

MAY 5 - 1952

AND

2 carbons -

Gautscha, April 26

SWA  
1953

Dear Jo, Thank you for your letter. We could not do without your letters when the mails come in. We expect and look for them. They mean a great deal, the sense of being in touch most of all. We are back in Gautscha. We moved last week, left Monday <sup>april 20</sup> arrived Wednesday <sup>april 22</sup>. The road is what is called here heavy, and the loads were heavy. Lawrence also returned from Windhoek on Wednesday. John was taking pictures of pink & white flamingoes on the deep blue pan. We heard a truck, did not look around because we thought it was Heine moving the Chev. Till Lawrence drove up right behind us and got out and was walking around to the cab of our Dodge. We nearly choked with surprise. Had not expected him for 10 days. He is going out again tomorrow, April 27, to fetch a man who is to keep the sound equipment in order. We shall ~~have~~ <sup>make</sup> a more concentrated effort on sound recording in a while. It's been decided to catch up on that before or during interrogation on children, but to do pictures of children as opportunities come. I feel very short handed, having only two. John's plans are well set. He is going to spend the next 3-4 weeks going on foot on the hunting-gathering trips. I wish you could have heard ~~Tom~~ <sup>Tom</sup> Gas Helmer, Gas Medicine and I go in today saying they felt pity for John. They said they were used

to going without water for perhaps 3 days when they were seriously hunting. There is no water any more except in the pans and water holes. They say if John carries a camera, film, and a gun he can't carry enough water. They will plan some how together what to do. John won't take the truck because he says, now that he has made several of these real trips with them that there is a difference in quality. He came in with Gao Medicine's group on Saturday. They <sup>(not John)</sup> had shot a gemsbeck - and brought it back here to share it. They were without water from one afternoon to the evening of the next day. John too. He says it gives a different look to the party, as indeed it does. Di'ai was ill. Her load was as big as her self. Gao carried her baby. Her milk gave out. We had not seen a party look so fagged before. John has been before without the truck, but this time just happened upon a particularly hard trip. The group on the whole looks very well. They are fatter. They have been eating Tsi "land nuts". Tsi is one of the most delicious foods I ever tasted.

Repacking every box and bag, breaking camp, setting up again was a kind of a rest. I feel I've had a breather. Took a 2 hour nap this Sunday afternoon and am ready to begin again tomorrow. Again human relations will be what will drain our

energies and emotions. Human relations here need more tending than a garden. But we are well prepared for them now. Our good relations have extended to this whole aggregation. Gao Belmont is being cheerful, affectionate, cooperative. His jealousy is assuaged - apparently - somehow. + Toma is wonderful. He is taking more active leadership in advising us how to proceed and in explaining to others. They came this afternoon to say how glad they were we were back. They had been listening, listening for the trucks and heard my the wind they said. I think we are particularly fortunate with our interpreters. Gani and Fedimo are. John like Gani. I have Fedimo. They are well liked and are interested, both happy to be here - doing good work.

I have been working more on the Kinship Terms for father's father and mother's father. My theory that !guina is like ba (father) used regardless of names must be revised. I've had 10 more people say they termed both grand father !guina and 1 more <sup>who</sup> termed his father's father tsu, his mother's father !guina. Where are we? I could not find out the reason for the tsu. The man was a visitor whom I had not seen before. Had no genealogical material on him. He said he was named for his father's brother but could give no further explanation. That throws no light. It is not at all uncommon to be named for your

father's brother. He did not know whom his  
 father's father had been named for or what  
 chain of reasons might have started there.  
 But it now seems that under some <sup>father's mother's</sup> circumstances <sup>mother's</sup> father's father can be Tsu.  
 At least I have 3 cases, Hama, the dead Zuma  
 and this man. Maybe the explanation lies  
 in affines vs. kin. If, as Hama says she  
 calls her grand children Tsuma because they  
 were named for affines who were Tsu to her,  
 maybe that is the law. I'll poke away at  
 it. ~~But the visitor was not named for an affine. But maybe the visitor's father's brother~~  
 There are so few cases it is hard to  
 gather illuminating data. There is always  
 the possibility of error, gross error - i.e. that  
 you are not talking about the same  
 generation. You have to count the bas  
 on your fingers. a ba a ba is your father's father  
a ba a ba a ba is your father's father's father -  
 who is Tsu. But Hama is not mixed  
 up in generation. She is talking about leaving  
 and Gao's sons, #gao and !Nani. That is why  
 it takes you have to know the names of  
 every one concerned and the genealogy.

Greetings to Evelyn and the boys, Lauriston,  
 Drs. Bob, the Olivers.

Loma

Dear Jo,

DEC 22 1952

Windhoek December 13, 1952

It was too, ~~too~~ but you suffered from the calceus on the trip that otherwise sounds fascinating. We are glad to know it cleared up, but grieve for you having had it. You must be glad to be home even though 3 or 4 days were so strenuous. Write us, please, after the annual meeting of the Am. Ant. Soc. to tell us the news.

We are in haste as usual in Windhoek, eager to start back. I must tell you only briefly our latest news.

Charlie left for home yesterday on the train for Welvis Bay where he will board the African Moon and sail Thurs. or Wed. He has a good collection of mammals and was satisfied with his trip. Mr. McGuire, the botanist arrived in Windhoek, explained and is eager to get to work. He is, people say, a passionate collector, as Charlie is, but, it is said, that, quite unlike Charlie, he has a tendency to get lost. The Bushmen will be able to track him if necessary. He is going to identify beekos for us.

We have decided to move from Gantscha and to settle in Cigarette. We hope to be moved before January 1st. Our reasons are that we are not able to get out from there whereas we might not from Gantscha. And we had a terrific experience which made us feel we might get into a situation that would be so difficult to cope with that we wish to avoid the possibility. Our Bushman all got sick. 74 had influenza severely. Several developed pneumonia. Dill Khao, mi-goma, (she & I have the name relationship since + goma named in Dill Khao) almost died. Dr. Kuschke said they reacted to flu virus. Very high temperatures because they had chronic malaria. Bops then temperatures were normal they all left Gantscha. John remained in camp while Eliz. & I came out saying he would take pictures. I birds. I got influenza, too, mildly. It all added up to our feeling that we must be where we can get out for sure. If things are too much for us. We are hoping to take + goma + !ti and old + goma + I gam with us to provide a continuity with Gantscha material. If they will not come, it will be a loss to us, but we shall go anyway. Our genealogies of the Gantscha people are invaluable. We cannot again take time to get many more genealogies. But there will be many other things we can work on. I'll look for Mongolian spots. They not noticed any - but have not been looking for them.

The quaff was tracked for 4 days, about 37 miles, and then brought triumphantly to the camp. About 90 Bushmen ate their fill. The "Car" was placed in file.

The work has been very hard for all of us. Each in his own job has problems & difficulties that are hydra-headed. The heat is terrible. Results are slow to obtain, which is all to be expected. The staff has worked out quite well. We added Thorea as interpreter. You remember him from 1949? Read our letter to Nana Thorea

Merry Christmas to you all - and the best of New Year. Affectionately - Lawrence. Eliz. & John

LUGBRIEF AIR  
PER LUGBRIEF

14 00  
15 00  
1952



Dr. J. O. Brews

Peabody Museum

Harvard University

Cambridge

Massachusetts U.S.A.

EERSTE VOU—FIRST FOLD

NAAM EN ADRES VAN AFSENDER  
SENDER'S NAME AND ADDRESS

Mr. Mrs. F. K. Marshall  
Grossherzog Hotel  
Windhoek  
So. West Africa

AS ENGIETS INGESLUIT WORD. SAL HIERDIE  
BRIEF PER GEWONE POS GESTUUR WORD

IF ANYTHING IS ENCLOSED, THIS LETTER  
WILL BE SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

TWEDE VOU—SECOND FOLD

DEC 5 3 1925

AED

MAR 16 1952

~~AND~~S.W. Africa  
1952-53

Dr. J. O. Brew,  
Peabody Museum,  
Harvard University,  
Cambridge, Massachusetts.  
U. S. A.

Cho//ana  
South West Africa,  
February 23, 1953.

Dear Jo :

As John must have told you, we have moved to Cigarette, or Cho//ana, as the Bushmen call it, on the Noma omaramba. /Tuma and his family and /Qui neanderthal and his family have moved with us, we are feeding them mealie meal and such things and in return they are co operating marvelously with us for interviewing and pictures. Life is pretty exciting here, like at /Gum, somehow a kraal in the picture livens things up. You remember Makiena, I'm sure, she 's the wife of Moremi, the woman whose foot was sore and we treated. Well, one of our interpreters, a boy we found in Bechuanaland named Ledimo, who speaks Oxford English and Oxford Kung one night was chased out of the kraal by Moremi. He had been visiting with Phillip and David, and t ey all left at a respectable hour after a friendly chat. Then Moremi went to bed. In the night he was wakened by someone shining a flashlight around the room looking for Makiena, and Moremi lept out of bed and ran out. The person with the flashlight ran, Moremi and his dogs gave chase, and at the Kraal gate the person shone the flashlight in Moremi's eyes, to blind him, and ran down the hill to our camp. Moremi came to our camp and woke everyone up to find the guilty person. After a big arguement in which everyone took part, in four or five languages, someone persuaded Moremi to go back home and to settle the affair in the morning. So next morning Moremi was back, and he accused Ledimo. Ledimo said he was willing to have his tracks matched by a bushman, so they went off to the kraal, first Moremi, looking like Satan himself with rage, then /Gi!ge, grinning from ear to ear. Behing came Ledimo, swaggering worse than ever. He said to me, " Good morning, Di'ai ( my Bushman name ) there's a big court case this morning. " I said so I see, and Ledimo pushed his hat over his eyes. After him came our present camp manager, Heiner Kreischmar, a German boy - and a swell guy - trying to look as if this was all nothing to him. I believe that Ledimo would have been convicted, except that when he got to the kraal they found that Makiena had stamped out all the tracks so that not even a Bushman could tell. She got drunk that night, and ran away saying she'd never come back. This was the occation for another great arguement down in the dark in the omaramba, and finally Moremi appealed to us to bring her back. People were getting set with ropes and Bushmen to track her and lights ect. Then Mother said she'd go too, and everyone said no, this is a job for Men. -But she went anyway, with a lantern, and when Makiena saw her they said

morrow to each other and linked arms and came back to camp for coffee. So that was the end of the affair. I was pretty thankful that Ledimo had escaped justice, I believe in forgiving an interpreter his little mistakes.

If he were convicted we would have said, "All right, Ledimo, we'll allow this to happen just three more times. If it ever happens after that, you go."

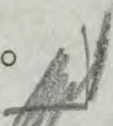
There's something I want very much to ask your advice about. I have been giving both Rorschach tests and the Porteus Maze. The Rorschach takes several hours to give, you can't give any more than 2 a day. I think that I'd need at least a hundred to make any significant contribution by it, which would be at a minimum 50 days time. I don't personally feel that I am trained enough to make the tests perfectly valid, also most of the information comes thru an interpreter and this isn't too reliable for such a thing as a Rorschach. However, the Porteus Maze has been used several times on non literate people, ( I don't know this about the Rorschach ) and on Kalahari Bushmen. I read Dr. Porteus' book, The Porteus Maze Test and Intelligence, he rates Kalahari Bushmen lowest on the scale of primitive people, with a mental age of 7.56 - as opposed to the Australian Arunta who rate ( on a table of African and Australian groups ) at a mental age of 12.08. I have given in the last week about ten maze tests, and the average mental age is 9.66, and this includes some very young children, say 10 years old. The average for adult men this week was 15 some odd years. Dr. Porteus only tested 25 Kalahari Bushmen, " all ( he ) could ~~find~~ locate in 40,000 square miles of territory .. " and I assume from his chapter " Racial Group Differences " that he hadn't stayed with his group of Bushmen long enough to establish a good rapport. ( That is, it takes, as we have discovered, almost a year to do this. ) I have found, so far, that the Bushmen with whom we have had little contact test much lower than those we know well - infinitely lower, in fact. One strange woman I tested couldn't even pass the first test in three trials, flunked the sixth and seventh years ( you begin at year five ) and ended the test. /Qui neand. didn't make a single mistake until he came to year 14, and after that passed the Adult 1 test in one trial. He only had a score of qualitative error of 27 or so. So /Qui had a test age of 16.5 years out of a possible 17.0.

I feel personally that Dr. Porteus maligned the intelligence of Bushmen, and I feel sure that I could get about a hundred or maybe even 200 tests given, and I know that the test age would be higher than 7.56.

What I wonder is: would such a study be of any value? and if so how much? I could probably do this in a couple of months, besides other work. I can take from 6 to 10 tests a day.

However, I do not want to abandon the Rorschach tests lightly. When I was taking Anth. 1 b. with Dr. Kluckhohn he said in a lecture that Rorschachs were given to a group of Navajos with fascinating and valuable results and I thought maybe it would be a good idea to give Rorschachs to Bushmen so I went and asked him and he helped me very much with advice, and gave me the name of a man, Mortimer Slaiman, who could help me. Mr. Slaiman showed me how to give the



test and so on. If Dr. Kluckhohn feels that Rorschachs of the Bushmen are of enough value, even through the medium of an interpreter, I would be only too glad to go on with them and get as many as I can. I have so far only about ten. 

I don't think I can do both the Rorschachs and the Porteus Maze and anything else besides because there is so much of the ethnology to do that I feel I have to help Mother with that.

Another thing is interpreters. We only have two, both speak English and Kung, and I can't have one all the time. I can, of course, speak a tiny bit of Kung, just enough to give directions for the Maze, but not in any way adequate to give a Rorschach alone. John will be out filming hunting and will need Gani, then Mom and I have to fight for Ledimo.

But the Rorschach results have been to me terribly interesting, not that I can interpret anything about them, just what comes out.

So I will gladly do what ever you and Dr. Kluckhohn think best.

If you think I ought to go on with the Maze would you get someone to send me another set of test papers, what ever you call them, the little blocks with mazes on them. I don't need a complete set, just year five through Adult 1.

We were delighted to get your letters, I especially liked the paper you sent us out of the Anth. Journal or whatever about establishing Rapport. I liked what she said about how a coquette is in a better position to learn about men than a nun.

And speaking of men and women, the Bushmen men think that Daddy ought to take another wife because he's such a ~~xxxxxxxx~~ wize and big man. (/Gi:ge wants four wives because his father was a big man and had four.) Mom thinks that's pretty funny. She told the Bushmen men that at home men-only can have one wife and /Qui said if he ever came to our country he'd change that custom. Why? Because it's nice to have two women fighting over you.

Nina Coveney wrote us a long letter and told us about your talk about the expedition and how fascinated she was. I wish I could have heard it

We looked at the maps you sent us with John. We are very glad to get them, because ~~xxxxx~~ although we had some we didn't have the complete set. In fact, they will be exceptionally useful because Mr. Morris has invited us to Runtu and we plan to go there via Bechuanaland. I can hardly wait to go, bright lights and a big city! I myself haven't been out of the bush for many moons - and it's getting so that I dream about dresses at night. Claude-McIntyre told Dad that Mom and I haven't been out for so long that we ought to have a vacation. I'm going to tell him that it's toox late, we're already bush balmy. I think he's afraid we might get that way. Someday I'll walk along Kaiser Strasse scratching fleas. As a matter of fact, Mom and I are going to get all dressed up to the teeth with black gloves and hats and earrings and cigarette holders and powder and paint and stroll into the Continental

Hotel to the hairdresser, you know - we'll pause dramatically before we sweep in to the beauty salon, speaking French to each other - we think we'll dress all in elegant black, and announce to the poor little Afrikaans hairdressers that Madame has lice.

Madame hasn't got lice yet, nor has Mademoiselle nor either Monseieur, mais qui pouvait dire? All the hommes du bois have.

Speaking of Mademoiselle! I had the most amazing bit of good news. Do you remember the Mademoiselle story I wrote, The Hill People? Well, somehow it was brought to the attention of Houghton Mifflin who are publishing a book of the Best American Short Stories of 1953, and they want mine! I'm even getting a free copy, so they say. Plus 2% of the take which is divided equally among all the authors of short stories appearing in the book, "unless such an amount be less than one dollar." But I might retire for life, with my story out there working for me.

Please give my very best love to Evelyn and Lindsay and Alan, and Iris, and everybody else, especially Lauriston.

Love,

Elizabeth  
Di:ai

Elizabeth Marshall  
Peabody - Harvard South West Africa Expedition  
Grossherzog Hotel  
Windhoek  
South West Africa.

EM:em

P.S. It dawns on me that Mother and Dad can't have written you yet to tell you how wonderful we think it is that you are president elect of the American Anthropological Society - but we aren't surprised!

Appendix to letter:

I have looked over the Porteus tests a second time, also I have taken more since I wrote the letter. I am sending the results:

Men we know	Men we don't know	Women we know	Women we don't know
/Gow - 10.5	Gashay - 7.0	Nowka - 0	Howga - 0
Debe - 13.5	Nani - 7.5	Gushe - 0	- 0
Gishay - 6.5	Toma - 4.5	!U - 4.5	- 0
/Qui - 16.5	/Gow - 12.0	Hama - 0	<u>0</u>
Gi'ge - 11.5			
Tsamko - 17.0	<u>31.0</u>	<u>4.5</u>	
<u>72.5</u>			

Average 7.75

Average: 1.12

Average: 12.08 years

Average: 0

Total Average of all tests not counting strange women: 7.14  
 Average of all men tested : 10.3

NB These are not all the tests I have taken. Some I have been unable to grade because of the fact that the subjects flunked year five and passed later tests. I also gave some tests to Okovangos for the heck of it.

Well, the total average of these tests is lower than Dr. Porteus' findings among Bushmen which was 7.56. ( Did he test women? )

I think this test shows that rapport is valuable, if I have enough examples to make a temporary statement. I think also that a strong cultural something or other is evident with regards to the sexes. Maybe it's fair to say that the lowest men's four tests, Gishay - 6.5; Gashay - 7.0; Toma - 4.5; and Nani - 7.5; have all worked for Bantus, and all but Gashay still are.

In Porteus' book, p. 115, 116, he says: " As to the factor of interest I never saw a group more engrossed in the test than half a dozen Bushmen in the Kalahari Desert who grabbed test blanks which I was throwing on the fire and proceeded to trace their way through the designs, using a burned twig instead of a pencil. When they had worked through the series - they had been tested earlier in the day - they asked permission to take the blanks to their village to show their women how clever they were. " So maybe he didn't test women.

Page 119. " The comparative difference in performance between the Australian ( 12.08 ) and South African Bushmen ( 7.56 ) may reflect the lack of planning and foresight exhibited by the latter racial group ( italics are mine ) in their social organization, which is extremely deficient and brings about only the rudiments of social cohesion. That of the Australians on the contrary must be directed specifically to the survival of the group. "

AND: p. 120 " In contrast to Australia the natural habitat of

the Bushmen ( Kalahari ) provides plentiful game supplies while droughts are local and circumspect in area. There is very little in the way of collective social life, each family group being a law unto itself with the habit of wandering freely about its own perscribed area. Concequently there is no well recognised authority and the association of family with family is a fluid arrangement. " Etc etc etc.

Well, I don't agree with that, but that's just me and my personal feelings about the situation. Their kinship system is far far from a fluid arrangement, everyone has a strict kinship term for almost everyone else, and so on. See Mom's notes when she sends them. Also I wouldn't say that the game supplies are plentiful or that droughts are local. They may be local in South Africa but they are not in the area of a band.

(Excerpt from Eliz. Marshall's letter  
February 23, 1953)

S.W. Africa  
1953

There's something I want very much to ask your advice about. I have been giving both Rorschach tests and the Porteus Maze. The Rorschach takes several hours to give, you can't give any more than 2 a day. I think that I'd need at least a hundred to make any significant contribution by it, which would be at a minimum 50 days time. I don't personally feel that I am trained enough to make the tests perfectly valid, also most of the information comes thru an interpreter and this isn't too reliable for such a thing as a Rorschach. However, the Porteus Maze has been used several times on non literate people, (I don't know this about the Rorschach) and on Kalahari Bushmen. I read Dr. Porteus' book, The Porteus Maze Test and Intelligence, he rates with Kalahari Bushmen lowest on the scale of primitive people, with a mental age of 7.65 - as opposed to the Australian Arunta who rate (on a table of African and Australian groups) at a mental age of 12.08. I have given in the last week about ten maze tests, and the average mental age is 9.66, and this includes some very young children, say 10 years old. The average for adult men this week was 15 some odd years. Dr. Porteus only tested 25 Kalahari Bushmen, "all (he) could locate in 40,000 square miles of territory .." and I assume from his chapter "Racial Group Differences" that he hadn't stayed with his group of Bushmen long enough to establish a good rapport. (That is, it takes, as we have discovered, almost a year to do this.) I have found, so far, that the Bushmen with whom we have had little contact test much lower than those we know well - infinitely lower, in fact. One strange woman I tested couldn't even pass the first test in three trials, flunked the sixth and seventh years (you begin at year five) and ended the test. /Qui neand. didn't make a single mistake until he came to year 14, and after that passed the Adult test in one trial. He only had a score of qualitative error of 27 or so. So/qui had a test age of 16.5 years out of a possible 17.0.

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COPY

S.W. Africa  
1953

Chol'ana  
February 27, 1953

Dear Lauriston,

Last night Elizabeth was depressed without knowing why - just that kind of depression that we all know. She came to our tent about midnight wanting company. She and I took chairs out into the moonlight. There was a puff of a cloud near the moon, silvery white, and in it was a double rainbow. Not an arch but a hunk of rainbow. The night was most beautiful. The lion which had frightened Elizabeth and me while Laurence was out fetching John was quiet. Night birds were singing. It is no wonder that we dreamed up something. This may never happen, of course, but it is not inconceivable. It is to go home by Egypt and Constantinople, just Elizabeth and I. I think it likely that, if John gets permission to stay till September, he won't want to stop work here till the last minute. Laurence will stay with him. They need us but, on the other hand they are big strong men and could manage without us. Elizabeth wants very much to go to Egypt and she wants and deserves a vacation and treat after this year here. She has been wonderful beyond telling. She does all the hard jobs that no one else wants to do - rationing food for example. She does everything quickly and accomplishes much. She keeps all our spirits up, she helps her dad do anything he sets his hand to. She types, she mends. We would have disintegrated without her. But best of all she has swung into the ethnology. She and I have divided the areas we work in. I value her stuff very highly. I wish you could see her interrogating. She and her Bushman have a certain coziness which is visible. They have fun. They have tea and cigarettes. We find Qui to be very intelligent and a fascinating person. He loves to tell the tales, he loves gossip, particularly with Elizabeth's appreciative twinkle to open his heart. While I strain on the kinship system, she gets the dope. Qui says he has figured out why we want all this information and that is why they are now so willing to give it. He says he understands now. That we do not want to be ju dole i.e. strangers, i.e. harmful persons.

Well, the point is this, would you send us the address of your daughter and her husband as quickly as you can?

address: c/o Mr. Vlock, President  
S.W.A.N.L.A.  
Grootfontein  
So. W. Africa

In all probability there is no need for haste in getting the address, but one never knows what will befall. The plan is for us all to go back to Gautscha when the rains are over.

John cannot photograph much here for many reasons and is burning to get back. Although he and Laurence thought it would be good for Elizabeth and me to go home in April, we have no intention of so doing. We thought last night that we might push off in June. Spend July and part of August travelling, come home toward the end of August. The alternative, in our minds, is to stay right on at Gautscha till the expedition ends.

Of course it is improbable that your daughter would be in Cairo in June or July, but on the off chance we would like to have her address.

It was good to get John back. We all feel happier, more secure, more encouraged when he is here. We are well. Influenza cured my dysentery and I've been well since.

I've finished the work on the kinship terms in a sense. Had the idea of sending the material out for safety and possibly criticism, if anyone would be so kind as to look it over. However, the writing it up is turning out to be very difficult. It is complex, awfully hard to make clear. I don't know what is common place and what should be especially developed and worked out. And as I work and check and recheck I keep getting additional bits of information which necessitates going back and changing little things here and there. These things take a long time. I wonder how often anthropologists get really to the rock bottom of things. The Bushmen have no theory or doctrine that they can tell - except "It is our custom." One has to gather information by observation of practice and then try to get them to give reasons. Mostly they can't. Also they contradict themselves.

When that happens you have to find out what is the overall theory which can embrace the contradictions. It never is that they lie or don't know - not about kinship terms.

We had a good example of this one day. Qui had been working with me. At the end of the time he sat back, lit his pipe asked if he could put some question to me. I was enchanted. He began "What was your father's name?" I told him. He went on taking my genealogy till we got to my father's brothers and sisters. Of whom there were eleven. I counted on my fingers. I could only remember ten. Qui chuckled. Then came up two wives. My father's father had married twice - and a wonderful discussion about wives ensued. Next I told him about our being patrilineal. He approves of that, saying fathers are very important. Why, a woman would have no children at all if it were not for her husband. They too regard the father as the important figure, he says. Next came sur names. I told him about this - but partially because it was getting late and I had to change bandages on toes, tummies and breasts. So he asked Elizabeth about sur names - having observed that one asks the same question of more than one informant. She told him, not that she would give up her sur name when she married and take her husbands which was what I said - but that she would keep hers - as a middle name. Middle names had not been mentioned. Later



!QUI said to me "Dankie Dankie" (Thank you, Thank you). I see it is the same with you as with us. It is hard to remember all these things".

As you go about the world meeting anthropologists who know about kinship systems, if conversation perhaps lags at dinner - no that would never be, but if you can get a wedge in, ask if this business the Bushmen have which I call a name relationship is common. Here the Kang Bushmen have a business that seems to me to function somewhat like a clan in that it extends the kinship system beyond families. They apply a kinship term to anyone who has the same name as themselves; 2) apply a kinship term to anyone who has the same name as any kin or affine. Avoidance, the joking relationship, prohibitions of marriage are observed, according to what term is used, as they would be for the kin or affine who has the same name as the non-related person to whom the kinship term is applied, i.e. If Ego has a sister named !Kushe !Qui (i.e. term for sister) he terms any woman named !Kushe !QUI or tsi (deminutive of !QUI) although she may not be otherwise related to him. He avoids any ~~one~~ !Kushe-albeit, ~~wildly~~ - does not joke with her, could not marry her.

If a man has the same name as ego himself the system comes into play with the man's whole family. Ego has proper terms for the man's relatives. Ego avoids the man's mother-in-law as he would his own; jokes with his Ego and the man of the same name term each other !Gu! and !guma.

All this extends the feeling of belonging beyond consanguinity and affinal relationships. As there are only about 40 names for men and about as many for women, and names are used generation after generation, the name relationship weaves together all the groups from !gam to Cho!ama and into Bechuanaland to Kaikai and Kubi - according to our observations. People as far away as Nuryas are feared; they are judole. Folk here do not know what names they have at Nurejos. But we sent one of our Bushman 40 miles north to a place he had not been before. He is middle aged and knew his genealogies. The people there at Kadum called him ju dole. However he quickly said his name was Gao, and his father's name was Debe. "Ah, said the people, Debe! Our ll so here has a brother named Debe. You are !Gosi (i.e. brother) and !Nami's father was Gao. You are !guma si" So they gave him a present, and worked over the genealogies till they found folk who were his Tsu si and his !gasi too.

Names play another part in the kinship system. This is complex, needs full explanation - but briefly it is the name which determines what kinship term is applied to many kin and some affines i.e. If ego's brother's daughter has the same name as ego's mother, he calls her Tsuma and avoids her. If ego's brother's daughter has the same name as ego's wife he calls her !Guma and does not avoid her etc., so for brother's sons, sister's sons and daughters, son's and daughter's sons and daughters, off spring of father's and mother's brothers and sisters Ego uses the terms for them that he uses for the persons they are named for, and avoids or jokes according to the term, not according to their consanguinal relationship to him.

If this rings any bells in your mind or if you can ask anyone if this is a common practice among non-literate peoples, I'd be very grateful if you would let me know. I'd like particularly to know if other African kinship systems have it.

Elizabeth and Laurence are writing Jo - so I won't take the time to write him. Share this letter with him if you will.

We hope every thing goes well with you and we all send our greetings. Every time you go to see Nana she mentions your visit in her letters. I almost put a click on Nana - ! Nana, it would be.

Lorna

P. S. A little more dope which may interest you. King Bushmen are very exagamous. No two married persons in all the geneologies have a common grandparent.

P.P. S. Can't see that they are lineal at all. No difference in terms, behavior or authority between father's brother and sister or mother's brother and sister. No difference between cousins, parallel or what have you. But they are paternally oriented, though I'd say not patrilineal. Is there such a thing as being paternally emphasized with out being patrilineal? Just to make things nice and clear cut - they tend to be matrilocal - if that is the word. Does not seem it should be men go to live with their wives' people.

PPPS. Tell Jo we are finding Mongolian spots.

PEARSON SEMM  
VED

MAR 16 1952

ANS

*Return to  
J.O.B.*

*Cho/ana*

*S.W. Africa  
53-54*

February 27, 1953

Dear Jo:

John is back and full of steam. His remark about the pictures, "Some aren't too bad - there's a lot to do," sounded most hopeful. We were very glad to get your comments and encouragement.

The picture taking possibilities are limited here, both because the sky is overcast a lot of the time and also because our Bushmen, /Tuma, /Qui, and their families are kept busy six to eight hours a day with Lorna and Elizabeth.

But the worst of the rains is probably over, and the attitudes of the Bushmen couldn't be better. Every week or so some of our friends from /Gautscha drop in ( 70 miles ) and tell us they are waiting until we get back. They have invited John to film an important ceremony which is held only every few years, a mass affair at which the power of medicine is passed along to the young men who are to become medicine men. It lasts several days and will take place in the winter, July or August, when the " Tchom " constellation rises. We haven't yet pinned down which stars are involved but we know that the constellation is in the right place at about the time we were here in 1952. ( July )

Speaking of attitudes, /Gi'ge came in the other day and said that his ears had been opened, he would now like to help us, and he has.

A copy of John's letter to his draft board is enclosed, John says you would help. We would certainly appreciate it if you would, Jo.

Thanks for the clipping about U.C.L. 's trip to the far East. The idea ~~xxxx~~ struck me as being a bit immature, but that was probably because of the way it was written. It still strikes me that it would be appropriate for Harvard to give some able young man the task of looking at the problem of what Harvard should be doing about film. Maybe nothing - but I think there is enough stir in the world about the power of expression inherent in film that if Harvard continues to do nothing about it it should be because of a positive position taken after careful study rather than because of failure to consider. Of course, I don't know, Maybe it has been considered.

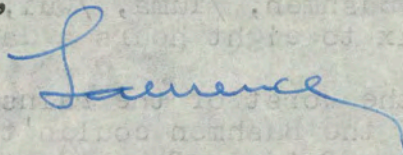
I noticed in some article that the New York Museum of Modern Art is to have a most ambitious exhibit in 1954, "The Family of Man." Steichen, their Director of Photography, has gone to Europe to see what pictures he can get, The aim of the exhibit is stated to be to present " penetrating documentary pictures that portray the basic and universal elements in human relations and demonstrate the role that can

be played by photography in communication and explanation  
of man to man. "!!"

Everyone joins me in congratulations to the new  
President of the Anthropological Society. We knew it would  
be you but it is good to have it in the bag. The Society  
should be congratulated too - you will do it a lot of good.

Regards to Lauriston and Doug, Iris, Evelyn and  
the Boys.

Sincerely,



P. S. I am enclosing John's list of his courses which he  
discussed with you.

March 5, 1953

Dr. Jacob Fine  
330 Brookline Avenue  
Boston 15, Massachusetts.

Dear Dr. Fine:

Thank you for returning my journal which arrived this morning. I have also received the papers on Primaquin from the Medical Journal and will attempt to extract comfort for Laurence.

This is not a new business with him. He mentioned it last year when he was back here. There is a strong belief in South Africa that one should not take Arolin. In fact, some people refuse absolutely to do so on the grounds that, if one does take it that one "gets malaria as soon as he stops taking it".

Apparently your correspondent Alving in Chicago thought that there was a present crisis. I talked with Miss Babb, who is Mr. Marshall's secretary, and apparently there is no trouble at present but they are worrying about what will happen when they get through.

I am going to New York tonight for a few days. If I get stuck on this Primaquin business, I may have to phone you.

Sincerely yours,

YOB:it

J. O. Brew, Director

February 16, 1953

*Marshall - S.W. of -  
1953*

Dr. Jacob Fine  
Beth Israel Hospital  
330 Brookline Avenue  
Boston 15, Mass.

Dear Dr. Fine:

Just a note to let you know that it is all right to send the bill for the Marshall medicines over to us. I have delayed answering because I hoped to be able to get in to see you and to bring the copy of my journal which I promised to let you see. I am not going to delay any more, so I enclose the journal. Please let me have it back when you are through with it.

I was very pleased at John Marshall's appearance. Despite the rugged time they had he looked a great deal better than he did when I left them in South Africa last September.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

JOB:it

J. O. Brew, Director

SURGEON-IN-CHIEF  
BETH ISRAEL HOSPITAL  
PROFESSOR OF SURGERY  
HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL

JACOB FINE, M. D.  
330 BROOKLINE AVENUE  
BOSTON 15, MASS.

PEABODY MUSEUM  
VED

FEB 5 1952

ANS \_\_\_\_\_

February 3, 1953

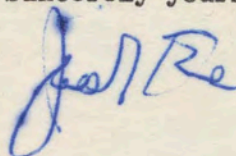
Professor John O. Brew  
Peabody Museum  
Harvard University  
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dear Professor Brew:

Young Marshall came in for drugs which he obtained in the amount of \$161.25. These drugs are returnable for credit upon return of the expedition. In the meantime I am inquiring whether any funds have been left by the Marshalls for covering this bill. If not, I can hold it until their return. Will you please advise me.

Kind regards.

Sincerely yours,



JACOB FINE, MD

JF/ea

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

*Dup. in file  
S.W. Africa  
53*

PERSONNEL SEUM  
VED

PSYCHOLOGICAL CLINIC

MAR 23 1952

64 Plympton Street  
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

March 20 1953

Dear Jo:

ANS \_\_\_\_\_

Thanks for letting me see Mrs. Marshall's letter to Lauriston Ward. Always interested in Kinship, and particularly in the Marshall's Bushman.

(Mrs. M. is certainly not the first to wonder "how often anthropologists get really to the rock bottom of things." Perhaps its only the Archeologist who can literally do that.)

I hope Mrs.M. consistently probes around to find the overall theory which can embrace seeming contradictions—certainly in kinship, if not all over, the seeming contradictions are one of the most fruitful avenues to explore. (The Yap man who said he could not make sexually tinged jokes about his brothers wife "because she is like my mother and I might marry her when my brother dies" gave me a delightful—non-Freudian—headache.)

The "name-calling" is interesting and although it is not common, it is reported. Not being Murdock I cant cite tribal names and monographs from memory. But it is particularly found among the Austrailians and if I am not mistaken some Nigrito groups, either Phillipeans or Malay. Among the Yir Yorunt (R.L. Sharp), if I am not grossly in error, for one. particular

Where a/relationship is unknown or lacking, and where the only socially defined relationships are kinship relationships, treating a man who has no relationship but same name as ego as if he were the social equivalent of ego thereby links him with a whole group of persons otherwise strangers. Mrs. M. makes this point clearly. But the Yir Yorunt gimmik helps understand their way of doing it. Current History, among the Yir Yorunt, is only a repeat of Ancient History. Names given to children are the names of the Ancient Ones. If, in History, Bill and his Wife Suzy had a son whose name was Mike, then contemporary Bill, whose wife is Suzy, know that they will have a son whose name will be Mike. Now ~~ix~~ if I run accross a person whose kinship relationship to me cannot be traced, or is apparently lacking, I simply refer to the history "book". There it is written (or spoken) who he is to me, and so I assume that the current fellow bears the same relationship to me although it may be, for some reason, obscured now. Of course, there is a constant sub-rosa rewriting of history to bring it up to date and in line with current developments, and correspondingly, an attempt to make current events conform to history. One general outcome of this is that names as such tend to be chartable in kinship terms; joe is always Ellen's husband, and they always have ~~three~~ children tom, john and sometimes others. The mother of every tom is usually Ellen; the father of every tom is usually Joe, etc.

Mrs. M. might be able to say whether ~~this~~ the Bushman deal partakes of this history gimmik in some form or other. If they confine themselves to only a few names, then it may well be that the names have more significance than just lables to identify people with. The names may be history bound. The fact that the actual relationship between Ego and another person is overridden and the "name" relationship used instead, even though geneologically false, suggests something like this.

+ would also enquire whether ~~i~~ names are used as direct terms of address, and kinship terms confined to situations of reference only or mostly. For with such a system, the name is almost synonymous with the kinship term.

The arrangement of categorizing the descendents of immediate collagerals (~~in any order~~ ~~broch~~, ~~sch~~,



(brothers children, sisters children,) ~~childrens children~~ and own descendents two generations away (childrens children) with persons of ego's own generation sounds extremely interesting and I hope that Mrs. M. gets a good full picture of it. It sounds like a kind of alternating generation arrangement of a sort I've not heard of before but which is quite reasonable. In effect, if I understand it, grandchildren and the grandchildren of ego(s) siblings are elevated either to ego's own or ego(s) parent's generation, depending on the identity of their names with members of those generations. I'd want to know which kinship categories this applies to, whether it invariably happens or only rarely when the names happen to coincide by chance, and whether it is confined to persons in only one or two types of relationship (joking and ~~avoidance~~ avoidance, joking and respect, etc)

Although I can't pass as an expert on the ~~the~~ South African Bantu, I am not aware of any of these customs among them. The only possible question would be Hottentot—I don't know them at all, and the theory that they are the oldest inhabitants—barring bushmen—would make reference to them worth looking into.

Suggest avoiding the usage "very exogamous"; they either are or ~~are~~ are not, depending on point of reference—lineage, kindred, local group, or what.

It is most unlikely that a small ~~nomadic~~ wandering group like bushmen are unilineal or double descent. Unilineal groups are usual only in relatively large, relatively ~~advanced~~ well propertied peoples—I know the Hopi are not large and are not rich—but compared to bushmen they are.

But these checks on unilineal structure would be helpful: NOT between fathers bro and fa sis, but between fathers brother and mothers brother, fathers sister and mothers sister.

If these bushmen are "bilateral" or "multilineal", as they seem to be, with a patrilineal bias (but matrilineal in residence???) then there is a real hard problem, for not too much has been worked out on bilateral structures. Critical points: (1) whom can you and whom can't you marry? (a) preferential marriage—mother's brother's daughter, MoBrDa or FaSiDa, etc (b) unrelated person but of the language stock etc (then what happens to the "name" relation?) (2) How far on both sides do you count kin? Very few peoples are symmetrically bilateral—i.e., count kin equally distant on all sides, through mother to MoMo, ~~MoMoMo, FaFaFa, etc~~ and through father to FaMo, FaFa, FaFaFa, FaFaMo, etc. This can be picked up from Genealogies since if you don't count kin three or four times removed on one side but do on the other, the not-counted kin who existed tend to be forgotten (3) distinguish between those who are all descended from one person long ago, and those who form a group who are only related through a ~~single~~ single relationship—so that my mother's sisters are not consanguineal kin of my father's brother's children, but are part of the same kindred or group of "relatives". If the named, or unnamed but functionally distinct groups all trace descent from one long-ago man (or woman) then there is unilineal group of some sort. If the group only is internally related through affinal links here and there, but not directly, then it is a kindred. (4) pin down every case of residence to show general trends and the kinds of exceptions that tend to occur. Residence can be patrilocal—with husband's father; matrilineal, with wife's father; bilocal—with either husband's or wife's father; neolocal, anywhere except with husband's or wife's father; ~~alternating~~ alternating—one year with husband's father, one year with wife's father; avunculocal—with mother's brother ~~or~~ or amitilocal—with father's sister (this NEVER happens so far as we know). (a) Get the Why's of residence—why people lived where they did. and (b) good test is crisis—what happens when catastrophe hits the band, who moves where and why.

If I can be of any more help than this, I'd be happy to.

Sincerely,

David Schneider

RUSSIAN RESEARCH CENTER

DUDLEY HALL, DUNSTER STREET

**Memorandum**

Date March 20, 1953

From C. K. M. Kluckhohn *CK*

To J. O. Brew

---

My own opinion is that the Rorschach is much more valuable than the Porteus Maze test. As you know, there is a lot of comparative Rorschach material from many different cultures. I think it would be quite valuable to have Bushman Rorschachs and it isn't necessary to have a hundred. Fifty constitute quite a respectable series and even twenty-five would be of some use. It is true that it is a disadvantage to work through an interpreter but experience shows that quite useable material can be obtained this way, particularly if the same interpreter is used throughout the work, thus keeping the distortion relatively consistent at least.

March 24, 1953

Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall  
c/o Mr. Vlock, President, S.W. Africa NLA  
Grootfontein, South West Africa

Dear Lorna:

I have just received the enclosed from Dave Schneider and am sending it off to you immediately. I thought we would get a rise out of Dave. I have to rush off to Old Lyme, Conn., on the 8:30 in the morning but I have kept a copy of Dave's letter and will read it more carefully on the train in the morning, then I shall see him soon and see if I can get any more verbally.

Where Dave says he is "not a Murdock", I am encouraged. Murdock knows a lot but I always have the feeling of very rigid taxonomy with him. Schneider is still very close to people.

With love to all.

Sincerely,

Encl.

J. O. Brew

PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS, USA

March 24, 1953

Miss Elizabeth Marshall  
c/o Mr. Vroom, President, S.W. Africa NLA  
Grootfontein, South West Africa

Dear Elizabeth:

I was very pleased to get your swell letter and hope you write again.

The news about your story is grand. Of course, one would have to look a little carefully at reactions from reading a story like that out on the Veld (You will remember I read it at Jam). Still I fondly hope that my critical faculties were still functioning and I thought it absolutely top-drawer. Let me see now, was this before or after the tent pole fell on my head?

I have received the following comment from Kluckhohn. I shall also try for others and let you hear the results.

Memorandum from Professor Kluckhohn:

"My own opinion is that the Rorschach is much more valuable than the Porteus Maze test. As you know, there is a lot of comparative Rorschach material from many different cultures. I think it would be quite valuable to have Bushman Rorschachs and it isn't necessary to have a hundred. Fifty constitute quite a respectable series and even twenty-five would be of some use. It is true that it is a disadvantage to work through an interpreter but experience shows that quite useable material can be obtained this way, particularly if the same interpreter is used throughout the work, thus keeping the distortion relatively consistent."

With love,

J. O. Brew

CHO'ANA  
S.W.A.

March 26, 1953.  
(Araden Day)

S.W. Africa  
PEABODY MUSEUM 53  
RECEIVED

APR 10 1952

ANS \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Joe: -

Thank you for sending us Bob Gardner's talk. I am glad you thought it was appreciated by the seminar because it brings out lots of well selected attributes of film.

As to the use of film in anthropology, I still feel that it ought somehow to be essential in any study of man - but don't know how or where or for how much money.

Perhaps before saying anything further I might restate the purposes and position of this expedition vis a vis film as I see it.

We have kept the film and its cost out of the responsibility that Harvard assumed in sponsoring the expedition. To date we have expended \$12,000 of Harvard's money (supplied by us for this expedition) which seems not excessive for sending anyone to study people in this territory. The entire cost of film equipment and facilities to make any photographic studies has been borne by us.

Our intent has been to film, for the record, Bushman activities as we saw them and understood them, - using footage freely in any given situation but with no thought of complete coverage. We have endeavored always to be objective and to avoid rehearsed or acted scenes.

One hope we have had in mind in taking this film this way is that it might be viewed by informed people to see if out of the lot there is some footage that will provide research material for anthropologists or possibly will give rise to a suggestion as to how to do so.

We have tried to provide for films to show

Bushman technology. If we succeed in this or in showing any other Bushman activities that are of interest to Harvard, it is our intention to offer them as gifts to Harvard.

There may be in the footage material for film of general interest. If so it will be incidental as we have not directed our efforts to that end and we will not be disappointed if such a film does not emerge.

As to the use of film in the study of man, I think my feeling is based on some of the ideas that Bob brings out; the importance of sight in perception, the ability of film to represent the eye and to portray events in actual time so that one can perceive interaction and tempo, and not least in importance, the fact that film can be studied repeatedly and by many people. It obviously is impractical for ten professional people to be present and to work in a Bushman world. But if one observer knows the Bushmen and their relation to each other and their environment, and has film of any given situation, it seems conceivable that ten experts viewing the film and being able to question the observer, might bring out much that could otherwise be lost or buried.

Beyond this it is valueless for me to theorize, and I am probably out of my depth here - but at any rate I am delighted to have Bob's paper.

If you would like to show this letter to Bob so that he can see what we are thinking, I should be pleased. If he has any comments or suggestions for us, do ask him to send them along. Regards, Lawrence.

This is being written at the water hole at Cigaret, in the Dodge. While the boys are filling the barrels. It is a clear sparkling morning. The omurumba is lush and green. Women's cows goats & horses are all about. We think the rains are over and plan to move to Sautscha or possibly Debba next week. John is there was prospecting a camp. f.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
LABORATORY OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

9 BOW STREET  
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

April 1, 1953

Dear Elizabeth

This came this morning from Prof. Evon Vogt.

~~MEMORANDUM~~

~~TO: Dr. Brew~~

~~FROM: Evon Vogt~~

" Jack Roberts asked me to reply to your memorandum of March 24 regarding the problem as to whether Elizabeth Marshall should give Rorschachs or the Porteus Maze Tests.

I have done some thinking about this problem and have also consulted with Dr. Tagiuri (social psychologist in Dept. of Social Relations).

The first point to be made is that Rorschachs have now been given to at least 12 non-literate peoples on which the results have already been published (see Henry and Spiro article in Anthropology Today). A 13th is represented by Anthony Wallace's recent publication on the modal personality structure of the Tuscarora (BAE Bulletin 150). Others have been tested but not yet published. Many of these results have been interesting, although the results are still a matter of debate and discussion in psychological circles. But I personally still feel that it would be highly useful for personality-culture studies to have a series of, say, 20 to 25 Rorschach protocols from the Bushmen.

With a smaller sample of Rorschachs it might then leave time for Miss Marshall to continue her work with the Porteus Maze test. And Dr. Tagiuri suggests that if she is serious about doing something about intelligence level of the Bushmen that she might do more than simply depend upon the Porteus Maze test. She might for example try to determine what the Bushmen define as intelligence; i.e. on what basis do the Bushmen judge some people to be intelligent, others dumb. She could then rank a series of Bushmen by degree of intelligence based upon their own criteria and then see if this ranking corresponds with results on the maze test. Or she might devise some tests of her own, such as showing the subjects photographs of familiar objects in their environment and testing level of verbal intelligence by seeing how many different Bushmen words informants could produce (perhaps with different shades of meaning) to describe a given object."

If Miss Marshall is interested in pursuing this problem, we could get more advice and suggestions from Dr. Tagiuri.

EZV

APR 27 1952

Return to  
AS

Cholana April 8, 1953

S.W. of  
1953

ANS

Dear Jo and Lauriston, I'll write you together because I want to thank you both very much. Jo's letters of March 19 and 24 and Lauriston's letter of March 20 arrived today, also the Natural History and the enclosure from Dave Schneider. They all did me much, much good. In fact I feel wonderful. I am very grateful for Mr. Schneider's letter. It is just what I needed. I am not at all regretful that the <sup>a</sup>mere scrap of information over simplified and incomplete, was sent him, because his answer brings up all the questions, gives me confidence in what ~~has been~~ I have thoroughly understood, tells me what to explain more fully. I am very happy and grateful about it. I've sent some sections of the material out, have some more ready to send out by the next conveyance. The sections I've sent, and am sending are not smoothed out but I can't stop to clear up details any more now. Too much else to do. If there are discrepancies, they don't worry me, because there aren't any more in my mind. I wrote the slip at different times. Maybe some is not brought into line with later information but that can be done later. By and large it is correct - except spelling.

By the time this reaches you, you will have seen Elizabeth. Her decision to go home was sudden. We all felt alike about it, that it was right. She leaves a terrible gap here, however.

No, this is not so  
Hama's grand children are not fully accounted for



Solo can stay. Lawrence got the cable. That is good. We'll just stay on things as usual. These  
Egypt will remain a dream. I'm glad to hear Jamison's daughter is in Switzerland. These  
are troublesome times - except in the Kalahari.

I am fairly tipsy with joy today to have the  
rest of us reassembled. Lawrence went out with  
Elizabeth. John and Heiner went to Gantscha  
to get pictures while the pans are full. We had  
had a dry spell and were afraid the pans might  
dry. We need not have feared that. We have  
had heavy and steady rains for a week. I  
was here alone with Philip, the cook, and Sedimo  
the interpreter and I'u and Ilguse and the children  
I minded badly not knowing what was happening  
to everybody but otherwise everything went well. The  
women were bored and lonely and welcomed talking  
all morning and afternoon. Once I heard an expression  
of aggression though I didn't see it. One woman  
across the Omarumba, belonging to Moremi's group,  
had a fight with her co-wife. She physically  
attacked her co-wife's father. Her husband  
had gone elsewhere. We could hear the  
screaming before we were up in the morning.  
She must be a shrew. She is reported to have  
beaten her husband not long ago. The co-wife  
wants to go with us to Gantscha.

Despite the rains we are planning to get  
ready to return to Gantscha as soon as we  
can, perhaps within a week.

Please tell Iris I love the notes she adds  
and thank her. Tell her we did have a good  
time on the Runtu trip. Pretty plates, wine at  
dinner. Mr. Morris telling Elij. she looked "posh".  
but the music was of drums at a tribal dance. He  
attended Mr. Morris' annual meeting of 21 tribes. It included  
the trial of a witch doctor. Not very colorful, but interesting. Elij

Donna  
By all  
greeting  
a  
the  
the  
the  
will tell you more - the trip down the river etc.

April 16th, 1953

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I was delighted to have been given the opportunity of reading your letter to Dr. Brew. First let me say that I thought that I could feel from the arrangements of the words and statements that your expedition is in steady pursuit of its goal, which, although I have felt inadequate to much more than remark upon, has always seemed to me to be directed by a great amount of meaning and significance. Perhaps before the end of this letter I will have been able to explain the reasons for my feeling as I do.

What I shall say in relation to the general argument about film and anthropology represents more particularly personal feelings than I felt were appropriate for the talk I gave some weeks back. In this respect I shall be relating my own doubts, anxieties, convictions and hopes. Perhaps they can be of interest to you if only for the consolation which comes from comparison.

Let me begin with something which you send in your letter. "I still feel that it (film) ought somehow to be essential in any study of man." (you went on to qualify this by saying you were undecided as to how, when or where) If I may draw this out a bit, what you have said is that photographing other peoples or ourselves can implement our understanding of other peoples or ourselves. (actually, it seems to me imperative that anything which we discover about someone else, a Bushman or a neighbor, has implicit meaning bearing directly upon oneself, otherwise anthropology is nothing more than a special kind of historiography. So that gaining knowledge about human societies is really adding to the scientific medicine cabinet) Here, it seems to me, lies an important aspect of the rhetorical question which I have quoted above. It might be put this way: to the extent that anthropol-

ogy has more than a scholastic objective, film seems to offer a unique and rewarding means toward these other ends. If one is to determine the more <sup>or</sup> less precise nature of these 'means' it might be well to begin with a consideration of what film seems able to do as a matter of course. Since I have already elaborated some of the mechanical attributes of film, I will take as given the reasoning involved in the means of production. Without a question it would appear that the primary function of film (in this sense what it can, not what it should or does do) is to communicate systems of objects or symbols. In short, it is a means of representation. For this reason film is an art form, and inasmuch as it communicates widely it is a popular art form. Because of the specific attributes of this medium, one can both objectify and abstract, capture reality and surreality. Insofar as it deals in commonly held systems of symbols and values film is continually verifying known or plausible conditions of life. Although the average Hollywood production in few ways mirrors the actual circumstances of American life, it is nonetheless plausible for the obvious reason that Hollywood has invented a complete system of values which are shared in the phantasy life of every movie going American (60,000,000 per week). But this is not a unique situation in the history of art. The painting of the Italian Renaissance is an example of art depicting subject matter quite out of the ordinary, and yet wholly comprehensible to a public aware of the symbols and values of the Christian religion. Perhaps the reason for Hollywood bearing the brunt of disfavor among what might be called the 'intelligentsia' of this country, is that the attitudes and beliefs expressed in Hollywood productions are thought by those in disfavor as being no longer noble or true. In short, Hollywood values might be considered to be neither a valid representation of man's real nature or of his greater aspirations. Whether this deduction as to any conclusion about the apparent failure of Hollywood is true or not, does not, I hope, detract from the importance of several implications of a wider nature contained in the last statement. <sup>T</sup>herein it is suggested that films can in fact represent man's true nature,

can reflect the actual and idealized nature of his circumstances of life. This Assumption would have relatively little meaning, since it is equally applicable as a statement about any art or literary form, if it were not that film representations, qualitatively different as they are, can achieve a greater degree of credibility. (Imagine what it would be like if the Bible were a film) The qualitative differences between film and other representational media, which need special recognition, are that film makes use of several perceptual organs; is dynamic (moving) and therefore utilizes an added dimension of time; and has the ability to objectify and therefore can provide an illusion of reality. Through very complicated physio-psychic processes involving principles of identification, association and learning, the net effect possible with film is to impart a credible experience to a spectator. (I'm sure that a study directed toward the elucidation of the psychology of film communication would give us a lot to go in the pursuit of this question of film use in anthropology.) Not a little has been written in relation to this point, by psychologists, aestheticians and film makers, but conclusions have had to be vague as regards scientific specification largely, I suspect, because there is as yet no comprehensive psychological theory for understanding learning behavior in general. So one is left to continue to generalize, and all that may be said on the basis of evident 'fact' is that films seem to convey experiences which are readily learned. If this is true, and if it is also true that 'culture', which has been defined as "that which is learned",<sup>istene</sup> a film about a culture provides an opportunity of learning learning. The danger, as I hinted earlier, is, as a result of this program, becoming merely learned. It is my suspicion that this is a less likely possibility learning through a film than learning through books, mostly for the reasons of the qualitative differences which obtain between film and other media.

Now the question of how to do what can be done requires a further consideration of what is meant by learning and experience. Let me begin with the last of these two. 'Experience' has a dictionary definition as follows; "the acquir-

ing of knowledge by the use of one's own perceptions of sense and judgement." In a larger sense it could also be thought to be an experiment in the use of one's perceptions in the process of learning. In this light the old saw about experience being the best teacher gains a little lustre. In modern (social) psychology it is held that the level of integration of one's mind is closely related to the ability of that mind to utilize perception (sense and knowledge) for the organization of varying orders of phenomena. In other words the more numerous and diverse the experiences of an individual the more likely will he be able to integrate emotionally and intellectually, and at higher stages. It may already be clear that what I wish to make is a distinction between two kinds of learning, one kind which is the result of rote memorization which has a minimal participation of perceptual organs, and the other which involves multiple senses and promotes experimental participation within the learning process. Although the relative value of these two general types of learning situations depends on the individual learning and the reasons for learning at all, in a broad sense the advantages of what might be called 'experience learning' have been dramatically attested in such contexts as training for war. It is now general practice, I am told, to subject trainees to maneuvers under actual fire, the supposition being that out of this experience will result a more dependable (integrated on a higher level of complexity of phenomena) soldier than the one who reads in a manual that someday he may be shot at. To bring this matter home a bit, it could be thought that the experience of field work for an anthropologist enables him to acquire learning otherwise unavailable, e.g. from a library. It might seem that the point which should be brought in here as justification for the use of films in anthropology is that a film can provide a close approximation to otherwise unavailable field experiences. Although this may to an extent be so, I feel that there are other more urgent conclusions to be reached in this matter. For example, if we grant a very wide range of choice in the matter of technique available to the film maker, in what form is an 'experience' best phrased? What differing degrees of participation can be expected to result from the many forms

of expression available? Here of course is the whole problem I touched on in the paper which you have seen when I dealt with the continuum of film approach terminated at either end by the complete record and film poetry. This question can obviously be answered only in terms of individual temperament if one insists on an either-or resolution. To ask this question then is the same as to ask if Benedict's account of the Kwakiutl in Patterns of Culture is better than Boas's Bureau of American Ethnology Reports, or which is better, Doughty's Travels in Arabia Deserta or a monographic account of the Bedouin of Cyrenaica. Personal opinion, unmodified by any consideration of the uses to which the knowledge in question is to be put, can answer these questions quite simply. But it is equally apparent that the merits in each case are a relative matter, depending on what one wishes to learn as a step toward an infinite number of goals. It could be argued that the present generation of scholars have no time for poetry, it could as well be argued that they have not the time to overlook poetry. Besides, then, allowing this matter to turn on purely personal predilection, it might be well to raise once again the point about the nature of films themselves as art forms. To keep within the area of the present discussion let me take the film L'Amitie Noir as an example of a film concerned with anthropology and using an artistic technique. The impressions which one gains from this film are certainly not informational, there is no emphasis upon the academics of the subject matter. One cannot be sure, even, where in Africa the action is taking place, nor what natives are being portrayed. It would rather seem that the maker of this film is concerned with the point of communicating thoughts ~~and~~ about these natives as people, not as a specific tribe; about the rhythm of these people's lives as seen in their customary ways of doing things, not in their customs as discrete units of separable behavior; about the play of nature and environment on these people as seen by their aesthetic endeavors integrating with the whole social scene, not in the physical composition of one of their huts. It has been the object of the maker of this film to create with sensitive

observation and intuitive response as experience from which one may learn.

For the fact that each person watching this film will derive significantly different impressions, besides the great part which I would suppose would be shared, this type of film has obvious pedagogical weakness. That is, to the extent that a common body of knowledge is not shared commonly and equally among those who are learning, the method can be thought to be inadequate. However, on the other level of learning, 'experience'; to the extent that sense and knowledge have been stimulated into experimental participation, promoting the organization of thoughts and reactions at a higher, more complex level of integration, the film can be thought to have achieved important results. To get on quickly, let me say that such a film is of immense importance, and the odds are that there would have been no other way to achieve the precise effect that the film has except by having it exactly as it is. For this reason I am inclined to the view that there is no compromise with 'art'. And to create art there can be no restrictions or amendments for the sake of academic, religious, or political expediencies. Thus the film which best achieves the 'experience' type learning effect must be left in the hands of creative artists.

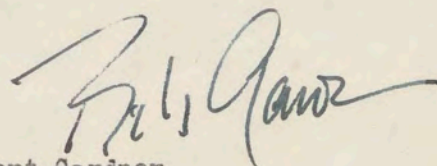
I hope that I have been able to show, atleast my reasons, for thinking of learning in atleast two ways. I feel that the next step is to ask the question as to what purposes the film in question, dealing with some aspect of anthropology, is to be put. Or, broadly speaking, is the film to achieve something in teaching or in research. You mentioned in your letter that you expected to show the Bushmen material to "experts" and "informed people" who would be asked how to use it. In other words you seem to be saying that the footage is being taken for research purposes. There is no more question in my mind that the film camera can be put to significant use in research, than there is in the 'fact', as I have stated it, that film can work marvels in education, particularly in experience learning. So far film methods are a new concept in research methods, as you of course know. But this should not hinder its ultimate acceptance on a wide scale, provided useful techniques can be developed, and since anthropology is seemingly concerned about retaining

its reputation as an empirical science, the fact that a camera is an objective observer is a potent credential. As far as the actual techniques are concerned I am behind on the developments that I hear have been made, having been absorbed with the more distinctly 'creative' aspects of the medium. However, it would seem logical that in research, at first at least, a main consideration would be for completeness and thoroughness when obtaining information on the piece of culture under scrutiny. For example, in the field of interpersonal relations, which I like to think is a particularly fruitful area for film research, it would seem to be of utmost importance to get as much material on the particular relationship in question, say a mother-in-law avoidance, as is possible. That is get the behavior under as many different conditions as one can. This type of film activity would seem to be of limited value as a teaching device, except perhaps to show one instance of a kind of behavior as an example of a widespread principle. Where the effects of teaching and research meet is perhaps not a relevant question here. However, it would seem justifiable to say that the two activities are not mutually exclusive, research techniques and results are steps toward the accumulation of more teaching material, or learning; whereas teaching or learning is a way of reorganizing knowledge to permit new discoveries or research towards them.

I have been inexcusably long in this account, and recognize that in spite of this failing have not even brought up some of the very interesting and promising theoretical points involved in film use such as the possibilities suggested by the space and time dimensions in film. However I shall be more than grateful if in my rambling way I have gotten over the few points which have been so belabored.

With very sincere wishes,

I am respectfully,



Robert Gardner



April 24, 1953

Mr. Laurence K. Marshall  
c/o Mr. Vlock, President S.W. Africa N.L.A.  
Grootfontein, South West Africa

Dear Laurence:

I have just returned from a series of meetings in New York, Philadelphia and Washington. Yesterday at the Cosmos Club I had lunch with Van Bush. He was very interested, of course, to hear the latest news from Africa. He asked me about your mother and says he will call on her the next time he is in Cambridge.

On Wednesday evening I took Charlie Handley and his beautiful Brazilian wife out to dinner. While I was in his laboratory towards the end of the afternoon looking over the numerous animals from the Kaukaveld his Department head came around with an envelope which contained a 2-grade boost in status and his promotion from an assistant to an associate curator.

This is only one of the instances of revival in the Smithsonian. The place actually presents a feeling of hopefulness rather than the general gloom and utter despair which has characterized it for so long. I have heard that Mr. Carmichael made a most effective presentation in the budget hearings on the Hill.

As you probably know, Alex was really terrible at this. Leonard knew the answers and furthermore he put his stuff out in such a way that it brought out good questions. He is asking them for an extra \$100,000 for necessary first-aid house-cleaning and, despite the economy program, I think he may get it. He has also sent around a statement to the effect that research is considered to be one of the primary duties of curators. In the last few regimes, though the fact has never been stated overtly, it has been generally understood that from 9 to 5 a curator was expected to "curate" and if he wanted to do any research, he jolly well had to do it on his own time.

The picture that I am presenting then is that of a good start for brother Carmichael. I understand that he is working out a thorough campaign to tackle the larger Foundations. He was in Philadelphia yesterday and I know the Philosophical Society was having a meeting then; also when I tried to see him on Wednesday he was closeted with a prominent Philadelphian. Putting this all together is fairly ABC.

I saw Alfred Knopf and although I did not commit Elizabeth at all, I told him about the book she plans to write and he said that, if she wanted to submit it, he certainly would like very much to see it when it is ready. I do not think you will find any trouble getting publishers.

Mr. Laurence K. Marshall, 2

I have to go and lecture to my class now. After that we have a colloquium by Professor Whatmough on INDO-EUROPEAN LINGUISTICS, and then this evening we are having a dinner for Hooton at the Club of Odd Volumes celebrating his 40th year as a teacher in the University.

With best wishes to all.

Sincerely,

JOB:it

J. O. Brew

P.S. Saw an act of aggression. Big News.  
Qao helmet cocced his 3<sup>rd</sup> wife 11 Kushay  
into coming on a hunting trip with him when  
she did not want to by seising her baby  
and going off with it. She hit him with her  
digging stick - but went with him.

Return to  
F.O.B.

SW. Africa  
1953

Gautscha, May 13, 1953

Dear Jo, Thank you for your letter of April 16.  
It is good to get letters, so very good I  
am soothed about Lawrence's leaving to go  
out again by the thought that he will bring  
mail in. I was very glad to have Douglas  
Oliver's letter, with a chart made by  
Dr. Schneider and some interesting points  
specifically suggested to be covered. How  
very good it was of them to look over the  
material. I assume they had only the first  
batch, and that the second one arrived  
safely. These are busy times for you all with  
the year ending and I am well aware that  
the kinship terms of the Kung Bushmen are  
not among the more pressing items. Nevertheless  
I wrote Douglas Oliver a long letter, giving him  
the real news of Gautscha. I have settled the  
gu'na vs tsu problem and am now certain  
that I was previously in error and will  
hasten to rewrite the lineal relationship section  
when I get home. The factor of the name does  
operate in the relationships of great grand parents,  
grand parents, grand children, great grand children.  
They may be termed !gu'na and ton, or tsu and  
!iga according to how ego is named. This is  
in direct contradiction to what I said in the  
section. I won't burden you with the whys and

European the best to give + to flourish for  
fame

where for now.

We are having conferences together as to how to use the rest of the time. There is so much to do we struggle to decide what to leave out. Though I often feel like a run down clock, I am still interested, in fact mightily so. I wish I were many young people at once. We have decided to give Mealie meal to the Bushmen who live at Gantscha (no visitors) in order to have them here all the time now, and to shoot a buck a week for them. This is going to involve us in problems, we know, but we are taking the risks. We need the people to stay with us for the next while.

The principal decision revolves around <sup>child</sup> study. How much to do of that & what <sup>other subjects</sup> will have to be left out, is the question. When I read <sup>carefully</sup> the Field Manual in Cross Cultural Study of Child Rearing my heart sank and sank page by page till I got to pages 51 and 52. Then I said no, absolutely no: I can't do this. I won't try. But on page 53 it says not to be discouraged! Of all things! What do they mean? That even if you don't get a full P.S.H. of thirty families on all points including sexual anxieties that bits and pieces of cold evidence and infusions of opinion would still be worth while? For that is what I will get. But, as Lawrence points out we can take pictures of children. So we are going to have a try. I think we can judge after we make a concentrated, thoughtful effort if the stuff is going to be significant. I'd love to do more with religion, taboos, ceremonies & such like which I find fascinating.

Gretchen  
This is wishfully thought.  
100  
and some child study  
Perhaps I can get some more of them

18 May 1953

The Peabody-Harvard,  
S.W.A. Expedition,  
c/o Chief Native Commissioner,  
Windhoek South West Africa.

---

Dr. to

**THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL BOTANIC GARDENS**

Salary Details: Mr B. Maguire  
£33 6 8 per month

8 December '52 - 7 January '53	33 6 8
8 January '53 - 7 February '53	33 6 8
8 February '53 - 20 February '53 12/28ths @ £1 3 9½ per day	14 5 6
	<hr/>
	<u>£80 18 10</u>
<u>Half Share =</u>	<u>£40 9 5</u>

Cheques to be made payable to the "National Botanic Gardens."  
Kindly add exchange on country cheques.

18 May 1953

The Peabody-Harvard,  
S.W.A. Expedition,  
c/o Chief Native Commissioner,  
Windhoek South West Africa.

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	<hr/>		
	£30	18	10
	<hr/>		
<u>Half Share =</u>	£40	9	5
	<hr/>		

Cheques to be made payable to the "National Botanic Gardens."  
Kindly add exchange on country cheques.

ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO BE  
ADDRESSED TO THE DIRECTOR  
KORRESPONDENSIE MOET GE-  
RIG WORD AAN DIEDIREKTEUR

TEL. 7-5528

NATIONAL BOTANIC GARDENS,  
NASIONALE BOTANIESE TUIN,

KIRSTENBOSCH,

NEWLANDS,

NEAR CAPE TOWN.

NABY KAAPSTAD.

18th May 1953

Mr L.K.Marshall,  
Peabody Harvard - S.W.A.Expedition,  
c/o Chief Native Commissioner,  
Windhoek S.W.A.

---

Dear Sir,

The attached letter was drafted by Professor Compton just before he went away on leave recently and he asked me to sign it for him.

Yours faithfully,

*B.G. Markie*

Secretary.

ALL COMMUNICATIONS TO BE  
ADDRESSED TO THE DIRECTOR  
KORRESPONDENSIE MOET GE-  
RIG WORD AAN DIE DIREKTEUR

TEL. 7-5528

NATIONAL BOTANIC GARDENS,  
NASIONALE BOTANIESE TUIN.

KIRSTENBOSCH,

NEWLANDS,

NEAR CAPE TOWN.  
NABY KAAPSTAD.

18th May 1953

Mr Laurence K. Marshall,  
Peabody Harvard - S.W.A. Expedition,  
c/o Chief Native Commissioner,  
Windhoek, South West Africa.

---

Dear Mr Marshall,

Mr Maguire returned safely from his stay with your expedition and brought back a large quantity of material with him. He seems to have had a very pleasant and strenuous time and to have met with considerable success.

Unfortunately he has been taken suddenly ill with acute appendicitis (how fortunate that it didn't happen when he was in the wilds) and had an emergency operation. This was quite successful, but he is now on leave and, I hope, recuperating. He should be back here next month, and he will be starting work in the first place on the food and other plants used by the natives.

I am very sorry that the delay has taken place. I have hesitated to give you a note of the salary position, as you have so far had nothing to show for the expenditure: but I think you may perhaps not have very much longer in the territory and would like to know the amount involved, which can be settled at your convenience or when Maguire's reports and material reach you.

His salary at the time was £33 6 8 per month (plus a Cost of Living Allowance which, however, is refunded by Government). He was absent for two months plus 12 days so that the half-salary for which you kindly agreed to be responsible works out at £40:9:5

With every good wish and many thanks for the splendid time you gave Maguire.

Yours sincerely,

R.H. Compton  
P.P. *li*

Director.



Copy.

Gautscho Case S.W.A.  
June 9, 1953

Prof R. H. Compton,  
Director - National Botanic Gardens,  
Kirstenbosch,  
Cape Province.

PEABODY MUSEUM  
RECEIVED

JUN 22 1952

ANS. \_\_\_\_\_

Dear Prof Compton: -

Enclosed please find our check for

£40-9-5.

— Thank you for writing us and

telling us the amount involved.

We enjoyed Brian Maguire's stay with us very much. He had to work under extremely difficult conditions because of the problems involved in drying his specimens in the field in the rains, but he was an arduous and ardent worker and we enjoyed the association with him highly indeed.

The Departments of Anthropology and Biology as well as the staff of the Museum will be deeply interested in his report. It will be most gratifyingly received. Plant food is the dominant factor in the life of the Bushmen of this area, and as they are in excellent physical condition, it seems particularly important to be able to identify the plants they use.

We again want to thank you for your cooperation in arranging for Mr Maguire to join us.

Sincerely  
Gautscho

Joe: -  
We have heard from Brian Maguire & have written him. He is

Windhoek, S. W. Africa  
June 29, 1953

SW. 94  
1955

Mrs. E. Scherz  
Windhoek, S. W. Africa

Dear Mrs. Scherz:

In accordance with our understanding we hand you herewith 61 Super XX and Plus X film size 120. These together with the black and white films that Dr. Scherz took with him on his return to Windhoek you are to develop and keep in strip form. Each strip is then to have a number put on it to correspond to the number that is on the box. Then two (2) contact prints are to be made of each strip--one to be retained by you, the other to be sent to us together with all the negatives still in strip form.

If for any reason it is not possible to keep any of the negatives in strip form, then each separate piece is to be numbered and two contact prints made with corresponding number so that they can be handled just as outlined for the strip. Any unexposed or improperly exposed film is to be sent along also so that we can account for the total amount of film.

The exposed 35 mm Kodochrome rolls that Dr. Scherz took with him should also be numbered either as a strip if possible or separately if they have been cut. Please make two black and white contact prints of each of these also and send one to us with the original.

We agree to pay you the prevailing commercial rates for developing the negatives and for making the contact prints, and also mailing charges.

In referring to the above pictures, it is understood and agreed that pictures taken in the area in which we have been working, which is in general the area where you have gone with us south of the WNLA road, are all the property of the Museum. Pictures taken elsewhere with us, for example along the WNLA road are to be your property.

If you wish copies of any of the Museum's pictures, will you please write to the Museum, for my attention, and I will try to make the necessary arrangements for their release. I am not in position to do so here, because as leader of an expedition sent out by the Museum, it is my duty to deliver to the Museum all of the material we have been commissioned to gather. But, in general, it is my belief and experience that the policy of the Peabody Museum and of Harvard University is to make material resulting from their expeditions available for the widest possible use.

It has been a deeply felt pleasure to be able to work so closely with you as a member of the expedition and to feel that perhaps we are beginning a relationship with you and Dr. Scherz that will continue to grow. We are all most grateful to you both for the cooperation you have so generously extended to us.

Yours sincerely,

Understood & agreed to by me July 2, 1953  
Anneliese Scherz

Laurence Marshall  
Director-Peabody Harvard So. West Africa Expedition  
c/o Peabody Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge 38  
Massachusetts, USA

Marshall Swag

PEABODY MUSEUM, HARVARD UNIVERSITY  
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS, USA

November 10, 1953

Professor C. Daryll Forde  
8, The Boltons  
London S.W. 10, England

Dear Daryll:

I wrote a letter to Evelyn a day or two ago which gave my somewhat dismal personal news of the last month and a half. At least progress back has been completely satisfactory and today I am, for the first time, trying a full day in the office.

During my very pleasant visit with you in London, we discussed a young man with proficiency in editing anthropological moving pictures. We left it that you would send me a letter giving as full as possible vita for him and a statement of his special proficiency in connection with movies of primitive peoples.

I would like very much to have this so that I can discuss the matter with Mr. Marshall.

With best wishes.

As ever,

JOB:it

J. O. Brew, Director

Exerpt from letter from Daryll Forde

*S.W. of  
Technic  
Sound Rec*

November 13, 1953

Meanwhile, in reply to your inquiry concerning movies, i.e. a research ethnographer to work on the Bushnell material, I have two people of whom I send you particulars. One is H. A. Powell, who is Assistant Lecturer with us after holding a Horniman Field Research Scholarship in the Trobriands, and who took and edited the Trobriand film, a copy of which should be reaching you in Harvard before the end of the year. Powell is 34 years old, took his Honours Degree, 1st class, with us here and his work on his Ph.D. thesis 'Social Change in the Trobriands' should be completed by next June. I spoke to him about the possibility and he was interested, with the reservation that he would not want to take a job which would tend to label him as a kind of ethnographic film technician, since he is interested in general anthropological research and teaching, openings for which might, he fears, be hindered if he took a job without faculty status. While I could not give him any assurance on this point at the time, I imagine that this could be handled and that the financing of work on Marshall's material could by arrangement be made within the framework of an appointment attached to say the Peabody Museum, with opportunities of some teaching and participation in seminars, etc. Powell can stay with us for another year or so as Assistant Lecturer, but he should be moving on before too long. He could be free by next summer.

The other man is Philip Dark, who you may have already met at New Haven - an Englishman, married with two children, who went to Yale to work with Ralph after taking the Slade Diploma in Fine Art here, and a Year's work on our Postgraduate Diploma in Anthropology course. He took his M.A. at Yale and is just finishing off his thesis back here to complete his Yale doctoral requirements, so that he should have his degree early in the New Year. He interrupted his work on his thesis to do eighteen months or so with H.R.A.F., organizing a pilot project for visual aids during which he learnt a great deal about photographic techniques and the indexing of such material. This experience, together with his wide ethnographic knowledge, would mean that he could very quickly get down to the systematic analysis of ethnographic film material, and might do something quite original with it. He has not as keen an eye for sociological analysis as Powell, but a far more acute aesthetic sense, being himself a painter and sculptor, so that I have a feeling that he might suit you and Marshall better than Powell. He is also at the same time a very cultivated person who would be an asset in and around a museum.

C O P Y

December 1, 1953

Dr. Alan P. Merriam  
Director, Laboratory of  
Comparative Musicology  
Northwestern University  
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Dr. Merriam:

Thank you for your kind letter of November 3rd. We have been trying to locate people who are interested in our Bushman recordings. The primary purpose is that such interested people should be aware of their existence. Of course, as our study progresses it will be desirable for us to have technical advice as to processing and use.

If you are at any time in the vicinity we would be very glad to have you listen to the tapes and get your opinion.

Very sincerely yours,

Laurence K. Marshall

C O P Y

Northwestern University  
Evanston, Ill.

*S. W. Africa  
Technical  
Recordings*

Department of Anthropology

3 November, 1953

Mr. L. K. Marshall  
4 Bryant Street  
Cambridge, Mass.

Dear Mr. Marshall:

I have recently received a letter from David McAllester in which he tells me briefly something of the work which you and your wife carried out among the Bushmen in the Kalahari.

I am indeed fascinated by the fifty tapes of music which he says you recorded with a Magnecorder, for I know of no other collection you comparable to it. Mr. McAllester asks whether there is anyone "who might be interested in working the material up and qualified to do so"; I can think of no one who fulfills both these requirements and, in addition, has the further necessary free time to do so. While there are several specialists in African music in this country, and in other parts of the world, each has his own problems both of time and interest to deal with.

This is as applicable to me as to anyone else, However, I should be most grateful for the opportunity to hear some of the materials and examine some of the corresponding notes with a view toward establishing how difficult an analysis would be. I share Mr. McAllester's opinion of the significance of this collection and would be delighted to give it whatever time I could without being able to guarantee immediate, or even future results until I had a chance to appraise the materials.

I am sorry that I cannot immediately say I would take over the materials should you wish me to do so. No lack of enthusiasm enters the problem; rather, it is simply the press of my own research and teaching duties which perforce urge me to caution.

Sincerely,

Alan P. Merriam  
Director, Laboratory of  
Comparative Musicology

*With compliments* *AB*  
*S.W.A*  
*1953*

INTERIM REPORT TO THE BUSHMEN COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE ADMINISTRATION OF S.W.A. ON THE STUDY OF THE HEALTH AND NUTRITION OF THE BUSHMEN OF THE OKAVANGO TERRITORY BY REPRESENTATIVES OF THE C.S.I.R./U.C.T. RESEARCH UNIT IN CLINICAL NUTRITION UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF PROFESSOR J.F. BROCK.

The expedition was made at the invitation of the S.W.A. Administration. Its purpose from the Administration's angle was to give assistance to the Government Commission on the future of the Bushmen. From the point of view of my Department and my C.S.I.R. Research Unit in Clinical Nutrition its purpose was to gain further information on the comparative racial aspects of clinical nutrition.

The expedition was financed by the Administration of S.W.A. with a contribution from the Council For Scientific and Industrial Research. The team consisted of Dr. O. Budtz-Olsen (Department of Physiology), Dr. B. Bronte Stewart (Department of Medicine), Dr. J. Hickley (C.S.I.R. Bursar), Mr. B. Maguire (National Botanic Institute) and myself. I am indebted to Professor J.T. Irving and the Directors of the National Botanic Institute for releasing Dr. Budtz-Olsen and Mr. Maguire and to the University Council for granting special leave for the first week of the second term.

The expedition was conducted by Dr. P.J. Schoeman at present Game Warden for the S.W.A. territory and previously Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Stellenbosch and had consultations with the Administrator, the Provincial Secretary and members of the Bushmen Commission. We travelled from Windhoek via the Etosha Pan where approximately 100 Heikun Bushmen were examined and then continued to the Okavango territory in a strip of approximately 30 - 40 miles south of the Okavango River. In this strip, approximately 1250 Kung Bushmen were examined. The whole survey occupied  $4\frac{1}{2}$  weeks including travel to and from S.W.A.

The method of study was to assemble in advance through the Resident Commissioner parties of up to 300 Bushmen at 5 centres. All the assembled Bushmen were inspected and superficially examined and a smaller sample chosen as far as possible by random selection was submitted to intensive clinical examination and laboratory testing. The laboratory study was surprisingly successful considering the great difficulties which had to be overcome from rough transport and an open-air laboratory exposed to sun, wind and flies. As a pilot experiment it has given valuable information for better laboratory facilities on a subsequent expedition.

The Kung Bushmen represent a late stone-age culture and have not learned to grow any crops or domesticate any animals. They live by hunting wild game and by collecting "veldkos". This consists of nuts, beans and edible roots. Mr. Maguire is at present identifying many species and was able to make a preliminary survey of the flora of the Okavango territory. Our expedition met the Harvard Expedition in Social Anthropology under Mr. Marshall and Professor Brew and they have prevailed upon the Directors of the National Botanic Institute to release Mr. Maguire for a further period of two months during the rainy season which he will spend with the Harvard Expedition. Professor Brew has also arranged for certain aspects of the food analysis of "veldkos" which cannot be done in South Africa to be undertaken at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Dr. Budtz-Olsen made an extensive study of the incidence of the Sickling phenomenon in the blood of the Bushmen and submitted a large number of specimens of blood for blood grouping to Dr. Zouterdyk of the S.A. Institute of Medical Research. Information under this heading will be of great value in determining the origins and racial affiliations of the Bushmen.

On the matter of the incidence of common diseases the following are among the more interesting findings. (1) Malaria incidence falls into Wilson's group 3 i.e. regular infection in each rainy period separated by a long break in the transmission season during the dry period. This leads to an absence of collective immunity and therefore no decline in the splenic rate with advancing age. It seems very likely that the high spleen rate at all ages is due largely or entirely to this type of seasonal malaria exposure. (2) Definite evidence of bilharziasis was not found in the Bushmen although the disease is endemic among Natives along the river. Blood globulin studies suggest the presence of bilharzia on accepted criteria but these criteria will require further examination. (3) Syphilis and yaws. Syphilis was occasionally noted during clinical

examination but appears to be uncommon. Yaws was not seen but is reported by local medical staff to be present. Blood Wassermann and Kahn tests show an incidence of 15 - 20 per cent positive for syphilis or yaws with a very high incidence of anticomplementary results. The relationship of these anticomplementary results to the abnormal globulins in the blood is a matter of great interest. (4) Tuberculosis appears to be uncommon although one definite case of tuberculous spine was encountered. The incidence of positive Mantoux tests is low although a definite figure cannot be given because it was not possible to take the necessary reading on the fourth day owing to the brief period of stay at each centre. (5) Arteriosclerosis (hardening of the arteries) and premature aging were very prevalent and a circumstantial account was obtained of death by coronary thrombosis. (6) The teeth were very poor indeed apparently due to excessive deposition of tartar and secondary gingival retraction and gingivitis. Caries was seen but its incidence was low. In view of the fact that Bushmen of Bechuanaland are reported to have excellent teeth a comparative study of the mineral content of the water with special reference to fluorine is badly needed. Premature wearing of the cutting edge of incisor teeth (frequent even in adolescents) is attributed by local observers to the hard nature of the diet but I suspect that it is related to the influence of diet or mineral content of water on bone matrix and dentine. (7) The incidence of eye disease is high and trachoma is at least present.

Points of general interest which require further investigation include (1) a high incidence of pot belly and laxity of abdominal muscles in adults as well as in children. This is attributed locally to excessive short period eating but again I suspect that there is a deeper cause, (2) fertility rate appears to be low although marriage at puberty is almost universal. Few Bushmen women have more than five children in their child-bearing life. Total child mortality appears to be about fifty per cent. The result is that numbers appear to be declining.

Nutrition is adversely affected by the prevalent diseases but the diet seems to be reasonably satisfactory both quantitatively and qualitatively, when compared with common African standards. The encroachment of European civilisation and Native hunting on the traditional Bushmen hunting grounds has led to a serious meat shortage. This, however, is compensated for in part by the excellent protein content of certain items of "veldkos" particularly the Shivi bean (*Guibourtia coleosperma*) and the Mungetti nut (*Ricinoderdron Rautanenii*). The prevalence of these nuts and beans appear to be sufficient to protect the existing population of Bushmen from protein malnutrition even though game has become so scarce. They need some method of education about collection and storage of the nuts and beans. The use of a pulp made from nuts and beans as a milk substitute in the post-weaning life of the infant apparently avoids the serious protein malnutrition which results from the use of maize pap as a milk substitute in Bantu and Negro culture through the rest of the African Continent. This healthy trend should be maintained.

It is suggested by members of the Bushmen Commission that a reserve should be established for the Kung Bushmen and that they should be taught to herd sheep or goats and grow a few crops. Such a development would appear to be necessary if their extinction is to be avoided. It will require patient education.

The above is an interim report covering the main points which are likely to be of practical interest to the Bushmen Commission. Much work still remains to be done in the final analysis of specimens brought back and their collation. It is intended to publish a scientific article or articles at a later date and copies will be sent to the Bushmen Commission. In the meantime if further detail is required on any of the points raised, would the Commission kindly communicate with Professor Brock. Appended is a personal comment by Professor Brock on the future of the Kung Bushmen which is submitted as being of possible assistance to the Bushmen Commission.

Acknowledgment is made to the Council For Scientific and Industrial Research for financial assistance to the expedition. Acknowledgment is also made to the Administration of S.W.A. for financial and material assistance and guidance and for the privilege and opportunity of this survey.

PROFESSOR J.F. BROCK.  
DEPARTMENT OF MEDICINE,  
UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.

3rd October, 1952.



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Two envelopes of

Lorna Marshall's.

Kinship notes & letters

given to L. Marshall

11/12/53



Laurence Marshall would like to have a letter written to the Secretary of South West Africa, Administration Building, Windhoek giving them permission to reproduce five pictures for use on postage stamps.

Pictures are: Bushmen gathering Mangettis  
Baby drinking from Ostrich egg-shell  
Baby dancing with dancing rattles  
Boy bringing water in skin bags  
Two boys starting out to hunt

This letter should be sent to Dr. E. R. Scherz  
P.O. Box 180  
Windhoek, S.W. Africa

First class. Air Mail

December 15, 1953