George C. Bond was an MA and PhD student at LSE, 1962-1968

Supervised by Lucy Mair, Bond conducted doctoral fieldwork in Uyombe, Zambia between 1963 and 1965 – a period of rapid movement towards Zambian independence. Based on this research, his book *The Politics of Change in a Zambian Community* (1976) explores the complex dynamics of changing political relations within and across diverse groups in Yombe society.

Bond (b.1936), who grew up in a family of influential African-American educators and activists, is recognised as a pioneer—in the 1960s and 1970s—of decolonising approaches. Throughout his career, he engaged in debates about how knowledge is produced and how power is distributed. Studying the AIDS pandemic in Uganda, for example, he showed how the AIDS orphan crisis there led to a shift away from policies based on a biomedical paradigm towards social scientific enquiry into the everyday realities of vulnerable people, especially women and children. In his many publications, such as the co-edited volumes *African Christianity: Patterns of Religious Continuity* (1979) and *Contested Terrains and Constructed Categories* (2002) Bond sought to show Africans as the agents of their own history.

Bond lectured at the University of East Anglia while studying at the LSE. Then, in 1968, he joined Columbia University in New York City, where he was professor of anthropology at Teachers College. He became Director of the college's Center for African Studies and helped establish the centre that now bears his name: The George Clement Bond Center for African Education. Bond (d.2014) was not only an intellectual and organizational leader but also an inspirational teacher and mentor.

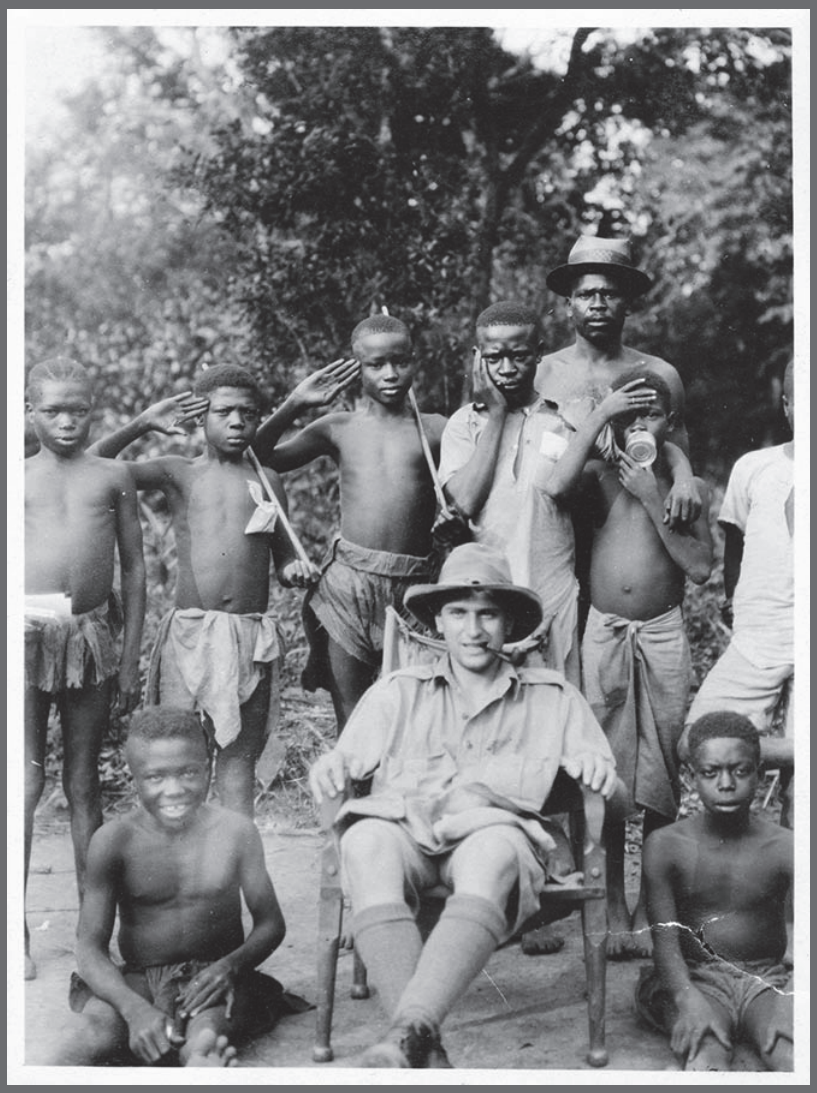
Maria Czaplicka was lecturer at LSE, 1915-1918.

Until the time of her Siberian fieldwork, her life strangely paralleled Malinowski's. Both were born in Poland in 1884, trained in science, came to Britain in 1910, and became affiliated with the LSE where they were mentored by Seligman. She embarked on an arduous expedition to Siberia hoping to study the Tungus, 'the most primitive and comparatively the purest type of race'. She eventually surveyed many other neighbouring ethnic groups, documenting her findings, especially on shamanism, in *My Siberian Year* (1916) and anthropological articles.

Czaplicka's approach partly reflected the evolutionism and geographical determinism of the time. Yet she made novel observations on the ambiguous gender identity of shamans and challenged European preconceptions about the phenomenon of 'Arctic hysteria'. Contemporary studies of shamanism still discuss the problems that she first tackled in her work.

Back in Britain, she divided her time between teaching anthropology and fighting for social causes, such as the emancipation of women and the prospect of Polish independence. Her career was impeded when, having been the first female anthropology lecturer in Oxford, she had to give up her position when male academics came back from the war. Her later years were marked by struggles with sporadic employment, excessive work and financial difficulties. Her life ended in tragedy when she committed suicide with mercuric chloride in 1921. *The Collected Works of Maria Czaplicka*, edited by David Collins, was published in 1999.

E.E. Evans-Pritchard was a PhD student, later lecturer at LSE, 1923-1931.



Supervised and mentored at LSE by Malinowski and Seligman, he did his doctoral fieldwork among Azande people in what is now South Sudan. He is considered one of the defining figures of British social anthropology, and is especially known for his studies of religion, witchcraft and magic, social structure, political organisation, and kinship and family. Following his PhD, he started fieldwork among the Nuer in 1930. His two most famous works are *Witchcraft, Oracles, and Magic Among the Azande* (1937) and *The Nuer* (1940). The first argues that magic - used to explain events that cannot otherwise be understood or controlled - is an integral part of religion and culture, and that belief in it does not negate a rational system of causation. The second examines the political organisation of the Nuer - a society without any formal government - and influenced much anthropological research of the social organisation of African societies. He is depicted here in classic 'colonial' mode.

His edited volume with Meyer Fortes, *African Political Systems* (1940), revolutionised the study of government systems. Critical voices, h owever, have subsequently pointed to his lack of acknowledgement of the presence, influence, and violent practices of the colonial authorities.

He later became professor of social anthropology at the University of Oxford.

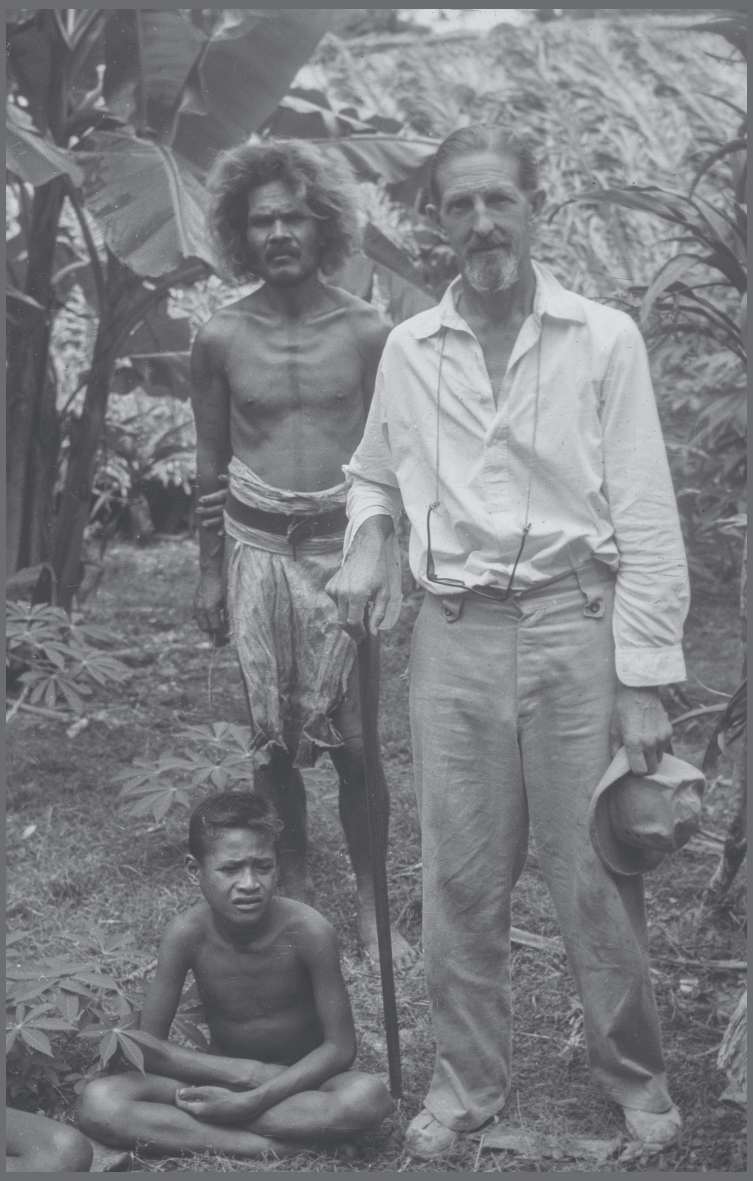
Fei Xiaotong was a PhD student at LSE, 1936-1938.

He studied under Malinowski and Firth, and played a leading role in the development of Chinese anthropology and sociology. He is noted for his studies of village life and ethnic minorities in China, for example *Peasant Life in China* (1938), *Earthbound China: A Study of the Rural Economy of Yunnan* (1945), and *China's Gentry: Essays on Rural-Urban Relations* (1953).

He was a very well-known public intellectual in China, and had considerable political influence. He served as president of the Democratic League and as Vice President of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Congress.

Xiaotong suffered severe political attacks before and during the Cultural Revolution; he was sentenced to hard labour and banned from teaching or publishing for 20 years. In the 1970s, however, he re-emerged as a prominent public figure. He advised on the economic reforms and rural industrialisation in the post-Mao era, and helped to establish sociology departments in Chinese universities. In 1989 he supported the student demonstrators and was consequently removed from the academy. But he re-established himself again as the head of a new institute for sociology and anthropology research at Beijing University, and later became a vice-president of the National People's Congress.

Raymond Firth was a PhD student, lecturer, reader then professor at LSE, 1925-1927 and 1933-1968.



New Zealand-born, he was a student of Malinowski's. The Journal of the Polynesia Society published both his first paper on the ancient Maori fortress of Korekore Pa in 1925 and his last one on the creative contribution of indigenous people to their ethnography in 2001. Between these dates he wrote prolifically, mostly about Tikopia, a small and sparsely-populated Polynesian island. Few other non-literate societies have been studied in such depth by a single ethnographer. He devoted nine books to the islanders, covering all aspects of their social life, from the kinship system, politics and economy to art and religion. His most famous monograph remains *We, the Tikopia* (1936).

At a time when anthropology aspired to generalised scientific detachment about 'structure', Firth's ethnography stood out for his consideration of the significance of 'organisation' and of particular individuals, which emerged from his understanding of and affection towards his interlocutors. He succeeded in making little Tikopia into a 'big place' for anthropology, demonstrating the value of paying a lifetime of attention to a small, isolated and coherent community.

He also (with his wife Rosemary) researched and published on Malay fishermen, and middle-class kinship in London. He was one of those who signed the Humanist Manifesto. While at the LSE, Firth helped to transform anthropology from a peripheral social science to a well-established subject. He died, at the age of 100, as one of its most authoritative spokesmen.

Rosemary Firth had an enduring connection with LSE, 1939-1977.

Having attended Malinowski's seminar at the LSE, she conducted fieldwork in British Malaya between 1939-1940 alongside her husband Raymond Firth. This resulted in the monograph Housekeeping among Malay Peasants (1943) - written by a woman about women - which deals with kinship, marriage, and adoption. Firth, however, refused to identify herself as a feminist because, she insisted, 'We saw things differently in those days'. She saw he research as complementary to that of her husband, who would have found it difficult to study Malay women. She wrote several articles on the social images of men and women, food and social change, shifting emphases in the study of gender, and anthropology and medicine.

She spent the war years as a civil servant at the Board of Trade in London, working on issues of shortages and rationing. Later, she did voluntary work for the London County Council Care Committee, and completed a social work course at LSE in 1960. She decided, however, that social work would not fit in with her other commitments, and was recruited to teach at Battersea College of Education, assisting education students from diverse backgrounds to develop a better understanding of society. Firth later became head of department there, and then moved to the Institute of Education to lecture in health education, where she continued to play an important role in the education of teachers until her retirement in 1977.

She loved opera and literature, and working with young people.

Meyer Fortes was a PhD student, then lecturer at LSE, 1934-1939.

Originally trained in psychology, South-African born Fortes (here pictured front row, 2nd from right) studied under Seligman and Malinowski.

He is best-known for his studies of West African societies - particularly the Tallensi and Ashanti peoples of Ghana - which focused on kinship, family, religious beliefs, and social and political organisation. His monographs of the Tallensi and Ashanti - including *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi* (1945), *The Web of Kinship Among the Tallensi* (1949) - laid the foundations for the theory of descent. They argued that social institutions like the family or tribe were the building blocks of society and key to maintaining its cohesion, and formed the basis of the structuralist-functionalist school that dominated British social anthropology in the 1950s and 1960s. Fortes' work with Evans-Pritchard on political systems, published as *African Political Systems* (1940), established the foundations for political anthropology. It played a role - through Max Gluckman - in shaping what became known as the Manchester School of anthropology, which explored issues of labour, industry and mining, and pointed to the problems of carrying out anthropological work in colonial Africa.

Fortes described anthropology as 'indispensable for coming to decisions about our own political and ethical values', and emphasised anthropologists' responsibility with regard to race discrimination: 'Anthropological knowledge bears directly on this dangerous and degrading threat to human dignity and well-being. There is not a shred of anthropological evidence to justify race discrimination. It is the duty of anthropology to proclaim this truth and to continue dispassionately to investigate the biological and social qualities of human groups without regard for race privilege'.

Maurice Freedman was a PhD student, then lecturer, later professor at LSE, 1946-1970

He was an expert on Chinese (or sinological) anthropology. He first studied English in King's College and then served in the Royal Artillery during World War II. Out of his experiences as a British solider in India - and, presumably, as a Jew in English society - grew an interest in race relations, which led him to enrol as a graduate student of anthropology at LSE in 1946, with Raymond Firth as mentor.

He wrote on Chinese kinship and marriage, law, religion, and community organisation. His monograph *Chinese Family and Marriage in Singapore* (1957) and a series of essays on political and legal questions, led to a new field of study focusing on overseas Chinese and their relationship to their host societ– ies. Similarly, *Lineage Organization in Southeastern China* (1958), based mostly on archival research, inspired a range of studies on Chinese kinship.

Freeman was also greatly interested in Jewish culture and social life – particularly among British Jewry – and founded (and later edited) the *Jewish Journal of Sociology*. His commitment to the study of race relations encompassed his scholarly concern with both overseas Chinese and Jews as minorities. Anthropology's mission, in his view, was the 'dispassionate study' of man, which is dispels the kind of sentimentality that so easily turns to prejudice.

Barbara Freire-Marreco was a PhD student at LSE, 1909-1913.

Part of the department even earlier than Camilla Wedgwood, she was a true pioneer of female involvement in the discipline.

She had previously been the first woman to enrol on the Oxford Anthropology Diploma, in 1906, and was a member of the first class of students to graduate from that programme in 1908. She thus became the first formally-trained British female anthropologist. At LSE she was a student of Professor Leonard Hobhouse who was co-holder - with Edvard Westermarck - of the first chair of sociology in the UK. She was also the first British female anthropologist to do ethnographic fieldwork in the United States, where she lived in Santa Clara, New Mexico, with Pueblo Native Americans. This work resulted in the monograph *Ethnobotany of the Tewa Indians* (1916), which she co-wrote with W.W. Robbins and J.P. Harrington and which was published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1916. In the same year she gave a paper, 'Personal Experience as an Element in Folktales' at a conference and became increasingly dedicated to the study of English folklore.

Alfred Gell was a PhD student, then reader at LSE, 1969-1973, 1979-1997.

Widely regarded as one of the most eclectic and creative anthropologists of his generation, Alfred Gell conducted his first fieldwork as a PhD student among the Umeda of New Guinea. The resulting monograph - *The Metamorphosis of the Cassowaries* (1975) - became a classic that took the structuralist analysis of ritual to a new level of sophistication.

After obtaining his PhD, he left the department and conducted further fieldwork in India with his wife Simeran, later returning to LSE as a reader in 1979 with a new project on the cultural and cognitive dimensions of time. The philosophically-minded work that emerged from this project - *The Anthropology of Time* (1992) - became the precursor to *Art and Agency* (1998), which is now considered his masterpiece. Drawing from sources such as Polynesian tattooing, Indian knotwork and European museums, Gell shook up the then stagnant subfield of anthropology of art by arguing that art objects, in certain contexts, substitute for persons and therefore mediate power and social agency. A self-defined 'postmodernist', Gell refused to develop or adhere to any grand system of thought. Like an artist, he wrote to create frisson, and to gain insights from unravelling connections across ethnographic material in imaginative ways. Gell died of cancer in 1997 at the age of 51. The introduction of his posthumous collection of essays *The Art of Anthropology* (1999) remains a greatly evocative account of the 'Friday seminar culture' at the LSE, and an inspiration to all anthropology students.

David Graeber was professor at LSE, 2013-2020.

David Graeber joined the department in 2013 and remained until his untimely death at the age of 59 in September 2020. A most original thinker with wide-ranging interests, he wrote extensively about value, debt, bureaucracy, direct action, democracy, global history, and the imagination, among many other subjects.

He conducted his doctoral fieldwork in Madagascar on magic and the legacy of slavery. By his own account, documenting the social dynamics of a Malagasy community living outside the orbit of the state drew him close to anarchism, shaping him both as a social theorist and as an activist. Around the time of Occupy Wall Street, a movement that he helped setting up, Graeber published *Debt: the first 5000 years* (2011), a sweeping historical account of 'human economies' that exposes the moral foundations of modern economics. Other important publications include *Towards an anthropological theory of value* (2001), *Fragments of an anarchist anthropology* (2004), *Possibilities* (2007), *On Kings* (2017, with Marshall Sahlins) and *Bullshit Jobs* (2018).

He was most distinguished for his ability to look at other societies to shed light on the possibilities of our own, dismantling a variety of deeply entrenched myths about human nature in the process. Just before his death he completed the manuscript of *The Dawn of Everything* (2021). This was the fruit of a decade-long collaboration with UCL archaeologist David Wengrow, which challenges widely held assumptions about social evolution and reveals the power of collective agency in shaping the course of human history. Graeber died as one of the most influential public intellectuals in the history of the discipline.

Olivia Harris was a PhD student, later professor at LSE, 1972-1974 and 2005-2009.

She was an anthropologist of Latin America and specialist on highland Bolivia. Her work - in both English and Spanish - addressed gender, household, kinship, feminist theory, law, money, ritual, death, and time. She conducted doctoral fieldwork (1972-1974) with the Laymys of Bolivia in one of the country's poorest regions.

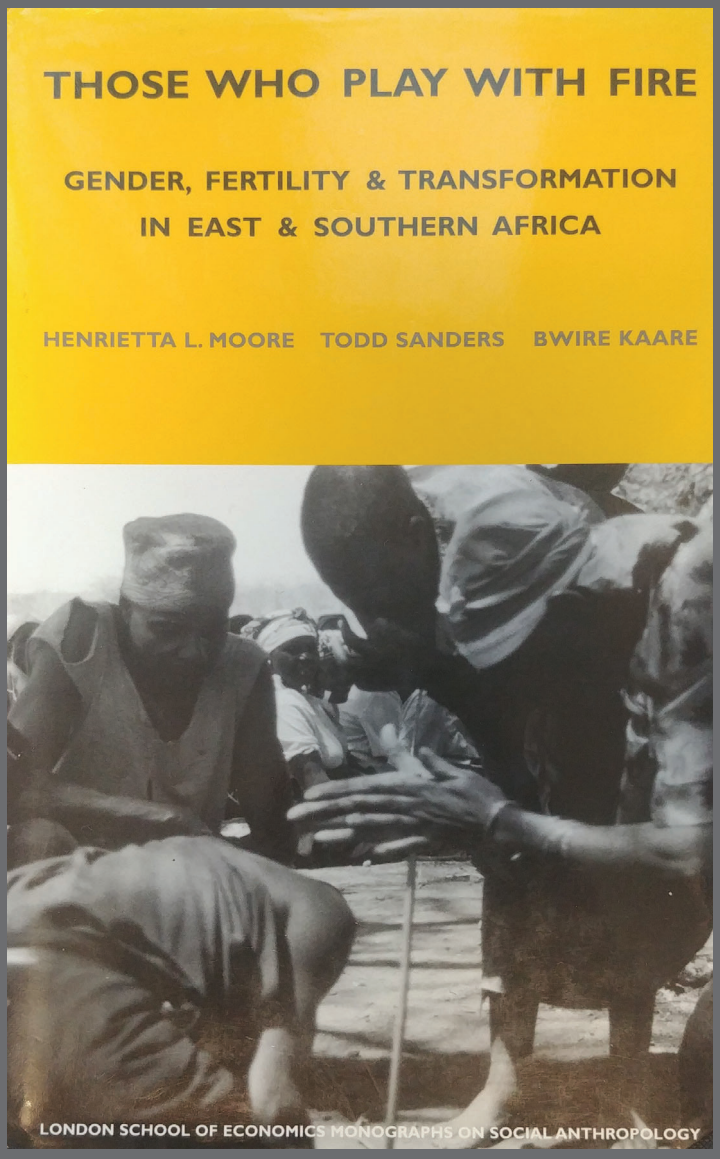
She spent most of her career teaching at Goldsmiths - where she co-founded the Anthropology Department in 1986 - and returned to LSE in 2005 as Professor of Anthropology.

Harris worked at the interface between anthropology and history, and explored the nature of historical change. She published pioneering studies on women, marriage and the market, and on notions of memory and temporality. *To Make the Earth Bear Fruit: Ethnographic Essays on Fertility, Work and Gender in Highland Bolivia* (2000) is a selection of her essays. Together with Tristan Platt and Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne she co-authored *Qaraqara Charka: Mallku, Inka y Rey en la provincia de Charcas* (2006). Her sudden death in 2009, a few months after being diagnosed with cancer, sadly deprived us of much of the work she might have done. She is buried in Southwark Cathedral, where a tombstone recalls her work with indigenous people.

She had a great love of music, played the violin, and had a special talent for Irish jigs and reels, which she performed in many London pubs.

Bwire Kaare was a PhD student at LSE, 1991-1996.

He was the first Tanzanian to study at, and receive his PhD in anthropology from, the LSE. He conducted fieldwork with Tanzanian hunter-gatherers, and in his work consistently challenged received anthropological wisdom about these communities.



Whereas much scholarship on hunter-gatherers had focused on material conditions of existence, Kaare insisted that there was much more to hunter-gatherers than mere survival. He documented their elaborate cosmological systems of thought, symbolism, and rituals, and linked these to their ethnic identities. He published an essay on these topics in *Those Who Play with Fire: Gender, Fertility and Transformation in East and Southern Africa* (1999), which he co-edited.

In later essays he argued that, contrary to claims about hunter-gatherers' isolated existence, they cannot be understood without reference to the broader political and economic systems within which they operate. After completing his PhD, Kaare consulted for several international organisations and contributed to debates on the land rights of marginalised communities in Tanzania - a topic he felt passionate about. He was later appointed as a lecturer in the Institute of Finance Management in Dar es Salaam and, just before his death from tuberculosis, as a lecturer in the Department of Sociology, University of Dar es Salaam.

Jomo Kenyatta was a PhD student at LSE, 1934-1938.

Then an anti-colonial activist, Jomo ('Burning Spear') Kenyatta (born Kamau Ngengi in Kenya) studied under Malinowski, and his research was published as *Facing Mount Kenya* (1938) - a study of the Kikuyu, Kenya's largest ethnic group (and Kenyatta's own).

Demonstrating the intricacy of Kikuyu society, the book was not only a scholarly contribution but also a political tool, disrupting the foundations of British colonialism as a civilising (and thus legitimate) project. It was controversial, however, in its approval of female circumcision, which in functionalist fashion was argued to be fundamental to Kikuyu culture - and thus defensible.

Kenyatta returned to Kenya in 1946 and became the leader of the newly-formed Kenya African Union. He was arrested after the eruption of the Kenyan rebellion against British colonial rule in 1952, and released only in 1961. He became independent Kenya's first prime minister in 1963, and first president in 1964. He headed a strong central government, with his authority increased through constitutional amendments that gave him, for example, the power to arrest and detain political opponents if considered dangerous to public order. Kenya enjoyed remarkable political stability and economic growth under Kenyatta's rule. Most Kenyans, however, did not experience a corresponding improvement in living standards in this period: Kenyatta's free-market economic policies led to immense disparities of wealth, much of which was in the hands of Kenyatta's family and close associates.

Hilda Kuper was a Masters, then PhD student at LSE, 1932-1942.

South-African born, she studied under Malinowski. She had a lifelong association with Swaziland, where she conducted fieldwork, and its royal family - in particular chief and later King Sobhuza II - and is most notable for her research on Swazi society. This research resulted in an ambitious, two-volume PhD thesis, later published as *An African Aristocracy: Rank among the Swazi* and *The Uniform of Colour: a Study of White-Black Relationships in Swaziland* (1947). These were followed by *The Swazi* (1952) and *The Shona* (1955). An important yet underrated contribution to political anthropology that was grounded in a deep understanding of pre-colonial Swazi history, Kuper's work was also known for its empathy towards and advocacy of Swazi culture.

With her husband, Leo Kuper, she was active in political movements, and was among the founding members of the South African Liberal Party. Teaching in South Africa, as leading members of the party they found themselves increasingly subject to police surveillance, and eventually moved to the University of California, Los Angeles. There, Kuper became an influential teacher, offering a variety of courses on indigenous African societies. She eventually became a Swazi citizen when Sobhuza II personally gave her citizenship.

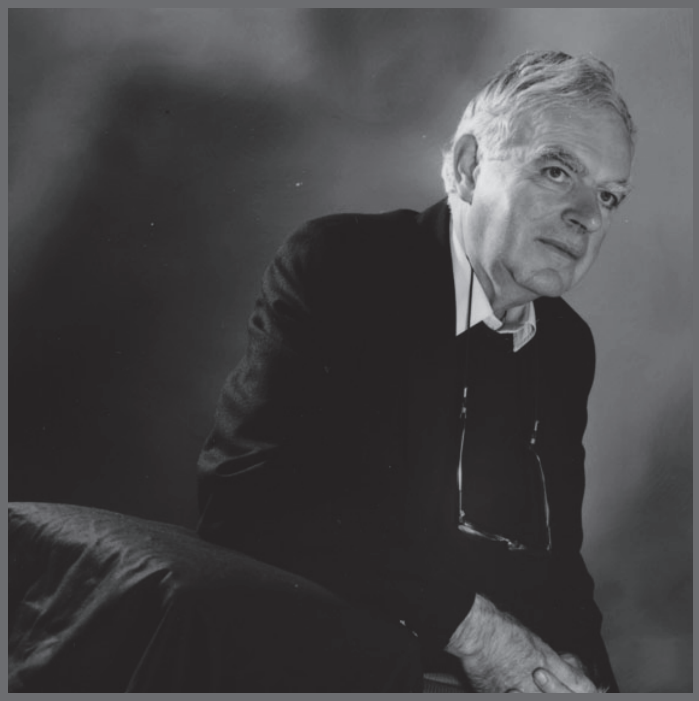
Edmund Leach was a PhD student, then reader at LSE, 1937-1953.

He was a member of Malinowski's seminar, studied under Malinowski and Firth, and is considered one of the foremost British anthropologists.

In his most celebrated work, *Political Systems of Highland Burma* (1954), Leach sought to span the gap between British functionalism (as exemplified by Malinowski) and French structuralism (as exemplified by Levi-Strauss). It was based on his 742-page dissertation. His knowledge of the Burmese highlands was gathered when he was stationed there during World War II as a member of the colonial forces. By showing that the political units of the Burmese highlands were interconnected and in a constant state of flux, the monograph challenged views of tribal communities as unchanging and self-contained, and theories of politics in so-called primitive societies. It has, however, been criticized for being, itself, ahistorical and portraying an unchanging cyclical rhythm - and for ignoring the existence of the opium trade.

He left to become a lecturer, later reader and professor in Cambridge in 1953. In *Rethinking Anthropology* (1961), and in his second ethnographic study, *Pul Eliya* (1961), focused on social organisation and kinship in rural Sri Lanka, he took pot-shots at the various 'sacred cows' of British social anthropology, including Radcliffe-Brown's structural functionalism which he likened to 'butterfly collecting' and Fortes' ideas about prescriptive altruism. He later turned to the study of art and mythology, offering structuralist interpretations of Biblical stories and Greek myths.

Ioan Lewis was professor at LSE, 1969-1992.



He is considered the founding father of Somali studies, publishing widely on Somali history, culture, and society. He originally studied chemistry but switched to social anthropology at Oxford, focusing on the Horn of Africa. His PhD fieldwork in the British Somali Protectorate with nomadic camel herders (1955-1957) was the basis of his 1960 PhD and later resulted in his best-known book, *A Pastoral Democracy* (1961). He then taught at the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Zambia - the first anthropological research facility in Africa - University of Glasgow, and UCL. He was appointed as LSE professor in 1969 at the very young age of 39.

At the core of his scholarship was his initial work on the Somali clan system. His focus on the clan as a central feature of Somali society led to vigorous academic disputes with younger scholars - Somali and non-Somali - who challenged this view. Some of Lewis's later public exchanges with younger anthropologists and Somali scholars concerning Somali affairs were similarly known for their sharpness.

During his career, Lewis also engaged with topics such as Somali and other oral poetry in the Horn of Africa; clan, nation, and state building and failure in Somalia and beyond; types of Islam among the Somali and in sub-Saharan Africa; and possession cults and ecstatic religions. He also served as an expert witness in Somali-related legal cases, particularly concerning immigration and asylum.

Peter Loizos was a PhD student, lecturer, then professor at LSE, 1969-2002.

He was a specialist on the anthropology of Cyprus and Greece, particularly in relation to politics, ethnicity, and nationalism. He did his LSE PhD research in Argaki, a Cypriot village. He had initially arrived in the village to search for his Cypriot father, who left when he was a child; despite not speaking Greek at the time, he soon found himself part of a new extended family. His book *The Greek Gift: Politics in a Cypriot Village* (1975) described political transformations in Argaki, and pioneered a new way of looking at economic and social stratification in small social settings. It was accompanied by a film, *Life Chances*.

The war between Turkey and Cyprus and partition of the island in 1974 made most Argaki villagers into refugees. He returned to Cyprus to trace the Argaki diaspora and explore how people cope with exile. This resulted in *The Heart Grown Bitter: A Chronicle of Cypriot War Refugees* (1982), and another film, *Sophia's People*. The trilogy was completed *by Iron in the Soul: Displacement, Livelihood and Health in Cyprus* (2008). The photograph, taken during a visit to Greece, shows him – characteristically - surrounded by and talking to students.

Over time, Loizos became committed to the study of refugees and displacement, and increasingly involved in development work. He and his wife Gill Shepherd spent six months in Sudan in 1982, laying the groundwork for the opening of an Oxfam office in Khartoum.

Lucy Mair was a PhD student, reader, then professor at LSE, 1927-1968.

Conducting PhD fieldwork among the BaGanda people of Uganda, she became a member of Malinowski's graduate seminar. Her earlier works centred on the moral and political problems caused by programmes of planned intervention on African native populations; she insisted on the need to understand local factors in detail. This approach informed her studies of land tenure and local political organisation, and later, in the post-colonial period, the relationship between the growth of nation-states and local change. Such engagement in 'applied anthropology' - which led her to become a government advisor - developed alongside wider theoretical interests.

Her book *Primitive Government* (1962) discusses political patronage in relation to state formation. Despite a title that now smacks of evolutionist assumptions it is an important text which had wide influence. Among her many other writings are textbooks on *Witchcraft* (1969) and *Marriage* (1971).

Mair saw anthropology as playing a crucial role in understanding the actual historical processes of social change, challenging the simplistic models of economists and political theorists. She adhered to a simple, clear and modest style of writing, and grew impatient with the jargon that influenced the discipline in the late years of her life. Except for a few stints of teaching in other UK universities, Mair remained deeply attached to the LSE throughout her career.

Bronisław Malinowski was a PhD student, lecturer, then professor at LSE, 1910-1938.

Recognised as one of the founders of social anthropology, he began studying ethnology at LSE in 1910, began teaching in 1913, and in 1915-1918 did fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands off the east coast of New Guinea.

During his time at LSE he established the School as a key centre in Europe for the study of what were then known as 'primitive peoples'. Malinowski rejected the evolutionary paradigm of his predecessors and introduced functionalism - whereby social institutions satisfied human biological needs – as the way to understand other societies. In *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922) he documented the Kula Ring, showing how the exchange of objects without any apparent use value was a way of facilitating trade, negotiating status and extending relationships.

He wrote on economics, religion, family, sex, psychology, colonialism, and war, and insisted that a proper understanding of society required understanding these various aspects in context. His most lasting contribution is his advocating of participant observation. He exhorted anthropologists to give up their comfortable position - on the veranda of the missionary compound or government station - and to go and live and work with the people they studied, get to know them personally and participate in their activities, in order to 'grasp the native's point of view'. Controversy was sparked, however, with the publication of his fieldwork diaries, in which he referred to Trobrianders in less than complimentary terms.

Hortense Powdermaker was a PhD student at LSE, 1925-1928.

She was the first female anthropologist to obtain a PhD at LSE. American-born, her academic career was shaped by anthropology on both sides of the Atlantic. Her first fieldwork on kinship in a Melanesian village is typical of British functionalist anthropology. Upon her return to the US, she was attracted by, and contributed to, the 'culture and personality' school.

At a time when most anthropologists studied so-called 'primitives', Powdermaker turned the ethnographic lens on the most emblematic phenomenon of American culture. *Hollywood, The Dream Factory* (1950), an ethnographic classic, provided the first anthropological look at the power dynamics implicated in movie-making. Hollywood, like any other social system, is influenced by the personalities of its leaders, she argued: those who make decisions about the contents of movies are less the storytellers than the business entrepreneurs who run the industry.

Her other contributions include monographs on racial divisions in the deep American South and on social change in Zambia (with a focus on African cinema). Sympathetic to the cause of the labour movement since her youth, she was a keen observer of authority, remaining critical of the domineering personality of Hollywood leaders as much as that of the Big Men ofanthropology. Her memoir *Stranger and Friend* (1966) is an account of the nature of ethnographic fieldwork, written by a consummate anthropologist who circled the globe to undertake it.

Audrey Richards was a PhD student, lecturer, then reader at LSE, 1931-1950.

Born into the upper echelons of British society and serving in various colonial institutions, she and others at LSE were accused by Evans-Pritchard of being too involved with advising government, and of being blind to the 'unbridgeable chasm between serious anthropology and Administration Welfare work'. Yet, as argued by Moore and Vaughan in their Bemba restudy *Cutting Down Trees* (1987), her work displayed ambivalence and uncertainty about the colonial enterprise.

Joining Malinowski's seminar at LSE, she did her PhD fieldwork among Bemba-speakers in Zambia (then Northern Rhodesia), later publishing it as *Hunger and work in a savage tribe: a functional study of nutrition among the Southern Bantu* (1932). The later *Land, labour and diet in Northern Rhodesia* (I939) was written in support of the nutritional interests of the International African Institute. She served as a temporary principal at the Colonial Office, and played a key role, with Firth, at the Colonial Social Science Research Council, before being appointed special lecturer in Colonial Studies at the LSE in 1944.

She may have had patrician origins but her gender counted against her. Playing a key role in establishing the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, she would have become its first director but the Governor felt it would be too great a risk to appoint someone who was both a woman and an anthropologist. She later, however, became director of the East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere College, Uganda, and established the Centre for African Studies at the University of Cambridge. Her later books included the acclaimed study of Baganda girls' initiation rites, *Chisungu* (I956).

Isaac Schapera was a PhD student, lecturer, then professor at LSE, 1950-1969.

Born in South Africa, he is known for his ethnographic work on the indigenous peoples of South Africa and Botswana. Although supervised by Seligman with a library-based thesis, he was one of the first members of Malinowski's postgraduate seminar. He later conducted fieldwork among Tswana-speaking peoples in what was then Bechuanaland (now Botswana), studying land tenure, migration, and the effects of colonial policy, and became one of his generation's leading specialists in African anthropology.

Like many anthropologists of his generation, Schapera worked closely with a colonial administration. Some of his best-known work - *A Handbook of Tswana Law and Custom* (1938), *Native Land Tenure in the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (1943) and *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life* (1947) - was commissioned and funded by the Bechuanaland Protectorate administration. Much of what Schapera wrote, however, was strongly critical of the administration and European commercial interests.

Schapera was critical of anthropologists' neglect of social change, and his work on land alienation and migrant labour was revolutionary at the time. His *Married Life in an African Tribe* (1940) described sexual relations among Africans as not dissimilar to those among white people. He was among the few anthropologists to be honoured by the people he studied. Heralded as a recorder of Tswana traditions, his work continued to be used in schools and courts in Botswana into the 21st century, and a street in the capital, Gaborone, was named after him.

Tian Rukang was a PhD student and post-doc at LSE, 1945-1948.

Born in Kunming, he studied at Beijing Normal University 1935-37, returning to his home town because of the Japanese war. Several Beijing Universities moved to Kunming, and Tian took his first courses in anthropology with the prominent anthropologists Wu Wenzao and Fei Xiaotong at the war-time 'Southwestern United University'. He did field work in a Kunming weaving mill and among the Dai/Shan ethnic group at the Burmese border. In 1945, he arrived at LSE, intent on studying psychology. A chance encounter with Raymond Firth persuaded him to change to anthropology, and he wrote a PhD dissertation on the basis of his earlier research on the Dai/Shan people.

He then got a scholarship to do research about the Chinese in Sarawak, under the guidance of Leach and Firth, publishing *The Chinese in Sarawak* (1953) in the LSE Monograph series, which was a pioneering study of a Chinese community in Southeast Asia. By 1949 he had returned to his home town, Kunming, and then stayed in China. After the end of the Cultural Revolution in China, he took up research and teaching again, and published *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity* (1988) about the ethics of gender in Chinese history and *Peaks of Faith* (1993) about the history of protestant missions in Southwest China. He was Professor of History, and Head of the Sociology at Fudan University in Shanghai in the 1990s. His books in English have the author's name spelt T'ien Ju K'ang, in the 'Wade-Giles romanization that was more common in the past.

Charles Seligman was lecturer, then professor at LSE, 1910-1934.

Calling himself an ethnologist, he taught Malinowski, Evans-Pritchard, Schapera and Fortes; in this sense he can be described as a pioneer in British anthropology. Educated as a physician, Seligman developed an interest in anthropology while attached to the 1898 expedition to the Torres Strait (between Australia and New Guinea), all of whose members were medical men or human biologists like himself. Together with later fieldwork there, this formed the basis for his *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (1910), published in the same year as he took up the post of lecturer in ethnology. He later conducted fieldwork - with his wife Brenda Zara Salaman - in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) and Sudan, resulting respectively in *The Veddas* (1911) and *Pagan Tribes of the Nilotic Sudan* (1932). He is most remembered, however, for his controversial *Races of Africa* (1930). In this book, Seligman asserted that any progress and development in African history were brought about by the 'Hamitic race', who had migrated into central Africa from North and Northeast Africa, who he suggested were 'quicker witted' than the indigenous population. Later discredited, this theory - known as the Hamitic hypothesis and adhered to, for example, by many inhabitants of Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan who are shocked to hear themselves described as 'black' – was associated with racist ideologies and colonial paternalism. Despite criticism, Seligman kept it unchanged in new editions of the book into the 1960s.

During World War I, commissioned in the Royal Army Medical Corps, he worked to help counter the effects of shell-shock (now PTSD). In the 1930s, he played a key role in creating the RAI's Race and Culture Committee, which was tasked with producing a strong anti-racist statement attacking the anthropological notion of a pure Aryan race. Such a report was never produced however, due to the interference of members who were committed to defending Nazi Germany and that country's racial policies.

Camilla Wedgwood was lecturer at LSE, 1931-1932.

Born into the influential Wedgwood-Darwin family, Camilla was unusual in carving out a space for herself as a woman in a man's world. She first met Malinowski while a student at Bedford College, University of London, later returning there as assistant lecturer. She also studied anthropology with Haddon at Cambridge but a victim of the time received no degree. She was the first woman in the Department of Anthropology at Sydney University, Australia, where she also studied. Returning as lecturer to LSE, she became one of the first British female anthropologists. During this period, she was also a research assistant to Malinowski.

She is known for her studies of women and children in Papua New Guinea – a place that, in the 1930s when she conducted her fieldwork, was considered inappropriate for an upper-class white woman to visit. She immersed herself in social activity in Papua New Guinea to such effect that her skills of planting and cooking taro were recollected by local village women twenty years later. Wedgwood was also known for her efforts to improve education for indigenous women in Papua New Guinea, where, during World War II, she was involved in formulating policy on education and administration. Doing applied work at the time meant working as part of the colonial system: she taught at the Australian School of Pacific Administration, which was responsible for training colonial officers and administrators. Despite being a pacifist, she became a lieutenant-colonel in the Australian Women's Army Service.

Edvard Westermarck was professor at LSE, 1907-1931.

Finnish by birth, he was a philosopher, sociologist and anthropologist. He is well-known for his studies on marriage, morality, and religion. In *The History of Human Marriage* (1891), Westermarck contested the then widely-held view that early humans lived in a state of promiscuity. He argued that the original form of marriage had been monogamy, rooted in the needs of the nuclear family as the fundamental unit of society.

His most important work, *The Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas* (1906-08), dealt with human morality, arguing that there are no general moral truths and judgments, and that people act more through emotion than reason. He helped found academic sociology in the United Kingdom, becoming the professor of sociology at LSE in 1907.

Westermarck later wrote about popular religion and ideas of magic, based on fieldwork in Morocco. He was a fierce critic of Christianity - especially the idea that it possessed the absolute truth that is the basis for any scientific progress - and remained agnostic throughout his life. His homosexual orientation was well-known in London. In *Christianity and Morals* (1939), he argued that homosexuality was a natural sexual tendency, and advocated female equality with men.