

For Mrs Marshall

Harvard University
Dept. of Social Relations

March 20, 1953

Dear Jo:

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 Archaeologist 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 can't cite tribal names and monographs from memory, but it is particularly found among the Australians 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.

Where a particular 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 if I run across 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 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 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 labels 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.

I would also enquire whether 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 descendants of immediate collaterals (brothers children, sisters children,) and own descendants 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, joking and respect, etc.)

Although I can't pass as an expert on 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 not, depending on point of reference -- lineage, kindred, local group, or what.

It is most unlikely that a small wandering group like bushmen are unilineal or double descent. Unilineal groups are usual only in relatively large, relatively well properties 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 - mothers brothers 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, MoFa, MoFaMo, MoMoMo, etc and through father to FaMo, FaF, FaFaFa, FaFaMo, etc. This can be picked up from Geneologies 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 these who are all descended from one person long ago, and those who form a group who are only related through a single relationship - so that my mothers sisters are not consanguineal kin of my fathers brothers 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 women) 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 kindren. (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 husbands father; matrilocal, with wifes father; bilocal - with either husbands or wifes father; neolocal, anywhere except with husbands or wifes father; alternating one year with husbands father, one year with wifes father; avunculocal -- with mothers brother or amitilocal--with fathers 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,

s/ David

PEABODY MUSEUM
OF
ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY
HARVARD UNIVERSITY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS, U.S.A.

April 17, 1953

Mrs. Lorna Marshall
Grootfontein
South West Africa

Dear Mrs. Marshall:

I have been hearing great things about your field work from Jo and Lauriston, but had no idea that you were working so intensively with the difficult subject of kinship until Jo gave me your data on kinship terminology to look over.

Kinship is not my specialty, but I know enough about the subject to be in a position to say that the genealogy work you have done is extremely good and would do credit to a professional social anthropologist.

On the theory that two opinions are better than one Jo also asked Dr. David Schneider, a Social Anthropologist in the Social Relations Department here, to evaluate your data and Dr. Schneider's opinion agrees with mine. As a matter of fact this letter should be taken as coming from both of us.

We both feel that we could profitably spend several days going over your data to make a thorough going-study of it, but as you can well realize "several days" are hard to set aside for any single project in the midst of a teaching term. Hence our suggestions to you are based on a briefer examination of your data than we would devote to it if circumstances were different. We will continue examining your charts within the next few weeks and may have additions to write you later on, but for the moment we are anxious to send along a few suggestions to catch this week's mail. It may be that you have already followed these leads and answered these questions and if so please ignore them and forgive us for having overlooked points in your terminological data.

Dr. Schneider whose knowledge of kinship systems is far wider than mine believes that Bushman system is a classic example of what kinship specialists call "the Eskimo" kinship system, which incidently is what our own English and American systems conform to.

First, of all, it would be useful to have a list of specific marital prohibitions and preferences. In other words who should Ego not marry and who would be the ideal mate for Ego.

Second. Who among Ego's relative's are married to each other? I presume you already have this kind of information among your genealogical materials.

or mates

Mrs. L. K. Marshall, 2

Third. Can a man marry his mother's brother's great granddaughter (classificatorily), or anyone three generations below him? By generations, of course, I refer to genealogical generations and not to those based on relative age.

Fourth. Try to get the terms for the offspring of Ego's father's sister's sons and daughters, and the offspring of father's brother's sons and daughters.

Fifth. According to your data Ego (a male) may call his father's brother's offspring, his father's sister's offspring, and his mother's brother's offspring by any one of three sets of terms (~~was~~ tsi, tsuma and !guma; or tsi, tsuma and toma). The question is: are these alternative terms used indiscriminately, or is each term used according to a specific social context. Briefly, what determines the term which Ego will select to use toward these relatives, there being three choices in each case. (In connection with these terms we cannot find a third term (tsuma) being applied to Ego's mother's sister's son.)

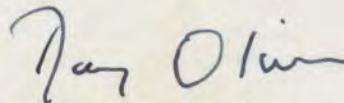
As Dr. Schneider sees it, the principal feature of Bushman terminological system as you have recorded it is that the nuclear family stands out as a sharply differentiated group, whereas all the other relatives tend to be named simply according to sex and generation. This is, of course, a feature of many kinship systems and is almost to be expected in a society like that of the Bushmen where lineal organization is not stressed.

I am sending along a kinship chart which Dr. Schneider drew up on the basis of part of your data. Presumably you have already drawn up numerous charts like this.

Again let me tell you how pleased we are at your results. When you return and clothe this terminological skeleton in the flesh and blood of actual descriptions of behavior, your monograph should be something that a professional anthropologist would be proud to claim.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,



Douglas L. Oliver

DLO:it

March 20, 1953

Dear Lorna:

I was delighted to get your long letter of February 27 -- and ashamed to realize that it has been so long since I last wrote to you. Mea culpa, mea culpa, mea maxima culpa. I think of you all a great deal and am intensely interested in what you are doing but I have always had a kind of emotional block about letter-writing and now that I have to write from ten to twenty letters every week in connection with the archaeological organization I am promoting I find it hard to begin with the letters I really want to write.

You certainly have the gift of words, Lorna. Television could not have brought you closer than those few sentences about the calm and lionless midnight when you and Elizabeth sat outside the tent in the South African moonlight, dreaming up travel plans. I hope you do come home by way of Egypt and Constantinople. It sounds like a splendid idea.

I can't be of much help with regard to Egypt, however. My daughter Barbara and her family have left Cairo for good and are now settled in Switzerland. What a shame. They might have made your time in Egypt more pleasant. But the American Research Center in Egypt, of which I am a member, might be useful. Let me know if your plans really materialize and I will send you details. Cooney, of the Brooklyn Museum, who was the Director for this year, fell sick and had to come home, but Professor Arthur Jeffery, of Columbia and the Union Theological Seminary (also President of the American Oriental Society) is replacing him in June. I have been having dealings with him and can give you a letter to him, as well as to friends of various Egyptologists that I know. Your work with the Bushmen should serve as a passport anywhere but a personal contact does no harm. Wish I were going to range up and down the Nile with you.

Your account of the name relationship pattern of the Bushmen is ethnologically exciting. Kluckhohn cannot think of a parallel anywhere else. Doug Oliver will be consulted and Jo has already sent a copy of that part of your letter to David Schneider, a former graduate student of ours who is now teaching in the Social Relations Department. He is quite an authority on kinship systems. We will let you know the reaction. In any case your pattern is probably very rare if not unique. It ought to make a splendid paper for you when you come back. I am intrigued by the way in which the scheme functions, like a clan system, to knit together the scattered bands, although it is not a clan system at all. And what about the red faces of the authors who have claimed that the lowly Bushmen are so primitive that they have practically no social organization? It all fits in with Elizabeth's tests of the intelligence of your friends. And it only goes to show that anything which is so self-evident as to require no investigation will almost always prove to be wrong. You must write up your results. You can do it. Your work is sound, penetrating, splendid. My hat off to you.

Incidentally is there any pattern in the giving of names, beyond a tendency to name children after their grandparents, for this, as Bob Dyson was pointing out to me yesterday, would have a bearing on the problem. And what happens when ego has two name relationships with another group? For example, ego has a brother named Gao and another brother named Qui. When visiting a distant place he finds someone named Gao who has a grandfather named Qui. Does he treat Qui as a brother

because his own brother's name is !Qui or as a grandfather because the new !Qui is grandfather of a man who bears the same name as his own brother Gao. Or should I muddy the waters this way?

Nana seems to be just as well as when you left her. I see her from time to time and we share letters. She has great courage and never complains but lives from day to day until you all come home.

Please congratulate Elizabeth on the selection of her story as one of the best stories of 1952. That pleases us all very much. Also her work with the Porteus Maze and Rorschach tests and her comments on the results seem to be very shrewd and sensible. I can understand what a help she is to the expedition.

It was good to see John when he was here. He seemed like the dependable and capable man that he is. I hope he has good luck with the the rest of the photography at Gautscha that he seems to think is necessary. It is unnecessary to say that Laurence has my heartiest good wishes, as do you all, and expect me at the airport with three bands when you arrive in August or September.

As ever

Lawiston

PEABODY MUSEUM
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April 2, 1953

Dear Elizabeth:

This came this morning from Prof. 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 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."

I hope this is some help.

Jo.

FOLD SIDES OVER AND THEN FOLD BOTTOM UP AND SEAL.
NO OTHER ENVELOPE SHOULD BE USED.

NO OTHER ENVELOPE SHOULD BE USED
READ SIDE OVER AND THEN FOLD BOTTOM UP AND SEAL

J.O. Brew, Director
Peabody Museum, Harvard Univ.
Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A.

AMBRIDGE
APR 2 9 30 PM '53

AMBRIDGE
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AIR LETTER

**VIA AIR MAIL
PAR AVION**

Miss Elizabeth Marshall

c/o Mr. Vlock

SWANLA

Grootfontein, SOUTH WEST AFRICA

Ad. Peabody Museum

MESSAGE MUST APPEAR ON INNER SIDE ONLY
NO TAPE OR STICKER MAY BE ATTACHED

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

FIRST FOLD

SECOND FOLD

I have gone some thinking about this problem and have
wondered among other things on the Lorenz case. I fear
of which I understand the problem as to whether Elizabeth
also reports asked me to refer to your memorandum
this case this morning from Prof. Bach and.

Dear Elizabeth:

APR 3 1953

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March 24, 1953

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

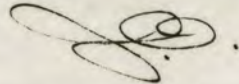
Dear Lorna:

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,



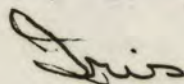
J. O. Brew

Jo got off as planned for a meeting with Mrs. MacCurdy, so he will be enjoying the lovely little town of Old Lyme today. Spring is "busting out all over" hereabouts. The scilla and crocuses are in full bloom, daffodils are in bud and it won't be long now before the forsythia will show color. The winter has been so pleasant and mild I find it hard to realize it is all over.

Your proposed trip sounds wonderful and I am sure both you and Elizabeth deserve the change. Shall look forward to hearing more about it. I can well imagine how you long to get really groomed and dressed up again and sit down to a delicious dinner! I feel the urge more and more to set off again somewhere. It is just a year now since we were busy getting ready for our trip to Europe.

Everyone enjoys your letters and I, for one, really envy you the experience. Had some fine chats with John. Hope he has been able to get the U.S. Consular Form 129 business straightened out, and that the missing film has turned up.

With love to all.



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March 19, 1953

Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall
c/o Mr. Block, South West Africa N.L.A.
Grootfontein, South West Africa

Dear Lorna and Laurence:

I enclose a copy of Natural History with Schapera's article on Bushmen. He is describing one of the standard eastern Kalahari groups who operate in symbiotic relationship with negro groups.

The letters to Nana, Lauriston and me have all arrived. I am asking Dave Schneider the questions about name-kinship. Dave gave a course last year on kinship. Before that he was for two years at the University of London with the anthropologists there and probably is as good a man as we could get for this question. I have also given a copy of it to Oliver.

I cannot tell you how pleased I am that you have got along so well with the kinship and also that this business of name-relationships has come out into the open. I can remember how troublesome it was even at the beginning when I was with you. I think you can be sure (in answer to a query in your letter to Lauriston) that anthropologists quite often do not "get to the bottom of things".

It was wonderful that you had again a dance in the daytime, even though the rain must have interfered with the pictures considerably.

You know how queries keep popping up. At some point when reading these letters it entered my mind that we have not heard anything recently about puberty ceremonies. The business of the passing of the medicine to the medicine-man interns probably brought this to mind. As you know, anthropologists are much preoccupied with puberty ceremonies, and quite rightly, since they are, in many cultures, one of the few really important milestones in a woman's life. My recollection is that we have very little on it for your Bushman group and perhaps you can pull out some more.

Nana continues well and I gather that Mary has just about reached her time. There is another woman there who looks strong and competent. She also does not look flighty or frivolous.

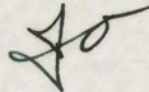
The Egypt trip sounds wonderful. I wish I could do it with you, and Elizabeth certainly deserves it. I can think of another person who deserves it also, though she didn't say so in her letter to Lauriston.

Mr. and Mrs. L.K.Marshall, 2

I shall answer Elizabeth's letter but in the meantime you might tell her that I am making the inquiries about the tests which she wants.

With love and best wishes to all.

As ever,



J. O. Brew

JOB:it

Oliver
Please Return
To J.O.B.

C O P Y

Gautscha
April 26, 1953

Dear Jo:

Thank you for your letter. We could not do without your letters, when the mails come. 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, April 20, arrived Wednesday, Apr. 22. The roads are what is called here heavy, and the loads were heavy. Laurence also returned from Windhoek on Wednesday. John was taking pictures of pink and white flamingoes on the deep blue pan. We heard a truck, did not look around because we thought it was Heines moving the Chev., till Laurence drove up right behind us and got out and was walking around to the cab of the Dodge. We nearly choked with surprise. Had not expected him for 10 days. He is going out again tomorrow, Apr 27, to fetch a man who is to keep the sound equipment in order. We shall make a more concentrated effort on sound recording for 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 Ftoma Goo Helmet, Goo Medicine and (Q 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 anymore 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 somehow 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 Goo Medicine's group on Saturday. They (not John) had shot a gemsbuck - 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 herself. 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 'iland 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 Helmet 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 only the wind they said. I think we are particularly fortunate with our interpreters. Gami and Ledrmo. John takes Gami I have Ledrmo. 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 !gu'na is like ba (father) used regardless of names must be revised. I've had 10 more people say they termed both grandfathers !ga'na and 1 more who termed his father's father Tsu, his mother's father !gu'na. 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 geneological material on him. He was here too short a time to get his geneology. 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 them. But it now seems that under some circumstances father's (and mother's) father can be Tsu (father's mother's ilga, mother's mother?). At least I have 3 cases, Hama, the dead Luma and this man. Maybe the explanation lies in affines vs. kin. If, as Hama says she calls 2 of her grandchildren 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 was named for an affine. 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 generations. She is talking about herself and Gao's sons Gao and !Nani. That is what it takes. You have to know the names of everyone concerned and the geneology

Greetings to Evelyn and the boys, Lauriston, Iris, Bob the Oliners.

s/ Lorna

Cholana April 12, 1953

APR 21 1952

Dear ^{ANS} Jo, Here is another shipment of data on the kinship system. The main purpose in sending it is to get some of the material out where it is safe. Please look upon it with sympathy. It is a first draft and has not been pulled together. I was most grateful for Dr. Schneider's letter. Please tell him. I would like him to see this material, and yet I wish it were in better form. Use your judgement.

Tentative order after what you received before, which was lineal relationships:

Collateral Relationships

Affinal Relationships

Name Relationships

The Naming of children

Tried another kind of a chart to begin with based on me I found in Opler's An Apache life way.

There is an important item about Nama calling two of her grand children tsuma instead of guma. He stuck into the lineal relationships section. Oh me! More work to be done.

over

Composition, bands, marriage, residence
to follow eventually. Residence -
strongest tendency, it seems so far, to be
matrilocal. Many men, however, live
with their father's bands, sometimes
only temporarily. Hard to find out what
system really is because people move
around a lot.

Laurence is going out again to try
to get someone to help in the sound.
John and our Bushmen have gone to
Gautsche. We expect to make the
great move on Thursday, without Laurence.
I'll miss getting mail with every convoy.
I've appreciated your writing for each mail
enormously. Thanks.

Lana

501

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RECEIVED

APR 9 - 1952

ANS _____

Copy
2 carbons

To follow:

collateral relationships with an
example of terms used for
a brother's children and why

Affines - more dope on.

The name relationships - quite a lot of dope

The naming of children
Forms & address

Joking, avoidance, Marriage prohibitions

more on these - what kind of
jokes for example. Mildness of
avoidance - no running away or
covering of faces. Marriage a
big subject; Can't decide
whether to combine all dope
with prohibitions in kinship system
or to have two sections on Marriage.

The Tables of terms aren't made pretty yet
Table B has more affines to follow still in
form of messy notes. There is more checking
to do - Have some notes not yet checked with table
Point of sending this out now is to get some of it
out before we move back to Gaiter's

Copy to here

If you could have someone read this so far and criticize it, it would help. I won't work on it anymore at present except to finish copying the stuff. I have all the dope I know how to get. The only information I would need here would be suggestions as to what I missed or penetrating questions I could not answer which would be stimulating and suggestive of what more is needed. As for the organization of the material, criticism and help on that could wait till we come home and would be most gratefully received.

Elizabeth is going home so I'll send these first sections with her, and send the next batch when I get a chance.

Eliz will tell you herself the why's and wherefo's of her going. We are moving back to Gantucha very soon.

I am excited about the child study material you sent. It will help enormously. I have not studied it yet, only had one quick read through it, because John has had it, studying it in terms of pictures. We shall try to do something with it. But do not get your hopes up. We may not come through with much. Don't even tell anyone we are going to try. Taking pictures like that is so difficult it is next to impossible. There is no hope of a thorough, complete job. It will be catch as catch can. John has much else to do, so have I, and besides my tripod is broken.

I shrink from the thought of the editing. We'll be spending the next five years in a dark room.

As to notes on child study we'll have scraps if they will be of any use. Do not hope for a masterful study and analysis. We are not up to it. Would have to know the language, or nothing. greetings from Lona

Draft 7 Letter to Mr. Moremi Not sent

At present there is a situation here which is confusing to us, and not knowing understanding the policy and function of the post deeply enough we do not know situation deeply enough we want to take no part in saying or doing anything

At present there is a situation here at cigarette which we would like to tell you about as it may be something you would wish to look into ~~not~~ ~~be~~ aware of - in case you are not already aware of it - which you may well be. It is about Debe and his goats. What we have to say is only what we heard said. We have made no investigation of the facts, are confused ourselves in conflicting reports, and naturally we are saying nothing, nor taking any position whatsoever in the matter. We hear that Debe does not want to have the goats, that he cannot manage his food problems here and wishes he were free to go to other areas where food is more accessible. ^{He speaks as though he felt the goats are not an} ~~However he feels responsible for~~ ^{the goats and} ~~opportunity~~ ~~goats~~ and wishes to please you, believes you have said he is to take care of the goats and obeys your wish. ^{It would seem his heart is} ~~not in the goats and that the concept of the goat~~ ^{has not been expressed} ~~is not in the goats and that the concept of the goat~~ ^{are} ~~being in his good.~~ ^{has not been expressed.} If that is so it seems too bad that the goats are not in the hands of someone who does want them and would make more of the opportunities you offer. On the other hand, this may all be a mistake one of those confusions we have so often experienced which take time and persistence to clarify. He himself told us he wished he were free of the goats that he wished Moremi would take them so he could go away to get food but that Moremi would not. ~~that the goats are not~~

Under Moreni's jurisdiction, we understand
the fact that Debe told us this lunacy,
and that ~~F~~ Toma, our headman, also told
us this is still not enough to allow me to
feel sure it is true. There is so very
much room for mis understanding between
Bushmen and ~~ourselves~~ ^{other people}. They are so
easily intimidated they say anything they
think a more powerful person would like to say.
We do not know Debe as a person, nor what
integrity & lack of integrity he may have. It
could be he was saying that he could not
get enough food here and was not allowed
to leave to play on our sympathy - but our

impression is that this was not the case,
we think he believes what he says, but that he may be ^{mistake} ~~mis~~ ⁱⁿ ~~the~~ ^{confound} ~~the~~ ^{our} ~~way.~~

What brought it all up was two desperately
sick babies Debe's grand sons. They had
been ~~levelly~~ ^{all right as far as we knew} ~~walking~~ about and playing
when we left. When we returned we found
them on the point of death, shockingly thin
and too weak to hold their heads up. ^{They had diarrhoea}
The mothers of the babies, Debe's daughter ^{and one had a}
and daughter in law, said that the ^{temperature of}
baby had been sick, that they had ^{100! The}
no food - their melon patch is finished. ^{serious aspect}
The melons eaten - that there is no rye ^{of their condition}
veldkos at the moment near - that the ^{was}
babies were too sick to take on a long
journey, that they could not leave or
live in another place because of the goats.

Draft of letter to Mr. Morris Not sent

We did nothing but work over them for three days and today they are better. They look as though they might live. We fed the mothers to try to bring their milk back, fed the babies little by little, every hour. How they got into such a state ~~is what we are confused about~~ ^{We do not know}

They said they were out of food; their melons are all eaten; and, they said, they were not free to leave to go to another area where vegetables is ripe ~~because of the goats~~. They said they asked Moremi for food and he would give them none. Moremi said they did not ask him, and that besides he is very short of food himself, though we think that ~~must~~ be relative speaking on Moremi's part. We understand it is not Moremi's responsibility to feed Debe's group ~~though we wish he had taken care of these 2 babies~~ ^{however} ~~but what we are confused about~~ ^{is what Debe}

~~understands or believes~~ ^{wonders} ~~or is mistaken about~~ in relation to your orders ^{on Moremi's} ~~and his being his goats~~ and his freedom ^{to arrange somehow to} ~~to go~~ ^{when ever} he needs ~~to go~~ to get food. Perhaps his area where he belongs is too far away. Perhaps the lack of food eat effects nursing mothers ~~so quickly~~ ^{that} their milk goes ~~the babies~~ ^{before they realize it} ~~get too sick to have~~ ~~and~~ ~~the~~ ~~are~~ ~~the~~ ~~do not~~

~~know what the story is and bring it to your attention~~ ~~so you can ask Debe~~ ~~when you come again~~ ~~what is~~ ~~in his mind~~ ~~lest he is~~ ~~too timid~~ ~~to tell you.~~

~~Why they did not~~ ~~pressee~~ ~~this~~ ~~and~~ ~~arrange~~ ~~something~~ ~~it is~~ ~~futile~~ ~~to~~ ~~ask~~ ~~Paulmen.~~ ~~Who~~ ~~was~~ ~~free~~ ~~to~~ ~~go.~~ ~~who~~ ~~might~~ ~~have~~ ~~stayed~~ ~~to~~ ~~care~~ ~~for~~ ~~the~~ ~~goats~~ ~~while~~ ~~others~~ ~~went~~ ~~we~~ ~~have~~ ~~not~~ ~~enquired~~ ~~into.~~ ~~We~~ ~~do~~ ~~not~~ ~~know~~ ~~what~~ ~~the~~ ~~story~~ ~~is~~ ~~and~~ ~~bring~~ ~~it~~ ~~to~~ ~~your~~ ~~attention~~ ~~so~~ ~~you~~ ~~might~~ ~~ask~~ ~~Debe~~ ~~when~~ ~~you~~ ~~come~~ ~~again~~ ~~what~~ ~~is~~ ~~in~~ ~~his~~ ~~mind,~~ ~~lest~~ ~~he~~ ~~is~~ ~~too~~ ~~timid~~ ~~to~~ ~~tell~~ ~~you.~~

~~to tell you.~~

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

64 Plympton Street
Cambridge 38, Massachusetts

PSYCHOLOGICAL CLINIC

28 June 1954

Dr. J. O. Brew
Peabody Museum

Dear Joe:

I read the Bushman kinship paper rather carefully last night and although I think it has some extraordinarily interesting data, certain limitations in the kind of data and in the presentation make me feel that it would not be advisable to publish in its present form. On the other hand, with some drastic revision and rewriting of parts, my opinion is that the data are inherently interesting and useful enough to stand without any elaborate or detailed analysis. I think, for instance, that it might be turned into a long paper appropriate for the Southwest Journal or Bantu Studies or possibly Africa. I say this because there just is not very much data available on Bushman kinship. If this were a report on another ordinary Crow type system it would be a different matter of course. Expanding the material somewhat would be even more useful than a Journal article, but would provide problems of publication outlet.

I think that the author has worked over the data sufficiently so that it would not seem likely that another rewrite would really help it. If it were possible for some more experienced kinship person to go over the data in detail with her, I am quite sure that it would result in a publishable manuscript. Her use of tables, for instance, is confusing and could easily be straightened out. Certain apparent contradictions in the data (for instance, that a man may marry a !oui who turns out to be a sister--page twenty-one--) could also I am sure, be easily clarified. On the other hand, the naming system needs considerable clarification. Some more detailed description of roles and of property relations would be imperative. The addition of some sample geneologies would help. A detailed analysis of geneologies to discover who marries whom, where they live, and some account of why, would be important to add.

In short, my feeling is that the data are too good to lose, but that they still need considerable clarification and some additional information before they could stand as a contribution to Bushman ethnography. I don't think, however, that it really needs any more elaborate analysis than is already present. If I can do anything further on this, I hope you will let me know.

Sincerely,

David

David M. Schneider

*write
Dad's words
name*