility for what happens to them. The women describe themselves as innocent victims who in fact have little control over their lives. Phoebe Bonareri, for example, is a woman with seven years of education and wistful memories of life as a newlywed in Nairobi. She has goals, but she knows her life is circumscribed. She is dependent upon her husband: "If a woman has her own money . . . then she can make decisions" (p. 177). This is not her lot. She also knows she must guard against expressiveness. Gusii believe that any expression of good fortune—in speech, dress, or behavior—will create jealousy and, in turn, the use of witchcraft. She must bear many children; her status depends upon that accomplishment. And she is caught on the horns of not only a traditional dilemma—even while desiring to be pregnant, she must deny her condition to prevent jealousy—but on those of a modern one as well—even as land resources dwindle and economic want increases, she must still reproduce.

It distresses me that I was disappointed with the book. LeVine writes sensitively, and her narrative draws us into the interactions described. We vicariously experience her attachments to the women and her sense of loss when leaving them. Cultural data are introduced to explicate certain incidents; and, while not really tied together (there is a brief introductory chapter to Gusii culture), we do finish the book with a sense of what Gusii ethos is.

But as we read case after case, the material becomes tedious and the women blur into one another. It is through the specifics of the individual subjects that, in the concluding chapter (like the introduction it is coauthored by Robert LeVine), Sarah LeVine discusses the impact of culture and the functioning of the individual; by then I could not recall the seven women with any clarity.

In her "psychosocial" approach, it seems to me that LeVine relies too heavily on psychological explanation when the sociological would be more instructive. She records dreams, but her analysis is loosely associative and seems to be thrown in almost as an afterthought. Despite a disclaimer of psychoanalytic perspective, she also puts a great deal of stress on childhood as a determinant of adult character. Thus, we see that mothers abuse their children; they manipulate fears, demand obedience, and withhold support. Because of this, LeVine submits, grown women do not extend unqualified trust towards new maternal figures such as mothers-in-law. One does not have to look to Freud to understand this aspect of behavior when we take note of the fact that relocated wives are boxed in by rules of avoidance and shame and are held in check by powerful mothers-in-law.

There are also serious editorial flaws. For example, LeVine uses Swahili expressions throughout, but there is no glossary of terms. Definitions are either repeated or omitted. The few studies

referred to in the text are not always properly cited (cf. Nyansongo reference on p. 382) and never appear in the bibliography. The bibliography itself is peculiar; it selectively covers classic monographs and female-focused studies from sub-Saharan Africa, but it does not include a single entry for research previously carried out among the Gusii.

Black Drink: A Native American Tea. CHARLES M. HUDSON, ed. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979. 175 pp., illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$11.00 (cloth).

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There is only one caffeine-yielding plant in North America capable of being exploited as the source of a stimulant tea, and that is *Ilex vomitoria*, source of the "black drink" of the Southeastern Indians in precolonial times. During the American Civil War it was exploited to some extent in the Confederacy; and so-called yaupon factories, where the leaves were toasted for use, are still found on occasion in the south coastal areas of the country. In the 1890s, E. M. Hale, a scientist in the United States Department of Agriculture, became enthusiastic over the economic potentialities of this holly. He wrote a paper on the plant and predicted a great future for it; since then it has scarcely been noticed!

Despite the interesting history, both ancient and modern, that envelops *Ilex vomitoria*, there is very little written about the plant. Hudson has admirably filled the void by editing the present volume of contributions by experts in several diverse fields. The volume is appropriately introduced by Dr. S. Y. Hu, a taxonomic specialist on *Ilex*, who discusses the botany and botanical history of this holly and compares it with related species. W. L. Merrill, an anthropologist, considers its ethnobotanical history among the Indians of the American Southeast. There follows a very detailed report on the origin and prehistoric distribution of the black drink and the ceremonial shell drinking cup. An analysis by C. H. Fairbanks of the functions of the black drink among the Creek Indians in colonial times clarifies a number of the ethnobotanical enigmas of its indigenous use in relatively modern times. W. C. Sturtevant ends the volume with a discussion of the black drink and other caffeine beverages among non-Indians—a brief survey of such plants as tea, coffee, maté, and chocolate.

This neatly published book represents a very commendable and valuable survey of an economic plant that is little known and poorly understood. Ethnopharmacologists should welcome it.

Keepers of the Game: Indian-Animal Relationships and the Fur Trade. CALVIN MARTIN. Berkeley: University of California Press,