

Margaret Mead's Uses of Imagery

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Preamble: Japan in Mead's World View

Before reviewing Margaret Mead's intersection with visual anthropology, I would like to mention how Japan figured in her world view. Japan was on her mind during my first meeting with her in February, 1951 when I came to the first session of her course on "Cross-Cultural Communication." She read carefully biographical sketches of students. Discovering that I had lived in Japan for three years (1945-48), she asked me to come to her office in the museum. Her first question: "What do you think of Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*?"

As a friend and collaborator with Benedict, she was focused at first on traditional Japanese distinctions between shame and guilt, and the Japanese genius for adaptation within hierarchical social structures. Mead was also interested in how my mother and four youngest brothers enjoyed living with me in Tokyo after my father died. She was happy to learn about the paper carp flying in front of our house on Boy's Day, and that the American School in Tokyo offered Japanese history and language courses to students.

Japan's powerful presence in the Pacific and Asia surely was taken in to account in view of Mead's curiosity about geopolitics, and her duties as Associate Curator of Pacific Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History. Cultural diffusion, she believed, is a two-way process. Ancient Japan showed influence from the Malay-Polynesian South, and modern Japan, particularly during World War II, spread a wide web of cultural and economic influences on the Pacific island peoples who were her subject matter.

During the nearly 30 years that followed until her death, Mead always relied upon me, and others she knew who had Japanese experience, to keep her abreast of cultural and scientific

developments in a nation becoming a strategic ally. She wanted to hear of my eye-witness account of Japan's ceremonial entry into UNESCO in Paris in 1952. On one of her trips to the Pacific in the early 1970s, she wanted to take advantage of a brief stop-over in Tokyo to invite a number of Japanese intellectuals to have lunch with her at the American embassy where she was a guest. Nakane Chie and Nagai Michio were among those I suggested.

In New York, I introduced her to Faubion Bowers, General MacArthur's aide and interpreter, who became a renowned patron of Kabuki to the Western world. He explained to her themes and plots in Kabuki plays that had been of interest to Benedict.

Mead's godson, Dr. Daniel A. Metraux, son of the late anthropologists Alfred and Rhoda Metraux, told me recently that Mead had a fascination for Japan and its vibrant and pragmatic culture. He grew up in the household shared by Mead and his mother. Mead urged him in 1965 to pursue a career in Japanese studies; he had too many famous anthropologists in his life to want to study anthropology, so "I could make my own mark by focusing on Japan which then appeared to Mead to be the nation on the rise. Japan's huge mix of West and East intrigued her—a good balance of new ideas held together by a strong traditional culture. Mead respected tradition and thought people should know their own roots." Daniel Metraux created the Department of Asian Civilizations at Mary Baldwin College, Staunton, Virginia, and is the author of a number of books on Japan, including his studies of the Soka Gakkai movement in Japan, Australia and Canada.

Only recently did I learn that Mead's first published reference to Japan was in her 1931 review of two books, *Through Oriental Gates*, by James Saxon Childers, and *The Romantic East* by Syney Greenbie, in *New Freeman*. Her bibliography cites many other Mead references to Japan and the Japanese in articles and books.¹

If alive today, Mead would most likely be following these among many other developments: Japan's internal constitutional debates about new international uses of her defense forces, the enduring issues of Japanese whaling, participating in international efforts to insist on the U.S. signing of the Kyoto Agreement on Global Warming, Japanese diplomacy toward reducing nuclear threats from North Korea, and the demographic trends in Japan influencing the care of the elderly, and the choices of some Japanese women not to marry. And in the context of this symposium, she would be eager to congratulate its organizers for

¹ See Joan Gordan, ed., *Margaret Mead: The Complete Bibliography 1925-1975* (The Hague: Mouton, 1976)

contributing to many aspects of her unfinished work: making the human sciences relevant to decisions of citizens and their public servants in their own societies and international organizations. When she died in 1978, the *New York Times* described her as “grandmother to the world.” As a celestial grandmother, she is surely watching over this symposium and wishing she were here.

Margaret Mead's Uses Of Imagery

To explore Margaret Mead's contributions to visual anthropology, I will provide partial responses to seven questions:

1. What do investigators of the human brain tell us about its processing of images as well as words?
2. How did Mead's early years foreshadow her pioneering in the use of imagery in her roles as anthropologist and public intellectual?
3. Who were some of her predecessors in the history of visual anthropology?
4. How was film analysis used in World War II studies of national character?
5. How did Mead find new collaborators to go beyond her own legacy? Who were some of them?
6. What infrastructures or institutional arrangements did she help to create to advance visual anthropology for new generations?
7. What image did Mead value above all else?

Brain Processing of Images and Words

Neuroscientists continue to discover much about the way the human brain processes images. Our brain's right hemisphere specializes in working with images, not words. Of course, hemispheres don't operate in complete isolation from each other. Left and right hemispheres need synoptic yin-yang coordination. Sometimes the balance shifts to the right hemisphere, and a strong enduring or detonating image can overpower the rational, language-based operations of

the left.² Imagery, or vivid mental pictures are found in music, religion, art, science or photography.³

Margaret Mead (1901-1978), did not give her own brain to science, though many of us who knew her were dazzled by her capacity to move instantly from the macrocosm to the microcosm.⁴ Friends wondered about how her brain cells could perform these feats. Her interest in general systems theory reflected her curiosity about the integration of the sciences and the humanities. She explored the origins of knowledge based, in part, on the biological and cultural inheritance of children as they matured and moved through the human life cycle. (Children and young people were the centerpiece of her work on education, socialization, enculturation, cultural continuity, evolution and change. Imagery of all kinds was put to the service of those interests). Her approach to science and to her own life was holistic and organic.

Mead told me not long before she died in 1978 that she much regretted not having learned more about brain evolution. She had met Dr. Paul MacLean, a pioneer in research on the tri-partite brain: the reptilian, mammalian and neo-mammalian segments that are still evolving in our heads, not yet fully integrated. She was fascinated by what still needs to be learned about the interplay of the brain with the rest of the body, and what some call the soul.⁵

² Such an account of imagery appears in a new book by Richard Restak, M.D.. *The New Brain: How the Modern Age is*

Rewiring Your Mind _Rodale Press. 2003. Restak recommends to persons further interested in brain imaging to read Peter Conrad's *e*. Thames & Hudson. London. 1998. especially Chapter 19. "The Age of Light." Brain mechanisms of imagery are discussed in Posner, M.I. & Raichle, M.E. in *Images of Mind*, Scientific American Paperback books, 1996; and Kosslyn, S.M., *Images and Brain* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press,1996.) Dr. Tadanobu Tsunoda has done fascinating work on language influences on brain hemispheres in *The Japanese Brain—Uniqueness and Universality* (Tokyo: Taishukan Publishing Company) and basic research on the human brain evolution continues at the Kyoto University Primate Research Institute. Earlier anthropological claims on imagery can be found in Rhoda Metraux. "Resonance in Imagery." in Margaret Mead and Rhoda Metraux, *The Study of Culture at a Distance*: Berghahn Books.2000.

³ In terms of science, think of the image of Rosalind Franklin's X-Ray, the famous Photo 51, leading Watson and Crick to a Nobel prize for their work on DNA. She was probably unaware of Vietnam military intelligence uses of infra-red cameras to "see the enemy" in combat situations and the development of specialists in "image interpretation."

⁴ 2 This gift might be illustrated, say, by using "immigration" as a macrocosm and "garlic" as microcosm-referring to food habits brought to the new country by Italians or Koreans. In writing about the spread of suburbia after World War II, Mead referred to "instant hot water and station wagons" as characteristics of the creation of such new human settlements as Levittown, Long Island. Photographs for her would become springboards for extrapolation, bits and pieces of cultural evidence to be woven into larger patterns.

⁵ 3 See *Man and Beast: Comparative Social Behavior*, Smithsonian Press, Washington. 1971. edited by John F. Eisenberg and Wilton S. Dillon, especially a summary of MacLean's research in Chapter 3, "Neurological Aspects in

Though she always insisted that anthropologists should use themselves as data (she called it *disciplined subjectivity*), her belated interest in brain research came too close to the time of her death for her to become introspective and auto-biographical about her own mental processes. So I am daring to speculate on how her own life history might suggest some steps in her journey toward visual anthropology and her powers of communication as a public intellectual. Could her own childhood and early adulthood give us some clues about how her brain hemispheres interacted?

My hunch is the following: To understand Mead's pioneering work, one needs to examine her early interests in pageantry, liturgy, poetry and richly textured prose. These were preparations for her unique visual and verbal approach to the human sciences. The combination of the visual and verbal figured in her role as a scientist and as a citizen who took seriously her public responsibilities. Words and images, and the linking of the general to the particular, were part of her rich repertoire of communication skills used for "the common good."

Reflections on her Early Years

Mead wrote of her interest in pageantry in her autobiography, *Blackberry Winter: My Earlier Years*.⁶ "In school, I organized every kind of game, play, performance, May Day dance, Valentine party...a Shakespeare festival on the front porch...In schools, I felt as if I were in some way taking part in a theatrical performance in which I had a role to play and had to find actors to take other parts. I wanted to live out every experience that went with schooling, including making costumes for school plays." At De Pauw University in 1920, she was Queen of the Pageant.

Social Behavior," by Detlev Ploog, and Chapter 13. "Innate Behavior and Building New Cultures: A Commentary," by Margaret Mead. She complained in 1969 about social scientists' emphasizing words almost exclusively, neglecting

nonverbal behavior, and chiding them for neglecting the camera, tape recorder, videography and the interaction chronograph. Such instrumentation, she argued, makes it possible to observe multi-sensory communication of human

beings in face-to-face situations.

⁶ Another example of Mead's use of poetry and metaphor: *Blackberry Winter* refers to the time when the hoarfrost lies on blackberry blossoms; with this frost the berries will not set. It is the forerunner of a rich harvest. The book was published in 1972 by William Morrow & Company, Inc., New York.

It is not surprising, therefore, that Mead's interest in human gestures, facial expressions and body movements (later known as kinesics) as manifest in pageants and school theatricals would prepare her for finding meaning in the liturgy of the church. At age eleven, she presented herself for instruction and baptism in a small Episcopal church outside Philadelphia. Her secular parents, either out of atheism or agnosticism, had not encouraged any religious instruction for her. She attended a Quaker school whose worship services were clearly non-liturgical. The Quaker service lacked ceremonies that act out an ancient myth of a hybrid human believed, by most Christians, to be divine.

She wrote: "I was disappointed in the Buckingham Meeting (a Quaker sanctuary), where a few very old wealthy people sat in absolute silence... So I shifted with enthusiasm to the little Episcopal church...almost at once the rituals were the form of religious expression for which I had been seeking...a relationship with God should not be based on what you believed, but rather what you felt...! regarded credibility as irrelevant... and wanted a form of religion that gave expression to an already existing faith." (p. 77)

Also in *Blackberry Winter* Mead gives some hints about the value she attached to photography, using photography even as a metaphor. Writing the book, she said, "has been rather like editing a film for which the photography has been done so generously that there is a great abundance of material from which to choose to make any point." Pictures of family and friends gave her evidence of how people change over generations as well as reflect continuity.

Setting side by side pictures of my daughter and my great granddaughter, of my grandmother as a young woman and as I last knew her, of my father with my young sister and, many years later, with my mother, of myself, as a child, with my brother, and of my brother and sisters growing up, I found that all these pictures echoed each other. Each was a picture of a person at a particular moment, but spread out before me, I saw them as the patterns my family made for me...Past and present were juxtaposed. Seeing old pictures... I found no sharp break with the past. (pp.4-5).

Mead shuttled easily between images and words, both brain hemispheres connecting as in a dance. In the first chapter of *Blackberry Winter* she recalls an engraving in a copper frame on her family mantelpiece: "a pair of children, a little girl diligently sewing a fine seam and a boy, beautiful and remote, simply sitting and looking out in the world. Long years later, the same picture provided the central image in a bitter little verse of feminine protest that I write when

Edward Sapir told me I would do better to stay at home and have children than to go off to the South Seas to study adolescent girls." (p. 11) That image re-emerges in these words addressed to Sapir, the distinguished linguistics anthropologist who also wrote poetry:

*Measure your thread and cut it
To suit your little seam,
Stitch the garment tightly, tightly,
And leave no room for dream.*

*Head down, be not caught looking
Where the restless wild geese fly.*

This sample of her early poetry should be accompanied by references to her prose. In 1915, she began to try to write seriously. She began a novel, wrote short plays for school occasions, started a school magazine, and read modern plays. She had not yet heard of anthropology at that time, and reveals in her autobiography that at different times, she wanted to become a lawyer, a nun, a writer or a minister's wife with six children. Her uses of imagery would have served all these vocations but she kept those uses for anthropology and an engaged public intellectual.

The chapter, "Home and Travel," includes numerous references to specific observable, touchable objects she could remember from the various houses in which she lived as a child. A random reading of any other prose contains numerous specifics easily translatable into visual experience. During field-work in the South Seas, she would carry objects with her as reminders of home: tin cans holding beads or salt for trade or crayons for children to draw with. Then, re-installed in a tower of the American Museum of Natural History in New York, she created a work environment with tapa-patterned cotton curtains, Samoan mats on the floor, and later Japanese lanterns hung from ceiling lights. These are examples of concrete objects that, along with behavior, she would want to capture on film to provide a patterned gestalt. From that modest space, without a bureaucracy or army at her disposal, she managed a global network of friends and associates installed in key institutions who became partners in her quest for a better world. (One can see images of her in that office in a video documentary, *Mon Ami, Margaret*, by the late Jean Rouch).

What are other examples of how Mead's life history intersects with capturing images? In her autobiography, *Blackberry Winter*, we learn that she admired the beautiful photography of her first husband, Luther Cressman, to whom she was married in 1918. An Episcopal priest who later became an archaeologist, Cressman shared Mead's interest in poetry and the portrait of the Mead family painted by Margaret's sister, Elizabeth. (Coincidentally, Elizabeth married the famous cartoonist, William Steig, an artist from a family of artists, who reinforced his famous sister-in-law's interest in visual presentation as a vital way to communicate ideas).

Though photography did not figure prominently in the published version of her pioneering first book, *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Mead,⁷ when later married to Reo Fortune, and doing field work in Manus, New Guinea, reports that she and Fortune worked rapidly to include photographs in a report due in New York. He used the camera and she took notes to provide the timing and context. "We worked very fast photographing the people--the men with their hair tied up in psyche knots, their arms and legs adorned with beaded bands.. .women with their heads shaven and earlobes distended, their necks and arms hung about with the hair and bones of the dead." (p. 169)

Fortune's pre-Mead field work eventually reported in his *The Sorcerers of Dobu* prompted her to remark: "There was one terrible gap in the material. His camera had broken and was not repaired in time for him to use it. He had no photographs, and an anthropological book without photographs was almost unthinkable. What to do?" (p. 177).⁸ A solution was found. Fortune found another camera in the hold of a ship. With only three days of sun during his six weeks in Dobu, he got enough pictures to illustrate his book, much to the delight of Mead. This was a foreshadowing of the importance of photography in Balinese field work with her later

⁷ Mead took a Kodak "Brownie" with her to Samoa, an instrument used by others to photograph her with some of the Samoan girls and women now considered classics in the history of anthropology. It was not until later field work that she came to regard the camera as an indispensable tool to be used simultaneously with taking field notes by hand. Others normally did her camera work except during one of her field-work periods in Manus when her colleagues Theodore and Lenora Schwartz went to another island and instructed her on the use of a new camera, to use in their absence. Mead's notes to the plates used in *New Lives for Old* identifies which pictures were posed or not, and the days on which they were taken and by whom. "The identification of the photographer is as essential as identification of the subject," she wrote.

⁸ The un-think-ability of research without using relevant new instruments increased in Mead's case for the rest of her life. A great champion of the telephone and the typewriter, Mead unfortunately did not live long enough to enjoy the benefits of the computer and e-mail, yet, she valued what the Lascaux and Bushmen cave-painters devised, and cherished the literature generated with a quill.

husband, Gregory Bateson. *Balinese Character*, made in 1942, continues to serve as a standard of documentation, even with innovations in the technology and art of taking pictures.

*The International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences*⁹ profile on Mead, authored by Renée Fox, states that "Mead pioneered in the use of photography and film in the field. She regarded them as media that enriched and refined the perceptions of the participant-observer, and enhanced their validity and reliability. Cues that were once imperceptible could now be isolated and studied on the screen." She added that *Balinese Character* by Mead and Bateson was "path breaking contribution to the use of photography not simply as ethnographic illustration, but as detailed and rigorous form of cultural analysis." (p. 9) Analysts today can find new insights by examining the more than seven hundred candid photographs of behavioral sequences to depict major patterns of Balinese life.

Nancy McDowell's superb book, *The Mundugumore: From the Field Notes of Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune* (Smithsonian Press, 1991) contains several of her own photographs of people in the same culture earlier studied and photographed by Fortune and Mead to illustrate continuity and change.

Mead used a theoretical paradigm that McDowell believes hampered the quality of her ethnographic analysis and interpretation: the hope that finding a simple rule, ideal, or personality type could lead to explain variations and contradictions as deviations. But McDowell praises Mead for recording what she saw with her own eyes and a camera to show how deviants were an essential part of the socio-cultural system as a whole. Theories change, but pictures remain constant, and can be used for new interpretations by later generations.¹⁰

In addition to using visual evidence of manners and customs in pre-literate societies, Mead became fascinated by photography as a social phenomenon *per se*. Her lifelong interest in

⁹ See Vol. 2 in *IESS*, edited by David L. Sills and Robert K. Merton, New York: Macmillan, 1991.

¹⁰ A recent challenge or caveat to the belief that images *tell all* comes from a French cultural anthropologist, Francois Flahault, who asks the question, "What are the limits of knowledge produced through visual observation?" In a 2003 English translation of his book, *Malice*, in which he poses a related question, "If the objective world appears not as it is, but rather, as it is perceived, then what is the absolute measure of that which cannot possibly be seen?" He is referring to the concept of evil, "the inner springs of human malice." See Francois Flahault, *Malice*. Translated by Liz Heron. Verso. London/New York, 2003. Mead and Bateson would surely enjoy a dialogue with Flahault and his inspirer, the philosopher Jacques Derrida, for they always welcomed challenges to theories and findings, with or without pictures as "evidence." Mead, moreover, did not require pictures in order to see supernatural phenomena, e.g., a monolithic God or animistic spirits. As president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, she welcomed into the association members of the American Society for Psychic Research. She regarded psychic and non-verbal phenomena as a part of the whole continuum of communication

identifying patterns of culturally-determined behavior is evidenced in her writing about school graduation ceremonies in the U.S. Remembering ceremonies in Samoa and New Guinea marking a girl's puberty, she found recurring patterns in American ceremonies: caps and gowns, processional music, commencement speeches, long lines of students waiting for their diplomas, and then relatives breaking out of the crowd to photograph sons and daughters, (p. 176) People's cameras became cultural artifacts, and their uses a part of the ritual of "coming of age." She observed: So patterns of behavior that are active and positive and events that can be photographed and tape-recorded... (without the presence of an anthropologist)... are relatively easy to study.

Presumably, anthropologists, therefore, could benefit by a vast set of "raw materials," for analysis. Family photo albums, home movies, videos become a part of the cultural history to be transmitted to new generations.¹¹ (Mead and her protégé, E. Richard Sorenson, founder of the Smithsonian's former anthropological film center (to be discussed later) were always dismissive of the idea that the holder of the camera needs academic degrees to record truth). Are such visual records the equivalents of the drawings Mead inspired Arapesh, Iatmul and Balinese children to make? Mead collected hundreds of drawings done by children whom she asked to make images of what they thought a human being looks like. She anticipated what those children could do with cameras.

Later anthropologists have given cameras to the people being studied and found new ways of looking at a culture "from the inside. John Adair and Sol Worth, contemporaries of Mead, provided movie cameras to Navajo Indians and benefited by seeing the contrasts between what they thought significant, and what Euro-American-Asian anthropologists might have chosen to record.¹² More recently, an American anthropologist, Wendy Walker, consultant to the World Bank, has distributed still cameras to interested adults and children in Burkina Faso for insights into their social expectations. What did they think was important to photograph? The

¹¹ If Mead were today to study American stereotypes of Japanese, she just might find, with some testing of free associations, that the image of the camera as a cultural artifact may have overtaken 19th century images of Mt. Fuji or a geisha in kimono. The widespread Japanese use of personal cameras at home and abroad may be a function of a Japanese manufacturing specialty, and taking advantage of adding visuals to the older tradition of keeping diaries.

¹² See John Adair and Sol Worth, "The Navajo as Filmmaker: A Brief Report on Cross-Cultural Aspects of Film Communication," *American Anthropologist*, 69" 76-78, 1967. Edmund Carpenter was disappointed in such results based on his New Guinea experience reported in George Haber, "Filmmaking in Anthropology," in *Popular Photography*, 1976.

resulting pictures provoked dynamic conversation about social goals that would not have been articulated in responses to a questionnaire.

I mentioned earlier that Mead used her own life as data in the name of *disciplined subjectivity*. Perhaps the most unprecedented example of that practice was her decision to photograph the birth of her only child, Mary Catherine Bateson, whose presence here today confirms that she did not suffer from such early exposure to the camera. Nurses and an obstetrician on December 8, 1939 had seen, at Mead's request, the Bateson-Mead film, "First Days in the Life of a New Guinea Baby."¹³

Precursors to Mead and Her Legacy

Harald E.L. Prins, A Dutch anthropologist at Kansas State University, and an historian of anthropology, wrote while serving as the American Anthropologist Visual Anthropology editor: "From the 1930's until her death in 1978, Margaret Mead was a tireless promoter of the scholarly use of ethnographic photography and film." Prins put her into historical context by reminding us that producing and studying visual representations is as old as anthropology itself. Since the 1870's, anthropologists, ethnologists, archaeologists and physical anthropologists all have taken still photographs in the field. Motion pictures appeared in the mid-1890's. Back home from the field, anthropologists used these images to document research and as visual aids for public lectures in museums and universities. Photographs, slides and later films illustrated the prevalent theories of the day.

Franz Boas took pictures of his first fieldwork among the Inuit of Baffin Island in the 1880's and later among the Kwakiutl where he shot footage of ceremonial dances in 1930. Soon thereafter, Boas's student Margaret Mead began collaborating with Gregory Bateson. Bateson (1904-1980), a British anthropologist, was trained by Alfred C. Haddon, (1855-1940) the leader of the 1898 Torres Straits expedition, who is credited with having made the first ethnographic film in the field, according to Prins.¹⁴

¹³ See an account of the birth in Jane Howard, *Margaret Mead: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster. 1984, p.217)

¹⁴ Haddon, a biologist who became an anthropologist at Cambridge where he taught Bateson, among others, is described further by George W. Stocking, Jr., in "Haddon and the Torres Straits," in *After Tyior: British Anthropology 1888-1951*, London, The Athlon Press, 1995.

Thus Prins shows a direct link between earlier 19th century British innovations and Mead's and Bateson's research in Bali (1936-1938) where Bateson took about 25,000 photographs and shot 22,000 feet of motion picture film. Some of these images appear in their *Balinese Character: a Photographic Analysis* (1942).¹⁵ Of course, Mead brought into the Bateson collaboration her lifetime interest in visual experience and her prior use of photography and film in tandem with Fortune. Then there arrived a dramatic shift toward analyzing motion pictures as sources of insight about national character, building upon data and insights from filming human communities smaller than nations. Anthropologists were beginning studies of complex, literate civilizations.¹⁶

Film Analysis and National Character

With World War II well under way in 1942, Bateson began analyses of German fictional film as part of a team of anthropologists inspired by Ruth Benedict and eventually Mead to understand cultures at a distance. Bateson, Benedict, Mead, Rhoda Métraux and Geoffrey Gorer were already at work under different auspices before they led interdisciplinary teams at Columbia University to collect and analyze interviews, literature, and other documentary materials about cultures where wartime prevented direct field work. Mead frequently praised Bateson's masterful analysis of *Hitlerjunge Quex* to help understand what kind of people were the Nazis.¹⁷

¹⁵ 9 Another historic product of that Balinese field work is described by Mead in "The Anthropological Film: U.S. Trance and Dance in Bali," *Cinema* 16 (Bill of Fare), October, 1952, and in Margaret Mead and Frances C. MacGregor *Growth and Culture: A Photographic Study of Balinese Childhood*. New York, Putnam, 1951. Another valuable source is Ira Jacknis, *Margaret Mead and Gregory Bateson in Bali: The Use of Photography and Film*, American Anthropological Association, 1988. Its bibliography deserves special attention, for it includes references to well documented "biases" Bateson and Mead are thought by some scholars to have brought to their work. The newest study is Gerald Sullivan's *Margaret Mead, Gregory Bateson and Highland Bali: Fieldwork Photographs of Baying Gede 1936-1939* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999.)

¹⁶ See David G. Mandelbaum, "The Study of Complex Civilizations," in William L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Current Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956) and Jean Cuisinier, *Europe as a Cultural Area* (The Hague Paris New York: Mouton, 1979) published under the patronage of Claude Lévi-Strauss, Margaret Mead, Laila Shkukry El Hamamsy and M.N. Srinivas.

¹⁷ Viewing it for perhaps 90 times, Bateson explored what the film revealed about parenthood, adolescence, maturity, cleanliness, sex, aggression, passivity and death. He said it was impossible to tell whether filmmakers were conscious, partially conscious or unconscious of what they were doing in telling their story. See Bateson's analysis in a chapter, "Five Illustrations of Film Analysis." in Margaret Mead and Rhoda Métraux. *The Study of Culture at a Distance*. Berghahn Books. New York and Oxford. 2000 In the same chapter is a plot summary by Mead of a Soviet film based on the novel. *The Young Guard*, dealing with heroic Russian reactions to Nazi brutality.

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword remains one of the most celebrated and still debated products of the American effort to use anthropology for war and peace purposes. Its author Ruth Benedict was assigned by the Office of War Information to study Japan in June, 1944 to use all the techniques of cultural anthropology she could to spell out what the Japanese were like. Those techniques included film analysis¹⁸

The one available anthropology field study of a Japanese village was John Embree's *Suye Mura*. She found this invaluable, but inadequate to answer important questions being raised about strengths and weaknesses of the then adversary. In this bold uncharted effort, she relied on colleagues for critiques, such as Clyde Kluckhohn, E.H. Norman, Conrad Arensberg, Alexander H. Leighton (who had studied morale in Japanese relocation centers in the U.S.)¹⁹ and Mead and Bateson. Chapter titles ("Self-Discipline," "The Dilemma of Virtue," "Clearing One's Name," etc.) are partial summaries of insights she gathered from interviews, analyses of epic literature, novels, plots of drama, movies, child-raising manuals, linguistics etc

The Chrysanthemum and the Sword gives no specific movie titles, but Benedict wrote that she and her colleagues viewed propaganda movies, historical movies, and movies of contemporary urban and rural life. They looked for who were the heroes and heroines, and wondered why the hero often comes to a tragic end and the heroine also suffers. Analysts reared in Japanese culture detected patterns not obvious to Benedict and others, a kind of *Rashomon* set of perceptions. Yet, she brought her own anthropological insights to those based on their own experience from being raised in Japanese culture. She wrote, "I knew something about Siam and

¹⁸ See Martha Wolfenstein, "Movie Analysis in the Study of Culture," in *The Study of Culture at a Distance*, op.cit, and Geoffrey Gorer's "Theoretical Approach-1941." his postulates about national character, also partly based on film analysis, in Margaret Mead and Martha Wolfenstein, *Childhood in Contemporary Cultures*, University of Chicago Press, 1955. "All human behavior is understandable," the first proposition, is followed by 10 others derived from anthropology, psychoanalysis and stimulus-response psychology. Gorer also wrote "Japanese Character Structure and Propaganda" in *The Study of Culture at a Distance*, contrasting former child raising habits for males and females. All these theories from the last century need new empirical challenges.

¹⁹ Leighton, a Navy psychiatrist, wrote *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. 1945.) A vast collection of his and other unpublished materials are archived at the Cornell University Library as "Guide to the Japanese-American Relocation Centers Records, 1935-1953. Contact information: rareref@cornell.edu. A long list of books and articles on the internment of 120,000 Japanese-Americans includes *Prejudice, War and the Constitution*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1954), by Jacobus ten Broek, Edward N. Barnhart and Floyd W. Matson, with whom I discussed my own encounters with Japanese culture in Japan in the 1945-48 periods.

Burma and China on the mainland of Asia, and I could therefore compare Japan with other nations which are a part of its great cultural heritage.” (p. 9).

The Tale of the Forty-Seven Ronin became, for Benedict, Japan’s equivalent of Homer’s epics and Shakespeare’s tragedies in the West. This primordial national epic of conflicts between categories of obligations (*gimu* and *giri*) found resonances in puppet shows (*Chushingura*), movies and novels. She found significance, too, in official written texts such as the Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors given by the Emperor Meiji in 1882. French and Japanese critiques of the book and contemporary Japanese studies of Japanese culture promise some needed revision of findings from a distance more than half a century ago.

In the meantime, the experimental book can be examined as an historic reminder to anthropologists today to pay attention to movies as indicators of themes in national cultures (e.g., violence in American cinema) and to speculate on what themes cross national boundaries (e.g., India’s *Monsoon Wedding*). Kurosawa’s films produced an unexpectedly wide following in the United States, perhaps paving the way for the recent Tom Cruise epic, *Samurai*. Mead was an avid movie-goer—both for pleasure and clinical analysis. She was never off-duty.

Finding New Collaborators

In Mead’s theoretical work, *Continuities and Cultural Evolution* (New Haven and London; Yale University Press, 1960), one can find a framework for exploring continuities in her own life history regarding the value she persisted to place on visual experience and finding collaborators in that and other callings. Such was her awareness of the importance of *individuals* in cultural transmission. Whether in field work or in her roles as curator, professor, mentor and cultural commentator, her middle years always found her promoting visual anthropology in tandem with other goals. In the 1950s, she was in a position to influence new generations with visual references to her early fieldwork in Samoa, New Guinea, and Bali, and the showing of such films as *Bathing Babies in Three Cultures*. She did not have to use a camera herself to incorporate its visual harvests in educating students and enlightening the public at large. She inspired some followers to produce original work. Here are three among others--Ken Heyman, Paul Byers and Richard Sorenson. A whole separate paper, for example, could be written about Timothy Asch and other young contributors to the field.

As an adjunct professor at Columbia, she touched the lives of students destined for other professions beyond anthropology. A major tribute to her search for identifying idiosyncratic talent lies in the career of Ken Heyman, (1930-) her onetime Columbia student whose dyslexia gave him problems of reading. She saw his potential as a keen observer of the human condition, and urged him to continue with photography as more than a hobby. He submitted to her class a photo essay for his term paper; she was quick to acclaim his astute perceptions of human interaction. She invited him to accompany her to Bali in 1956 to re-visit the sites where she and Bateson had worked in the 1930's...

For more than 25 years, he accompanied Mead to sites and scenes around the world, and on his own, he became one of the distinguished of American photojournalists. His pictures appeared in *Life*, *Look*, and *Time* as well as in two books he co-authored with Mead, *Family* (1956) and *World Enough* (1976). In addition, he has provided pictures for 22 books for children written by Ann Morris.

Mead insisted that photographers were more than illustrators of what she wrote, and required publishers to identify them as co-authors. For the Mead centennial in 2001, Heyman donated more than 40 pictures of Mead doing field work at home and abroad, exhibiting them at the American Anthropological Association and the Smithsonian. One is now in the National Portrait Gallery. The collection is destined for a permanent place in the Smithsonian's Anthropological Archives, in addition to many of his Mead pictures already in the Library of Congress Mead collection. Also in celebration of the Mead Centennial, the American Museum of Natural History exhibited fifty black and white photographs selected from the *Family* book.

Paul Byers (1920-2001) is another example of original talent Mead "discovered" and nurtured. During Mead's lecture tour in Australia in 1946, Byers, an American then studying piano and working as a writer and free-lance-photographer, was assigned to cover Mead's visit. As in the case of the younger Ken Heyman, Byer's encounter in Australia launched a friendship and collaboration with Mead until her death in 1978. He started as a photographer and ended as a visual anthropologist. His teachings at Columbia, a film about him, and his published works still inspire new post-Mead generation of students and specialists in nonverbal behavior and rhythmic relations of people in communication. Their book, *The Small Conference: an Innovation in Communication* (The Hague: Mouton. 1968) has been liberally quoted in John

Collier's 1990 edition of *Visual Anthropology: Photography as a Research Method*. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.)

(Mead's own countless participation in conferences inspired much of her participant-observer interest in small group behavior—along with the behavior of people in nation states and international alliances. The motto of her centennial observance is her much-quoted admonition, “Never doubt that a small group responsible, committed citizens can change the world.”)

Byers shared with his mentor, Mead, and their kinesics colleague, Ray Birdwhistell, an interest in the ethnology of anthropology: the interaction of the observer and the observed. In an amusing 1972 paper, “Up the Zambezi with Notebook and Camera,” he asks, “Why do anthropologists take pictures?”²⁰ Byers observed that when an anthropologist takes pictures in the field he/she most closely resembles someone from his culture on vacation. The camera is taken everywhere so that the pictures can be remembered and shared with others who were not there. So picture taking is best understood as a communication activity, only peripherally related to the maker's particular research problem and seldom used as data for analysis or evidence. He observed that photographs taken by non-anthropologists of the same culture are indistinguishable. Thus the perception-molding culture of the photographer rather than one's profession becomes a salient factor in a holistic understanding of how anthropologists work.²¹

A third protégé of Mead who continues to make contributions to visual anthropology and an understanding of human consciousness is E. Richard Sorenson, a philosophy-trained anthropologist from Stanford. He was never her student, but Mead, forever seeking out younger people with new talent, learned of his documentary, *Growing up as a Fore*. She realized that he had great potential for helping film and protect other visual evidence of vanishing ways of life. This would be done through the creation at the Smithsonian of the National Anthropological Film Center for which she provided unprecedented lobbying for public support. (See next section of this paper for details).

Their collaboration started at the National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, Maryland, when Mead was serving as a Fogarty Fellow. In what is now known as the Institute for Neurological

²⁰ See *Ethnographic Film Newsletter* 1973, vol. 4, no. 3

²¹ A good example is the Omori film on French gypsies, a revealing documentary that never could have been made by French anthropologists who would not have been acceptable to the subjects because they represented a culture the gypsies regarded as too regulatory. See the Yasuhiro and Kimie Omori film, *Mour Djiben—Ma vie des Tsiganes Mamouches*, winner of the first prize in the 1985 Mediterranean Festival of Anthropological Film, Palermo.

Diseases and Stroke, Sorenson was attached to an interdisciplinary team with which he had done fieldwork in New Guinea. Under the direction of D. Carleton Gajdusek, (1923-) a pediatrician and virologist who won the 1976 Nobel Prize, Sorenson had contributed to his study of ritual cannibalism as a source of an infectious disease known as *kuru*, similar to mad cow disease. Mead found Sorenson in a lab working on changes of the work print of his *Fore* film, having earlier read his first publication on how motion pictures could be rationalized to produce more scientific records.²²

“Benign unobtrusiveness” is what Sorenson calls a necessity in filming people unfamiliar with cameras. In studying the *Fore*, he used eye contact to signal interest in social engagement and aversion of eye contact to break social contract. The film is now archived at the Smithsonian and the National Institutes of Health.²³

Sorenson is quick to recognize his debts to Mead’s leadership in the field in which he, too, continues to explore new frontiers, geographically and conceptually.²⁴ In a July 9, 2004 personal correspondence, he wrote of his admiration of her “momentous efforts to merge scholarly understanding of the human condition with public policy—one of her many important contributions to emergent civilization.”

Like Mead, he did not confine his writing to academics. For the general public, he wrote for the May, 1977 *Smithsonian Magazine* an illustrated story, “Growing Up as a *Fore* is to be in touch and free.” He also had recorded music of street gangs in New York. It is not surprising, therefore, that Mead welcomed the opportunity she seized to use such experience as a foundation stone for her initiatives in helping to create the Anthropological Film Center at the Smithsonian

²² See E.R. Sorenson and D.C. Gajdusek, “The Investigation of Non-recurring Phenomena,” *Nature* 200: 112-114, Sorenson’s photo-rich book, *The Edge of the Forest: Change in a New Guinea Proto-agricultural Society* (Washington: Smithsonian Press 1976) was a pioneering work on human ecology in a part of the world in which Mead continued to have a keen professional interest long after her *Growing Up in New Guinea* and *New Lives for Old*.

²³ See George Haber, “Film-Making in Anthropology,” *Popular Photography*, February 1976. Haber also describes the difficulty experienced by Edmund Carpenter who filmed a New Guinea male initiation rite and discovered, to his dismay, that the camera had converted participants into observers, an acquisition that alienated them from their own culture. Carpenter’s role as a media critic and student of social symbolism in tribal art is described in a documentary on his work by Harold Prins, *Oh, What a Blow That Phantom Gave Me*. Coincidentally, Mead spent some part of her waning life as a guest in the Long Island house of Carpenter and Adelaide de Menil, member of a famous art-collecting family.

²⁴ Currently based in Phuket, Thailand, he is working on Moken or Salones Andaman sea nomad history, the subject of a documentary film, “Burmese Sea Nomads.” He recently visited the Mekong Delta in Northern Laos in pursuit of his continuing interest in agricultural communities that did not become aggressive and what they may share with many non-aggressive nomadic groups. This will appear in a report on “Liminal Consciousness vs. Modernization.”

in 1975. Sorenson served as its founding director from 1975-1983. Then, as an independent scholar, he launched an unprecedented, long term study of Tibetan Buddhist rituals in India, Nepal and Tibet, and fieldwork on cultural isolates in Thailand and Burma, all having to do with understanding human consciousness. In the process, he has been describing in words and pictures socio-sensual communication behaviors of *pre-conquest* and *post-conquest peoples*. His bibliography,²⁵ should be of interest to all historians and practitioners of visual anthropology.

A Case Study of Mead's Civic Initiatives

Mead as a public intellectual linked to Aristotle's legacy²⁶ is better known for her public advocacy on a wide variety of issues: civil rights, arms control and disarmament, the death penalty, industrial peace, media responsibility, monitoring plutonium hazards, saving the bowhead whale, strengthening the United Nations and Non-Governmental environmental groups, promoting intergenerational cooperation, welfare of children and the elderly, designing new towns, food and population balances, nutrition and mental health, and citizen engagement in world affairs, to name a few. With words and images, often on TV, and before members of Congress, she argued persuasively for the public good. What is less well known is how she used her influence to mobilizing academic and public support for visual anthropology, mainly the establishment of the National Anthropological Film Center at the Smithsonian, now known as the Human Studies Film Archive. (See Appendix)

Mead's powers of persuasion took many forms. She conducted consultative personal interviews with potential actors in the project. She wrote letters to and testified before members of Congress. (Federal funds were needed to build on earlier non-governmental support). She cultivated individual philanthropists and foundations. And she tried her diplomatic skills to bring some kind of consensus among anthropologists who continue to be fragmented into sub-specialties. Always a team worker, she was a leader who rarely acted alone.

For her new campaign, Mead could build upon solid backing from the American Anthropological Association which already in the early 70's embraced the society for the anthropology visual communications Ninth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences of 1973 resolution of the meeting in Chicago. At the tenth meeting of the

²⁵ requestable by email (ers1@ksc.th.cm)

²⁶ See Wilton S. Dillon, "Margaret Mead and Government," *American Anthropologist* Vol. 82, No. 2, June 1980

Congress in New Delhi a month after her death in 1978, she was memorialized for her contributions to visual anthropology.

Jay Ruby describes in important detail her place in the history of visual anthropology and her cohorts in his paper, “The Professionalization of Visual Anthropology in the United States—The 1960’s and 1970’s,” delivered at the June 20-25, 2001 Gottingen, Germany conference on “Origins of Visual Anthropology; “Putting the Past Together.” He recalls the decade leading up to the founding of the film center when Mead was a part of a “passionately committed” group of anthropologists and filmmakers to promote the use of film in anthropological research and teaching. They included himself, Timothy Asch, Sol Worth, Walter Goldschmidt, John Adair, Gordon Gibson, Karl Heider and John Marshall.

“We have at the hand one of the great opportunities of our present time to learn more about the behavioral differences and possibilities of humankind,” Mead wrote in 1977 to the Chairman of the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee. She was requesting funds for the partial support of the nascent film center. Third world nations, she asserted, will benefit from visual inquiry that helps people define their national identity in relation to important elements of the world’s cultural heritage. Visual and auditory data will help all of us to understand such impulses as those associated with conflict, aggressiveness, cooperation, deference and sympathy; and how they express such basic emotions as fear, happiness, anger, disgust, surprise and contempt. These expressions vary quite considerably from one culture to another, in rather striking ways, she argued.

Human universals and particulars were thus explained to a prominent U.S. Senator and his committee. She called “a tragic loss” the consequence of failing to create knowledge of the vanishing cultural experiments, including human organizational potential. (How to inspire and *organize* a democratic society in Iraq and Afghanistan, for example, would be a challenge to anthropologists and statesmen today).

I have not discovered whether Mead used still photos and film in making her case, but I find it fascinating that Mead was forever acting as a teacher, using words that the brain can translate into images. Facial expressions, flirtations, and ways of sitting, standing and carrying babies, and burying the dead are the stuff of novels, drama and anthropology. Mead was able to link those universals to international, intercultural understanding in a world increasingly turning to violence.

Even while suffering from cancer the year she died, Mead kept campaigning to enlist Congressional committees for the center as part of the Smithsonian appropriations. Her letter to one Senator thanked him for his earlier efforts to support the center, and urged him to read Sorenson's report of the first year of activity.²⁷ Mead concentrated on Senators with anthropologists in their constituencies and encouraged the anthropologists to write to their elected officials. She retained 19th century manners in sending thank-you notes, combined with modern "techniques" of public relations.

Sorenson wrote to an advisory council of the film center a report on filming prospects in Nepal, India (where he already had a blessing from the Dalai Lama), Micronesia, Mustang and the Sudan. He praised the "visionary efforts" of some members of congress who had provided funds for the previous year to support cooperation with Third World countries. Mead had argued, too, that the center ought to be considered as a part of the science factor in cultural diplomacy, a kind of "Kula ring" in which film centers around the world would exchange data and make footage available to other scholars.

When she testified before a combined committee of the House of Representatives in 1977, she spoke as an *ex officio* representative of 26 eminent scholars representing 18 institutions of higher learning convened by the National Science Foundation. The Smithsonian, as a central national institution, with an international mission, would be the best place from which to cooperate with other countries. However, what she feared came to pass. Apparently fearing competition for scarce resources, our anthropology department was not a receptive home base, as she had predicted. Visual anthropology at that time was considered peripheral to curators' interest in collecting objects of material culture. She knew this from her experience in the American Museum of Natural History. She and Sorenson lost the argument to keep its budget and mission operating autonomously outside the anthropology department. As a result, in 1981 the film center was transformed into an archive, with a different mission, now in the professional capable hands of John Homiak. (See appendix) Sorenson was free to launch a new career doing field work on cultural isolates.

²⁷ See First and Second Annual Reports, National Anthropological Film Center (1975-1976) in the Mead Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress. Child behavior and human development remained a part of a proposed world ethnographic film sample. See also E. Richard Sorenson, "To Further Phenomenological Inquiries: The National Anthropological Film Center," *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 16, No. 2, June 1975.

Jay Ruby of Temple University makes this observation in his 2001 Gottingen paper, op. cit: “Although the idea of studying filmed information about culture obtained by other scholars remains theoretically possible, only a few anthropologists in the U.S. have actually conducted and published the results of such a study,”

Mead’s death in 1978 deprived American visual anthropologists of a compelling voice, Mead never expected unanimity among anthropologists. As an experimental pragmatist and believer in social inventions, she died with awareness that good ideas are never lost, and that one had to wait for new purveyors to make them operational. I think she would envy for the U.S. the institutional arrangements found for visual anthropology at Japan’s National Museum of Ethnography. I know that she was inspired by the leadership of Jean Rouch at the Museum of Man, Paris. Since her death, many of the seeds she, Bateson and other colleagues planted are bearing fruit in academia, in professional associations and the extraordinary new public receptivity of documentary films above and beyond those made for purely research purposes.

Mead’s Infrastructural Children

Mead and historians of visual anthropology would not place her as the unique primordial ancestor of the field today. Yet, it is difficult to disengage the imprint of her and her colleagues from the ongoing vehicles or infrastructures enjoying increasing relevance in academia and the public at large. She remains the “mother” of visual anthropology in the U.S.

Jay Ruby identifies seven elements of the infrastructure for visual communication, a concept he states as inclusive of visual anthropology and ethnographic film. They are:

- Organizations
- Training
- Publication outlets
- Archives
- Film distribution
- Festivals
- Seminars and conferences.

An example of the first attempt to invent an academic home for visual anthropology was the Harvard University Film Study Center founded by Robert Gardner in 1958 to provide a repository for John Marshall’s film footage. Marshall’s million feet of film eventually generated a TV documentary on the Kalahari Family about the Bushmen of Namibia. Mead had a long

supportive interest in the work of Marshall, Gardner and Akos Oster, and helped to celebrate such classics as Gardner's own films, *Dead Birds*, *Rivers of Sand*, *Forest of Bliss*, *The Nuer*, and *Sons of Shiva*. I am unaware of how she participated in critiques of Gardner's poetic fusion of ethnography with metaphor. A click on Gardner's website reveals inspiring examples of a whole new generation of film-makers listed under "works in progress." Nothing could have pleased Mead more.²⁸

Since the Harvard center was created, high schools, junior and community colleges and the major universities have increasingly incorporated visual anthropology in their curricula. The involved university faculties generally are members of the Society for Visual Anthropology whose mission statement includes promotion of the idea that images are artifacts of culture. Temple University plays a key role. It was Temple that made Jay Ruby the first scholar to hold a visual anthropology position in the U.S., and the first to offer a master's degree program in the field. Oxford University, among many others, offers degrees also on interpreting images in their social context.

A network of communications through such professional societies and universities indeed must not overlook the contribution of foundations such as Wenner-Gren, under the leadership of Lita Osmondsen. The foundation as early as 1970 financed a Program in Ethnographic Film (P.E.F.) later to become a committee of the American Anthropological Association, and a precursor to the International UNESCO Committee on Ethnographic and Sociological Film founded by the late Jean Rouch. Mead, Goldschmidt, Sol Tax, Irvén DeVore and Colin Young of the University of California, Los Angeles film school were advisors. The National Science Foundation and the National Endowment for the Humanities later supported other conferences and research projects requiring filming. Mead usually wrote letters of support. (The death of Jean Rouch in Niger in 2004 became world news, especially in two full-page articles on his life and work in *Le Monde*, and in an appreciation of his work in *The Washington Post* by the Argentine anthropologist, Edgardo Krebs).

In celebration of the 75th birthday of Margaret Mead in 1977 and her 50th year at the museum, the American Museum of Natural History launched the Margaret Mead Film Festival. It became the first large showcase for international documentaries in the U.S., Experimental new works of nonfiction film are shown every year along with occasional re-screenings of Mead-

²⁸ <http://www.filmstudycenter.org/projects.html>

related films such as *Trance and Dance in Bali*, *Karba's First Years*, and *Learning to Dance in Bali*.

Publications have begun to flourish in the form of newsletters and books and a regular section of visual anthropology reviews in the *American Anthropologist*. Karl Heider and Carol Hermer published in 1995 their *Films for Anthropological Teaching* and Paul Hockings edited *Principles of Visual Anthropology* with editions in 1975 and 1996 by Mouton in The Hague. Mead personally sought funding and made institutional arrangements at Columbia University for the 1968 book by the celebrated folklorist, Alan Lomax, *Folk Song Style and Culture*, using archival footage of others. The Mead centennial edition of Mead's and Metraux's *The Study of Culture at a Distance* in 2001 is giving new impetus to techniques of film analysis.

Other important parts of the infrastructure today are film libraries such as the University of California Media Center and the Pennsylvania State University. The Mead-Bateson films are distributed through Penn State University.

Saving the 1930's combustible nitrate film footage of the Bateson-Mead projects has been one of the functions of the Institute for Intercultural Studies, founded by Mead in 1944. Financing is being sought for their conservation. The originals have been stored in caves in New Jersey. The current Bateson centennial commemoration benefits from the protection of the films that have become a vital part of his legacy. A Berkeley tribute, in November 2004, *Multiple Versions of the World*, will include screening of a previous unseen Bateson photography, as well as the premiere of a segment of a new film by Nora Bateson, *This Reminds Me of a Story*.

As a believer in teamwork and the idea of social inventions, Mead's contributions to the continuing growth of visual anthropology are manifest in these various institutions, as well as some she may never have known about.

The Library of Congress is the paramount institutional setting for scholars interested in the Mead-led team efforts to use and promote visual anthropology. The centennial exhibition, "Human Nature and the Power of Culture," made abundant use of the film and photographs drawn from the Library's Manuscript Division and the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division.

The exhibit, organized by Curator Patricia Francis and the late Archivist Mary Wolfskill, was based on one of the largest individual collections at the world's largest library. Of the more than ten thousand collections of private papers at the library, the Mead collection is one of the

most frequently consulted. The sampling of materials from the collection revealed Mead's documentation of customs of little-known and disappearing cultures shorn of the trappings of modernity. The studies inspired her reflections on Western cultural beliefs, from the sexual to the nuclear revolutions.

Some 1,800 boxes of diaries, correspondences, transcripts, and photographs are in the collection, along with over 500 reels of motion picture film; and more than 1,000 pieces of recorded sound tapes and cassettes. Her field notes number 60,000 pages. Photographs number 200,000.

As Mead was a firm believer to cooperative, collaborative research, the collection includes Bateson's personal papers from 1922 to 1945; and field materials of Theodore Schwartz, Rhoda Metraux, and others, and documentation related to Jane Belo, Benedict, Edith Cobb, Milton Erickson, Fortune, Colin McPhee and Zora Neale Hurston. The Institute for Intercultural Studies maintains a website with references to archives in other institutions such as the University of California at Santa Cruz, Vassar College, Columbia University and the American Philosophical Society.

Apart from archival resources and film libraries, Mead and her co-workers in the U.S. helped set the stage for an important step in the professionalization of visual anthropology. The American Anthropological Association officially endorsed during the Mead centennial a landmark visual media policy statement. It urged academic committees in colleges and universities to adopt guidelines for evaluation of ethnographic visuals as appropriate media for the production and dissemination of anthropological knowledge. These guidelines would have to be respected as among the conditions for the hiring, promotion and tenure of the faculty. This raising of the standards was due, in part, to the leadership of Harald E.L. Prins, then president of the Society for Visual Anthropology and editor for visual anthropology reviews in *The American Anthropologist*. "Not all anthropologists bring appropriate experience or training to their evaluation of visual media," he explained in his introduction to "Guidelines for the Evaluation of Ethnographic Visual Media," published in the March 2001 *American Anthropologist*. He praised Mead's prophetic role in bringing anthropologists to a new level of competence in dealing with production and interpretation of visual data.

Prins shares with Mead a keen awareness of the effects of new technology on advances in anthropology, and endorses the idea that Information Technology is now an indispensable part of

the infrastructure needed to support the use of visuals in research and education. In his presidential address for the Mead centennial, he remarked, “The first movie camera or kinoscope was invented not far from Mead’s parents’ home only a few years before she was born in 1901. And although Mead passed away before the introduction of the World Wide Web, she would have been on the forefront of this electronic revolution in mass communication, encouraging colleagues and students to explore the possibility of ethnographic research on the internet.”²⁹

The theatre as institution is an unexpected part of the visual anthropology infrastructure influenced by Mead. At least one controversial play emerged in 1996, a reminder of her early love of pageantry, liturgy, and debate. *Heretic* is a two-act dramatic play by the celebrated Australian playwright, David Williamson. It is his drama of people with ideas inspired by his embrace of Derek Freeman’s attacks on Mead’s Samoan field work.³⁰ The play captures the eternal debate between *Nature* and *Nurture*, with Freeman conceding that Mead always asked the right question and that she never lied. Yet, Freeman and Williamson, by casting her as a Boasian *cultural determinist*, ignored her many claims to the importance of genetics as a basic underpinning of human plasticity. He saw his play as a clash of world views. Mead, he argues, fudged her science to propagate an optimistic world view. Freeman he praises as a realist.

In the final scene of the play, the dramatist moves Mead to center stage: She swirls her cloak and is about to leave when she remembers something and moves forward to address the women in the audience with this line: “There’s still more than a whiff of patriarchy—even on the spiritual plane—(so) if you have any trouble at the Pearly Gates ask for Margaret.”

Mead’s Favorite Image

²⁹ See his unpublished paper, “Visual Performatives in Cyberia,” 2001 In the same paper, Prins gives deserved tribute to another pioneer in visual anthropology, Hortense Powdermaker, who, too, would have advocated ethnographic surveys in cyberspace. He regarded the two women anthropologists as “binary opposites” in what they chose to study, referring to Mead’s early research on indigenous cultures and to Powdermaker’s critical view of the domestic film industry, her 1950 book *Hollywood: The Dream Factory: An Anthropologist Looks at the Movie Makers*.

³⁰ Freeman’s *Margaret Mead: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth* was written 55 years after Mead’s *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Published by Harvard University Press in 1985, the book set off a cottage industry of books, articles and dissertations continuing the debate, and brought disproportionate attention to Freeman in world encyclopedia entries on Mead. It is amusing to me that Freeman brought a camera to Samoa for his field work and produced more pictures to illustrate his book than did Mead. He seems at least to have been influenced by Mead *vis-à-vis* the usefulness of photography.

Of the thousands of images and words processed by Mead's brain during her 77 years of life, the one she celebrated the most was taken not by an anthropologist or considered a part of the portfolios of visual anthropology textbooks. No human or any other living creature in sight. It is the historic picture of the earth from a spacecraft orbiting the moon during the Apollo 11 expedition on July 20, 1969. Called "Earth Rise," the photo has become an icon in 20th century cosmology. A portion of the moon's Sea of Tranquility surface appears in the lower left of the picture and our small planet, cloaked in bluish, swirling clouds, hangs like a moon seen from earth. This time, the spheres are reversed. Human advances in science and technology, including the invention of cameras, are dramatically illustrated by this image.

***"I think the cost of the entire Apollo program," Mead told me,
"is worth this one picture."***

I interviewed Mead September 13, 1974 in a filmed conversation at the Smithsonian as a document later screened in a conference sponsored by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, "The Outlook for Space." She made that statement to me then, and later in a videotape, *Our Open Ended Future*, part of a NASA lecture series *The Next Billion Years: Our Future in Cosmic Perspective*. (Her writings in the late 1950's had already asked citizens to think about bringing up children in the space age—how modern children are better equipped than their elders to understand space and time concepts).

Movie-makers use the phrases, "the wide shot," and "the close shot." The moon indeed was a "wide shot" across space no human had never before traveled. I started this paper with references to Mead's tango between the macrocosm (a wide shot) and the microcosm (the close shot). And conclude this essay by again celebrating Mead's gifts to visual anthropology: finding imagery and words that connects both hemispheres of the brain, and the application of imagination and civic energy to finding out what makes us human, how to avoid killing ourselves, and making our small planet unfit for habitation. The wide shot of the earth was surely accompanied, in Mead's fertile mind, by immediate, zoomed close-shot images of children showing various patterns of coming of age. As adults, what kinds of knowledge will they need to survive and who will provide it?³¹ That goal, no less, it seems to me, is the reason why Japanese

³¹ See Wilton S. Dillon, "The Educational Uses of the Moon," *The Record*, Columbia University Teachers College, May 1970. vol. 71. No.4

anthropologist-intellectuals have brought us here to explore “Social Use of Anthropology in the Contemporary World.”

APPENDIX

The Smithsonian Human Studies Film Archive: Current Functions and Works in Progress

By John Homiak

I. Mission:

The mission of the Human Studies Film Archive is acquiring and preserving for research use films of anthropological interest that document cultures around the world and the work of professional anthropologists. We no longer shoot films or video. We routinely reach out to the professional anthropological community to acquire materials and we often do this in concert with the National Anthropological Archives--which is also administered as part of our larger Collections and Archives Program.

II. Acquisitions.

Acquisition and preservation are our major functions. The HSFA is a growing collection and now contains about 8 million feet of original film and about 1000 hours of original video. Films span nearly all of the 20th century with our oldest film being a 1908 film commissions by Rodman Wanamaker of the Crow Indians in Montana. Under Richard Sorenson, what was then the Film Center acquired a number of significant ethnographic film projects, some of which generated films which have become the crown jewels of ethnographic filmmaking. These include the work of Timothy Asch and Napoleon Chagnon on the Yanomai (1968-72); John Marshall's films of the !Kung of Ju/hoansi of the Kalahari (1950-1978), and David and Judith McDougall's films of the Turkana and other East African pastoralist groups (c. 1972-4) as well as Ash and Asen Balicki's footage of the Pashtoon nomads of Afghanistan.

Presently, we find ourselves collecting a great deal more footage, both of historical and cultural interest, much of it shot prior to World War II by non-anthropologists. This includes Vicki Baum's footage of Bali in 1928 (highly resonant with Mead's work), footage shot on the Hamilton-Rice Expedition to the Upper Amazon--which features early, if not first contact, with

Yanomami and other tribes and, most recently, footage shot by an oil prospector in Venezuela and Ecuador in the late 1920s and in Borneo and Sumatra in the early 1930s--all of which features encounters with native peoples in these locations.

III. Documentation and Outreach.

As staff time and resources are available, the HSFA still attempts to create synch-sound annotations of some of the more significant film projects that we collect. The most notable of these in the past 10-12 years have been:

1. The Mbuti Pygmy film project: Shot by Colin Turnbull (1954) and Joseph Towles (1972) in the Ituri forest, Belgium Congo/Zaire. Turnbull, as you know, is famous for his book *The Forest People*; but few know that he shot film footage when he was there. This footage documents all aspects of Mbuti daily and ritual life including hunting, camp building, manufacture of barkcloth and hunting nets, village initiations of Pygmy boys and more. Turnbull's annotation is quite good and the film and annotation have been used to produce a short teaching video entitled "Culture is Learned." This was done by a graduate student at the University of Texas Austin, Guha Shanka (now Dr. Shankar).

2. The King Island Eskimo Film Project: In the early 1990s the HSFA acquired film footage shot by a Jesuit priest named Bernard Hubbard on King Island, 1937-1938. What's of interest about this footage is not only that it is very comprehensive in terms of documenting daily life, Eskimo subsistence activities, and ceremonial life--it documents a community that no longer exists. (The King Island Inupiat were relocated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966 to Nome and Anchorage). Through the Smithsonian Arctic Studies Center, we worked with a graduate student at the University of Oregon named Diana Kingston to "repatriate" this footage to many of the surviving members or descendants of this community. Diana was strategically positioned for this project because she is related to surviving members through her mother. This produced a kind of "film/visual elicitation" project which generated stories about King Island Elders, their kinship networks, and their dance traditions. Ultimately, we brought a surviving member of the community to annotate a large portion of the footage.

3. The African-Jamaican Film Project. Another collection we acquired is footage shot in Jamaica by a student of Melville Herskovits (one of Mead's fellow graduate student's under Boas) named Joseph Moore. Moore was the first to film an African-Jamaican tradition known as Kumina--a Central African derived religion that exists in Eastern Jamaica and which was carried there by African indentured laborers who went to Jamaica in the mid-1800. We transferred this footage to video and I, along with a colleague, Ken Bilby, took it to Jamaica for viewing in a number of these communities. This evolved as another kind of elicitation project as we traced the lineages of people who appeared in Moore's original footage. And we shot about 25-30 hours of video of contemporary Kumina practitioners and their ceremonies. The use of this video in the field gave us insight into how constant this tradition has been (it features possession by ancestral family spirits, a Creolized Kikongo speech, and a drumming style that is perhaps the most African in Jamaica.) With time and resources available, there is a film to be produced from recutting the archival footage with the contemporary video I shot.

4. The Qashqai (Turkey) Project: We have recently acquired film footage of the Qashqai of Turkey, a traditional pastoral group. This was filmed by Thomas Stauffer in the 1960s, a Harvard professor who taught economic development there and Mark White of our staff is working on an annotation of the footage with him.

There are various kinds of filmmaker support and outreach done by the HSFA. We have provided/licensed footage to independent filmmakers that have made a number of film project possible. These include:

1. *Spirit Warriors in a New Age* (1991)--film by Dean Bear Claw, a Crow Indian, who combined archival footage (the Wanamaker footage) with contemporary materials.
2. *We Know How to Do These Things* (c. 1994)--film by Barbara Johnson on a Newari birth in Nepal. This was footage that Barbara shot when working for Sorenson and the NAFC.
3. *A Spirit Here Today* (c. 1993)--film by Guy Zantzinger on the Chopi of Mozambique documenting dance traditions that are probably no longer current.

4. *Bontoc Eulogy* (c. 1998)--film by Marlon Fuentes. This is a highly touted "faux" documentary which used archival footage from the HSFA (among other sources) to tell a fictional story about a Igorot tribesman from the Phillipines who participated in the 1904 St. Louis World Fair. (I published an extensive review of this in the *American Anthropologist*). This is perhaps one of the most creative films I've seen using archival footage.

We will routinely make video footage available to native communities as contacts arise. For example, we've sent copies of Sun Dance footage to the Standing Rock Sioux and Southern Cheyenne; footage of the Gallup Festival (featuring dances by various Pueblo groups) to groups like the Santa Clara Pueblo and to the Acoma Pueblo. Recently, we are handling a request for footage on Polynesian ceremonial dances among the Pukakpuka, a Cook Islands people attached to the British Crown via New Zealand.

The two other areas of outreach we do with some frequency are loans or sales of footage to film festivals and presentations at these festivals (e.g., the Mead Festival--where I've presented and discussed Herskovits' footage from Haiti, 1934; and Rastafari footage from Jamaica, c. 1976).

When Margaret Mead spoke at the opening of the National Anthropological Film Center (May 1, 1975, Hirshhorn Museum) she said something to the effect that "The last man in Raratonga is about to die and he hasn't been filmed yet." The NAFC mission sought to address this need for documentation of changing cultures by going out and doing just that--filming them. While we don't have the staff or resources to do this--we still continue to fulfill a similar function by collecting as vigorously as we do.