



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

Research Commons

<http://researchcommons.waikato.ac.nz/>

Research Commons at the University of Waikato

Copyright Statement:

The digital copy of this thesis is protected by the Copyright Act 1994 (New Zealand).

The thesis may be consulted by you, provided you comply with the provisions of the Act and the following conditions of use:

- Any use you make of these documents or images must be for research or private study purposes only, and you may not make them available to any other person.
- **Authors control the copyright of their thesis. You will recognise the author's right** to be identified as the author of the thesis, and due acknowledgement will be made to the author where appropriate.
- **You will obtain the author's permission** before publishing any material from the thesis.

The Sorcerers' Apprentice
A Life of Reo Franklin Fortune, Anthropologist

A thesis submitted in fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

ANTHROPOLOGY

at

the University of Waikato

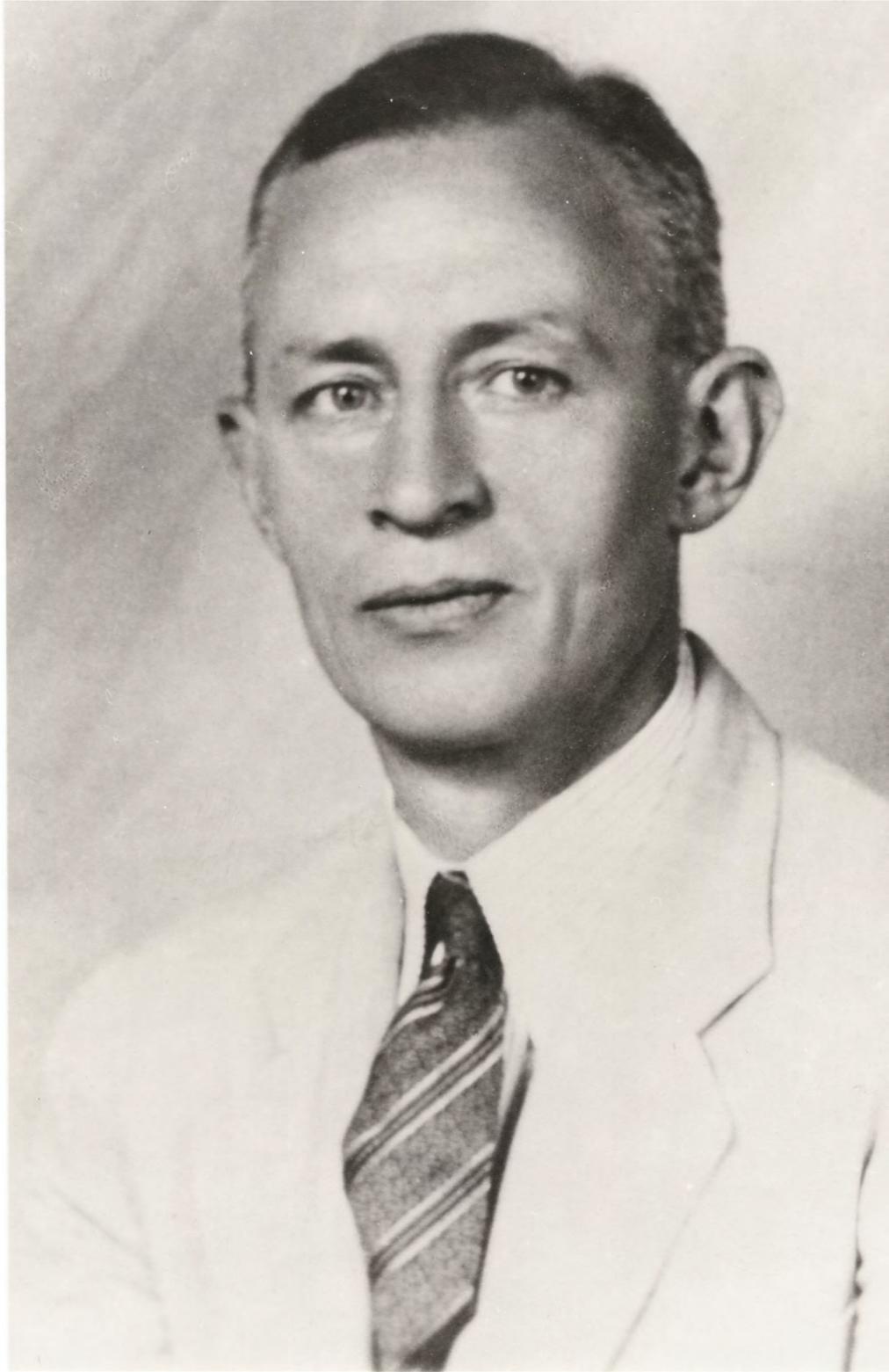
by

Caroline Thomas



THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

2011



Reo Franklin Fortune
1903 - 1979

Abstract

Between the two World Wars, the two main schools in world anthropology were the American and the British. The former was dominated by Franz Boas and his graduate students, while in Britain and its Empire the dominant figures were A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski. These leaders acted as patrons to their students, assisting them in getting access to funding, field locations, and jobs. Few crossed the divide to work in both the paradigms and their respective institutions, but one who did was Reo Franklin Fortune. His place within the history of Anthropology has, however, to date remained little more than a footnote.

There can be no doubt that Fortune contributed significantly to the development of modern field-based anthropological methods and arguments. All together, he undertook five full years of fieldwork, in cultures located as diversely as the Pacific Islands, New Guinea, East Asia and North America. Contemporary anthropology sometimes remembers Fortune for his well-known ethnographies *Sorcerers of Dobu* (1932) and *Manus Religion* (1935). More often, it merely recalls him as the second of Margaret Mead's three husbands.

Unfortunately too, Mead, her friends, and biographers have often portrayed Fortune in an unfavourable light. This work tries to present a more balanced story. It employs archival material to reconstruct the life of Fortune, demonstrating the complexity of his thinking and of his social and academic relationships. Each chapter demarcates a chronological period in Fortune's life. Wherever possible, his own words and those of his friends, colleagues and associates are used to help tell the story. The person who emerges is highly talented and principled, with a strong sense of honesty and truth, but who is often betrayed or misunderstood by those around him.

Acknowledgments

Like any ethnography, there has to be a field where research is conducted. In this case, the field research for this thesis was conducted between 2002 and 2005 in archives and libraries throughout New Zealand, Australia, United States, and England. Funding was by way of a University of Waikato Doctoral Scholarship, for which I am extremely grateful and without which the project may have stalled.

I owe a debt of gratitude to my supervisors, Dr Tom Ryan and Dr Wendy Cowling for guiding me through the process of turning my idea into a reality. In addition, I have appreciated other member of staff and students in the Department of Societies and Cultures who listened to my endless ramblings on a subject they were not necessarily interested in. Thanks also to Max Oulton in the Geography Department for the wonderful maps he drew.

To Ann McLean and Melda Brunette, nieces of Reo Fortune, I am very grateful for access to the Fortune Papers at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, and for providing information on your family background and contacts for additional material. My appreciation, also, to Tim Lovell-Smith and Kevin Stewart in Manuscripts and Archives, and Kirsty Willis in the Photographic Department, at Alexander Turnbull Library.

Thanks also are due to all those who willingly gave of their time in helping me locate materials elsewhere. In Australia, especially the staff at University of Sydney Archives, and in Canberra, at Australian National Archives, Australian National Library and Australian National University Library. To Geoffrey Gray, for his hospitality; Michael Young and Murray Groves for making the time to talk to me,

and Michael for allowing me to use portions of an unpublished manuscript and various correspondence he has.

In the United States of America, thanks to the Bancroft Library at UC Berkeley, California; the Library of Congress, Washington DC where the late Mary Wolfskill's knowledge of the Mead Papers made my task much easier; the American Philosophical Library in Philadelphia, which not only provided me with papers, but whose staff arranged some recreation for me; and likewise to staff at Columbia University Library and the Columbia University Archives in New York, and also staff at the Rockefeller Archive in Tarrytown.

In England, people at the London School of Economics processed my photocopying in quick time to enable me to take it with me. At Cambridge University, Peter Gathercole kindly drove me around to see where Fortune had lived, and also gave me a folder of his correspondence and notes on Fortune; Marilyn Strathern, meanwhile, welcomed me with tea and biscuits. Special thanks, also, to Paul Firth who gave up his bed so that I had somewhere to stay.

Many other people generously responded to requests for information: Ray Abrahams, Margaret Andrew, John Barker, Ira Bashkow, Debbora Battaglia, Susan Bulmer, Lena Bulmer, Paul Chao, Ann Chowning, Tony Crook, Lise Dobrin, John Forrester, Catherine Frerichs, Deborah Gewertz, Hjorleifur Jonsson, John Kesby, Susanne Kuehling, Adam Kuper, Jean LaFontaine, Maria Lepowsky, Harold Levine, David Lipset, Roger Lohmann, Thomas McIlwraith, Malcolm McLeod, Elizabeth Mandeville, Susan Montague, John S. Parker, Peter Riviere, Paul Roscoe, Raymond T. Smith, and Donald Tuzin. I am indebted to you all.

The majority of the photographs used throughout this thesis are from the

Fortune Collection in the Alexander Turnbull Library. Others were kindly supplied by Catherine Frerichs, Peter Gathercole and Raymond Smith.

References to the Fortune Papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library have changed significantly since I began this research and I have used the group reference 0923 throughout, followed by the specific file where this is known. There is no obvious correlation between the previous referencing and the new.

A very special thank you is due to two special people: my husband, Stephen, for his patience and understanding through what must have seemed an interminable journey, and to my sister Maggie, and her family, who offered accommodation and comfort during my researches in Wellington.

I am very grateful, too, to Geoffrey Gray, Maureen Molloy and James Urry for their generous comments to a previous version of this work.

To Dorothy Brown, thank you, for taking the time to proof that initial draft. Any subsequent errors and omissions are entirely of my own making.

If I have missed anyone from my list it is not because I do not value your help, but rather a failure of my filing system.

Table of contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
Maps and Illustrations	viii
Abbreviations	xi
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Coming of Age in New Zealand	19
Chapter Three: Cambridge and The Dobuans	47
Chapter Four: Margaret, Marriage, and Manus	78
Chapter Five: An Omaha Summer	102
Chapter Six: Madness on the Sepik	127
Chapter Seven: Secrets and Lies	159
Chapter Eight: Return to the Field	195
Chapter Nine: China and Lingnan	236
Chapter Ten: Old Friends, New Enemies	267
Chapter Eleven: Return to Cambridge	289
Chapter Twelve: Life After Death	329
Chapter Thirteen: Conclusion	340
Manuscripts and Archives	349
Bibliography	351

Maps and Illustrations

Frontispiece	Reo Franklin Fortune ca1936. Courtesy of Peter Gathercole.	
Figure 1	Map of New Zealand, showing places Fortune lived.	20
Figure 2	Fortune Family circa 1915. From left: Evelyn, Barter, Hetty, Howard, Reo.	24
Figure 3	Peter Thomas Fortune, circa 1903.	25
Figure 4	Papua New Guinea, showing Dobu Island with Tewara Island to the North	56
Figure 5	ATL: PACOLL-8563 Mourning a Death, Dobu Island, Papua New Guinea, 1929	77
Figure 6	ATL: PA11-210-19 Village on water, (probably Peri) on Manus, . . .	87
Figure 7	Manus Island	88
Figure 8	ATL: PA11-210-20 Children in Canoes, Manus Island Admiralty Islands 1928/9.	90
Figure 9	ATL: PA11-210-21 Men fishing with a net, Manus, Admiralty Islands.	91
Figure 10	ATL: PAColl-8563-03-17 House moving after a death in the house. Manus.	91
Figure 11	ATL:F230548-1/2 P.T. Fortune and Hetty Fortune, with their daughter-in-law Margaret Mead, ca1929	104
Figure 12	ATL: F230547-1/2 Hetty Fortune, with her daughter-in-law, Margaret Mead at Raumati, ca 1929	104
Figure 13	Map of the United States of America. Places in bold indicate areas where Fortune lived and worked	109
Figure 14	Map of PNG indicating research sites Arapesh, Mundugumor and Chambri along with Fortune's later sites among the Kamano.	127
Figure 15	Map of the Arapesh area showing villages as named by Mead	139
Figure 16	The Sepik area, showing Mundugumor Villages (Centre)	142
Figure 17	Sepik Region: Chambri Lake and Villages	152

Figure 18 ATL: F-230357-1/2 Mundugumor ceremonial mask.	156
Figure 19 ATL:PA11-210-38 Arapesh bowman	157
Figure 20 ATL: PA11-210-39 Arapesh group including two in ceremonial costume.	157
Figure 21 ATL: PA11-210-27 Arapesh building under construction	158
Figure 22 Villages in the Purari/Kamano area (Bottom right) visited by Fortune 1935-36	215
Figure 23 Frerichs Collection: A group of women from the Kainantu area.	220
Figure 24 Frerichs Collection: A Kamano woman with gardening stick.	221
Figure 25 China: Canton at bottom.	259
Figure 26 Map of Lao Mountains. Fortune and his students conducted research in this area 1938.	259
Figure 27 ATL:PAColl-8563-08-047 Reo and Eileen in China 1937-1939 . . .	266
Figure 28 Fortune’s route around Burma.	288
Figure 29 ATL:PAColl-8563-09-45. Reo Fortune at work in his Cottage at 8 Duck End.	297
Figure 30 ATL: PAColl-8563-09-07. Reo and Eileen Fortune’s thatched cottage at 8 Duck End, Cambridge, England, ca1949.	297
Figure 31 Department Garden Party, 1950. Fortune standing behind table. (Photo courtesy of Raymond Smith). . .	307
Figure 32 Department Garden Party at The Green Man, A pub in Trumpington, 1950. (Photo courtesy of Raymond Smith). . .	307
Figure 33 Reo and Eileen Fortune’s house at Madingley Road, Cambridge, England, August 2004. The house has not changed externally since the time they lived there.	332
Figure 34 Still clearly visible is the name “Bonde Mteko”. Fortune never explained the meaning of this name.	332

Abbreviations

AJCP: Australian Joint Copying Project
ANRC: Australian National Research Council
ANU: Australian National University
APS: American Philosophical Society
ATL: Alexander Turnbull Library
BANC: Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.
CU: Columbia University Library
CUA: Columbia University Archives
CUL: Cambridge University Library
LOC: Library of Congress
LSE: London School of Economics
MMP: Margaret Mead Papers
NAA: National Archives Australia
NLA: National Library of Australia
PG: Peter Gathercole
PNBH: Palmerston North Boys High School
RAC: Rockefeller Archive Center
RAI: Royal Anthropological Institute
SSRC: Social Science Research Council
YUL: Yale University Library

Chapter One Introduction

Reo Franklin Fortune was one of the most eminent anthropologists of the inter-war years. During that period he undertook intensive ethnographic fieldwork in eight different cultures across four countries. His most acclaimed works are *Sorcerers of Dobu* (1932) and *Manus Religion* (1935), but he also published three other major, and somewhat neglected, works - *The Mind in Sleep* (1927), *Omaha Secret Societies* (1932) and the technical linguistic work *Arapesh* (1942). Nevertheless, there also is no doubt that Fortune is one of the most misunderstood anthropologists of the twentieth century. His difficult personality and his failed marriage to Margaret Mead have caused his place in the history of the discipline to be recorded in rather negative and minimal terms. In recent years, however, there has been a resurgence of interest in his published and unpublished works which seems to indicate the possibility for a more positive and complicated discourse on the man and his works.

In their path-setting *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (1986), George Marcus and Michael Fischer went as far as to suggest that Fortune's style of ethnographic writing could be seen as a precursor to late twentieth-century 'Postmodern' experimentalist ethnography:

[T]he ethnographies of Reo Fortune (*Sorcerers of Dobu*, 1932, and *Manus Religion*, 1935) anticipate many textual practices which are assumed to be contemporary. Mixed genres, defamiliarization, social dramas, copious verbal citations, genre analysis, cultural dissidence and subversion, all these "contemporary" devices are to be found in Fortune's work. (Marcus and Fischer, 1986:181.

Fortune did, indeed, pioneer forms of polyvocal writing, acknowledging his

subjects' participation by free use of their names, and extensive verbal quotes. In the "Diary of Religious Events" which forms part of his *Manus Religion* (1935), for example he records the various events which occurred during his six month stay on Manus Island, and provides a detailed description of the relationships between participants, their role in the event, and an interpretation of the effect the event has on the participants.

Similarly, Lise Dobrin (2003, 2006, *forthcoming*) and Ira Bashkow (2003a, *forthcoming*) have analysed many of Fortune's published and unpublished manuscripts relating to the Arapesh. Their findings show that Fortune's interpretations not only complement the work of Margaret Mead (1935, 1938, 1940, 1947, and 1949), but also demonstrate the differing mind-set each had in writing up their research. They represent Fortune as having a strong empathy with the Arapesh and excellent linguistic skills which enabled him to develop an emic understanding of the people, qualities that Mead largely failed to realise.

Fortune's essay [Arapesh Warfare, 1939] has been virtually lost to anthropology because its discursive structure is opaque to western readers. But it is remarkable in drawing upon characteristically Melanesian conventions for persuasive speech, such as allusion, oblique reference to its most contentious points and an emphasis on demonstrating a command of esoteric vernacular speech forms. Indeed, from the point of view of Arapesh rhetorical art, Fortune's essay displays a compelling virtuosity, reflecting a subtle and profound internalized grasp of Arapesh culture (Dobrin 2003:abstract).

In discussing Mead, others also have noticed the contradictory nature of Fortune's 1939 essay. Peter Worsley remarked that "[Her] 'peaceful' Arapesh looked a lot different in the paper on Arapesh warfare that Fortune published, and in which he rejected her account" (1957:125). Similarly, Paul Roscoe (2003) has noted the discrepancies between Fortune's and Mead's accounts, emphasising the negative

aspects of the comparative nature of her analysis and the influence of Ruth Benedict.

Mead would write in her autobiography that Fortune was “given great credit for *Sorcerers of Dobu*, his best-known book, and for *Manus Religion*”, but he was “given very little for *Omaha Secret Societies*, the book in which he published the work he had the greatest difficulty in doing” (Mead, 1972:192). She also states that his article “A Note on Cross-Cousin Marriage”¹. . . was the kind of thing on which a man could found his career” (Mead 1972:215). Unfortunately most biographers of Mead have chosen to virtually ignore Fortune’s work and focus on his relationship with Mead, usually in a negative way. For instance, Hilary Lapsley, in discussing the outcome of their “collaboration in anthropology” suggests that

[A]t the beginning it was Reo whose interference was detrimental, contributing [Mead] believed, to a problem that occasionally surfaced throughout [her] career and erupted into scandal after her death. This, of course, was the question of the validity of Mead’s work on Samoa” (1999:150).

Lois Banner suggests that Mead chose to marry Fortune because of the “increased hostility to homosexuality in American culture by the late 1920s” (2003:268). Fortune would be her cloak from any suspicion of homosexuality, and provide her with protection such that Boas “could now send her anywhere in the world that he would send a man to do fieldwork because she no longer needed protection as a woman alone” (ibid).

But not all recent ethnographers have viewed Fortune’s work positively. Susanne Kuehling (1998, 2005), for example has described some aspects of Fortune’s writing about Dobu as a ‘caricature’, and suggests that because he appeared to have

¹ The correct title of this paper is: “A Note on Some Forms of Kinship Structure”. Mead is not always accurate in describing Fortune’s work. She also says (1972:192) that the title of his doctoral thesis was Manus Religion, when it really was The Social Organization of Dobu.

been over-preoccupied with the people's belief in the power of sorcery and magic, he conveyed a very negative impression of the Dobuan. She also draws a distinction between the 'Dobuan' as described by Fortune and the 'Dobu Islander' whom she describes in her own writing:

It is because of such negative images that I refrain from using the usual term 'the Dobuan' in favour of 'Dobu Islander'. The Dobuan might live anywhere in the Dobu language area, but it seems more precise to refer only to those people among whom I lived as Dobuan Islanders - that is, the people claiming to belong to the island itself. (Kuehling 2005:17).

My first encounter with Reo Fortune was serendipitous in that I had just completed my masters degree and was looking for a suitable topic for further research. A chance conversation with a potential supervisor led to the mention of Fortune's name. Up until that time I knew little or nothing about him as the teaching of anthropology in the 1990s seldom mentioned functionalists other than the major figures of Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski. I was particularly intrigued that a New Zealander had been married to Margaret Mead, and that they had conducted fieldwork together.

I also had an interest in New Zealand anthropologists having written my masters thesis on anthropology in late nineteenth and early twentieth century New Zealand. Names I had frequently heard mentioned included Raymond Firth, Felix Keesing, Cyril Belshaw, Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), Derek Freeman, Henry Devenish Skinner and Diamond Jenness, all of whom had been educated in New Zealand and gone on to study anthropology and carve out careers for themselves around the world. But Fortune was somewhat of an enigma. Professional anthropologists I spoke to either dismissed Fortune or smiled in a knowing way as if they knew some secret which I was yet to discover.

I began by reading Mead's biography *Blackberry Winter* (1972) and followed this with anything else written about Fortune. Very quickly I discovered that most points of view were coloured either by the writer's affection for Mead, or by her autobiographical recollections of their life together. While there were biographies of Mead's other husbands, Luther Cressman and Gregory Bateson, these again were less than forthcoming about Mead's relationship with Fortune. Questions arose in my mind as to why there was such an absence of open discussion about her second husband.

Having discovered that Fortune's papers were located at the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, and after gaining permission from his niece and literary executor, Ann McLean, I made an initial foray into the archive which at that time was still in the process of being sorted. What I found were mainly fragments, but subsequent discoveries in other archives provided materials which made me realise that Fortune's life was one well worth pursuing.

Fortune's academic career began in psychology and research on dreaming at Victoria University College in Wellington, New Zealand. On arriving at Cambridge University, England to pursue further studies he switched to anthropology, perhaps having been influenced by his first meeting with Mead whose own background had included a degree in psychology. His subsequent adventures in fieldwork covered at least seven different cultures in the New Guinea region: those of the peoples of Dobu, Manus, Arapesh, Mundugumor, Chambri, and Kamano, as well as the Omaha of North America and the Yao in China. He was also Government Anthropologist in Burma for a time.

While a large part of Fortune's later career was associated with Cambridge

University, it is essential to consider the influence of American anthropology on his research work as much of this was conducted in the company of his first wife, Margaret Mead. She and other disciples of Franz Boas dominated the North American anthropological scene through the 1920s-40s. This is well documented in the writings of Harris (1968), Hatch (1973), Stocking (1986; 1995), Adams (1998) Barnard (2000), and others. North American anthropology was then moving from an 'ethnology' that was heavily influenced by diffusionist and evolutionary thought and the alleged supremacy of the 'civilized' races, to 'cultural anthropology' where the emphasis was on the relative study of peoples and societies. Although 'culture' had long been a central concept of ethnology, by the 1920s greater emphasis was being placed on the dynamic changes within societies which could be identified by processes and patterns. According to Stocking, "a number of the newer orientations that flowered in the 1930s had their roots in doctoral dissertations carried on within a trait-distribution framework" (Stocking 1992:137).

Ruth Benedict and Mead were both members of this group of thesis writers, and both came to have very strong links to Fortune: Mead through her marriage to him (1928-1935), and Benedict through her use of his ethnography *Sorcerers of Dobu* in her formulation of her own comparative text, *Patterns of Culture* (1934). This was the first use of Fortune's work by another anthropologist. Initially enthusiastic about Benedict's use of his work, Fortune was later to express his disapproval at the way in which his Dobu findings had been interpreted.

There can be no doubt that Fortune's association with Mead has overshadowed the value of his own writings, especially in relation to the fieldwork he conducted during the period of their marriage. Additionally, the fact that Benedict

and Mead were already very close friends before Mead met Fortune also affected the relationship between the three (Lapsley 1999), and indeed Fortune's wider life and career.

During the 1930s Fortune moved from a stated alignment with the functionalism of Malinowski to one more akin to the structural-functionalism of Radcliffe-Brown, but by the late 1940s his obvious disenchantment with both these theoretical stances made it difficult to pin down his subsequent approach (Lawrence 1980). However, central to my study is the view that it is possible to discover the changes and philosophical underpinning of his anthropology through the medium of a chronological examination of his works.

While Fortune never explicitly stated any particular theoretical approach in his work, George Devereux noted his focus on the darker side of cultures: "Fortune appears to have a special affinity for the glum side of cultures. Hence among the Dobuans he studied mainly the (glum) *manifest*, and among the Omaha the (glum) *latent* side of the culture" (1967:214). He further suggests that Fortune's "work amongst the Dobuans having focussed his attention on the basic grimness of certain cultures, he was, so to speak, pre-conditioned to look for the previously neglected night-side of Omaha culture" (p.223). Such comments may be interpreted as suggesting that Fortune was developing a theory of 'cultural darkness' that identifies and focuses on the functioning of what, in western eyes, appear negative aspects of cultures. In analysing the effects of sorcery and sin, Fortune demonstrates the power fear engendered. As Mead wrote to Kroeber "I think Reo [does] have a particular gift for probing the souls of certain kinds of primitive peoples . . ."²

² LOC:MMP C3 Correspondence K. Mead to Kroeber, letter dated 2 November 1933.

More recently Roger Lohmann, having made extensive analysis of Fortune's dream works, stated that:

Fortune's psychological theory of dreaming, though dated and imperfect, is a provocative and sophisticated anthropological theory of cultural ambivalence. Among its valuable implications is the point that the dynamic cycling of culture in individuals takes place in both waking and dreaming consciousness, as well as in the groggy zones in between" (Lohmann. 2009:295).

These aspects of and arguments about Fortune's work will be further examined in relevant sections of this thesis.

Histories of Anthropology

The history of anthropology is told in many ways. One of them is through anecdote, gossip, and oral memories recounted during the teaching of formal courses in colleges and universities and also in published writings. Professional anthropologists, it seems, all have memories of their first fieldwork, their supervisors and other mentors. It is they who pass on "a sense of disciplinary traditions . . ." and as such become "involved in the production of 'insider' histories for students and colleagues" (Mills 2008:2). It is this very 'insider' history of which George Stocking was particularly critical. In 1965 he wrote, as Henrika Kuklik (1999:236) describes it, "an inspirational manifesto" outlining the dichotomous nature of writing histories of the behavioural sciences.³ Stocking suggested that in writing these accounts, historians of ideas are more inclined to approach the past "rather in the spirit of the mountain climber attacking Everest - because it is there", whereas the professional behavioural scientist is more likely to be whiggish, or as he calls it "presentist", in seeking to validate the present (Stocking 1968 [1965]:6). Presentism, "[b]ecause it

³ This work "On the Limits of "Presentism" and "Historicism" in the Historiography of the Behavioral Sciences" first appeared as an editorial in the *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*. It was subsequently published in 1968 in *Race Culture and Evolution*.

wrenches the individual historical phenomenon from the complex of its contemporary context in order to see it in abstract relationship to analogues of the present, . . . is prone to anachronistic misinterpretation” (Stocking 1968:4).

But the relevance of many issues in the past cannot simply be ignored. They may provide answers to current issues. The contemporary social scientist, regardless of the discipline, can learn from the past. This issue has been the focus of some useful discussion by both British and North American anthropologists. For example, Kuklik has argued that it requires that “examination of past debates [be] informed by a genuinely historical sensibility” which distinguishes “between those questions asked by disciplinary ancestors that were quite different from their own and those that remained current, recognising that some apparent continuities in social scientific research programs were illusory” (Kuklik 1999:227). This is reiterated by Richard Handler who suggests that “the historical contextualization of past anthropological work should be a valuable resource for anthropological self critique”(2000:4).

In addition, David Mills rightly asserts that the “histories of ideas are also histories of exclusions, of denials and of disavowal” (2008:13). Who or what is included depends to a large degree on who is writing the text or teaching the course in the history of the discipline. Not surprisingly, courses often reflect the ideological background of the teacher. Handler makes this clear in his description of his own department at the University of Virginia and how “different canonical reading lists are understood as a function of different theoretical orientations” and in the different ways in which this history of anthropology is told (2000:5). Kuklik laments the paucity of published articles on the history of the discipline in such journals as the *American Anthropologist* and *American Ethnology* suggesting that this is the result

of “Stocking’s *History of Anthropology* series” having captured the market for such studies. Also, she feels that because Stocking has stamped “his own distinctive perspective” on the series, they cannot easily “be read as a reflection of anthropologists’ (or historians’) understanding of the discipline’s history” (1999:235). She further suggests that under the new editorship of Richard Handler, “the series may become more broadly representative of anthropologist’s views” (ibid.).

The first two volumes under Handler’s editorship, *Excluded Ancestors*, *Inventible Traditions* (2000) and *Significant Others* (2004) are, in my opinion, a reflection of this change in direction. Nevertheless, in reviewing the first of these volumes, Regna Darnell argues that an “inevitable dependence on the editor’s professional network has created a University of Chicago slant to the series that is likely to continue” (2004:827). Recently a new series, the *Histories of Anthropology Annual*, under the editorship of Darnell and Frederic W. Gleach, has appeared. It recognises a diversity of views in the discipline and aims to make these differing perspectives more visible and accessible. However, it remains to be seen whether this offering will develop its own institutional slant.

Biography

One way of telling the history of anthropology is through biography. The life of the anthropologist is often perceived by students, and others outside academia, as exotic and exciting. When written up as auto/biography, these lives may be regarded as a useful tool in learning about the history of the discipline. Generally speaking, textbooks concentrate on the history of theory and method, whereas the biography provides a narrative form which “lends it an appeal and readability similar to fiction” (Lohmann, 2008:90). According to Rampersad (1992:2),

a good biography leaves its reader generally convinced about the authenticity of the reconstruction of the life and of the claims made for the life; but it must also leave the reader convinced that the life was worth reconstructing, so that the reconstruction, that is, the biography, was worth reading. A biography must be entertaining and instructive.

Moreover, a number of anthropologists have written reflections on their fieldwork experience thereby entering the field of autobiography. Early efforts in this genre include Claude Levi-Strauss' *Tristes Tropique* (1955), and Hortense Powdermaker's *Stranger and Friend, The Way of an Anthropologist* (1966). Recent works include Douglas Raybeck's *Mad Dogs, Englishmen and the Errant Anthropologist* (1996) which he describes as "a personal tale of misperception and insight, innocence and guile, culminating in a bit of personal growth and some painfully acquired self-knowledge". In *Heart of Lightness* (2006), Edith Turner relates her life as she sees it, looking at her career from the present in order to make sense of what has come before, and in doing so reflects on the fieldwork and influences which shaped her anthropological career. Michael Jackson's *The Accidental Anthropologist: a Memoir* (2006), relates extended periods of fieldwork in Sierra Leone and in Australia's Northern Territory and Cape York, Queensland.

Many others have written "potted" biographies or short analytical pieces on various anthropologists, linked by a commonality such as gender or ethnic origin. An example is *First in their Field: Women and Australian Anthropology* edited by Julie Marcus (1993) in which women scholars discuss feminist issues in anthropology through the lives of those who remained marginal to Australian anthropology in the first half of the twentieth century. Harrison and Harrison (1998) have used a similar technique for addressing racism and sexism in their work, *African-American Pioneers in Anthropology*. In addition, there have been a number of biographical dictionaries

of anthropologists of which at least one is specific to women anthropologists and one specific to anthropologists born before 1920 (Gacs et al, 1988; Mann, 1988; Gaillard, 2004; Vered Amit, 2007; Stewart, 2009).

Major biographies of many of the leading figures in the development of anthropology have also appeared, notably works on Boas (Herskovits, 1973; Hyatt, 1990), Maurice Leenhardt (Clifford, 1982), Claude Lévi-Strauss (Pace, 1983), Mary Douglas (Fardon, 1999), Geertz (Inglis, 2000) and Malinowski (Young, 2004), to name but a few. In each of these works the author has located and contextualised the development of their subject's intellectual thinking and lived experiences which culminated in the individual's contribution to anthropology for which they are recognised.

However biography is often regarded with disdain by academics and for historians it remains the "unloved stepchild, occasionally but grudgingly let in the door, more often shut outside with the riffraff . . . Despite this biography has been and continues to be a vital genre of historical [and anthropological] writing" (Nasaw, 2009:573:75). Further, while biography is sometimes subsumed under the rubric of "Life Writing" in order to give it greater respectability, it remains distinct from other forms of life writing such as autobiography, the memoir and diaries and letters. Life writing may even include the novel: "All these forms are concerned with re-creating lives, whether those of 'big' or 'little' people, fictional or real, past or present" (Britain, 2002:2).

The biographer and the anthropologist have much in common (Langness 1965; Langness and Frank 1981; Mandelbaum 1973). Both are involved in understanding social situations, and anthropologists have long used the "writing of

life histories” as a method for eliciting information about the culture they are studying. Grundy suggests that “biographers live with inescapable ignorance, and with excess of information, *and* with the inextricably interwoven condition of ignorance with knowledge. New facts or anecdotes tend to offer more new questions than answers” (1998:120). Bowker suggests that “lives are socially constructed ones, and that to compose a biographical subject is not just to compose a fiction, but to engage in a social process” (1998:270). Similarly Honan suggests

The biographies that give us the best sense of persons and that we reread contain more than scholarly criticism of ideas and works with added threadbare accounts of dates, families, schools attended, places visited and the like; they show us in some measure how and why an author felt as he did, how he responded to experience, how his responses affected his work. (Honan 1985:649)

A problem for the biographer is how do I know that what I have uncovered is accurate about my subject? As evidenced by Mead’s autobiography, what is written may not always be accurate. The biographer has to deal with the conflicting evidence about a person's life which reflects the nature of personality itself. In addition “The biographer works at a geographical, temporal, cultural, sexual, racial, experiential, and temperamental remove of varying degrees from her/his subject” (Miller 1979:70). Therefore,

In the construction of an individual life, gender, class, race, ethnicity, nativity, sexual orientation, nationality, family background, occupation, vocation and much more intersect and interact in myriad ways. It is the task of the biographer to disentangle, to prioritize, to attempt to understand how, in a given time and place, a ‘self’ is organized and performed. (Nasaw 2009:576).

Bearing the foregoing strictures in mind, my focus, and intention is to unravel the complexities of the life and career of Reo Franklin Fortune. The published literature about Fortune’s life and career is extremely small. Apart from four

obituaries (Young 1979; Firth 1980; Gathercole 1980; Lawrence 1980), a chapter by McLean (1992), and Huon Wardle's (2004) biographical sketch, the only material of substance exists in works about Margaret Mead (Cassidy 1982; Howard 1984; Grosskurth 1988; Lapsley 1999; Molloy 2000, 2008; Banner 2003), and in Mead's own writings such as *Blackberry Winter* (1972) and *Letters from the Field 1925-1975* (c1977). More recently, a number of papers have been either presented at conferences, or published, regarding joint work conducted by Mead and Fortune (Bashkow 2003a, 2003b; Bashkow and Dobrin 2007a, 2007b; Lohmann 2009; Suzuki 2002; Thomas 2005, 2007, 2009).

Where there is a paucity of information, the writer has to decide what can be assumed from the known facts. Marcus and Fischer regard the more recent life histories by the anthropologists Shostak (1981) and Vincent Crapanzano (1980) as endeavouring, "to explore the multiple points of view that go into the construction of any life history... emphasiz[ing] the native conventions, idioms or myths that compose the ideas of life histories or similar meaningful narratives about individual experience, growth, the self and emotions" (1986:58). As Sigridur Kristmundsdottir (2006:165) notes, "Biographical research. . . involves attaining much the same understanding of culture and society as we traditionally hope to achieve in anthropology, and the ability to transmit that understanding"

Because social anthropology has traditionally been defined by fieldwork, conducted at a specific place and time, and in particular the practice of participant observation, the question has to be asked: what constitutes the field for the biographer of an anthropologist. If the field is defined as a geographical place, biography has many fields as the subject may have lived in many places but as Kristmundsdottir

indicates these may not be the actual field stating that

[T]he life of the subject becomes the field constituted by the events of the life, what happened at different times and in different places . . . hence the field cannot be a place or locality in the traditional sense, but rather it becomes a location defined by the life and its context (2006:168).

Although participant observation cannot be conducted in the same sense with a person who is dead, as can occur with a person who is living, it is possible to listen to what Kristmundsdottir (2006:169) terms ‘voices in the field’ in the same way that anthropologists have always listened to people in the field. In this situation, the voices are those of the friends, colleagues, and family who allow the researcher access to their memories. In addition, correspondence and other written documents contain other voices, sometimes revealing the secrets which a living person would conceal. As Smith (1953:191) suggests, “quoted words are the most precious kind of source material”.

David Mandelbaum argues that while “biography has long been cultivated by historians... the study of lives for purposes of social sciences has been more advocated than practiced [sic]”. He proposes that life histories have been, and will continue to be, written as part of ethnographic fieldwork, and he suggests that data collected in recording an anthropological life history should be categorised before an analysis is attempted. To this end he suggests three ways of categorising data:

(1) the dimensions or aspects of a person's life; (2) the principal turnings and the life conditions between turnings; (3) the person's characteristic means of adaptation. The dimensions provide categories for understanding the main forces that affect a life. The turnings mark major changes that a person makes and thus demarcate periods of his life. A focus on adaptation directs our notice both to changes he makes and to continuities he maintains throughout his life course” (1973:180).

By loosely using these categories it is possible not only to develop an overall

picture of the person studied but to allow the dynamics of the prevailing social system to be directly related to the individual who in turn can be located intellectually and socially. The relationship between the discipline of anthropology and the anthropologist is as fascinating as the relationship between the anthropologist and their informants. By applying the categories to Fortune's life and career it is possible to show how and where he fits within the discipline of anthropology during the period 1925-1945. As Bowker suggests, "doing biographical work involves imaginatively inhabiting the mind of others, and we constantly strive to do this with one another in everyday life" (1998:274). Fortune was as much a product of the discipline of anthropology as anthropology was an integral part of his being.

Relatives and friends of Fortune were approached for in-depth interviews to explore their knowledge of him as a person and as an anthropologist. These respondents were recruited by a rough kind of snowball method, as many were known to each other. All audio tapes of these interviews were transcribed in full and the interviewees provided with copies so that they could comment or withdraw material if they wished. In addition, names of the numerous people who were mentioned in the diverse correspondences which were read, or recorded, were traced and, if possible, contacted for comment.

However, as William Peace notes in his biography of Leslie White, "Writing about any figure in the history of anthropology is a difficult endeavour" (2004:xiii). He recounts how he telephoned to ask an individual, whom he knew had fallen out with White, for his interpretation of the rupture, only to find himself verbally abused and the phone hung up. I had a similar experience when a contact refused to speak to me because he felt his comments to a previous academic who had interviewed him

had been misrepresented. But, of course, such experiences are not limited to biographers about anthropologists.

Each chapter represents a phase in Fortune's life, from his early years in New Zealand to his death at Cambridge, England in 1979. Chapter one describes his childhood, early education, and the development of his psychological theory of dreaming, accompanied by his disavowal of his Christian faith. Subsequent chapters detail his fieldwork experiences and writings, his marriage and the subsequent disintegration of his relationship with Mead, through to his alienation with anthropology and his liminal situation at Cambridge. My conclusion reflects on his progression from the prospect of a brilliant career as prophesied by Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown, to the appropriation of his work by others and his obsession with the way in which his writings were misinterpreted. As a consequence his relationships with colleagues suffered and he became, for many, a figure of derision.

Analysis of my data was through the use of the constant comparative method as outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The constant comparative method can be applied, within a study, to any kind of qualitative information including observations, interviews, documents, etc. Further, this method enables the quantification of data through coding, while at the same time allowing for the development of theoretically informed views about the data. Coding of the interview transcripts enabled the discovery of categories and their properties. These were constantly compared in a search for "patterns and processes of action/interaction that in turn are linked with carefully specified conditions and consequences" (Strauss and Corbin 1998:173)

Grounded theory is an inductive approach, and Huberman and Miles (1998:187) suggest a series of tactics for generating meaning. Noting patterns and

themes, from which initial sense is made with clustering of the conceptual groupings, helps to identify the connections. Huberman and Miles further suggest making contrasts and comparisons as a means of clarifying understanding by clustering and distinguishing observations. Rather than verifying pre-existing theories, the analytic process prompts discovery and theory development.

I have striven to present an honest and fair account of Reo Fortune's life and career. The development of a closeness to my subject may have caused me to be more inclined to overlook seemingly minor flaws in his character and his work. The Fortune who emerges is intelligent, strong, honest, and principled, yet also vulnerable, misunderstood, alienated, and underestimated.

Chapter Two

Coming of Age in New Zealand

**“I have set my feet to follow a broken path,
from the sun in the groves below I have turned my face,
There will be no children’s voices at my hearth
and the wind itself shall have more an abiding place.**

**But ever I follow on till darkness falls
The ineluctable spirit of things unknown,
And I do not greatly care if none recalls
whither it led; I shall sleep in the end alone.”**

(Reo Fortune 1926a)

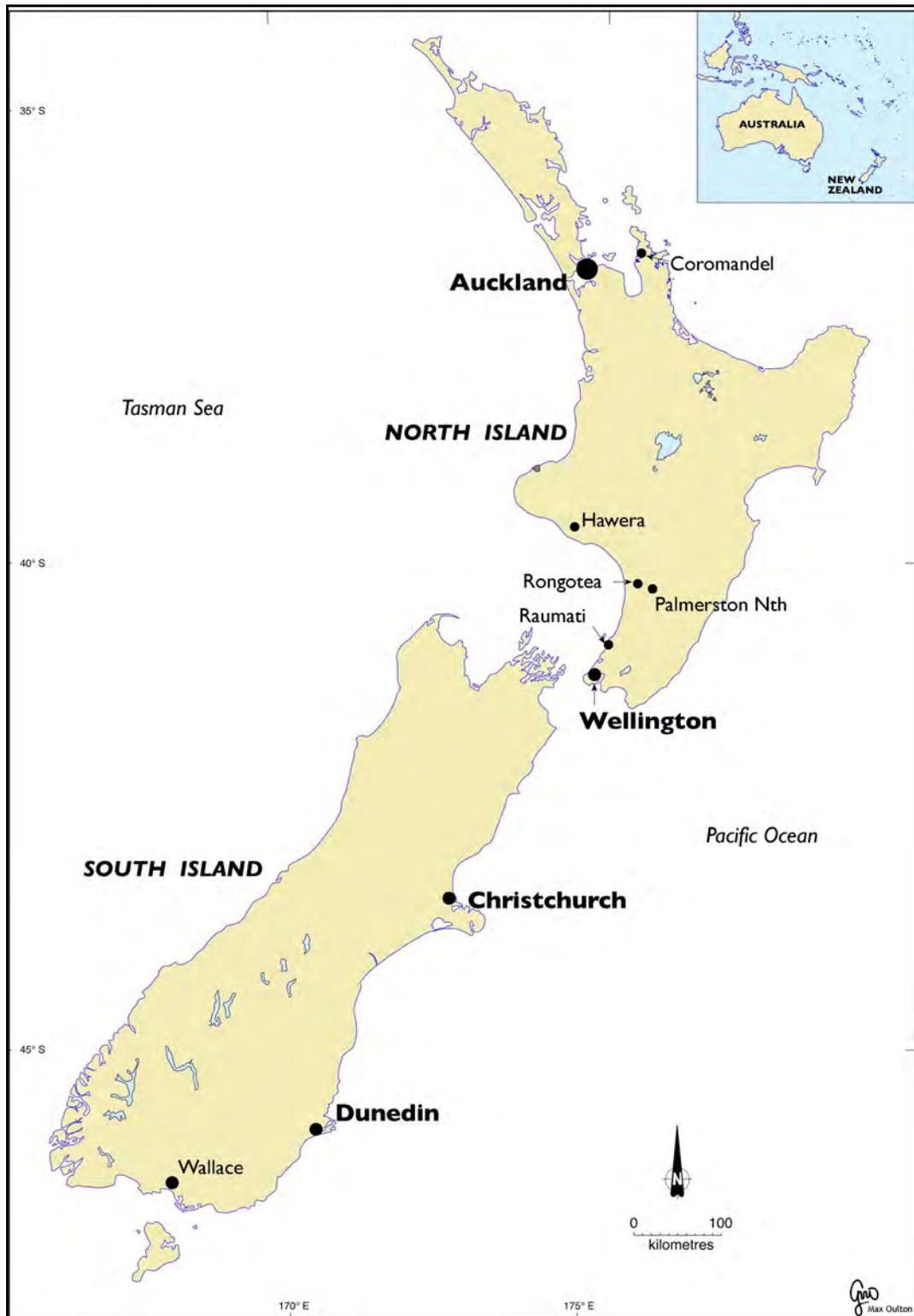


Figure 2 Map of New Zealand showing places Fortune lived. Main cities in bold type.

As mentioned above, Mandelbaum (1973) suggests that the principal turnings, and the life conditions between these, demarcate the major changes in and the periods of a person's life. This chapter describes the early life of Fortune as the son of an Anglican vicar, his education in New Zealand, and his first publications on sleep and dreaming. It is through an understanding of his beginnings and the society which shaped his formative years that we can begin to understand what motivated Fortune's later life decisions.

When Reo Fortune returned to Cambridge in 1979 after spending some months with his brother, Barter, in New Zealand, he could not know that this had been his last visit to his native country. On November 13 he slipped and fell down the stairs in the university library, where he was attending the annual faculty meeting, breaking his leg. Twelve days later, on 25 November in Adenbrooke's Hospital, his life slipped away. Social anthropology had lost one of the last of its great pioneers; a man whose career had spanned nearly fifty years.

Reo Franklin Fortune was born in the small goldmining town of Coromandel, New Zealand, where his father Peter was the Anglican vicar. By the time he was fifteen his father had abandoned his faith, resigned holy orders (ostensibly after the Bishop had told a particularly off-colour joke), turned to farming, and moved the family to a small community north of Wellington. There the family grew in number to include two more sons, Howard (1906-1980) and Barter (1913-1998), and a daughter, Evelyn (1909-1959). The youngest of these, Barter, was to be the closest and perhaps the staunchest friend to Reo throughout his later life.

Nobody knows what thoughts passed through the mind of the Reverend Peter Fortune when, on March 27, 1903, his wife Hetty (nee Jackson), presented him with his first born, a son. Perhaps his thoughts turned to the Bible and the opening words of the Gospel of St John: "In the beginning was the word and the word was with God"(John 1:1). He may also have thought of his many Maori parishioners and

wanted to show his love, and respect, for them. *Te Reo* in the Maori language constitutes ‘the voice’ or ‘the word’ (Williams 1971:336), and in choosing Reo as his son’s name he may have been combining the two.

Peter Thomas Fortune (1867-1938) was the first child of John Fortune (1831-1899), a farmer at Pakuranga near Auckland. The latter’s family already consisted of several children who were the progeny of Anna Maria Debus (1831-1919) and Carlo Arnaboldi. Anna Maria was the daughter of a Comte Debus who fled France to Germany during the French Revolution. Although she was born in Germany, the family emigrated to Australia before moving to Auckland, New Zealand where, according to family tradition, she became the star member of Bishop Pompallier’s choir. Pompallier, the first Roman Catholic Bishop of New Zealand, officiated at her marriage to Charles [Carlo] Angelo Arnaboldi, with whom she had six children before a riding accident claimed the life of Carlo in November 1865.

Anna Maria, left with children to raise, married John Fortune, a neighbouring farmer. John Fortune, by all accounts, was an Irishman with a penchant for alcohol and a violent temper. Margaret Mead recounts the story of him locking his wife in the kitchen with a stallion, wishing it would kick her to death, and intimates that this tendency to violence was passed down to his grandson Reo (Mead 1972:161). However, Peter Fortune abhorred the violence and drinking of his father and left home as soon as he was able, never to speak with him or most of his siblings again.

Despite being baptised and raised as a Catholic, Peter entered St John’s Anglican College in Auckland and subsequently journeyed to China under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, serving in the province of Hupeh and at Hang Chow in the province of Chekiang. On his return to New Zealand in 1893 he

re-entered St John's College from where he became assistant-curate to the Parish of St James Anglican Church, Lower Hutt (1895-96). He was assistant to the Vicar of St Augustine's Church in Petone, Wellington, in 1896. He subsequently became Priest in 1900 with his first posting to nearby St Luke's Church in Wadestown (1901). There he met Hetty Jackson (1882-1942), who was fifteen years his junior and engaged to another man. She broke her engagement to marry Peter. Hetty's father had been an officer in the British army stationed in India and according to Barter Fortune, "Hetty and her siblings all had the manners and aspirations of English 'gentlefolk'".¹

After their marriage in June 1902, Peter and his wife were posted to the gold mining town of Coromandel where they remained until 1904. Coromandel at the turn of the century had reached its peak as a mining town with a population around twelve thousand and boasted nineteen hotels. Peter Fortune, a lifelong teetotaler, railed fruitlessly about the evils of drink. Following Coromandel, the Fortunes served in the parish of Papakura, South Auckland (1904-1910), then in quick succession, parishes in Wallace near Invercargill, Mornington in Dunedin, Hawera in Taranaki, and eventually, in 1912, Rongotea, a small settlement 25 kms from Palmerston North. There the family remained until Peter, disillusioned with Anglican dogma, resigned in 1918. During his time as vicar at Rongotea, Peter took a meticulous approach to everything that concerned the parish, so much so that within three years of his arrival, the vicarage received much needed maintenance, and a stable and buggy shed had been added along with a wash-house, coal shed and store room. Notably the Parish was also out of debt (Centennial Committee, 1982).

¹ Howick Historic Village archives, Barter Fortune to Leonie Bedggood letter, undated

The family finally settled in 1918 at Raumati South, north of Wellington, where land had become available after the end of the First World War. Peter established a small herd of prize dairy cattle and spent the rest of his life here until his death in Wellington Hospital, around 15 December 1938, following a bout of pneumonia after the removal of his prostate. Farming life was difficult. There were often outbreaks of disease affecting stock, the land was less productive than anticipated, and the family struggled from one crisis to the next. Hetty became more and more dispirited as her life as the genteel lady of the vicarage fell further and further behind her.



Figure 3 Fortune Family circa 1915. From left: Evelyn, Barter, Hetty, Howard, Reo.

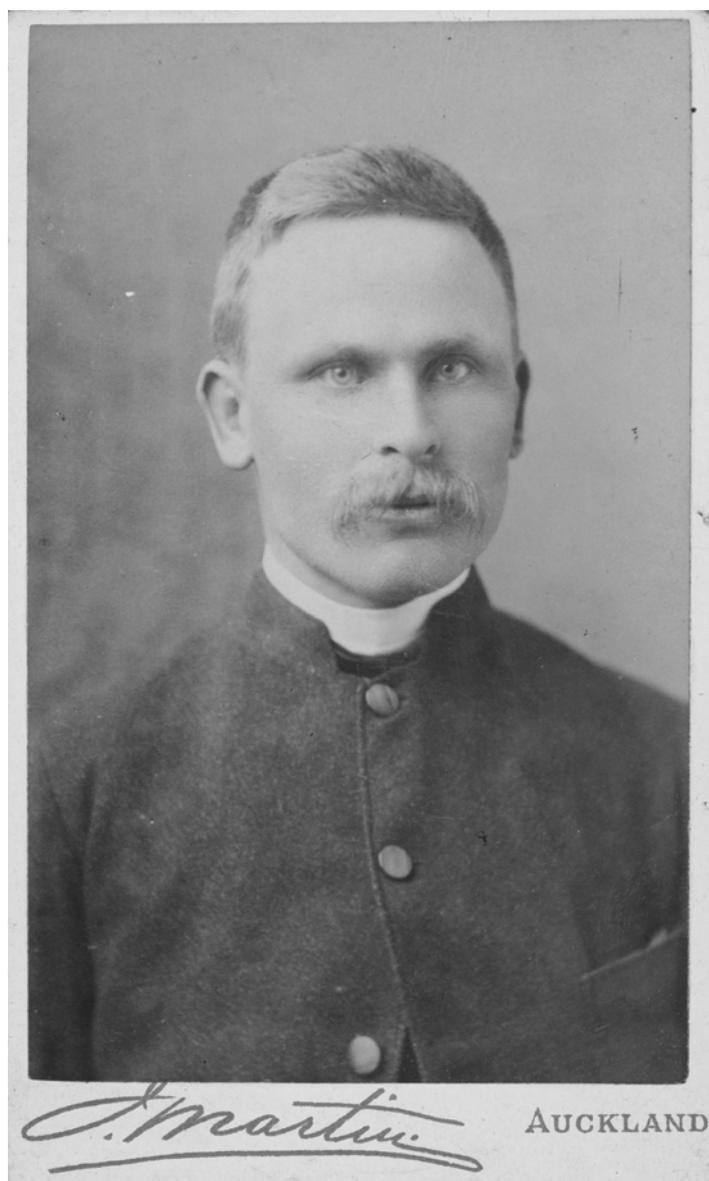


Figure 4 Peter Thomas Fortune circa 1903.

Reo's early life was not easy and little is known of his primary education which was completed under difficult conditions. With the family constantly moving it must have been hard to form and maintain friendships, but by 1914 when war broke out in Europe the Fortunes were settled at Rongotea. Reo was enrolled at the local school where he used to sit next to a fair-haired Norwegian girl, the daughter of the local doctor. Fortune exchanged stamps with her brother and played cricket and rounders with them both in the doctor's backyard. In the first flushes of puberty, young Reo was strongly attracted to this young woman, such that years later she was to feature in one of his dreams and may have been the first girl he kissed (1925:18; 63). However there was another young woman in Fortune's life - his cousin, Dorothea Arnabaldi. According to Fortune's niece, Melda Brunette,

There was bad blood between the Fortune half and the Arnabaldi half (and still is for historical reasons to do with some 19th century wills - Arnabaldi and Sauerbier) but most of it seems to be on the Arnabaldi descendants' side and from the Fortune point of view a marriage between Reo and Dorothea would have cemented everything in their favour.²

Although Dorothea and Reo were very close, and remained so throughout their lives, Fortune was concerned that they were too closely related and therefore marriage was deemed impossible. Dorothea apparently took the rejection very hard and never married.

World War I had a profound effect on the people of New Zealand. Nearly one quarter of the population was eligible for military service and about half of these actually served. By the time peace came in 1918, eighteen thousand had perished with more than fifty thousand others wounded. There was hardly a person who was not affected either directly or indirectly by the deaths of so many young men. Nearly

² Melda Brunette. Personal communication to the Author, email dated 14 April 2007.

every family lost someone or knew someone who had. Fortune, like most New Zealanders developed a hatred of Germany and all things German.

During the influenza epidemic of 1918 New Zealand again experienced indiscriminate death, this time of women and children as well as men, in numbers equal to half those killed in the war. In the space of a couple of months over eight thousand people died. According to Belich (2001:113), almost as many women were widowed by influenza as lost husbands in the war. These factors presumably influenced Peter Fortune's resignation from the Church, which occurred around this time, and encouraged the development of the younger Fortune's agnosticism and pacifism.

Until the late 1930s, secondary education for New Zealanders generally was restricted to "a high-achieving minority of primary leavers" (Oliver 1988:23). Fortune began his secondary education in 1916 at Palmerston North Boys High School (hereafter PNBH). The establishment of the College House, by the Rector John Vernon in his own residence, enabled the school to accept boarders. He was assisted by bachelor teaching staff who lived in, and Vernon and his wife were referred to as 'Mum' and 'Dad'. The war and the influenza epidemic also had a major impact on the school, especially with the death of John Vernon himself in November 1918.

Fortune initially commuted 25 km daily, but the winning of a Junior National Scholarship allowed him to complete his secondary education as a boarder between 1917-1919. For new boarders "there were initiation ceremonies which required new boys to perform at a concert" and "established traditions and spirit which made such institutions much more than simply places to sleep" (Hamilton 2001:57). Fortune's

housemaster was W. P. Anderson, a sportsman and scholar with a “genuine interest in the boys for their own sake; [a man who] knew his ‘boy’ into whose nature he had a keen insight and of whose frailties and foibles he showed a sympathetic understanding” (Murray 1952:34). The records of this time are scanty, but in *The Palmerstonian*, the school magazine, Fortune is pictured as a member of the rugby third fifteen for 1917 and 1918. Leaving school at the end of 1919, he spent a short period with the Public Service in Wellington, before enrolling at nearby Victoria University College, Wellington, in 1921.

Victoria was the youngest of the four colleges (Otago, established 1869, Canterbury, 1873, Auckland, 1883 and Victoria, 1897) which comprised the University of New Zealand. Despite its youth, Victoria had already, by the time Fortune arrived, produced two graduates who were to become renowned anthropologists: Diamond Jenness and Henry Devenish Skinner. It was to continue this tradition with Fortune, Ernest Beaglehole, Harry Hawthorn, Derek Freeman and Cyril Belshaw. Clark Wissler, a leading anthropologist at Yale, visited Victoria as part of a “Visit to Research Institutions in New Zealand and Australia during the year 1925, under the auspices of the Division of Studies, Rockefeller Foundation, and in co-operation with the American Museum of Natural History” (1926). In his report Wissler commented favourably on the state of psychology at Wellington under Professor Hunter, and noted that “there is one promising research student, at present, doing some original work on dreams”. More than likely this refers to Fortune.

Fortune’s first year at Victoria was particularly difficult. According to his brother Barter, he was able to attend only six weeks of lectures because of the distance he had to travel to Wellington. As examinations were externally set and

marked in England, it was possible for a student to be exempted from attendance at lectures and still satisfy the requirements for the completion of papers (Barrowman 1999). It is suggested in his dream works (1925, 1926b, 1927a) that Fortune scraped together money during vacations by working at the local cheese factory, rising at 5.30am every morning and walking the two miles to the factory where he toiled until 6pm, before once more retracing his steps home. He did eventually secure lodgings with a family in Wellington who, according to Barter, “treated him as a son rather than as a source of kitchen profit”³. His undergraduate degree included papers in Latin, Economics, Geography, Education and, Mental and Moral Philosophy. In 1922 he was awarded the Habens Prize, which was awarded by the University of New Zealand for an “essay. . . connected with the science of Education, with special reference to child study, or to the conditions affecting education in New Zealand”. The topic for the Habens Prize, as shown in the 1921-1922 UNZ Calendar, was:

An inquiry based on an examination of a sufficient number of cases into

- i) the comparative effects of the admission of children to the infant departments of public schools at ages varying from five to seven years, and
- ii) the influence of an antecedent kindergarten course of training as shown by the subsequent primary school career of the pupil concerned.

Fortune’s paper, published in 1924, was “The Age of School Entry” and argued that the age of seven was the optimum age for entry to school. Also, in 1922 he received his Training College Certificate. His two years, 1921-22, at Training

³ Barter Fortune to Graham Bagnall, letter dated 27 January 1980. Peter Gathercole kindly provided me with a folder of papers he had collected relating to Fortune, including this correspondence.

College were not exactly his most pleasant. In a recorded dream from that time he related his feelings of humiliation and fear of expulsion because of conflict with the Principal. He wrote, “So open and unrepressed . . . was my contempt for the institution in question that the Principal told me before I left that no student had ever before taken the liberties there that I had” (1926b:126).

During his years at Victoria, Fortune was active in the Debating Society, the Free Discussion Club, the Tramping Club, worked as an assistant in the Library and was sub-editor for *The Spike*, the Victoria College magazine. Copies of *The Spike* contain many poems written by Fortune during this period and one (Fortune 1930) was selected for inclusion in an anthology of New Zealand poetry (Pope 1930). But it is in the reports of the Debating and Free Discussion clubs that his agnosticism and pacifism become apparent. His developing agnosticism meant he invariably took the opposing side in matters which contained theological debate.

The first recorded reference to Fortune participating in the Debating Society occurs in the minutes of the 249th ordinary meeting in July 1923, when the topic was “That [Prime Minister] Mr Massey’s dictum that in international questions, the Empire must always come first is incompatible with adherence to the League of Nations”. Fortune debated on two main areas: theological, in which he opposed Church/Religion, and international, where he opposed War and Empire. In August 1923 the debate centred on the introduction of the Bible into schools and was vigorously opposed by Fortune. In another debate, on whether “an alliance between Great Britain and the United States was to be desired”, Fortune was placed first by the judge.

In 1924, at the 25th Annual General Meeting of the Debating Society, (18/3/24) Fortune attempted to have the words “Theological subjects being excluded”, removed from clause 2 of the constitution. The motion was lost. Perhaps as a concession to Fortune, after the election of officers it was moved by the vice president, that an addendum to clause two should read, “This shall not preclude the committee from selecting social subjects even though they have theological implications”. This motion was carried. The very next week (22/3/24) Fortune joined with J. C. Beaglehole (the future biographer of James Cook) in speaking in the affirmative for the position, “That social progress is retarded more than it is assisted by the Christian Religion”. After the opposer and mover had summed up, the motion was put and rejected both by the wider audience and by financial members of the society. *The Spike* (Anon 1924:60-61) noted that, “The debate proved an interesting one, and enabled our heretical friends, Mssrs R.F. Fortune and J.C. Beaglehole to inveigh against the Christians and their usages until their hearts’ content...” Fortune’s name then disappeared from the minutes until the notes of the Plunket Medal of 13 September 1924 where he was recorded as speaking on “Joan of Arc.” His debating style was forceful. *The Spike*, commenting on his entry in the Plunket Medal Competition (1924), stated: “He ripped out his curses in a glorious whirl of enthusiasm which reminded us of the tramper hurtling through the Catchpole bush . . . However, there is excitement in such a race and Mr Fortune’s speech was nothing if not exciting”.

After completing his Bachelor of Arts in 1923, Fortune continued with his Master of Arts for which he was awarded First Class Honours in Mental and Moral Philosophy (Psychology) in 1925. The only existing copy of his Master’s thesis

appears to be an almost complete version (he, presumably, removed parts of it at some stage with a pair of scissors) among his papers in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. In this thesis, *Dream Problems* (1925), he claims to have convicted Freud of “an unscientific and partisan selection of the facts in his treatment of children’s dreams”. Further, he suggests that Freud has carried this partisanship “over into adult dreams in his insistence on their exclusive character as wish fulfilment”.

In 1925 he was awarded one of four National Research Scholarships which enabled him to continue his research on dreams. This was subsequently published in the *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* as “The Psychology of Dreams” (1926b). In this work he refuted both Freud (dreams are not all derived from repressed wishes) and Rivers (dreams are not solutions of conflict). Instead he suggested that they are ‘revolutions’ of conflict, which is more aligned to the work of Robert Graves, and further suggested that Freud overlooked a type of dream which arises out of conflict. This latter point became the basis of his book, *The Mind in Sleep* (1927a). He further contended that Rivers’ theory that the symbolism of dreams is a regression to a lower level of thinking is invalidated given that,

If Rivers’ theory were true, the fact that dreams almost invariably deal with recent conflicts would conflict with the theory that dreams regress to an infantile level of thought; for the regression to such a level should cut off all reference to recent mental conflicts (1926b:128).

This small thesis won him the Jacob Joseph Scholarship. In addition, he was awarded a Postgraduate Arts Scholarship and a free passage to England offered by the New Zealand Shipping Company. That same year, Fortune published four papers: the first, titled “The Effect of Sleep on the Ability to Perform Muscular Work” (1926c),

argued that it is during the first two hours of sleep, and only during those first two hours that muscles regain their strength. His second paper was “The Psychology of Dreams” (1926b). A third essay, “Retardation in the Schools” (1926d), examined the effect of frequent interruptions to schooling, and concluded that this does in fact impact on the ability of students to learn especially where there is already some degree of deficiency in the student’s abilities. In “The Symbolism of the Serpent” (1926e), Fortune challenged the anti-Freudian denial of the erotic significance of the serpent by Wohlgemuth (1923). Using Maori and Hebraic mythology of the creation of mankind, Fortune clearly demonstrates the sexual symbolism of the serpent, although he noted that in Maori mythology the serpent is represented by its nearest approximation, the eel.

All dreamers are Penelopes. By night they unravel the woven skein of the day. And next day they distort their memory of the black work of the night and conveniently forget it (Fortune, 1925:3).

Reo Fortune’s dream works are comprised of his MA thesis *Dream Problems* (1925), a published paper “The Psychology of Dreams” (1926b), and a book *The Mind in Sleep* (1927a). These three works taken together illustrate his developing theory regarding dreams as ‘revolutions of conflicts’. In these works, also, he questioned the works of Freud and Rivers, and critiqued the Bergson (1915) and Havelock Ellis (1911) view that dreams are trivial and insignificant.

By the 1920's, Freud’s theory of dreams had become part of the accepted canon of psychoanalytic practice and dream analysis. Freud determined, first, that dreams are the fulfilment of a wish; secondly, that dreams are the disguised fulfilment of a wish; thirdly, that dreams are the disguised fulfilment of a repressed wish; and fourthly, that dreams are the disguised fulfilment of a repressed infantile wish.

Freud said that a dream may be divided into manifest content and latent content. The manifest content (dream-content) is that which the dreamer experiences and relates, while the latent content (dream-thoughts) is the deeper meaning which, for Freud, takes the form of a wish. The manifest content however is a condensation of the latent content and needs to be elucidated. But dreams are not always what they initially present as. They may disguise their content through censorship and distortion.

As Freud stated:

We should then assume that in every human being there exist, as the primary cause of dream-formation, two psychic forces (tendencies or systems), one of which forms the wish expressed by the dream, while the other exercises a censorship over this dream-wish, thereby enforcing on it a distortion (1913 [1900]:51).

Freud further contended:

... that dreams are distorted, and that their wish-fulfilment is disguised beyond recognition, precisely because there is a strong revulsion against - a will to repress - the subject-matter of the dream, or the wish created by it. Dream-distortion, then, proves in reality to be an act of censorship (1913 [1900]:68).

In Freud's view this censorship of the latent content is a result of the resistance of consciousness or wakefulness whereby the manifest content acts to suppress the latent content; i.e., that which is repressed in waking life finds its expression through the latent content of dreams, but in order for the manifest content of the dream to express this, it has to alter it in some way whereby the original repression may be overcome. Distortion takes place through the process of displacement, where abstract thoughts are transformed into visual and concrete language which the dream may make use of. Similarly, the emotion associated with a particular idea may become detached from it and attached to some other.

In his work *Conflict and Dream* (1923), W. H. R. Rivers called attention to:

(a) the inadequacy of Freud's theory of wish-fulfilment as an explanation of dreams; (b) the exaggerated importance assigned ... to incidents in the dreamer's early life to the neglect of recent conflicts; [and] (c) especially to the fallacies of Freudian interpretations of symbolism ... particularly of sexual motives and symbols... (1923:v).

In contrast to Freud's belief that disturbing thoughts in a dream are distorted in order to hide their real meaning from the sleeping consciousness, Rivers preferred to speak of the manifest content "... coming into being by a process of transformation of a wish, or other form of latent content" (1923:4). Further, Rivers held the view that Freud's assertion that every dream is a wish-fulfilment, was "an inadequate expression of the relation between [manifest, and latent] content"(1923:v). Another school of thought, exemplified by Henri Bergson (1915) and Havelock Ellis (1911), would have us believe that dreams are inconsequential and merely the imagination playing with trivialities.

In his masters thesis, Fortune attempted to do more than arbitrate between the two prevailing schools of thought which, on the one hand, saw dreams as being trivial and inconsequential, and on the other regarded them as being portentous and sometimes foreboding. He carefully examined the structure of dreams in order to ascertain the veracity of the claims made by each side, using the key concepts elaborated by Freud as his base: Wishes, Affect, Displacement and Regression. Further, he gave us an insight into his personal life through his interpretation and analysis of his own dreams.

For Fortune, "dreams are not a cessation of mental activity and an assumption of passivity but rather a venting of emotional activity excited during the day, but suppressed and kept under control until nightfall by conflicting and opposing

emotions, or emotional dispositions” (1925:7). He therefore believed “that the mechanism of all dreams ... is that of conflict, repression and release” and that all dreams are “essentially the release of an emotion dammed up and repressed by conflicting emotions or emotional dispositions” (1925:9).

In order to test Freud’s theory that all dreams are wishes, Fortune recounted his own dream “The Dream of the Sheep-killing”:

Mr Xerxes was a sheep. He was floating on his back, feet in the air, in the Te Aro salt baths. Diana dived off my shoulder, swam diagonally across the baths and brought him to shore. There were two gaping red slits across his body, a deep gash across the throat bleeding profusely, and another across his belly. I went to tell Mr Xerxes’ wife and children of his death (1925:6).

In explanation of this, he remembered that the day before the dream he had the misfortune of coming across a severely injured sheep and rather than let it suffer he had killed it by slitting its throat. Repulsed by having to do this, he repressed the episode and did not discuss it with anyone. Later after dinner he sat up talking with Mr Xerxes⁴ without telling him of the incident. At night the repressed revulsion of the day found its release and avoided censorship by appearing as Mr Xerxes disguised as a sheep. “The dream of the sheep killing would indicate that a repressed revulsion may find release in a dream. Freud, however would interpret it as a malicious wish for the death of Mr Xerxes” (1925:22).

According to Fortune:

The bond of union between Mr Xerxes and the dead sheep is in this case purely temporal. It is a case by contiguity and not by similarity ... If then a repressed revulsion as well as a repressed wish may

⁴ Throughout his thesis, Fortune used names from Greek mythology for all people. While in many cases it is possible to determine who these actually are, on this occasion I have been unable to determine the real identity of Mr Xerxes although it may be the head of the family he boarded with in Wellington during this period.

produce a dream it is evident that the cause lies in the repression and not in the character of the impulse or sentiment repressed” (1925:23).

The dream of the sheep slaying expressed a revulsion which his waking attitude of manliness would not allow him to express. Clearly, for Fortune, repression, and only repression, is essential to a dream. Such repression may be of any emotion: e.g. hate, love, anger, fear. It is here that Fortune diverged from Freud: “Professor Freud thinks that a wish to be repressed and the repression of it, are essential to the dream. . . . It is my opinion that the repression alone is essential” (1925:25).

As an example of repressed hatred, Fortune recounted another of his own dreams, “The Dream of Friend or Foe”, which is renamed “The Dream of the German Broil” in his subsequent publications.

It was war-time again. I was going overseas to further my studies and had the choice of attending a German University or a French one. In paying a preliminary visit to both of them I saw that the French college was on the flat in the heart of the town, whereas the German institution stood on the side of a hill which was accessible only by a steeply inclined tramline. In weighing the advantages and disadvantages of each I thought that the flat was more convenient; but on the other hand the hillside tram-cars ran very close to the home of my German relatives with whom I contemplated staying in the event of my preferring their country. Finally I decided that as France was our ally and Germany our foe I would go to Germany in order to show my freedom from narrow nationalistic prejudices. Arriving at the home of my relatives in Germany I was coldly received - apparently they had not intended me to accept their invitation to stay with them. Pericles, an English preceptor of mine, was also there, but he completely ignored me except to translate one foolish and embarrassed remark of mine at which the company laughed heartily. I could not understand German or procure an interpreter, so I went out into the streets for a walk. Loungers around the shop verandahs quickly detected that I was an enemy alien, and raised a hue and cry. With some difficulty I shook them off, and arrived to my great relief at the outskirts of the town. Having returned home by devious ways at nightfall I was entirely ignored by my relatives. Next morning early I set out for the University. I boarded a tram and having no German small change I proffered English money. The conductor promptly stopped the car and ordered me off. Undaunted I ascended another car. The conductor again refused my English money, and

viewing me with hostile suspicion refused to let me down outside the college entrance. Instead he ran the tram right through the front doors and into the interior of the building where a gigantic wickerwork cage, shaped like a huge waste paper basket, was suspended about ten feet above the ground by taut steel ropes attached to the rafters. Into this cage he projected me violently and ran the car away, leaving me no means of exit. Various officials came to inspect me there, some suspiciously, some jeeringly, others asking the most intimately personal and humiliating questions. After a long time had elapsed they released me from my ignominious and intensely uncomfortable perch, and ejected me vigorously from the building” (1925:34-36).

The various elements of this dream reveal much about Fortune. As he notes in his analysis, he had been reading an article espousing pacifist principles the night before this dream. His own political philosophy at this time was more akin to those of social democratic and labour parties than to their liberal or conservative opponents. The New Zealand Labour Party had been formed in 1916 from an amalgamation of various left-wing political groups, and at the time of Fortune’s dream held seventeen seats in Parliament. Labour strongly opposed conscription during the First World War, and his pro-Labour leanings had necessitated his breaking away from “some whose political opinions were so strong as to make it a ground of difference where no such ground had been before”. (1925:36).

From Fortune’s analysis we learn that the central conflict is “Labour and Internationalism versus Conservatism and Nationalism”. He likened going to Germany to the adage “If you love your enemy why don’t you go and live with him” (1925:36), but in his dream he does not actually go to Germany. The Institution that appears in his dream is in fact the Teacher’s Training College which he attended, and from his clues we can discern that the character ‘Pericles’ is Professor Tennant, the first Professor of Education at Victoria and also the principal of the Training College. Fortune’s relationship with Tennant was strained after Fortune, in writing a report on

his teaching experience at a local school, exposed bullying by a now departed teacher, which had resulted in a young lad developing a pronounced stammer. The matter concerned the flogging of the young lad who absented himself from school one day a fortnight without offering an excuse. On investigation, Fortune discovered that the days this boy was absent was when his outer garments were washed and, as he had no others, he could not attend. However, presumably from embarrassment, the lad refused to say why he did not attend. “This, the headmaster took as a breach of professional etiquette and as he was also a lecturer at the Training College the Principal was compelled to support him” (1925:37). Fortune was asked to excise the offending section from his report and refused. The giant wickerwork cage of the dream is a representation of the waste paper basket in Tennant’s office where Fortune was reprimanded and represents the humiliation he felt during the interview.

As Fortune noted: “So open and unrepressed ... was my contempt for the institution in question that the Principal told me before I left that no student had ever before taken the liberties there that I had”(1926b:126). The appearance of relatives in Germany and France is of little consequence to the dream narrative other than the fact that Fortune had only recently discovered that his paternal great-grandfather, a Comte Debus, had fled the French Revolution by going to Germany and subsequently emigrating to Australia.

Fortune explained the merging of the Training College with the German university as a ‘revolution of conflicts’. On the one hand he had suppressed his hatred of Germany by involving himself in “Internationalism, Quakerism, the ethics of conscientious objection, and the like” (1925:37), and on the other, his hatred for

the Training College was more overt and unrepressed. The more repressed conflict had disguised itself as the unrepressed hatred. As Fortune stated:

[C]oming together they merge their identity so effectively that, if one of them was previously repressed, it now shakes loose its former repression with its former identity. It is as if a prisoner were to escape the warders by donning the garments of one of his visitors" (1925:23).

This reversal of waking belief and dream content is also clearly illustrated in "The Dream of the Theological Debate" (The Dream of the Library Disorder). In this dream, Fortune explained, he had accompanied the Librarian to the library to consult the Bible. A number of students had gathered around another who was giving an oration on the advantages of atheism. Fortune had produced a banana, revolver fashion, broken up the meeting and then proceeded to deliver a counter oration on the advantages of theism. The librarian at this time was actually "the Formidable Reverend Horace Ward, who, dressed in skull cap and clerical black, ruled over his domain from a raised desk in the centre of the reading room" (Barrowman 1999:28). Being actually employed as Ward's assistant, it was Fortune's responsibility to retain order within the library and to suppress even the slightest whispering. As a result, any disorder in the library was considered to be an abhorrent thing. Similarly, his agnosticism was based on "the belief that the whole universe is an unguided and more or less chaotic disorder". If he were to believe that there "was a deliberate and foresighted creation of the universe", he would have to believe that the creator was a demon and hate 'him' and his handiwork accordingly (1926b:122).

The dream distortion which Freud saw as being an act of censorship was considered by Fortune as being too narrow a term and implying a "repressed experience of the day that escapes its censorship of the day by night". But this is only half of the equation for Fortune, who suggested that the 'wish' does more at night in

that it sets up a new censorship of its own. To explain this he created a new term which he called the submergent. The “submergent” is that which is in abeyance while the censorship is in control. In considering how this dream revolution occurs, Fortune formulated what he called ‘a law’:

In the dream, the submergent overthrows the censorship by causing a less repressed surrogate experience of its own affect, and of some light intellectual similarity to itself, to be confounded with the censorship. In this way the affect proper to the submergent is communicated to the censorship. So by enveloping the stronger side to the conflict with its own affect the weaker side becomes victorious in the dream (1926b:123).

From these dreams, Fortune reached a number of conclusions:

- All dreams are not repressed wishes and on this point he agreed with Rivers over Freud. However, where Rivers found solutions to conflicts within dreams, Fortune considered them to be more ‘revolutions of conflict’, basing his conclusion on the fact that, if they were solutions, it would not be biologically advantageous to forget them on waking.
- He disagreed with Rivers’ view that the symbolism of dreams is a regression to a more infantile level of thinking, preferring “Freud’s theory of the symbolic evasion of the censorship”.
- The point that became the basis of his book *The Mind in Sleep* (1927a), in which he added what he described as an important addition to Freud’s theory:

The repressed tendency does more than evade the censorship. It censors the censorship. It envelops the censorship with its own affect by causing a substitute of like affect to be confounded with its repressed tendency. This substitute is symbolically a complete reversal of censorship (1926b:128).

- “Affect is the main bond between the submergent and its symbolic representation”.

- “The primary purpose of symbolism is the release of a repressed tendency”.
- There is no need for lengthy free association to every element of the manifest content as Freud claimed. For Fortune “One association explains the dream; the association which relates the submergent to the unrepressed experience which symbolically represents it and which is confounded with the censorship”(1926b:128).

In considering the problem of “displacement of affect in the dream”, which Freud regarded as a frequent means by which the wish evades the censorship and which Rivers apparently denied occurs, Fortune recounts “The Dream of the Latin Quarter”:

I am Marcel in Murger’s *Scènes de la Vie Bohème*; I am journeying on a train with a woman who is also an artist. We are going to a hotel to spend some days together ostensibly as married. But I miss her and lose her in the crowd as we descend on to the platform at our destination. I search for her distractedly, but in vain. Then suddenly and without warning the thread of the dream breaks completely.

I am on a clay bank above my old school. The playing grounds below are flooded. With me are Democritus and Zeno and several school girls. I was saying from sheer embarrassment that I had played cricket when the grounds were worse even than they were now. Two members of the XV pass with a lady between them. Thales turns round to shout “Hello, old eighteen-fifties”. Then everyone disperses confusedly and I am in a pine tree helping my old house master to lop off the branches (1925:60).

This dream is comprised of two different scenes which at first appear to have no relevance to each other. On waking, the woman in the first part of the dream bore no resemblance to anyone of Fortune’s acquaintance, whereas the people in the second part of the dream were all former students and his housemaster, a Mr Anderson,⁵ at Palmerston North Boys’ High School around 1917. The two scenes are

⁵ In a footnote to his *The Mind in Sleep*, Fortune wrote “Mr X [his housemaster] had been definitely associated in my mind in connection with sex conflict at puberty. I have no doubt of this point whatever” (Fortune 1927a:55). While Fortune appears to have resolved these feelings, it is probably

set, in real life, approximately seven years apart. Although at first Fortune makes no connection between the first scene and the second, he is unable to free his mind of 'Zeno' until, in a moment of inspiration he realises that the surname of the woman in the first scene when hyphenated to Zeno becomes the surname of an author of a book which discusses, among other things, birth control. Although Fortune later calls this dream "The Dream of Stopes" (1926b), it is clear that Stopes was not the boy's real name. However, for the sake of clarity Fortune uses Marie Stopes⁶ as the author of the book which discusses birth control. Marie becomes the lady in the first part of the dream and Stopes is the key to this discovery. Therefore there is a displacement of affect through Stopes becoming the symbol for Marie. In explanation of this dream he tells us that the lady on the train was a woman of whom he was very fond and he was Marcel. It was while reading Murger's *Scènes de la Vie Bohème*, that he realised that he must no longer allow his feelings for her to continue.

On the subject of Regression, he concludes that while regression takes place, it is not an essential characteristic of dreams "and certainly need not be regression to an infantile stage"(1925:62), as espoused by Rivers. The submergent may often be a former opinion or point of view so that in the dream, when the submergent of the day becomes the censor of the night, "there is necessarily a retrogression to an earlier, more immature point of view" (1925:62). Similarly he concludes that where

the recognition of this conflict which allowed him to accept the homosexuality of his friend Max Bickerton. Bickerton was the grandson of Alexander William Bickerton, foundation Professor of Chemistry at Canterbury University College, Christchurch, New Zealand. Bickerton and Fortune became friends at Victoria University c.1923 and maintained correspondence for many years thereafter.

⁶ Marie Stopes was a pioneer of family planning, suffragette, and eugenicist of the first half of the twentieth century.

regression is to a much younger age, it is likely to occur only in dreams of a sexual nature.

Having systematically worked his way through the 'dream-works' of Freud, Fortune concludes that Freud is "unscientific and partisan [in the] selection of the facts of his treatment of children's dreams" and carries "this same partisanship over into adult dreams" by insisting on "their exclusive character as wish fulfilments" (1925:84). He also concludes that regression and symbolism serve the same function and "that dream and waking consciousness are identical in nature and functioning". Finally, indulging himself in speculation, he suggests that psychologists are in error in "thinking that consciousness created imagery and emotion and in passing on destroyed its creation, [for] old imagery and by-gone feeling exist in the present" (1925:85). Taking a further leap into the unknown, he describes how there is no past. Everything exists in the mind and it is as if consciousness is a state of being in the spotlight. It is like a performance on the stage where the actors take the stage. They do not disappear when the spotlight moves but remain in the shadow, indifferent to the spotlight, and continue their part. Those who now come under the spotlight must accommodate their actions to those of the unseen actors. "Our experience of infancy, childhood and youth, is not left derelict in the past; it flows, an existent real thing, a mighty undercurrent to the surface flow of the conscious mind" (1925:87).

On completion of his thesis, Fortune turned his attention to focus on a class of dreams arising from mental conflict. These are dreams which are "in direct opposition, and more or less in variance, to consciously held opinion". In other words, "we become the antipodes of our waking selves" (1926b:119). In the preface to *The Mind in Sleep* (1927a), he states that he now regards "envelopment as confined

to the dream of the Library Disorder, displacement as due to the continuance of repression towards the surrogate and affect as a more variable factor than . . . formerly shown from the evidence” (1927a: xi). In this latter work he focuses on two major questions concerning the means by which a repressed tendency evades the censorship. To show how “a weaker tendency can overcome a stronger, even evasively, in sleep when it cannot do this in waking life”(1927:61), Fortune elaborates Freud’s concept of ‘distortion’ by identifying three methods of evasion which he calls: Surrogation, Envelopment, and Substitution.

As mentioned above, Fortune had determined that the repressed emotion, which Freud defined as a wish, is more appropriately called the submergent. In answering the question, “How is it that a weaker tendency can overcome a stronger, even evasively, in sleep when it cannot do this in waking life?”, he refers to “the less repressed experience of like affect which serves to cloak the otherwise repressed submergent”(1927a:21) as the *surrogate*, and the process whereby the submergent and the surrogate become confounded as *surrogation*. Therefore, in “The Dream of the German Broil” the less repressed hatred of the Teachers College is the surrogate which cloaks the repressed hatred of Germany, the submergent. In the dreams which Fortune is concerned with there is a connection between objects based on a “similarity of affect”, which allows for a repressed unconscious affect to be associated with a less repressed conscious affect of like quality, and it is this association which allows the repressed unconscious affect to be released despite the continued censorship.

Nothing that we experience in life is truly forgotten, Fortune argues. However we may choose to change our view on things, the older attitudes persist in our

memory conflicting with present held views in sleep. Fortune's dreams reveal his struggle with Christianity, the events of World War One, and moral issues. It is no surprise that Fortune should have struggled with Christianity. As the son of a minister he would have been expected to attend Sunday services and set an example to his peers. Though he later came to repudiate his belief in God, the moral attitudes which religion had taught him remained. His professed liberalism was always tempered by prudery especially in sexual matters. As Lohmann (2009:295) indicates, Fortune was an emotionally sensitive, brilliantly thoughtful character who was keenly aware of the perspectives of others and how differing views influenced his relationships. Despite recognising the duality of the mind, Fortune never applied his theory of dreams anthropologically, perhaps because of Radcliffe-Brown's antipathy towards psychology but according to Lohmann, "Fortune's ideas about dreaming . . . are nevertheless echoed in subsequent and current scholarship" (2009:279). As examples, he cites Jung (1945) and the recent work of Michele Stephen (2003).

But that was still in the future. Fortune at this time was yet to be introduced to anthropology, having set sail for England and Cambridge University with psychology still his main focus.

Chapter Three

Cambridge and The Dobuans

Although Fortune set out to continue his studies in psychology at Cambridge, his chance meeting with Margaret Mead on his voyage there, and his difficulties at the British university, saw him make a major turning. He switched from psychology to anthropology, he developed an interest in magical thinking, and he undertook his first fieldwork, in Dobu, Melanesia.

The passage to England, between August and October 1926, was the beginning of Fortune's relationship with Margaret Mead who also was a passenger on the ship. The Mead/Fortune relationship has been documented by biographers of Mead but usually in a one-sided way as remembered by Mead. When Fortune embarked on his voyage to England he had already suffered two major disappointments in love. The first woman to claim his attention was in fact a cousin, but concerns over consanguinity precluded him from pursuing her. Dorothea Arnaboldi remained one of his closest friends and he remained so much the love of her life that she never married.¹ His second love was Eileen Pope, a fellow student at Victoria who spurned his attentions just prior to his leaving for England.

It was aboard the *Chitral* sailing from Sydney that he suddenly found himself, an intelligent young man, thrown into the company of a young woman who probably appeared quite worldly compared with the colonial women he knew. Mead could be charming and flirtatious when the opportunity arose, and although she probably saw their being together as a quirk of fate, her own failing marriage to Luther Cressman left her just as vulnerable as Fortune himself. It was, in essence, a shipboard romance and may never have gone any further without Mead's encouragement. Reo's pursuit

¹ Melda Brunette. Personal Communication to the Author. Email dated 2 December 2003

of her could have been rebuffed, but she chose to allow him to entertain hopes of something in the future. Mead was used to getting her own way.

That Fortune came to make a career in anthropology is probably as much a result of his meeting Margaret Mead as it is with his disillusionment with the teaching of psychology at Cambridge. On his arrival in England, he proceeded to Cambridge University and Emmanuel College where he initially took papers in psychology, but becoming dissatisfied with the teaching methods and theoretical stances of his teachers, he changed to the Diploma in Anthropology under the tutelage of the Reader, Colonel T.C. Hodson.

He found the system at Cambridge isolating. Access to a suitable area for study was difficult to obtain as the rooms in the Psychology Department were all allocated to other students. Fortune resorted to studying in the Psychology library, the Anthropology library, and in his room. He also was without the financial means to entertain other students, which would have been useful for building his network of social and intellectual contacts.² In a letter to Mead he wrote:

I went to see Hodson, the new man in anthropology. He, unlike the psychology men, gave me a great deal of time, insists on giving me a lot more, expects me to read a great deal doing dreams and anthropology equally. He seems the most likeable man personally. He was once a colonel in the Indian army. I have Brown's book on the Andamans to read, three earlier ones and notes on the language by Brown - also Levy-Bruhl in the original (I am searching for a translator).³

T. C. Hodson, the Reader in Anthropology was later reputed to have remarked that he “rescued” Fortune from Psychology and “saved him from himself”.⁴

² LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 October 1926.

³ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 October 1926.

⁴ LOC: MMP R2 Bateson to Mead, letter dated 6 February 1934

Anthropology also provided an introduction to Gregory Bateson, who at that time was preparing to go out to the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. But the different social, economic and intellectual backgrounds of these two men were to be an important factor when they came together in the Sepik area of New Guinea in 1932.

In contrast to the isolation of psychology, Fortune found anthropology to be more sociable. He dined with Hodson and Bateson, and heard of Bateson's proposed field trip to the Sepik in New Guinea. This, along with encouragement from Hodson, inspired him to consider fieldwork. He decided to try to get a studentship, originally "covet[ing] the one that Brown had" but wasn't sure that he would qualify. Also, he found Hodson "ten times as keen over students as the psychology men". He was keen to get the "Anthony Wilkins studentship for fieldwork". He also told Mead that Bartlett, the Professor of Psychology, was willing to guarantee him a research job "... if I work on a special sense - and sense organ - even if I only began next year. I don't want it".⁵

Cambridge in the early part of the twentieth century was still very much an "old boy's club", although not so rigidly as Oxford. Colonials were encouraged to come to Cambridge, but developing friendships depended on money, and familial ties to colleges within the University. Fortune had neither.

Influenced by the works of Rivers, Frazer, and Piaget, Fortune's thesis for the diploma in anthropology was "On Imitative Magic" (1927b) and considers theories of pre-logical thinking. Given his background in psychology and education it is no surprise that he chose this topic. Fortune takes as his starting point the general

⁵ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 October 1926.

agreement among ethnologists, “with the exception of the French school”, that a comparative method is essential for developing a “native psychology”.

He suggested that:

If it is proven that native thought is essentially pre-logical from a demonstration of a set of ‘mystical’ participations, such as those of sympathetic magic, it must be courageously assumed that an extraordinary leap in the evolution of the human mind has occurred with catastrophic, although fortunate suddenness parallel with a more general dissemination of reading and writing and with the rapid decay of ‘mystical’ thinking within a few generations (1927b:1).

and that:

Such a consequence of the theory of pre-logical thinking in sympathetic magic must needs make one pause before Professor Levy-Bruhl’s injunction to abandon the position that the minds of primitives are oriented like our own. The theory from the Sorbonne seems a last and desperate resort, a confession of the inadequacy of psychology to deal with the facts of native thinking. Its only cogency lies in the fact that the challenge has not been met. The intelligence behind the participations of magical thinking has not been explained satisfactorily (1927b:2).

Fortune’s argument “... that adult native thought is less far removed from spontaneous childish thought than is adult thought in our own culture” reads like an anticipation of the work of Hallpike (1979), who suggests that it is possible for cultures to get stuck at certain more or less early stages in the normal development of a child’s intellectual maturation.

Michael Barnes concurs that studies which use Piaget’s theory of cognitive development in interpreting primitive thought styles are supportive of the concept of primitive mentality, and that:

... Piaget’s theory can be extended to interpret other stages of culture and thought, aiding in the recognition that religious thought also develops in stages, from primitive folktales to archaic complex myths, then to classical rationalized theologies and most recently symbolic theologies (Barnes 1992:i).

Fortune's stated view is that:

It is not improbable that native children share with the children of our culture an egocentric projection of their personal qualities, it being of the nature of the developing mind that it thinks of the unknown in terms of the first known (1927b:19).

And this appears to be the crux of his argument. It appears evident to him that native tradition is equivalent to the "projective thought of the child", and that "it must tend to encourage and perpetuate into adult life by endowing it with all the authority and the approval of the social group" (1927b:19). Consequently it must be accepted that ". . . 'participation' in native magical thought is the issue and the consequence of native projective personalisation in a manner analogous to children's 'participations'" (1927b:20).

Summarising his attitude toward the prevailing theories of the day, he rejects Levy-Bruhl's argument on the grounds that its psychological formulation is negative, and that it abandons any attempt to explain "native psychology in terms of our indigenous psychology. . . and does not create any new native psychology" (1927b:33). Similarly he rejects the "English School" as being "intellectualistic", given Sir James Frazer's explanation of homeopathic magic through the law of association of ideas by similarity, and his treatment of "magic and science under the one rubric" without explanation of "why this law should vary in its mode of operation so widely between primitive and higher cultures" (1927b:33). Fortune also places Freud within this "intellectualistic" grouping, given his explanation of "mental association being conceived as omnipotent" (1927b:33), and his seeing the "personalising tendency in myth" as being "independent of social, moral or functional explanations. . ." and as having "more to do with social phenomena such as magic and religion than vice versa" (1927b:35). He concludes by stating:

That by resolutely applying to the participations of native magical practice the belief that native mentality in this field is closer to child mentality than our more developed thinking, and by accordingly conceiving the anthropomorphism behind native legend as an active force in magical ceremonial than something detached, imitative magic becomes comprehensible in a manner not otherwise possible (1927b:35).

Using as an example, Fortune takes examples from Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), linking the spells used in the ritual of canoe building among the Trobrianders of island Melanesia, with their myth of the flying canoe of Kudaywri which is in essence the attribution of a bird-like power of flight and speed to the canoe. This linkage makes the spells comprehensible. However by removing consideration of the myth, the actual performances of wrapping light herbs and banana leaf around the blade of the adze, are typical magical participations. For Fortune, "the readiness to believe that the lightness [of the herbs] can enter into the heavy canoe is a product of the child and native animism which reads the qualities of living things into the inanimate, less repressed in native societies than in our own" (1927b:39).

Imitative magic may be seen as rituals of replication in which the participants reproduce the substance of a myth, which in turn effect the desired results. In this respect Fortune comes close to Lévi- Strauss, who sees "the thought of people without writing [as] in many instances, on the one hand, disinterested... and, on the other hand, intellectual" (1978:16). While myth is unsuccessful in giving humans more control over their environment, it does succeed in creating the illusion that its articulators can and do understand the universe. Although Fortune equates native thought with childlike thinking, he does not deny there is intelligence to it.

Having completed his diploma, Fortune was keen to commence his first fieldwork in Oceania and secure funding from the Australian Research Council, via Radcliffe-Brown at the University of Sydney. Alfred Reginald Brown (the Radcliffe was added in 1926 just prior to taking up his position as Professor of Anthropology at Sydney), had come to Cambridge in 1901 to study mental and moral science under Rivers and Myers. Then, when Rivers commenced teaching anthropology in 1904, Brown became his first pupil, learning kinship and also receiving tutoring in ethnology under Haddon. According to George Stocking “the first version of Brown’s Andaman ethnography was influenced more by Haddon than by Rivers, and showed not a trace of Durkheim” (1984:144).

Stocking further suggests that it was not until Brown gave a series of lectures at the London School of Economics in 1912, that he became immersed in Durkheimian literature. According to Langham, Radcliffe-Brown was influenced in his revision of his thesis by “first and foremost Rivers, with whom he had extensive and crucial correspondence; second the Durkheimian school of sociology; and third his experience of Australian ethnography” (1981:267). Whereas it is generally assumed that Durkheim was crucial to the development of Radcliffe-Brown’s structural-functional approach, Langham makes a convincing argument for Rivers as a major influence, suggesting that given Radcliffe-Brown’s propensity to “. . . ‘cultivate style’ and affect the dress of a Paris *savant*, one cannot help wondering about the extent to which his endorsement of the Durkheimian school was symptomatic of snobbish Francophilia, rather than of genuine intellectual indebtedness” (1981:271-282). Fortune later stayed at the same hotel as Radcliffe-Brown, and commented that “Brown treasures a letter he has from Durkheim like a lover - cares for little anthropology but Malinowski’s and the French sociology, and

is continually playing nothing but early French harpsichord and modern French music - and talking of it.”⁶

In 1923 Radcliffe-Brown set out his views on the state of anthropology in a paper on methods which clearly showed his movement away from the established practices, eschewing a conjectural history approach in favour of a synchronic one using inductive methods, while indicating he was not averse to the use of historical knowledge where it was supported by fact. By using an inductive method he believed that it was “possible, by the application of certain logical methods, to discover and prove certain general laws” (Srinivas 1958:10). He drew a distinction between “ethnology” and what he called “social anthropology”, regarding the former as “the study of culture by the method of historical reconstruction” and the latter as “the study that seeks to formulate the general laws that underlie the phenomena of culture”, making explicit a distinction which he saw as already “implicit in a great deal of the current usage of the terms” (1958:8). He also made an important distinction between psychology and social anthropology, with the former dealing with individual behaviour in relation to the individual and the latter dealing with “the behaviour of groups or collective bodies of individuals in its relation to the group” (1958:17). This distinction was to prove a barrier between Fortune and Radcliffe-Brown when Fortune joined the latter in Sydney in 1927.

In the preface to his first work Fortune subsequently attributed his choice of Dobu as the site of his first fieldwork, to Malinowski, saying it has been chosen specifically because work had already been done there, so that “accretion would be of most value” (Fortune 1932a:xi). However, in reality Dobu was not his first choice. His application for funding to the Australian National Research Council proposed that

⁶ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 24 October, 1927.

he should conduct research on the small island of Tikopia. At the same time, applications were received from Ian Hogbin and Raymond Firth. Hogbin was awarded a grant for research on Rennell Island, a Polynesia outlier in Melanesia, while Raymond Firth applied for Rennell Island but got 'Melanesia'.

However, Fortune was to find that there was not another boat sailing for Tikopia until early 1928. Radcliffe-Brown reported to the ANRC:

Mr Fortune arrived in Sydney on the 8th September, 1927. It was not found possible for him to proceed to Tikopia before April 1928 and therefore it was decided that he should work in the eastern portion of Papua in the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago. After a short period of preparation he left Sydney on the 18th October. He will be in the field for about twelve months."⁷

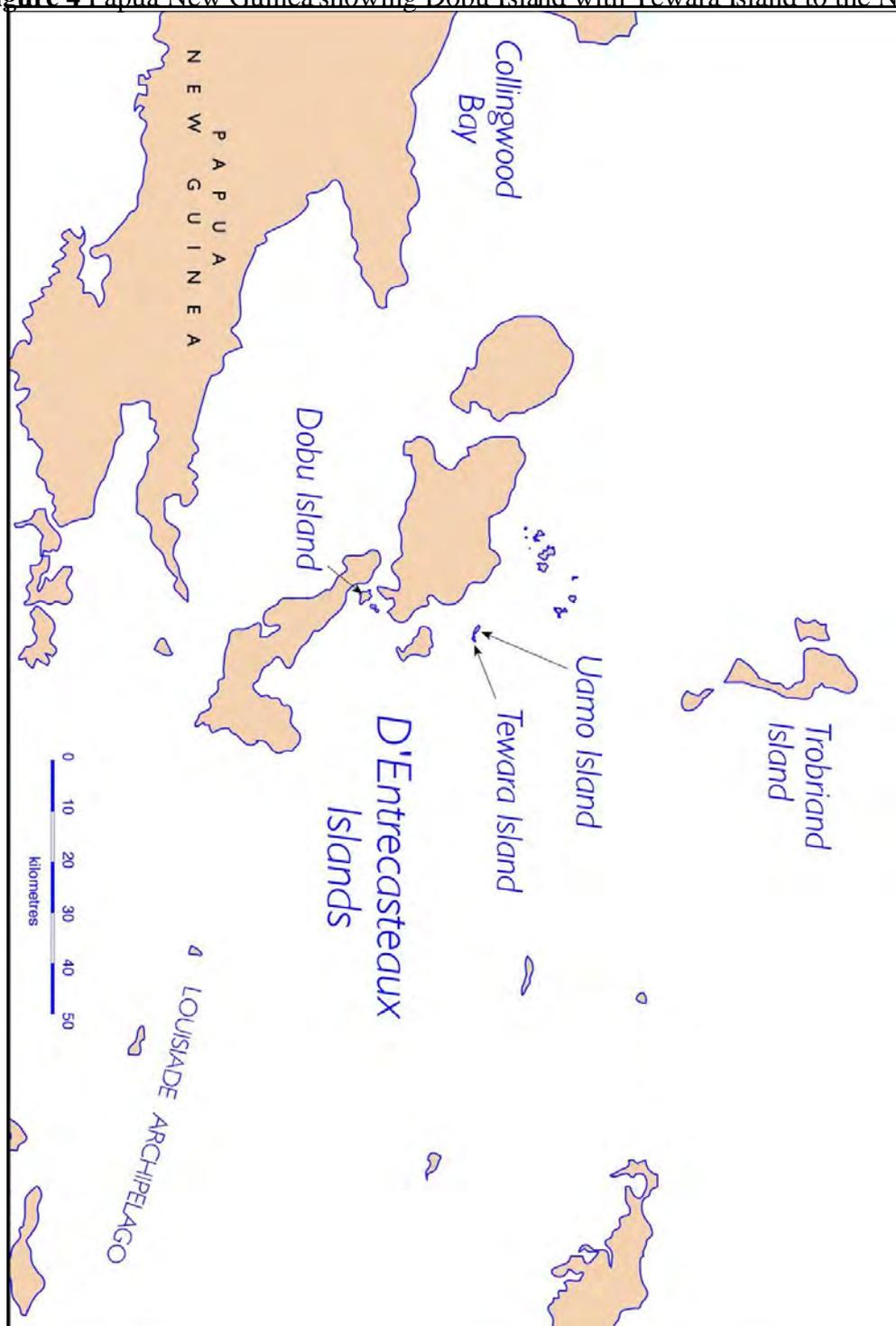
Fortune found Radcliffe-Brown a hard taskmaster. He wanted to do a study which blended psychology and sociology but Radcliffe-Brown was opposed to this, saying the time was not right. Further, when Radcliffe-Brown was considering who might be suitable for appointment as his assistant and successor, Fortune felt marginalised because of his background in psychology. Firth had the backing of Malinowski and Haddon. Despite Radcliffe-Brown's support, it was soon obvious to those around him that Fortune was not an easy man to understand. Haddon wrote to Camilla Wedgewood :

I am not at all surprised that Fortune has not hit it off with A.R.B. He is a difficult man and personally I did not like him - but of course I did what little I could for him - I cannot remember that anyone liked Fortune and many did not believe in him. It is news to me that he is going to marry Miss Mead - Do you know her and what do you think of her?⁸

⁷ NLA MS482/62/862. Records of the Australian National Research Council

⁸ NLA MS483/2. Papers of Camilla Wedgewood - Correspondence 1928-1949

Figure 4 Papua New Guinea showing Dobu Island with Tewara Island to the North



The result of his first fieldwork, *Sorcerers of Dobu* (1932a) was to become one of the classics of functionalist ethnography. Yet even at the time of his death he was still attempting to answer criticisms and interpretations of this work, which he felt had been misquoted and misunderstood. Perhaps, as Ann Chowning remarks, his biggest mistake was to meddle with this publication through the addition of a new preface and subsequent amendments when it was re-issued as a revised edition in 1963 (Chowning 1964).

One can almost imagine the excitement with which Fortune set sail from Sydney for the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago and his first fieldwork among a "primitive" society. His first letter to Mead after arriving in Samarai, Milne Bay, on November 1 1927, tells how he had his first lesson in the Dobuan language from a couple of prisoners held in the Samarai prison on charges of adultery.⁹ One of these men had been for seven years a personal servant to a white planter and so had such a good knowledge of English language that Fortune wanted him as his assistant. Using a dictionary compiled by the Methodist missionary, the Reverend J. K. Arnold,¹⁰ he conversed in Dobuan, for several hours with these two men, ostensibly without resorting to English. He said that both of the men had participated in the ceremonial voyaging and exchange process called the *Kula*¹¹, and grew excited when he spoke of it.

At Samarai, Fortune also met Arnold, whom he described as "the finest missionary I've met". He said that Arnold appeared to be the exception among the

⁹ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, Letter dated 1 November 1927.

¹⁰ The native name of Goulvain Island, between Normanby and Fergusson Islands, is Dobu, and the language of Edugaura, on the north-west of the island, is commonly known as Dobuan. Arnold published a Grammar in 1931. The dialect of Tewara, an island west of Fergusson, is nearly the same as that of Dobu.

¹¹ The *Kula*, is a ceremonial system of exchange between islands of the Milne Bay area of Papua New Guinea.

local missionaries as the others tended to “rub me up wrongly.”¹² While he felt confident in his relationship with Arnold, he was concerned that other missionaries at Samarai may gain knowledge of his book, *The Mind in Sleep*, believing that if they did, it would reveal his true attitude toward religion and therefore be detrimental to gaining their support and help. In all, he spent ten days in Samarai and by the middle of November he was settling in on Tewara Island where he was to spend the best part of the next six months.

Tewara, of all the Dobuan speaking islands, was the most remote from the Mission and the Government centre on Dobu Island, and as such offered Fortune the least disrupted fieldwork site. Personnel from the Methodist Mission visited Tewara for one day or so each year, and the Government officials perhaps once every three years to take a census. Fortune found the spot “ideal” and set up camp on the one level site by the shore. He was pleasantly surprised when the men of the village renovated his house on the beach “merely because I gave them tobacco and rice and asked for nothing - not even information”.¹³ The island was hilly, stony and the gardens precipitous. There were four small villages and around forty people in total. After about a month Fortune travelled to the nearby island of Bwaidoga to work on the language with Arnold; He said that although the Bwaidogan language is different, “Arnold knows the Dobuan better than anyone.”¹⁴ He also experienced his first bout of malaria at this time, and spent Christmas with Arnold before returning to Tewara by walking across Fergusson Island, passing “through four distinct and almost

¹² LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, Letter dated 8 November 1927

¹³ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 18 November 1927.

¹⁴ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 23 December, 1927.

entirely different language centres in three days” followed by a day trip by sea to reach the island.

Before leaving Bwaidoga, Fortune wrote to J.H.P. Murray¹⁵, requesting that they meet later in the year at Port Moresby rather than have Murray visit him while on Tewara. They had met at Port Moresby while Fortune was en route to the D’Entrecasteaux, and Murray said that he planned to visit him in the field. Fortune’s rationale for deferring their meeting was that he felt the presence of Murray, and his association with him, would be detrimental to the collection of data owing to the Tewaran’s fear and distrust of Government officials. “One or two of them know your Excellency by sight; the consequence is that I do not think that I could possibly reassure the people of my non-partisan attitude were you to visit me.”¹⁶

By middle to late January, he wrote to Mead, the people had finally accepted him as one of their own. He had his own garden and the locals came to him for minor ailments which he could treat with ointment or bandages. But in matters of greater concern they still went to the head magician “who blesses water at length and sends it away to be poured over the disease - as he did today with me sitting in front of him and his wife by his side”. Fortune was given the name Kamweia and the totem of a deceased man. “I was given the name of the father of a woman living here - her father dead many years. They gave me that with his totem and call me by their terms of relationship”.¹⁷ He also ‘inherited’ two daughters, one of the Brown Eagle Village and the other married and living in Sanaroa. While he had found it hard going initially, he said he was now enjoying himself, finding that the small number of residents

¹⁵ John Hubert Plunkett Murray was Lieutenant-Governor of Papua 1908-1940

¹⁶ NAA Series A51 8/1 Item A806/1/5 Reo Fortune to J.H.P. Murray, letter dated 29 December 1927

¹⁷ LOC MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated January 1928

enabled him to develop personal relationships with all, while mindful that he may need to move to a more populated place such as Dobu Island to complete his work. One of his difficulties was in getting people to give him their genealogies as there was a strong prohibition on pronouncing the names of the dead.

In February he was invited to join the *kune* (*Kula*) going in one canoe to the Amphletts, where they stayed for a week before proceeding to Vakuta with two canoes. He regarded this trip as an “enforced holiday” as everyone from Tewara took part, making it difficult for him to continue working “except on smaller details of the *kune*”.¹⁸ He found it difficult to write about the *kune* and was feeling displeased with his interpretation, tearing up one letter to Mead before commenting in another, “Now I know Malinowski is right in essentials, tho’ his remarks on secondary trade (few and scrappy as they are) are incorrect in many cases...”.¹⁹ He also felt frustrated by the complexity of the language, in that “everything gets renamed periodically - everyone bears the name of some common thing and whenever anyone dies the thing has to be renamed. It’s thoroughly damnable and makes adjoining villages diverge and diverge in language as every generation passes”.²⁰ As examples of this, he subsequently noted: “. . . in Dobu Island and elsewhere a mat is called *sita*. In Tewara it is *kebana* because Sita was dead. In Dobu Island first fruits is *mweia*; in Tewara it is *bwanawe* because Mweia, the mother of my informant of the Green Parrot legend, was dead . . .” (Fortune 1932a:32).

In late February or early March he made his way to Sebulugoma on Fergusson Island, where he got mail and stores, and stayed with the planter E. W. Harrison.

¹⁸ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated full moon February 1928.

¹⁹ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated full moon February 1928.

²⁰ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated full moon February 1928.

Fortune's opinion of him was not high: "Harrison of Sebulugoma is hospitable but rather unsympathetic to anyone that deals with the natives as anything else than trash...and stiff as a ramrod to anyone not of his class".²¹ Fortune also served as an interpreter for a Government official dealing with legal cases and hiring a man as a policeman. Among his notes he records the case of a woman who was raped when her husband was away, and who had inflicted severe damage on the rapist's penis. The man got three months. Fortune's note contains a presumably unintentional pun: "The broken penis didn't come up at the trial, but afterwards Mr Harrison heard of it from an informant. . .". Another case involved a man who, when his sexual advances were rejected by his wife, placed his child on the fire with a threat to roast it because he thought another man was the father.²²

Another significant case at Sebulugoma concerned a woman charged, it seems, with witchcraft. She had dreamt that Fortune was "no white man" because he knew the native tongue and therefore she believed that he was the ghost of her brother returned "from the mountain of the dead". She claimed that this was an omen which presaged earthquakes and the return of all the dead. As a result the people of the village slaughtered all their first pigs and dogs, stockpiled food in their houses anticipating no sunlight for several days, and sold off all they could not eat very cheaply. Panic ensued and spread rapidly throughout Fergusson Island, affecting all but the mission area. It was believed that if the returned dead saw a live pig or a dog, its owner would be turned into a butterfly, rock, star, or a fish. At her trial, she proposed marriage to Fortune suggesting they go away together to a solitary place where they could await the arrival of the dead. He declined the proposal, and returned

²¹ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 24 April 1928.

²² ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923.

to Tewara within the week, to spend the next six weeks there before travelling to Ugwa village near Basima.²³ In an appendix to *Sorcerers of Dobu* he records

I do not think, however, that it was necessarily wise to have kept her in gaol for a month. Superstition could say, and did say, that the power of the white man had intervened, and that inevitably the resurrection of the spirits had been frustrated. Better far to leave such superstition to its own failure - it could not have done much more damage than it already had done, and its more convincing failure might have done more good" (1932a:293).

He was to spend a month with the Basima and even considered them as a possible focus for his next fieldwork, where Mead might conduct her research on children. It was while at Ugwa that Fortune received a reply from Murray in response to his letter asking Murray not to visit him in the field. The governor agreed not to come but asked, "How the natives had got the idea that we would interfere with their garden magic", given that it was Government policy to only act against 'black magic' - "that is sorcery which is practised with intent to kill or injure".²⁴ Fortune responded:

I cannot by any possibility answer yours asking where the natives get their ideas of Government without betrayal that would dishonour my obligations to my university and my science were you to act upon my information in any administrative way.²⁵

He considered that so long as the Administration attempted to impose "the ideas of the white race" on a native race which had its own culture, there would be generated only resistance and bad feeling.

It is most certain that 'never the twain shall meet' The native keeps that most firmly in mind - he knows his own people and he knows the Government code of offence - and I know both, and I know that the native is right; and, while my work lasts I will have nothing to do with the Government in any public capacity. Moreover when my work is made public I shall be very sorry if the present code is tightened in my

²³ LOC: MMP S2 Fortune to Mead, letters dated March 10, March 18, Mid April, 1928.

²⁴ NAA: CRS G69 16/41/5 J.H.P. Murray to Minister of State for Home and Territories, letter dated 24 May 1928.

²⁵ NAA: CRS G69 16/41/3. Fortune to J. H. P. Murray, letter dated 22 April

area because of it - there can never be any real reconciliation, but bad feeling may be increased to no purpose whatever.²⁶

He further suggested that the Government should relax its attempt to impose a strict western morality on the people, as this would only lead to increased bad feeling “that would be dangerous to European safety with a less craven people”. He said he “will not act as a spy, and a successful spy, in the interest of the present code”, considering it a “befouling of the materials of my science if it is so used upon later publication”²⁷

Murray’s response was to assure Fortune saying:

Please get out of your head any notion that I or anyone else wants you to act as a spy; we merely want you to help us... But I really wish you would realise that no one has the faintest intention of asking you to do anything that would “dishonour your University and your Science”. All I wish is that you would assist us in the end which we both have in view.²⁸

And there in lay the rub; they had quite different ‘ends’ in mind. While Fortune was concerned for the preservation of native customs and the welfare of the people, Murray saw it as his duty “to the Commonwealth” to administer the territory and enforce the law, including punishing breaches of the ‘Native Regulations’.

Fortune thought this was a private correspondence with a Government official. However, Murray took umbrage, reporting that “This letter appeared at first to be that of a mad man”, and decided to investigate. He travelled to Samarai where he showed Fortune’s letters to the Resident Magistrate, Mr Lyons, requesting his views and whether he considered Fortune sane. Lyons apparently responded by saying he considered Fortune quite sane, “very eccentric, dogmatic and self opinionated”; he

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid. For a detailed analysis of Fortune’s relationship with Murray see: Gray, G. 1999, 2007.

²⁸NAA: CRS G69 16/41 J. H. P. Murray to Fortune, letter dated 2 May 1928

also suggested “that Mr Fortune was disappointed in finding that the natives of Fergusson Island were not the untutored savages whom he had hoped to find” and in his frustration had attacked the Administration²⁹. Murray then raised the matter with Radcliffe-Brown, and sent copies of Fortune’s letters to F.E. Williams and Walter Strong. Reports were compiled by Lyons, the Reverend Mr Gilmour, who was head of the Methodist Mission at Salamo, F. E. Williams and Walter Strong. Both of the latter were Government anthropologists and as such were predisposed toward colonial rule. One recent commentator has described both Murray and Williams as being “benevolently paternalistic racist[s]”, and suggests that Williams went further than Murray by arguing “against those who claim that native cultures and societies should be left alone” (Griffiths: 1977:105,107).

In his reply to Murray’s request to assess Fortune, Williams said he understood Fortune’s dilemma, having himself received confidences from native informants, “but such particular cases need never be mentioned in a published work”. Therefore Fortune should rest assured that, if he took an impersonal and general approach, “no resultant action will be taken against individuals . . . No one is punished for making private magic against his enemy for the simple reason that, if it is really private, the matter never becomes known to the magistrate”.³⁰ Fortune’s concern apparently was that when his book was published, previously ‘private’ magic would become public and he would therefore be providing evidence which the Government and/or missionaries may use against his informants.

After perusing the entire file which Murray had compiled, Williams seems to have preferred the interpretation provided by the Reverend Gilmour, who assumed

²⁹ NAA: CRS G 69 16/41/5. J. H. P. Murray to Minister of State for Home and Territories, letter dated 24 May 1928.

³⁰ NAA: CRS G69 16/41 F.E. Williams to J. H. P. Murray, letter dated 27 June 1928.

that Fortune was referring to the entire D'Entrecasteaux group, and wrote accordingly. In his opinion, "the whole population may be styled law-abiding and usually peace-loving", and welcoming the presence of the missionaries and contact with 'civilization'. If, as Fortune had claimed, every death was the result of sorcery, then death rates would be much higher and could not be overlooked by patrol officers. He also stated that he had dealt with a "great number of cases where people alleged they were victims of sorcery" but [he] had never come across a case that had been proven. He considered that:

Fortune has evidently been too credulous along certain lines and too skeptical in others. His premises are, at best, mostly half truths. He seems to have failed to grasp the fact:-

(1) That the native is not rigidly hide-bound but is very adaptable and imitative, has a big capacity for development, and is peculiarly susceptible to moral suasion.

(2) That native codes and ideas are in a state of flux.

(3) That a tremendous development has already taken place.

So his conclusions are, I venture to think, worthless"³¹.

Murray's conclusion, in writing to the Minister of State, regarded Fortune as belonging:

to the same school as Captain Pitt-Rivers, but he must be taken more seriously than the latter gentleman, inasmuch as he is a trained anthropologist, which Captain Pitt-Rivers is not.

The school to which I refer consists, I believe, chiefly of young men, and its distinguishing characteristic is that its adherents refuse to admit that the white race can under any circumstances govern the black or the brown - that the two cultures are so widely different that any contact between them is impossible, unless it is to result in the oppression and final disappearance of the latter under the influence of the former.

As I do not claim to be an anthropologist I refrain from passing any opinion on the theoretical side of this problem, and in fact the question is closed as far as I am concerned, for, whether native administration is theoretically possible or not, it is my duty to the Commonwealth to carry it out in practice.³²

³¹ NAA: CRS G69 16/41 Rev. Gilmour to Lyons, letter dated 8 August 1928.

³² NAA: CRS G69 16/41/5 J. H.P. Murray to Minister of State for Home and Territories, letter dated 24 May 1928.

Fortune was never to be forgiven by Murray and even though he was vigorously defended by Radcliffe-Brown, when he applied to the Papua New Guinea authorities for a position, sometime around 1942, he was told that his services were not wanted and, as indicated by Government files, he remained a person of interest to the Australian Government until at least 1945.

Sorcerers of Dobu (1932a), is important because it was the first professional fieldwork-based ethnography to focus on sorcery and witchcraft (Kuper 1983:78). Regarded by Malinowski(1932a:xvii) as a “triumph for anthropology” and a triumph for the Functional Method, this text predates Evans-Pritchard’s more famous work *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937), by five years. But *Sorcerers of Dobu* is more than this. In writing this work, Fortune drew on his previous knowledge of Freudian psychology, his earlier study of imitative magic and, as Lohmann (2009) indicates, a theory of cultural ambivalence which demonstrates the ability of individuals and social groups to hold contradictory cultural views simultaneously.

The opening chapter of *Sorcerers of Dobu*, at ninety-four pages is, in fact, Fortune’s doctoral dissertation as supervised by Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict. Divided into sections, it begins with a succinct overview of the social organisation of Dobuan culture. The reader learns that the basic social unit of the Dobuans is the *susu*, a matrilineal grouping of which there may be several in one village. A man lives in the village of his spouse but is placed in the sometimes difficult position of taking second place to the wife’s brothers and sisters who are at the heart of her *susu*. However, each marital grouping owns two houses. The wife has her own house in her

village and the man has his house in his village. As a consequence, a system of bilocal residency is the norm, with husband and wife alternating between the two villages.

Recently Kuehling has disputed aspects of this analysis, suggesting that the situation could be explained “as a result of former administrative orders that were meant to avoid quarrels between *susu*” (2005:64). However, Roheim (1950:177) describes a similar custom of bilocal marriage on Normanby Island and Kuehling seems to have downplayed the fact that there were seven decades between her research and Fortune’s time on Tewara.

The next sections provide details relating to marriage, totemism, relationship terminology, personal names, and the functioning of the system, as well as custom and magic. Magic and sorcery pervade all aspects of life, Fortune tells us. Incantations are used in theft and adultery and, rather than being frowned upon, the successful use of such is well regarded.

Chapter Two focuses on gardening. As Fortune states, “The garden is a sacred place”, and in order to gain an understanding of gardening it is necessary to first “have understanding, not only of the social organization, but also of the Dobuan conception of creation and of the sacred. . . . Creation in Dobu is explained by the metamorphosis of some natural thing into another.” (1932a:94). It is here that Lohmann (2009) finds examples of the ‘ambivalence’ he is concerned with. Fortune noted inconsistencies in the creation myth and how people reconcile them by not appearing to “notice that one legend conflicts with another” (1932a:95). Different legends are known by all, but others are family specific such as the those pertaining to how “Yams came and grew from humans in metamorphosis” (ibid). Gardening is also a ritual of replication in which a creation myth is re-enacted.

For instance, a large primary variety of yam with red flesh is sliced into 'eyes'. This is a replication of the myth which tells how an ancestor, Samuela, had her throat cut and was planted to grow as a yam with blood coloured flesh. By slicing the yam into 'eyes', the gardener is replicating the myth. The relevant incantations are murmured softly under the breath, in contrast to the Trobriand custom of speaking incantations aloud. As anyone within hearing distance may hear the charm and 'steal' it for their own use, the necessity for soft words is rationalised by saying the yams hear the soft words and recognise them as their own language, "not loud like everyday talk" (1932a:107). Here again is an example of the ambivalence described by Lohmann; the knowledge that the charm may be stolen if spoken aloud is countered by the 'need' to speak the language of the yams.

Elsewhere, Fortune compares the ritual of gardening with Christian ritual:

It thus does not differ fundamentally from the concept contained in our own religion - namely, that words addressed apparently into vacancy can be heard by more than natural semi-personal Beings and that effects of human interest can be produced with the assistance of such Beings (Fortune 1932a:101)

Magic also is used to 'steal' another's crop by enticing the yams from one man's garden into another. As Fortune states, "Everyone, the most respectable included, practice magic to steal the crops of other persons' gardens . . ." (1932a:83).

Chapter Three, 'The Black Art', continues the discussion of magic and of how, while a person's reputation is predicated upon their successful magic, the sick or deformed or dying person is deemed to have weak magic. "Deformed and incurably sick persons are those who have not won in the conflicts (of sorcery) that arose from the anti-social acts which all those not deformed or sickly pride themselves on having accomplished without bodily hurt from hostile sorcery" (1932a:136). Disease, illness and death all result from sorcery provoked by jealousy,

so that the overall effect is that everyone is distrustful of others, to the extent that “[a] native will never accept food except from a few people that he knows and trusts, people who accept his food” (ibid:137).

It is the ‘black art’ that acts as a form of social control, ensuring that members of the society adhere to a particular code of behaviour. To be too successful is to invoke attacks by rivals, and it is here that Fortune’s ‘cultural darkness’ becomes apparent. “By means of a theory which makes the most prized social values so dangerous it is possible to explain a great many cases of disease and death” (1932a:176).

Magic, witchcraft and sorcery are all components of the Dobuan supernatural system and, as such, each plays a part in constructing the moral code by which the people live. Fortune says that “The concepts of good and bad in the purely moral sense do not exist in Dobu”, but this does not imply that Dobuans are devoid of morality. Simply put, the terms *bobo’ana* and *tokumali* to denote a desirable person and an undesirable person respectively are, in Fortune’s view, inappropriately translated by Bromilow to be the equivalent of “moral good and bad . . . Such translation is linguistically unsound” (1932a:177). Here Fortune is raising an issue which Evans-Pritchard was to reiterate - the difficulty of trying to translate indigenous concepts into “categories of our own thought” (Evans-Pritchard 1949:74).

Subsequent chapters are variously headed ‘The Spirits of the Dead’, ‘Economics’, ‘Sex’, ‘Dance and Song’. Within these chapters, magic, sorcery and witchcraft continue to play their part. If misfortune is not the result of the black art, then the spirits of the dead are blamed. Every person is believed to have a bodily and a ghostly self. The latter survives after death and manifests itself as “the reflection

seen in a pool” or as a shadow, “but more importantly and more decisively it is the shapes that are seen in dreams” (1932a:181).

. . . [W]itchcraft in Dobu is conceived as the witch woman sending forth her spirit with murderous intent during her sleep; and that nightmare is usually interpreted as a witchcraft episode in which the spirit of the sleeper who has the nightmare has been in great danger from hostile spirits, the spirits of all concerned having gone forth from their human habitations of skin and bone (Fortune 1932a:178).

In these instances, Lohmann finds consistency with Fortune’s “themes of individual adaption to surrounding culture discussed in *The Mind in Sleep*” (Lohmann 2009:287).

The section on economics encompasses marital exchanges, death and mourning exchanges, and overseas exchanges. The *kula*³³, a system of exchanges between a circle of islands, had been previously described by Seligman (1910), Malinowski (1920, 1922) and Lenoir, (1924). Fortune added to the scholarly knowledge of the *kula* and recounted the myth of *Kasabwaibwaileta*, the legendary foundation of the ritual. As we shall see later, Fortune himself has since then entered the realm of this same myth.

In matters of sex, intercourse takes place only because “. . . men are constantly exerting magical power over women, and women over men” (Fortune 1932a:235). Love charms are an essential part of arousing and creating desire in another person. Fortune admits that he had great difficulty in obtaining these spells because of the Dobuan’s “disapproval of mixed blood unions and of mixed blood children” (p235). Freedom of sexual intercourse before marriage is the norm with male children who have reached puberty being sent from their house at night to find shelter in the home of a young woman. Yet despite this freedom, “the general attitude toward sex is in

³³Since that time *kula* has been well described by, among others, Uberoi (1962), Weiner (1976), Leach (1983), Hage (1986), Persson (1988), Munn (1990), Campbell (2002) Kuehling (2005), and in film by National Geographic Society (1991). In addition, see *The Kula: A bibliography* (Macintyre, 1983).

essentials that which in the present day and generation is termed Mid-Victorianism” (p.241). Euphemisms are used for all physiological terms which form part of the *bake*, a language of the obscene which Fortune was to learn from other Europeans rather than from the Dobuans. From this, Fortune drew the conclusion “that the very complete set of acts which are considered perversions embodied among other terms in the *bake* probably had considerable foundation in fact, especially since the word for intercourse itself is a term in the *bake*” (p.245). While he does not spell out these ‘perversions’, it may be assumed that these encompassed acts which at that time in history would be considered aberrations by Westerners also.

Malinowski, in his preface to this work, states:

The present book may be regarded by the Functional Method as one of the triumphs in the field. Dr Fortune’s account presents the two qualities which good functional field-work claims as its own. On the one hand it is precise sociological analysis of the tribal organization of the Dobuans. On the other hand, far from giving us merely the scaffolding of social structure, the book brings us right in touch with the living individual, it gives us the feeling of communal life, it allows us to re-live the fears, the passions, the deep traditional beliefs and superstitions of the natives (Malinowski, in Fortune 1932a:xviii).

Just who decided to ask Malinowski to write the preface to *Sorcerers of Dobu* is unclear. Fortune and Mead had developed an interest in Malinowski as early as 1926, and despite not meeting him personally until after the publication, both corresponded with him during this period. It is just as likely that Mead suggested Malinowski as she was eager to see Fortune’s work in print. It probably was Mead who ensured that complimentary copies of the work were widely distributed, and that reviewers got copies. She actively sought avenues for publication of her own articles, so it would be natural for her to promote her husband’s work at the same time. With a glowing preface by Malinowski and its subsequent usage by Benedict in *Patterns of Culture*, *Sorcerers* was set to be a success.

Among the reviewers, Firth (1932:236) complimented Fortune on his linguistic skill “which gave him in three months such proficiency that he missed nothing that was said in an ordinary conversation”. Powdermaker (1932:725) described it as “an exceptionally well integrated piece of work [which] will be of permanent value as a source book for those interested in Melanesia and in social anthropology”. But she also questioned how Fortune had learned the language so quickly and wished that he had detailed what he meant by “learning so perfect the language by contagion . . . Since learning a previously unrecorded language is a very difficult task for most field workers, one would be grateful for more details of Dr. Fortune’s successful method of ‘contagion’”.³⁴

Other reviews appeared in both academic journals and newspapers, with Huntington Cairns, a literary critic for *The Evening Sun* (1932), in Baltimore, commenting that he did not think it was as good as F. E. Williams’ *Orokaiva Society* (1930). C.W.M. Hart considered it a model for future field workers. In relation to previously published monographs, he regarded it as comparative in

its detail, insight and method of presentation, [while] in its objectivity, it probably surpasses them all, since it avoids the equally unprovable historical conjecture of the American schools and the unknowable psychological guesswork of Dr Malinowski and the Freudians (Hart 1933:150).

However, having stated this, Hart felt that Fortune’s writing was less than clear, and in some ways, “peculiar to himself”.

The folklorist, Isabel Gordon Carter (1932:271), renowned for her collection of “Jack” tales in North America, thought it fitting that Malinowski wrote the preface, given that he was considered “the god-father and standard bearer of the functional

³⁴ See also Molloy, M. 2009. “More Like Fighting than Waiting.” Mead, Method, and the Proper Object of Knowledge in Anthropology” .

method”. Melville Herskovits singled out the chapter on “Dance and Song”, but regretted that the book as a whole “fell short of the standard set by this chapter”. He lamented the “tendency of the author to coin involved terms for simple concepts”, such as ‘those resulting from marriage’, considering Fortune’s writing style, difficult, but conceded that “the value of this book must rest, not on its stylistic characteristics, but on the information it presents” (Herskovits 1932:289).

Sarah Ritter (1932) writing in *The American Journal of Psychology* stated: “The literary as well as the scientific world is indebted to the author for the wealth of primitive legend, dance song, and ‘secret’ ritualistic spells . . .”, and suggested that this work raised interesting questions which would appeal to the physiological psychologist and philanthropist as well as social anthropologists.

When in 1963 Fortune revised the work, Ann Chowning reviewed the new edition:

Sorcerers is a remarkably consistent account of an ethos which members of our culture generally find unattractive. Some, in fact, have found it incredible. I know of no other case in which so many colleagues have expressed private doubts about a colleague’s work without attacking it publicly. This seems an appropriate time to say, publicly, that I firmly believe these doubts to be unwarranted. (Chowning 1964:455).

However, she found the revisions a distraction, often “incoherent and confused”, and with frequent “irrelevant if not trivial facts”. Her conclusion was that the original work was an “impressive and important work which deserves more serious attention from anthropologists than it has recently received”. Similarly, in a footnote Susanne Kuehling (2005), concurs with Chowning and references the original 1932 edition throughout her published work.

Fortune was to return to Dobu and Tewara on several occasions (1929, 1952, 1970) and as time passed he entered increasingly into the realm of legend, as Michael

Young discovered when he travelled to Tewara in 1989 with his Trobriand student, Linus Digim'Rina, who was conducting fieldwork in nearby Basima. Young's own relationship with Fortune began in 1970 when the latter retired, and Young was appointed his successor at Cambridge. Having published a book on Kalauna men and their myths, *Magicians of Manumanua* (1983), he was especially intrigued by the 'mythicization' of Fortune in the Dobu area. In an unpublished paper, Young (n.d.) recounts how he (Young) and Digim'Rina arrived first at the island of Uama, Tewara's twin, which was uninhabited at the time that Fortune had worked on Tewara. Now it was Tewara which was uninhabited, its residents having abandoned the island in 1976 for its twin. After securing four Tewarans as guides, Young and his party drew anchor and "chug[ged] around the steep northern shore of Uama, down the barren eastern side, to the little indentation near the western end of Tewara". The eldest of the four Tewarans who accompanied Young was a man called Sylvester, or Onesi, and when asked if he knew anything of a white man who used to live on Tewara, he apparently replied that he remembered Mista Poten. Sylvester, who was three years of age when Fortune first went to Tewara, was now sixty-four and recalled how Fortune had made another visit to Tewara, in 1970 - the year of his retirement from Cambridge University. Climbing the steep track to the summit, the group found only an overgrown area where Sylvester indicated the exact site of Fortune's house. "There [was] a mound, nothing more; it [was] also and more recently a grave site so no-one [was] willing to stand on it".

The Legend of 'Mr Poten', as told by Sylvester and recorded by Michael Young goes as follows³⁵:

³⁵ I am indebted to Michael Young for permitting me to quote from this, and for the provision of other papers which he had collected relation to Fortune.

Mr Poten came. At first he thought Tewara people long teeth and tails, so he came with his gun and cartridges. He was living in England and he thought he should see Tewara. But first his job was a cook; he was cook for the king of England. As he was staying there the wind came from the east; and when that wind came he thought about Tewara. So he asked the king if he would let him come to Tewara. The king said, "No, because the people there have tails and long teeth and they might bite you." But Mr Poten went on asking and asking. So the king finally let him come.

So Mr Poten loaded his dogs and his shotguns and he sailed off. From England he came to Moresby, then Samarai, and then he went to Sebulugoma where Mr Harrison lived. He asked Mr Harrison: "Where is Tewara?" And he said, "My boat's name is Kainona; and I'd go to Tewara but they might bite me. Because they tricked me." So he took out his map and saw Oia Ni'u Bwasia, and from there he saw Tewara. [Oia Ni'u is an islet off the Bwaioia peninsula and Bwasia is on northwest Sanaroa.]

Mr Poten went in at Nedilaiya and anchored there. And when he looked up he saw people coming down to the beach to fish for sardines. The people looked down on the boat and saw that he had a different skin. Then he anchored and rolled up his sails and lowered his dinghy, and when the Tewara people saw him they got frightened. He put cartridges in his shotgun and came ashore. He told the people, "I'm Poten, Doctor. I am from this place. My ancestors are from this village." He told them thus that he was from this place. "And now I have come to write our history".

So he gave them tobacco and they smoked. After smoking they went down and brought his things ashore. But there was no house for him to live in so he slept on the boat while they built him a house in the village. When they completed the house he went up to the village. After that they gave him yams to start his new gardens. And when it was harvest he found some very big yams. In that harvest he dug 12 baskets of yams. And after that they cut another new garden and planted yams again. When that was finished they prepared two canoes to go to Boyowa [Trobriands]. When he went to Boyowa he won Kula (une). He got two baskets and his people only got one basket.

When they came back from Boyowa they cut down sago and he himself washed it and put it in the canoe. He filled the canoe. He made yam containers (pwatuara) and filled them with yams. When they finished filling the pwatuara they taught him how to make magic (nabwasua): magic for sorcery, love magic, weather, and sea magic, magic for clouds and winds. He learnt all these. When he finished he learnt love magic again. Then he made a canoe and began to learn how to sew a sail, how to tie rigging and how to fasten the outrigger. When everything was completed he sailed and came back [a sea trial] and pulled the canoe up, and then he learned to make a fishing net.

And then he made sagali at Asadidialai [his hamlet]. Then he went to Boyowa for the pigs. He went to Basima and came back to Tewara with seven pigs. He climbed onto the platform and distributed the pigs. And when the sagali was finished he told his people, “maybe this year I will go to Sydney. And when I reach Sydney the war will come up to Papua New Guinea”. He stayed in Tewara for three Years, and he stayed in Basima. At Ugwa, for one year. He finished writing all the customs at Tewara and Basima.

Mr Poten. That's where he went. He came here and went back and wrote a history of their ancestors. That is where my knowledge stops

When asked if Fortune's ancestors were really from Tewara, Sylvester replied:

It started with Tauwau and Kaiwa, or as we call them Dimdim and Kasabwaibwaileta. They were staying here together, and then they quarrelled and Dimdim went away but Kasabwaibwaileta stayed. Poten came back. He returned to learn the history of Tewara and then he went back again.

'Tauwau' or 'Dimdim' are everyday terms for “white man” and according to Fortune mean

a mythical person of recent extraction, being the maker of all the white man's artifacts in one capacity, the being responsible for leaving a pair of subordinate beings to spread white man's diseases in another, and originally a native of Tewara who made the kula, but had a feud with Kasabwaibwaileta and left Tewara for the white man's country in a third capacity” (Fortune 1932a:230).

The legend of Kasabwaibwaileta has been recorded by, among others, Fortune (1932), Malinowski (1922), Roheim (1950), and Young (nd). Although the legend varies in the telling, in all instances, the substance remains the same: Kasabwaibwaileta is the mythical founder of the Kula ritual throughout the D'Entrecasteaux group. And, as the 'Legend of Mr Poten' says, Fortune was the returned descendant of Kasabwaibwaileta's colleague, Dimdim.

Figure 6. The PACOLL-8563 Mourning a Death, Dobu Island



Chapter Four

Margaret, Marriage and Manus

The impact of Fortune's influence on Mead has been much discussed in biographies of Mead but in this chapter we begin to understand the impact that Mead had on Fortune. Again choices are being made and major changes take place in Fortune's life which will have repercussions, not only on his relationships with others but also on the direction of his fieldwork.

The journey to Manus had its origins back in 1926 when Fortune, taking up his travelling scholarship, set sail for England to further his studies in psychology at Cambridge University. Also aboard the *Chitral* was Margaret Mead, returning from her first fieldwork in Samoa, starved for intellectual stimulation and "primed for an emotional adventure" (Lapsley 1999:148).

Fortune too was ripe for romance having recently been turned down by Eileen Pope, a former student at Victoria whom he had met through the tramping club. At Sydney there was a seamen's strike which prevented the vessel sailing, and as neither had much money Fortune and Mead were forced to remain onboard while other passengers stayed in hotels awaiting word to sail. They similarly remained on board when other passengers went ashore at various ports between Australia and Europe (Howard 1984). Thrown together by circumstance, the two young people discovered their shared interest in psychology and spent much of their time together, so much so that when the ship eventually sailed, they were given a table of their own and fellow passengers thought they were having an affair. As Mead states:

We were not, but we were falling in love, with all the possibility of a relationship that I felt was profoundly unsuitable. Reo was so young, so inexperienced, so fiercely ambitious and so possessively jealous of any fleeting glance I gave another person (1972:161).

Among the many topics they discussed was Reo's work on dreams, and as a result Mead recorded a number of her own dreams which Fortune subsequently included in his work *The Mind in Sleep* (1927a:31-33). According to Lapsley (1999), these dreams reflect Mead's concerns about meeting up again with her then husband, Luther Cressman, anxieties about her field work in Samoa, and her developing relationship with Fortune.

While Fortune left no record of what occurred on the voyage, Mead recorded her memories in *Blackberry Winter* (1972) and her biographers have focused much on it (Banner 2003; Howard 1984; Lapsley 1999). However, with only Mead's word for much of what was supposedly discussed during this voyage, questions as to the full veracity of some of her statements remain. For instance, Mead tells how Reo had studied sleep to "... test whether the first hours of a stretch of sleep were, or were not, more restful than the later hours" (Mead 1972:158) and that he "had just won a two-year fellowship to Cambridge University as a prize for an essay he had written on dreams" (Mead 1972:157). As I have already indicated, Fortune had, in fact, published a number of papers by this time (1924; 1926b; 1926c; 1926d; 1926e). In addition, many of his poems had appeared in the Victoria College student magazine *Spike*. Mead, in contrast, at this point had published only one paper and a couple of poems.

Instead of emphasising Fortune's accomplishments, Mead chose to highlight his negatives: "... Reo was unlike anyone I had ever known. He had never seen a play professionally performed; he had never seen an original painting by a great artist or heard music played by a symphony orchestra" (Mead 1972:158). This is not to say that such did not exist in New Zealand. One of the earliest orchestras in New Zealand was the Wellington Orchestral Society, formed

in 1879, and visiting theatre companies from the USA, Australia and England brought touring productions there as early as the 1860s. Similarly, art galleries had been established in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and many of them contained international works. The image drawn by Mead is of a New Zealand lacking in culture and of Fortune as an unsophisticated youth with a very macho attitude, jealous of any attention she paid to others.

When word reached them of Malinowski's visit to the USA for the Annual Hanover Conference, Mead and Fortune availed themselves of the opportunity to visit the university library in Adelaide when the *Chitral* called there, to read an article by Malinowski. Benedict had recounted some of Malinowski's more chauvinistic aspects, so when Mead mentioned that she intended to attend the meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Fortune allegedly was against it, as he believed that Malinowski would seduce her. Lapsley suggests that his influence on Mead at this stage was detrimental as Mead thought it contributed to "the question of the validity of [her] work on Samoa" (Lapsley 1999:151). But she was a headstrong young woman and if she really wanted to attend the meeting, she clearly would have done so. Although her work on Samoa was as yet unpublished, Malinowski, while in the USA, had reputedly remarked that her time in Samoa was too short to accomplish any real research let alone learn the language. Neither Mead nor Fortune had at this stage met Malinowski and his comments were presumably made in the context of his own experience among the Trobrianders.

When the *Chitral* eventually berthed at Marseille, Mead and Fortune remained in deep conversation, with Reo ostensibly wanting her to continue on to England with him rather than disembark to be with her then husband, Luther

Cressman. On this occasion, Luther was the winner, but not for long. Mead was torn between Luther, Reo and her long time lover, Ruth Benedict, although Ruth was never in any real danger of losing Margaret completely. Lapsley recounts that Luther appeared unaware of the real nature of Margaret's relationship with Ruth (Lapsley 1999:154), and there is no reason to believe that Fortune was any more aware, although he later recalled that he was jealous when Margaret told him that Ruth meant more to her than Luther.¹

When Fortune travelled to Paris to see Margaret later in 1926, Luther Cressman was at the concierge's desk when Fortune walked in. As Cressman described it: "Reo came in, a good-looking guy, taller than I, I looked up and said "I'm Luther Cressman. Margaret's expecting you, I'm going out".² Fortune first met Benedict in Poitiers, where he and Margaret had travelled to meet her after Luther had departed France. They also were to spend a week together in Paris with Reo's friend, Max Bickerton. One of Mead's biographers, Lois Banner (2003), found it necessary to point out Max's homosexuality the four times she mentions him (Banner 2003: 246, 256, 314, 421). The fact is Fortune and Bickerton had been friends at Victoria University College in Wellington, where Max also studied psychology, receiving his M.A. in 1924, and remained so even after Max left New Zealand. Bickerton had met up with Fortune in Paris when Fortune arrived to see Mead. His memory of this meeting portrays Reo as "The fresh-faced absurdly young cherubic youth I found waiting for me in baggy trousers in Paris".³

¹ LOC: MMP S1 Reo Fortune to Gregory Bateson, letter dated Early December, 1935.

² Columbia University Library, Jane Howard Papers, Notes p 749. See also: Cressman, Luther, 1988, A Golden Journey.

³ LOC: MMP S2 Max Bickerton to Reo Fortune, letter dated 14 November 1928.

While Mead wanted to go to Rome with Benedict, Ruth insisted that she remain with Reo. Reo and Margaret went to England where they visited Cambridge, then down to Florence before Margaret finally met up again with Ruth in Rome.⁴ During the time that Reo and Margaret spent together travelling in Europe, Reo was apparently impotent, but whether this was because of Luther and/or Ruth is impossible to tell. Certainly the fact that Margaret was married and that Luther was apparently accepting of her relationship with Reo must have been of some concern to him, as would have been Margaret's 'devotion' to Ruth. When Margaret left Florence for Rome and Ruth, Reo returned to Paris via Genoa, Turin and Modena, arriving in Paris two days later where he devoted his time to reading and searching indexes of French publications while he waited for her to return. Mead and Fortune had arranged to meet at Amiens and spend the day together before Margaret sailed for the USA and then to meet again in Germany the following year.

With Margaret back in the USA, Fortune absorbed himself in his studies. As a research student he had more freedom than most, being permitted to dine away from college and come in at any hour before midnight. However out of respect for his housekeeper who had to wait up and lock him in, he generally returned early. While he was slowly making friends, he missed Margaret very much:

Margaret sweetheart, I am very wanting you here so much. My lunch and coffee has just come up - it has been here these five minutes - I dine & breakfast alone in my room - dinner in Hall is a rush. Everyone eats hurriedly and flees - and it's all solitary. There are Wellington men here but the system isolates us - if one has not the money to entertain other members - and it is lonely. O Margaret, I wish you were here with me, it would be so fine then. I

⁴ LOC: MMP S11 "Notes by MM on What Really Happened", memorandum dated July 1957.

know that I can improve on the system when I come to know the place better. I have more latitude than the undergrads - e.g. I have to dine three nights a week in Hall only instead of five - and if I get to know people and can find a place equally cheap elsewhere maybe things will become more sociable. Not that that will make me miss you less - but I am not the contented individualist I was. It's hard to remember the months we had and be happy about this. But I know why Cambridge men write so many books - so many of them have only their own thoughts to live with.⁵

He was now taking anthropology very seriously: "I hope I shall be different when you meet me again - I want to be a fair working anthropologist - at least by our second meeting - where will it be Fiji - Samoa - or thereabouts?"⁶

When Mead returned to the USA at the end of September she could have ended things there, but the attraction to Reo was too strong. Within twelve months she once more met with Reo in Germany where, according to Banner, "she wanted to test their love - and their sexual compatibility" (2003:262). However, by early 1927, Fortune was becoming concerned over Margaret's truthfulness, especially in regard to what she was telling others about their relationship and her interpretation of his feelings. He told her that if she came to Germany then she must leave behind any misinterpretations. Mead came, still remaining ambivalent over her relationship with Reo, but after three days with him she wrote to Luther that she wanted a divorce (Lapsley 1999:177). She returned to America and began divorce proceedings, planning to meet Reo towards the end of 1928. Meanwhile, Reo, with his first book now in publication, continued on his journey to Australia where he used his time working on the thesis for his anthropology diploma. He also spent time proofing Margaret's work on Samoa, something Mead did not acknowledge in the published work.

⁵ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 October 1926.

⁶ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 October 1926.

With Reo on his way to his fieldwork in Dobu, Mead decided that she too could write a book on dreams. According to Banner, she never published this work because “it obviously became too personal for her to do so” (2003:166). Many of her dreams at this time reflect her ambivalence about heterosexuality and her fear of being exposed as homosexual. perhaps she hoped that marriage to Reo would be protection from any scandal of a sexual nature and provide her with access to hitherto inaccessible research places where a woman alone was not deemed safe. She now decided that she would study early childhood behaviour among primitive peoples, and in particular, the mental development of children, using the theories of Freud, Piaget and Levy Bruhl. This choice of theorists and area of study may have been prompted by Fortune’s diploma thesis, “On Imitative Magic” (1927b), in which he argued that western children’s drawings pass through stages “found in native myth and embodied in magical ceremonial”. Further, he had stated:

It seems to me to be a tenable hypothesis and one worthy of investigation whether native children under conditions apart from missionary or teaching contact do not develop these stages more slowly and retain their anthropomorphism later than the five or six year level at which it begins to be successfully checked in our culture (1927b:52).

Mead would have known of his thesis and may have even read a draft while she and Reo were in Germany. Also Reo wrote to her in October 1927 asking if she had any friends with children aged between two and six years from whom she could collect drawings as he wanted more of them.⁷ Certainly, by 1932, Mead was well aware of this work, citing it in her own publication, “An Investigation of the Primitive Thought of Children, with Special Reference to Animism” (Mead 1932).

⁷ LOC: MMP S2 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 2 October 1927.

But even as she set out for Auckland and marriage, Mead was confused over her feelings. Writing almost daily to Benedict, she recounts her feelings for Morris Crawford, an art connoisseur connected to Columbia University. Mead had developed feelings for him that left her unsettled. She wrote to Benedict: "I've quite honestly never seen anyone else whom I thought of as essentially like myself". She was concerned about what she should tell Reo or even whether she should tell him.

If I tell Ray the truth, I'll wager he'll not want to marry me, and yet I have done nothing alien to my own personality not which in any way I reject" (Banner (2003:276-277)).⁸

And later,

My feeling for Ray isn't a bit shaken or questioned. But Morris has moved me very much, more than I have been for over two years... And what is the rest of my life going to be like? Is it going to be chock full of feelings which I must hide? ...But what worries me is that for the rest of my life I'll have just such accidental encounters with people, and run the risk of outraging Ray or lying to him.

In her next letter to Benedict she wrote:

Perhaps only one person can make a sufficiently fundamental impression on me to hold me to unswerving fidelity. Perhaps the capacity and attention which I have left for other people beside you is somewhat a little off center and incapable of rising to such heights... And maybe what I give any man is less than half. This whole thing is much harder for me to understand than anything which has happened yet. Schematizing my life, there has been you and you steadfastly since you came into it. Nothing has ever threatened that fact. Looking at the heterosexual side of it; I chose Luther and remained steadfastly interested in him without swerving or temptation for seven years. Then out of a definite unfulfilled need and complicated by symbolic association with you I chose Edward [Sapir]. I haven't any illusion about his having chosen me. I wanted him and without the moves which I made he would never have realised my existence. And then ... I chose Ray. Again I did the choosing, it lay in my hands whether that relationship should ripen or not. It was my will which wore down all my resistance, not

⁸ LOC: MMP S1 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 1 December 1928.

any move on his part, only the things in him which I recognized and loved.⁹

This reference to the anthropological linguist Edward Sapir relates to Margaret's attempted seduction of him, which she failed to carry through, and which led to Sapir writing a scathing criticism of her, cleverly disguised so that only those 'in the know' would realise to whom he was referring (Banner 2003:280-281).

In 1928, having completed his fieldwork on Dobu, Fortune returned to New Zealand where he awaited the arrival of Mead on 8 October. Reo insisted they get married immediately. With only the one day in Auckland it was a hectic time, rushing to a jeweller to have a ring resized, getting to the registry office, and then back on board to sail for Sydney. She was not to meet Reo's parents until they returned in 1929 while en route to New York.

Mead and Fortune arrived in Sydney expecting to have five weeks to prepare for Manus. They found they had only two, which Reo spent trying to proof his manuscript on Dobu while Caroline Tennant Kelly helped Mead pack and label luggage. *Coming of Age in Samoa* had just been published and Mead achieved anonymity "beneath the hat of invisibility put on by the charm, Mrs R.F. Fortune".¹⁰ Sometime soon after their arrival in Sydney, Fortune sent Benedict a first draft of his work on Dobu which was to serve as the basis of his application for a fellowship at Columbia University. Benedict responded by saying how much she "enjoyed the Dobuan material" but that she felt the Dobuans had "all been sold to the devil" (Mead 1959:311).

⁹ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 3 September 1928.

¹⁰ LOC: MMP R6 Margaret Mead to Emily Fogg Mead, letter dated 5 November 1928.

By early November they were on their way to Rabaul, where they were met by E. P. W. Chinnery who was at that time Government Anthropologist to the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. With Chinnery's assistance they secured the services of Bonyala, a Manus schoolboy, to help them with the language. They arrived in the Admiralty Islands on 18 November, where they had about ten days as guests of the district officer at Lorengau and recruited a second young man. Manuwai came from Peri, on Manus Island, the same village as Bonyala, so the



Figure 7 ATL: PA11-210-19 Village on water (probably Peri) on Manus, decision to go there was made. “Thus began the best field trip we ever had” (Mead, 1972:169).

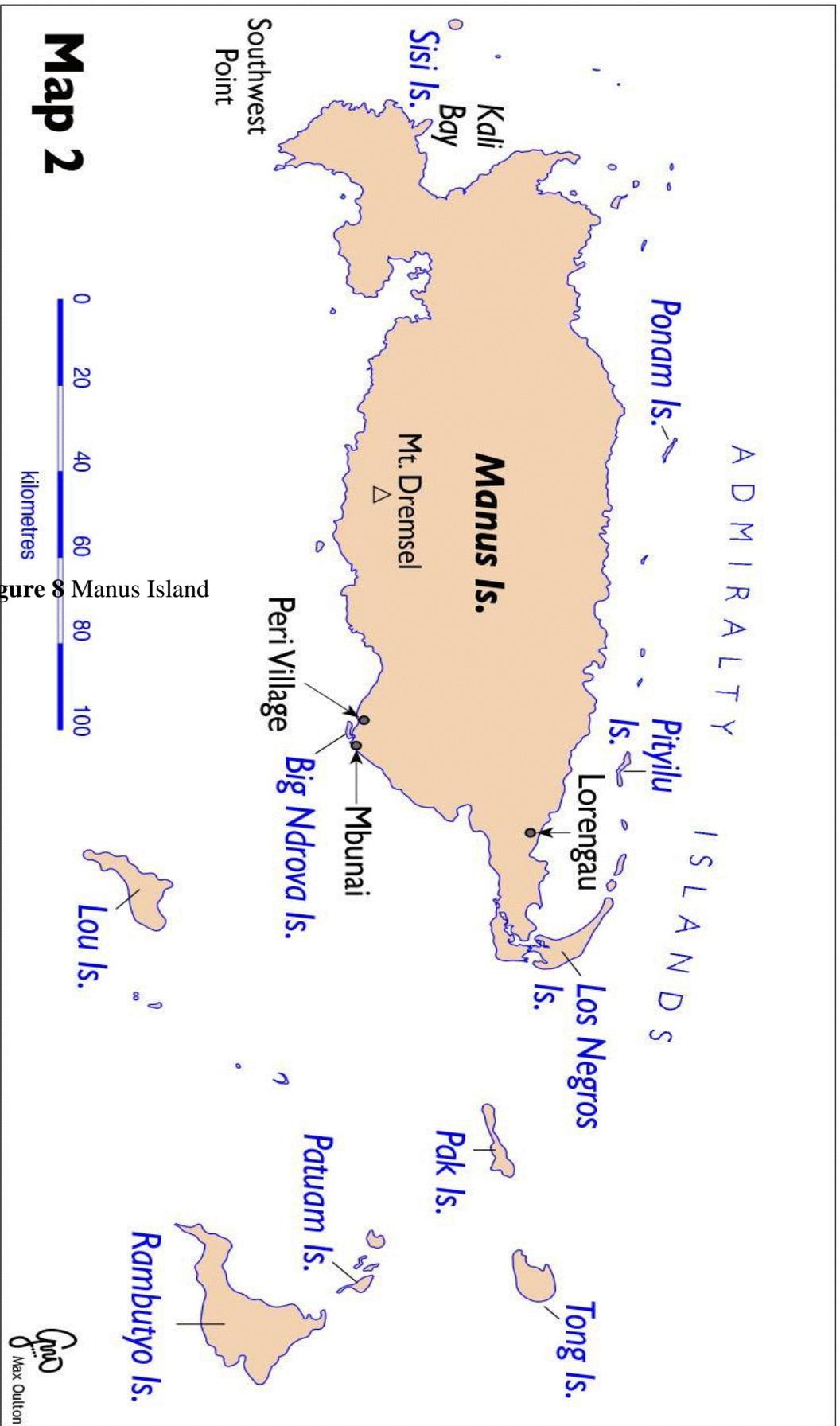


Figure 8 Manus Island

Initially they stayed at the old Government Station house “at the east and seawards corner of the village” (Fortune 1935a:111-112). According to Fortune it was a spirit who deemed it necessary for the building of a new house. The Government Station house was situated in an area known as Pontchal and came under the protection of *sori*,¹¹ the spirit of “the recently deceased village constable” (1935:112). *Sori* apparently inflicted illness upon a man called Paliau and at a seance conducted to determine the cause of the illness, is reputed to have stated that the people should build a new house for Moi-Yap (‘Man of the East’ - i.e. Fortune) so that he could abandon the Government barracks (1935a:114). Upon its completion in late January, Mead spent her days in the new house while Reo used the Station house as his daytime base. This arrangement appears to have suited them well, with Mead being able to surround herself with the children during the day without distracting Reo.

Work progressed amicably, although Mead describes it as hard “with almost no pleasures... no bread, [and their] mainstay was smoked fish and taro” (Mead 1972:172). Fortune seems to have had modest tastes in food as his invoices from his first field trip to Tewera indicate. However provisions for Manus contradict Mead’s account of a relatively spartan diet: gnyere cheese, fowl in jelly, rabbit in jelly, and grapes are some of the items recorded among the ANRC vouchers submitted by Fortune.¹² The lack of bread also was not a problem, as Mead wrote to Benedict of “being able to buy a fish for threepence and having plenty of taro so that we don’t need bread”.¹³

¹¹ *sori* is the name of the spirit and in line with Fortune’s usage is italicised without a capital initial.

¹² NLA MS482/46/774 ANRC Anthropological grant to Mr R.F. Fortune.

¹³ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 14 January 1929.

Financially, Mead benefited from this collaboration. The old adage that two can live as cheaply as one was true, so that living off Reo's grant enabled Mead to save her own money. But if Mead was happy to live off Reo, the reverse could not be said. Reo firmly believed it was a husband's duty to support a wife financially.



Figure 9 ATL: PA11-210-20 Children in Canoes, Manus Island Admiralty Islands 1928/9.



Figure 9 ATL: PA11-210-21 Men fishing with a net, Manus, Admiralty Islands.



Figure 10 ATL: PAColl-8563-03-17 House moving after a death in the house. Manus.

Although the Fortunes were not to meet up with Gregory Bateson at this time, they were in correspondence with him. Bateson was working in New Britain and Reo had written to him asking if he would be willing to make a collection of material culture for them, offering him £30 to do this.

In March, Mead thought she might be pregnant.¹⁴ She wrote to Benedict:

As far as the child is concerned I'd have to have it. Abortion here is out of the question . . . It wouldn't be such a tragedy; the costs out here aren't like New York and it would be easy to take a nursing baby into the field here.¹⁵

She also suffered a bad attack of Algid fever, which is a stage of malaria characterised by coldness of the skin, profound weakness and diarrhoea, that left her weak and easily fatigued. To complicate matters further, Mead chipped the end of her tibia and tore a muscle, which required her to rest and use crutches. With frequent bouts of malaria and the physical handicap of crutches, Mead spent much of her time housebound, dependent on informants to come to her. Fortune, on the other hand, was free to wander among the people, developing relationships and attending the many events which form the core of his *Manus Religion* (1935a). Mead thus became an observer, while Fortune was the participant.

Fortune found the Manus people vastly different to the Dobuan. Sometime after February 1929 he wrote a summary of his research comparing Dobu with Manus. He concluded “that a magical culture tends to produce a treacherous, non-moral, non flexible mentality, while a cult of the spirits of the dead tends to avoid the pitfalls of a magical system”.¹⁶

¹⁴ It proved to be a ‘false alarm’.

¹⁵ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 24 March 1929.

¹⁶ LOC: MMP R6 Fortune to Judge Phillips, letter n.d.

Towards the end of his stay in Manus, Fortune was asked to provide a report on the mental state of a prisoner held at Lorengau. Based on a genealogy of the family, Fortune indicated that the young man in question appeared to have inherited insanity, as both his father and his paternal grandmother were considered of unsound mind. Similarly, several other descendants of the same line suffered from “mental unsoundness”.¹⁷ In a letter to Benedict, Mead also commented on the degree of insanity among the people in language that would have made social darwinists of the time feel she was one of them:

In time, through frequent intermarriage the stupid ones all get paired off; result doubling all your bad lines. This might segregate them out in time if there weren't two other facts; stupid men of middle age sometimes succeed in getting and keeping clever wives to manage their affairs for them; result more stupid children, and then the child marriages arranged on purely formal grounds means intermarriage between bad strains and good strains.¹⁸

When Fortune received word that he had been awarded a fellowship at Columbia, he was pleased that would provide him with “a proper plank to stand on” in the coming year. He would be able to complete the writing up of his Dobu material and commence his new work about Manus. Mead also was delighted with this news. It would mean they had an income should she lose her job at the Museum of Natural History, and they would be tied to New York for the time being.¹⁹ Mead's fear that she may lose her job was a reaction to an article by Edward Sapir in which he essentially cast her as frigid, dishonest, trivial, and little more than a prostitute, but did so in a way which meant that only those closest to

¹⁷ LOC: MMP N40 Fortune to the District Officer, Lorengau, memorandum dated 5 April 1929.

¹⁸ LOC: MMP R6 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 8 April 1929.

¹⁹ LOC: MMP R6 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 8 April 1929.

Mead would know it was her. In his article, a copy of which Mead received in Lorengau, Sapir remarked:

One hears it said that among the truly enlightened, love, in so far as it exists at all, is merely the causal association of the sex impulse with certain warm feelings of companionship or friendship and that nothing is more natural than that this fortuitous association should be constantly interrupted or broken up (Sapir 1928:522)

He then continued in what must be considered a direct swipe at Mead by saying:

It does not seem to occur to the readers of exciting books about pleasure loving Samoans and Trobriand Islanders that perhaps these communities are not as primitive as they seem . . . It is true that many primitive societies allow of erotic and marital arrangements that shock the sensibilities of our conservatives. But what should be denied is that sex conduct is truly unregulated even in these societies. A closer examination shows that the community has certain definite ideas as to what is allowable and what is not allowable (p.524).

If that was not clear enough, he made another pointed comment directly aimed at Mead: “As one young emancipated woman once expressed it to me, it would be an insult to either her or to her husband to expect fidelity of them”, and further:

The ‘kick’ of sex freedom in America lies precisely in its being a ‘sin’ not an honest way of life. Americans make poor Don Juans. Nor does the graceful and accomplished hetaira of French life seem to flourish on our stubborn soil. Many young women have tried the part but even the most successful of our amateurs in the erotic arts seem compelled by the very nature of the culture in which they have been reared to pay a heavy price. Our intellectual mistresses of sin play a sadly pedantic part, their ardors are in the head rather than in the heart or even in the ‘erogenous zone’. To put it bluntly, the ‘free’ woman of sophisticated America, whether poetess or saleslady, has a hard job escaping from the uncomfortable feeling that she is really a safe, and therefore a dishonest, prostitute (p.533).²⁰

Benedict, too, appeared to be targeted by Sapir’s comments on homosexuality. According to Mead’s biographer Lapsley, Benedict sent an angry

²⁰ For more in the Sapir/Mead relationship refer to Lapsley 1999; Banner 2003

letter to Sapir asking why she had not been sent a copy of the paper, to which Sapir replied "You will probably not believe me - and yet it is the sober truth - when I say that you were never once in my thoughts when I wrote the paper on sex . . . No, it was Margaret . . . She is hardly a person to me at all . . . but a symbol of everything I detest most in American Culture."²¹

Fortune's reaction to the article appears to have been one of dismissal. According to Mead, he simply remarked, "A bit of dirt . . . Now it will be impossible for me ever to meet him on any decent terms."²²

Leaving Manus sometime in June 1929, the Fortunes stopped in Rabaul. While Mead remained in there, Fortune travelled to Tewara Island to take the photographs which he had been unable to take while working there in 1927. Mead missed him, writing that she was depressed and "cursing the day I ever consented to our separating and life seems so very short anyway. Oh Ray, let's arrange our lives so we won't have to be away from each other. It's not worth it"²³

In her 1930 work *Growing up in New Guinea* (1930:212), Mead noted that "A complete ethnography of the Manus culture is being written by Mr. Fortune".

Around the same time she had written to Kroeber:

Reo will do . . . the ethnology of the culture to set beside my special study, using my notes in addition to his much fuller material . . . I did do most of the social organization and the material culture - a little sketchily, while Reo did the religion and economics in full textual detail. He also did most of the formal work on the language.²⁴

²¹ Sapir Family Papers 29 April 1929 Quoted in Lapsley 1999:193.

²² LOC: MMP R6 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 22 April 1929.

²³ LOC: MMP S2 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 1 July 1929.

²⁴ LOC:MMP C3 Mead to Kroeber, Letter dated 30 October 1930.

However, by 1934, when Mead's 'special study' appeared as *Kinship in the Admiralty Islands*, it was partly framed as a rebuttal to criticisms of her *Growing up in New Guinea*, she gave greater emphasis to her own contribution:

For the kind of field-work which Mr. Fortune and I do, a general knowledge of the whole culture pattern is essential; upon a base of such general knowledge, we then proceed to specialize to some extent . . . I specialized on a study of primitive education and child thought; Mr. Fortune specialized in a study of the intricate functioning of the religious system. To make these separate investigations, we both required a sound working knowledge of the social organization, the economic organization, and the language (Mead 1934:183)²⁵.

Manus Religion (1935) is not the book Fortune had planned to write. He had previously published an article of the same title in the journal *Oceania*, where he stated that "This article is but a preliminary of a much more detailed study which will be published separately" (Fortune 1931:74), and its first 100 pages may have been written as chapters for a more detailed ethnographic study. Maureen Molloy indicates that Mead's writing of *Kinship in the Admiralty Islands* could only have been done by "poaching what was to have been Fortune's piece of the Admiralties action" (2008:11). With Mead and Benedict having been entrusted with ensuring the publication of *Manus Religion*, one wonders whether it was deliberately delayed to ensure that Mead's publication got precedence.

The first three chapters provide a sketch of the religion, Manus religious sentiment, and details of the *Tandritanitani* cult. The central figure in Manus religious belief is the spirit *Moēn palit*, or Sir Ghost. Each man has his own Sir Ghost, but to all other men this spirit is simply *palit* (ghost). Sir Ghost is the moral authority who "secures confession of sin, or if it is foreknown, makes indictment

²⁵ It is interesting to note that, despite Fortune having gained his PhD in 1931, Mead still refers to him as Mr. Fortune.

of it” (Fortune 1935:1)²⁶. As Sir Ghost, he is responsible for ensuring the safety and well-being of his owner’s kindred, yet he also may be malicious and the cause of death to those not of his kin. Therefore a man reveres his Sir Ghost, while other men will react with fear as exemplified by Fortune in his recounting of “A House is Built” (1935:111-115).

A man is proud of the way in which his Sir Ghost occasionally discomforts other persons, especially if he has any antagonism to such persons. Paliau and Pokenau were already rival informants. Pokenau had the ethnologists domiciled in his Sir Ghost’s territory and naturally exalted over his advantage when his rival retired in an extremely nervous state. At the time I thought it strange that a ghostly visitation should so scare one man, and yet make another chuckle. The reason was, of course, that to one man a spirit is a ghost, to another man the same spirit is Sir Ghost (1935:113).²⁷

The relationship between a man and his Sir Ghost is one of mutual advantage. He preserved the skull of his Sir Ghost and protected it from the weather, providing warmth and food along with an honoured place in the front of the house. This is repaid by Sir Ghost through good health, good fishing, and safe voyaging.

However, should either party fail to honour their obligations then the relationship becomes void. If Sir Ghost fails in his obligations, his skull may be taken from the house, destroyed, cast into the sea and replaced by another. If the ward fails in his obligations, then Sir Ghost will inflict illness which must be expiated through confession and atonement. Diagnosis is made by oracles who determine whether the illness is caused by Sir Ghost or another ghost.

²⁶ Although Fortune uses the word ‘sin’ it is not sin in the Christian sense of an offence against God, but more a transgression of the Manus moral code which is overseen by the spirits of the ancestors

²⁷ In an appendix, Fortune provides us with details of the persons involved; Pokenau was the village constable at the seaward end of Peri Village. He had succeeded his older brother Pontchal, now deceased and his Sir Ghost *sori*. Paliau came from the other end of the village and had served in the native army under German Administration. Both men were key informants of Fortune.

If any sin or error of commission or omission of the kind traditionally associated with Sir Ghostly wrath is suspected or privately discovered to have been committed by any member of the family in which illness subsequently strikes any member, then an oracular judgement of Sir Ghostly wrath is the first to be made. . . . If, however, there is no oracular knowledge of available unexpiated sin, or no suspicion of it, then the oracles must perforce fall back upon the theory of ghostly causation, with all its unreasonableness and malice . . . (Fortune 1935:22).

The ambivalence identified by Lohmann (2009), as being present in both *The Mind in Sleep* and *Sorcerers of Dobu* is again apparent in this work, as shown by the Manus attitude to a Sir Ghost from whom they demand the impossible. As stated above, when Sir Ghost fails in his duty to protect his ward, resulting in the death of the head of the household, Sir Ghost's skull is taken from its place of respect and destroyed to be replaced with a skull of one more recent deceased.

Magic is of minor importance in Manus, and in the section discussing this Fortune draws on his previous fieldwork on Dobu to compare and contrast the differing attitudes of the Manus and Dobuan toward such. While magic, sorcery and witchcraft are an integral part of Dobuan culture, most of the magic used by the Manus is imported from neighbouring tribes. "The Manus frequently say of a Manus magician's magic . . . [his] magic is worthless . . ." (Fortune 1935:63).

With regard to the *Tandritanitani* cult, Fortune noted that, "*Tandritanitani* is not magic as magic is generally conceived, for it is a power invested in one relationship line for possible use upon another relationship line" (Ibid :74). The principal lines that Fortune is referring to are the 'children-of sister' and 'children-of brother', respectively. In contrast to 'children-of-brother', which is a close-knit group united by patrilineal inheritance and common privilege, "children-of-sister" is a group which is "disinherited from the unilateral descent group ... the patrilineal descent group". However, 'children-of-sister' have a "certain kind of

superior power, magically warranted over ‘children-of-brother’ [and it is] the exercise of this cult privilege [which] is called *tandritanitani* (Fortune 1935:77).

In the six months that Mead and Fortune resided amongst the Manus, Fortune recorded in detail forty-three ‘religious’ events from which he developed his understanding of their religion. An interesting aspect of Fortune’s work is his method of event analysis. Presented as a diary of religious events in which Fortune moves beyond functional relations to detail the voices of the ordinary Manus people. He situates them within the events through detailed fieldnotes which reflect his analysis of the religion as outlined in the first three chapters. However, while he calls it a “diary of religious events”, it is much more. It demonstrates the moral code in action and is rich in kinship descriptions, social drama and discourse analysis. For example, the impact of the arrival of the anthropologists which resulted in the building of a house (discussed above) demonstrates how events of one day are implicated in those of another.

While it was not unusual for anthropologists of the period to draw comparisons with Christianity when discussing religious systems, Fortune also compared the Manus system with Dobu. The final chapter of this work, on the functioning of religion, sets out the moral code in the form of ‘commandments’ “implicit in the practice of the Manus religious cult” (Fortune 1935:347). In this respect, morality enforced by religion is akin to Christianity: “So prominent is the same idea in the Manus system that one is easily led into making the Hebrew and Christian analogies” (Fortune 1935:356). He then shows that while both Manus and Dobu share similarities in their use of supernatural sanctions, the actual means are radically different in their adaptation: “Very different institutions may be used in an attempt toward the one and the same social function. Where one institution is

adaptable, and is well adapted in fact to this social function, another is most refractory. In either case the system continues” (Fortune 1935:355).

Sir Edward Tylor (1871) had suggested that religion and morality were maintained independently in ‘primitive’ regions of the world. He also proposed an evolutionary scale of religious development from ‘lower’ to ‘higher’ stages, with a corresponding coalescence of religion and morality. Fortune’s text clearly disputed this using a comparative and non-evolutionary approach. Radcliffe-Brown also questioned the “validity of the distinction [Tylor] makes between the religions of savages and those of civilized people”, stating “Dr. R. F. Fortune, on his book on Manus religion, has challenged the dictum of Tylor” (1945:40-41).

Benedict’s review was published, not in any of the well known anthropological journals, but instead in the journal *Review of Religion* (1936). She praised the work for going “far beyond the usual formal treatises on primitive belief and magic, and suggested it was “the kind of full, carefully documented material upon which valid psychological and sociological studies of divergent religions must be based.”

Ralph Linton reviewed *Manus Religion* with Beatrice Blackwood’s *Both Sides of the Buka Passage* (1935). He regarded both books as valuable additions to the anthropological literature and interesting as “examples of different techniques in the study of uncivilized peoples”. He further remarked that Fortune demonstrated a great intimacy with his people, to the extent that he was able “to describe their personalities and emotional reactions as accurately as the average individual could describe those of his European neighbours”. This contrasted with the fact that he considered that Blackwood, although knowing her people well, failed to develop intimacy.

Ian Hogbin was the only one to draw attention to Fortune's earlier publication in *Oceania* (1931), of an article "Manus Religion" that summarised the findings which constituted the first hundred pages of the book. Hogbin singled out Fortune's comparison of "our use of slander with sorcery" as being of particular interest and regarded the work as "a major contribution to anthropology" (1936:395). This view was recently reflected in comments by John Barker (2007:7), who states this "superb ethnography of the Sir Ghost religion. . . provides the earliest fully realized study of the moral dynamics of a Melanesian society".

Chapter Five

An Omaha Summer

These are the days when birds come back,
A very few, a bird or two,
To take a backward look. (Emily Dickinson)¹

The return to the United States saw Fortune complete his doctorate under the supervision of Franz Boas. Further fieldwork was conducted among the Omaha Indians of Nebraska, and as the above quote suggests, this was a time of reflection, leading to Fortune's development of an approach to ethnography which could be described as ethno-historical. Also, the stock market crash saw Fortune's funds frozen, resulting in Mead deciding to partially fund their further research.

Having successfully completed their fieldwork in Manus, the Fortunes called at New Zealand, where Mead finally was to meet Reo's family. The exact date of this visit is hard to determine. Mead wrote to Benedict on 19 July 1929, that they only had 'five more weeks', presumably before sailing, which indicates they left Sydney around the end of July or early August. It is likely that they left Auckland on the ship *Niagara* on or soon after 26 August, and arrived in Honolulu on 6 September 1929.²

Few pictures of this visit exist, but of those that do the one most commonly reproduced shows Mead with Reo's parents, the latter looking weary and tired after what may have been a long working day on the farm. Another photo, taken perhaps

¹ Dickinson, Emily, "Indian Summer." *Women's History: Poems by Women*. Jone Johnson Lewis, editor. http://womenshistory.about.com/library/etext/poem1/blp_dickinson_indian_summer.htm (23 October 2006)

² LOC: MMP R6 Notes regarding Fortune's passport indicates that he was granted an immigration visa for the United States, at Wellington on 21 August 1929 and was admitted to the US at Honolulu on 6 September, 1929. It appears that they may have arrived in Wellington from Sydney, visited the family at Paraparaumu, and then travelled by train to Auckland to board the *Niagara*. The *Niagara* arrived in Auckland from Sydney on the 26th August and this was the vessel Mead and Fortune took to Vancouver. While in Auckland they visited Reo's sister Evelyn, then studying nursing, staying in the Nurse's Home.

later that day or on one of Mead's return visits in 1931 or 1933, reveals Hetty as still an attractive woman.

When Peter Fortune abandoned his faith in 1918, the family had taken up farming at Raumati South which is situated on the coastal and southernmost edge of the Paraparaumu area, just north of Wellington. The farming life was hard but Peter was proud of his prize herd of cattle. Hetty, on the other hand, lamented her loss of status from being the lady of the manse to that of just a farmer's wife. The days were long. Often Peter rose at 5am to milk the cows and work in the fields until dark, which in summer came as late as 9pm.

Mead found the farm cold after six months in New Guinea, and may also have suffered a malarial fever during their stay, as Hetty remarked that she "hope[d] that nasty fever does not come back" and that Mead was "a frail little soul and will have to take no end of care of herself". She was also comforted "to know Reo is so happy and loves his Margaret dearly". The picture of domestic bliss which Hetty perceived remained with her:

I have so much to think of you both now and very glad you came this way but wish the home had been more comfy and no need for me to go out to nasty cows . . . I will always see you both sitting on the sofa, Reo reading to you and you doing his nails, in front of the old black stove".³

Similarly, Reo's sister Evelyn was thrilled to see them both in Auckland and felt "very sad when you were leaving, especially as I watched you out of sight". After watching the boat sail, Evelyn returned to the Nurse's Home where she "sat on the balcony and watched the Niagara right out of sight past the Great Barrier Island".⁴

³ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: Hetty Fortune to Margaret and Reo, letter dated 9 September 1929.

⁴ LOC: MMP R10 Evelyn Fortune to Reo and Margaret, letter dated 12 September 1929.

Mead had endeared herself to all the Fortune family, so much so that correspondence continued for some years, even after her divorce from Fortune.

Figure 12 ATL:F230548-1/2 P.
T. Fortune and Hetty Fortune,
with their daughter-in-law
Margaret Mead ca.1929



Figure 13 ATL: F230547-1/2
Hetty Fortune, with her daughter-
in-law, Margaret Mead, at
Raumati ca 1929

The arrival of a letter, in late November, containing copies of the photos which Reo had taken on their visit prompted Peter to remark:

It was so good of you to send all the snaps. Margaret dear I have never had any illusions about myself but really your folk must be convulsed about my contribution to the gallery. Reo, I think, snapped the thing with the toothless old mouth open and he ought at least to have hung off a minute while he got it shut.⁵

Hetty, however, “didn’t know she looked so stout and felt upset about things, in spite of assurances to the contrary”, while Howard thought the one of himself, made him “look quite an aristocrat”.⁶

When Fortune and Mead arrived in New York, they found the country on the brink of a depression. In the months prior to their return in September 1929, a number of ‘mini crashes’ had occurred, causing concern among investors, though it was not until September that the true nature of the financial crisis became really apparent. The market dropped and rose sharply several times before 24 October when selling began in earnest with the final crash coming on 29 October. Panic ensued. According to Mead (1972:182), the bank in which Reo had opened an account was one of the first to fail. Fortune’s savings were frozen, although he was eventually to recover approximately eighty percent of his deposit.

The couple set up house on “the fourth-story [sic] floor-through of an old brownstone house west of Broadway on 102nd street” (Mead 1972:181). Reo had been awarded a fellowship at Columbia with a stipend of \$1500 per annum while Mead’s salary, although cut from the \$2500 per annum she had been getting, would have meant that their combined income was nearly double the average wage of

⁵ LOC: MMP S2 Peter Fortune to Margaret and Reo, letter dated 1 December 1929. Peter was now 62, and Hetty 47.

⁶ LOC: MMP S2 Howard Fortune to Margaret and Reo, letter dated 1 December 1929.

\$1900p.a.⁷ Funding for Fortune's Omaha research was another \$1200. Despite this Mead suggested they were short of money and the only help she had with household chores was "someone who came in to clean . . . In addition, Reo did not like to see me doing the housework which he did not intend to help me with" (Mead 1972:181ff). Barter Fortune was later to remark that "there was no one more ready to pick up a dishcloth, except that he was apt to overlook the fact, that there were dishes to be washed . . . If it came firmly to his notice that dishwashing was the order of the day, those dishes got washed - and how!"⁸. On the other hand, if Mead had someone coming in to clean, Fortune simply may have felt it unnecessary for Mead to do housework. Although Reo may not have helped much on the domestic front, it appears that the Fortunes experienced a full and productive time in those first few months in New York. According to Mead, they had friends over, attended the theatre, and provided space for some of Mead's friends who needed a place to write (Mead 1972:184). Fortune also had visitors. Members of the Victoria University debating club visited New York in December 1929 where they debated with Columbia University on December 12.

Reo worked on his Dobuan manuscript and in February 1930 Franz Boas wrote to the Committee on Fellowships at Columbia supporting an application for the extension of Fortune's fellowship. On March 18 Boas again wrote to the Committee stating:

Mr Fortune is a very unusual student. He was trained as a psychologist in New Zealand, but turned to the study of ethnology. He has done

⁷Mead does not recount by how much her salary was cut, but I am assuming a cut of twenty percent which would have left her with \$2000.

⁸ PG. B. Fortune to Komininsky, letter dated 20 March 198. Peter Gathercole kindly gave me a folder of correspondence between himself and Barter Fortune which contains copies of other letters forwarded to him by Barter.

excellent research work in New Guinea and later on in the Admiralty Islands.

He is holding a Fellowship at the present time and has shown in every way his resourcefulness and ability. His achievements up to this time are quite unusual for a man of his age and he is by far the strongest of the eight applicants for a Fellowship in this Department. I consider it most desirable that his fellowship should be continued for next year.⁹

The Fellowship which Fortune held was a Columbia University Fellowship for 1929-1930. This was one of twelve fellowships, known as University Fellowships “awarded annually by the Columbia University Council at its stated meeting in April to graduates of colleges and scientific schools who show themselves especially fitted to pursue courses of higher study and original investigation”.¹⁰

While waiting to hear whether his fellowship had been extended, Fortune wrote to the Los Angeles Museum which he had heard was considering making a Pacific Island Collection. He stated that he and Mead had been offered a field trip to Rotuma and the Hoorn Islands (Wallis and Futuna) by Dr Gregory of the Bishop Museum, and that should the museum be interested in a program Gregory was willing to co-operate financially “to arrange an extension of this trip into a New Guinea collecting trip for [the] museum”¹¹. Bryan responded regretting that it was not possible for the Museum to “avail ourselves of the very exceptional opportunity offered by your letter . . .”. He concluded by suggesting that if the Fortunes did in fact make this expedition, that it “might not be to [their] disadvantage to communicate with us on your return”.¹² Fortune also applied for a position at McGill University in

⁹ American Philosophical Society Boas Papers B. B61 No addressee. This is probably an internal memo from Boas.

¹⁰ CUA: Council for Research in the Social Sciences 1925-1968.

¹¹ LOC: MMP N92 Fortune to William Bryan, letter dated 26 March 1930.

¹² LOC: MMP N92 William Bryan to Reo Fortune, letter dated 4 April 1930.

Toronto, only to find that the decision on establishing an appointment had not been finalised. However, Sir Arthur Currie, Principal at McGill, offered to keep Fortune's letter on file for future reference.¹³

Early in the spring of 1930, Mead was asked to conduct some research for a study of present day American Indian women. Mead was not impressed, perhaps feeling that after two intense periods of fieldwork her knowledge should be better utilised. However, when Benedict suggested that if they went to Nebraska she would be able to provide funds for Reo to do a study of Omaha men's visions, Mead acquiesced. Mead would study the present while Fortune would focus on the past. Fortune's work was carried out as part of Project #35 - Acculturation Studies, under the supervision of Benedict. She had been granted funding for these studies through the Council for Research in the Social Sciences, approved by the Council at its 5 May 1930 meeting.

In requesting permission to conduct this research, Fortune asked that it also cover Mead. He made it explicit that he did not want separate permission made out for Mead as "It will facilitate her work amongst the Indian women if it is not made apparent officially".¹⁴ Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Matthew W. Stirling, applied on Fortune's behalf to the Department of the Interior Office of Indian Affairs, stating "Mr Fortune has asked me to procure for him the necessary permission from your office . . . Mr Fortune will be accompanied by his wife".¹⁵

¹³ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: Sir Arthur Currie to Reo Fortune, letter dated 9 April 1930.

¹⁴ Smithsonian Institute, Records of the BAE Correspondence 1909-1950 Box 37. Fortune to M.W. Sterling [sic], letter dated 14 May 1930.

¹⁵ Smithsonian Institute, Records of the BAE Correspondence 1909-1950 Box 37. Stirling to C. J. Rhoads, letter dated 15 May 1930.

Figure 14 Map of the United States of America. Places in Bold indicate areas where Fortune lived



When permission was received, there is no mention of Mead and therefore it appears that her research was actually conducted without official permission. Shortly before leaving for the field, Mead wrote to Kroeber asking if he would review her new book *Growing up in New Guinea* (1930), and advised that “Reo has completed a bulky monograph on Dobu and got his Ph.D”.¹⁶

Having purchased a car Mead and Fortune set forth for Nebraska, where in early June 1930, they took up residence in a “house with running water, and bath room and electric lights, two-storey, five rooms, in the centre of the Indian settlement of Macy”.¹⁷ This dwelling must have been a blessing to Mead as Macy in summer was usually very hot and humid, with average temperatures in the 90Fs and humidity around 80 percent. Mead’s initial distaste for this fieldwork is exemplified in the same letter:

I have a good interpreter and my problem might as well be done here as anywhere, I presume. But what for, what for, what significance do a few dead odds and ends of culture and the transitional adjustment of a few hundred people cursed with a combination of paternalism and outrageous and motiveless sudden wealth got to do with anything?¹⁸

Also in Macy at this time was Francis La Flesche, whom Mead described as “an ageless sexless creature who talks with great difficulty because of a stroke two years ago”¹⁹. La Flesche, was the son of Iron Eyes, the last Omaha head chief, and had been student and collaborator of the ethnologist Alice Fletcher, who legally adopted him in 1891. Their work, *The Omaha Tribe* (1911), remains a classic among ethnographies of Native America.

¹⁶ LOC: MMP C3 Mead to Kroeber, letter dated 26 May 1930.

¹⁷ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Ruth Benedict, letter dated 18 June 1930.

¹⁸ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Ruth Benedict, letter dated 18 June 1930.

¹⁹ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Ruth Benedict, letter dated 30 June 1930.

Fortune sponsored a feast for the “Society of Those Blessed by the Night” and the accompanying ceremony was attended by Mead, and possibly Max Bickerton who was visiting them at that time. Bert Fremont, one of the chief men present, addressed the assembly:

All of you chiefs and chief’s women. I am going to thank the giver of this feast. The white man has given us this feast. He may not understand what I am going to say but I am going to do a little talking anyhow. I am going to talk to him, the white man, who made this feast for us. In the old times, the old men would consider this feast sacred and they were accustomed to thank whoever feasted them. Whenever they spoke of this ceremony they said this is the most sacred ceremony . . . You white man who have given us this feast, I thank you for giving it. You have been, I suppose, all over the world, and yet you have stopped here among us to give us this feast. . .²⁰

Mead found the ceremony “nice to watch”, while Fortune was “glad of the chance to get some feeling for the people”.²¹ Mead’s letters from this period express her frustration at having to work at a job not of her choosing, among “delapidated [sic] American Indians from which our very souls recoil”.²² Fortune, on the other hand, while frustrated at his lack of progress, was making headway by talking to a few of the children and the grandchildren of Alice Fletcher’s informants.

Although they had intended to remain in the field for six months, Mead’s health was not good; she experienced bouts of malaria every three weeks, and by the end of September they had returned to New York. Reo too had issues while in the field. He had received a letter from his sister Evelyn advising that she had resigned her job as a nurse after being rebuked by the matron for her friendship with a woman

²⁰ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923 Typescript: Society of Those Blessed by the Night.

²¹ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Ruth Benedict, letter dated 15 July 1930.

²² LOC: MMP N119 Mead to B. Malinowski, letter dated 9 August 1930.

doctor. Mead chose to interpret this as being because the matron was in love with the doctor and Banner too (2003:256) infers that the relationship was of a sexual nature. However, a more likely interpretation is that in New Zealand at that time it was considered extremely inappropriate for nurses to form friendships of any kind with doctors, regardless of gender, because of perceived status differences. Around this time, too, Hetty temporarily abandoned her husband and the farm. Soon after that Fortune received another letter, this time from his father telling him that “Mother left us on the 24th of last month [July]”.²³ Twelve years of struggling on the farm clearly had taken its toll on Hetty who, accustomed to the life of gentility offered as the wife of a minister, never fully reconciled herself to life as a farmer’s wife.²⁴

Despite the stress of family problems, Fortune and Mead applied themselves to writing up their fieldwork. While Mead focussed on her Manus and Omaha material, Fortune completed his Dobu work and wrote up his Manus and Omaha notes while also writing an article on incest for the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (1932c).

Reo agreed to publish *Omaha Secret Societies* (1932b) with Columbia University Press and assigned it full copyright for the work with no royalties. He no longer had any control over the work and was unable to publish anything “which might in the judgement of the Press interfere with the sale of the Work. Further, Columbia University Press reserved the right to engage others (in the event of Fortune’s death or incapacity) to prepare supplements or revised editions...”²⁵ As a

²³ LOC: MMP A3 Peter Fortune to Reo Fortune, letter dated 10 August 1930.

²⁴ Although Hetty had abandoned her husband at this time she did return to the farm some weeks later.

²⁵ LOC: MMP R4 Copy of Agreement between Fortune and Columbia.

point of interest, Fortune received royalties only for his publications *The Mind in Sleep* and *Sorcerers of Dobu*.

Mead and Fortune intended to leave for England around April 1931, before continuing on to New Guinea. A planned field trip to Rotuma had fallen through and this may have been precipitated by an exchange of correspondence between Mead and Radcliffe-Brown, then at the University of Sydney, in which she stated that Herbert Gregory, of the Bishop Museum, “feels that he has been rebuffed and he will make no moves towards cooperation as he feels they should come from you”.²⁶ Radcliffe-Brown responded in March 1931, suggesting that Mead had been indiscreet and that when “Gregory quoted [her] as an authority for his statements he was misquoting [her] or taking [her] name in vain”.²⁷

Mead’s *Growing up in New Guinea* was published around September 1930, to mixed reviews.²⁸ One of the first appeared in the *Dallas News* of 12 October 1930, in which the reviewer represented the work as a pretence at scientific work and really nothing more than a travelogue. Fortune immediately sprang to Mead’s defence writing to the editor of the newspaper:

As a member of the same expedition and in full possession of the facts concerning the field methods of Dr Mead, I wish to protest against these unwarranted statements. Dr Mead’s earlier book “Coming of Age in Samoa” was recognized, both in America and Europe, as a new and outstanding contribution to ethnological literature and method. . . . It seems to me that it would be more in keeping with the dignity of your publication to eschew these pseudo-scientific reviews and

²⁶ LOC: MMP B15 Mead to Radcliffe-Brown, letter dated 8 February 1930.

²⁷ LOC: MMP Q12 Radcliffe-Brown to Mead, letter dated 21 March 1931.

²⁸ See Molloy, Maureen. ‘More like Fighting than Waiting: Mead, Method and the Proper Object of Knowledge in Anthropology’. *Pacific Studies* vol.32, nos.2/3, 2009.

confine itself to frankly journalistic expressions of opinion which make no pretense to the ability to rate scientific work.²⁹

By December, Fortune had completed his Dobuan work. He sent his manuscript to George Routledge and Sons Ltd in London for the attention of their Senior Managing Director, Mr W. S. Stallybrass, and wrote also to Malinowski asking if he would write the preface.³⁰ Stallybrass was impressed with the manuscript and sent it to Malinowski for his comments. On Malinowski's recommendation the book was accepted, especially because Malinowski told Stallybrass that he would "write a preface with pleasure and appreciation".³¹

With Dobu settled, Fortune was able to concentrate on the Omaha and Manus material. Mead was also pushing for publication of magazine articles, submitting two pieces - one by herself and one by Fortune - to an agent for consideration. Magazines paid well for interesting stories and could be seen as a means of generating funds for other research. However, the two stories that Mead submitted were deemed unsuitable, with the agent responding that "Neither you nor Dr. Fortune have the technique of American magazine writing", and suggesting they use a 'ghostwriter'. Nonetheless, "Concerning the two manuscripts which we now have: Dr Fortune's is an awfully good story but he has assumed that the reader is familiar with the background which is really extraordinarily strange; the story is buried. Your article on "Stone Age Education" would probably please Mr Mencken of the American Mercury".³² A few weeks later, the agent again wrote to Mead: "I am crazy about

²⁹ LOC: MMP I4 Fortune to J Dealey, Editor, The *Dallas News*, letter dated 26 October 1930.

³⁰ LSE: Malinowski Correspondence 5F Reo Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 1 December 1930.

³¹ LSE: Malinowski Correspondence 5F Malinowski to Fortune, letter dated 18 February 1931.

³² LOC: MMP Q12 Mary Alden Hopkins to Mead, letter dated 11 December 1930.

Dr. Fortune's manuscript. He gave me only a part of it and I want to read the rest. Will he be so kind as to send it to me? It is so clearly written that even a novice like me can understand it all".³³ Whether this work was eventually published in an American magazine is unknown. No further correspondence relating to this appears to exist.

Fortune gave a lecture on "Spiritism among the Manus" to the New York section of the American Society for Psychological Research on 2 February 1931. Plans to return to New Guinea also were underway. It was at this time, too, that Reo was awarded his Ph.D. from Columbia for his dissertation "The Social Organisation of Dobu" which essentially was the first chapter of *Sorcerers of Dobu*. Fortune advised Radcliffe-Brown that he had secured funding for two years to work in New Guinea under the Social Science Research Council of Columbia University. However, as the Council did not provide equipment, he sought permission from Radcliffe-Brown to use the equipment which he had used in Dobu and Manus, as it would "considerably lighten [his] expenditures and expedite [his] work"³⁴.

The anthropologist and psychoanalyst Geza Roheim³⁵ also was in New York around this time and it may be assumed that Fortune and Mead met him or, at least, attended his presentations. Certainly, Fortune wrote to Malinowski quoting Roheim as saying that "Dobu is a culture built upon anal eroticism and narcissism" and that "Ethnologists have never yet accounted for any single native culture". Fortune also felt that Roheim's field experience would hold Roheim in high standing with the

³³ LOC: MMP Q12 Mary Alden Hopkins to Mead, letter dated 26 December 1930.

³⁴ LOC: MMP B15 Fortune to Radcliffe-Brown, letter dated 19 February 1931.

³⁵ Roheim was the first Professor of Anthropology at the University of Budapest. He conducted field research in which he applied psychoanalytic theory to the Aborigines of Central Australia. http://www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/information/biography/pqrst/roheim_geza.html

psychoanalysts, “so this type of interpretation will be heard, full focussed on the Massim area”.³⁶ Malinowski, having met Roheim in Paris, concurred.

In April 1931 Fortune was asked to write an article on Incest for the *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*. In this article Fortune critiqued the then current theories espoused by Freud, Edward Westermarck, Brenda Seligman and Robert Briffault, where they generally dealt with incest as “revolving around the internal constitution of the biological family of parents and children”. Fortune suggested that this is a “theoretical overelaboration of the restricted range of incest which is found in modern society”. He saw penalties being imposed on incestuous relationships, not because of the damage to the internal group, but rather because of the disruption caused to social cooperation. Somewhat in anticipation of Lévi-Strauss, he likened the morganatic marriage of kings to the incestuous marriage of commoners, as each fails to produce alliances between social groups (Fortune 1932c). As Fortune indicates and Lévi-Strauss (1969 [1949]:488) develops, marriage is about alliances and kinship, which incest tends to negate. Although little notice seems to have been taken of this article at the time, Honigmann later remarked that “seventeen years before Lévi-Strauss” made the observation that the incest rule requires the exchange of women between families or other groups thereby integrating society, Fortune had “directly correlated the vigor with which primitive societies enforce the incest taboo in the nuclear family with the importance of marital alliances for social integration”. Furthermore, Fortune’s “phrasing of Saint Augustine’s formulation was one of the earliest recent statements of alliance theory” (1976:378).

³⁶ LSE: Malinowski Correspondence 5F, Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 24 March 1931.

That same month, when Alfred Kroeber reviewed Mead's *Growing up in New Guinea*, he questioned "the paucity of ethnographic data" and asked: "Is the providing of this always to be left to a Kramer or a Fortune?" (Kroeber 1931:250). However, Fortune had not yet published any of his ethnological works. Mead's response to this coupling of Fortune's name with "Kramer" was swift. She wrote to Kroeber stating that this remark inferred that Fortune's work was inferior to hers, and the linking of his name with Kramer "whose work is unspeakably bad" was a "disapproving prejudgment of Fortune's work"³⁷. Kroeber's reply reiterated his query regarding Mead's of lack of evidence and his positive view of Fortune's abilities as an ethnographer:

There was certainly no intent or afterthought of a slam when I spoke of a "Kramer or a Fortune". I had no idea that Kramer's book was anything but good standard ethnography. I have talked enough with your husband about his work to have no shadow on my faith that he is an excellent ethnographer. Please read the review again, and I believe you will find that the normal reader is almost certain to take the allusion in the sense in which it was meant - namely that you have not in your two books given all the evidence which the ethnographer wants.³⁸

Radcliffe-Brown was in New York around this time and met often with the Fortunes, much to the amusement of Mead. Reo was concerned that Radcliffe-Brown should be well looked after, as Mead wrote to Benedict:

Life with ARB is pretty peaceful, although it is a shame not to have someone to share my amusement over his and Reo's behaviour. Friday we had him to dinner, Saturday we proposed the theatre late in the evening and he declined, Sunday he came to breakfast and stayed to a three o'clock restaurant dinner. Monday was class and after class Reo asked him about lunch but he had an engagement at the faculty club. Monday night at five, Reo began to fuss, he knew Brown was miserable all alone, he knew that in order to be wooed he would refuse

³⁷ LOC: MMP C3 Mead to Kroeber, letter dated 1 May 1931.

³⁸ LOC: MMP Q12 Kroeber to Mead, letter dated 14 May 1931.

invitations and then, unable to stand his loneliness curse in a terrible bitterness at his own pride and stupidity etc. etc. Reo fussed all through dinner, and finally at 8:30 Brown telephoned, WOULD we come up and talk, he didn't feel like work. Great sigh of relief from Reo. It wasn't going to be so terrible after all, and he added "You know I feel about Brown the way one feels about a girl - He ought to be looked after all the time".³⁹

Mead and Fortune attended Radcliffe-Brown's classes, where Reo protested at any criticism of Boas, and both joined in debate over whether it "was fair to judge Boas by Lowie, Kroeber, Sapir, Goldenweiser and Radin". Apparently Reo kept pointing out that Mead and Benedict had both been trained by Boas, with Benedict being "much better than the above-mentioned five", and suggested that Boas stood for "all sorts of things they never got"⁴⁰. Despite these differences of opinion, Radcliffe-Brown was delighted to spend time with the Fortunes and after they returned to New Guinea he wrote thanking them for their kind hospitality. He also read the proofs of Reo's Omaha work and stated how pleased he was with it. He wrote to Mead:

I have been reading the proofs of Reo's monograph on the Omaha and am very pleased with it. Please offer him my congratulations. I do hope that by this time he knows that I do regard him as one of the very few first-class anthropologists round the world. You see he has done so much better than some of us ever expected he would, having in mind his original hardly adequate training and his apparently very firm attachment to certain preconceptions. Haddon had been a little doubtful as to how Reo would turn out and was very pleased when I told him my high opinion of the New Guinea work and Boas's approval of the Omaha.⁴¹

³⁹ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 8 July 1931.

⁴⁰ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 8 July, 1931.

⁴¹ LOC: MMP B15 Radcliffe-Brown to Mead, letter dated 2 November 1931.

Fortune continued working on his Manus manuscript, “correcting, enlarging, cutting, changing continuously on your [Benedict’s] notes”.⁴² With publication of *Sorcerers* already assured, he was keen to complete his Manus work as Kegan Paul (Routledge) had requested the manuscript for consideration. By the time they were ready to sail, his chapter giving a general sketch of the religion was already in the hands of Firth, awaiting publication in the journal *Oceania*. After three field trips and with three publications in hand, it was now time to receive some of the kudos he so much desired. Malinowski was certainly impressed by the Dobu work, and congratulated Fortune on a “most magnificent piece of work . . . It really is an A.1. piece of field-work, and in spirit as well as in body of documentation and method, a true child of the Functional School at its best”⁴³.

In *Omaha Secret Societies* Fortune presaged a sophisticated ethnohistorical approach by critiquing the work of earlier ethnologists of the Omaha people. The foremost authorities on Omaha culture were, at that time, the Episcopalian missionary James Dorsey, who worked under the auspices of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, and Alice Fletcher and Francis La Flesche⁴⁴. Fortune integrated the texts of these authorities with his own ethnographic research to present a more comprehensive exposition of the working of the then almost defunct Omaha secret societies. He saw them as being inadequately described by previous researchers, stating:

⁴² LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 6 July 1931.

⁴³ Yale Malinowski 1/3/200 Malinowski to Fortune, letter dated 16 July 1931.

⁴⁴ All three were at various times members of the Anthropological Association of Washington. Alice Fletcher also was President of the Woman’s Anthropological Society of America (1893) and President of the Anthropological Association of Washington (1903-1904).

The fact that both the Rev. J. O. Dorsey and Miss Alice Fletcher and Dr. Francis La Flesche treat the secret societies without adequate understanding or adequate knowledge of form or idea, is no comment upon their treatment of other aspects of Omaha culture, for the reason that Omaha retentiveness reaches its deepest on the subject (Fortune 1932:3).

Previous descriptions of the secret societies had, in Fortune's opinion, been amorphous and lacking in "unifying theological ideas behind their forms". Consequently, he found pleasure in "working out the forms and ideas" while not being "excessively tender in [his] handling of the previous authorities". It was this which presumably prompted Lowie (1933a:532) to regard Fortune's references to his predecessors as sounding "offensively arrogant". Fortune believed that his study demonstrated Omaha culture as "well integrated, tight formed, not amorphous in the slightest" (p.2).

In his introduction, Fortune indicated his key findings:

Omaha Society was stratified into four classes: priests, chiefs, doctors and doctoring societies and non-privileged people . . . [that] while priestly function was nominally a gentile privilege, actually it was a right of a particular patrilineal line within the nominally privileged gens (p.1).

He further demonstrated that "rights to membership in the secret societies were determined by title in hereditary disposal" and argued that while "social theory is democratic, social practice is aristocratic. This divergence between theory and social fact refutes the previous authorities claims that the democratic theory was authoritative" (p.6).

After providing a "general sketch of Omaha society" gleaned from these previous authors, Fortune began his study proper with details of the sacred amongst the Omaha. We are informed that there are four important doctoring societies, each "named after its own supernatural patron" and each with its own individual method

of curing (p.25). Grizzly Bear and Rattlesnake were combined as one society with Grizzly Bear practitioners treating limb swelling, rheumatism and local limb pains, while the Rattlesnakes treated stomach disorders. Both used similar methods involving sucking of substances from the body. Meanwhile the Ghost Society treated delirium, madness or unconsciousness, paralysis and strokes, and the effects of dreams of the dead, while Buffalo Society treated open wounds and the Water Monster Society dealt with all other ailments.

The fundamental concepts, *wakaⁿda*, *xube*, *bathoⁿ* and *noⁿka* provide the means to “understand how the trick using doctoring societies maintained their secrets and the faith of their members” (p.35). *Wakaⁿda* is a term of address used for all things explicitly treated as having supernatural properties. *Xube* is the descriptive term corresponding to the term of address, *wakaⁿda*. *Bathoⁿ* equates to smell, or odour, and while not a sacred concept in this sense, it is when applied to “the essence in food offerings to ghosts that ghosts eat from the offerings, the influence in a medicine bundle, the influence in a menstruating woman, and the influence in a doctor” (p.29). *Noⁿka*, according to Fortune, means “supernatural punishment for deliberate irregular behaviour” (p.35.) This latter concept evoked so much fear that Fortune “had to put up a very determined attack on the problem to avoid going away empty handed”, something which he regarded as “a most remarkable fact and a most extraordinary tribute to Omaha retentiveness, respect for the sacred and fear of *noⁿka*” which prevented the exposure of the deception involved in curing practices (p.36).

As mentioned above, the secret societies were all but extinguished, with the exception of the Water Monster Society, and as such Fortune drew on material recorded in older sources, quoting freely and annotating his quotes with frequent footnotes. His textual analysis demonstrates that the fear of *noⁿka* inhibited the

informants of these writers so that when Dorsey notes that Two Crows denies it⁴⁵, Fortune regarded this as being an “ordinary illustration of the fear of *noⁿka*” (p.59).

His own experience is related through two accounts of visions which he obtained. The first informant “wanted money and . . . yielded to temptation with many qualms” (p.65) and soon after there was a death in his family. Fortune did not see this man again except on one occasion when “he came, drunk, to tell me how he had been turned out from his home . . . others had come telling me that his relationship to me had brought *noⁿka* on him” (p.65). As with his previous work on Dobu and Manus Island, Fortune once again demonstrated the power of fear of supernatural retribution should members of a culture fail to honour the sacred codes. However, Fortune’s second informant lacked an “understanding of the attitude of belief in anything, other than drinking, gambling and dancing” (ibid.) and his telling of another man’s vision was done with no respect for the old code, of which he knew little. Consequently he showed none of the fear that was observed in others.

Each of these visions related to the Buffalo Society and the essential facts remain the same viz: “a buffalo blowing water from its nostrils with a prismatic splitting of light into colours in the spray ‘like a rainbow’”.(p.72). Despite its simplicity, it remained a great secret within a society based on power and privilege invested in those who possess such visions. Visions, dreams and all hallucinatory experiences are regarded similarly regardless of whether the experience is perceived while awake or asleep and Fortune’s attention to these phenomena is considered by Lohmann (2007, 2009:288) as having “secured him a recognized place in the ethnology of dreaming”.

⁴⁵Fortune footnotes this (p.59 fn1). In the text he is quoting from Dorsey (1884)

The Water Monster Society was the only doctoring society still in existence during Fortune's visit and it is from this group that he provides the most detailed report. Closely aligned with the Midewiwin or Shell Society, the Water Monster Society was drawn from members of other doctoring societies. However, the Midewiwin is restricted to Chiefs, is non-doctoring and conforms "more closely to the Midewiwin as it is described in other tribes". The Water Monster Society, on the other hand, is a "compromise between, old local practice and introduced Midewiwin practice" (p.88). As Fortune states:

Thus it comes about that the chief's non-doctoring Midewiwin and the doctoring Water Monster Society look very much alike in Omaha; their sorcery powers are very similarly conceived; their formal dance rituals likewise. But doctors use sorcery differently from chiefs for different ends and as extortioners. Agreeing with this the Water Monster Society is a very aberrant Midewiwin form in some shamanistic accretions or alterations (p.88-9).

Initiation into these societies is by transference of a man's "sacred arrow which it is believed by everyone, he has in his stomach". This results in the death of the transferor and is done in complete privacy between the two concerned. However, outsiders may be 'initiated' into the society for a fee, but do not receive the sacred arrow without which they cannot doctor. In this respect, true initiation and membership are entirely hereditary. White et al.(2008:19), subsequently tested the idea that Omaha secret societies were class specific and concurred that "Fortune's statement as to a class-like structure in the secret societies appears confirmed for the principal hereditary societies".

Fortune's informants appear in the main to be socially and economically disenfranchised. In discussing individual accounts of religious experience, he noted that a series of accounts came from one informant. "He was a very old man . . . he was in no sacred society and had no interest in concealing the facts except fear of

no"ka and his immediate needy straits cast out fear to a large extent" (p135). Another, Eagle Wing was offended when Fortune revealed that he knew the trickery behind shell projectiles, "but he was needy and in want of money" (p.141) . It was only when Fortune related his own past history and why he wanted to learn Omaha custom that the man conceded.

The lack of proof-reading and an index, are major problems with the published work. Clearly Columbia University Press was eager to see the work published but there are a number of instances of misspelling and incomplete sentences sometimes make it appear incomplete and unintelligible.

Robert Lowie was critical of the study, countering many of Fortune's statements and making light of them. While accepting the validity of hereditary transmission, he was, "unable to hail its formulation as an epoch-making discovery" (1933a:530). He considered Fortune's new interpretation as definitely formulating "the significance of hereditary transmission of privilege without establishing a 'prevailing aristocratic' social practice", but suggested that this conclusion would only be surprising to "those who persist in viewing Southern Siouans as culturally closely connected with say, the Crow and the Assiniboine" (ibid). As to Fortune's writing style and use of language, Lowie suggested that:

Words may bear so different a connotation in Dr. Fortune's mind from their usual associations that natural interpretations of what he says are unfair to his meaning. However that may be, his references to his predecessors *sound* offensively arrogant (1933a:532).

Barbara Aitken, whose interest was in the social-psychological contexts of North American religion, was generally positive in her review, but felt that: "Those who have heard Dr Fortune speak on anthropological matters will be disappointed to

find him not only writing in the American anthropological jargon (“retentiveness” for secretiveness, and so forth) but even exaggerating its obscurity” (1934:366).

Daryll Forde thought it “of great value to have, even from the ethnological ruins, a careful study among a people well known for the elaboration of their ritual”. He argued that Fortune’s psychological approach allowed him to demonstrate “a point of great importance, namely, the fundamental cleavage between theory and practice in the mode of entry to the societies” (Forde 1934:28).

Kroeber, however wrote to Fortune challenging his tendency to focus on the “black side of things”:

You do have a faculty for seeing, sharply, the black side of things. I think if you could balance this with occasional emphasis on other colours a wider public might follow you. I suspect that you depress or frighten more readers than you suspect, even among ethnologists⁴⁶

Thirty years later, George Devereux was to develop this thinking: “Fortune appears to have a special affinity for the glum side of cultures. Hence among the Dobuans he studied mainly the (glum) *manifest*, and among the Omaha the (glum) *latent* side of the culture” (Devereux 1967:214). In comparing these two works, Devereux notes the different reception each received from anthropologists, with *Sorcerers* being accepted as standard ethnography, while the Omaha work caused “some consternation . . . since, until then, Omaha culture was considered to be an average Southern Plains culture”(p.223). But his point nevertheless, is that Fortune’s Omaha work was “meticulously correct” and important “precisely because it highlights some of its previously neglected aspects”. While Fortune may not have set out to write a corrective to existing monographs of the Omaha, Devereux thought that without this work Helen Codere (1956) may not have challenged Benedict’s portrayal

⁴⁶ BANC CU23/57 Kroeber to Fortune, letter dated 28 October 1937.

of the Kwakiutl as paranoid and megalomaniac. With re-studies and correctives becoming more common, he argued that “Fortune’s seminal contribution to the initiating of this new policy should not be forgotten, no matter how great (or small) a role his personal penchant for the night-side of cultures may have played in it” (1967:224).

More recently, R. H. Barnes (2005 [1984]) challenged Fortune’s assertion that Omaha social theory was democratic while its social practice was aristocratic. Barnes claimed that Fortune failed to consult “published and unpublished historical records and therefore ignores the issues they raise”, and that “Fortune’s investigation is far from adequate” (Barnes 2005:43). However, Barnes later remarked that unpublished Dorsey manuscripts “reveal two dictionaries of Omaha and Ponca names . . . which correspond precisely to that described by Fortune”, and wondered aloud “whether Fortune knew of, had access to, and used Dorsey’s manuscripts” (p.105).

O’Shea and Ludwickson (1992:318), recognised that major contradictions exist within the early ethnographic accounts. They utilised nineteenth-century historical documents “to infer, independently of ethnographic accounts, the rules that governed Omaha chiefly office during the nineteenth century”. While finding Fortune’s list of chiefly rankings flawed and not accurate in depicting “the composition of the sitting Council of Seven Chiefs”, their ultimate conclusion actually supports Fortune’s claim that chieftainship was hereditary (p.333, 345).

Chapter Six

Madness on the Sepik

As George Stocking states, "If the history of anthropology were to be made into a television mini-series, one of its 'great moments' would surely be set on the Sepik River early in 1933" (1986:3). Stocking is of course referring to the intellectual debate involving self-analysis of the participants and analysis of the cultures they were seeing as anthropologists. However, although Fortune had adjusted somewhat to sharing his wife with Ruth Benedict, he was to be further strained by Mead's attraction to Gregory Bateson. Mead was no longer happy with monogamy and felt it was time for Fortune to embrace her polyamory. Illness, personal tensions, and intellectual disagreements were to result in the curtailment of fieldwork and a return to Sydney where each went their own way

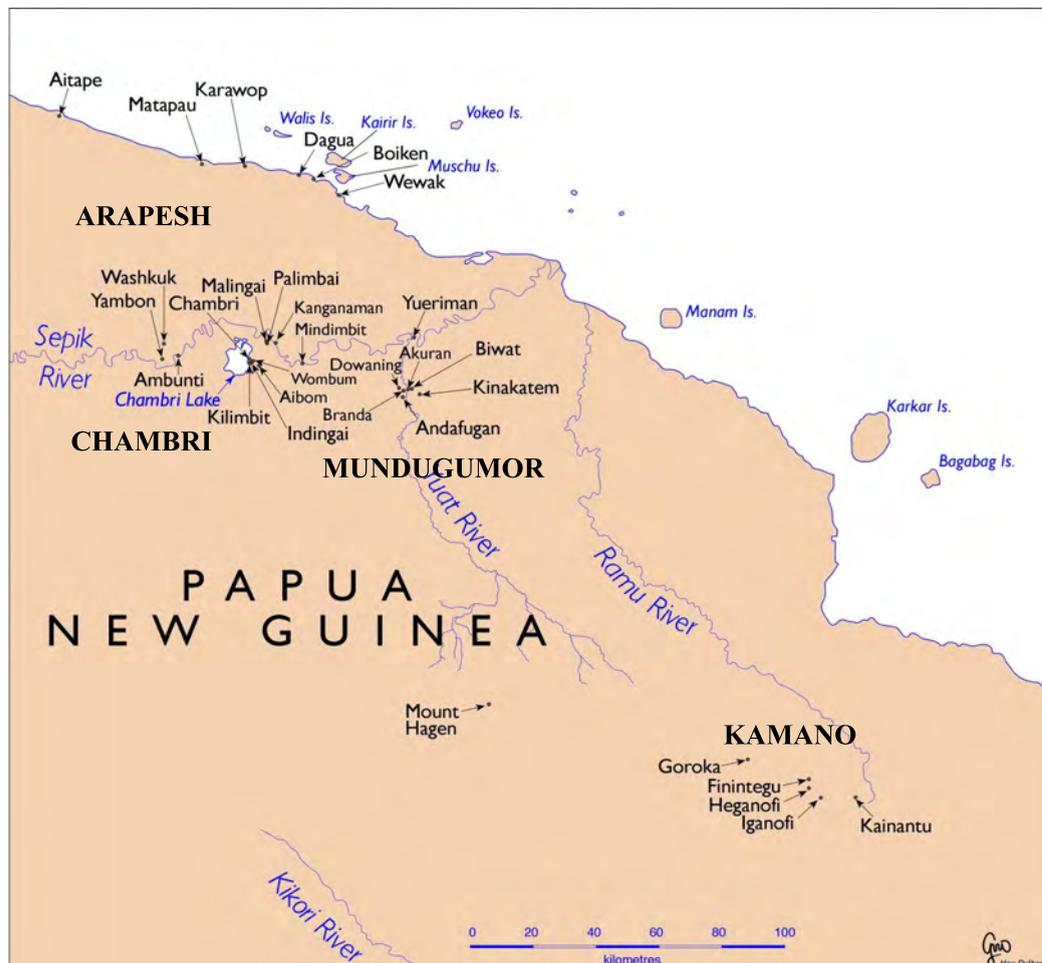


Figure 15 Map of PNG indicating research sites - Arapesh, Mundugumor and Chambri along with Fortune's later sites among the Kamano.

Dr Reo Fortune and Dr Margaret Mead sailed from New York on August 22 for two years field work on the mainland of New Guinea and in the adjacent islands. Dr Mead will make collections and pursue ethnographic researches on behalf of the American Museum of Natural History; Dr Fortune is working under the auspices of the Columbia University Council in the Social Sciences (Anon1931:633)

And so began their final field trip together. However, this trip may never have eventuated had Mead been unable to provide the initial three thousand dollars which allowed Benedict to secure funding for Reo through the Columbia University Council for Research in the Social Sciences. Presumably with the approval of Fortune, Mead had arranged that \$3000 of their savings would be offered to Columbia to secure a research grant. Using her father's solicitor, she arranged for this to be an anonymous grant and that, should the matter come to light, her father would be known as "the anonymous donor".¹ In this manner she was able to acquire a further \$3000 from Columbia to fund their research.

According to Mead, writing one month after their arrival in the field, their itinerary from New York ran as follows:

New York to Panama, Panama to New Zealand, New Zealand to Sydney, Sydney to Madang, where we had to change boats and stayed with the district officer, a model civil servant, a gentleman and a catholic, then from Madang to Wiwiak, going up the Sepik River as far as Marienburg and sleeping one night amid the cannibal mosquitos, a week at the government station at Wiwiak, reading reports and making maps, then by pinnace to Karawop, a plantation owned by the Cobbs. He is an Englishman, a Leeds University man trained as a wool buyer and now making the best of the price of copra by recruiting.²

¹ LOC: MMP Box A4 Mead to Edward Sherwood Mead, letter dated 16 October 1930.

² LOC: MMP N92 Field B bulletins: Mead: Friday 1 January, 1932. Although Mead consistently uses the name Wiwiak, other refer to it as Wiwak or Wewak. For this reason I have used Mead's spelling.

During their stopover in New Zealand they once more took time to catch up with Reo's family, where discussions were held regarding the further education of Reo's brother, Barter. It was decided that Barter should attend Victoria University College with financial assistance from Reo and Margaret. Tommy Hunter, who had been Reo's professor at Victoria, advised Barter to try for a scholarship and had checked out the regulations for the Lizzie Rathbone Scholarship which was awarded to scholars under the age of 19. The award was for students doing history and English, and Barter felt reasonably confident he would receive it. However, he was unsuccessful and continued to rely on Reo and Margaret.³

Upon their arrival in Sydney, Fortune wrote to Reginald Halligan of the Prime Minister's Department in Canberra seeking an interview with Mr McLaren⁴ and the Prime Minister to discuss their proposed research. He also enclosed a letter from E. W. Chinnery, "commending us to your good graces".⁵ McLaren, secretary to the Prime Minister, responded by advising that an appointment had been scheduled for them to meet the Honourable J. B. Chifley, Minister for Defence. At this meeting, which both Reo and Margaret attended, they asked if their work could be facilitated "particularly in regard of customs courtesies, transport arrangements and collection of specimens." The outcome of the interview, conducted on 20 October, was a letter of introduction to the Acting Administrator at New Guinea in which favourable consideration was sought from his office. Subsequently a cable was sent to the

³ LOC: MMP R4 B. Fortune to R. Fortune, letter dated 5 October 1931.

⁴ (Sir) John Gilbert McLaren was Secretary to the Prime Minister's Department and the Department of External Affairs 1929-32.

⁵ NAA A518/1/5 R.Fortune to Reginald Halligan, letter dated 9 October 1931.

Administrator advising that Dr and Mrs Fortune were leaving Sydney on 28 October aboard the *Macdhui*.⁶

To occupy their time between arriving in Sydney and leaving for New Guinea they spent time at the University of Sydney, where Mead formed a very unfavourable opinion of Raymond Firth. Firth had succeeded Radcliffe-Brown to the Chair in Anthropology. According to Mead, he was “an impossible little ex-Methodist bounder, petty pup in office . . . He’s just awful, although a pretty boy, with his mask on”. On hearing that Firth hoped to go to America, Mead wrote to Benedict, “If you see any sign of his coming to America, Stop it [sic]. He regards Lowie as just pitiful and of course Kroeber is beneath contempt.”⁷ At first Firth was rather unhelpful regarding equipment. Although Fortune had already made arrangements through Radcliffe-Brown to borrow equipment from the University, Firth apparently disavowed any knowledge of this. In the ensuing dispute, Fortune told Hogbin how he felt. Hogbin in turn repeated this back to Firth who suddenly changed his tune. Reo also had a meeting with Henry Chapman, Treasurer of the Australian National Research Council, who, impressed by the fact that Reo had published on Dobu, told Firth to supply him with any new equipment he needed and to make available whatever extra field funds he may need, available. Fortune then was able to purchase a new camera which was expected be returned to the ANRC when fieldwork was completed.

The trip from Sydney to Madang aboard the *Macdhui* took nearly two weeks, after which the pair had to board another smaller vessel for the two hundred and fifty

⁶ NAA A518/1/5 J.G. McLaren to Acting Administrator, letter dated 22 October 1931.

⁷ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 26 October 1931

mile trip to Wiwiak. This latter vessel, the *Durour*, was described by Mead as “a miserable little ship” and by Fortune as a “tub”. There was a ten day stay at Madang before they could board the *Durour*, during which the Fortunes stayed with the local *kiap* where Reo played tennis and Mead applauded or tinkered with her manuscript “Kinship in the Admiralty Islands”. Small administrative matters were attended to but Mead found the inaction very boring.⁸ Fortune wrote to Firth, thanking him for his assistance and advising that he and Mead had written to Boas and Wissler respectively for permission to follow the suggestion of Radcliffe-Brown that they take up Australian fieldwork the following year. Radcliffe-Brown had suggested the Ungarinyin (Ngarinyin) people of the West Kimberley region of Australia as being a suitable group for Mead to conduct research amongst, and Mead and Fortune had tentatively decided to spend half their time during their current expedition in New Guinea and the other half in Australia.⁹

On their arrival at Wiwiak, Fortune fell ill with a fever and Mead nursed him, considering it far worse for him to be ill than for herself as he had to do all the mountain climbing to select a suitable village for them to make their camp. Mead’s health too was problematic. She had been unwell for several days prior to sailing on the *Macdhui* and was soon to have her own attack of fever. Thanks to a letter of introduction from Judge Frederick Beaumont (Monty) Phillips of Rabaul, the Fortunes were invited to stay at the plantation, owned by a Mr and Mrs Cobb, which was situated at Karawop about twenty miles up the coast from Wiwiak, and it was here that Mead remained until such time as Fortune had located a suitable field site.

⁸ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 18 November 1931; LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 10 November 1931.

⁹ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 11 November 1931.

While Fortune was inland he experienced problems with his boots, resulting in blisters on his heel which stopped him travelling further. He hoped that his foot would heal so that he could go higher into the hills and make more contacts before returning to Karawop. He sent grammar notes back by messenger to Mead, who appeared to have been experiencing her own bout of fever. In the letter which accompanied the grammar notes he wrote, “Don’t bother about this if it reaches you on a fever day - or keep the messenger till you feel up to it, as the case suits”.¹⁰ While Mead makes no mention of having fever at this time, in a letter to Benedict she relates how she and Mr Cobb both experienced a bout of food poisoning which, while not serious, was nonetheless exhausting.¹¹ Reo returned from his scouting and advised that the village of Alitua, would be their field site.

It is not known exactly when Mead and Fortune decided to call its people the ‘Arapesh’, but at this time outsiders still had not imposed a name on them. The Arapesh people are a Papuan people who inhabited an area situated between Matapau and Boikin on the coast, and extended inland to the watershed of the Torricelli Mountains. By the time Mead and Fortune arrived, contact had existed for over a decade with missionaries and traders. Warfare had almost ceased to exist. As a semi-nomadic people, the Arapesh moved easily between their main hamlet and other smaller hamlets, their gardens and sago patches, as well as frequent hunting trips into the bush.

Unable to walk into the territory, Mead was laced in a hammock, strung on a pole “with banana leaves over [her] to keep out the sun and rain” and carried in, two

¹⁰ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 1931. There is no month or day but the content of the letter seems to indicate that this is during his first scouting trip as Mead did not join him at Alitua until January 1932.

¹¹ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 3 January 1932.

days and 250 carriers being needed to bring all their equipment in for them. They arrived at Alitua to find their house only partially built, so spent the next week living in a 'native house' until it was finished. Life was bliss. "We are as peaceful and placid as kittens" wrote Mead, "curled up in this comfortable house in the mountains

...

I don't know whether it is the fact that Reo is leading the language work and I am meekly following after, or because nothing strenuous has happened yet, or because it is such a peaceful culture, but anyway we are much more at peace with ourselves and the work than we have ever been before.¹²

Marriage seemed to be agreeing with Mead at this stage. Cooperating with Reo on the ethnology brought a calm and contentment that pursuing her own project may not have. Mead was usually competitive on projects but in this case appears to have appreciated the chance to share. Writing to Benedict, she stated:

This is a placid kind of pastoral existence, or rather arboreal I suppose, with birds and bats flying over the house, and the bush, and the wet dank smell of the bush at one's very door. Also the manner of work makes for peace, as I am not doing any special job at present and we can cooperate on the ethnology. The minute I start on a special problem, I suppose I shall turn defensive. . . . We have a grand time discussing this place from every angle and we never tire really of the subject or each other.¹³

At this time, there is no indication of the problems that were to arise when they reached the Chambri, and Gregory Bateson was still just another anthropologist working elsewhere in the Sepik. But by February both Mead and Fortune were finding information scarce, such that they felt they should leave in June with Reo going further up the Sepik on a collecting expedition while Mead returned to Manus to study the effect of the Catholic Mission which recently had "taken the place by

¹² LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 16 January 1932.

¹³ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 27 January 1932.

storm”. Then, after Reo had finished collecting, Mead would meet him at Rabaul and they would go to the Solomons.¹⁴

As Easter approached, the Fortunes received an invitation to join the Oakleys¹⁵ at Aitape but declined, citing Mead’s inability to walk out and the difficulties in arranging carriers to bring her out and back. Instead, Mead invited Mrs Cobb to come and visit her, as she (Mead) was obviously becoming bored: “the point I meant to make was that Mrs Cobb needn’t worry about interfering with my work because I haven’t enough to keep me busy at present. She would really be a rescuing angel”.¹⁶ Fortune was inland collecting artifacts from the Kunaie and, from the information he gathered, he decided there was no point in going further inland as there were only minor differences between them and the people they were currently with.

Sorcerers of Dobu was published in early 1932 and both Mead and Fortune waited for their copies while others received theirs. Chinnery wrote to Fortune and told him how favourable Malinowski’s introduction was. Early reviews were being forwarded to them by Mead’s mother. Even Mead’s father was impressed with the book; a letter to Reo from Margaret’s mother said “he knows you in a new way, and is delighted with the work you are doing”.¹⁷ When Reo finally received his copy in April, he immediately wrote to Malinowski thanking him for his kind introduction. Noting that Malinowski had “contest[ed] the quite unnecessary introduction of a new term, viz. ‘Marital groupings’ for the time honoured and generally accepted ‘family’”

¹⁴ LOC: MMP S3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 5 February 1932; LOC: MMP R16 Mead to Mr McAdam, letter dated 12 February 1932.

¹⁵ Mr Ward Oakley was the District Officer based at Aitape

¹⁶ LOC: MMP N92 Mead to Mr & Mrs Cobb, letter dated “We think it is Easter Sunday” 1932.

¹⁷ LOC: MMP A7 Emily Fogg Mead to Fortune, letter dated 2 January 1931. This is obviously an error of dating

(Malinowski in Fortune 1932a:xxvii), Fortune responded, “‘Family’ carries with it a feeling of solidity, permanence and patrilineal virtue that is essentially foreign to the Dobuan, who puts all his feeling of solidity and permanence into the *susu*.” He then raised the question of what ‘family’ meant anyway, suggesting that it implied both descent line and marital grouping and was therefore anthropologically confusing.¹⁸

Fortune was often away from Alitua. He visited remote hamlets to collect artifacts, spent time with villagers in their gardens, explored possible sites for further research, and generally became much more of a participant than Mead who, although she was ostensibly studying the culture and Fortune the language, was limited to the immediate area of their camp. With there never being more than twenty or thirty people living in any one place, it was difficult to actually experience first hand any ceremonial occasions. Feeling that their work was near completion, Fortune booked passage on the next sailing of the *Mirani* from Karawop to Rabaul.¹⁹ But shortly after that he went, once more, further inland. Mead recorded that Reo was “still away” on 30 April, and two weeks later when she again wrote to Benedict, that he had once more gone inland. Their plans had again changed, with their decision to move inland rather than return to Rabaul. Working in Australia was still a possibility although not certain at that time. Fortune requested from Firth, “further information about communications and field conditions” in the Kimberley area.²⁰

¹⁸ YUL: Bronislaw Malinowski Papers. Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library. Malinowski 1/3/200 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 18 April 1932.

¹⁹ LOC: MMP R16 Fortune to The Pursar S.S. *Mirani*., letter dated 21 April 1932.

²⁰ LOC:MMP N92 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 2 May 1932.

Mead claimed her personality changed according to whether Reo was present or away.

When Reo is here, I am completely simple, integrated, all focused on a point. I work through one day after the other, plan meals and enjoy them, sit and talk with Reo in the evening, sleep, all with a kind of lyric simplicity, and with an almost complete unconsciousness of self. . . . But the worst aspect of the situation - the effect Reo has on me when we are alone is the effect on my letters to you. I feel such simplicity as I am reduced to as a sort of treachery to you. . . . While with him, my relationship tends to turn in on itself, to shut out the passing scene and the complicated response. Of course when there are other people for whom I care anything at all about, I retain a fair degree of responsiveness to them. But here in the field where response to humanity and methods of ethnology are so helplessly intermingled, I seem to lose all personality, as you have known me, and become as simple as a plant, quite happy, serene, industrious and enthusiastic, but all one colour. . .²¹

The simplicity that Mead felt was to change radically within a few months, after her first meeting with Gregory Bateson, but until then she spent much of her time alone at Alitua while Reo made frequent trips inland. This time he was in Kobelen witnessing a three-day dance transaction, and then he spent time at Karawop where he experienced a bad attack of indigestion before returning to Mead with a light attack of fever. While at Karawop, Fortune made arrangements with Mr Oakley to take them up the Sepik beyond Ambunti. He also wrote to the Government Secretary, Mr Harold Page, requesting letters of introduction to the Government officials at Maireburg and Ambunti, similar to those which he had provided for the officials at Wiwiak and Aitape.

Reo went inland on his last collecting trip around 12 June, leaving Mead once more alone. This time he would be away six weeks, returning on 20 July and then leaving almost immediately to pick up stores and money which had arrived at

²¹ LOC: MMP B3 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 14 May 1932.

Karawop. Arriving back at Alitua on 3 August, he had a week with Mead before moving on to Wiwiak to make arrangements for their transportation to the Sepik.

During that week he wrote to Boas:

I have been for these months living like a gipsy over foul mountain roads and rivers, travelling light with a half nomadic people, and destroying three pairs of solid nail boots - getting culture in the only possible way. . . There's no one place to live in the district where the 'culture' operates continuously. It's carried on very active legs hither and thither in varying manifests - over goat tracks²²

Mead, it seems, was at a disadvantage being confined to the village of Alitua. However, by the end of August both Mead and Fortune had left Alitua and returned to Karawop.

Because they had been in the field for eight months, much of what was occurring in the 'outside' world reached them usually several months after the event. Reo had received few copies of reviews of his book, but no word from most of those to whom complimentary copies had been sent. Kroeber, Lowie, Wissler, Linton, Lynd and Gregory had all received copies but none took the time to write to Reo and thank him. However, Mead had received reviews of her *Growing Up in New Guinea* and one in particular struck a very sour note. C.W.M. Hart had reviewed the book for *MAN* and stated:

On the basis of these two studies [Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* and *Growing up in New Guinea*] Miss Mead has been hailed by some critics in America as one of the leading anthropologists of the day. English students on the contrary will be strongly inclined to query whether she is an anthropologist at all (Hart, 1932).

Fortune sprang to Mead's defence. In a letter to *MAN* he in turn questioned Hart's concept of anthropology, stating: " Mr. Hart has a most curious conception of anthropology, for he appears to think that it should be confined to the purely codified

²² APS: Franz Boas Collection B:B61 Fortune to Boas, letter dated 5 August 1932.

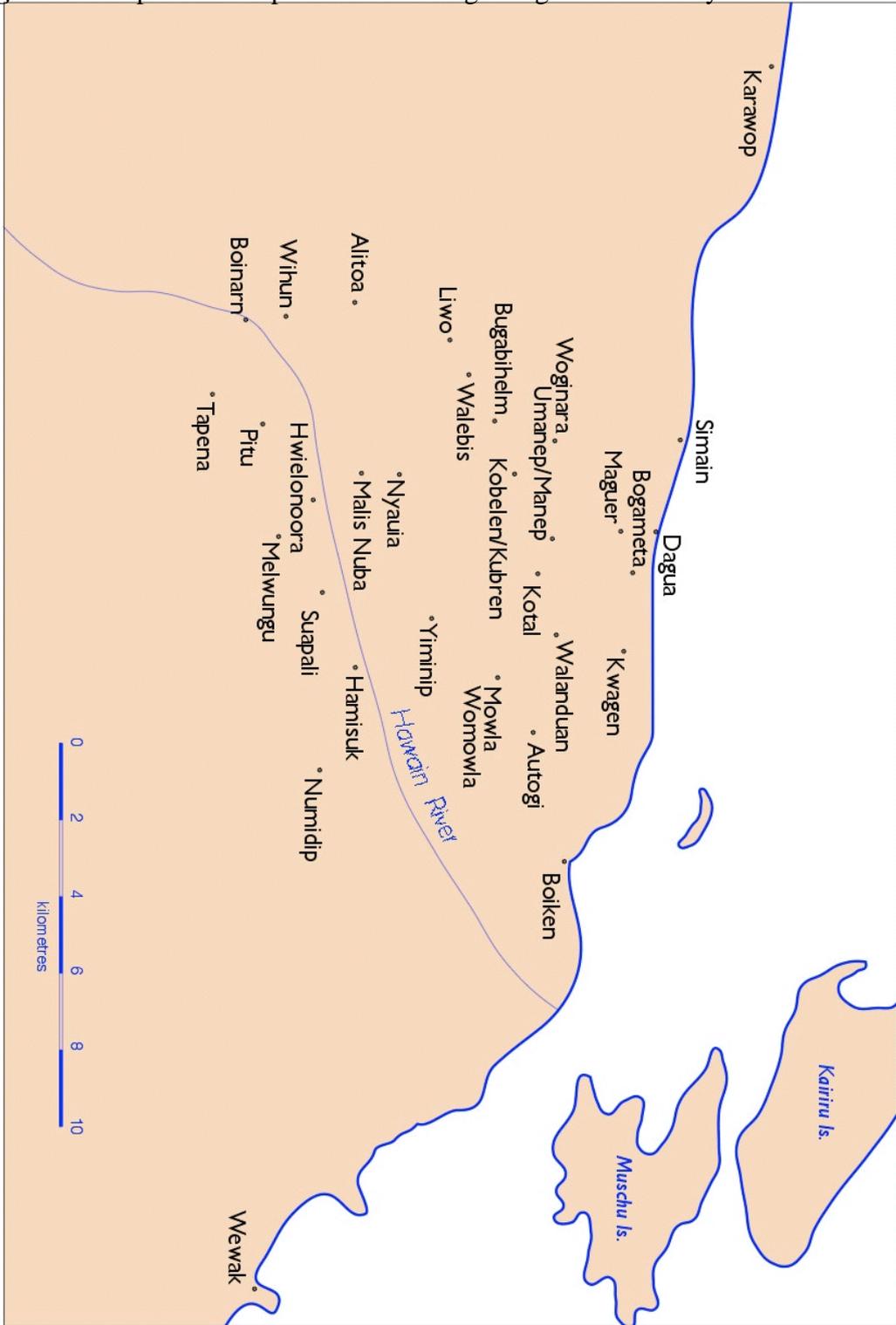
forms of culture". Hart also had taken a swing at Fortune which prompted the latter to add:

Mr. Hart further, taking licence from Dr Mead's statement that I intend to publish a formal account of Manus social structure, proceeds impertinently and without any basis for his statement except the fact that no book on Manus "has yet appeared, nor is announced by any of the publishers" to doubt whether the period of six months in a Manus village, although sufficient to produce my wife's study, was sufficient "To allow the more careful and judicial Mr. Fortune, trained in English methods of the scientific research, to give an authoritative account of the culture". Setting aside the doubtful taste of invidious comparisons between English and American training in a criticism levelled by one beneficiary of the Australian National Research Council against another, it is evident that since Mr. Hart presumes to pass judgement on me it must be on the basis of my published account of my first field trip, Sorcerers of Dobu (published in 1931), the material for which was gathered in exactly the same length of time as that which I spent in Manus - and the time of field work duly declared and published in the book, even emphasised a little by Dr. Malinowski who takes a great interest in such matters. . . It is, I might add, the first full length publication by any of the ethnologists-on-trial who have been sponsored by the Australian National Research Council. What possible grounds Mr. Hart can have for considering that, although I could produce a full account of my first Melanesian culture, I could be so lacking in the discharge of my scientific obligations as to be unable to do this for my second, it seems difficult to imagine.²³

Although this letter remained unpublished by *MAN*, it was forwarded to Hart and may go some way towards explaining the antagonism between these two when next they were to meet some ten years later. The editor of *MAN*, did, however, publish a small note reporting that he had received from Fortune and Benedict "long and detailed criticisms of the review", and said he regretted that the reviewer's "criticisms should have seemed wanting in appreciation or courtesy towards fellow-workers" (Anon 33:76).

²³ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to The Editor, *MAN*, letter dated 8 September 1932.

Figure 16 Map of the Arapesh area showing villages as named by Mead



From Karawop, the Fortune's made their way back to Wiwiak, where they waited to travel up the Sepik in search of another field site. The decision to stay on the mainland had now been made and Mead wrote to Wissler that: "Most women and older men would find this mainland work very trying. So as I am small enough to be carried about like a pig and Reo is able to handle the heavy end of it, it is more or less our duty to stay here. . ." ²⁴

In choosing their Sepik field site, the couple were fully cognisant of who else was working in the area. Benedict had advised that Richard Thurnwald was planning on returning to the Banaro ²⁵, so initial plans to study another tribe near the Banaro had been ruled out. Instead they chose the village of Kinakatem located on the Yuat River arriving there on 2 October 1932. They also knew that Gregory Bateson was two days from there and Fortune had written to him advising him of their location and future plans and criticising his recent *Oceania* paper. ²⁶ Bateson responded by agreeing with Fortune: "I agree about my Oceania Paper. I thought when I wrote it that it meant something but now I am not sure what". Bateson also remarked that he was looking forward to seeing Fortune, and even had "hoped you would be nearer. I will give you about a month to settle down and then shall inflict a visit on you." ²⁷

Also around this time Fortune received an offer of a job at Sydney for one year, as Firth was leaving for England and Hogbin was returning to the field.

²⁴ LOC: MMP Q19 Mead to Clark Wissler, letter dated 10 September 1932.

²⁵ The Banaro live along the middle course of the Keram River, East Sepik, Province, Papua New Guinea. Richard Thurnwald, a German anthropologist, studied the culture there between 1913-1915 when this area was still under German control. Despite planning to return, Thurnwald never did. see: Juillerat, B. (2000).

²⁶ This is presumably the "Social Structure of the Iatmul People of the Sepik River" published in *Oceania* 1932. Parts i and ii *Oceania* 2:245-291; part iii *Oceania* 2:401-453

²⁷ LOC: MMP R4 Bateson to Fortune, letter dated 10 October 1932.

A.P.Elkin, who had conducted fieldwork in the Kimberleys, Western Australia, under Radcliffe-Brown was to remain in charge, but there was a need for a replacement lecturer. Fortune's draft reply indicates that if there were two positions and these were offered to him and Margaret then it might be worth considering, but as it stood it was not acceptable, although this was not in his actual reply to Firth. Instead he wrote, "Regarding a job for 1933, probably under Elkin of course I am not interested. I like Elkin well enough but I would not be particularly advanced as acting subordinate to an acting lecturer".²⁸ But his reply to Elkin was more prudent.

I regret that I was not able to work as your off-sider next year; but I am in the middle of a field trip and I would not have considered any appointment of a year only, however desirable, under the circumstances. I would have had to return field funds and relinquish a field trip - not being able for certain reasons to entertain hope of retaking it up after laying it aside. So much for that.²⁹

Some twelve years later Fortune was to state that the reason he turned down the position at Sydney was because Margaret refused to live there.³⁰ There is probably an element of truth in this, as Mead had her position at the Museum of Natural History to return to, and presumably would have been loath to resign this, given that Reo's salary would have been around just \$US1400³¹. In addition, it would have meant her remaining miles from Benedict, whom she was apparently missing very much.

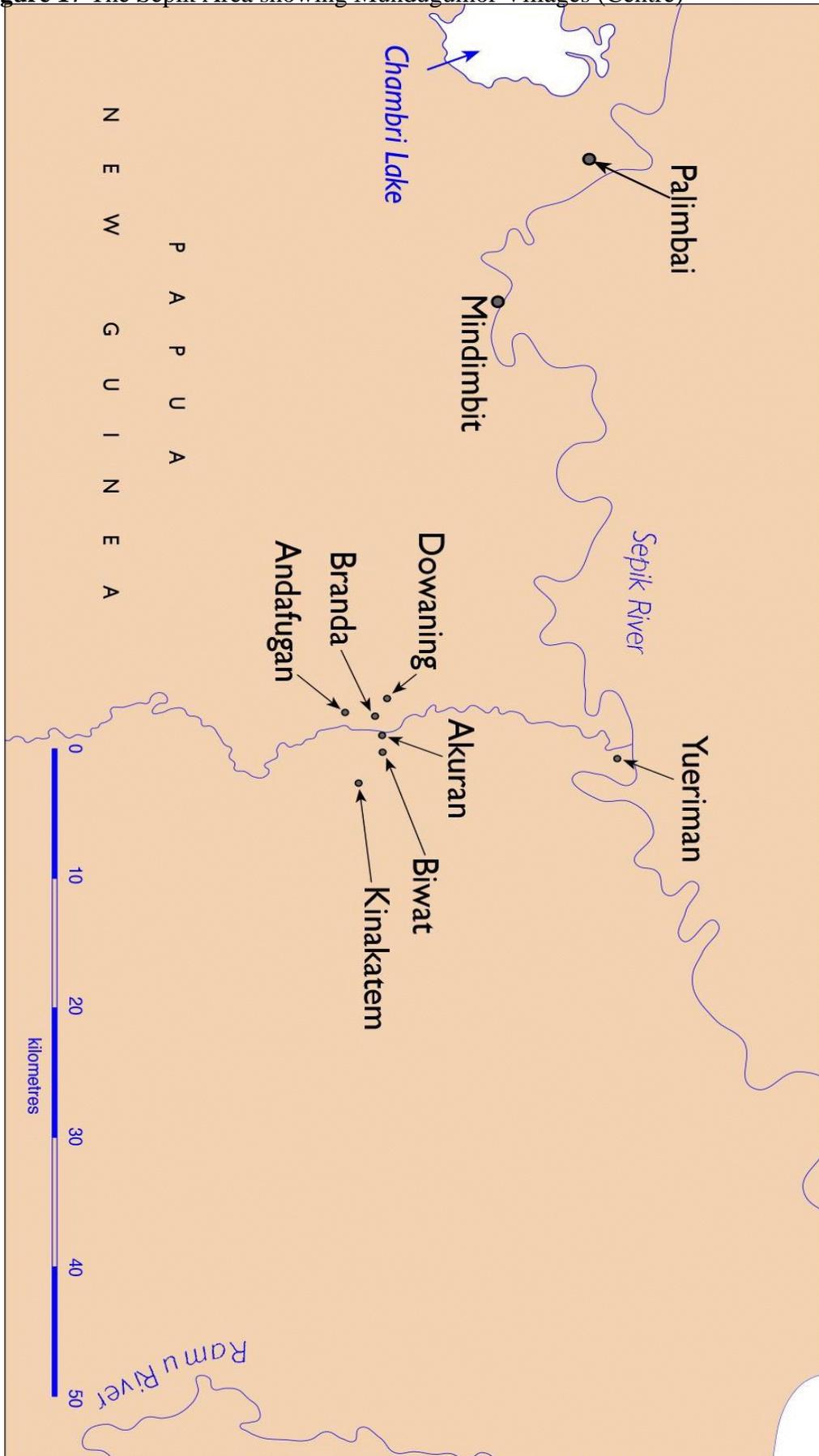
²⁸ LOC: MMP R16 Draft letter undated; ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: Fortune to Firth, letter dated 17 October 1932.

²⁹ University of Sydney Archives and Records Management P130: series 40:item 44 box 158. Personal Archives of A. P. Elkin, Fortune to Elkin, letter dated 22 November 1932

³⁰ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: Reo Fortune to Eileen Fortune letter dated 16 March 1948.

³¹ Mead records an exchange rate of approximately £1 = \$US3.50 and Fortune had been offered a salary of £400 for the year teaching in Sydney. If the position had become a longer one, Mead may have been forced to resign her position at the Museum leaving her without an income.

Figure 17 The Sepik Area showing Mundugumor Villages (Centre)



Mead was in the habit of writing detailed letters with multiple carbon copies which she sent to friends and it was these “Bulletins” which provide the only description of their new fieldsite at Kinakatem, amongst the people known as the Mundugumor. “It’s a pretty enough place, a swift flowing river about two blocks wide, with high grassy banks and a few palms”. Mosquitoes were “the most amazing determined starving crew imaginable”, and crocodiles made the river a dangerous place, especially after dark. The natives were, by all accounts, agreeable but Mead suspected they were equally nasty, going in for “cannibalism, head hunting, infanticide, incest, avoidance and joking relationships, adultery, and biting lice in half with their teeth.”³² A number of the young men aged around twenty had supposedly partaken of human flesh, as cannibalism had been prohibited only recently in this area.

Life among the Mundugumor was not easy for the newcomers. Tensions between Mead and Fortune rose as both experienced fever, and lack of communication made for mistakes. Fortune had apparently decided that he would leave the language to Mead, but she was, by comparison, a poor linguist. “Her ear for hearing sounds and pronunciation was less than keen, and despite her consistency and methodical nature in other areas, her attempts at consistent spellings were inadequate” (McDowell, Mead and Fortune 1991:12). In spite of this, Mead described the language as “totally lacking in Malay roots, and contain[ing] some phonetic complications reminiscent of Alitua, but it is ridiculously simple. And while Alitua has proved that a difficult language can be learned fairly quickly, I am glad of having

³² LOC: MMP N92 Field Bulletins From Margaret Mead, Series IV Bulletin I

such a simple one”.³³ But, also, Mead subsequently pointed to a growing distance between herself and Fortune such that “if he had not drawn so rigid a dividing line between his work and mine, we would have been able to put the material together much sooner” (Mead 1972:205).

There is nothing in her letters to indicate that Fortune was anything but a loving husband until the arrival of Gregory Bateson on the scene. It is only in her autobiography, *Blackberry Winter* (1972), written forty years after the event, that she alludes to specific marital problems and this is possibly to justify her subsequent involvement with Bateson. However, this does not necessarily mean these did not occur. Fortune’s stoic approach to difficulties may have led him to be less than attentive to Mead and, as in most marriages, problems arose from time to time. Perhaps chief among their problems was the fact that Mead found it hard to adapt to a monogamous relationship. While Fortune was aware of, and tolerated, Mead’s relationship with Benedict, he was also aware of her dalliances with other men. In communicating with Benedict, Mead confided to her older lover that he “has no thought of grudging you your place in my soul, no [thought] of grudging physical love to us. He’s simply and realistically concerned with how it will work.” Bateson would be another matter altogether.³⁴

Mead found it almost impossible to do much with the women and the children, instead concentrating on kinship, economics and material culture, while Fortune worked on incest, war, cannibalism, the house tamperans, residence and theft of

³³ LOC: MMP N92 Mead to Boas, letter undated at Kinakatem.

³⁴ LOC: MMP Mead to Benedict, letter dated 9 May 1929.

women. In a letter to Boas,³⁵ Mead predicted that their time among the Mundugumor would be brief; and so it was. By mid December they were ready to go to Ambunti, where they spent Christmas, and where Mead finally was to meet Gregory Bateson. Their plans remained in a state of flux. One minute they considered going back to New Zealand for a break; then it was a trip through China and Japan before returning to Sydney and possible fieldwork in Australia. But the meeting with Bateson, and the Christmas party at Ambunti, were to change everything.

Ambunti had been established as a base camp by the colonial authorities in 1924. Situated 245 miles from the mouth of the Sepik, it proved an ideal place from which patrols could be sent out to stamp out head-hunting and gradually pacify the region. According to Townsend (1933), within twelve months of its founding it was no longer deemed necessary to continue patrols in force, and armed constables working in pairs became the norm. But, even though head-hunting had been suppressed, antagonism toward white intruders remained for some time.

The Fortunes left their camp at Kinakatem and waited overnight in the village of Yueriman at the mouth of the Yuat, where it joined the Sepik River, for the boat to take them to Ambunti. Along the route the vessel stopped at Kanganaman, which was the Iatmul village where Bateson was working. It is hard to determine who was the more overjoyed at having someone to talk anthropology with. Mead was certainly delighted with this new man and may have felt a little left out when Fortune and Bateson sat up all night talking, while she was left to entertain the patrol officer who was accompanying them to Ambunti. Though Mead describes Bateson as “six feet four of slender beauty”, others were not so appreciative of his physical appearance.

³⁵ LOC: MMP P84 Mead to Boas, letter dated 2 December 1932.

An unnamed Australian anthropologist, allegedly called Bateson “the most physically unattractive man I have ever known” (Howard 1984:154). However, it also appears that Bateson did appeal to many women.

Gregory Bateson³⁶ was the son of William Bateson, professor of genetics at Cambridge University. He had met Fortune briefly while they both were at Cambridge in 1926, but whereas Fortune appeared “unsophisticated and roughly masculine”, Bateson had an aura and the behaviour of an aristocrat. Bateson was already studying anthropology with plans underway to conduct fieldwork in New Guinea; Haddon had suggested he study one of the tribes on the Sepik River. Despite missing each other in 1928 when the Fortunes were on Manus, all were aware of each others’ presence in the Sepik. Bateson had returned to England in 1930, where he took lodgings for a time at the Half Moon Pub, owned by Noel Teulon Porter, intending to write up his early work on the Iatmul. According to Banner (2003), Bateson had come under the influence of Porter while still a student at Cambridge. Porter had a “gift for conversation and his knowledge about sex attracted Cambridge undergraduates to him for information about birth control and counselling about sexuality”. Bateson may have been, at one time, his lover (Banner 2003:321ff). When he returned to the Sepik he took with him Elizabeth Brown, twice married, “a warm, tough little pagan of about 30-40”; but Bett, as she was known, became ill en route and “stopped for an operation and finally went off with another man”³⁷. A younger woman, Betty Stevenson Cobbold, known as Steve, followed Bateson to

³⁶ For a Bio graphy of Bateson see Lipset, D. 1980. Gregory Bateson: Legacy of a Scientist.

³⁷ LOC:MMP S4 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 26 December 1932.

Sepik and also became ill, then left on the next available boat to return to Australia. Now he and the Fortunes were finally in the same place at the same time.

The Christmas party at Ambunti, hosted by the District Officer E. D. Robinson, known affectionately as “Robbie” or “Sepik Robbie”, was an almost all-male affair with Mead and another woman the only females present in a party of eighteen. Food was largely forgotten and alcohol flowed freely; when the beer ran out the men cracked open a case of champagne which a party of gold prospectors had left behind to celebrate with should they find their elusive quarry. Fortune apparently got drunk - something he had never done before - and Mead was repulsed. Bateson had arranged to take them up to Washkuk, about 6 hours away, but they ended up at a village called Yambon³⁸ where they decided to remain over night. Fortune slept intermittently while Mead and Bateson talked and smoked cigarettes. Mead recounts this night in a letter to Benedict:

That evening - with Reo still not himself quite - the natives warned us to sit up all night in fear of an attack - by ghosts they said but it seemed serious. They hung up lamps all around the house and sat up themselves. So we spent the night with loaded revolvers sitting in a big net with blazing lights and sentinels out. Reo dozed off and on. Gregory and I smoked and he woke once just as Gregory was handing me a cigarette - That was all - but he got a sort of vision out of it, brought it up the next morning in the canoe. I thought I was telling him how things stood but he still wasn't sober enough to really quite know what was going on - it was the combination of sleepiness and the after effects of alcohol.³⁹

Mead found her personality returning. She was no longer the placid creature who had written to Benedict feeling that her simplicity was a betrayal. Instead now

³⁸ Mead often spells village names differently: e.g. Yambon is spelt Jambon in some letters and Yambon in others; Wewak is sometimes Wiwiak or Wiwak; Yueriman is Yuaramo.

³⁹ LOC: MMP S4 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 30 December 1932. For more on the letters from this time, see Caffrey and Francis 2006.

she had the company of another who stimulated her. Perhaps the situation reminded her of Paris and the South of France, where Cressman and Benedict had become secondary to her burgeoning romance with Fortune. This time, though, it was Fortune who was taking a secondary place. Mead was a master of manipulation, having practised the art since childhood, but had to play her hand carefully if she wanted to keep Fortune and have Bateson too. Mead delighted in her ability to manipulate people and relationships and had demonstrated her skills numerous times. For example, in getting her own way over Samoa, she played her father off against Boas by suggesting that Boas was bullying her to study American Indians instead of letting her go somewhere interesting. As a result Boas gave in to the charges of bullying and Mead's father offered her the money for a world trip. "When both Boas and my father let me have my way, I was simply gleeful" (Mead 1972:131).

Leaving Yambon, the trio travelled on to Washkuk but decided it was too much like Alitoa so returned to Kanganaman, where they remained for the duration of a 'singsing', after which Bateson took the Fortunes in his canoe to the edges of what is now known as Lake Chambri where they established their own camp. This whole area of the Sepik is a flood plain, created by the overflowing of tributaries of the Sepik River, dotted with islands among channels, some of which are man-made. The terrain varies according to seasonal patterns, with channels opening and closing according to the rise and fall of water levels. Bateson at some stage moved from Kanganaman to Aibom Island, a cluster of hamlets an hour or so away from the Chambri, which enabled him to visit at frequent intervals.

Once settled in their new environment, Mead and Fortune commissioned the building of a house, but because of rivalry between different factions two houses were

built in opposite parts of the village. Mead and Fortune had to choose which to live in and opted for the more central one which they had been able to supervise the building of. However, having two houses proved to be a bonus, as Mead was able to spend her time in the main house while Fortune made use of the second during the day. While the building of the houses went on, Fortune had taken time to write letters. He wrote to Bateson⁴⁰ apologising for his behaviour over Christmas, recognising the effect it had on his relationship with Mead, although he probably was not aware that Mead herself was questioning her own situation. He also wrote to Boas⁴¹, describing the Mundugumor as a “broken down class system” with constant fighting over women as “a man only obtains a wife by giving his sister to his wife’s brother”. Brother fights brother or son fights father as often a man will exchange his daughters for younger wives, so leaving his sons without sisters to exchange.

In February, Mead wrote to Benedict that she had the feeling that Fortune’s “attention span for people is so narrow that if he tried to pay much attention to someone else, he’d quite stop paying any attention to me at all”, and that his entrenched monogamy would prevent him from adopting her poly-amorous way of life. For him to do so would “either outrage his own temperament, or else [Mead would] lose him altogether”. She concluded by stating, “I do feel that I’ve given monogamy - in an absolute sense - a fair trial - and found it wanting and now it’s fair for him to try my culture for a change . . .”.⁴²

⁴⁰ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Bateson, letter dated 13 January 1933.

⁴¹ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Boas, letter dated 3 February 1933.

⁴² LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 14 February 1933.

Benedict's draft of *Patterns of Culture* (1935 [1934]) arrived at this time and the three of them eagerly dissected it in long discussions. Although Fortune later pointed out some minor points for correction and called it "generally a masterly summary"⁴³, he was not impressed with the way in which his Dobuan material had been interpreted, and subsequently would claim that Benedict's use of his Dobuan ethnography was a travesty. His personal copy of *Patterns of Culture* (Benedict 1935) is heavily marked with comments. Where Benedict has written in her acknowledgements "the chapters have been read and verified as to facts by these authorities . . .", Fortune has noted:

Verified as to facts. What are such when misinterpreted [and] . . . the pouring of the pig's fat over one of the men of dead man's village is obviously a bit of horseplay, but Benedict is so determined that the Dobuans shall be merely dour and jealous psychopaths that she takes the perfectly straight forward statement "in this happy manner the locality pulls together its forces when death strikes it", and interprets it as a piece of irony.⁴⁴

Fortune remained silent and never publicly challenged Benedict on her use of the Dobu material. Several years later, when a French edition of *Patterns of Culture* was being prepared, he did write to her: "I am not happy about your *Patterns of Culture* thesis. The use of the Dobuan negatives is conditional on my not being cited in support of it in any way"⁴⁵

However, Benedict's book proved fertile ground for discussion. Formulated on the basis that cultures select various traits according to their needs, *Patterns of Culture* demonstrated that while most people are flexible enough to fit into their

⁴³ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 19 May 1934.

⁴⁴ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/12: Monographs and serials, quoted from Fortune's annotated copy of Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*, (1935).

⁴⁵ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 24 June 1948.

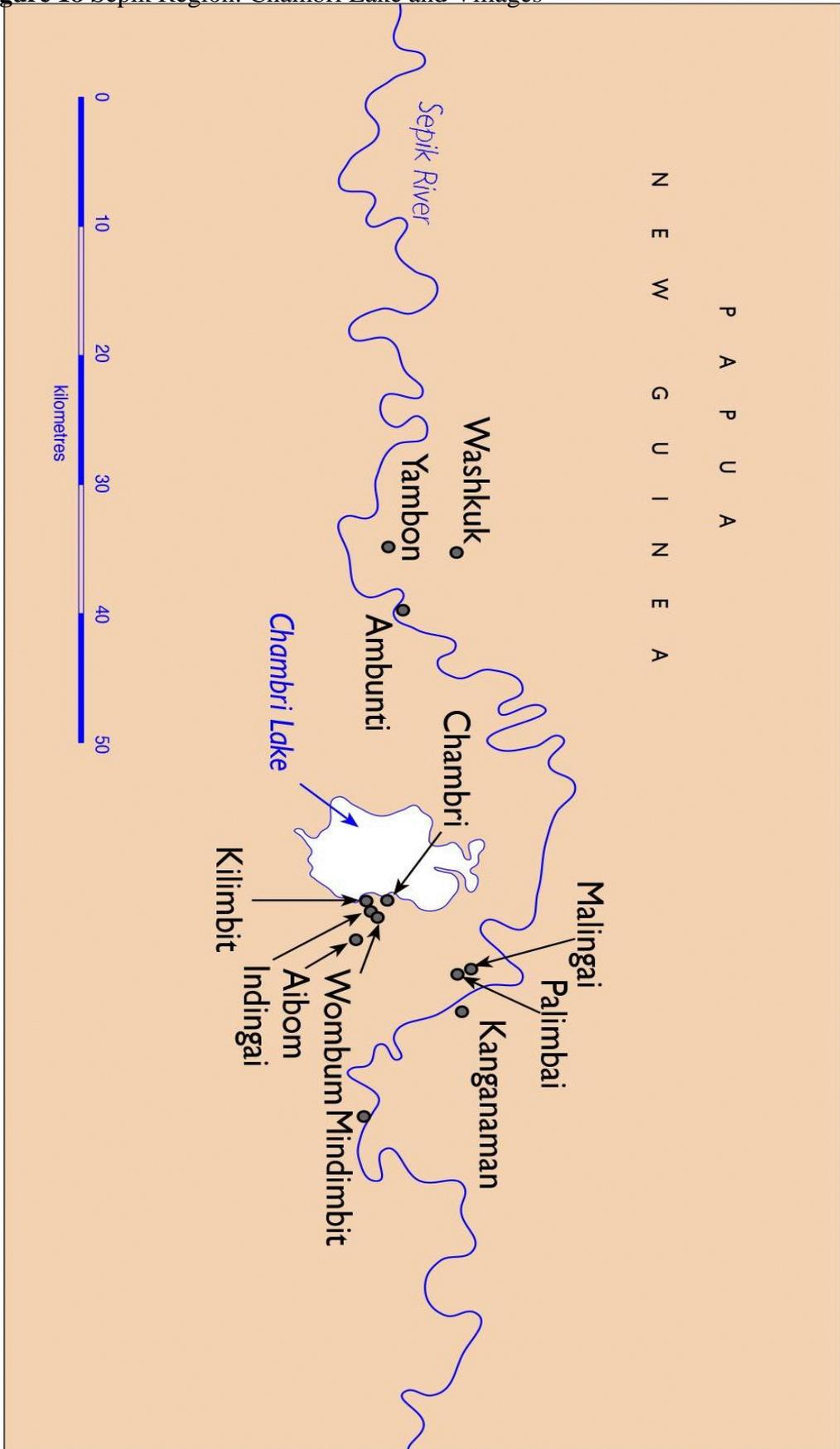
group's cultural pattern, others who fail to conform, whether from early education or inherited disposition, were labelled deviant. For Benedict, the study of cultural forms and processes "help us to differentiate between those responses that are specific to local cultural types and those that are general to people" (Benedict 1935:129).

This concept of 'cultural types' gave the three anthropologists the impetus to begin debating typologies. "Cooped up together in the tiny eight-foot-by-eight-foot mosquito room, we moved back and forth between analysing ourselves and each other, as individuals, and the cultures that we knew and were studying, as anthropologists must" (Mead 1972:216). Fortune had already determined that a society predicated on magic, where man believes himself to be in control of the elements and responsible for death, tended to be immoral and treacherous, whereas one predicated on religion, where the spirits of the dead are the agents of misfortune, avoids the pitfalls of magical societies and is moral and honest. But Mead's interest lay in "the contribution of culture to the development of sex roles" (Lipset 1980:136). "As we talked week after week . . . a new formulation of the relationship between sex and temperament began to emerge" (Mead 1972:216)

Mead's relationship with Benedict, and Bateson's presumed relationship with Noel Porter, made them both, in Mead's language "mixed types" and therefore deviants in their own cultures. Further, they were both "sensitive and maternal". Fortune on the other hand conformed to the stereotypical image of a New Zealand male - rough masculinity and possessive over women. Here Mead is defining the difference between chromosomally determined sex and what is now called gender.

However, Mead's selection of attributes to determine her classification of Fortune as masculine and possessive is arbitrary. She neglects his empathetic

Figure 18 Sepik Region: Chambri Lake and Villages



approach to his science, his compassion for the less fortunate, and his belief in honesty in his relationships. Had she considered these, Fortune might also have been classified as ‘sensitive’ and paternal. Nevertheless, it seems to have suited Mead to brand Fortune ‘alien’ to the culture shared by herself and Bateson.

We can never know exactly what occurred during those few months on the Sepik. All three experienced bouts of malaria with Mead also bitten by a scorpion. Later she stated, “It was the closest I’ve ever come to madness” (Howard 1984:161). But Fortune was convinced that she had certainly lost her mind. In perhaps the only account, from his perspective, of what happened in the Sepik, he wrote to Benedict:

I don’t know much of what you think of me after Margaret’s done with talking of me. Margaret’s always represented me as butting into her affairs too much and spoiling them, as you probably know. So that it was high time I stood aside. What I regret is that I was not in a position to stand aside easily and politely - not on the Sepik River.⁴⁶

Because there was £250 invested in new field equipment and charges in reaching their field site, Fortune felt that he could not just up and leave and, more so, that he could not leave alone. Mead had become hysterical, blaming all her ‘failed’ relationships on Fortune. And then came the ‘Race’ business:

I was a member of an alien Race to you, Luther [Cressman], G[regory Bateson], and Margaret - I being called Northern, sadistic etc. and you all Southern and masochistic; a lot of stuff about sex perversions, horoscopy, [sic] twins (we are all twins with one twin absorbed into the umbilical cord of our births), analysis of the Holy Family in Race, Margaret sorting out medicine chest into bottles of medicine for one race and bottles for another race for several days.⁴⁷

Fortune apparently tried to get the key to the medicine chest from Mead but failed, despite the fact that he had been suffering from malaria for ten days.

⁴⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated “end of October” 1934.

⁴⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated “end of October” 1934.

Meanwhile, Mead continued “sorting medicines insanely and having hot baths every half hour lest she die - a fear she had”. Fortune also remarked that he had retained “one or two documents of the hysteria . . . they reveal the form of the stuff tho’ little of the intensity or of the feeling”. He described abandoning the camp, and how Bateson had decided to come with them, believing that Fortune was a danger to Mead.⁴⁸

Mead was later to recount that Fortune had beaten her while they were in the Sepik: “Reo said he had burned himself out young and therefore was unable to give me a child, but he will not remember that he was able to make me pregnant, and gave me a miscarriage by knocking me down, and later said, ‘Gregory ate our baby’” (Howard 1984:161). As she appears to have always confided in Benedict, and she had told her of her possible pregnancy in Manus, it seems unlikely that she would not have told her if she had found herself pregnant in the Sepik. Also, Fortune surely would have felt badly about the loss of his child. However, there is nothing in the correspondence referring to this other than a rather cryptic remark by Fortune to Mead in a letter where he states, “I took the non-arrival of ‘Michael’ seriously, and I thought you had self regarding airs about maternity which possibly might not be realised in your marriage to me”.⁴⁹ There are a number of possible explanations for Mead’s comments. In recalling events from the past the mind can play tricks such that a belief that something happened in way or at a particular time is a conflation of several events. Fortune admitted striking Mead in the Sepik. This arose from Bateson making a move toward reconciliation with Fortune. Mead, it appears, had moved to

⁴⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated as “end of October” 1934.

⁴⁹ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 21 September 1957.

Bateson's camp but Bateson decided that she really belonged with Fortune. Whatever Bateson said to Mead at that time resulted in her returning to her camp in tears. When Fortune asked what was wrong, Mead turned on him with a string of "Samoan abuse", whereupon he struck her "automatically."⁵⁰ He also admitted hitting her again in Sydney after their return. Mead previously had thought herself pregnant while in Manus. If Mead was pregnant in the Sepik, the stress and physical turmoil she was experiencing may have resulted in a miscarriage, and the fact that she had a 'tipped uterus' could also have been a factor. In addition, Mead's hysterical outbursts and attacks of fever, her constant hot baths and seemingly manic behaviour, should also be taken into account. As for the comment "Gregory ate our baby", Fortune may have been referring allegorically to their work. Mead earlier had written to Benedict that she and Fortune had "decided to regard our work as a child to which we are both bound until it is completed".⁵¹

Fearing for Mead's mind, Fortune decided it was time to abandon their camp and return to Sydney where Mead could recuperate. Perhaps, with Bateson out of the way, things would return to a status approaching that prior to the events on the Sepik. However, Bateson decided to come with them. According to Fortune, the boat journey from New Guinea was quiet and reasonably peaceful until they approached Sydney, whereupon Mead once again lashed out at him, perhaps realising that their arrival in Sydney could mean her losing Bateson. Fortune was deeply hurt, but ". . . did what seemed right to me . . . which doesn't alter the fact that I'm fond of her,

⁵⁰ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 13 November 1934.

⁵¹ LOC: MMP S4 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 19 July 1933.

care about her - in a way”⁵². Mead on the other hand describes how Bateson went to get a pinnace to take them back to Madang, while Fortune had a bad attack of fever, and she was bitten by a scorpion and invalided for a couple of weeks. She also relates that, on the boat back from the Sepik, Fortune “met a woman he’d known years ago - whom I have named Mira because we do not like her real name”⁵³. Reo was about to play Mead’s own game.



Figure 19 ATL: F-230357-1/2 Mundugumor Ceremonial Mask.

⁵² LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated as “end of October” 1934.

⁵³ LOC: MMP S4 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 16 June 1933.



Figure 20 ATL:PA11-210-38 Arapesh Bowman



Figure 21 ATL: PA11-210-39 Arapesh Group including two in Ceremonial costume.



Figure 22ATL: PA11-210-27 Arapesh Building under construction

Chapter Seven

Secrets and Lies

As Mandelbaum (1973:180) notes, “a person’s characteristic means of adaptation” focuses our attention on the changes and continuities in a person’s life. Unfortunately, Fortune’s adoption of Mead’s polyamory was less than discreet. This further complicated their relationship and led to a period in which Mead, Benedict and Bateson conspired to keep Fortune at arms length in order to protect Mead’s reputation. In the process, Fortune was portrayed in an unfavourable light, including to those who may have an influence on his future. While Mead returned to the USA, Fortune returned to England. Bateson also was in England and every move Fortune made was closely watched and duly reported back to Mead.

When the boat docked at Sydney, ‘Steve’ was there to meet Bateson. The situation now became more complicated. Mead wrote: “Steve carried him off . . . And now life has a layout that is nothing short of miraculous. Mira and her daughters have taken the flat next door - we have a flat on the 3rd floor, Gregory on the second”¹. With Mira next door and Bateson downstairs, the Fortunes spent little time together. Fortune dined often with Mira, while Mead occupied herself in Bateson’s flat whether he was there or not. Mead made friends with Steve, seduced her, and even went as far as trying to persuade Steve’s husband to divorce her.²

Fortune left no record of what went on between himself and Mira. We can assume that their relationship was of a sexual nature only because that appears to have been what Mead wanted. But as Mira had two teenage daughters with her there must have been little time for privacy. Mead described the two girls as “Dian (sic), 16, out of school, very flighty and extraordinarily jealous of her mother’s every move, Lucille, 14, quiet and sweet. Both of them very much upon the scene”.³ Bateson,

¹ Mead to Benedict, letter dated 16 June 1933. quoted in Caffrey and Francis 2006:83.

² LOC: MMP R6, Mead to Benedict, letter dated 6 August 1933.

³ LOC: MMP S4, Mead to Benedict, letter dated 5 July 1933.

meanwhile, had planned to sail for England but was persuaded by Fortune to remain in Sydney. The three months in Sydney - June to September - proved a testing time for all of the trio, with Mead trying to avoid Fortune because she felt she aggravated him, and Fortune and Bateson spending hours in discussion. While Mead appears to have been happy with the idea of a 'French marriage' where spouses, although not required to be 'true' to one-another, were expected to be discreet in carrying on their extramarital affairs, she saw Fortune's relationship with Mira as revengeful because he was anything but discreet. It was after a dinner with Mead and Mira, during which Mira commented on Mead's having made a lot of money from her books, that Fortune struck Mead, ostensibly because Mead "wanted to tell Mira that he was living off [her] money."⁴

All three gave lectures to the Anthropological Society but no description of the lectures exists. In July, Mead left the flat and moved into another with Caroline Kelly, leaving Fortune by himself, seeing him just occasionally in a restaurant. By this time she had decided that she did not want him to come to America. Instead she proposed that he meet her "in Europe next summer to start off with a clean slate".⁵ However, she admitted that should he refuse to do so, they would be home within a couple of months. Two weeks later Mead wrote a farewell letter to Fortune which she presumably did not send. Marked 'original draft' this letter advised that she was sailing that day on the *Marama* with the intention of visiting Fortune's family in New Zealand. Mead would tell them that she had been called home because of her sister's illness. To explain why Reo had not come with her, she would say he was staying on

⁴ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 1 June 1934

⁵ LOC MMP S4 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 31 July 1933.

in Sydney, due to work commitments. She would tell her own family he was staying for an “indeterminate time because of some family financial affairs to be settled up in NZ”.⁶ Mead cabled Fortune’s family “Meet Marama arriving Marama”, and it was with great surprise that they found her travelling alone. Whatever was said, it was not that Fortune had been delayed in Sydney by work. After her fleeting visit, Peter Fortune wrote to her calling her a ‘witch’ and stating: “Mother has been telling me things, I do not know that she clearly understood you or had made me clearly understand. I had no idea that there had been any tension between Reo and yourself”⁷. Later that same day a cable arrived for Mead: “Luggage despatched *Mariposa*. All well. Love”, but no signature. Peter Fortune immediately wrote another letter to Mead, intimating that he now knew what was going on, and sent it to the *Mariposa* in the “. . . hope that you will get it. You never know however when elusive young ladies are on the gad”⁸.

The cable was from Bateson back in Sydney, who, with the aid of Caroline Kelly was attempting to find a new woman to occupy Fortune. Kelly had lined up a “charming naturalist woman”, and Maria Dawson, an acquaintance of Kelly’s, had been talked into throwing parties for him. Bateson also feared that Fortune would sail on the *Mariposa* and arrangements were made that if he did, either Bateson himself or Maria Dawson would sail with him. Fortune, meanwhile, had moved apartments in an attempt to evade everyone, but Bateson had tracked him down. Clearly all attempts were being made to prevent him sailing and meeting up with Mead in New

⁶ LOC: MMP S4 Mead to Fortune, letter marked “Original Draft” dated 18 August 1933.

⁷ LOC: MMP R4 Peter Fortune to Mead, letter n.d.

⁸ LOC: MMP R4 Peter Fortune to Mead, letter dated 24 August 1933.

Zealand. Bateson wrote to Mead that Fortune was evasive about his future plans, variously talking of making a longish visit to New Zealand, remaining another five weeks in Sydney, going on to England, or going to England via America.⁹ As it turned out the *Mariposa* sailed without either Fortune or Bateson, and it was then that Bateson sent the unsigned cable to Mead. After dining with Bateson that evening, Fortune returned to his flat to write up his paper, “A Note on Some Forms of Kinship Structure” (1933). This paper, which Mead described at the time as “the kind of thing on which a man could found his career” (Mead 1972:215), was largely ignored by the discipline.

While Bateson and Kelly were convinced of the verity of the “Squares Theory”¹⁰, and their own place in the scheme as ‘southerners’, Fortune remained the outsider as a ‘northerner’. Both acted to keep Mead informed of Fortune’s every move and his plans for the future. When word was received that the professorship at Sydney was available, Bateson immediately advised Mead that Fortune intended to apply. Fortune’s mood appeared to have altered since Mead’s departure but discussion of the ‘Squares’ was taboo. It is interesting that all those whom Bateson, Mead and Kelly felt immediate rapport with, were classified as ‘southern’, while those who appeared troublesome or troubled were classified as ‘northern’. Bateson advised Mead: “There is no use or relevance in worrying ‘how badly you have hurt Reo’. If he has the sense to use the squares in finding a new mate for himself you will

⁹ LOC: MMP R1 Bateson to Mead, letter dated 21 August 1933.

¹⁰ In simple terms, Mead’s theory of the squares placed people, and cultures, at different points of the compass according to their temperament. She never fully explained the theory and abandoned it when it became apparent that racist arguments could be developed further from it. Fortune, right from the start declared the theory racist.

have done him nothing but good”.¹¹ In this same letter Bateson recounted how Fortune had taken the “famous document” up to Castle Hill, the suburb thirty two kilometres north west of Sydney where the Kellys had a residence. This document¹², titled “Summary Statement of the Problem of Personality and Culture”, listed Fortune as co-author with Mead even though he had since disavowed its contents.¹³ When Caroline Kelly asked in whose handwriting the marginal notes were, Fortune confessed they were his. Despite his acknowledgement, it did not prevent Fortune from later holding this document up as an example of Mead’s hysterical mind.

Meanwhile, Mead had not been as reticent about speaking about her situation to Fortune’s family as she had intimated in her draft letter to Reo. She had confided some of the matter to Fortune’s sister Evelyn, and also to Shirley, Barter’s fiancée. Knowing how close Fortune and his brother were, she neglected to tell Barter anything negative, and received an assurance from Shirley that she would not discuss it with him. But even the best laid plans can go awry. Shirley wrote to Mead:

You didn’t quite bluff him [Barter], about your trip over to N.Z. and he’s been fishing around for the real reason for your visit. The other day he came to the conclusion that you’d come to warn us, as Reo was in such a helluva mess. I let it go at that and was rather thankful that he didn’t ask me what idea I had on the matter. - I’m an awfully poor liar, where he’s concerned. I realise now that you were right in not wanting him to know anything about your tangle, as he isn’t really well and that would, in view of the fact that he rather idolizes Reo, unnerve him completely.¹⁴

Mead also advised Bateson that ‘Aileen’ [sic] was back in Wellington. Margaret had secured a promise from Shirley that when Reo returned, Shirley would ensure that

¹¹ LOC: MMP R1 Bateson to Mead, letter dated 29 August 1933.

¹² LOC: MMP N102 “Summary Statement of the Problem of Personality and Culture”

¹³ For an analysis of this paper see Sullivan, G. 2004.

¹⁴ LOC: MMP R4 Shirley Fortune to Mead, letter dated 31 August 1933.

Eileen and Reo would be reintroduced. Another possibility was a girl who Reo “liked in London, a great friend of his aunt’s, and I think a northerner, has just gotten a divorce . . . and has a great big income.”¹⁵ The conspiracy against Fortune was well under way. Mead now had ‘agents’ in England, Australia, New Zealand and the United States who could be used to keep her informed of almost every move and utterance made by Fortune. The ‘charming, naturalist woman’, who remained nameless, turned out to be a ‘southerner’ and although Bateson saw it as ‘terrible temptation’, as Fortune and this woman appeared to like each other, he thought it would not be fair - presumably to the woman to encourage them. While he felt that “his [Reo’s] repudiation of the squares is almost enough to make one shrug one’s shoulders and let him go to hell his own way”, he told Caroline Kelly not to proceed with encouraging the relationship.¹⁶

Bateson sailed for England shortly after this, but not before advising Mead to ensure that Fortune would not find work in America:

No doubt it is true that R [Reo] is unable to plough his own way in America, but there is no reason why he should live in America, he will never be happy there even with complete masochism to torture himself with. The kindest you could do would be to put spokes in any possibility of his getting a USA job - o [sic] I know you will never do anything of the sort.¹⁷

Back in Sydney, Caroline Kelly was trying to keep tabs on Fortune, while he was doing his best to avoid prolonged contact with her, although he did spend time with her husband Timothy. Also, he met up with a former school friend, Neville Baume, brother of Eric Baume, the editor of the *Sydney Sunday Sun*, and also Eric

¹⁵ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter “at Reo’s familys, Wednesday”. [1933]

¹⁶ LOC: MMP R1 Bateson to Mead, letter dated 5 September 1933.

¹⁷ LOC: MMP R1 Bateson to Mead, letter dated 12 September 1933.

and Eve Ramsden, fellow New Zealanders now resident in Sydney. Eric Ramsden was illustrations editor and special writer for the *Sydney Morning Herald* and later became a student of anthropology at Sydney University.¹⁸ The Kellys also were friends with the Ramsdens, so that Mead was dutifully informed.

It cannot have been easy for Fortune when many of those he counted as friends had been persuaded by Mead that the 'Theory of the Squares' was valid, and that Fortune was 'other' in relation to them. However, with Mead and Bateson now out of the way, Caroline Kelly began to have doubts about the Squares categorisation and wrote to Mead:

I heard from Eve Ramsden that he rings them and proposes himself for the evening and that he also rings Helga and John. I take this to mean he is fairly lonely and is too proud to let us see how much spare time he has; You know Margaret I have spasms of absolute pro Reoism - you remember I told you whom of the two men I would choose - once - well I get that feeling and then I meet him and it vanishes and I wonder how I got that feeling. Is it that we have created a Reo of our imaginings or is it that we become fogged when we try to penetrate the Northern Square? I don't know and it worries me.¹⁹

Meanwhile, Mead was strangely confused about her own feelings and appeared torn between Fortune and Bateson. In three letters which she wrote but never sent while en route to America, she professed her love to Fortune:

Reo darling, I am writing this because after all flying is dangerous and if I come back I can destroy it. I just want you to know that I love you, love you, love you - my darling, my darling - and I'd give anything in the world to have your arms around me now. I went away because I couldn't stand our seeing each other and hurting each other so - and I suppose maybe it may be right for me to always go away from you - but oh dear God I wish it weren't. I love you, I love you, I love you.²⁰

¹⁸ King, Michael. 'Ramsden, George Eric Oakes 1898-1962'. Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, updated 7 April 2006. URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

¹⁹ LOC: MMP B9 Caroline Tennant Kelly to Mead, letter undated [c.1933]

²⁰ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 4 September 1933.

A second letter a few days later again reveals Mead's confusion. Not hearing from Fortune was not helping, and she pondered the idea of quitting anthropology for psychology. A third unfinished letter expressed her doubts over whether Fortune still loved her and that she cared more about his happiness than anything in the world.²¹ These letters seem strangely at odds with her ongoing relationship with Bateson.

Fortune, on the other hand, was still hurting from what he saw as the unfair categorisation of himself as a 'Northerner', and the betrayal of trust which Mead had exhibited on the Sepik by discussing their marriage with Bateson. In addition to the Squares Theory, Mead and Bateson seem to have adopted a form of Buchmanism while in the Sepik. Frank Nathan Daniel Buchman was a renegade Lutheran minister, born in Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, who had run a hospice for homeless boys in Philadelphia in the early years of the twentieth century. Subsequently, at Oxford in England, he formed his evangelical group Buchmanism, or as it was known in England, the Oxford Group Movement, based on the premise that the age of miracles had returned; people could have direct, personal access to God; people could be changed, and that confession was necessary for change.²² Mead described her knowledge of Buchmanism as:

a low turk device for catching Northerners and NorthWesterners [and] tricking them into exhibitionist group confessions - mainly sexual, and particularly about onanism - and then hounding them in the direction of goodness using their shame at having revealed themselves as a weapon.²³

²¹ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letters dated 7 September and 10 September 1933.

²² <http://www.orange-papers.org/orange-root090.html> accessed 12 February 2007.

²³ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 13 June, 1934.

However, Buchmanism intrigued Mead and she felt that it would “get under [her] skin” because she was “already at the place it [tries] to drive other people”.²⁴ She also stated to Bateson that “it would be a fatal thing to mention to [Reo], especially for you to mention”²⁵. Buchmanism was dangerous to ‘northerners’ and ‘southerners’ - especially for ‘mad southerners’ as it would only exacerbate the madness, whereas it would strip northerners of their pride and break their spirit. Clearly there is some overlap between this later interest in Buchmanism and the type of analysis Mead and Bateson had used while in the Sepik.

Mead preferred to call confession ‘truth-telling’, and Fortune couldn’t understand either Mead’s or Bateson’s need for this. He felt that she had encouraged the rivalry between himself and Bateson by accepting statements conveyed by each about the other. He felt that “the fact that one loves A and one [also] loves B does not justify one in confiding details of one’s relationship to A, to B, and vice versa for it places A in a forced and unnatural position to B”.²⁶ By telling Bateson of her love for Fortune, and vice versa, she had removed any possibility for real friendship between them. Mead also apparently had told Bateson that she wanted a child, something that Fortune would not have told him. Mead similarly told Bateson where Fortune kept his revolver and Bateson removed it from its hiding place in front of Fortune. He expected some respect for his opinions, even if it was only tolerance, and resented Mead’s use of their relationship as ‘scientific data’ to be analysed by others.

²⁴ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 13 June, 1934.

²⁵ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 18 January 1934.

²⁶ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 September 1933.

He advised Mead that he was staying on in Sydney until the Chair in Anthropology had been advertised as he was going to apply for it, though he did not rate his chances very highly. Although Radcliffe-Brown was expected to re-apply for his former position, Fortune noted that the Registrar of the University had advised him that he would be turned down. The front runner was F.E. Williams with Raymond Firth, Fortune, Elkin and even Malinowski mooted as other possible candidates. Fortune cabled Malinowski for a letter of support, advising him that Radcliffe-Brown was out of the running and that J.H.P. Murray was throwing his support behind Williams. While Malinowski had originally planned to back Williams for the position, on receiving Fortune's request he chose to support him, sending a letter to the registrar stating:

I want to give his candidature my fullest support. It is my opinion that an academic appointment ought to be decided on the lines of scientific merit, and from this point of view Dr Fortune is second to none in the generation to which he belongs. His book on The Sorcerers of Dobu is an absolutely first-rate contribution to science...²⁷

Mead wrote to Radcliffe-Brown, and asked that he forward a letter in support of Fortune's application. But Radcliffe-Brown also had received a request from Elkin for support and, unable to decide between the two, wrote a comparative letter setting out the strengths and weaknesses of each. Although Fortune received support from Boas, Malinowski, and Radcliffe-Brown, in the end it was Elkin who was awarded the Chair. However it was not until sometime in January 1934 that Fortune was advised of the decision. In the meantime his hopes remained.

Back in New Zealand something of the nature of why Mead had come alone finally became clear. Fortune's sister Evelyn had a visit from her mother and told her

²⁷ LSE: Malinowski Reo Fortune Correspondence IC1933-41.

that Mead had broken down and cried while in Wellington awaiting the *Mariposa*. Evelyn related that Mead had given the excuse that she and Reo had quarrelled and neither had slept for two nights, so she had to get away. Peter Fortune had also received a letter from Reo which concluded with him asking his father to “think well of me and for me, Dad - I have need of it”. Peter wrote to Mead and asked why she had not felt able to tell him of their problems, saying that he would have let her lay her head upon his shoulder and sob until she had cried herself out in the hope that afterwards she would feel better. He also wished he could cradle Reo and let him sob his soul out “back to the days long ago when he was my little boy with long white curls who used to run from me with shouts of glee as I chased him round and round”. Peter couldn’t imagine Reo putting his hands on Mead, ‘but however, or why ever it might be or any such thing there could be only one thought and emotion for me - the infinite sadness and tragedy of it all and that somehow or someway human sympathy must win out and help to bring back the glad and joyous days again’.²⁸

Barter was summoned to Paraparaumu where he discovered that his family had reached a number of conclusions regarding what was happening: Mead had deserted Fortune and she therefore was a bloody bitch; she was broke; Fortune was also broke; Reo’s life was in danger as he may attempt suicide; both were suspected of having become addicted to drugs; Mead still loved Fortune. Barter then decided to relate Mead’s side of the story as told to him and Shirley. The strain of fieldwork had taken its toll on Fortune so that he behaved badly toward Mead; as a result, she and Bateson had been thrown together and Reo resented it; he had become difficult

²⁸ LOC: MMP R4 Peter Fortune to Mead, letter dated 24 September 1933.

to deal with, so Mead had decided to return to the USA hoping that Fortune would return to New Zealand and recuperate before joining her in America.²⁹

While Shirley was keeping Mead informed from New Zealand, Barter was doing everything he could to persuade Reo to return to New Zealand. However Reo kept insisting that there was nothing wrong with his health and he was as fit as could be. When Mead received a cable from Shirley saying Fortune was sailing for England, then to New York job-hunting, she immediately responded by sending him a discouraging cable saying ‘that economic and academic conditions were so bad . . . that he should take any Australasian adjustment’.³⁰ Bateson’s suggestion presumably had been internalised by Margaret. Further, on hearing that he might come to America to meet with representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation, she cabled him: “Unwise jeopardise colonial geographical position with Rockefeller by meeting Copeland here...”, and followed this up with a letter suggesting that, as the fellowship was to bring someone to America, if he was already there there would be no point.³¹ Unknown to Mead , however, the Rockefeller Grant which Fortune had applied for was in order for him to continue his studies in England.

Alex J. Gibson, secretary of the ANRC, had written to Edmund Day, Director of the Social Sciences Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, affirming support for Fortune and stating that the ANRC hoped to be able to send Fortune into the Kimberley area of north-west Australia during 1935 - 1936. However he also sought an indication from Day whether or not the Foundation would continue its support of

²⁹ LOC: MMP R4 Barter Fortune to Mead, letter dated 3 December 1933.

³⁰ LOC: MMP R1 Mead to Bateson, letter undated. (ca. 2 October 1933) Page two of this letter is dated next day, Oct 3.

³¹ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 9 November 1933.

the ANRC after June 1935 when the current allocation of funds expired³². Elkin likewise wrote supporting the application, but also asked whether Fortune was eligible for a Fellowship so that it might “be possible for him to come to Australia for field work as a visiting investigator”.³³ Stacy May replied on behalf of the Rockefeller Foundation, saying that Fortune should communicate directly with Professor Copeland as all Fellowships for Australia and New Zealand were made through the Paris Office, based on recommendations made by Copeland.³⁴ It was not until late June or early July 1934 that Gibson was advised future Foundation support for anthropological work of the ANRC was being made only for the conclusion of work already undertaken, but it might be possible to secure continuing support on a tapering basis ending in 1938.³⁵ On his arrival in England in December 1933, Fortune was advised by Copeland to make contact with Frederick P. Keppel, President of the Carnegie Corporation and to seek a grant from there.

Fortune sailed for England in late November, expecting to be there for Christmas. Mead was furious and wrote to Bateson:

It’s just a question of gritting our teeth and working like Hell until June. Then I shall come to England, whatever happens and whether I get a Guggenheim or not. Ruth is going to give Reo field money, for the summer. And beyond that we needn’t think. I shall accept Reo’s request for a French marriage in which our work holds us together, as a temporary *modus vivandi*.³⁶

³² RAC: 689:87 Series 410E RG 2 A. J. Gibson to E. E. Day, letter dated 2 November 1933.

³³ RAC: 803:102 Series 410E RG 2 A. P. Elkin to E. E. Day, letter dated 1 January 1934.

³⁴ RAC: 803:102 Series 410E RG 2 Stacy May to A. P. Elkin, letter dated 15 February 1934.

³⁵ RAC: 803:102 Series 410E RG 2 Sydnor H Walker to A. J. Gibson, letter dated 22 June 1934.

³⁶ LOC: MMP R1 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 20 November 1933.

Fortune's presence in England put paid to her plans to be with Bateson, yet Fortune was still of the belief that their marriage would continue, providing he found the means to support his wife. If the chair at Sydney came through then they would be financially secure and he would go to America to see Mead. If not, then he would seek work in Africa and forgo visiting Margaret until such time as he had money to do so. At this stage, he assumed that Mead still wanted to see him. He wrote to her: "I may be a fool to make such assumption, but if so you can tell me so. Or rather perhaps I'd prefer you did not - it would not be necessary".³⁷ He hoped that if he got the Sydney chair that Mead would join him there, but in the event he did not then he was not going to "lean on [her]. I am not a good beggar". Malinowski had suggested that he live off Mead for a year or two, a suggestion Fortune flatly declined. However, while unwilling to be dependent on Mead, he did accept financial help from both Malinowski and Firth. He wrote to Mead:

You know, my dear, that I couldn't live on you, don't you - after what's happened. So you mustn't blame me or think that I don't love you. If I turn out to have no luck outside - and then do not turn to you for help. You can say that I have been foolishly extravagant and blame me for that - If you can. I will try everything to get subsistence - I may have luck yet. But if I don't, then just know that there is no hurt in me against anyone, and that I don't regret anything.³⁸

In late December, Fortune received letters from Mead, forwarded from New Zealand. He previously had requested that Mead abandon her 'truth-telling' and now found her letters 'really rather nice'. Subsequently he was to ask her, "Is it that you like boasting about your affairs? Or that you want to inflict damage and secure

³⁷ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 16 December 1933.

³⁸ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 18 December 1933.

humiliated love only? Or both?”³⁹ Instead of Mead’s desire to ‘confess’ her indiscretions to him, he felt it better that they have absences from each other, do their own thing, and then return with no questions asked. Unaware that Mead already was considering divorce, Fortune was trying to find a solution which would enable their marriage to continue.

At the close of 1933 Fortune remained in limbo. Out of work, his marriage in serious trouble, and his feelings in tatters, he had taken residence in a room at 19a Red Lion Square, London. “It’s a large room where Oliver Cromwell was laid out once [and] about two doors away Rossetti⁴⁰ and Swinburne⁴¹ once lived.”⁴² When Malinowski declined an offer of employment at Duke University, Fortune cabled Mead to try and do what she could to secure this for him.⁴³

He was desperate for funds and cabled the Kellys in Sydney asking that a loan which had been made to them be repaid, but received no reply. When Mead received word that Fortune had cabled the Kellys, she immediately cabled them not to send any money and instead herself sent him a cheque for £10 saying that the Kellys had not expected to repay the loan so soon. Fortune, meanwhile, believed he had received an assurance from them that the money would be repaid should he have need of it. Consequently he refused to cash Mead’s cheque and questioned whether Caroline Kelly had lied to him, or whether Mead was lying in order to make Caroline a liar.

³⁹ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 31 December 1933.

⁴⁰ Dante Gabriel Rossetti was an English Poet, illustrator, painter and translator. He was a founder of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in 1848.

⁴¹ Algernon Charles Swinburne was an English poet, friend of the Rossettis. After the death of Elizabeth Sidall (Mrs Rossetti), Swinburne live with Rossetti for approximately a year.

⁴² LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 16 January 1934

⁴³ LOC MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, Cablegram dated 3 January 1934.

By now he had lost faith in Caroline, believing her to be “two faced”, pretending to be his friend in order to feed information back to Mead. Even in Sydney, Fortune had difficulty determining which of the two was telling the truth. He would be told one thing by Kelly and something contradictory by Mead, and as a result he felt confused and put upon.

The reality was that Mead had loaned the Kellys two hundred pounds and Caroline Kelly had borrowed a further one hundred pounds from Bateson as a contingency fund for Fortune who had declined the funds while in Sydney. That Bateson was clearly involved in this is evident from the following letter Mead wrote to Bateson:

Now a very important point, darling, so please read this very carefully. This morning came a perfectly paranoid letter from Reo about Carrie and her not answering his cable for money etc. I have written him that she got worried by his talk of not having enough money to go to N.Z. and that although I had lent her the money on the absolute assurance that it wouldn't be needed for some time, she thought she ought to have it for him at need, and so she borrowed it privately. I intimate that it was from some source unknown to Timothy, and that is all. Don't ever show that you know anything about the loan. . . Reo must never know that it was your money.⁴⁴

Every letter that Mead received from Fortune was reported back to Bateson.

When Mead requested photographs and details of what was in some boxes Fortune had, he replied that he would get them to her but at present he did not have time for such trifles. He added a note to the top of the letter: “Has anything been done about Duke? Or is my only purpose and use in life to get photographs to you?”⁴⁵

When she advised him of positions in New Zealand - the chair in philosophy at Otago University and plans by Tommy Hunter at Victoria involving Carnegie funds - he

⁴⁴ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 18 January 1934.

⁴⁵ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 16 January 1934.

responded: “Do you mean that you told me of those in the hope of getting me out of anthropology? If so, you told me Sutherland was favourite for Dunedin and the entries already in. How could I have been interested?”⁴⁶

Rumours were heard that C.W.M. Hart, who was at Toronto under McIlwraith, was considering moving on. Fortune felt this might be an opportunity for him and duly requested Malinowski to write in his support. Mead had written advising that Hart was leaving, but said that neither she nor Radcliffe-Brown “could see you in a job under McIlwraith, tho he is a pleasant enough person, but a bit pompous”.⁴⁷ Fortune’s reply to Mead prompted her to write to Radcliffe-Brown pointing out his “instability and insecurity” and then saying that if the position at Toronto was available then Reo would like to apply for it.⁴⁸ She also wrote to Fortune hoping that he [Fortune] had not written an antagonistic letter to Radcliffe-Brown, suggesting that Radcliffe-Brown had made the comments he had in the expectation that Fortune would get the Sydney chair. Hoping to appease Fortune, she added that “McIlwraith is a perfectly decent, slightly cocky, very short man. All Brown and I meant [was] that you are so terrifically his superior, both in actual ability and in public achievement and so it might be difficult.”⁴⁹ In fact the position at Toronto did not eventuate. Although Hart was keen to go elsewhere, Mead wrote in February advising Reo that Hart had not found another position, and so was going to stay where he was. Meanwhile, Radcliffe-Brown suggested that Cornell wanted

⁴⁶ LOC. MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 16 January 1934. Fortune wrote three letters with this date. The underlined words are Fortune’s underlining.

⁴⁷ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 9 November 1933.

⁴⁸ LOC: MMP R10 Mead to Radcliffe-Brown., letter dated 25 January 1934.

⁴⁹ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 30 January 1934.

someone as soon as they could find the money - which let Mead off the hook as she could now leave lobbying for that position to Radcliffe-Brown⁵⁰.

In the world of British anthropology at the time there was a major debate about the nature of incest. Fortune, despite being confident that he had the material to do so, felt unable to score points against Malinowski in this debate because Malinowski had found an anonymous donor willing to give Fortune £150 in order to allow him to remain in London. The anonymous donor was of course Malinowski himself, and Firth had made a contribution as well. Fortune's feelings toward Malinowski were mixed. On the one hand he felt obligated to him because of his financial support, yet on the other he felt that Malinowski had "kill[ed his] chances in Sydney". He also felt that Mead was laughing to herself about his penury and inability to secure a position of status which would afford him the opportunity to write.⁵¹ Surprisingly, Mead now changed her tune about the money loaned to Caroline Kelly:

If you would stop to think, you know perfectly well that I realise how maddening it is for you to feel yourself in anyway under Malinowski's thumb, and that I am doing everything I can to uncover acceptable openings elsewhere for you. . . A loan from Malinowski sources seems very bad to me. After all there is the hundred pounds I lent Carrie, which would carry you along for several months; on the basis of that loan having been unexpectedly returned to you, you could graciously refuse to accept a loan from Malinowski - if you don't get the Rockefeller. . . If all he is offering is one hundred and fifty, it's just not worth it, Reo. You'd be indebted to him for life. I can carry the Kelly loan easily and add a loan of fifty pounds to it, also quite easily, and Malinowski needn't have a notion where it's coming from. If you are over there he will assume that you are not sharing my salary. . .

⁵⁰ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 13 February 1934

⁵¹ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 16 January 1934. This is the third of the three letters written on this date.

Rather ironically she added:

Please don't let practical plans get all mixed up with emotion and go wrong. It's so important for your future for the right picture to be presented to the world now. Papa Franz is perfectly in sympathy with your refusal to come over here and live on my salary without status. You, if anything, strengthen your stock with him by such behaviour.⁵²

Mead went to any lengths to avoid physical contact with Fortune. Both she and Bateson wanted him well out of the picture and this is reflected in correspondence between them. She also was urging Ruth Benedict to secure funding for Fortune for a two-year trip to New Guinea. Mead also used her own money, under the guise of "cultivating an anonymous millionaire" to ensure that funding was available. But this was still some months away. Meanwhile, Boas was eager to give Fortune money to work on a book about race and for American Indian fieldwork. Mead was personally strongly opposed to this, but as she was still nominally married to Fortune she could not come out and state her opposition unequivocally. Mead had "talked poor" to Reo so that he would believe her story of cultivating a millionaire and go along with it. Allegedly, there was a millionaire whom Ruth was cultivating.

Mead was determined that come hell or high water, she was going to see Reo return to New Guinea and get out of her hair. Also, if Fortune was back in New Guinea and there was the chance that he would get established career wise in the South Pacific, then she had the perfect excuse to return to do further fieldwork in the Sepik under the guise of returning to be with her husband. At this stage there was no talk of divorce. She had considered Africa for Reo, but decided it was too expensive, and that Reo would have to make new political contacts, "which is always dangerous". Dangerous for whom we might ask. Of course, too, Africa would negate

⁵² LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 26 January 1934.

any reason she might have for returning to New Guinea. In other words any appointment for Fortune outside Oceania was unwanted, as it would interfere with Mead's own plans. Rumours were rife in Sydney anthropological circles over the reasons for the unseemly departure of Mead, Bateson and Fortune from New Guinea in 1933. Mead saw the return of Reo, with herself and Bateson following, albeit separately, as supportive of the main storyline that the reason Bateson left so hurriedly was because he wanted to get published before Fortune and Mead wrote up their material. As she wrote to Gregory:

Carrie says the current New Guinea theory is that you came home early so as to publish on the Sepik before Reo and I did, as we notoriously get our stuff out quickly. I don't think, politically speaking, that it's a bad theory at the present moment. Then if Reo goes back to New Guinea, and I go back to the Sepik, and you come out, they will know they were right and that you and I are rivals to the death.⁵³

By this time, Fortune had heard that Routledge was not going to publish his Manus work. They apparently had lost money on both *Sorcerers of Dobu* and Mead's *Growing up in New Guinea*. Rejecting an offer from Mead of a subsidy to publish, Fortune decided to rewrite avoiding anthropology and aiming for a purely religious interest. "I can avoid anthropology specifically - as your monograph series does that, and which hurts me, throws me out from it in the preface . . . I'll write the purely specialist study you say I did, though, as you know, it was not my interest"⁵⁴. However, he was hopeful that Cambridge University Press might take the Arapesh Language manuscript. As it turned out, both the re-written Manus and the

⁵³ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 11 April 1934.

⁵⁴ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 27 February 1934.

Arapesh language works were eventually published with the assistance of Ruth Benedict.

Fortune had been invited to give a lecture to the Royal Anthropological Institute on 20 February 1934, and he advised Mead that he would send her the photographs which she had requested if she would get him slides, and prints, back in time for his lecture. He declined to include negatives on the grounds that if they got lost in transit, he at least still had the negatives. Fortune was suffering from depression at this time and finding it difficult to achieve the things he wanted to do.⁵⁵ Even getting prints and slides made of the negatives he held was something of a chore. The number of new anthropologists being sent into the field had grown exponentially and positions available for those returning from the field were in short supply in Britain. Also he had missed an announcement in the *American Anthropologist* for a fellowship under the American Council of Learned Societies, which carried a stipend of eighteen hundred dollars “to which allowances for travel, expenses for research and other purposes may be added” (Anon 1933:557). Applications had closed on the 15 December 1933 and he told Mead it was a pity she missed the notice; he queried whether she had intentionally done so. He reminded Mead that she had pointed out to him that “he had no status or money or anything of [his] own and so had no right to any definition in [his] life”.⁵⁶ About the only thing he found worth doing was attending Malinowski’s lectures.

⁵⁵ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 16 February 1934.

⁵⁶ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 2 February 1934.

Malinowski was keen to have Fortune remain in England and to this end he wrote to the Carnegie Foundation supporting Fortune's application for a fellowship saying:

While I regard him as extremely gifted. . . . I believe that he needs further training. He is very much in need of a great deal of mental discipline, of the development of self criticism, and of learning how to work in a team of intellectual equals I believe that if it were possible for him to remain for a year or so in London, it might make all the difference for him. Both on account of his qualities and his deficiencies. I should like to endorse wholeheartedly Copeland's application for Fortune.⁵⁷

William Ogburn, at Chicago, similarly wrote, stating: "I think very highly of Mr Fortune's scientific ability and consider him well deserving of a fellowship".⁵⁸ Radcliffe-Brown did likewise, saying "Dr Fortune's work is of exceptionally high quality and he deserves any assistance than can be given him"⁵⁹.

Despite Fortune's despondency, he gave his lecture to the Royal Anthropological Institute as planned and Haddon made a special point of travelling from Cambridge to attend, later inviting him to come up to Cambridge for Bateson's lecture on the 7 March. Although Fortune could not afford the trip and it would mean meeting Bateson again, he chose to go. Haddon, he felt, would be offended if he did not. He liked Haddon even though he felt Haddon had nothing really to offer him in terms of work.

While Fortune made no reference to Bateson's lecture other than to say it was good, Bateson wrote to Mead with full details of the evening. It has begun with a

⁵⁷ CU: Carnegie Corporation Box III A No.148 Fol II Fortune, Dr Reo F 1934-1941. Malinowski to Keppel, letter dated 1 February 1934.

⁵⁸ CU: Carnegie Corporation Box III A No.148 Fol II Fortune, Dr Reo F 1934-1941. William Ogburn to Keppel, letter dated 5 March 1934.

⁵⁹ CU: Carnegie Corporation Box III A No.148 Fol II Fortune, Dr Reo F 1934-1941. Radcliffe-Brown to Keppel, letter dated 8 March 1934.

dinner party thrown by Haddon at the University Club. Fortune is described as being uncomfortable before dinner and talking “with the sort of jerky hesitancy that he always uses when lecturing”, though as Bateson conversed with him he became easier in his manner. The seating arrangements put Haddon and Bateson at one end of the table and Fortune at the other between Haddon’s secretary, Nicol Smith, and someone called Humphreys, both of whom Bateson described as “not very bright material”.⁶⁰ Fortune spent time conversing with John Layard, who later “expressed an approval of R[eo]”. After the lecture the guests were invited to comment. According to Bateson, Haddon “bubbled some nice remarks”. Fortune tried to do the same in a hesitant manner. However, when F. E. Williams made comments about “all native ethos being alike - the men manly and the women womanly”, both Fortune and Bateson erupted with laughter. Bateson and Fortune later walked together to Fortune’s hotel where they were joined by Layard and Williams for drinks and further discussion. There is no indication in Bateson’s letter of any animosity between Fortune and Bateson, and Mead was not apparently discussed. Had Fortune been aware of the full extent of their intrigue, things may have been different.

Benedict meanwhile was working behind the scenes to find a job for Fortune. One possibility which was considered was at Sarah Lawrence College, a girls’ college situated in Bronxville, New York. Benedict wrote a glowing reference:

He is a person of most pleasing personality, thirty-one or thirty-two years of age, good looking, with a mild English accent, being a New Zealander by birth and an M. A. from Cambridge England. His reputation in his profession is high, and his volume “Sorcerers of Dobu” published by Routledge, is one of the best ethnological

⁶⁰ LOC: MMP R2 Bateson to Mead, letter dated 26 March 1934. Humphreys is possibly the historian R. A. Humphreys. Also present at this dinner were John Layard, Louis Clark who was Director of the University Museum, W. C. Armstrong and F. E. Williams. Armstrong and Williams had both been employees of John Hubert Plunkett Murray, Fortune’s nemesis in Papua.

monographs produced by any ethnologist. All those with whom he has been associated will be glad to express their appreciation of his achievements and capacities. . .⁶¹

She followed these comments by suggesting as further referees, Haddon, Radcliffe-Brown and Boas. Once again, though, nothing came of this. Considering that Mead would prefer Fortune to be further away, it seems surprising that Benedict was proposing a position which would bring him closer. Mead was aware of the recommendation, but hoped that “he [would] have sufficient hope of some other solution to refuse it.” She believed that if Fortune took the job he would be successful at it, but it would mean that she would have to leave New York. However, if she got the Guggenheim Fellowship she had applied for, she could live almost anywhere, including London.⁶² One idea that appealed to Mead was to have her passport, money and everything ready to leave America when Fortune sailed for New York, giving as her reason that she had not heard from him for sometime. She felt sure that if he got offered Sarah Lawrence she would know about it, and whereas if he was awarded a Carnegie Fellowship she would not.

Fortune’s correspondence with Mead at this time reflects his despondency and ambivalent feelings about her. On the same day he might write several letters, each reflecting a different mood. For instance, he wrote two letters on the 10 March 1934: the first, after not having had a letter from Mead for some time, seems to have been written to provoke a reaction: “You said to me in Sydney that the fucking was better elsewhere, and I suppose you spend a lot of your time thinking about that and cursing me for thinking instead about a crust for myself . . .”; the second, after having

⁶¹ LOC: MMP R4 Benedict to Miss Beatrice Doerschuk, letter dated 9 March 1934. Beatrice Doerschuk was the Director of Education at Sarah Lawrence College.

⁶² LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 10 March 1934.

received a letter from Mead, was to thank her for getting Professor Ogburn and Radcliffe-Brown to write in support of the Carnegie Fellowship.⁶³

Some of Fortune's stress at this time may be attributed to his not having his fieldnotes at hand, which made writing up of material and preparation for his upcoming lecture at Cambridge difficult. He needed to impress those who held the key to academic promotion but did not want to offend those who were most likely to support him. He was confused, feeling his work was not wanted and seeing positions going to men he may have considered his inferior. The appointment of Elkin to the Chair at Sydney definitely fell within that category, though Elkin was after all an Australian and had the backing of Grafton Elliot Smith, a fellow Australian and one of those behind the establishment of the Chair in 1926.

His repressed anger found its voice in letters to Mead, where he alternately cursed and praised those like Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Mead herself, whom he saw as obstacles to his attaining the recognition he believed his work deserved. Mead, on the other hand, was very clear about her own plans and how to achieve them. Despite her sometimes encouraging letters to Fortune, behind the scenes she was telling different stories to those who might be able to help him. When Philip Mosely⁶⁴ suggested that she try and get Fortune something part-time at Columbia, or that he could do public lecturing in America, she replied:

⁶³ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, two letters dated 16 March 1934.

⁶⁴ Philip E Mosely had been at Emmanuel College, Cambridge during 1926-1927 and knew Fortune from that time. Mosely was a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the Institute for Pacific Relations (IPR), became Professor of International Relations at Columbia University and was Founding Director of the Russian Institute. At the time Mead wrote to him he had recently returned from Moscow. She and Fortune had considered Russia as a field site and Mosely had the ear of the Director of the IPR Joseph Barnes who was currently in Moscow and expected to return via London in May. Mosely hoped that Barnes and Fortune would be able to meet in London and perhaps an offer of ethnological work would be made.

He couldn't lecture, he is too nervous for the general lecture program and doesn't respond sufficiently to his audience; also American audiences find a good deal of difficulty in understanding him. With several years of less exacting practice in class lecturing, it might be different.

And on the matter of an assistantship at Columbia:

There is a possibility of an assistantship at Columbia next year, but . . . he needs status even more than he needs money. I can always make enough money, but he feels his lack of status, and especially in relation to me very keenly. The assistantship at Columbia would aggravate that particular nerve almost more than anything else.⁶⁵

Mosely's response to Mead, having written to and heard back from Fortune, was gentle, saying that he felt she and Fortune belonged together as much for their work as for other things.

Reo's unwillingness to recognize that seems to me to hinge on that protective instinct, misdirected masculine or husbandly chivalry rather than on professional jealousy. I know he is proud of all that you have done, but he is offended by his inability to have you dependent on him.⁶⁶

Around then Mead and Benedict began actioning their plan to create a job for Fortune. As mentioned above, Benedict had supposedly found a 'millionaire' willing to finance anthropological work. In a series of letters to Fortune between 11 April and 1 May, Mead outlined how Benedict had reeled in the millionaire by taking him to dinner and to a lecture by Mead in which she [Mead] stressed the importance of New Guinea and "described all that could now be done in the interior of New Guinea with the new air routes which had been opened". She also made it clear that any money

⁶⁵ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Mosely, letter dated 7 April 1934.

⁶⁶ LOC: MMP R4 Mosely to Mead, letter dated 10 May 1934. In this letter he also recounts how he remembered "a debate at Emmanuel College on the inferiority of women, - - an entirely humorous debate in a rather stilted Cambridge way, but purely humorous, - - in the very middle of its sedate hilarity Reo rose with clenched fists and trembling voice to defend the equality of women. But even in that defence there was a note of chivalry, protectiveness which did not show real conviction of that equality without him to protect it".

Benedict secured would not be for publication of his work on Manus religion, as Boas had stated that he would attempt to get Columbia University Press to publish that. “He says that once and so often he can bully the press because he pays to have so many things printed, and so that [sic] have to please him occasionally”.⁶⁷ What she didn’t say to Fortune was that Mead herself was the ‘millionaire’. She did, however, spell it out clearly to Bateson:

The Rockefeller Foundation has an arrangement with the Columbia University Research Council in the Social Sciences that whatever money it, the council, raises for science, the Rock. will duplicate. So Reo’s grant will be arranged like this. I, anon, give £500 to Columbia, specifically for Reo to work in N.G., and the Rock. double it. . . . Reo doesn’t have a suspicion that I am giving the money and it would spoil it all for him if he had.⁶⁸

At this time Jeannette Barsky (nee Mirsky), a student of Benedict and Mead, had used Fortune’s manuscript for a seminar report, presumably without permission from Fortune.⁶⁹ Mead had a vested interest in seeing Fortune’s work published. He had finished the Manus manuscript in 1931 after which Mead wrote her monograph on kinship making reference to it throughout. With “Kinship in the Admiralty Islands” (1934) now published, these references would be meaningless unless Fortune’s *Manus Religion* also was in print.

On April 25 Fortune presented his paper at Cambridge, titled “A Critical Anthropology”. He began by posing the question “where and to what extent, an anthropologist should stand behind native cultures, push their claims and throw his

⁶⁷ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letters dated 16 April; 19 April; 1 May 1934.

⁶⁸ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 13 June 1934.

⁶⁹ Jeannette Mirsky was 31 at this time and Mead described her to Radcliffe Brown: “I expect her to do very good work. She has started a little late, but she has great energy, ease in dealing with people, ability to see problems, and altogether, I think should be good”, quoted by Stocking 1993. She was also a member of Mead’s group “the Ash Can Cats” - see Banner 2003:428.

personal influence into their championship?”. He then discussed various institutions within and between cultures which served the same function, but in morally different ways. For example, in discussing child marriage among the Arapesh, Fortune argued that this was conducted in “a good and temperate manner” because it contained strict injunctions against premature sexual relations - a child is betrothed to another of the same or similar age and intercourse does not take place until the male has attained his full maturity. In contrast, he saw child marriage among the Bengali of India, as intemperate because it contained no mechanism to prevent premature sexual relations. Although the purpose of both forms of child marriage was the same, the former was deemed moral and therefore the anthropologist should support it, while the latter was immoral and the anthropologist should refuse to support it.

Essentially, Fortune here is making a distinction between those institutions which are moral and should be permitted to remain, and those which may be deemed immoral and should be ended. “The general point . . . is that an institution may perform the same general function, and yet be used well or abused. The spirit which informs an institution does make it work for good or for evil. A critical anthropology will take this fact into account” (Fortune 1934a:13). However, he left it to the individual anthropologist to decide on the morality of a particular institution through a comparative method. He concluded his paper with the statement:

I wish to put before you the consideration that an anthropologist should not stand behind native cultures, push their claims and throw his personal influence into their championship, as if they were all equal in the eyes of a scientific consideration of them. They are not. They deserve different modes of treatment at our hands. Some native cultures deserve the attention of our reforming agencies provided these reforming agencies take the direction with which only a critical anthropology can equip them. Some native cultures deserve on the other hand protection from over zealous reforming agencies. Indiscriminate protection for all native societies on general principles,

or on real or apparent functional grounds, has been a good call for attention to anthropological findings. But discrimination is indicated in the findings as far as the material behind this paper goes, and might be indicated by findings from elsewhere in the world.

This seems to be a direct contradiction of his stance on Dobuans, and his response to Hubert Murray in 1928. In order to understand this apparent change of attitude, it should be remembered that British colonial rule was the order of the day, and particularly within the African field, where anthropologists were seen as being in the service of the colonial authorities. Fortune was now at the London School of Economics under the sway of Malinowski, and talk of field work in Africa was high on the agenda. If Fortune wanted to be considered for fieldwork in this region it would be appropriate for him to address his paper to those with whom the power to make such appointments lay. Evans-Pritchard was leaving Cairo and Fortune had been nominated as his replacement for the Chair.

When Mead received a copy of Fortune's paper, she immediately wrote to him with a detailed critique of it, pointing out that while the latter part of the paper which dealt with Dobu, the Trobriands and Manus could stand without further explanation, his discussion of Arapesh and Mundugumor needed further explanation as little had been published about these cultures. She also pointed out that it would be "very dangerous" to show the paper to Boas, as "he stands so firmly against the introduction of our standards into evaluations of primitive societies, and this [would] seem to be doing that for him".⁷⁰ To Bateson, however, she presented a more extreme reaction:

A Letter came from Reo last night and his Cambridge lecture which is dreadful. It may be very different from what he gave as his lecture. You said his point was that the pathological cultures should be studied, but in the written paper, the point is that any culture which has an institution which doesn't behave the way he, or government,

⁷⁰ LOC: MMP R4 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 17 May 1934.

think it should, should be wiped out with full government force behind it. . . I don't know which worries me most, the fact that he is all wrong about all this last trip, or taking this moralistic tone and wanting to wipe up the earth of all institutions which don't suit him. . . . And the worst of it is that as a result of this crazy bias, which is just the reverse of his violent championing of the Dobuans against Murray, his thinking is all gone a glimmering. When he talks about Dobu or Manus, depending upon a previous organization of the material, it's alright, but his Arapesh and Mundugumor are just awful. How it will be possible for me to publish anything intelligible on Arapesh if he goes about making the kind of statement he does, with no basis in the facts, I don't know. . . ."⁷¹

As a result of Mead and Benedict's manoeuvring, Fortune received the offer of two years field work under the auspices of the Social Science Research Council to begin after July 1934. When Fortune queried whether it could be deferred should he receive either the Cairo chair or the Carnegie grant, he was told that it could not. Mead suggested that he utilise his time writing up his Arapesh monograph, but Fortune had other things on his mind.

Gossip was beginning to circulate around the London School of Economics pertaining to events in the Sepik, and Fortune blamed Caroline Kelly for leaking information to Ian Hogbin, who in turn had passed remarks on to Lucy Mair. He was blunt in his remarks to Mead: "It's a pity someone isn't charitable enough to fuck Carrie Tennant. For lack of it she spends her time telling Hogbin too much with all details and he circulating London"⁷². After calling Mead a "damned prig", Fortune later wrote telling her Mair had circulated "some minute details", but that "Malinowski, Firth and anyone important [had] not betrayed . . . any remote suspicion in our dealings".

⁷¹ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 17 May 1934.

⁷² LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 20 April 1934.

Fortune also demanded a bound copy of Mead's kinship paper to remind him of the futility of doing further fieldwork. He fancied that some of the material used in this paper had been his, for which she had claimed the credit⁷³. Mead responded by writing to Bateson, saying Fortune had laid claim to all the kinship material she had used but that "he couldn't have written twenty pages of that Manus paper, not even with my notes to help him, and it's ridiculous for him to act the way he did about it".⁷⁴ In another letter she said: "What with that dreadful Cambridge lecture, I get thoroughly worried as to whether it will ever be possible to publish anything on this past trip without his coming out with some counter statement, accusing me of stealing or lying or something. . ."⁷⁵ That she still possessed most of Fortune's fieldnotes and was able to freely use them seems to have escaped her mind. She regarded their joint fieldwork as common property which either of them could utilise, as and when they saw fit. The point which most angered Fortune was her use of "squares theory" and her refusal to admit that there may be anything wrong in the way she applied it. His letters are at times filled with challenges to her thinking, calling it racist and deliberately contrived to drive a wedge between them. Instead of admitting there might be some truth in what he was saying, she consistently denied any wrongdoing despite being prepared to admit things to Bateson:

It's funny, you know I am perfectly willing to admit the extraordinarily abnormal state in which I did that Sepik thinking and the number of false analogies and impossible constructs which I built up. I would even be willing to assume the responsibility for the religious cast the whole thing took on for all of us, mainly because I don't know which or whether all of us were involved in that. Probably

⁷³ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 11 May 1934.

⁷⁴ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 12 June 1934.

⁷⁵ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 21 May 1934.

your sense of ‘finding yourself’ and Reo’s confusion of himself and the various apostles contributed their share. But I don’t really ~~mind~~ know. It was of course a form of madness, a rate of thinking and feeling that one couldn’t keep up for more than a week or so without snapping into something too remote to matter; but I think it was the kind of madness out of which, if one doesn’t snap altogether and has some brains and some intellectual background, one can bring new ideas. But the thing which I can’t accept and wont ever accept is Reo’s putting the whole thing down to sex, and insisting that I made it all up as a means to an end.⁷⁶

Fortune was very clear in his interpretation of events. When Mead said that she “would definitely be courting the mental instability of which [he] accused her, were [she] to attempt to accept, adjust to and live with his version of [her] behaviour”, Fortune wrote back stating that “the alternative [was] that [her] race campaign was as deliberate as say Hitlers”. He described her theory as:

One world for Southerners
 Another world for Northerners
 Each world having its own
 (1) Pharmacopoeia
 (2) Literature
 (3) Appropriate cultures among the cultures of the world.
 (4) Appropriate sex affairs.

These two worlds were based on race believed to have a real psychological basis, like blood groups. These world distributed races underlay apparent races like Caucasian, Semitic, Mongolian, Negro. Use was to be made of these new northern and southern races to make the stock race points:

1. Question of wisdom of intermarriage between them.
2. Give them their own separate cultures in mutually unintelligible languages,
3. Start a campaign against races other than your own.

He further stated that he had no alternative than to believe that she did this:

(A) from weak mindedness
 (B) From self conscious knowledge that it was the stuff for a vicious campaign⁷⁷

⁷⁶ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 12 June 1934. Mead has initially written ‘mind’ but struck it out and typed ‘know’.

⁷⁷ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 8 June 1934.

and that she had no honest alternative other than accepting one or the other. But Mead actually wanted Fortune to think she was insane. She wrote to Bateson,

The safest way of making him see that I was, and am insane, is just to insist hard enough on the past as I see it. He sees it in exactly opposite terms. If I tried any other way or proving that I was definitely aberrant, I might fail. It's the old point which I worked out years ago that the way to convince Reo of anything is to tell him the opposite"⁷⁸.

Mead was also concerned about Reo having further contact with Max Bickerton, who had been imprisoned in Japan as a suspected communist but had managed to escape and return to England. Mead considered that if they should meet it would cause an upheaval and leave "Reo worried sick about the whole homosex [sic] point again"⁷⁹. Because Max had been a part of their life, Mead felt compelled to tell him that Reo was in England, but decided to do so by a slow boat hoping that by the time Max found out that he was there, Reo might have sailed for New Guinea.

By this time, Mead had made up her mind that she would never return to Fortune, and Max could be the ideal source for finding out whether Fortune had found another love. However, because Max regarded Benedict highly, it was decided that she should be the one to "deal with Max about how to handle Reo"⁸⁰. Ironically, it had been a letter from Benedict before he left the United States in 1930 which had sealed Max's fate in Japan. Reluctant to burn her letter, Max had retained it and when he was arrested it was the comment "Hope you have a happy week among the communists", which was used as evidence to prove that he had been a committed communist as early as 1930⁸¹. When Max did eventually catch up with Fortune, they

⁷⁸ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 18 June, 1934.

⁷⁹ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 25 June 1934.

⁸⁰ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 27 June 1934.

⁸¹ LOC: MMP R9 Bickerton to Mead, letter dated 16 June 1934.

found they had very little in common. Saying that he had seen Fortune twice, Max wrote to Mead:

We discovered that we had grown so far apart that we did not even speak the same language. All the flames that burn me up mean nothing to him and I could not understand his enthusiasms. Only I realised, in an abstract way, what a dear he is, how wonderfully disinterested.⁸²

With the knowledge that Columbia had awarded Fortune the funds to return to New Guinea, Mead now set about preparing the way for her divorce. She wrote a memorandum for her solicitor suggesting desertion as the grounds, with cruelty as an alternative “but undesirable one to use.”⁸³ She had already secured copies of all relevant documents through his brother Barter, duly authorised and in duplicate. All that remained was to get Fortune to sign. Barter appears to have never discussed any of this with Reo, or queried his feelings regarding a divorce. It says much of the ability of Mead to create a plausible story and manipulate the feelings of others in order to achieve her desired ends.

Fortune’s troubles were not only associated with Mead. Malinowski also was problematic, despite his offer of money to keep Fortune in London. Felix Keesing, a fellow New Zealander, who had studied under Malinowski at the LSE during 1933 - 1934 as a Rockefeller Foundation Fellow, apparently commented to Mead that Malinowski dreaded Fortune’s arrival in London as he saw him as a potential rival. Keesing also apparently remarked that Fortune was so much happier now that he had alternatives to relying on Malinowski.⁸⁴ When Fortune first arrived and Malinowski

⁸² LOC: MMP R9 Bickerton to Mead, letter dated 17 December 1934.

⁸³ LOC: MMP R5 Memorandum for Mr Vorhaus, n.d.

⁸⁴ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter dated 5 June 1934. “Keesing came through yesterday. . . Keesing says he [Malinowski] was scared to death of Reo’s coming, and prepared to crawl, then when he found Reo dependant, he turned and bullied. All of which I’ve known of course, but it is worse

found that he was almost destitute, he took the opportunity to patronise Fortune. In the beginning Fortune found Malinowski to be quite pleasant. But this pleasantry was predicated on Fortune's indigent position. Malinowski could afford to be generous to those whom he saw as in need. As Fortune put it "He's *lapan* [chief] and wants lau [commoners] only."⁸⁵

Fortune believed that Malinowski had written to Firth saying neither Mead nor Fortune was competent to run the Department in Sydney when Fortune was offered the year teaching under Elkin. He also believed that Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown's plan had been to install Elkin in the Chair with Fortune as lecturer, but his decision not to take the temporary position in 1933 and his subsequent challenge for the Chair created problems. Despite both backing Fortune for the Chair, the University was aware of their previous ranking Fortune below Elkin, and this effectively swung the decision in favour of Elkin.⁸⁶ A case could be made for believing that Malinowski would have also liked to see Fortune as far away as possible. When Malinowski criticised Mead's work, Fortune defended her, thereby incurring his wrath, and when the position at Cairo was advertised, Malinowski suggested Fortune would be better back in New Guinea. But there was still the prospect of a Carnegie Fellowship and when Fortune was awarded this Malinowski ostensibly told Keppel that Fortune had 'something else' before Fortune knew of the award himself. Copeland had requested that, should the grant be made, Malinowski be cabled with the outcome. The grant was awarded on 14 May and Malinowski

when dispassionately documented".

⁸⁵ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 23 January 1934.

⁸⁶ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 10 March 1934.

wrote to Keppel three days later advising that Fortune had applied for Cairo but also had received an offer for further fieldwork in New Guinea. He further stated that he would advise Fortune to let Keppel know immediately should he accept either of the two alternative positions. This effectively left Fortune no option but to decline Carnegie, take up the engineered grant from Columbia and return to New Guinea.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ CU: Carnegie Corporation Box III A No.148 Fol II Fortune, Dr Reo F 1934-1941

Chapter Eight

Return to the Field

Though in debt to both Malinowski and Firth, returning to the field seemed the best option for Fortune. However, ill health compounded by unforeseen expenses, meant that by the time he eventually reached his field site in the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea, he did so with only the barest essentials. Although Fortune published very little from his time among the people of this area, his work there may be regarded as the pioneering ethnography of the Highlands.

Before leaving England, Fortune attended the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences held in London on 30 July - 4 August 1934.¹ Delegates from more than fifty nations representing two hundred academies, universities, and other institutions and societies, attended. Few Americans were there as Lawrence Frank, of the Rockefeller Foundation, had organised an interdisciplinary conference at Hanover, New Hampshire, at almost the same time. This latter conference was to give impetus to the 'Culture and Personality' school of anthropology and widen the gap between British and North American anthropology.

Although he had planned to present his paper, 'Culture in Male Descent and in Female Descent',² Fortune instead repeated his Cambridge lecture at the Congress. His summary of events in a letter to Malinowski is very tongue in cheek. Audrey Richards presented a paper titled 'Tree-cutting ceremonies among the Babemba', which Fortune described as "Audrey Richards cut tops and branches off trees in Rhodesian gardens with unuttered and possibly unutterable sociological consequences". Raymond Firth meanwhile spoke on the 'Ritual of Worship of Gods',

¹ For a full report on this congress refer to *MAN* Vol 34, (September 1934) pp 137 - 152. See also *Congr s International Des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques Compte-rendu de la premi re Session Londres 1934*

² LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Non-African papers 1934-1938, Fortune unpublished manuscript *Culture in Male Descent and in Female Descent*.

or as Fortune put it, “Tikopians making crouching obeisances before their gods and giving them bits of food and kava”. Similar semi-humorous remarks were made about other papers, but on the whole Fortune seemed to have appreciated the congress as a “fairly good show”. He also advised Malinowski that he was applying for the Capetown position and regretted not being able to spend another year in London.³

Fortune left England on 28 August and made his way to Finland, where he joined the *M.V. Rabaul*, a cargo ship bound for the Mandated Territory of New Guinea via Dakar, Durban and Sydney, and due to arrive at Salamaua in January 1935. As the only passenger aboard, he expected to have plenty of time to write up his Arapesh material for publication. In fact, Fortune had been productive over the six months he had been in England and likewise during the voyage to Durban. He revised his Manus manuscript, completed his Arapesh language text, and his paper on culture and descent. The Manus manuscript had not yet been accepted for publication, but the Arapesh work was contracted to Columbia University Press. All three manuscripts were now on their way to Benedict, Boas, and by default, Mead.

Fortune also sent Malinowski a copy of the paper ‘Culture in Male Descent and in Female Descent’,⁴ which, as mentioned above, he had planned originally to present as a seminar at the Royal Anthropological Institute. It was partly a response to questions raised by Firth in a seminar on Dobu, and partly Fortune’s interpretation of the influence of gender on the transmission of culture by descent. Also, as he wrote

³ LSE: Malinowski 7/5 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 8 August 1934.

⁴ LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Non-African papers 1934-1938, Fortune unpublished manuscript *Culture in Male Descent and in Female Descent*.

to Benedict, “It’s partly my account of the different language which I speak from Margaret”.⁵

This paper attempted a comparative analysis of the “course of culture in male descent and the course of culture in female descent”, in particular showing a relationship between the “social psychology of the human senses” and “sex as a medium of descent for culture”. Fortune started from the premise that the human family involved a continuity, “based on language, tradition, inheritance and succession between generations,” which generally can be described as matrilineal or patrilineal. While he considered it “clear that these [were] blunt terms to describe an intricate and complex system of passing down tradition”, nevertheless he found the patriliney/matriliny distinction convenient for his study, since “the dominant weight of formal social tradition” does pass down either a patrilineal or matrilineal line. The continuity of tradition and inheritance of property may be preserved on a continuum almost totally or pre-dominantly in either a male or female line: “A matrilineal society may preserve the continuity of its tradition and material estate almost exclusively in the female line, or barely dominantly in the female line, or at any point of balance between these extremes”. The same principle is equally applicable to the patrilineal line.

As an example of this continuum, Fortune took the Trobriands and Dobu as both “dominantly matrilineal”, but where inheritance is not exclusively down the maternal line. He considered that matrilineal descent was also lateral and therefore “thick”, whereas the patrilineal line lacks the lateral development. The reason, he explains, is that “the matriarchal interest in retaining the children keeps the maternal

⁵ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter undated. Because he was due to sail from Durban within a few hours this would have been written around the middle of November 1934.

clan closely knit together” which “gives the maternal clan a ‘lateral’ as well as a lineal reality, whereas the paternal clan lacks a counter-equivalent ‘lateral’ reality”. Fortune also raises a question regarding maternal clans, specifically “why the mother’s brother plays a more prominent part than the father’s sister generally does in paternal clans”. His answer was that patriliney contrives to elevate wife and mother while still disadvantaging women, whereas matriliney contrives to elevate man as brother and mother’s brother while still disadvantaging husband and father. The former discriminates on grounds of sex, the latter against fatherhood.

At Durban, Fortune received word that the Capetown Chair had gone - presumably to Isaac Schapera. Charles Seligman had backed Schapera and Fortune felt this was a case of a Jew supporting first a fellow Jew.⁶ Fortune was not particularly enamoured of Seligman and the feeling seems to have been mutual.

While Fortune was still at sea, Mead wrote him three identical letters, saying:

You said in one of your last letters from London that you thought the one of us who was the most neurotic and found the continuance of the marriage the most difficult should get a divorce. Whether I am neurotic or not I don’t know, but I do feel that I will definitely be able to make a better adjustment and work better if all uncertainty and ambiguity are ended in this way. It is without any repudiation of the past that I am writing to ask if you will sign the accompanying papers which will make it possible for me to get a Mexican one as that will ensure a maximum degree of privacy. It will not, I hope, mean that our scientific cooperation cannot continue.

She also enclosed a power of attorney which she asked Fortune to sign in order to “regularise the matter both for America and the British Empire”. Despite asking for the divorce, she offered to act for him as she had done during 1934, assisting with job applications, publication and proof-reading, and assured him that “all [his] notes are stored in the Museum and will be cared for until such time as [he needed] them”. She

⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 24 October 1934.

ended her letter “Goodbye Reo and the best of luck in the field”⁷. It is unclear as to whether Mead sent all three copies of this letter to Fortune, but she did write to Barter with the news that Fortune would soon be in Sydney. Should he make contact with Barter, Mead advised, it would be best that Barter denied any knowledge of the documents, unless Fortune himself raised the matter, in which case Barter “need not have known what their purpose was”.⁸ Mead also warned Caroline Kelly that Fortune was on his way and enlisted her help in securing the required signatures on the power of attorney.

Fortune duly arrived in Sydney on December 12. As he was the only passenger, the vessel remained in the stream rather than berthing at the wharf, so a letter was sent out to him asking him to call at Timothy Kelly’s office before proceeding to the University where he expected to pick up supplies. Caroline Kelly was there to greet him, having prepared the ground before his arrival. She had previously contacted an old boyfriend of hers, who was now a respected and fashionable divorce counsel, to find out where things stood regarding the required signatures. She had also talked with solicitors and the Mexican consul, swearing them all to secrecy. The latter had apparently “seduced a girlfriend of [Kelly’s] some years back so he was easy - He is married now and has just become a proud parent and respectable citizen - you understand”⁹. All this cloak and dagger manoeuvring was unnecessary, but demonstrates the way both Mead and Kelly thought about Fortune’s possible reaction to a divorce. Kelly was also concerned about Fortune meeting

⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letters dated 12 October, 23 October, and 10 November 1934.

⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Barter Fortune, letter dated 16 November 1934.

⁹ LOC: MMP B9 Caroline Tennant Kelly to Mead, letter dated 19 December 1934.

Camilla Wedgewood at the University. Wedgewood had stated that she wasn't sure what stores the University could give Fortune, but as she had recently "proclaimed herself free of her infatuation for [Raymond] Firth", Kelly thought she might now set her sights on Fortune. When Kelly phoned Wedgewood to say they were on their way, Wedgewood invited them both to lunch. "Once at the Uni. Camilla fawned all over him", and lunch was spent talking Melanesian stuff. Wedgewood subsequently supplied Fortune with "endless gear and two guns - lots of her own medicines etc". To be polite, Kelly then invited Wedgewood to join her, Timothy and Fortune for dinner. Kelly described dinner:

He [Fortune] talked solely to C.[amilla] about sorcery and magic with stacks of symbolical stuff that I recognised but which was over her head. I saw her weaken in her enthusiasm and before the meal was over she had ceased to be a problem - Thank God".¹⁰

That Fortune chose to ignore both Kellys at dinner left them feeling miserable, but Caroline had her mission to complete. The next day she met again with Fortune and told him that she had received a letter from Mead asking her to help with some affairs with the consul. Pretending that she did not understand what it was about, she let Fortune know that she did not like his attitude in ignoring her and that she was no more pleased to be there than he was to have her there. Fortune then confided in Kelly that Mead had told him to keep the matter secret, and he was surprised that she [Kelly] seemed to know what it was about. Able at last to talk about the matter, Fortune discussed his childless marriage and inferred that Mead wanted a divorce because she wanted children. He also was sure that Bateson was out of the picture and that the prospective new husband was probably someone from New York.

¹⁰ LOC:MMP B9 Caroline Tennant Kelly to Mead, letter dated 19 December 1934.

Leaving Sydney, Fortune sailed north to Queensland where his boat was diverted to Fiji. Unfortunately the after-effects of surgery undergone in Durban, when he had an impacted wisdom tooth surgically removed, and the dentist had chipped the jaw bone, resulted in him being hospitalised in Suva. Apparently the infection had developed into a dangerous abscess. Had he left it, he was warned, it could have caused necrosis and been life-threatening.

This enforced hiatus in reaching New Guinea gave Fortune time to reflect on the impending divorce. He wrote to Mead telling her that he did not want a divorce but if she felt that she wanted one “for [her] own pleasure, or amusement, or rest, or relief, or re-engagement then that was [her] business”.¹¹ He also told her that the reason he went to England rather than the United States was because he was without means and did not want to rely on her for his living. He felt that had he gone to America, Mead would not have been able to freely decide what she wanted and that he would be a burden, once more ‘butting in’ on her affairs. He had lost faith in love, regarding it as a ‘romantic fiction’, and was now more interested in respect. He told her, “I did always respect you most fully [and] in this recent business I’d still have respected you if I could have got out alone early or at once with you.” He wanted nothing more tangible than respect, but her pseudo-scientific theory of the squares had hurt him more than any “divorce coupons to sign”.¹²

However, despite reflecting on his marriage, Fortune never had work far from his mind. He took time also to write to Haddon and Seligman, commenting on the Fijian language and its similarity to the languages of the D’Entrecasteaux. He found

¹¹ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 3 January 1935.

¹² LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 9 January 1935.

that the linguistic differences between Fijian and Dobuan were no more than those between Dobuan and other languages of the area. As examples he shows that the Dobuan 'S' changed to 'Th' as in Dobuan *Usuna* and Fijian *Uthu a*, and the Fijian 'Y' changes to either 'K' or 'B' so that Fijian *Yate a* corresponds to Dobuan *Katena*. He also noted that the tribe of Fergusson Island, opposite Goodenough Island and Bwaidoga, "have a greater community of custom with Fiji, as e.g. the cutting off of finger joints at the death of a relative".¹³ Seligman responded with great interest in what Fortune had to say about the "close similarity of the Dobuan and Fijian languages", although he thought "it was a long time since these people speaking the two languages had had any contact or had split from an original stock".¹⁴

Fortune also told Seligman that he was interested in effectively mapping culture areas "in terms of distance and lack of distance in differentiation". He felt its outcome would be "an understanding of the nature of a culture area - not in terms of voyages but in terms of degrees of differentiation from a common base". If he were successful in attaining a position, such as those held by Williams and Chinnery, he was sure that after a time he would be able to do such mapping, given that nobody else was doing so.¹⁵ Seligman was pleased to hear this and thought that mapping the culture areas of the Pacific was, "the biggest thing there is to do in that area". Should Fortune take on the task, Seligman hoped he would carry it on for years.¹⁶

During this enforced stay in Fiji, Fortune took the opportunity to write a small essay "Notes on Early Beliefs in Cases of Illness" (1935b), in which he compared

¹³ LSE: Seligman 4/1/2 Fortune to Seligman, letter dated 10 January 1935.

¹⁴ LSE: Seligman 4/1/2 Seligman to Fortune, letter dated 15 March 1935.

¹⁵ LSE: Seligman 4/1/2 Fortune to Seligman, letter dated 10 January 1935.

¹⁶ LSE: Seligman 4/1/2 Seligman to Fortune, letter dated 15 March 1935.

various parts of the Pacific in relation to the system of attributing illness to the wrongdoing of the patient or one of his/her relatives.

Fortune was to spend ten days in the Suva hospital and then another ten days waiting for a boat to take him again to Sydney. He finally left Fiji on the *Aorangi*, which passed through Auckland on January 20. Hearing of his pending arrival in Auckland, Barter and Shirley wanted to travel to Auckland but the time involved and the fact that Barter had just started a new job precluded it. However, Evelyn rushed to the last possible train and made the journey so that at least one member of the family was there to meet him. Fortune wrote to Mead telling her of Evelyn's fleeting visit and of Barter and Shirley's marriage, unaware that Mead already knew of this.¹⁷ He also did not mention that he had visited his cousin Dorothea Arnaboldi, though Barter was to mention this six months later. Barter advised Mead that he had been unable to find out what had occurred in Auckland with the meeting between Reo and Evelyn, although he had heard "that he made no state secret of his marital affairs as Mother apparently seems to know that divorce from you if not absolute is implicit". He then went on to say that Reo had visited Dorothea,

with whom it is popularly imagined that he was once enamoured. . . I doubt if you know her, but she is a simple country lass, physically capable and, as I remember her, very beautiful to look upon, but intellectually quiescent. Ray in his more youthful days was strongly attracted to her, mainly because she was physically beautiful and because she would offer no intellectual competition with him"¹⁸.

His arrival in Sydney was complicated by the *Aorangi* going into quarantine due to an outbreak of smallpox onboard. Although Fortune was allowed ashore earlier

¹⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Barter and Shirley Fortune to Mead, letters dated 10 January 1935; 22 January 1935. Reo Fortune to Mead, letter dated 27 January 1935.

¹⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Barter Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 May 1935.

than other passengers because of his recent vaccination, he was kept under surveillance while he waited to hear if the *Macdhui* would accept him on board to continue his journey. With his field money already deposited in Rabaul, Fortune had to cable for funds in order to leave Fiji and again on his arrival in Sydney. He wrote to Benedict:

I feel bad about it. The tramp ship was slow, but cheap and I was saving against later time. But it detouring to Fiji en route to Rabaul and my dumping in hospital there - then having to get out myself at further expense - and now this quarantine stay again is all to the bad. I'm most sorry - When I'm for the time being getting treatment as of value I want to live up to it.¹⁹

He regarded his enforced stays in Fiji and Sydney as his 'holiday' and found himself becoming "more eager for not being allowed to get there easily". He continued,

I enjoy your book [*Patterns of Culture*] greatly. One of the next things to do is to work out a field methodology for studying cultures as variant organisations of the sentiments. Malinowski has worked out really good field techniques for studying cultures as variant organisations for getting essential jobs done. His lecturing, (unpublished stuff), is really on field techniques - with great ingenuity really - but all directed to forwarding his one idea of culture. Now there are at least two ideas well floated. Self conscious field techniques in elaboration are a good lecturing device for making better field work - May be M [alinowski] does a good job there - for his general idea only, of course - but the manner is worth something - something real there to talk over one day I hope. But a new general view couldn't have been better floated than in your book I'm sure.²⁰

He also wrote to Malinowski:

Have you read Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*? It's about cultures as variant organisations of the sentiments. Your methodology is all about cultures as variant organisations for getting essential jobs done. It's good, but oriented to the one point. It may be there are now two good points. There are I think some open spaces for elaboration of field techniques that you have left open. I'd like to know what you think anyway. . . I liked Mauss very much. He and you and Boas can claim

¹⁹ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 27 January 1935.

²⁰ Ibid.

to be the least of old women in Academic anthropology - which is better than worrying about who's the best anthropologist. The subject is stuffed even fuller with old women than it is with bad ethnologists, and the former is the more serious setback to it.²¹

Fortune considered some anthropologists in academia to be out of touch with the realities of fieldwork and also a barrier to fieldwork for those who were good at it. He saw himself primarily as a fieldworker who would be wasted in an academic position, and yet he still aspired to a position within an institution which would give him the status he craved.

With his notes waiting in Rabaul, Fortune felt there was no need to stay long in Sydney, and was on his way by February 1. He appeared to be under some pressure to provide a report to the SSRC on his previous period in the Sepik, and advised Benedict that as soon as he had his notes to hand he would send what he could. He told her that the additional material he would send from Rabaul was typical of what he had - "patches of observations made travelling", and remarked that any material relating to their Arapesh camp, where he and Mead had observed everything together, was already amplified in her notes through cross-checking with his own. For instance, where Mead had notes on the type of hunting trap used, he had the text of the magical incantations recited in their use.²² There seems little doubt that Mead had access also to the manuscript of his *Arapesh* work which had been forwarded to Benedict.

On his arrival at Rabaul, Fortune found opposition to his entering the Central Highlands. A series of murders in the previous few years had led to tighter controls on who could enter.²³ Chinnery, the government anthropologist to the Mandated

²¹ LSE: Malinowski 7/5 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 28 January 1935.

²² LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 1 February 1935.

²³On the closure of the Highlands see: Gammage (1998); Kituai (1998) and Radford (1987).

Territory, and director of district services, eventually permitted him to enter, providing he “slept at a police post and not in a native village. The notion in this condition was that of freeing [him] from possible involvement in the defence of a village”.²⁴ As a result he chose Komonka Police Post, situated about a day from Ramu aerodrome [Kainantu], on a hillock above the village of Fukaminofi. This post, which was approximately midway between Kainantu and Goroka, had been established immediately after the death of the prospector, Bernard McGrath, in February 1934. When Fortune arrived there on 20 February 1935, the post was staffed by a couple of native constables as there was a shortage of patrol officers. According to Chinnery, the only non-native people between Ramu and Mt Hagen were about half a dozen miners and missionaries who had settled there prior to the murder of two Catholic missionaries in 1934.²⁵

Within a week of his arrival Fortune wrote to Mead advising her of his position and of the dangerousness of this locality. He noted that the day he arrived a fight between neighbouring villages had left six dead. Bowmen were accurate at a distance of two hundred yards, and despite the Government men being armed with rifles with telescopic sights, the locals were still prepared to fight. No-one was willing to carry supplies for the white man, nor were they prepared to build houses for them. The only rest houses for Government officers and others were those built where prospectors’ and Government men’s graves were located. Despite this, he had made some progress on the language, and he had already determined that there were “thirty-

²⁴ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: 80 323 355, Draft manuscript “Among the Kamano” p.14.

²⁵ Australian Joint Copying Project Micro MS Coll 20-27 46 Chinnery to Haddon, letter dated 24 April 1935.

nine parts to the verb, three grades of distance of possession in the possessive, [and the] noun quite amicable if left alone".²⁶

Having spent more than he expected in getting to the field - the detour and hospitalisation in Fiji, along with having to purchase a new fare, had cost him £70 - Fortune went in with the bare essentials. According to McLean (1992), his pack contained little more than his sleeping bag, his toilet gear and his clothing, along with a good supply of razor blades. Presumably he also took supplies of trade goods, and a first aid kit which was deemed indispensable when in the field. He thought it "just possible to be self subsistent . . . by doing without meat or kerosene . . . no very great deprivation. . . Potatoes and cabbage and tomatoes can be grown here." He wanted to stay in the field as long as possible to do "a correspondingly good job", even if it meant there was no academic position at the end of it all.²⁷

Despite throwing himself into his work, Fortune was unable to forget the events in the Sepik. Mead and Bateson frequently pervaded his thoughts. He wrote to Benedict saying that:

. . . any real letter you write is destroyed. Margaret is not entitled to other persons' business, as much as her craving that way would lead. I know she asks, for her sense of security, everyone's exact station to everyone else disclosed; And I do not think it good. I saw it externally on the Sepik in her possessing herself of his [Bateson] letters from his latest mistress; and I made a judgement on the spot that Margaret mixes everyone in a stew too much, and sometimes takes advantage of knowledge she has no right to demand.²⁸

For Fortune, letters were a matter of privacy between the writer and the recipient. He was pleased also that Benedict had been able to save Mead from "publishing a Race

²⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 1 March 1935.

²⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 5 March 1935.

²⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 8 March 1935.

Theory about how she set about divorcing [him]”²⁹. Throughout 1934 and the early part of 1935, Fortune’s letters to Mead were mostly diatribes, against the ‘Squares Theory’. Now that he was on the brink of divorce, his tone changed to a more explanatory one describing the reasons for his actions:

I never intended this business to lead to your getting a divorce. On the Sepik you cursed me continually for being in your way - I was an intruder, and of the wrong race into the bargain and you let me know it, in case I had no perception of my own. However at first opportunity I got out of your steam roller way - somewhat crushed, but still not utterly bone broken, and hoping that if you could steam roll your own way, you’d at least recover your mind from this Race opportunism - which at the time appeared to me most truly to border on madness; and still does not seem to me to be anything more than an expression of chills and fevers. . . I knew I was not going to take you to America ranting your personal life as science. . . Then you went without informing me of your going. . . I knew I was due to run out of money before a year was up - I knew also you were in no very good mind so I kept out of your way - being hard up and not wishing to be dependent upon you, and moreover, as to your mind, still being possibly of the wrong race. That is the tale; It’s all your affair - I’ve done the best I knew how to do; you’ve done, I suppose, what seemed best to you. I trust you have good luck in whatever you do.

In a postscript to this letter he tells Mead that physical sex is unimportant to him. “I don’t care about the fucking particularly anyway - more about the enduring parts. In you, mainly your mind”.³⁰

The next day he wrote to Bateson, saying he had not heard from Mead whom he saw as “more politician, than otherwise”, and who had told his few friends a one-sided account of his “departure from virtue, as if it were entirely gratuitous on [his] behalf.” He laid some of the blame for events in the Sepik on Bateson, saying:

As for the stuff as science, I expect you saw only that I was an alien race; you and Margaret as the one and the same race, suited you

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 13 March 1935.

personally. So you were content to be less than exacting scientifically; and, if you were a fine scientist, I should think, less than honest.³¹

Mead had been writing, but for some reason the mail was not reaching Fortune at this time. The first letter he received was dated 7 January 1935 and he got this on 14 March. It informed him that the American Philosophical Society had accepted his Manus manuscript for publication, that Kroeber had used his Dobuan material “in a recent article on insanity and primitive culture”, and that while she had not seen the Arapesh manuscript, it was with Boas. She also told him that she had sent Barter and Shirley £5 as a wedding present from both of them, and that she would continue to look after his insurance.³² However, she wrote to Barter suggesting that he take over the payments for the insurance as the beneficiaries were Barter and his sister Evelyn. She stated:

. . . I don't think it's a very good plan for me to go on paying it. I carry fourteen hundred pounds insurance in his favour also. . . I should not have carried insurance in Reo's favour, let him leave his insurance with no provision for me, and paid the premiums on that. However, I did.³³

When Fortune received this letter of 7 January, he “handled it cautiously in case it was another of the Sydney kind”, but was pleasantly surprised to find it unrelated. He thanked Mead for the information regarding his Manus manuscript and her offer to send him the [*American*] *Anthropologist*. He ended saying, “I like being here very much now I am here, tho' I feared it like the devil on the way out - But it's a good country”.³⁴

³¹ LOC: MMP S1 Fortune to Bateson, letter dated 14 March 1935.

³² LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 7 January 1935.

³³ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Barter Fortune, letter dated 13 March 1935.

³⁴ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 14 March 1935.

Around this time Fortune received a letter from T. C. Hodson which discussed his possible successor for the Chair at Cambridge. Word was that Radcliffe-Brown was under consideration but some felt he was happy where he was at Chicago. Fortune subsequently wrote to Malinowski, expressing his concern that Seligman may try to get Jack Herbert Driberg appointed. “If they give it to [Louis] Leakey I’ll just say the fellow found gold, and the rest of us didn’t. That won’t be bitter. But if they give it to Driberg it will be a scandal of a high magnitude, and if to Bateson, a scandal of a common enough kind”³⁵

Throughout 1934 Mead had avoided talking of Bateson to Fortune, pretending not to be in contact with him, but now that her divorce proceedings were underway, she told Fortune that “Gregory [was] coming to America between terms” to give lectures at both Columbia and Chicago. Maintaining her pretence, she wrote to Fortune telling him: “It will be strange to see [Bateson] again after not knowing what has been happening”.³⁶ About ten days later she wrote two letters informing Fortune that her relationship with Bateson had not changed. In one she stated that she was clear that she was not going to marry again, “unless there is a definite and immediate possibility of having children”.³⁷ However, her major excitement at this time was to have clarified, for herself, the difference between society and culture. “In the study of society the individual is the unit and in the study of culture the item of behaviour is the unit . . . You and I, in *Manus*, probably did the best piece of sociology of a primitive people that has ever been done”. The second letter reiterated her feelings

³⁵ LSE: Malinowski 7/5 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 19 March 1935.

³⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 24 March 1935.

³⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letters dated 8 April 1935. (Two letters)

for Bateson and advised Fortune of the possibility of establishing a Chair in Anthropology at Canterbury University College, Christchurch. Professor John Macmillan Brown, who died in 1935, had bequeathed his anthropological collection and his library to the college along with a sum of money to establish a centre for Pacific Studies. Mead seemed eager for Fortune to apply for this position and solicited letters of support from Peter Buck, Felix Keesing and H. D. Skinner. The Chair did not eventuate at this time, but the bequest was to become the basis for the Macmillan Brown Centre for Pacific Studies some decades in the future.

Mead also was in touch with Barter Fortune, painting herself as his benefactor and saying that the money for his three years at Victoria University College had come from her salary which she had not had to use while in the field. While this is possibly true, Mead had also remarked to Benedict in 1928-29 that two could live as cheaply as one, and she had been able to save her field monies while living off Fortune's research funds. Fortune would not have seen this as a problem because he firmly believed that a man should financially support his wife. However, the picture that Barter was receiving must have contributed to his devotion and loyalty to Mead, which saw him write to her:

It would seem that Ray is a lost being from your point of view. That is my impression. What your own intimate sentiments may be in the matter, I don't know, but before you make any decisions, whether from love, charity or bravado, I would counsel you to think out just where your own interests lie cosiest and act along those lines. After all Ray is a fellow with a great deal of specialised brilliance but with not too many human virtues of constancy and sentimental stability. He is like the rest of us Fortunes barring Howard - a creature who is occasionally seized with temporary and burning fits of zeal and devotion, but I think you know this and you will admit that he is not too stable in this.

And later in the same letter

. . .whilst Ray is my own brother you are quite as near to me in affection. I feel that after all your life is your own life. I have never heard the story from your own lips, but as far as I make any judgement, I incline to the opinion that you have not been quite fairly treated by Ray. I know what a devil of a man he can be in spite of his general 'lovability'. . . I also know that he is a violent tempered individual with definite lack of balance. Knowing all this, I can appreciate what sort of life you led during your last research trip. . . In all this . . . I am not turning 'dog' on Ray. I am merely stressing those of his characteristics which make it impossible for you to live happily with him. And from this point of view, it is these disabilities that count fundamentally. I could recite an oration on Ray's positive virtues - but these don't matter, not because they are unimportant. But because they are effectually irrelevant.³⁸

Knowing that Reo would not take money from her, Margaret now proposed that she would send a sum of money to Barter, who would then forward it in small amounts to Fortune as if it were from himself. Barter agreed, promising that it would be their secret.

Although Fortune was to publish little of his fieldwork from this period, Watson (1964:1) records that "Fortune's 1935 fieldwork among the Kamano of the Eastern Highlands should perhaps be considered the pioneer ethnography of the Highlands", despite little of it being published. Also, Fortune's time in the field was interrupted and he did not return until 1951. Piecing together the fragments of manuscripts which remain, and from his correspondence with Mead, Benedict and others, it is possible to build a picture of Fortune's experiences at that time.

During his first forty days at the post, Fortune was able to enter the villages and begin work, despite the fact that one of his messengers was murdered within ten days of his arrival³⁹. He described the villages which he observed most closely as:

³⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Barter Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 May 1935.

³⁹ APS: Franz Boas Collection B:B61, Fortune, Reo # 2. Fortune to Boas, letter dated 7 March 1935.

Kumuina, Finintegu, Fukaminofi, Faganofi and Ikanofi. Kumuina was located on the western range of hills beside the Kamano river valley and Ikanofi on the Eastern Range. Finintegu was in the valley between them. Fukaminofi was about three hundred yards down river from Finintegu and Faganofi about half a mile further down river from Fukaminofi. Further down river again was Henkanofi (Henganofi).⁴⁰

In order to understand the relationships between the villages he needed to understand something of their history.

In 1924 Finintegu was located near where it was in 1935, after having been about eight years on the move. In 1925 Faganofi with some others attacked and evicted it. At some later date Fukaminofi, but not Faganofi, invited Finintegu to return to its former land. Finintegu accepted the invitation and returned. Thereupon Faganofi offered the Fukaminofi men payment to kill some Finintegu men on their behalf. The Fukaminofi men accepted the commission and received a part payment of some pigs in advance. They killed and ate the pigs and then, instead of fulfilling the commission, killed the two Faganofi men and in the subsequent fighting evicted Faganofi. At some date about 1934 Fukaminofi and Faganofi made peace and Faganofi returned to its land.⁴¹

This background enabled Fortune to make sense of the events which occurred at the end of March 1935, when Faganofi attacked Fukaminofi. In the interim period Fortune settled in and was able to observe local customs which included a form of duelling which he said was similar to that observed by Greenwood (1865) among Australian Aborigines. "In this duelling the protagonists stand opposite each other with their heads bare and take turns to whack the other's proffered skull with a waddy or a baton".⁴² The duel that Fortune witnessed was "between two kinsmen on the male

⁴⁰ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: 80 323 355 Draft manuscript "Among the Kamano" n.d. p.5-6. Although I have retained Fortune's spelling of these villages, it is possible that they have changed over time. For instance, Fortune gives Kumuina which is more than likely now Komoina or Kumoina. Alternative names for Finintegu are Komaka and Kumoka which may also have been Fortune's Komonka. The prospector Bernard McGrath was killed and buried at Finintegu and Fortune mentions that his police post is adjacent to McGrath's grave. Finintegu village was three hundred yards from the Post.

⁴¹ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: 80 323 355 Draft manuscript "Among the Kamano" n.d. p.6

⁴² Ibid p16-17

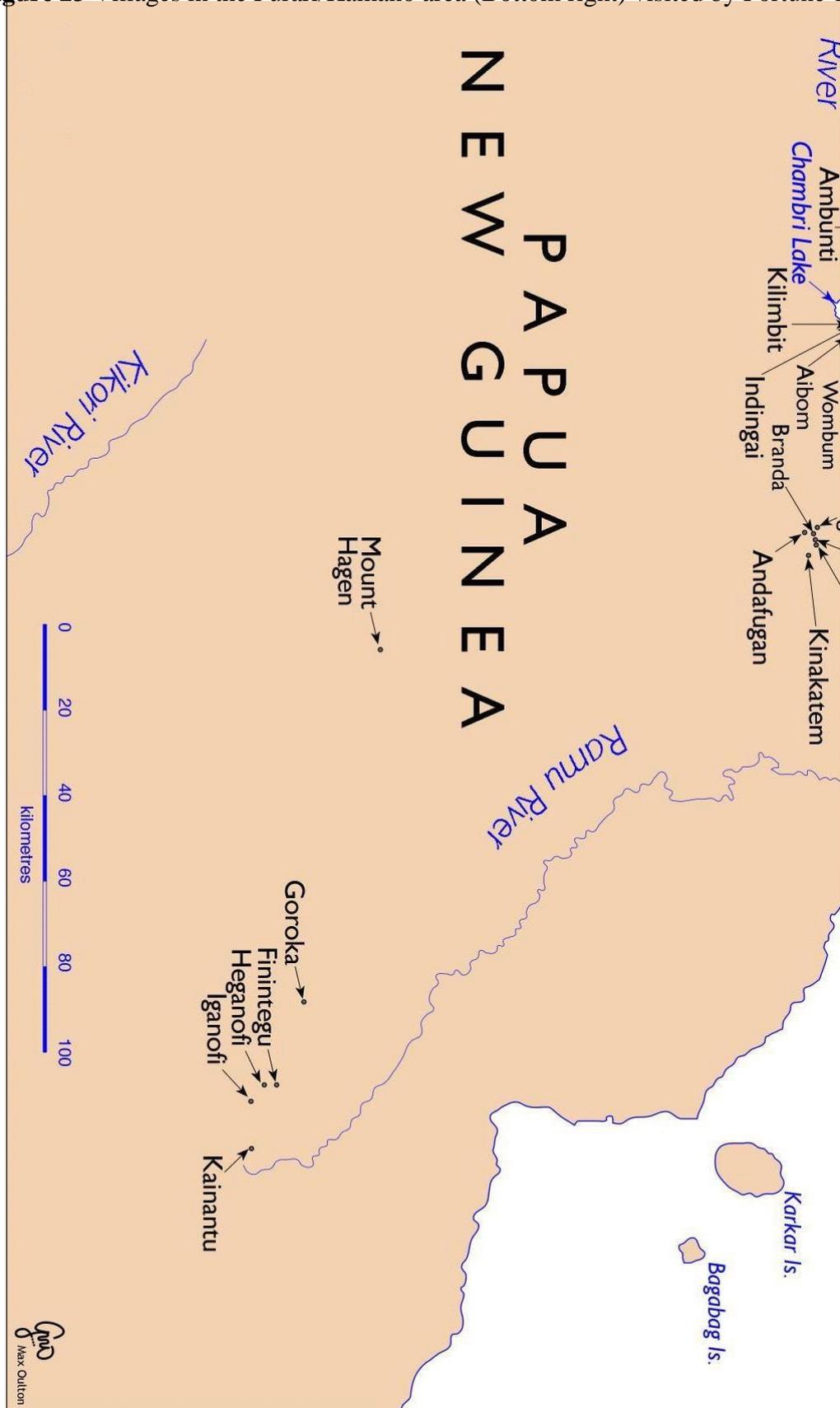
side for the hand of a widow” and ended with the drawing of blood. The loser not only lost the widow but was required to pay a substantial fine to his mother’s brothers and their sons. Another interesting custom was the segregation of children after a couple had sexual intercourse. It was believed that the odour of a man’s copulation became imbued in the food which he and his wife cooked for the three days following intercourse. Eating of this food by others could cause stomach upsets and in the case of children, stunt their growth. They were therefore sent away from the home for the requisite three days.

As McLean⁴³ (1992:44) notes, “Fortune was somewhat nonplussed by some of the customs and behaviour confronting him. One such concerned the niceties of greeting”. When men met, it was customary to touch the penis of the other and to say “Thy penis greeting”, while when a woman met a man she might use the same greeting or “Thy scrotum greeting”, without touching the man. A close relative, however, would more usually use a greeting of a relationship term such “My sister/brother greeting”. It was only a father who would greet his daughter with “Thy vulva greeting”. Fortune does not record whether women on meeting would touch each other on the vulva and use “Thy vulva greeting”. However Elizabeth Mandeville indicates that when she was there in the 1970s the customary greeting she encountered was “Your genitals” or “I eat your genitals”, made, to the best of her knowledge, “between any two people well disposed to each other. . . The accompanying gesture was a hand towards, rather than on, the genital area and then to the mouth, where an eating movement was simulated”.⁴⁴

⁴³ Ann McLean is Fortune’s niece.

⁴⁴ Personal communication from Elizabeth Mandeville dated 24 April 2007.

Figure 23 Villages in the Purari/Kamano area (Bottom right) visited by Fortune 1935-36



By early April Fortune had set out his plan for writing about, as he then termed it, the Purari Culture⁴⁵. He considered that while “psychoanalysts make the child’s reactions to its parents the cornerstone of family conflict”, the focus instead should be on the parent’s claim to dominance over the other, “in the special appropriation of the children to the paternal or to the maternal side, with all the violence of unilateral descent”. He saw the child as “a football of the culture the parents make”, and therefore the medium or focus for parental conflict.

The Kamano [Purari] culture, as he saw it, institutionally raised the status of the male so high and that of the female so low “ as an incident of the means used”. Every time a man had intercourse with his wife it was observable to the whole community through the exclusion of children from the household, thereby being perhaps the “clearest possible recognition of physiological fatherhood”. If a family had many children, the father was advised, by his seniors, to desist from intercourse precisely because he was having too many children.

The culture was, on the whole, very similar to the Arapesh, but incidences of death were a major difference. Approximately seventy percent of deaths of “men, women and children above weaning age” were the direct result of warfare, while the other thirty percent, although natural deaths, were seen to be the result of sorcery. Of particular interest was the practice of eating those of their own kin who had been killed in warfare. It was not cannibalism as in eating the enemy while rejoicing and dancing, which was unheard of, but rather an expression of sorrow as exemplified

⁴⁵ ATL: Fortune, Re o Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-G roup-0923: Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 2 April 1935. Fortune Initially called these people the Purari and it was not until some years later that they became known as the Kamano.

in the requirement for widows to sever a finger joint and give to another woman to eat.

On or about the first of April, Fortune witnessed the killing of two Fukaminofi youths in a Faganofi ambush. He immediately went down to Fukaminofi where he found the war leader and his men were still away from camp. On their return, two young men told Fortune that the souls of the dead had gone to the sky. Then, at a signal from their leader, they stepped behind him and drew their bows to full stretch. The war leader, facing Fortune, also had drawn his bow with an arrow directed at Fortune's chest. As Fortune was later to discover, this was normal behaviour when confronted with a stranger, but at the time he thought that this was to be his death. Similar events a year earlier, had resulted in the death of the prospector Bernard McGrath.

According to Fortune, some unidentified Fukaminofi men had stolen knives and axes from McGrath and, when he demanded their return, a deputation had gone to speak to him. Following their custom, they approached McGrath's tent with bows drawn. "McGrath's cook boy who came out to see who they were found himself covered [and] promptly shot one of them". Although the 'cook boy' escaped, McGrath was killed.⁴⁶ This account differs from that reported by Michael Leahy (1937), who failed to note that the action was precipitated by McGrath's 'cook boy'. But this may be because the young man took pains to protect himself from incrimination. It was only in 1951 that Fortune was told the revised version of the story by the Kamano and the Papuan Constabulary.

⁴⁶ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: 80 323 355 Draft manuscript "Among the Kamano" n.d. p.23

This fighting between Faganofi and Fukaminofi that Fortune witnessed lasted two or three days. Mark Pitt, the Assistant District Officer and Government Magistrate, based at Kainantu, was sent in to quell it. Pitt arrived with a posse of native constables at dusk and early next morning went out and shot dead a Faganofi man. However, when Pitt had returned to Komonka Post, Fukaminofi men attacked Faganofi, burning down their houses. Pitt subsequently came back to Faganofi, ordered the Fukaminofi men to return to their village, and lectured both sides on the standard of behaviour expected of them as new British subjects. He also ordered the Fukaminofi men to pay Faganofi a pig in recompense for their lost housing. They, in turn, presented Pitt with a pig, which he accepted “as an invitation to trade” and paid for with a steel axe and a steel knife. Fortune recalls that “some of the older Fukaminofi men broke down and wept”, something they did not do easily and something he never saw repeated. After these events, Pitt advised Fortune that he should arm himself. “He reasoned that if [Fortune] remained unarmed and were killed by the natives the Government would be expected to mount a retaliatory expedition for [him],”⁴⁷ but that the Administration lacked the funds for such a response. However, Fortune waited until early June before taking this advice. He wrote to Benedict in early May, saying that he had worked out the “race theory” in a scientific manner, and deposited it in the bank addressed to himself c/- Benedict in case anything should prevent him from retrieving it himself. He also advised both Mead and Bateson of these developments.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: 80 323 355, Draft manuscript “Among the Kamano” n.d. p.24.

⁴⁸ I have been unable to ascertain exactly what this document was nor whether it still exists. However, it appears that it may relate to his the orising on de scent.

Just before leaving, he received a cablegram from Boas advising him that should the situation in the field become untenable, there would be no problem over monies should he quit. Fortune informed Boas that he would wait until his stores were depleted before leaving. He was disappointed at his inability to live in a village, but understood the rationale behind the injunction. Although war, death and burial had been experienced, Fortune considered the day spent at a wedding ceremony his best⁴⁹.

He walked out via the village of Havai'i⁵⁰ to the headwaters of the Kamano River before crossing the divide to Kainantu and thence by plane to Lae, before returning with a rifle. In a land where warfare and death were an almost daily experience, it says something of the stamina and fortitude of Fortune in traversing this country alone and unarmed. He had been in the field four months by this time, and his daily excursions into the neighbouring villages must have equipped him with a working knowledge of the language, inter-village and village etiquette, and the "potential dangers of marginal members of a society travelling alone" (McLean 1992:49). What he did not discover until much later was that much of the discord between New Guineans and whites was created by the native police who routinely raped and killed native women.

⁴⁹ APS: Franz Boas Collection B:B61, Fortune, Reo #2 Fortune to Boas, letter dated 28 May 1935.

⁵⁰ Although Fortune names this village as Havai'i, I have been unable to find its location.



Figure 24 Frerichs Collection: A Group of Women from the Kainantu Area.

⁵¹ This photo and the following were kindly supplied by Catherine Frerichs, daughter of the Rev Albert Frerichs, who was head of the Lutheran mission at Raipinka 1946-1951. The photo is indicative of the people Fortune would have encountered during his fieldwork in 1935-36 and 1951-52. For further information on the Frerichs family in Raipinka see: 'Trail Blazing in New Guinea' (<http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=8800579563639280570>)



Figure 25 Frerichs Collection: A Kamano woman with gardening stick.

Fortune spent about ten days at Salamaua in early June replenishing his stores and looking, without success, for two young men and two rifles, until he came across some Arapesh youths working at the Burns Philp store. When he entered the store he was recognised by a Liwo youth he knew and the whole native staff conversed with him in Arapesh, to the consternation of the white staff. He was then able to recruit one young man named Joseph, a convert to Roman Catholicism, who used to sing the *Te Deum* after any fight in which he was involved.

Armed with a rifle, and accompanied by Joseph, Fortune returned to Finintegu and continued his studies, seemingly uninterrupted by non-native intrusions until fighting again broke out at the end of June. This time the fighting involved several villages against each other and included two cease-fires to permit women, with brothers on one side, to visit husbands on the other or vice versa. As Fortune records, in the first cease fire “two women claimed their right by walking out of cover into the field of fire. Two wounded men limped behind them and the four walked in mid-lines to the side lines whence the wounded were received by some spectators. . . and escorted to their homes”. The second cease fire was less controlled. A Finintegu woman married to a Fukaminofi man attempted to cross the lines under cover of darkness to join her husband, in order to assist with carrying children and pigs in retreat. Unfortunately, she was hit by an arrow from one of her kinsmen pursuing the retreating Fukaminofi. With the battle over, Fortune apparently tidied up his notes and belongings and left the field, returning to Salamaua with plans to visit New Ireland.

In his six months in the field Fortune had only four European visitors: an unnamed patrol officer; Mark Pitt (twice); Patrol Officer James Taylor (twice); and

the Reverend Johannes Flierl “came by once riding a pony”.⁵² News from the outside world also was limited, and Fortune’s letters took up to two months to reach their destination. As mentioned above, Fortune received his first letter from Mead, dated January, in mid March. Mead, on the other hand, did not receive mail from Fortune until April 24, when she received four letters. The fighting and danger terrified her, but she “clung hard to the theory that [Fortune was] wonderfully able to cope with the difficult and the unexpected”⁵³. She responded to Fortune’s remarks on their sexual relationship and its lack of value to him by asking if it would now be possible to regard the past as a “definitely closed book” and put it behind them. She still wanted to continue their intellectual relationship as she valued his scientific work dearly. She wrote: “Don’t take it that when I say I value your work, it doesn’t mean that I value you yourself, but I have always, as have you, regarded you and your work as one. I have never, you know, got over crying occasionally when I read your work because it is so good”.⁵⁴

In May, Mead related her intervention in a difficult relationship between two of her sister’s friends. The parallel to her own marriage is immediately apparent with the parties involved being of different cultural backgrounds, a male American and a female South African. In addition, the male wanted a home and family, while the latter fell for another man. The ensuing hostility and bitterness resulted in lawyers

⁵² ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: 80 323 355, Draft manuscript “Among the Kamano” n.d. p.15. The Reverend Johannes Flierl mentioned here is presumably the son of Johann Flierl (1858-1947). Johann, also often referred to as Johannes, retired to Tasmania in 1930 and then returned to Neuendettelsau in Germany four years later. His son, Johannes, was also a missionary and more likely to have been in New Guinea at the time that Fortune was there. See also: Wagner and Reiner (1986), Jerico (1961).

⁵³ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 25 April 1935.

⁵⁴ Ibid. What I think Mead is intending here is “don’t take it that when I say I value your work it means I don’t value you yourself”, but the construction of the sentence is ambiguous.

being engaged and a great deal of misunderstanding. However, having written about it in a letter to Reo, Mead immediately wrote a second letter saying that while she identified with the situation somewhat, she did not want Fortune “to think it applied directly to us. . . . But as I sat at home yesterday evening reading your proof . . . I was so glad to have loved you, if only I could be sure that you are not going to be bitter towards me.” Although she was sure that it was no longer possible for them to remain married, it was possible for them to “keep the part which you say mattered to you”, i.e. the intellectual relationship they had enjoyed.⁵⁵

That Mead and Fortune came from different cultural and social backgrounds, was only a part of their problem. Fortune’s puritanical up-bringing, compounded by his sexual conflict at puberty, must have made acceptance of Mead’s bisexuality difficult. While he accepted Max Bickerton’s homosexuality as integral to Max as a person, Mead’s ability to ‘change sides’ at whim must have left him confused. Mead would also have appeared to him as ‘deviant’ within her own culture, and her pursuit of respectability through a cloak of heterosexuality, while still following her own particular desires, must have contributed to the tensions which finally found their release in the Sepik.

Fortune’s father was also worried about his son and what financial arrangements might have made for him. Barter advised Mead that Peter was considering writing to Columbia to determine exactly what Reo’s financial position was. Barter had managed to dissuade him, by saying that Mead was keeping the authorities at Columbia informed. However, to avoid any possible gossip about this, Barter swore his father to secrecy by saying that Reo would more than likely be

⁵⁵ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letters dated 27 May 1935; 28 May 1935.

indignant at Mead pulling strings for him. He further suggested that Mead write to her father-in-law stating that she was acting as “unofficial guardian” of Reo’s affairs in the United States and ensuring that he was receiving adequate finances.⁵⁶ Mead responded with a letter to Peter, apologising for not having advised him of her position and setting out the details of Fortune’s grant, but omitting to mention that she had provided the initial monies. She further suggested that, if Peter was still concerned, he could write to Benedict who was handling Reo’s grant directly. However, she also wanted Peter to “be assured that I take very good care of his interests here”.⁵⁷ By the same mail she wrote to Barter: “As you guessed it would have got the fat nicely in the fire if your father had written Columbia. Pray God he doesn’t anyway, but I think I have the matter stopped if a letter should come.”

She said also that if Reo no longer wished to continue in a ‘real’ marriage, then it would be better if she were to “get out of it altogether”. She had started divorce proceedings on the grounds of desertion.

After all Reo has twice been provided with adequate funds to come and see me if he wished, and he has chosen not to. . . When he comes out [from the field], the decree will be there if he wishes to remarry. I may marry before then, and I may not. It depends entirely on Gregory’s plans . . . but the chances are that I will marry him sooner or later.

Mead also saw the possibility of a marriage between Fortune and Dorothea Arnaboldi as an excellent idea, which would absolve her from any further worry.⁵⁸

McLean (1992:47) recounts the rumour that Fortune shot a Kamano in the leg in response to hearing that Mead planned to file for divorce. The dating of this alleged

⁵⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Barter Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 May 1935.

⁵⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Peter Fortune, letter dated 10 June 1935.

⁵⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Barter Fortune, letter dated 10 June 1935.

incident is difficult to ascertain, but correspondence suggests it may have been sometime in June. In a letter of June 10, Mead advised Barter that she had begun divorce proceedings. Assuming that she sent Fortune a telegram around this same time, Fortune may have received it when he was at Salamaua recruiting his gun-carrier. Around this time, Fortune wrote to friends advising them of his impending divorce, and Mead responded saying “Perhaps you didn’t think I meant it when I said I wasn’t announcing the divorce to people here at present”.⁵⁹ Certainly, by August 13 he was aware that the divorce application had proceeded as he wrote to Mead:

I do realise that divorce means to you, however, release from contaminated memory of the Sepik nightmare. You must have felt most dreadfully badly confined, bullied, raped and struck by me, and with reason, when all you wanted was a little mild loving.⁶⁰

And to Firth, enquiring of his marriage, Fortune asked, “Is it true that you are marrying. If so, good luck. I understand my wife is unmarrying me”.⁶¹ Mead finally notified him that “the divorce went through on September 25th, but [she had] not received the authenticated papers.” However, when they did come through she would send his to his bank in Rabaul, unless instructed otherwise.⁶²

While at Salamaua awaiting transport to New Ireland, Fortune received a copy of Mead’s *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies* (1935). In a brief note he thanked her for the copy and told her how good he thought it was.⁶³ He also was

⁵⁹ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 9 August 1935. Fortune was in Salamaua from June 3 - 15, 1935. However as Fortune had signed a power of attorney in December, he would have been aware that divorce could come at any time.

⁶⁰ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 13 August 1935.

⁶¹ LSE: Firth 312. Fortune to Firth, letter dated 25 August 1935.

⁶² LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 11 November 1935.

⁶³ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 19 July 1935.

pleased to see that the ‘Squares Theory’ which had obsessed her in the Sepik was no longer apparent in her written work.

That was a bad business the way you were driven into a Race delirium on the Sepik. I’m glad it’s not in your book to spoil it, as it would, had the devil not been exorcised first. It’s a good recovery, even a brilliant one. Congratulations on it.⁶⁴

From the relative safety and comfort of New Ireland, Fortune now considered his next move. If he was to return to the ‘new country’ as he termed the unpacified highland area, he would need his own helpers, preferably chosen from the Arapesh, but they would take several months to recruit. He would go to another culture within this region seeking communities contaminated by native police actions. However, in order to do so he would require more money. He wrote to Benedict seeking her advice on whether to remain in his current location or to return. He detailed the options available but said that the decision would be hers. He would wait for a letter from her advising whether to go up to central New Guinea again, incurring further expense, or to remain where he was. He also asked if Columbia would provide funding to write up his material once he left the field and returned to civilization.⁶⁵ Once again, the delays in communication meant that by the time he received a reply he was back among the Arapesh. Benedict received his letter sometime in early November, and responded that his February payment of \$1,000 would be the last: “the ‘Angel’ isn’t in a financial position now to add to it”. He therefore should not go back into the Mt Hagen area, and it would be best for him to return to civilization and begin his writing up.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 13 August 1935.

⁶⁵ LOC: MMO R5 Fortune to Benedict, letters dated 25 August 1935; 27 August 1935.

⁶⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Benedict to Fortune, letter dated 9 November 1935.

Fortune's sojourn in New Ireland and neighbouring islands was short. He spent a few weeks at Kavieng, New Ireland, then three weeks on New Hanover, before moving to Tabar. He found the Kavieng area a 'broken culture' with many women having turned to prostitution. The people refused to make gardens as some years earlier there had been a drought which they believed was caused by black magic, and which they were no longer able to counteract with warfare as they had previously done. New Hanover was rife with leprosy and the island 'sour with being so ravaged'⁶⁷.

Also around this time, Seligman informed Fortune that he had nominated him for a position in Ceylon. Fortune was delighted with this nomination and immediately replied to Seligman, enclosing a draft copy of a paper on Purari warfare and saying that if he thought it worth publishing he had no objection, although he still had details to work on.⁶⁸ Although Seligman chose not to refer this paper for publication, it subsequently appeared in a revised form in *Man* (Fortune 1947a:108-110).

As mentioned above, Fortune already was in possession of Mead's recently published work *Sex and Temperament* (1935). He also had draft chapters of her proposed Arapesh publication, and now decided to return to Arapesh country to continue his linguistic work. Before leaving he sent Mead a portion of an article from a psychology journal,⁶⁹ highlighting various sections which he felt pertained to her directly. He suggested that she read the marked portions before continuing to read the letter in which he outlined three levels of deviancy. 1. Biological, as exemplified by

⁶⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Boas, letter dated 28 October 1935.

⁶⁸ LSE Seligman 4/1/2 Fortune to Seligman, letter dated 28 October 1935. Unpublished paper *Purari Warfare and Custom*. n.d.

⁶⁹ The pages attached were taken from an article by Feigenbaum, Dorian (1934) 'Clinical Fragments', *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 3:363-390.

the inter-sexed person; 2. Psychological, as evidenced by the manic-depressive, schizophrenic, and hysteric/psychotic. 3. Cultural, transgressors of cultural norms. He proposed that she had covered the third level well in *Sex and Temperament*, but that she herself fell within level two. In an attached ‘dossier’ which included a description of persons of a somewhat narcissistic disposition, he particularly marked a passage which read:

There are, as is known, feminine men and masculine women who obtain sexual satisfaction by psychologically putting themselves in the other’s place. Often this type of heterosexual relationship represents an overcompensation of an original fear of the other sex.

And here Fortune noted in the margin, ‘Margaret Mead’⁷⁰. Clearly he still was obsessed with finding a logical explanation for Mead’s irrational behaviour while on the Sepik.

Benedict, on receiving word that Fortune may return to the Arapesh, immediately sent him a cable attempting to veto this. Her explanation to Mead was that she “was afraid he’d show you up, and I wished New Zealand on him where he hadn’t a chance in the world”.⁷¹ However, Fortune was not to receive this cable and its accompanying letter until January 1936, by which time he had been back in Arapesh country six or seven weeks. He arrived back in Liwo village on 25 November with a high fever, and spent the next four days in his bed. He was pleased to be back and wanted to see whether Mead’s ideas, as explicated in *Sex and Temperament*, were valid “or yet a personal curiosity of abstraction that tears too coarsely the social tissues from which the abstraction is lifted”. On receipt of the cable he wrote back saying that he was unable to proceed south, as the boat was due

⁷⁰ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 30 October 1935.

⁷¹ LOC: MMP B1 Benedict to Mead, letter dated 1 February 1937.

at Wewak on January 5. For him to make this boat he would have had to leave immediately, but since half his gear was elsewhere, and retrieving it would take another day, there was no way he could reach Wewak within the time. Instead he proposed that he would take the next boat, due sometime in February, and proceed to New Zealand to write up his material.

However, the situation changed as Fortune began a closer reading of *Sex and Temperament* and the draft chapters for Mead's Arapesh work. While he had initially been impressed with the former, he now saw the work as a "somewhat arbitrary abstraction from the three separate social tissues involved - yet with some truth behind it". Knowing the basis for this abstraction, he posed the question: "As of individuals, so of cultures - Is it all so simple? . . . I pinch myself on occasion and ask myself if this is science, or history, or what exactly".⁷² As far as he was concerned, much of the writing up of material was not properly based on her own fieldwork. He considered the presentation of the Arapesh material in *Sex and Temperament* as particularly problematic. Having left the Arapesh on instruction from Benedict, he now wanted to return in order to correct what he saw as generalisations made by Mead from inadequate fieldwork. He also wrote to Mead with criticism of her draft chapters for a new work on the Arapesh, and in particular the second chapter:

On the Roads and on Diffusion. Criticism - burn it. Simulate the appearance of honesty and write on your own work - you did no substantial work on the roads, but were carried over one road twice under European conditions - and the whole chapter betrays it. [It] is largely garbled from my gossip to you and largely incorrect in consequence . . . Also about Plains ethnology - house tambaran etc - only by the shoddiest of pretences have you any hand in this work.⁷³

⁷² LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 1 January 1936.

⁷³ LOC: MMP S2 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 23 February 1936.

He was concerned also that Mead had been editing his work, and may have ‘damaged’ his Arapesh language manuscript. Mead had accused him of “asking and being given more than is fair”, whereupon he stated:

Before I would ask you for anything whatever - I would ask for your regret for your mad, dishonest and untrue Sepik Race in Science campaign - and I do not ask you for that, being well prepared by now to face instead the limitations of your honesty and generosity.⁷⁴

Mead’s response, when it arrived, set out to justify her use of the material. She explained that in her preface she had acknowledged Fortune’s contribution and that “all work on the language, all villages outside of Alitua, and work on the Plains and Beach villages [was] based on [his] notes”. This was inaccurate, as Fortune had not provided her with copies of his notes, but rather had discussed them with her while they were still together in the Sepik. In addition, on the matter of the ‘Roads’, Mead suggested that:

[Fortune’s] claim to ownership consists in, I believe, the fact that you went to the Kobelen Show, that you made the trip to look for Kule’s dirt and met the Plainsman who made the speech about ‘His path’.. . The only other basis on which you could claim the Roads were all yours and I should not discuss them even stating that you did so much work on them, is that you discovered the traffic in dirt when you made the first trip into Arapesh. But such discoveries are an accident of field work and should not, I think you will agree, determine future publication, which should be determined by degree of specialization of field work.⁷⁵

As for Fortune not asking anything from her, she reminded him of the many times he had sought her help in looking for jobs in the United States.

Fortune also had received word that Bateson was going to the Dutch East Indies and this, coupled with Mead telling him she was sailing for Java, convinced

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ LOC: MMP S2 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 18 April 1936.

him that her asking for the power of attorney in obtaining a divorce because she wanted children and “a husband capable of producing them” was a trick to get out of her commitment to Fortune and allow her to marry Bateson. He now questioned Benedict on her reasons for disapproving of his return to Arapesh country, and her need for him to return to New Zealand. Was this also a ploy to keep him away from Mead?⁷⁶ Benedict replied that as Mead had already written up material on the Arapesh, she was unable to get further monies for the writing of another Arapesh monograph. As she was responsible to his benefactors for the administration of his funds, her advice was that he would be far better occupied in writing up his Purari/Kamano materials. She wanted him “to feel satisfied that you’re doing important work and making a contribution you’re proud of, and the limitations I’ve set are only so that I can go on getting support for you in continuing”.⁷⁷

Before he received Benedict’s reply, Fortune had decided to spend another three months back with the Arapesh, and to take with him two former informants in order to finish off what he saw as ‘loose ends’. However, the discovery of gold by his Arapesh friends and their request that he work it with them complicated the issue. He declined to work the gold, instead handing the task over to a goldminer he believed would treat the men fairly. Again, when the miner offered to see that Fortune got his share of the gold should it prove worthwhile, he declined saying that he had put no capital or labour into the venture.⁷⁸ Now without his ‘boys’, and though he did not want to leave New Guinea, he sailed for Sydney, arriving on 19 March 1936.

⁷⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 27 February 1936.

⁷⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Benedict to Fortune, letter dated 14 April 1936.

⁷⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 31 March 1936.

Fortune spent the next month in Sydney relaxing, giving a couple of lectures at the University, visiting friends and catching up on news. He told anyone who would listen that he was now divorced. Caroline Kelly followed as unobtrusively as she could, re-telling the story of the divorce in a way Mead would have wanted.

From Kelly he heard that Raymond Firth's parents had passed through Sydney en route to England and Raymond's wedding. Apparently Eileen Pope, who had become friends with Cedric, Raymond's brother, had been present when Mrs Firth informed Raymond's New Zealand girlfriend of the impending wedding and witnessed the poor young woman's emotional outburst. Eileen also told Mrs Firth that Reo was now divorced. On hearing this, Fortune allegedly admitted to Kelly that Eileen was the only other woman he had really cared for. As Kelly wrote to Mead, "When he thought Eileen had been tremulous about him he was elated".⁷⁹

Fortune had more on his mind than Eileen. With his divorce finalised, his ex-wife remarried, and little or no money for writing up, he was hopeful that the position at Colombo would soon be settled in his favour. Seligman had proposed Fortune for this position in early 1935, but no word on progress had been forthcoming. Unbeknown to Fortune, Malinowski had written supporting Ralph Piddington for the position, as well as having sung Fortune's praises. In a letter to the Director of the Colombo Museum, Malinowski recommended two candidates, Fortune and Piddington, saying both were suitable candidates but that he would definitely recommend Piddington. Of Fortune, he wrote:

Dr Fortune is a brilliant young anthropologist who most likely will make for himself a career at one of the world's great universities, and whose ambitions are set that way. Even if you could secure his services, I should be afraid that any time he might be lured away by

⁷⁹ LOC: MMP B9 Caroline Tennant Kelly to Mead, letter dated 20 March 1936.

some outside call. How highly I appreciate his work can be seen from the preface I wrote to his "Sorcerers of Dobu". I do not know any young anthropologist of greater promise, but I very much doubt whether he will be suitable, either for the training of the Ceylonese Assistant or for the organisation of the ethnological survey of the island; or, whether you would find him very plastic in your hands as a subordinate who could learn museum work under your direction. I am going to support him as strongly as I can for the Professorship at Cambridge or Oxford, but I would somewhat hesitate in recommending him to you except with the above reservations.⁸⁰

The end result was that Fortune was unsuccessful. During this same period, Mead had been negotiating with Radcliffe-Brown, who was now in China, in an attempt to secure a position for Fortune. She was pleased when she heard that Radcliffe-Brown was negotiating with Dr James McLure Henry, formerly President and now Provost of Lingnan University, who in turn had approached the Rockefeller Foundation for funding in order to invite Fortune to teach there for three years. An offer was made to Fortune which he initially declined as he was waiting for news on the Ceylon job. However when that did not eventuate he accepted the position at Lingnan, to commence in 1937.

There was also the forthcoming selection of a new Professor of Anthropology at Cambridge. Fortune intended to apply and sent his application to Malinowski, asking if he would forward it to the appropriate address. He also asked whether Malinowski intended applying for the position, and if not, would he be willing to endorse him⁸¹. Malinowski contacted Haddon asking his advice, and what Fortune's chances were, saying:

The case of Fortune is, in many ways, very complicated. As raw material for an anthropologist, he is perhaps the most gifted of his generation. This at least is my opinion and I have an idea that you

⁸⁰ LSE: Malinowski 7/9 Malinowski to Director, Colombo Museum, letter dated 4 February 1936.

⁸¹ LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 20 April, 1936.

share it with me. He has done a great deal of extremely good field-work. He has considerable capacities for a theoretical grip of the subject. As far as I can see, he would probably restore the great tradition of Cambridge anthropology, if he would get the job there.⁸²

Haddon thought it premature for Fortune to apply at the time, as the position would not be available until June 1937. In the meantime, he felt, Fortune would be better served gaining experience in teaching introductory courses. Haddon was not an elector to the chair, but if he were consulted he would emphasise Fortune's good points. However, he doubted that Fortune would stand much of a chance against an expected large number of applications.⁸³

At the end of April, Fortune returned to New Zealand unaware that Mead already had been advised that Eileen Pope also was now back in her home country. Mead and Benedict were hoping that if Fortune was reunited with Pope, marriage would eventuate.

⁸² LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Malinowski to Haddon, letter dated 7 July 1936.

⁸³ LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Haddon to Malinowski, letter dated 2 August 1936.

Chapter Nine

China and Lingnan

China was to provide the first period of stability for Fortune after his divorce from Mead. He married Eileen Pope and, though his appointment was only for two years, he had hopes of it being extended. The outbreak of war with Japan eventually saw the Fortunes quit China and return to the US. Before this occurred, Fortune was able to take a small group of students into the field for two months. The resultant publication - a series of essays by these students - added to the scholarly knowledge of the cultures of South-East Asia.

Fortune returned to New Zealand in April of 1936. There are few records of this time in New Zealand, but he once again met with Eileen Pope and rekindled his former romance with her. To what extent Mead played a part in this is unclear, though she had extracted a promise from Shirley Fortune that she would ensure Reo and Eileen met as soon as possible after his return to New Zealand.¹

Fortune returned to his parents' home sometime in April. The effects of his last fieldwork and news of his divorce had left him emotionally and physically drained, although he appeared to have made every effort to continue writing up his material. Benedict was anxious for him to complete his monograph on the Purari and begin working on the Mundugumor, promising that she would endeavour to do all she could to secure him funding to continue writing up.²

Still waiting news on the Ceylon position, Fortune wrote to Firth asking whether he would let him know of any anthropological jobs advertised in England. At the same time he wrote to Benedict enquiring about Princeton. He also set out to explain his feelings in relation to Benedict's comments that there was no money for

¹ LOC: MMP R2 Mead to Bateson, letter n.d. "On board the Mariposa"

² LOC: MMP R5 Benedict to Fortune, letter dated 8 June 1936.

another Arapesh monograph beyond that already published by Mead. Although he had not seen the monograph, he had read *Sex and Temperament* and the draft monograph chapters which Mead had sent him. He told Benedict that “in many respects, it is neither good, true or careful”. On this basis he felt the directive to quit the field and return to New Zealand “looked more like Margaret Mead, than Columbia, in operation - or Margaret Mead using Columbia and being allowed to do so”. He had lost his original Arapesh language manuscript and the original of his descent paper, so that Benedict was now the only person with copies.³

During this time, Fortune suffered a serious setback which manifested itself in a fit of paranoia in which he accused his mother of trying to poison him. Barter apparently arrived at the family home in Raumatī one morning to find Reo, who was using the ‘sitting room’ as a makeshift bedroom, in a frenzy and kicking his way through the door between this room and the kitchen, where he advanced on his mother as she was cooking his breakfast. He accused her of being intent on poisoning him, and suggested that she make a proper job of it by adding the contents of a bottle he was waving around. Although Barter thought the bottle contained strychnine, it probably was an anti-malarial. On calming Reo down, Barter spent the next four hours listening while Reo unburdened himself.

He told of the events in the Sepik and how Mead had developed a rash on her thigh which resembled a well defined map of Australia. When Barter suggested that this rash was probably the result of malarial imagination, Reo had another emotional outburst during which he threw his diary and various papers around until he found the typescript of Mead’s “treatise on sexual compatibility based on the proposition that

³ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 24 June 1936

seminal and vaginal odours required some sort of harmony of odour were sexual relations to be compatible and sustainable”.⁴ Barter read the paper and a few days later returned it to Reo who, having little memory of his malarial outburst, expressed his distress at the damage he had caused to the room and concern over what else he had said and done. He and Barter then spent some time discussing the events in the Sepik and their eventual outcome. Barter was confused and wanted to write to Mead questioning her stories, but Reo restrained him. Shirley was less restrained. After several months avoiding the issue she wrote to Mead:

As you already know, Ray has arrived in New Zealand. He came, looking pretty sick and very jumpy from too long isolation, but has recovered wonderfully and is now looking and feeling very fit. As you will of course realize, we have been told a certain amount about all the doings over the past years. You also have told me a fair amount. I suppose, very naturally, and you will understand this better than I do, the two accounts don't tally.⁵

She also suggested that, as Mead's letters upset Fortune, it might be better if Mead stopped writing:

I feel sure the whole business is very painful to him and letters are just like probing an old wound that might otherwise heal. I tell you this knowing what a sensible person you are and leave it to your own judgement as to what you do.⁶

Mead's response, when it came, came via Caroline Kelly. As Fortune was spending a lot of time with Barter and Shirley, Mead was afraid that a letter directly from her would create problems. To get around this, she wrote to Kelly asking her to forward an enclosed letter “in an envelope addressed on the typewriter” to Shirley. She also suggested that Kelly may like to read the letter in order to understand how

⁴ Barter Fortune to A. G. Bagnall, letter dated 27 January 1980. For the copy of this and other family material I am indebted to Fortune's niece, Melda Brunette of Auckland.

⁵ LOC: MMP B9 Shirley Fortune to Mead, letter dated 26 August 1936.

⁶ Ibid

matters stood, complaining to her that “Reo has talked them over to believing [Margaret is] the devil which is a little inconvenient for they are [Margaret’s] only hope of keeping up with what Reo plans to do next”.⁷

Mead began her letter by saying it would be a “full and honest answer” to Shirley’s letter, which she much appreciated. Fortune was a very plausible person who “believes his own version of facts so sincerely . . . that other people can’t help participating”, and she therefore understood Shirley’s dilemma. However, her reasons for seeking their help in keeping her posted on what Fortune was doing were motivated by a desire to see him succeed.

Since 1929, Reo has owed his whole scientific support to wires that I have been able to pull. Now I couldn’t have pulled them for someone who wasn’t absolutely first class, don’t think that, but the fact remains that in the anthropological world, as in most others, in the end it’s personal friendships that count. Reo has been so independent and unapproachable that he has systematically alienated or rendered indifferent the powerful persons who might have helped him. Meanwhile I have been able to put through fellowships and grants, which have kept him going and enabled him to do his work, and get it published.⁸

While clearly there is a degree of truth in what Mead wrote, her actions had not been entirely altruistic. It had suited her to do these things as it enabled her to conduct research in areas where, as a woman alone, she would have been unable to venture. In addition, after the events on the Sepik, her anonymous donation of 1934 had kept Fortune from interfering with her own plans. She explained that she was still willing to take an active interest in his welfare, but would be unable to do so if Shirley and Barter were unwilling to keep her informed of what he was doing and what his plans were:

⁷ LOC: MMP B9 Mead to Caroline Tennant, letter dated 3 October 1936.

⁸ LOC: MMP B9 Mead to Shirley Fortune, letter dated 3 October 1936.

Now you can think this over and talk it over with Barter, and consider it carefully, that there is not one single person with any power in the anthropological world who is going to try to get Reo a job, or get his stuff published, unless I push them. Ruth Benedict will be able to do a good deal if she knows what can be done, but remember she has dozens of students of her own to look after who don't write her letters denouncing me and my work. Brown is now out. Seligman in addition to backing Reo, backed others for the Ceylon job and always inclines towards the weaker man. Malinowski hates me enough to help Reo, but he has many people to look after, on whom he can rely for a different kind of devotion from any that Reo would give him. Elkin's giving him any help depends specifically on having repetitive assurances that he has settled down . . .⁹

She suggested that Shirley write to her for clarification of any parts of the two stories that she found conflicting, including whether Shirley felt Margaret had lied,

in order to set [herself] in a good light and Reo in a bad one. What possible use that could have been to me seems difficult to discover. I went to New Zealand because Reo said he wouldn't go there and have to explain why I didn't come. It meant leaving Sydney earlier than necessary and it meant spending a lot of money and suffering considerable retrospective misery, to make that stop in New Zealand.¹⁰

To cover herself, she suggested that Shirley write to Benedict. Either Benedict was co-operating with Mead in looking after Fortune's interests regardless of his accusations against Mead, or else she was doing so in spite of Mead in which case she would be able to tell "the whole truth about how untrustworthy [Mead's] protestations of truthfulness were".

Mead had prepared the ground well. Shirley was convinced of Mead's beneficent interest in helping Fortune. Had she not felt that she knew and understood Mead well, she might have taken this letter as an insult to her intelligence. As to whether Mead was antagonistic toward Fortune, Shirley could not see any motive for such an attitude, and she could not believe Mead capable of "so malevolent an

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ Ibid

action". She and Barter had been only too happy to help where they could and had no regrets. If Mead had lied, it was probably for very good reasons and Shirley was not going to hold that against her.¹¹

No mention is made at this time of Fortune having met up again with Eileen and it appears that he now was considering going to Russia where anthropology was beginning to be conducted on a large scale. Mead was willing to contribute to any expenses in getting him there, should money prove to be an obstacle. However, by the time Mead's reply arrived, Fortune had already heard that the Ceylon position had gone to someone else and he was on his way to China instead. Although he had at first declined the China position, the way had been left open for him to later accept it should his application for Ceylon be unsuccessful.

While Mead and Shirley Fortune were exchanging letters and discussing Reo's future, Fortune had ceased writing to Mead. He was, however, maintaining his correspondence with Benedict. He had completed three chapters of his Purari work and would have liked to continue working on his Arapesh, but found it difficult as he had no access to Mead's work on the same tribe, which she had declined to send him due to "prohibitive postage costs". Considering the extent to which his own fieldwork notes had presumably been drawn upon by Mead, he felt "the postage costs would seem to be a minor courtesy"¹². He wondered whether Benedict could act on his behalf, as he wanted no personal communication with Mead, but felt it important to know where Mead's work began and ended so as to establish the topics on which he

¹¹ LOC: MMP R10 Shirley Fortune to Mead, letter dated 17 November 1936.

¹² LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 10 October 1936.

could write. However, he had second thoughts about requesting Benedict's intervention and said he could wait until Mead's work appeared in print.

If you think my letter of this morning unreasonable let it go - say merely I've had a bad day, and I can wait two years or 4 years or whatever it is until M. Mead's work on Arapesh is published. . . [However] if you prefer to intervene to get me a copy of Mead's M.S.S., I'd be glad to see it of course.¹³

At that time a position as Professor of Philosophy became available at Canterbury University College in Christchurch, and Fortune applied for it with Malinowski's backing. While Malinowski was not prepared to comment on Fortune's "technical qualifications in teaching and research in Philosophy and Psychology", preferring to leave such comments to Bartlett at Cambridge, he did regard him "as one of the most original, independent, and enterprising thinkers of his generation".¹⁴

In a separate letter to Fortune, Malinowski discussed the upcoming election for the Chair at Cambridge which was due to be advertised within the next couple of months. While he was willing to support Fortune, his contacts at Cambridge had made it clear that Fortune's chances were negligible. Fortune's 1934 lecture had not impressed them of his ability as a lecturer and they were aware that he had minimal experience as a teacher. Malinowski reminded Fortune of how he had urged him to remain in London in 1934, to learn "the art of teaching and lecturing", but understood the reasons why Fortune had taken the offer of fieldwork from Benedict. While saying that Fortune was likely to develop into a first rate teacher, Malinowski worried

¹³ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 12 October 1936. Although this letter is dated the 12th, it appears to be a direct follow on to the letter dated the 10th.

¹⁴ LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Testimonial to Dr R. F. Fortune, candidate for the Professorship of Philosophy in the Department of Education and Philosophy at Canterbury University College, Christchurch, New Zealand. Dated 25 November 1936.

about scepticism even among Fortune's supporters at Cambridge.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Malinowski promised to throw his full weight behind Fortune's application - a promise he was not to keep when two of his own students decided to apply.

With little hope of securing either position, Fortune decided in December 1936 to take up the offer from China and immediately prepared to leave New Zealand, even though he considered the position a temporary one with no prospects of permanence. He had to pay his own passage to and from China, and fortunately still had some monies left from his New Guinea expedition. Once settled and receiving his modest stipend, he believed, he would be able to repay the debts he owed both Malinowski and Firth.¹⁶

Fortune arrived in Sydney on January 8, and spent a week there. Although he did not stay with Caroline Kelly, he made contact with her. He spoke little about his new job at first, but with a little probing from Kelly he opened up enough to tell her that the job was for two years. He did not want Mead to know as she probably would write to him and her letters upset him. Kelly arranged for him to receive a complete set of *Oceania* and a number of monographs as reference works for preparing his lectures.¹⁷ No mention is made in her letter to Mead of his renewed romance with Eileen, and it may be that he had not even told his own parents about her. A fragment of a letter remains in which he suggests to the recipient (presumably Eileen): "No need for you to go to see my father and mother. I don't think I've told them about you.

¹⁵ LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Malinowski to Fortune, letter dated 25 November 1936.

¹⁶ LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 2 January 1937.

¹⁷ LOC: MMP B3 Caroline Tennant Kelly to Mead, letter dated 14 January 1937.

I have told Franz Boas, and also Bronislaw Malinowski - that's all . . . ". He also asked the recipient to "bring my bulky divorce receipt along"¹⁸.

While in Sydney, Fortune also wrote to Malinowski requesting, once again, his support for the Chair at Cambridge. Having heard from Radcliffe-Brown that Haddon was in doubt about Bateson for the position, saying he was "too young for a full professorship, and besides he had not played his cards well", Fortune was hopeful that Haddon, along with Boas and Radcliffe-Brown, would support him. If Malinowski came out on his side as well, he felt he stood a reasonable chance.¹⁹ Before leaving Sydney, he gave an interview to a local paper in which he discussed interclan politics, warfare, and the daily lives of the Purari people. He appears to have been satisfied with the resulting publication which he forwarded to Boas, Benedict and Malinowski, though none of them made any comment on it.²⁰

Fortune sailed from Sydney and by chance met Bernard Mishkin, a student of Boas, aboard the ship. Mishkin was returning to the United States after a mishap in New Guinea where, according to a local magistrate, he had been accidentally wounded by a native or natives.²¹ He and Fortune found much to discuss, especially with regard to Mead and Benedict. Mishkin told him that Boas was sorry he had written the introduction to *Patterns of Culture*, and was also disappointed with

¹⁸ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923. This is page 3 of a letter, presumably to Eileen, written from Lingnan sometime after April 13 and before May 1937 when news of his impending marriage was made public in the *New Zealand Free Lance* and before Eileen sailed to join him there.

¹⁹ LSE: Malinowski 7/8 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 12 January 1937.

²⁰ LSE: Malinowski 7/22 Fortune to Malinowski, letter and newspaper clipping n.d. LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter n.d. There is no copy of the newspaper clipping which Fortune said was enclosed. APS: Boas B:B61 Fortune to Boas, letter dated 12 January 1937.

²¹ LOC: MMP C3 Judge (Monte) Phillips to Mead, letter dated 14 March 1937.

Mead's *Sex and Temperament*.²² According to Benedict, when Mishkin returned to New York he was in a bad way, which she attributed to his meeting with Fortune. As Mishkin was already miserable at having to abandon his fieldwork, his meeting with Fortune, when Fortune had presumably told him "all the things that he pours out in his letters", only added to his bad state of mind.²³ Mead likewise attributed Mishkin's state of mind to Fortune, and told John Dollard that "Reo convinced Mishkin that I was a demon - Mishkin already feeling guilty over having failed in the job I sent him to do - and Ruth was my tool . . ."²⁴ Later, upon hearing that Mishkin appeared to be moving more into journalism than anthropology, Mead remarked: "He never will be missed, he never will be missed".²⁵

Lingnan

Lingnan University had originally been established as the Canton Christian College, and since 1904 had been located on a large island called Honam on the south side of the Pearl River. The walled city of Canton was on the northern side of the river, and could be accessed by launch. The campus covered thirty acres, with the first major construction, Martin Hall, having been completed in 1907. A massive fire in 1912 within the walled city destroyed a thousand homes. It was a graduate of Lingnan, Ng Hei-lui, who began plans for the rebuilding of the ruined area. Also involved were other students who had been involved in the 1911 revolution which had seen the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty, resulting in the establishment of the Republic of China. In the ongoing political struggle between the Kuomintang

²² LSE: Malinowski /3/200 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 13 April 1937.

²³ LOC: MMP R6 Benedict to Mead, letter dated 2 November 1937.

²⁴ LOC: MMP N5 Mead to John Dollar, letter dated 3 December 1937.

²⁵ LOC: MMP B3 Mead to Caroline Kelly, letter dated 13 June 1939.

(National People's Party) of Sun Yat-Sen and the militarists under General Lung, student sympathy lay with the Kuomintang. By 1922 the city walls had been demolished, and in June 1925 Lingnan found itself caught in fighting between Cantonese troops and an army from Yunnan. Plans were made to evacuate the women and children but the fighting ended abruptly with the arrival of reinforcements and the retreat of the Yunnan army. With the death in 1925 of Sun Yat-Sen, his military general Chiang Kai-Shek assumed the leadership role.

James McClure Henry had been appointed President of Lingnan in 1924 and became Provost in 1927 when a new administration under President Chung took office. It was Henry who subsequently was instrumental in securing the funding for Fortune's position from the Rockefeller Foundation, though it was President Chung who travelled to New Zealand to interview him. Fortune arrived at Lingnan in February 1937, where he was accorded the title of Associate Professor of Sociology, with six hours of lecturing scheduled weekly to classes of American and Chinese students.

The Exchange Student Plan had its origins in 1933-34 when a student from the University of Hawaii, Frank S. Wilson, spent a year at Lingnan. Impressed by this experience he suggested that more students should do the same, whereupon the administrators at Lingnan sent him to the US to recruit students willing to come on the basis of free tuition and lodgings, though they would have to pay their own transportation, food, books and expenses. In addition, they would have to have a Chinese room-mate and eat one meal a day in the student mess hall. In the fall of 1934 eleven students arrived, and in the next two years a further fifty-six, of whom twelve were women. Courses had to be arranged to fit within the programs of study

of the American students (Corbett 1963:126-127). Of the courses offered in 1937-1938, it appears that Fortune would have taught some of the following: Introduction to Social Anthropology; Social Psychology; Primitive Religions; Anthropology; The Family; Linguistics (Corbett 1963:194).

Within his first weeks at Lingnan, Fortune forwarded a draft for 20 English Pounds to Malinowski as part payment of his debt. He also told him that he was feeling in a better mental state than when he had been in England. He had about twenty American exchange students and some Chinese in his classes, so his time was occupied with learning Chinese and preparing lectures. One of his better Chinese students had been offered a scholarship to Columbia, and had plans to continue onto London after finalising there.²⁶

By early March the Chair in Anthropology at Cambridge had been settled. Fortune's application, along with those of Audrey Richards, Louis Leakey, and Daryll Ford had been quickly disposed of. The remaining contenders were Firth, Bateson, Jack Driberg, John Henry Hutton, and Arthur Hocart. While Firth had strong support, Haddon was surprised that he was not awarded the Chair. Hutton was appointed. Fortune had applied also for the William Wyse Studentship at Cambridge. but it was awarded to Bateson. Haddon seemed pleased with the outcome which now gave Bateson the opportunity to do further fieldwork and to possibly succeed Hutton when he retired²⁷. However, while Mead and Bateson were advised of the outcome by cable from Bateson's mother, Fortune had to wait until early April to hear of the results of the studentship and even longer that the Chair had gone to Hutton.

²⁶ LSE: Malinowski 7/20 Fortune to Malinowski, letters dated 'as from' 3rd February 1937.

²⁷ LOC: MMP O3 Haddon to Bateson, letter n.d.

With no “writing up” money, Fortune had shelved his Purari manuscript. He had no money to purchase a typewriter and even less to afford to pay someone to do the typing for him. He wanted to repay his debts before incurring more, but would continue working on his material as time and finance allowed. He did, however, send a report to the CRSS at Columbia which Benedict released to the press. A summary was published by the New York Times, under the heading ‘Tribal Etiquette told at Columbia’ (NYT 1937:8).

Fortune also would have liked to collect his belongings scattered variously in New York, London and Cambridge. Despite his lack of success in securing a permanent appointment elsewhere, Fortune decided that his best option was to try and develop the department at Lingnan on the basis that it may lead to something more secure. He reported to Haddon that there were many non-Chinese populations in China who were “primitive” in comparison to the Chinese, and given the opportunity and money he could send two or more graduate students into the field where they would spend a year conducting research among one or more of these groups. He would visit and advise them as and when he could get away from his university duties. In order to do this he would need a thousand American dollars, which he hoped Benedict or Boas might be able to provide.²⁸

He also wrote to Haddon and Seligman relating the impermanence of his position, and of his hope of developing a department. In this instance, he asked for £150, perhaps from a Royal Society grant, for research on the “Tai, Miao or Lolo (of Shan, Ma Hkmer, and Tibeto-Burman linguistic families respectively)”. If he were

²⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 10 April 1937.

successful in building up research capabilities at Lingnan, he felt it may be possible to continue with funding from the Chinese provincial government.²⁹

A few days after writing to Haddon and Seligman, Fortune again put pen to paper and advised Malinowski that he was intending to remarry, “a New Zealand girl I asked to marry me when I left New Zealand when I was twenty-one³⁰, who turned me down that time - whom I’ve warned she’s foolish to be taking a chance financially now, as she is leaving a job of her own. . . but she says she’s coming anyway”. This is the first time that Fortune appears to have spoken directly of Eileen to anyone. Certainly he had not told Benedict or Caroline Kelly, who were more than likely to relay the news to Mead.

Eileen Margaret Pope (1903 - 1977) was the daughter of Robert James and Ernestina Victoria, nee Pullar, Pope. Her paternal grandfather, James Henry Pope, had distinguished himself as Inspector of Native Schools between 1880 and 1904, becoming a fluent speaker of Maori and “one of the best-informed Pakeha of his time on Maori lore and traditions” (Renwick 1993:393-395), and her father also was a teacher. Eileen was educated at Wellington Girls High School and at Victoria University College, where she completed her B.A. in 1924 and subsequently her M.A. with honours in French in 1926. She and Fortune first met during that time while both were members of the college tramping club. Little is known of their relationship then, but Fortune proposed to her and was turned down just prior to his leaving for Cambridge. On her graduation, Pope taught first at Wanganui Girls College and then travelled to England and Western Europe in 1929. In France she continued her studies

²⁹ AJCP: Micro MS-Coll 20-2729 Haddon Papers, Miscellaneous series, Fortune to Haddon, letter dated 11 April, 1937.

³⁰ Fortune was actually 23 when he left New Zealand.

at the University of Poitiers, before returning to New Zealand in 1932. It was on the return voyage that she met Raymond Firth's brother Cedric, who remained a long-term friend. She then took a position teaching at Wellington Girls' College, where she stayed until her resignation in July 1937 on her departure for China to marry Fortune. In May the news was announced publicly through the *New Zealand Free Lance* (May 5, 1937), a weekly periodical that was the closest to a society magazine New Zealand had.

When the news of Fortune's impending marriage reached Caroline Kelly, she immediately wrote to Mead informing her. Mead was delighted and replied:

... You treated it so briefly, did you think I wouldn't be pleased about Reo's marriage. I find that I react much as I did about the job in China, with relief and thankfulness, and no greater personal feeling. After all I laid all the plans for him to meet her again and everything you know. And this means that his trouble making powers will be considerably lowered. The injured and sad husband has romantic points, the husband remarried himself to his first sweetheart - not such good heart appeal.³¹

Mead also advised Benedict of the "major news" saying that

Anyone who seems inclined to paint me as an ogre who wrecks people's lives might be told about it. I feel quite pleased to consider that all the men who have ever cared about me have speedily embraced the married state, as if I, in some obscure way, typified it, perhaps by not being more consistently faithful to it.³²

With two failed marriages and both ex-husbands ostensibly happily remarried or soon to be so, Mead appears unable to accept that her own behaviour had contributed significantly to the breakdown of her marriages.

Eileen was not due to arrive in Hong Kong until September, and in the meantime Fortune repaid his debts to Malinowski and Firth in full. Firth, ever the

³¹ LOC: MMP B3 Mead to Caroline Tennant Kelly, letter dated 11 July 1937.

³² LOC: MMP B1 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 11 July 1937.

economist, was happy to receive interest on his account, but Malinowski declined saying that now he owed Fortune.³³ He also repaid Benedict for two “charity drafts” which she had sent him while he was still in New Zealand. In the letter in which he sent Benedict the drafts, he said he was sorry if his letters appeared unfriendly, while also noting:

You say you are my friend and not my enemy. If that is true, then why do you want me to get into communication with Mead about Arapesh culture? It might occur to a friend of mine that I have been fed enough of Margaret Mead made “science” to make me sickened. I did not feel your cable collect to get out of Arapesh country as a friendly gesture either - but no matter. It might occur also to a friend of mine - of any reality - that I do not wish to be reported upon to Margaret Mead or Bateson - however curious they may be - that I regard their curiosity into my state of mind, doings etc. as impertinent and mean.³⁴

As long as he felt that Benedict was reporting back to Mead, he was content to let her know what he thought of them. Benedict assured Fortune that she was his friend and that she had never shown his letters to Mead. She also agreed that she would act as an intermediary between them while remaining silent about his activities. She regretted that she had been unsuccessful in securing him a grant of \$1000 from Columbia, and still hoped to be able to secure it for him from some other source.³⁵ However, Boas had managed to secure \$500 as an advance against the grant being approved at a later date, and this he had forwarded direct to the Trustees of Lingnan University specifying that it was for work of Dr Fortune.³⁶ In reality it was Mead who provided the \$500, anonymously, through Benedict to Boas.

³³ LSE: Malinowski 7/20 Malinowski to Fortune, letter dated 28 March 1938.

³⁴ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 28 April 1937.

³⁵ LOC: MMP R5 Benedict to Fortune, letter dated 29 May 1937.

³⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Olin D Wannamaker to James Henry, letter dated 22 June 1937.

As the first semester drew to a close, Fortune made plans to go into the provinces of Kweichow (Guizhou), Kwangsai (JiangXi) and Hunan, situated to the north of Canton (Guangdong Province), although at this stage he was unaware of the funding from Boas. This would be a welcome break from the task of teaching which he was finding a strain. His lectures were not well prepared, untyped and thrown together from materials he had at hand. However, he felt that despite his students finding his course disorganised, they found him extremely knowledgeable and always with the materials available. He drew heavily on his own published and unpublished work, as the library was lacking in anthropological works. The field trip would also provide further excuse to avoid the many religious observances which other “ex-missionary members of staff” attend.³⁷

While Fortune did not publish or even appear to write anything of this field trip other than a few words in correspondence, it probably served as exploratory research for his later field trip which was to result in publication of his “Introduction to Yao Society” (1939b). Fortune was not allowed to study minorities in Kweichow without first obtaining permission from the Kuomintang Government, and this meant going to Nanking. In Kwangsai he found the roads blocked and was therefore unable to reach his objective, the Miao or Yao peoples. These were communities of non-Chinese minorities increasingly under pressure from the majority Han population. Fortune recorded that there were “big troop movements” in Kweichow.³⁸ The Japanese had already occupied much of northern China, and on July 7 an incident

³⁷ LSE Malinowski 7/20 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 2 June 1937.

³⁸ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923. Draft of a letter to person unknown ca.1937.

occurred at the Marco Polo Bridge to the south-west of Beijing which was to signal the beginning of the Second Sino-Japanese War.

Back at Lingnan, Fortune awaited the arrival of Eileen. He was desperately missing her, and while she complained that his letters were stiff, he constantly told her how much he missed her and that was the reason for his “rotten” letters. He urged her to take up shorthand and typing as they would come in useful. He was determined that they would be together, “remembering all of [her] very vividly”.³⁹ Eileen sailed from New Zealand as planned in July 1937, stopping over in Sydney where she made contact with Oscar Vonwiller, Professor of Physics at Sydney University. Vonwiller in turn made contact with Timothy Kelly and the three of them spent time together. She also had lunch with Elkin and presumably broached the subject of future employment for Fortune. Caroline Kelly, reporting to Mead, felt that this was the case, and that Fortune had instructed Eileen not to call on her.⁴⁰

Eileen arrived in Hong Kong on September 7, suffering the aftermath of a typhoon which had struck less than a week earlier. Also, an air raid over Canton on August 31 had caused many people to flee to the relative safety of Hong Kong. Japanese planes had flown over the university before dropping their bombs on what was now referred to as the old city. According to Eileen:

Reo said that they were awakened by the bombing planes soaring in, the pop, pop, pop of the anti-aircraft guns and the noise of the warning siren all at once. So he dashed downstairs and joined Dr Metcalf (botanist next door) out on the grass and they stood together and watched the Japs tearing in no resistance being offered, except by the gun, for the Chinese aviators were all asleep. The first bomb they

³⁹ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune, Fortune to Eileen Pope, letter n.d.

⁴⁰ LOC: MMP B9 Caroline Kelly to Mead, letters dated 25 August and 15 September 1937. Oscar Vonwiller and his wife resided in the suburb of Castle Hill and were well known to the Kellys.

dropped was a 500 pounder which made the most deafening roar and dug a hole about 25 feet deep in the Tung Shan Tai?? Or Sun Yat Sen University grounds right next the aerodrome.⁴¹

Bombs fell for several days. Then came the typhoon of September 2 which had swept down through China and onto Hong Kong, leaving a trail of wreckage and an estimated eleven thousand people dead. As her ship sailed into the harbour, Eileen saw three large vessels cast up on the rocks “like so many toys” along the entrance to the harbour.⁴²

Fortune had arranged accommodation and they headed for the British Embassy where they intended to marry. However, while Auckland had been willing to accept Mead’s Reno divorce from Cressman so that she could marry Fortune, when they approached the British Consul in Hong Kong he was not willing to recognise the latest Mexican divorce. Eileen described the situation as extraordinary. “You see Auckland honoured a Reno divorce to marry M and Reo in Auckland. Well in America, Reo says a Reno or a Mexican divorce are equally good. . . .”, but the officials in Hong Kong were adamant that a Mexican divorce would not be recognised. The only option open to them was to get James Henry to marry them at Lingnan. Early the next morning they left Hong Kong to return to Canton. As they approached the city they found a Japanese boat looking at them but fortunately it let them through. James Henry was on hand to meet new arrivals and those returning. Reo and Eileen, who had been hoping for a quiet marriage, suddenly found themselves the centre of attention with all the staff invited to attend the ceremony.

⁴¹ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune, Eileen Fortune to her family, letter dated 20 September 1937.

⁴² Ibid.

We took a taxi through the unbelievably crowded street of Canton, and eventually arrived at the gates of Lingnan. Here Reo arranged for my luggage to be carried by coolies, and we walked ahead so that I might have a leisurely view of the campus. . . . We ambled up through the campus, rather wondering why so many people were standing out on the lawns in a kind of vague manner when it turned out that an air raid alarm had sounded. However, nothing happened.⁴³

Delighted with her new home, but still waiting for her luggage, Eileen thought she would have to be married in the plain dress she was wearing, but after much searching the luggage was found and the wedding proceeded. Eileen summed up the day:

Heavens, what a day. Up at six, fight to get through refugee mob at wharf at Hong Kong, marvellously beautiful river trip, possibility of being stopped by a Japanese boat, first sight of Canton, air raid alarm given as enter Campus, (I was tickled when I saw the number of the house was 13!), loss and finding of luggage, being married, meeting a crowd of new people, finally a delightful dinner party. I wonder how many people have such a wedding day?⁴⁴

Air raids became the norm. Day after day bombs fell, and once again it was Eileen who provided the best account:

The only thing is that now that I've decided not to try and keep it from you that there is a war in South China too, I can't help letting myself go over the matter, and I'm horribly afraid that instead of being reassuring you'll find the letter most alarming. But please don't be alarmed. It does not feel nearly so scaring when one is actually here as it must to you reading and imagining... But don't think that it hasn't its funny aspects. For instance some of them take it as pure sight seeing. I think Reo feels pretty responsible for me and so will not let me stand out on the steps if things seem as if they might get too hot, so I miss some of the happenings, such as the machine-gun duel between two planes, and planes coming down in flames (its all horrible when you think that death is attendant on all these happenings, but on the whole one doesn't think, one merely hopes

⁴³ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Eileen Fortune to her friends, letter dated 12 March 1938.

⁴⁴ Ibid p2.

there'll be sufficient Chinese pilots to take the place of the ones killed)⁴⁵

They studied the language, and while Eileen found it difficult to concentrate in the heat, she commented that Reo was very quick at picking up vocabulary. He had earlier learned Mandarin and now both he and Eileen took lessons in Cantonese.

Fortune continued to teach throughout the remainder of the year. His second semester lectures covered Australian ethnology in more detail, along with New Guinea and Polynesia, using his own fieldnotes and works by, among others, Mead, Firth, and Elkin. Because he also was lecturing in sociology, he used the works of Robert Kuczynski on population, Daniel Kulp on Chinese country life, John Lossing Buck (husband of Pearl) on agriculture, and Karl Marx. When one of his students, Lum Chek Wan, travelled to the United States, Fortune gave him a letter of introduction to Alfred Kroeber. Kroeber responded thanking Fortune and hoping that events in China were not being too disruptive to his work and prospects. He also remarked that he had reread *Omaha Secret Societies* (Fortune 1932b), which reconfirmed his “earlier impression of the value of this work”.⁴⁶ Although Fortune’s intent had been only to introduce his student, Kroeber’s positive response may have been the catalyst for Fortune to head to Berkeley when his contract expired and war made research almost impossible.

At Christmas 1937, the Fortunes travelled for the winter break to Singapore, where the confusion over the Mexican divorce was resolved as officials in Singapore

⁴⁵ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Eileen Fortune to her family, letter dated 24 September 1937.

⁴⁶ BANC: UA CU-23 Records of the Department of Anthropology, Kroeber to Fortune, letter dated 29 October 1937.

had accepted the same documentation when they married Mead and Bateson in 1936. On their return to Hong Kong, they met a fellow New Zealander, James Bertram.⁴⁷ Bertram had spent the previous two years in China on a Rhodes Trust Fellowship and was an active member of the China Defence League (CDL). Fortune subsequently was asked to form a branch of the CDL in Canton, but despite two preliminary meetings at their house and a planned larger one in the town, it did not eventuate.

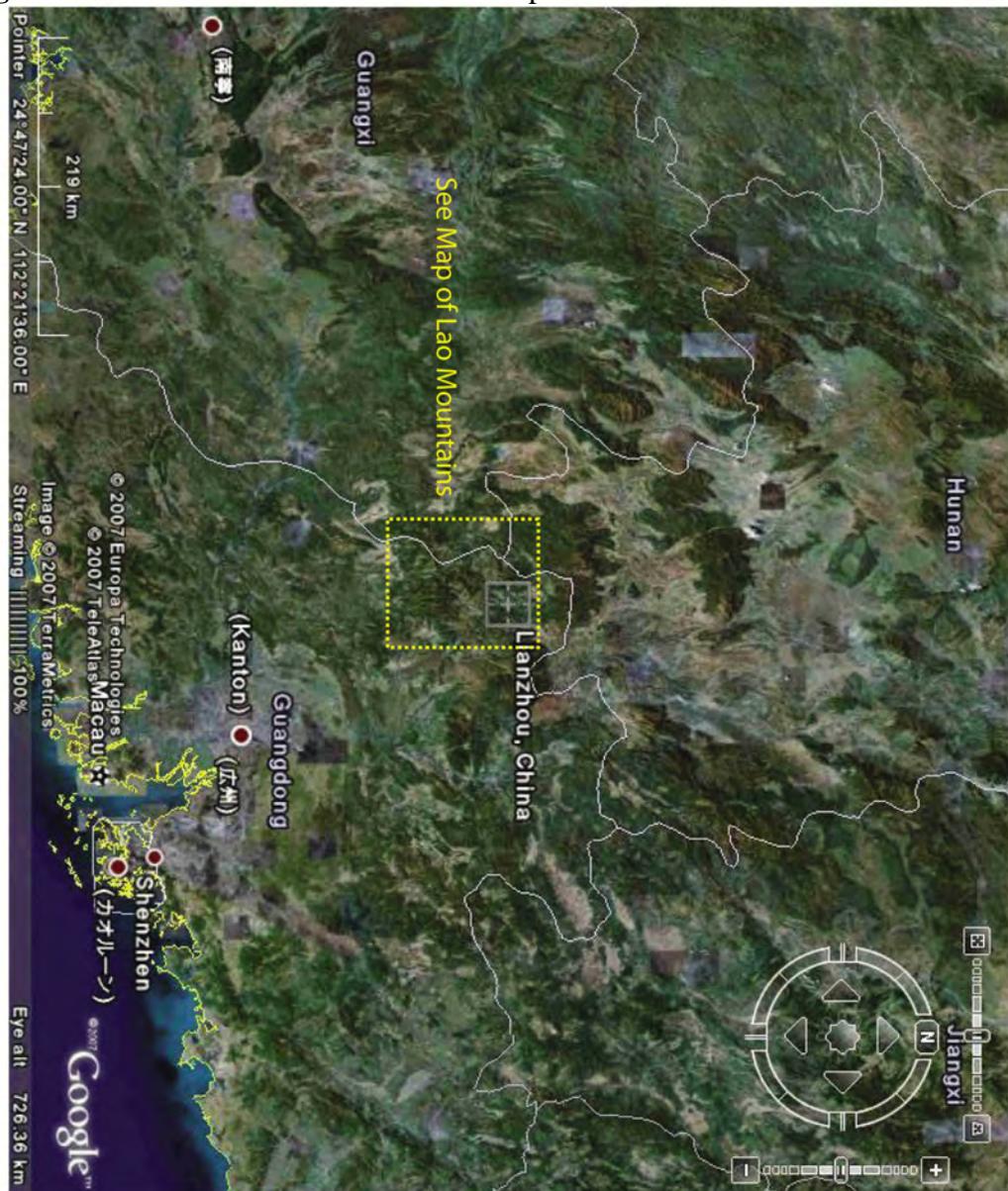
The bombing raids over Canton continued almost unabated throughout 1937 and 1938. Some of the universities had to move their sites as close proximity to airfields meant they were likely to become targets. Starvation was increasing among the population as trade dried up. Courses at the university were being adapted to reflect the war and issues of the time; Fortune gave a course titled 'Capitalism and Imperialism'. During April 1938, the Fortunes offered refuge to another New Zealander, the author Robin Hyde (Iris Wilkinson), who had travelled to the war front and was assaulted by Japanese soldiers, and then hospitalised in Hong Kong. In June three bombs landed on a distant part of Lingnan Campus resulting in a mass exodus of students and an end to term work.

Knowing that it would be difficult to keep students around for much longer, Fortune with Eileen and five students left for the mountainous region north of Canton where for two months they were to work amongst the Yao people. Their base was the town of Linchow (Lianzhou). Eileen initially had intended to go further into the field with Fortune, but when it was discovered that the particular village they had been recommended to was some distance from their base, she elected to remain behind.

⁴⁷ James Munro Bertram was acquainted with many men and women who later took up senior positions in communist China and was the first British journalist to interview Mao Tse-tung. For more on Bertram see McNeish (2003).

Due to poor health, she would receive attention from the hospital attached to the Linchow mission.

Figure 26. China: Catharina's abode in 1638. Map of Lao Mountains for area where Fortune



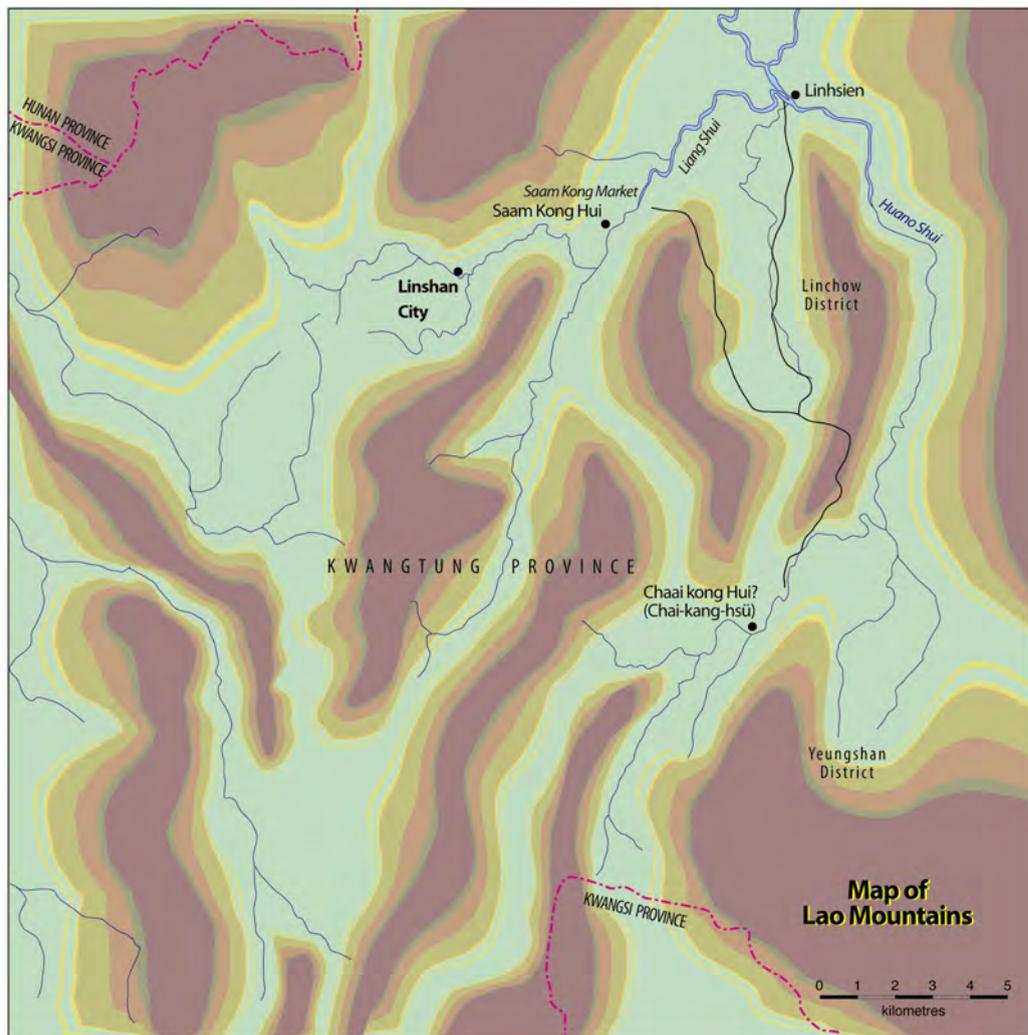


Figure 27 Map of Lao Mountains. Fortune and his students conducted research in this area 1938.

Within a week of going into the field, one of the students, Ng Wing Chiu, came down with an illness which necessitated his evacuation to the hospital at Linchow. Initially diagnosed as possible typhoid, it turned out to be appendicitis. Several times, Eileen made the journey by bus to the market town of Saam Kong where the Yao traded, and on one occasion walked to the outskirts of a village to meet Fortune, as he returned to the market. He returned to Linchow with Eileen, to get an interpreter for the students. She found too that he had a slight fever, which he said was a recurrence of malaria, However, he was not about to let this interfere with his research. He and Eileen returned to Saam Kong, and the next morning, with a coolie to assist him up the hills, he set off on twelve mile walk back to his village, Yau Ling situated near the summit of a hill and facing north-east.⁴⁸

Each student wrote an essay on a particular aspect of Yao Society. C.B. Lee (Lee Chee-Boon) provided a brief history of the eight *pais* (mountain villages) with particular reference to the village of Yau Ling. Lee noted that the social organisation of the Yao was based on the *fong* or patrilineal group characteristic of the Han people. Each village may consist of a number of *fongs*, and the organisation of these is the keystone to understanding both the political and social system. In the village under study there were nine *fongs* grouped into two *tong* - Big Tong and Small Tong. Lee also discussed warfare, both within the *Pai* (village) and between other villages. K. K. Lee (Lee Kwei-King) described the rituals of birth, death, and marriage followed by a general description of family life. W. C. Wang (Wang Wing Chou) focused on Yao religion and education, emphasising the role of the priest and priestly classes. K. Y. Lin (Lin King-Yü) discussed the economics of Yao life, especially farming,

⁴⁸ YUL: Malinowski Papers 1/3/200 Eileen Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 30 June, 24 July and 18 August, 1938. Eileen began this letter on June 30 and concluded it on 18 August.

forestry, domestication of animals, and the aspects of trade and exchange. The final essay in this collection is by S.L. Wong (Wong Sik-Ling), and is concerned with the phonetics and phonology of the Yao language.

In his introduction to the published essays, Fortune made it clear that his students lacked in-depth training in anthropology so that the results were obtained by their having been “thrown directly into the field” (Fortune, 1939a:354). After summarising the salient points of his student’s essays, Fortune ventured to suggest “practical proposals for the effective work towards the assimilation and the civilizing of the Yao”(Fortune 1939b:354). A contemporary commentator on the anthropology of the Yao, Hjorleifur Jonsson describes his introduction as “quite striking, especially the way in which he embraced the agenda and rhetoric of the Chinese Bureau for the Civilization of the hillbillies, considering his autonomy vis-à-vis colonial authorities in Melanesia a decade earlier”.⁴⁹ It may be that Fortune did not want to repeat the same mistake he made in alienating J. H. P. Murray in Papua. He now was eager to make a place for himself in China, and given that this fieldwork was facilitated in part by the Bureau for Civilization of the Yao, he may have thought it prudent to include the recommendations to placate them. In addition, he was probably aware that 'modernization' was inevitable, and wanted it to be informed by anthropological knowledge. While few commentators on Fortune’s work seem to have been aware of this publication, Devereux (1940) regarded it as “a necessary addition to our knowledge of the simpler cultures of the South-East Asia.

Mead was still keeping a watchful eye on Fortune. When Caroline Kelly complained that she had not heard from him, Mead suggested it was not significant,

⁴⁹ Jonsson, Hjorleifur. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 9 March 2006.

and that Fortune would probably consider writing to her “as a form of marital infidelity”. As for his prospects now that China was at war, Mead thought that a job in Australia would be good for him, but did not see why Kelly’s anthropological career should be upset unless Kelly really thought that Fortune “would add something intellectual to the scene”. On the other hand, there was no guarantee that either Elkin or Hogbin would be happy to have him.⁵⁰ Mead privately may have preferred that Fortune did not take a position in Australia, as she and Bateson planned to return to New Guinea and having Fortune in Sydney would only complicate matters.

With his tenure at Lingnan due to expire at the end of 1938, Reo and Eileen considered the possibility of going to the Soviet Union. He had received a letter from the anthropologist Roy Barton, an American living there and married to a Russian woman. Barton had recently completed a study in the Philippines, under American and Soviet sponsorship, and was attached to the Institute of Ethnology of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Leningrad.⁵¹ Fortune may have felt that Barton would be able to find him a position in Russia, but nothing further seems to have eventuated.

By early October, events in Canton made it impossible for the Fortunes to remain there. James Henry wanted Fortune to spend his remaining time back with the Yao in order to make a complete survey, but this time there would be no students accompanying him. It was hoped to get an interpreter and that Eileen also would go. She had been attending his lectures and presumably would have been of assistance to Fortune in the field, but the arrival of the Japanese meant that at very short notice

⁵⁰ LOC: MMP R8 Mead to Caroline Kelly, letter dated 22 July, 1938.

⁵¹ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Eileen Fortune to her family, letter dated August, 1938.

Reo sent Eileen to Hong Kong from where she wrote reassuringly to her family as she waited for Reo to join her:

Don't worry about Reo; I am not. I'm sure he will be quite alright. You see there are ever so many foreigners still there, and they will make arrangements for them. They always do. And don't worry if you hear that Yunnan has been bombed; we will be away in a village somewhere, and there are many villages in Yunnan. You have no more cause to worry than I would if I heard there had been a street accident in Wellington.⁵²

On his own arrival in Hong Kong, Fortune wrote to Benedict advising that he had suffered a mild infection which had “blown a hole in an eardrum half the size of the drum”. He noted too that he had heard there was a professor at Creighton University, who was a specialist in ear, nose, and throat disorders and had designed an efficient substitute for the eardrum which could be worn permanently. Fortune also needed surgery for an infected mastoid, which if left untreated could result in meningitis, a brain abscess, or blood clots in the veins of the brain. Despite these setbacks, he wanted to continue his research, but in French Indo-China where Yao people also lived and from where access to the western provinces of China was still possible. He had completed a manuscript on the Purari material culture and language which he had sent under separate cover, and asked if Benedict would be kind enough to edit the manuscript, recasting it as she thought fit. If this was not possible, he would hopefully have a chance at a later date to rewrite the entire work.⁵³

Leaving Hong Kong, the Fortunes travelled first to Hanoi and then to Chapa (Sapa), where they began a study of the Miao people. Eileen was, apparently, helping Fortune with his work. Her correspondence from this time contains delightful

⁵² Letter from Eileen Fortune to her family, reported in the *New Zealand Free Lance* November 16, 1938.

⁵³ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 16 December 1938.

descriptions of everyday events and it appears they were trying to film some dance. Eileen commented on the difficulty of taking moving film, as it required at least ten feet of film and often the subject moved out of frame. Unfortunately, no field notes from this period appear to remain.⁵⁴ With his contract with Lingnan coming to an end, Fortune, without the burden of teaching, was now able to devote his time to editing and preparing for publication, the articles written by his students which resulted from their earlier fieldwork among the Yao.

Fortune also used his time to write his first repudiation of Mead's Arapesh publications, although Mead herself did not appear to take it personally. (Lapsley 1999:238). Fortune was aware that he was courting controversy as his article "Arapesh Warfare" (1939a) directly challenged Mead's assertion, in *Sex and Temperament*, that the Arapesh were peaceful.

A Theory has been advanced that this social culture [Arapesh] "works, selecting one temperament, or a combination of related and congruent types, as desirable and embodying this choice in every thread of the social fabric". According to this theory the entire Arapesh social culture has selected a maternal temperament, placid and domestic in its implications, both for men and women.

The theory has been applied to the cultural analysis of Arapesh warfare, and has led to conclusions that "warfare is practically unknown among the Arapesh. . ." These conclusion we, of course, must reject. . . (Fortune 1939a:36).

A recent ethnographer of the Arpaesh, Dobrin (2003) concurs with Fortune's view that "Arapesh ideal sex roles are multiple and contextually situated".

When he had not heard from Benedict whether she had received his revised Purari manuscript, Fortune questioned whether her non-response was a result of his repudiation of Mead's Arapesh work. "Is it possible that no reply to my personal

⁵⁴ Although his contract with Lingnan expired on January 1, 1939, Fortune continued to conduct research. It is uncertain whether this was funded by himself or by Lingnan.

letters may be due to my repudiating Margaret Mead's maternal characterisation of Arapesh Culture? - I do not know, it seems petty, if true".⁵⁵ He also commented to Benedict how she, in her *Patterns of Culture* discussion of the Dobu, had thrown out "what normal humanity I gave them", though he also accepted that perhaps he had not stressed the same enough in his work. While he accepted that emotional controls may exist and even dominate in some cultures, he felt that "in general, most cultures preserve a balance, weighing many sentiments near the norm of human sentiment against any special trend in any one emotional direction". He believed that Mead's account of the Arapesh in *Sex and Temperament* reflected her own feeling of alienation from them, making them grotesque and without enough common humanity.⁵⁶

However, time was running out for Fortune in Asia. With his tenure at Lingnan now completed, and world war increasingly on the horizon, he wrote to both Malinowski and Kroeber about employment possibilities. Kroeber suggested that he should turn to Radcliffe-Brown, Malinowski, and Elkin as they were people with whom he had been most associated in the past. On the other hand, Malinowski, while commenting that conditions in America were not particularly favourable, suggested that it held more opportunity than either Britain or the British Colonies. Benedict remained silent.

⁵⁵ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 3 June 1939.

⁵⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 6 May 1939



Figure 28 ATL:PAColl-8563-08-047 Reo and Eileen in China 1937-1939

Chapter Ten

Old Friends, New Enemies

With Britain already at war with Germany, it made sense for the Fortunes to return to the USA. War had not yet been declared by the US and Fortune(s) academic prospects appeared better there. However, the bombing of Pearl Harbour changed everything. Academic positions became harder to find as young men were conscripted and classes became smaller. Struggling to find work, Fortune travelled extensively around the Mid-West of the US and eventually moved to Canada and a short-lived position at the University of Toronto. Finally he enlisted and was posted to England from whence in 1946 he accepted a short-lived position as Government Anthropologist to Burma.

The Fortunes left China on board the *Asamu Maru* in February 1940, expecting to arrive in Seattle on or about 7 March. From there they planned to make their way to San Francisco and Berkeley. News of their coming invariably reached Mead, who advised Benedict that she had been investigating “the terms under which Reo could come to this country”. She had determined that he could come as a tourist, providing he had a ticket out; as an immigrant, but would need an affidavit of support from someone in the US; or as a non quota immigrant, because he was a University professor, which I don’t think he will do as he wasn’t one long enough”.¹ She also was concerned that he might think the support he had received from Columbia meant that Columbia was more interested in him and his work than it really was. After all, Mead had been his anonymous benefactor, with Benedict pulling the strings to make it look as though it was all coming from Columbia. She wrote to Benedict, saying that it would be unpleasant having him in the country, especially if he came to New York.

But it might be worthwhile to send a discouraging cable. I’ll pay for it, of course, if you think it should be sent. Also, is there anyone in Berkeley whom we can trust to let us know when he arrives. I’d like to have some warning. I’m not going to tell Gregory anything about

¹ LOC: MMP B1 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 27 October 1939.

his threatened coming, no need to worry him needlessly, but I shall have to tell him if he actually arrives.²

Benedict felt that sending a cable, especially from her, would only increase Fortune's resolve to come to America. However, she would write to Kroeber, enclosing a letter for Fortune, and request that his secretary hold it until Fortune arrived.³

Malinowski, now at Yale, expressed delight that Fortune planned to come to America. He was certain that it was the only place for Fortune to be at this time, despite the difficulties in securing a position. While he had found sympathy for Fortune among a number of his colleagues, he also had struck distinct antagonism among others, the details of which he would explain when they met.

Nevertheless, I have one or two openings in mind, which may prove fruitful. The best way for me to act is to look around for any opening as for myself - which I have been doing anyhow - and then hand over to you the second best, so to speak. The fact that I am myself on the lookout for a job is, from your point of view, all to the good, since in many ways, in quality and defect, we are very much interchangeable.⁴

However, there are no subsequent references to any meeting in which the matter was discussed.

On their arrival at Berkeley the Fortunes took up residence in the U.C. Hotel, and Reo called at the University where he received Benedict's letter. He immediately wrote to her, stating that he did not know where he was going next, but if the worst came to the worst he could always return to Seattle where he would find manual work through some Chinese friends.⁵ Benedict, in turn, wrote to Mead repeating the content of Fortune's letter almost verbatim, and added, "The note tells nothing, not

² LOC: MMP B1 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 27 October 1939.

³ LOC: MMP B1 Benedict to Mead, letter dated 1 November 1939.

⁴ LSE: Malinowski 36/67 Malinowski to Fortune, letter dated 14 December 1939.

⁵ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 14 March 1940.

even whether he is alone. I'll write him today, but I don't know any steps to take about his being here except to send you what he's said; Do you know of anything? I hope he stays in Seattle".⁶

Kroeber seemed reasonably pleased with the Fortune he now encountered, and endeavoured to make this known to those he thought might be able to help. He wrote to Lloyd Warner and Ralph Linton, saying how Fortune had given a talk to a discussion group "which flowed quite smoothly, hung together and was very vivid". He remarked that the students considered it one of the most interesting talks they had heard for a while. Kroeber also commented to Linton that Benedict's loyalties were primarily to Mead, and that should Fortune be considered for a position anywhere, Linton may be called on as a referee.⁷ Linton's response was direct:

I was also glad to get the news about Fortune, although I must say frankly that I think he is going to be in for a hard time. Boas he can no doubt depend on but it has been a long time since the old gentleman has been able to place anyone in a teaching position. Benedict can be counted on to knife him in the back if the opportunity offers, Have you forgotten his article on Arapesh war patterns, and what this does to the Mead-Benedict idea of the sweetly feminine Arapesh?. Margaret's position will also scarcely be friendly. . . I am sorry to say that we have nothing available at Columbia but I shall keep an eye out for any positions which may be breaking.⁸

For someone as perceptive as Benedict, it is surprising that when she received another letter from Fortune she misinterpreted what he had written. After saying that Eileen was with him, and that they were in America as immigrants, he added a postscript in which he stated, "Would you figure in wishing me to hell - presumably

⁶ LOC: MMP R6 Benedict to Mead, letter dated 16 March 1940.

⁷ BANC: UA CU-23/57 Records of the Department of Anthropology, Kroeber to Linton, letter dated 20 March 1940.

⁸ BANC: UA CU-23/92 Records of the Department of Anthropology, Linton to Kroeber, letter dated 25 March 1940.

with my former wife in that - or otherwise?"⁹ Benedict misread this as "figure in wishing me to help" and asked Mead whether it might mean "figure in wishing to help me".¹⁰ Mead agreed that this was the probable intent as Fortune often reversed his words. She also was relieved to hear that Eileen was with him. She asked Benedict whether it would be worthwhile encouraging Fortune to return to psychology. After all, he had done the necessary work for a Ph.D. in Psychology and anything that would keep him out of New York should be encouraged. "He definitely shouldn't be anywhere near New York at present. He'd add far too much to the present acute schizomogenetic state. . . . Really it seems as if the whole world were poisoned by competitions and inferiorities [sic] at present".¹¹

Fortune visited Benedict at her home in Pasadena, California, in early April. She was pleasantly surprised by his demeanour and his ability to talk affably of possible positions and contacts, although he made no mention of Mead or Bateson. Benedict also arranged for him to meet Morris Opler, an assistant professor at Claremont College, who had studied the Apache people. Over the next few months Fortune had talks with Paul Radin, Edward Gifford, and Robert Lowie. Gifford, Curator of Archaeology at the Robert Lowie Museum of Anthropology at Berkeley¹², also made his house available to the Fortunes while he was away on a field trip. When Gifford advised Fortune of a possible vacancy, arising from the death of Goldenweiser, at Reed College in Portland, Oregon, Kroeber wrote advising that the

⁹ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 23 March 1940.

¹⁰ LOC: MMP R6 Benedict to Mead, letter dated 29 March 1940.

¹¹ LOC: MMP R6 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 1 April 1940.

¹² In 1991 the name of the Museum was changed to reflect the contribution of Phoebe Apperson Hearst as founder and patron. It is now known as the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology.

position had already been filled by Morris Opler. Despite the well-meaning advice of those around him, Fortune was still an outsider and needed to make personal contact with those who might be able to assist him. He took the opportunity to travel east, with friends, hoping that the contacts he made would prove fruitful. There he placed his name on file with the Columbia University Appointments Office, which asked for the names of six referees. Fortune avoided giving Benedict as a reference, telling Kroeber that as he had disagreed with her over *Patterns of Culture*, and on Mead's theory on sex and temperament, Benedict was unlikely to be supportive.

In July the Fortunes spent a week at Cape Cod, during which Reo took the opportunity to visit Cornell and Phil Mosely. By August they had settled in Toledo, Ohio, where Reo had secured three hours teaching per week which would give them an income of around \$400 a year. In a press release issued by the University of Toledo News Bureau, Fortune is quoted as saying in regard to stone-age peoples, "that it is not the people, but the scale of living that is so different from our life".¹³

Eileen recounted how the University was keen to secure Fortune because one of the recently appointed sociology professors had read his books and spread the word as to his abilities. Rather than lose him, the University appointed him to the Psychology Department, with the prospect of a shift to anthropology the following semester. "Then it appeared that one of the psychology people had come across references to him in a psychology textbook he had, so they doubled Reo's teaching hours in psychology".¹⁴

¹³ University of Toledo News Bureau: Press release 11 September 1940.

¹⁴ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Eileen Fortune to her family, letter dated 22 September 1940. The sociology professor may have been E.E. LeMasters, as in November Eileen wrote home that "Reo is seeing a great deal of LeMasters, the young professor who so vaunted Reo's abilities to the dean".

While at Toledo, Fortune continued to look for more permanent work. He was offered two positions but had to decline them because of his British citizenship. The first was as organiser of an archaeological excavation funded by the Workers Projects Administration (W.P.A.), a relief organisation established by Roosevelt in 1935; the second was at the Smithsonian Institution for the position of Assistant Curator in Ethnology.

As 1940 drew to a close, Fortune travelled to various conferences, including the December meeting of the American Sociological Association in Chicago. It was here that ideas which he had been slowly germinating suddenly found fertile ground. For years, Fortune had been trying to resolve his conflict over Mead's 'Squares' theory. While he accepted there may be some 'scientific' explanation for her theory, he had not yet established this. However, after the conference in Chicago, the answers suddenly became clear to him. There was a biological basis to social forms. Excited by this, he proceeded to write a series of papers, two of which were published, outlining his theory. Eileen described this excitement to her family: "Reo would stay up till one two three in the morning and write, write, write, destroy, destroy destroy, and I would type, type, type, and now its all done".¹⁵

Rather than Mead's 'squares', which was a quaternary system, Fortune proposed a binary opposition pitting 'matrilineal' and 'patrilineal' societies, which were largely determined on the basis of the degree of attention given to the control of the body. In his unpublished paper he sets out clearly the aspects of each as oppositions (see figure below). He suggested that no 'modern theorist' would want to see a return to the outmoded elements of matrilineal society, but that there were,

¹⁵ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Eileen Fortune to her family, letter dated 13 January 1940.

within modern America, some advocates for “maximum satisfaction to the woman in the sex act”. These advocates saw no connection between this and prenuptial sexual freedom. While accepting that this may be so, Fortune felt it was worthy of investigation.

Fortune’s Classification of Attributes of Matrilineal and Patrilineal Societies¹⁶

Matrilineal	Patrilineal
1. Reckoning of descent, inheritance and succession in the female line	1. Reckoning of descent, inheritance and succession in the male line
2. Women practice black magic and take an active part in feuds.	2. Women do not generally practice black magic or take active issue in feuds
3. Eating of the vulva in cannibalism, but discarding of the penis, although not all matrilineal societies are/were cannibalistic.	3. Eating of the penis in cannibalism, but discarding of the vulva although not all patrilineal societies are/were cannibalistic.
4. No seclusion of women, or taboos on their cooking for men, at times of menstrual flow.	4. Menstrual seclusions for women are/were common, as are taboos on women cooking for males at those times.
5. Prenuptial sex freedom; no jealousy in marriage; high divorce rate, social experimentation in sex.	5. No prenuptial sex freedom, much jealousy in marriage and a low divorce rate. No social experimentation in sex.
6. Maximum satisfaction to the woman in the sex act, including the technical stimulation of the clitoris until the orgasm reflex of the sympathetic division of the autonomic nervous system.	6. Technical stimulation of the clitoris and production of female orgasm is taboo.

The published versions of the articles were marked “R. F. Fortune, Toledo” without naming ‘University of Toledo’. Hearsay suggests that its authorities had requested

¹⁶ In his unpublished paper, Fortune has written these out in paragraphs. For ease of comparison I have chosen to show the categories as a comparative chart.

he remove the institution's name from the publications. These two papers, recorded as 'current issues' in the *American Sociological Review*, referred to:

- (a) codes of sexual conditioning among tribes in New Guinea, comparing patrilineal societies with matrilineal ones; and
- (b) the relationship between war and diet.

Regarding the former, Fortune argued, "Where inheritance, succession and descent inhere in the male line, orgasm of the clitoris is tabooed and sex fore-play and after-play directed to that end is also tabooed"; by contrast, in matrilineal societies these things are regarded as a common part of sexual relations (Fortune 1941a:571). In simple terms, in patrilineal societies the biological needs of the male take precedence over the needs of females to the extent that female satisfaction is tabooed. Likewise, the reverse is true of matrilineal societies. There is, therefore, "a two-way interaction between social and neurological factors inhering in the nature of social codes . . .".

In his latter paper, Fortune (1941b) suggested that the type of diet conditions the stomach and gut in such a way as to determine social responses to war and peace. Those who maintain a light diet with a high metabolism indulge in a fast alternation between war and peace, whereas those whose diet is heavy and with a slow metabolism have a slower alternation between war and peace. In both papers, the key point is the alleged link between biological conditioning and social conditioning. Although Fortune never stated it, he also considered these papers important because they shed light on the categorisations made by Mead in establishing her 'Squares Theory'. Rather than temperament, Fortune considered social conditioning the key element in the dispute that had arisen in the Sepik.

When applied to the Sepik situation, therefore, it becomes clear that Mead, coming from a family dominated by its women, was representative of the matrilineal line, while his own family background, rooted in religion and prudery, was representative of the patrilineal line. Mead had categorised herself as ‘Southern’ to Fortune’s ‘Northern’. In doing so, she was setting up, within her quaternary system, a binary opposition which she based on temperament, attributing different aspects to each, without allowing for the primary biological differences which Fortune regarded as contributing to the social conditioning. However, this does not appear to allow for Bateson being categorised as ‘Southern’ under Mead’s system, unless consideration is given to the fact that Bateson spent a lot of his formative years in the presence of strong assertive women. According to Lipset (1980:47), Bateson, and his siblings were “often sent to stay with maiden aunts on both sides of the family, or to their father’s widowed mother. . .In retrospect, Gregory would attribute an independence of character to them he had not noticed as a child”.

When Kroeber received a first draft of the article, he wrote to Fortune:

Lowie and I were much interested in your mimeographed pamphlet. You have raised an important point. Some of it I would agree with, some I would like to discuss further before accepting. The subject matter, however, is of such character that I believe it would be inadvisable for you to publish this article until you are assured a fairly fixed status - in other words, a permanent job. There is a good deal of prudery still running around in American life, especially in the middle west, as you may have noticed, and publication of such an article before you are settled might conceivably prove a bar to your becoming settled.¹⁷

While Fortune acknowledged this advice, he went ahead and published a revised version. Kroeber believed he had gone too far, especially in his claim that “innate

¹⁷ BANC: UA CU-23/57 Records of the Department of Anthropology, Kroeber to Fortune, letter dated 20 January 1941.

capacities for the use of the male rudiment in women in lovemaking are turned into matrilineal institutions”. Conceding that this may be a factor, and possibly an important factor, Kroeber balked at being told it was the decisive factor.¹⁸

In April, Fortune travelled to Des Moines for the Mid-West Sociological Society Annual Meeting to present a paper, “The Social Psychology of Family Life”. Fortune already had sent Boas copies of several papers including this one.¹⁹ His argument followed much the same course as his *Social Forms and Their Biological Basis* (1941a), but it related directly to modern society and drew on a 1940 paper by Florian Znaniecki²⁰. Boas did not respond until six months later, apologising for the delay. He said he was worried about Fortune’s assumption of a direct relation between bodily characteristics in populations and their social organisation:

It would seem to me that what you would have to prove is that the bodily reactions of the population are not in some way influenced by social customs. It might be that the two are related, but the influence may be just as well one way or the other.²¹

In May 1941, Fortune was invited to go to Columbus, Ohio, where there was the possibility of a position at Ohio State University. However, the position never eventuated allegedly due to financial constraints and the introduction of the Military draft having reduced student numbers. It is possible, too, that Fortune’s controversial new thinking may also have played a part. Eileen was of the opinion that “it frightened the people who have the top jobs”; but she also considered it “far too

¹⁸ BANC: UA CU-23/57 Records of the Department of Anthropology, Kroeber to Fortune, letter dated 13 February 1941.

¹⁹ APS: Franz Boas Collection B:B61 Fortune Reo #4, Unpublished paper, The Social Psychology of Family Life.

²⁰ Although the paper was accessible to Fortune in 1940, it was not published until 1941.

²¹ APS: Franz Boas Collection B:B61 Fortune, Reo #6, Boas to Fortune, letter dated 9 October 1941.

important in its possibilities anyhow, to suppress on any such account”.²² Certainly, by July, Mischa Titiev of the University of Michigan was reporting to Benedict that Fortune had “evidently gone off on tangents in anthropological arguments” that left people in Chicago “thinking he was probably deranged”. Benedict also heard from Kroeber, who wrote that “several letters and over dogmatic or sharp articles from Fortune indicate pretty severe strain”.²³

Mead was interested, but regarded the sudden concern over Fortune’s state of mind as nothing new “except that it is diffusing”. She suggested that perhaps she and Gregory could arrange a scheme whereby Fortune got write-up money “in some British colony”. But that would require him to give a detailed outline of what he planned to write up, “because if he hasn’t any material - and I’m afraid he hasn’t, then one part of his mind will know it’s no good and having the write-up money will make things worse”. She also suggested that Gregory go to anthropological and sociological meetings over the Christmas period in order to determine Fortune’s actual state of mind. “He [Gregory] can judge better than anyone - except perhaps me - if he actually is in a worse state, or merely in one of those recurrent states in which he impresses people as insane”.²⁴

Mead also was curious as to what articles Kroeber had seen and whether Linton was likely to publish anything in the *American Anthropologist*, saying she would hate terribly for him to jeopardise his good work by publishing bad.²⁵ This

²² ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/7: Papers of Eileen Fortune, Eileen Fortune to her family, letter dated 15 May 1941.

²³ LOC: MMP B1 Benedict to Mead, letter dated 20 July 1941.

²⁴ LOC: MMP R6 Mead to Benedict, letter dated 23 July 1941

²⁵ Ibid. The actual sentence reads “I hate terribly to have jeopardise his good work but publishing bad”.

statement is ambiguous and unclear in its meaning but could indicate that Mead was concerned that Linton would jeopardise his good work in editing the *American Anthropologist* by publishing bad material, or it could mean that she was concerned that Fortune would jeopardise his good work by publishing bad. I am inclined to give Mead the benefit of the doubt and conclude that it was the latter she intended.

Little was heard of Fortune over the summer months, so that in August Benedict wrote to Kroeber expressing her concern, saying Fortune's letters to her had become so bad that she had stopped writing to him. She wondered whether there was anyone in California who had got to know Eileen well enough to write to her enquiring of Reo. Benedict stressed that she would "do a lot to save Reo, but it would have to be out of [her] own pocket". He had failed to write up his Purari material and she felt she would be unable to press any foundation in order to get him further money.²⁶ Kroeber had heard from Fortune around this time and advised Benedict of his address in Toledo. Although Fortune was still living in Toledo, his position at the university had probably been terminated. He no longer gave the University as his address.

Fortune broke his long silence with Mead about this time by sending her a reprint of his *Social Forms and their Biological Basis* (1941a) and asking for information on her and Bateson's blood groups. Having already argued a relationship between biological factors and conditioned reflexes, it seems he now wanted to test his theory against blood types. Mead sent him the data but Fortune appears to have abandoned this line of thought as no further mention was made of it.

²⁶ BANC: UA CU-23/33 Records of the Department of Anthropology, Benedict to Kroeber, letter dated 6 August 1941.

He also wrote to Malinowski advising that he was now working on warfare, and suggesting that Malinowski check Pavlov's work to see his ideas on moveable social factors in the nervous system, in material transformation, appearance and fact. Fortune reported that he was following such ideas himself, including "examples of social conditioning of the balance between the anterior pituitary lactogenic hormones and the oestrus cycle after childbearing".²⁷ In the same letter he mentioned that he had applied once more to the Carnegie Foundation for funding, on the basis that he had previously been given a grant but had to turn it down. However, the record shows, this time he was declined. A note from Charles Dollard, assistant to Frederick Keppel, President of the Corporation, is appended to Fortune's file:

Linton says Fortune is definitely insane, and G. P. Murdoch of Yale reports that they have strongly resisted Malinowski's attempts to bring him to Yale. He is a British subject and a sometime husband of Margaret Mead, which latter distinction is shared by several of his colleagues.²⁸

Benedict was worried and trying to find Fortune permanent work. She was very hopeful of a position at the Vancouver Museum, where the post of Curator of the South Seas had become available. Both Kroeber and Benedict endorsed his application, stressing that salary was of less importance to Fortune than the status of Curator and Lecturer. Kroeber went further in suggesting that Fortune was "more concerned with establishing himself in something permanent than the amount of the salary", as his fellowships had been modest, but "they had given him opportunity for fieldwork and publications on which his professional repute rests".²⁹

²⁷ LSE: Malinowski 36/67 Fortune to Malinowski, letter dated 4 October 1941.

²⁸ CU: Carnegie Corporation Box III A No. 148 Fol II Fortune, Dr Reo F 1934-1941 C.D. to FPK, letter dated 3 October 1941.

²⁹ BANC: UA CU-23/77 Records of the Department of Anthropology, Kroeber to Professor Irving, letter dated 18 November 1941.

Fortune's movements between November 1941 and February 1942 are unknown, although there is a suggestion that he was selling coffee door to door. Nevertheless, by February 1942, Fortune was at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, in the Department of Anthropology which had been established under the direction of Thomas McIlwraith in 1936, along with C. W. M. Hart as his assistant. John Embree had joined the department in 1941 and was conducting research on the Japanese in Hawaii, but the entry of the United States into the war saw him recalled to Washington. Fortune was offered a temporary position, presumably until Embree could return, and was to spend the better part of the next three years in Toronto.³⁰

Hart, and presumably McIlwraith, were no strangers to Fortune, with Hart having been the subject of a rather scathing unpublished letter from Fortune to the Editor of *Man*, in which he questioned Hart's conception of anthropology.³¹ Hart had written a review of Mead's *Growing Up in New Guinea* in which he wondered aloud "whether [Dr. Mead] can be called an anthropologist at all" (Hart 1932:146), and Fortune had sprung to her defence. But here, as in Toledo, Fortune's controversial writing proved to be problematic. His article, "Arapesh Maternity", published in *Nature* in 1943, outraged McIlwraith and Hart, but Fortune failed to understand why. He later wrote to his wife, Eileen:

I got another copy of the August 7, 1943 number in which I published an article those brainless sops at Toronto raised a storm in a tea-cup about. On re-reading it I see nothing in the article to justify their behaviour. It was I'm certain largely malicious³²

³⁰ I am grateful to John Barker of UBC for sending me copies of letters, and interviews he conducted, in his research on Thomas McIlwraith.

³¹ LOC: MMP R4 Fortune to the Editor of *Man*, letter dated 8 September 1932

³² ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Reo Fortune to Eileen Fortune, letter dated 1945.

This article may have only been a part of the problem. Edmund Carpenter, who was also at Toronto around this time, recalled asking McIlwraith whether it was true that Fortune had been fired for suggesting to his mainly female class “that the unique human feature of face-to-face sexual intercourse might have influenced human development” (Carpenter, quoted in Howard [1984:267]). McIlwraith was reported to have agreed in the affirmative. Also, Margaret Tushingam, McIlwraith’s secretary, recalled:

Reo Fortune . . . intrigued students at first until we began getting calls from the parents of students who were shocked at what their children were telling them. Fortune couldn't stop harping on sexual mores of tribes all over the world, and did so in great detail. T.F.[McIlwraith] and I went into a storage room which had a large ventilator opening right through to the classroom one day in order to listen to one of these lectures and at one point he told me to put my fingers in my ears. Fortune was given notice and gave us a great deal of trouble from then until the end of term.³³

Anecdotal evidence suggests that Fortune challenged McIlwraith to a duel with weapons of his choice from the Museum’s collection; or, perhaps more seriously, chased McIlwraith around the museum with a tomahawk (Levin, Avrith and Barrett 1984:5; Barker 1987:262). It is more likely that Fortune challenged McIlwraith to identify weapons in the collection. Tom McIlwraith, son of Thomas F., states that no duel took place although Fortune did lay down the challenge.³⁴ Fortune became extremely uncomfortable remaining in a department where he was no longer welcome. He wrote to Kroeber recounting his attempts to enlist in the armed forces, feeling that his age - he was now 41 - was against him. In regard to his position at Toronto he wrote:

³³ Margaret M. Tushingam (McIlwraith's former assistant) to John Barker, 5 January 1978. See also Barker, John 1987.

³⁴ Personal communication. Tom McIlwraith to author, email dated 3 May 2005.

My lectures were made from day to day in the academic year. They were good this year - the students say. However T. F. McIlwraith decided that his Department was being diverted to a subject he did not understand my line in, and told me that "My students were loyal to me" and that he had not recommended my reappointment - It is distinctly galling as he is not a man of any especial mental calibre. .

³⁵

On completion of an officer training course with the Canadian Army in 1942, Fortune served as a supervisor in the Auxiliary Services, YMCA, in England from 1944 to 1945, although service in England was not his first choice. He had tried unsuccessfully to get to New Guinea, with both the United States and the Australian forces. Benedict, who was now working for the Office of War Information, thought it too bad that Fortune had not been able to work in the Pacific where his "experience ought to be very valuable".³⁶

At the war's end in May 1945, while awaiting demobilisation and repatriation to Canada, Fortune again began looking for jobs. He applied for positions at Edinburgh and Johannesburg, as well as at the Rhodes Livingstone Institute. By early December 1945 he was aware that he was not the first choice for Edinburgh, although he had not been completely ruled out. Two weeks later he advised Eileen that he had accepted a Rhodes Livingstone Institute offer of work in Nyassaland (Malawi), and intended to sail for Rhodesia in February. Although he had initially agreed only to an eighteen-month contract, the Institute insisted on a two-year contract and Fortune eventually acquiesced. Meanwhile, the position of Professor at Durban became available and Fortune subsequently declined the Nyassaland job in

³⁵ BANC: UA CU23/57 Records of the Department of Anthropology, Fortune to Kroeber, letter dated 6 June 1944.

³⁶ LOC: MMP R5 Benedict to Fortune, letter dated 12 June 1944.

order to apply for the professorship. At the same time he sent an application to Glasgow. Neither application was successful.

Fortune returned to Canada in April 1946, having tentatively been offered the position of Government Anthropologist in Burma. The records of the R.A.I. indicate that Hutton at Cambridge was asked to advise on a suitable candidate for the position.³⁷ Apart from Fortune, also under consideration was Isabel Crook, a China-born Canadian who had done field work in the Red River area of Yunnan Province. There was also a suggestion that Edmund Leach be approached, but Leach had not got on with the Director of Frontier Areas Administration, Henry Noel Cochrane Stevenson, with whom whoever was appointed would inevitably have to work. Hutton thought Fortune would be “an admirable man for the business, for though a bad lecturer, he is first class in the field”; and if Fortune declined, then W. E. H. Stanner would be a suitable choice. As regards the appointment of a woman, Hutton did not think “a woman would really be in place in a job which would mean so much touring at the back of beyond”.³⁸

Enquiries also were made with the Australian Government as to Fortune’s suitability for the position. J. R. Halligan, Secretary of the Department of External Territories in the Australian Government, asked Elkin for a report on Fortune and then cabled the Australian Government Trade Commissioner in Calcutta:

Your Memorandum 129/0/1 of 13th November regarding Dr Fortune. I have consulted Professor Elkin who is a member of the executive of the Australian National Research Council who advises that Fortune did really good work for the Council in Dobu and in the Admiralty

³⁷ R.A.I: A/43 Applied Anthropology 1928-1949 15/75-93.

³⁸ R.A.I: A/43 Applied Anthropology 1928-1949 15/81. J Hutton to Stallman, letter dated 28 May 1946.

Islands from an anthropological point of view, the results were of distinct merit and of first rate importance.

Fortune is a man of distinct ability in the field of anthropology and in Linguistics. He has had wide experience and his experiences in China and Indo-china would help in Burma³⁹

Due to a United States rail strike, a letter offering Fortune a position at Southwestern University, Texas, in approximately one year with a three-year contract was missed. Fortune thus accepted the offer from Burma. The terms of appointment were a three-year contract, a salary of 1500 Rupees per month, free passage and return for the officer and family, and eligibility for benefit under the Extra-ordinary Pension rules. He sailed immediately for England, where he had a meeting with the President of the R.A.I to discuss his plans. It was decided that the R.A.I would draw up a draft plan for an ethnographic survey of Burma, which then would be forwarded to Fortune, who, along with Stevenson, would comment on it before submitting it to the Institute, which in turn, would forward it to the Burma Office. A newspaper report from the time read "Study of Headhunters":

A journey to study headhunters and remote hill tribes in the jungles of Burma was begun this week by Dr. R. F. Fortune, of Wellington, when he left Poole airfield by B. O. A. C. flying boat to take up his new appointment as official anthropologist to the Government of Burma.

Dr Fortune, who has been engaged in anthropological work for the past 20 years, intends to carry out a complete survey of headhunting and hill tribes, and will advise the Burmese Government of measures to improve the living standards of these backward peoples.⁴⁰

³⁹ NAA: Series A518 (A806/1/5) Papua - Scientific - Visit of Reo Franklin Fortune, Anthropologist.

⁴⁰ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: Unidentified newspaper clipping dated 14 July 1946.

Eileen, who had travelled to England with him, remained behind for several weeks before sailing to join him, arriving sometime in early September. In a letter home to her family she recorded her arrival:

I imagine everyone arrives in Rangoon feeling pretty sleepy, for the tradition with the Burmese ships is to throw one bang-up party and how, the night before the disembarking. The pilot had come on board, ready to take us up the river (a 6 hour job) but we had to wait for the tide. Most people including the pilot, had very little sleep, though I do seem to remember him saying at about 2 a.m. that he was going to bed as he had a job to do in the morning. We were only 36 passengers but we kept up the Burmese tradition fairly well. One of the highlights of the party was the future fire chief of Rangoon wearing a turquoise hat of mine I bought in Miami over his round [indecipherable word] face while he conducted the assembled company in song with a lavatory brush as baton - and very ably too. Next day we slunk slowly up the muddy Rangoon river, a branch of the Irrawaddy. Low lying land with here and there a Pagoda gradually unwound before our eyes until we caught a glimpse of Rangoon in the distance with the famous schive Dagon (or golden pagoda) standing up above the level of the roof tops...⁴¹

Eileen described the first couple of weeks in Rangoon. Rationing meant they had just three glasses so that empty beer cans were used as vases. Everything was damp and mildewy due to the monsoon and furniture was spartan. Yet, despite these hardships, she actually seemed to be enjoying herself.

Fortune began his work in Burma by trying to teach the basics of anthropology to new recruits of the foreign service. Meanwhile, Stevenson travelled to London for a meeting of the R.A.I., at which he described Fortune's arrival as "a pyrrhic victory because it coincide[d] with the bankruptcy of the government", which

⁴¹ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune, Eileen Fortune to her family, letter dated 7 October 1946.

meant that the government was no longer in a position to fund anything but the “most urgent rehabilitation expenditure”.⁴²

No fieldnotes from Fortune’s Burmese period appear to have survived, other than a diary which records his movements during February and March of 1947 (see Figure 28), a short text of a message to “Thuklai Chief or elders”, a notebook with questions relative to the culture, and a draft report on conditions of land tenure in the Siyin Valley. The notebook is an indication of the thoroughness of his research. In it, he headed one page with “Duties of relatives at death”, followed by a series of questions: Who dresses the corpse? Who sings songs in honour of the deceased? Who fires guns? Who keeps the fire burning under the corpse? Who pierces the stomach of the corpse? Who rolls the shrivelled corpse on logs and places on shelf in the house or in the coffin under the house? Who collects animals to slaughter for the feast? Who hunts for heads to adorn the cemetery? Who carry company to the cemetery dancing on a bamboo frame? Who collects bones to bury in earthen pot in ground? Who collects Mythun shells in trees adjacent to exposed coffin or last burial place? Who places food before the drying corpse daily so the spirits may eat? Are graveyards scattered with bones? Who carves and erects the Khan? Who nowadays cuts stone and writes inscriptions?. These questions are undated and answers are not recorded. Fortune did attend a funeral in February 1947 and these may have been preparatory notes.

Burma then was moving rapidly toward independence. The British Government had conceded the principle of full independence in January 1947 and elections for a constituent assembly were held in April. In July a group of men broke

⁴² R.A.I: A/43 Applied Anthropology 1928-1949 15/95. Memo dictated by Stevenson, 12 September 1946.

into the Secretariat building where the Executive Council, headed by Aung San, was meeting. The armed intruders gunned down Aung San and six of his cabinet ministers.

Fortune's marriage also appears to have been in trouble. Despite Fortune having been offered a position at Cambridge, Eileen decided to leave Burma to return to New Zealand rather than travel to England and await Fortune's arrival there a few months later.

At the same time as these events in Burma, Mead's marriage to Bateson was disintegrating around her. In a letter⁴³ to Caroline Kelly, Mead describes the uncertain state of her marriage and Bateson's frequent infidelities. The events she narrates are almost a mirror image of her past relationship with Fortune: Mead was now experiencing feelings which, if reflected on, closely resembled those which she had earlier criticised in Fortune. Despite this, she still believed that she had acted in the best interests of Fortune; after all, they "had been entrusted with joint work, which had to be protected as much as was possible and both [their] futures as scientific workers had to be thought of."⁴⁴

⁴³ LOC: MMP R8 Mead to Caroline Kelly, letter dated 13 July 1947.

⁴⁴ LOC: MMP R10 Mead to Elizabeth Hellersberg, letter dated 29 July 1947. Elizabeth Hellersberg had been Bateson's analyst and a friend of Mead.



Figure 29 Fortune's route around Burma

Chapter Eleven

Return to Cambridge

Although initially welcomed by students at Cambridge, Fortune was to remain an enigma to many during his nearly three decades of tenure there. His dealings with students, staff, and other colleagues created doubts about his mental state which were compounded by rumour and innuendo. Despite this, Fortune continued to conduct research, returning to New Guinea on several occasions, though publishing very little.

The minutes of a meeting of the Anthropology Faculty Board at Cambridge University held on 5 March 1947, reported the following:

A letter from the General Board was read suggesting that the Faculty Board might ask the Appointments Committee to consider whether the proposed new lectureship in Anthropology should be advertised. The Secretary reported that the Faculty Board had so asked the Appointments Committee. After some discussion, Mr Gow proposed and Professor Hutton seconded that the Lectureship, if established, be offered to Dr Reo F Fortune. This was carried unanimously and it was decided that if Mr Fortune was unable to accept the post it should be advertised. The Secretary was authorised to write to the Secretary General of the Faculties accordingly.¹

At the meeting of 19 May 1947, the board was advised that Fortune had accepted the appointment, if and when the lectureship was in fact confirmed. Six months later the Secretary reported that two lectureships had been established - in Anthropology for Fortune, and in Archaeology for Dr J. G. D. Clark. Fortune had finally found a permanent place in academia.

Before sailing for Cambridge, Fortune had to appear as a witness in a court case, dispose of unwanted belongings, and collect unpaid wages. His letters to Eileen from this time detail their finances. Prudent living while in Burma had allowed them

¹ CUL: UA Min.V.93 Minutes of the Applications Committee of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology. 5 March 1947.

to save the equivalent of one year's salary at Cambridge, and Fortune was justifiably proud of this achievement.

En route between Burma and England, Fortune was to spend nearly one month aboard a troop ship. For most of this time he was confined to the ship as at most ports there were concerns about possible fighting between the British troops and local people. During the voyage he suffered a bad bout of influenza; he also tried to give up smoking. He was allowed ashore at Bombay, only to find everything was shut as India was celebrating Ghandi's birthday. He occupied himself on board ship playing chess with a naval lieutenant and taking afternoon naps. On his arrival at Cambridge in early October 1947, he wrote almost daily to Eileen, seeking her advice on future plans. His aunt Eva was willing to lend him money towards the purchase of a house and offered him furniture for it. He contemplated letting the place furnished to a married student couple. Presumably it would be cheaper for him to take rooms than to live in a house without Eileen. In the meantime, he was living in a guest house. The prospect of purchasing a house depended on the sale of Victory bonds held at their Toronto bank, as they would need a thirty percent deposit and prices of houses in Cambridge were expensive. At this stage, with no permanent abode, Fortune had left most of his research materials in storage at Liverpool, and this was causing him concern.

Fortune gave his first lecture at Cambridge on October 13, 1947. Peter Worsley recalls how delighted students at Cambridge were to hear that a 'modern' anthropologist had been appointed.

He was a breath of fresh air. . . a most bizarre fellow too. He started his first course and he said 'physical anthropology and social anthropology - what's the relationship between them? Well in the Chin hills of Burma', he said, 'they have mortuary rituals in which

they carry the bones of dead men around their chests - that's the connection'. We looked at each other and didn't know whether he was being serious or there was something deep that we hadn't perceived . . . In a bizarre way he had some very powerful insights. One never knew whether he was being serious or crazy or just thinking beyond one.²

Raymond Smith suggests that “the only member of staff we had much respect for was John Peristiany [as he was] the only real scholar among the lot”. But he notes the proviso, “except perhaps Reo. But the trouble with Reo was that it was hard to tell.”³

In a capping ceremony at the Senate House, on 1 November 1947 Fortune received an M.A. from Cambridge. This was the norm for all new lecturers at that time and Fortune was impressed with the “rigmarole and rituals”. While he did not ordinarily dine in the colleges as they were short of rations after the war, on this occasion he was the guest of his old college, Emmanuel. Eileen had questioned whether his appointment was permanent and he responded that his initial appointment was for three years, but that he felt confident of being granted tenure. Towards the end of the first term, he told her that his students had said his lectures were a great success and that they hoped he would be lecturing them in the next term.⁴ He was optimistic that his future was secure although, according to Hutton's plan, which Fortune had asked him about before going to Burma, the professorship was ‘earmarked’ for Jack Trevor when Hutton retired.

² Worsley, Peter. Interviewed by Alan Macfarlane 25 February 1989 <http://www.alanmacfarlane.com/ancestors/Worsley.html> downloaded 29 September 2004.

³ Smith, Raymond. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 11 August 2005.

⁴ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS -Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune letters dated 2 November 1947; 10 November 1947; 3 January 1948.

For Fortune to be in the running for the professorship he needed to write a book or, at the very least, increase his publication record. But his New Guinea fieldnotes, including an unpublished grammar were still in Canada and when he tried to retrieve them his move had been blocked by Eileen who, without telling him, had countermanded his request that belongings held in Canada be forwarded to England. He wrote to Eileen asking her to immediately contact the agents in Toronto, withdrawing her objection to the shipping of materials he needed most: “It’s your mess to clean up now. I don’t know how to clean it up when I don’t know what you do and when you don’t tell me until months afterwards what you have done”.⁵ There is a second letter dated the same day in which he apologises for his hysteria over his manuscripts and papers at Toronto.

Just as Mead’s marriage to Bateson was crumbling around her, Fortune was having his own difficulties. Eileen had not yet joined him in England and he wanted word of when she was coming. In December 1947 the question of children arose. It appears that Eileen wanted children and Fortune appeared to have been sterile; certainly he discussed options such as adoption or artificial insemination⁶. Adoption was specifically mentioned in connection with Fortune’s prospects for the Chair at Cambridge when Hutton retired: “In two or three years time the present professor, Hutton, will be retiring and a new one appointed. If I get that job the adopting will be possible”.⁷ The next day he wrote: “About ourselves - the artificial insemination

⁵ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Fortune to Eileen Fortune, letter dated 14 January 1948.

⁶ Fortune’s letters to Eileen have survived, but her letters to Reo do not. This raises difficulties when trying to determine who initiated various matters in the letters. The remark that “artificial insemination is out” may have related to the fact that at 45, Eileen may have been menopausal.

⁷ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Fortune to Eileen Fortune, letter dated 19 December 1947.

idea is out - we are too late for that . . . So let's forget that. It is of no consequence. If we get good housing and cash to spare we'll adopt and that's that".⁸ If, as stated above, Fortune was unable to father children, then it refutes Mead's version of events in the Sepik where she claimed to be pregnant and lost the baby when Fortune struck her. One thing is certain, Fortune remained forever without progeny.

Eileen's reluctance to join Fortune seemed to centre on his temper, which appears to have been provoked by her having been 'unfaithful' while travelling by boat to China and marriage, and again while travelling from Toronto to Rangoon:

It will be better if you can come on a boat without making what occurred when you came on a boat to be married in China, and what occurred when you came on a boat to Rangoon - These things have had affects I realise now and which you probably do not. . . The fear you have is your own mind - it does not correspond to reality unless to your conscience . . . Conscience, they say, makes cowards of us all.⁹

Fortune equated Eileen's actions with those of Mead, whose infidelities and refusal to live in Sydney had impacted greatly on him. The exchange of letters is acrimonious, with Eileen asking him to read and destroy letters, leaving Fortune "in an absolute hell":

I cannot write to you again now as you'll be at sea - for all I know ready to hold me cheap again as you've done twice at sea before. There is no chance of a good life for us here if you come like that. I've not told you before but Margaret Mead who was a managing dictatorial person - but not cheap with herself - refused to live in Sydney when Sydney University offered me a job; got up a theory of temperamental sweetness and light she attributed to herself and

⁸ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune Fortune to Eileen Fortune, letter dated 20 December 1947.

⁹ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune, Reo Fortune to Eileen Fortune, letter dated 15 March 1948.

Bateson, and to some native tribes whose customs she distorted accordingly. . . Do not bring trouble. Aim to bring something else.¹⁰

Eileen eventually sailed for England on 19 April 1948.

During the early months of 1948, while Fortune was waiting for a decision from Eileen, he was corresponding with Mead following receipt of her finally published Arapesh monograph. Mead had sent the first copy to Burma, but Fortune apparently did not receive it. Mead also acknowledged receiving a copy of Fortune's "The Rules of Relationship Behaviour in One Variety of Primitive Warfare" (1947a) and commented that "it has a beautiful balance and simplicity, like a ballet".¹¹ This paper, describes the process of warfare and the relationship behaviour in war, as observed by Fortune whilst among the Kamano. In a longer paper, "Law and Force in Papuan Societies" (1947b), Fortune refers to these people as the 'Kamamentina River People' and their cultural norms as 'Kamamentina River Papuan law'.

However, perhaps due to Fortune's present situation with Eileen, the resumed correspondence with Mead triggered old memories, and he began discussion of their personal relations and events in the Sepik. Mead seemed surprised at this and apologised, saying she was "sorry that the phrasing of [her] letter suggested that [she] was re-opening [this] rather than commenting upon [their] current scientific work"¹². However, for Fortune the two situations were so intertwined that discussion of one without the other was nigh impossible. Fortune maintained that Mead's current work was still distorted by her inability to accept that she had confused individual personalities with cultural groupings.

¹⁰ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923/3: Papers of Eileen Fortune, Reo Fortune to Eileen Fortune, letter dated 16 March 1948.

¹¹ LOC: MMP Q1 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 7 January 1948.

¹² LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 5 February 1948.

Mead, under the guise of friendship and claiming to have Fortune's interests at heart, then wrote to Claude Guillebaud, a lecturer in Economics at Cambridge:

I need some help, and I hope it won't be too much of a nuisance to you to give it me. As you may or may not know. My former husband, Reo Fortune, is at present in Cambridge, and uses the address of the Museum. I don't know what his status is there; there are rumours that he has been appointed as a University lecturer, but I don't know whether they are true. During the fifteen years since I have seen him, although he has devoted a good deal of time conversationally, and what publications he has had, to attacking me, I have had almost no communication from him directly. But this winter he wrote me what seemed like a friendly professional letter, and I made the mistake of answering it. Since then he has been writing me letter after letter filled with the obsessive content of fifteen years ago, in which field work is hopelessly mixed up with himself, Gregory and me. I am seriously worried because I know he has periods of considerable instability and I don't want to contribute to them. But without any picture of what he is doing there, who is backing him, what his prospects are, whether his wife is with him, etc. I can't form a sufficiently good picture to know what to write or do. Could you write me a brief summary of how he got there, what his status is, and in general what the estimate of him is, say by Bartlett, without involving me in anyway in the enquiry, but simply making it normal curiosity on your part.¹³

If people at Cambridge were having any doubts about Fortune, this letter would surely have added fuel to the fire. It is interesting that Mead chose never to respond to Fortune's published articles which she saw as attacking her. Was this because she, as was Benedict, was afraid that he would show her up? Was it easier to be seen to keep quiet commenting only in personal communications, to those who might pass on her views of Reo.

Mead also announced to Reo that she planned to come to England, and queried whether it would be useful for them to meet and talk over the past. Perhaps if they could talk about things in person, it would resolve the differences over their

¹³ LOC: MMP R10 Mead to Claude Guillebaud, letter dated 20 March 1948. Claude's daughters, Philomena and Claudia, had stayed with Mead during part of WWII.

interpretation of Arapesh culture? “Perhaps now, after some of the dust has cleared away, we might get down to some sort of working relationship in which our communications would be related to the material, and to contemporary issues, and not to reliving some old scenes”.¹⁴

However, it was clear that Mead wanted to put an end to the endless letters of recrimination which Fortune kept writing to her and Benedict. As she said to Caroline Kelly, “If I could only get the victrola needle unstuck and get him on to another tune.”¹⁵ When Fortune responded, he offered to meet Mead for one hour at the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. About a week later he wrote saying he would give her as much time as she could spare. He had been reluctant to meet at first because he felt Mead only wanted to rehash her theory of “southern sweetness and light used to condemn [him]”, but he had since heard from Evans-Pritchard that she and Gregory “had parted company” and he felt that it might now be possible to discuss their research “if it’s clean”.¹⁶

Fortune also heard from Ruth Benedict that a French edition of *Patterns of Culture* was to be published, and she requested some Dobuan photos for inclusion. He responded: “I am not happy about your Patterns of Culture thesis. The use of the Dobuan negatives is conditional on my not being cited in support of it in any way”.¹⁷ Whether Benedict received this letter or not is unclear. She was in Europe at the time of its writing and died soon after her return, without ever replying to it.

¹⁴ LOC: MMP R5 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 16 July 1948.

¹⁵ LOC: MMP R8 Mead to Kelly, letter dated 19 July 1948.

¹⁶ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Mead, letters dated 21 July and 1 August 1948.

¹⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Benedict, letter dated 24 June 1948.

Figure 30 ATL: PAColl-8563-09-45.
Reo Fortune at work in his Cottage at 8
Duck End.



Figure 31 ATL: PAColl-8563-09-07. Reo
and Eileen Fortune's thatched cottage at 8
Duck End, Cambridge England. ca.1949.

However, Fortune was soon to have a bigger problem on his hands. Peter Lawrence, a postgraduate student at Cambridge, had applied for an Australian National University award in 1947 for the purpose of researching customary law in the Mt Hagen or Chimbu district of New Guinea, and eventually was granted a Research Scholarship of £450. Firth had interviewed Lawrence in November 1947, and Fortune was invited to act as his supervisor. In April 1948, Evans-Pritchard wrote to Firth that, on advice from Meyer Fortes, Lawrence was living in Oxford. Unfortunately, neither Evans-Pritchard nor Max Gluckman were able to offer him help as they were both Africanists. Therefore, it might be appropriate for Lawrence to spend a term at the London School of Economics.¹⁸ Firth replied that Lawrence was “really under Reo Fortune’s supervision”, and that he [Firth] was responsible only for his fieldwork and field grant.¹⁹

Fortune and Lawrence had decided that the best area for him to work would be in the Chimbu or Mt Hagen area. In selecting the Mt Hagen area, Fortune presumably was hoping that Lawrence would add to his own work in the neighbouring region. However, Firth had been appointed by the Australian National University to administer Lawrence’s funds, and after discussions with Ian Hogbin he suggested that because it would be very expensive to work in the Central Highlands, it might be preferable for a beginner, as Lawrence was, to work in a less difficult area.²⁰

¹⁸ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Edward Evans-Pritchard to Firth, letter dated 2 April 1948.

¹⁹ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Evans-Pritchard, letter dated 2 April 1948.

²⁰ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Fortune, letter dated 5 May 1948.

Fortune and Lawrence agreed to go up to London and meet with Firth. The outcome of the meeting was that they agreed they would wait for further information from Hogbin. Meanwhile, Lawrence wrote to Hogbin saying that he preferred not to work in the Sepik area. Instead, he agreed with Fortune on Chimbu, or as a second choice the Finisterre Mountains.²¹

Firth now began corresponding directly with Lawrence, leaving Fortune out of the loop. The outcome of this was that Lawrence was persuaded to go to Madang and forego any thought of Chimbu or other mountain area. Lawrence, after calling on Fortune in August, arranged to go up to London where he intended to take lodgings and attend Firth's seminars until his boat sailed in the new year. Also, Hogbin was going to be in London during this time and would be available for discussions.

Fortune was surprised at this turn of events. He felt Lawrence should at least have the option of working in the central area and could not understand why Hogbin was so against it. In a letter to Firth, Fortune questioned whether this was an example of strings being attached to research money.²² Firth pushed ahead with his plans, and wrote to the Registrar of the Australian National University, asking for them to obtain permission for Lawrence to enter the territory, and ensuring that there were funds to allow him to spend the coming term at the London School of Economics.²³ Firth then responded to Fortune's letter of August, saying it seemed to "be unnecessarily stiff". He said he had been to Australia and discussed the matter with

²¹ LSE: Firth Papers 7/5/36 Peter Lawrence to Ian Hogbin, letter dated 28 May 1948.

²² LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 12 August 1948.

²³ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Raymond Firth to R.G. Osborne, Registrar, Australian National University, letter dated 6 September 1948.

Ian Hogbin, who in turn advised that air freight costs were extremely expensive. As to Fortune's suggestion that unnecessary restriction were being put on research money, Firth considered this beside the point: ". . . adjusting a plan in view of comparative cost and help with the language . . . [is] just common sense". Firth also reminded Fortune that, as the Australian National University was supplying the money, it was "only reasonable to watch the finances and not run up freight charges unnecessarily".²⁴ In reply, Fortune reminded Firth that the Central Plateau was healthier, more thickly populated, had suffered less labour recruitment, and that he had a grammar and language texts from that area. If Lawrence was to go to Madang, Fortune felt unable to offer much regarding language. When Firth replied, he suggested that the four of them meet the following week to sort everything out.²⁵ Fortune was unable to go to London, but he did want some clarification of the situation:

Hogbin has no responsibility towards a student at this university, You, I understand have some advice from Hogbin you think carried more weight than any advice from me. Lawrence is now prepared to go, if necessary, to a less favourable area for work than I could advise. If that is the situation, what precisely do you want from me?

In early December Firth advised Fortune that Lawrence would work in the Madang area

I have considered this very carefully, realising that you would prefer him to go to the Central area. . . . I think it would be better if he did this afterwards, and I am telling the University that you would like

²⁴ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Fortune, letter dated 1 October 1948.

²⁵ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Fortune, letter dated 28 October 1948.

²⁶ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 2 November 1948.

him to go to the Central area and that I think he should go there after he has proved his field capacity, and got some experience.²⁷

In justification of his decision, Firth listed a number of points: many people in the Madang area spoke Melanesian languages which were easier to learn than Papuan languages; Pidgin was a convenient medium for learning a native language and was widely spoken in the coastal areas and less so in the Highlands; fieldwork in the interior was more expensive; the Administration Officer at Madang was keen to have an anthropologist there. Firth then raised another matter regarding his correspondence with Fortune:

In some of your correspondence you have pointed out that there should be no dictatorship and no strings in research money. On this of course I agree. But on looking through the letters it seems to me that you have said this and more in what amounts at times to a fairly rude way. I have not taken it up before, because the job is more important than personal wrangles. But I think I have the right to ask you to assume that I am just as concerned about Lawrence's scientific work and about anthropological standards as you are. I don't think differences of opinion about what is the best place for a man to work should be used to make wild statements about restrictions on academic freedom. I am prepared to take quite a lot from my friends but there are times when one can abuse friendship, and I think this is getting near to one. I assume your scientific integrity, and I expect you to take my own for granted too.²⁸

Fortune responded:

In regard to your integrity, your proper line of approach recently was to the Board of Research Studies of this University who granted Lawrence two years leave of absence for New Guinea research - and not for other purposes such as local travel. . . You will understand that I am aware that you may act if you please in an arbitrary manner, but also that I know precisely what I hold in respect and what I hold in contempt in such matters.²⁹

²⁷ LSE: Firth papers 7/7/16 Firth to Fortune, letter dated 1 December 1948.

²⁸ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Fortune, letter dated 1 December 1948.

²⁹ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 15 January 1949.

Once again Firth chose not to reply, which provoked Fortune into sending a second letter:

Well, why don't you reply? My suggestion is that you cable Lawrence his freedom to do research in whatever area he pleases. You may recall that you told me here, when you were up at Cambridge, that you did not care what area he took. The day before in London you told Lawrence that, if you were he, you would not go to the upland area.³⁰

Fortune also saw Firth's 'requirement' that Lawrence attend seminars in London as "the infringement of a student's liberty to remain at Cambridge", and was considering taking the matter to the Boards concerned. He felt London was a waste of "a man's time in a school where there [were] few if any ideas", and reminded Firth that he [Fortune] had "referred [him] to the Boards concerned, you may remember, and you reacted by purchasing Lawrence a railway ticket, and by going underground". With regard to Firth's offer to assume Fortune's integrity if he in turn assumed Firth's, Fortune stated: "I absolutely decline to assume yours, as long as you practice imposture, abuse of power, and completely false pretensions to knowledge".³¹ Firth responded by saying that he would be "bringing up the whole matter before the Academic Advisory Committee of the Australian National University at their next meeting", and that if Fortune wanted "a reply from [him] in the future" he would "have to write with less bile and more sense".³²

True to his word, Firth sent copies of all the correspondence to J. F. Foster, Secretary of the Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, with a

³⁰ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 23 January 1949.

³¹ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 23 January 1949.

³² LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Fortune, letter dated 24 January 1949

covering letter outlining the events as he saw them. While taking full responsibility for the advice which he had given, Firth noted that Fortune “is a difficult person, recognised as such by his colleagues”, and “it is a pity that what could have been agreed upon ordinarily in a talk or two should have become for him an idée fixe”.³³

Firth also wrote to Hutton, saying that Fortune believed that he (Firth) was anxious to “attract Lawrence away from Cambridge”, and that he had persuaded him to do so “without the approval of his relevant Board of Studies”.³⁴ Hutton replied in friendly terms, saying that he had no memory of hearing that Evans-Pritchard had recommended Lawrence go to London, but felt that if the training at the L.S.E. “is a sine qua non for the obtaining of some particular grant which he wants, why then to the L.S.E. he must go”.³⁵ Firth however assured Hutton that it was absurd of Fortune to feel that L.S.E. training was a prerequisite to research money, saying “I must say that I expected better of colleagues than the imputation that I used a grant to put pressure on someone to come to my own institution”.³⁶

Fortune continued to ask for a statement from Firth on whether study at L.S.E. was a prerequisite for funding from the Australian National University. He also reported to the Boards concerned the difficulties he was experiencing in supervision, “owing to dual authority and a complete disagreement about a question of freedom of choice of area”.³⁷ Fortune considered that Firth had taken on the role of dictator over research, and said so directly. Firth, however, reminded Fortune that

³³ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/36 Firth to J. F. Foster, letter dated 24 January 1949.

³⁴ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Hutton, letter dated 4 February 1949.

³⁵ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Hutton to Firth, letter dated 16 February 1949.

³⁶ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Hutton, letter dated 17 February 1949.

³⁷ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 9 March 1949.

the matter was now before the Academic Advisory Committee of the Australian National University, and that he did not “propose to reply while [Fortune’s] letters continue[d] to be written in such an offensive style.³⁸ If he thought that would be the end of it, Firth was mistaken. Fortune continued even more bluntly: “I should appreciate a reply to my enquiry whether your intention is to keep Australian National University money up your backside for L.S.E. students or not?”³⁹ And, “You wish to give research money as a reward for consulting your backside do you not? Well this is it unless I am mistaken”.⁴⁰

Hutton finally set the matter to rest by discussing the matter in detail with Fortune, and subsequently advised Firth that he hoped this unpleasant business could now be regarded as over. However, he also made the point that should Firth wish to provide tuition and rail tickets to further research students, then it would be wiser to have the matter settled in discussions with their supervisors. While he did not feel that Fortune’s “abusive letters” were in any way justifiable, he also found it conceivable, had the positions been reversed with Firth’s students travelling to Cambridge to attend Fortune’s lectures without Firth being consulted, that Firth too probably would have shown some irritation.⁴¹

Fortune subsequently informed Firth that the reason why he was so insistent on Lawrence going to the Central area was that he had wanted more information on the causes of war prior to annexation. While he felt that he had most of what could be obtained on the subject, there were one or two points which needed clarification

³⁸ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Firth to Fortune, letter dated 11 March 1949.

³⁹ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 18 April 1949.

⁴⁰ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 8 May 1949.

⁴¹ LSE: Firth Papers 7/7/16 Hutton to Firth, letter dated 7 October 1949.

and which may have been of vital importance. These were matters which he had been unable to address at the time of his Kamano research in 1935 because the Government had ordered him to leave after only five months in the field.⁴²

I was fed up with you butting in over Lawrence because I had planned all the time that he should study a New Guinea group who had not been under control for very long, and who would therefore provide reliable data about the mechanisms of New Guinea warfare, a subject in which I am particularly interested and which plainly cannot be studied at all in societies which have been long controlled even though much of their social structure may appear intact . . . Thus the arguments which support my view of where Lawrence should have gone are essentially ones of scientific expediency, whereas the arguments advanced by you and Hogbin were ones of administrative and financial expediency. As it is lacking Lawrence's essential material I shall not be able to complete my understanding of New Guinea warfare or develop that adequate set of concepts for describing the facts of warfare which the 'untouched' New Guinea material might have provided.⁴³

Firth forwarded this letter to Edmund Leach, who read it as "definitely intended as an olive branch though a prickly one".⁴⁴ However, this rapprochement did little to repair the damage to his relationship with Firth.

The drama, meanwhile, seems to have had little impact within the department of Anthropology at Cambridge. At the Appointments Committee meeting on 16 May 1950 it was noted that Fortune's initial appointment ended on 30 September 1950, and it was unanimously agreed that he be reappointed to retiring age. Shortly after this, Hutton retired and Meyer Fortes was appointed the new Professor at Cambridge. Glyn Daniel recalls Fortes's reaction to Fortune:

Meyer Fortes was in despair at being landed with these two members of his small staff. Fortune we could do nothing about but I told him

⁴² LSE: Firth Papers 8/1/30 Fortune to Firth, letter dated 28 January 1950.

⁴³ LSE: Firth Papers 8/1/30 Fortune to Firth n.d.

⁴⁴ LSE: Firth Papers 8/1/30 Edmund Leach to Firth, letter dated 31 January 1950

that he need not keep [Ethel John] Lindgren, and read him out the statutes whereby it was possible not to renew an appointed lecturer (Daniel 1986:200).⁴⁵

Even when they were no longer colleagues in the same department, Lindgren and Fortune remained good friends.

In May 1949 Firth was formally invited to accept responsibility for directing the establishment of a School of Pacific Studies as part of the Australian National University. In discussions with the Vice Chancellor, Firth recommended both Audrey Richards and Siegfried Nadel as possible candidates for the professorship, but weighted his recommendation in favour of Nadel. He also suggested that Ian Hogbin be appointed Reader in Anthropology and W.E.H. Stanner as Reader in Comparative Social Institutions.⁴⁶ Firth was offered the position of director but declined, saying:

. . . both my wife and I like the country. We already have many friends there, and I am sure that in many ways we would find Canberra cultural life very congenial. But culturally we are both Europeans, and the imponderables of life over here count for a great deal with us...⁴⁷

Despite declining the position, Firth continued to act in an advisory capacity, and set about organising a Jubilee Seminar, on 'Social Processes in the Pacific', to be held at Canberra in August 1951. Invitations were sent to various people outside the membership of the University staff, including Elkin, Hogbin, Ernest Beaglehole, Camilla Wedgwood, and Margaret Mead. Fortune was not invited.

⁴⁵ Ethel John Lindgren was appointed by Hutton despite not applying for the position. Her appointment was for three years only and she was never granted tenure.

⁴⁶ ANU: Noel Butlin Archives Centre 104-1-7. Notes on discussion between the Vice-Chancellor and Professor Firth on Monday 23 May, 1949.

⁴⁷ ANU: Australian National University Archives 3.4.0.3 Part 1.



Figure 33 Cambridge University Department of Anthropology Garden Party, 1950. Fortune standing behind table. (photo courtesy of Raymond Smith).



Figure 32 Cambridge University Department of Anthropology Garden Party at The Green Man, A pub in Trumpington, 1950 (Photo courtesy of Raymond Smith).

In February 1951 Fortune presented a paper “Theories of Structure of Social Groups” to an ordinary meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute, but no record of the paper remains other than a mention in the Report of the Council. Then at the Annual General Meeting of the Royal Anthropological Institute in June 1951, the President, Evans-Pritchard announced that the Rivers Memorial Medal had been awarded to Fortune for his work in Melanesia and North America. Fortune, who did not attend the meeting, had served on the R.A.I. Council from 1948 to 1950, and it was decided to forward the medal to him. Presumably he was preparing for his next field trip, which was being funded by a Leverhulme Grant.

In August 1951 Fortune arrived in Australia, on his way to Kainantu to resume the fieldwork he had abandoned in 1935. He hoped this research would provide him with sufficient material to write a new book. As he told Eileen:

I’ve not written enough in the years of going up and down since fifteen years ago last New Guinea trip. Really I’ve been working but not come to quite what I want to work out which is a hard matter of fact and quite real. The plan of doing this work is good - I trust the effecting of it will be happy⁴⁸

However, as there was no vessel sailing to New Guinea until September, he travelled instead to Canberra to see Nadel about securing students for Cambridge. By chance, presumably, his visit coincided with the Jubilee Seminar on Social Processes in the Pacific, and Fortune found himself staying at the same hotel as Mead. Murray Groves recalls how, one morning at breakfast, when Mead provoked Fortune by asking him if he were mad, Fortune quickly responded: “Mad? Mad? Who says I’m mad?”⁴⁹ What followed is not recorded, but Fortune and Mead appear to have parted

⁴⁸ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: Reo Fortune to Eileen Fortune, letter dated 22 August 1951.

⁴⁹ Murray Groves related this to me when I met him in Canberra August 2003.

this time on more favourable terms. When he wrote to her a few weeks later, from Kainantu, he once more signed his letter “love Reo”.

Although Mead gave an address to the conference on the subject “The Changing Structure of the Family and Higher Kin Units”, Fortune’s contribution was minimal. Despite not being on the official invitation list, he attended the conference as an interested party. The records show that, in response to a question by Professor Nadel on leadership, he referred to a thesis by an unnamed District Officer at Malaita which shows how the sons and grandsons of the leaders and priests noted by earlier anthropologists were now the leaders. Also, on a methodological point, Fortune asked, “whether, when talking about a social system as a whole, one could refer to gaps in it, i.e. whether it was possible to talk about a hole in a whole!”⁵⁰

When W.E.H. Stanner spoke on “The Economic Development of Pacific Peasant Peoples against their Social Background”, claiming that his paper was divided into factual and theoretical sections, Fortune argued that “‘a fact’ is always interpreted within a theoretical frame of reference”. He also suggested that natives interested in progress are not confined to the towns, and that “Trobriand Islanders are so modern as to call Malinowski a folklorist or antiquarian”.⁵¹

Fortune’s response to J.W. Davidson’s paper on “The Changing Political Role of Pacific Islands People” was that “Indirect rule is a matter of international law, hence when Professor Davidson said that there was no satisfactory general treatise on indirect rule, he meant that there was no such treatise on international

⁵⁰ ANU 34 564/1951 The Australian National University Jubilee Seminar, Social Processes in the Pacific. pp 11-12.

⁵¹ ANU 34 564/1951 The Australian National University Jubilee Seminar, Social Processes in the Pacific. p.17.

law". However, the strength of Davidson's paper "lay in the field study which it recommended".⁵²

At the close of the conference, Fortune remained a few more days in Canberra in order to talk with Nadel about students, and also to give a talk on traditional religion in New Guinea. He then flew to Port Moresby, and on to Lae, where rain prevented him from reaching the Government Station at Kainantu. At Lae he met with Albert Frerichs, head of the Lutheran Mission, who showed him stills from a film, reconstructing warfare and promoting the mission. Fortune described it as "tomato sauce on bodies 'killed in action' to represent blood, and so on. High jinks for the native actors and the movie operators". The film "Trail Blazing in New Guinea",⁵³ had been shot about 1950, in the area where Fortune had worked in 1935 and Frerichs described how, after Government control was withdrawn for a while, real fighting broke out.⁵⁴

Changes that Fortune found as he travelled round the area, revisiting his field sites among the Kamano, included much skin disease among the children and land holdings shifted as a result of warfare. He also discovered that he had passed within a few yards of a cannibal feast in 1935, but that the young men accompanying him had not told him of it, preferring to get far away as quickly as possible.

⁵² ANU 34 564/1951 The Australian National University Jubilee Seminar, Social Processes in the Pacific. p.32.

⁵³ Catherine Frerichs, daughter of the late Albert Frerichs, states that Albert had a village built especially for the film so that then it could be bumed down in the "fighting." Frerichs, Catherine, personal communication (email) 26 November 2007.

⁵⁴ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 12 September 1951.

In a letter to Eileen, Fortune advised that he had applied for the Chair in Psychology at the University of Western Australia. He also asked her to let him know if anything similar arose in England. They would keep the cottage at Girton whatever happened, in case a Chair in Sociology at Cambridge was advertised. He wrote:

Anyway I ought to get a chair some place. I am looking forward to seeing the improvements in the cottage at Girton, especially if I don't get the professorship in Australia or elsewhere and I'll take my time writing especially if I don't get immediate promotion or new responsibilities - but probably in either case.⁵⁵

After leaving Port Moresby in March 1952, Fortune travelled, first to Sydney, and then on to New Zealand where he visited Evelyn in Picton before renewing contact with various people in Wellington. It was there that he heard of the death of Ivan Sutherland, Professor of Philosophy at Canterbury College. Although Sutherland's successor had effectively already been determined, Fortune decided to write to the College suggesting that Psychology and Anthropology "may make a chair together".⁵⁶

Shortly before leaving New Zealand, Fortune received word from Fortes that a Professorship in Sociology was open at Bedford College, a constituent school of the University of London. He was interested, but lacked any details of the position and awaited more information. Whether he actually applied for this is unclear, but he returned to Cambridge in mid 1952 and began writing up his notes. Despite having spent six months in the field, Fortune found difficulty in integrating his new data into his earlier fieldwork, or perhaps he no longer cared. He had taken all his

⁵⁵ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923 R. Fortune to E. Fortune, letter dated 24 November 1951

⁵⁶ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923 R. Fortune to E. Fortune, letter dated 3 May 1952.

1935 photos with him and distributed these to those he knew who were still alive. He felt the local people valued them more than either the European or America public. The result was that little of this data was ever published.

When Mead returned to Manus in 1953, Fortune wrote to her saying he would like to know something about “the social psychology of religious conversion”. He said that the native wars attributed to sorcery in the Central Area “were all cultural and expressed in terms of pre-conquest religion or Christianity”, and there was some connection to the reasons behind it which the natives were apparently not conscious of. He suggested that Pokonau, “a good chap, although idealistic of course”, would be a good man to ask about religious conversion, while Paliau would be ideal for the political and economic conversion. However, he was unsure how Mead would be able to get them to talk in other than a cultural expression of it. He suggested that she “express dissatisfaction with purely cultural expressions”.⁵⁷ When Mead queried what he would ask the Manus, Fortune said he would question their acceptance of the Christian creation story. He remarked that “Papuan take it for granted missionaries talk more about sacrifice than they [the Papuans] made of it in their own religion and usually have no word for the concept”. He might also ask them about finance - whether they had saved money and how they spent it. Just as “Gulf Division South Coast Papuan bought a steamer to market sago at Port Moresby”, so to the Manus people might get a fast boat for fishing and getting their catch to markets in Goroka and Port Moresby.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 28 August 1953.

⁵⁸ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 7 October 1953.

In late 1954 Fortune applied for the Chair of African Studies at Rhodesia University College. Walter Adams, Secretary of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies, wrote to Firth saying Fortune had named him as a referee. Firth's response to the Council was cautious. He "found it difficult to give an appreciation" of Fortune with regard his application, but stated that he had "always respected his intelligence and his contributions to anthropology [which] have consistently shown high standards of field research and an awareness of theoretical problems". As to Fortune's published works, Firth regarded these as "part of the standard furniture of anthropological literature, both for students and consultation by his colleagues". However, he was unsure of Fortune's organisational skills, regarding him as more of a scholar than an administrator. He also felt Fortune gave "the impression sometimes of living very much in a world of his own".⁵⁹ In a second letter, written the same day, Firth was a little more blunt:

I send this private note with my more official reply about Fortune because I am rather in a quandary. What I have said in the other note is true. But I have not felt that I could open my mind fully because some years ago I suffered from one of his obsessive notions and our relationship has never quite got back on the old footing. Indeed I am a bit surprised that he gave me as a reference. I do not think I am alone in this. McIlwraith of Toronto and Evans-Pritchard have both had something of the same trouble. I think there is no doubt that Fortune, in all ordinary matters a reasonable man, is inclined at times to fly off the handle if he thinks he has not had his due. If I were not to say this I would feel guilty of suppressio veri. On the other hand it is possible that I may be overstating the case. I think you should consult privately a man like Schapera, who, as far as I know, has never been involved.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ LSE: Firth Papers 8/1/30 Firth to Adams, letter dated 29th October 1954

⁶⁰ LSE: Firth Papers 8/1/31 Firth to Adams, letter, marked private and confidential, dated 29 October 1954.

Earlier in April 1954, Fortune had written to William Duncan Strong at Columbia University, saying that Schapera had informed him, through Marion Smith, that Columbia was interested in “further social anthropology being taught at Columbia”. Fortune wished to be taken into consideration for the position. However, if the position was only tentative, he suggested, he could perhaps apply for a Fulbright Fellowship and leave of absence from Cambridge to spend a year at Columbia.⁶¹ Strong responded positively, saying that while there was no place for the next year, “there may be an opening later and we will certainly bear you in mind in the regard”. He also stated that it might be possible within the next couple of years to arrange a visiting professorship, but Fortune would need to write to Dr Charles Wagley⁶² indicating whether he would be available.

Soon after, Fortune published a short article, “Studies in Social Anthropology”, in which he highlighted some of the errors of attempting “to explain miscellaneous facts in a formula about motives and character”. Beginning with Sir James Frazer, he linked Haddon, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown and Meyer Fortes to the idea that there are “regularities independent of period and place in social organization and culture, defined as morals, law, custom and socially acquired capabilities and habits”. Fortune considered Frazer to have uncritically accepted missionary writings about “primitive culture and personality”, and also Keysser’s views “on the topic of Papuan tribal culture and personality” without question. Fortune was of the opinion that this was not unlike the ‘Culture and Personality

⁶¹ Smithsonian Institution National Anthropological Archives, W.D. Strong Papers. Fortune to Wm Duncan Strong, letter dated 25 April 1954.

⁶² Charles Wagley was the first Franz Boas Professor of Anthropology and director of the Latin American Institute at Columbia. At the time Fortune wrote to Strong, Wagley was the Executive Officer of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia.

School', and scholars such as Benedict and Mead. By way of contrast, citing Bernard Notcutt, he believed that what the subject needed was "some kind of discipline".

Mead was to interpret this as a crack at her and Bateson. In the correspondence between Fortune and Mead which followed the article's publication, Fortune explained his intent:

Frazer's types of uniformities are of course characterological and have nothing else than culture and personality - or tribal characterology - trends of thought in common with Ruth Benedict's ideas... But about characterology, I do not know that we are entitled to personify social wholes. They have no skeleton or nervous system - or as the rude phrase, no bottoms to kick, and hence no temperament.⁶³

However, some months later, he was to remark: "Of course Frazer's idea of uniformities of nature in history is not Ruth's patterns of culture idea - he just grabbed Keysser on personality in wars - poor stuff - for his comparative method concepts". Fortune went on to say that in his paper he was discussing Evans-Pritchard's and Fortes' disagreement "about whether the social sciences were natural sciences, patterns of culture . . . or whether they discussed the domesticated or the wild - all over Radcliffe-Brown's inoffensive, but possibly not absolutely necessary, regularities".⁶⁴

On her return from Manus, Mead briefly visited Cambridge where she gave what Fortune described as one of her "typically dogmatic presentations".⁶⁵ Jean La Fontaine recalls Mead treating Fortune "like a rather mindless assistant - Reo, where's my coat - Reo fetch my umbrella - sort of thing, and he seemed happy to

⁶³ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 17 November 1954.

⁶⁴ LOC: MMP R5 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 26 May 1955.

⁶⁵ Raymond Smith. personal communication to the Author, email dated 11 August 2005.

oblige”.⁶⁶ Ted and Lenora Schwartz, Mead’s students who recently had worked in Manus also visited Fortune in 1954, and Fortune found them pleasant to talk to about Manus. However, while Lenora is reported as having been “honored and pleased to be Fortune’s guest . . . she found his conversation puzzling” and said, “Since I had not then read Freud, I didn’t know he was free associating, dealing in what is called primary processes.” (Howard 1984:314).

In March 1956, Fortune attended a dinner given by the Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society in Edinburgh where he gave the annual Im Thurn Memorial Lecture. His paper, "Man on His Nature, From the Point of View of Anthropology," discussed the relationship between cultural history and natural history, referring especially to recent developments in Britain’s colonies and the breakdown of native technologies and effect on human ecologies.

Mead visited England that same year to lecture at Maudsley Hospital, a psychiatric institution intended as a treatment and research facility rather than a place of confinement. Fortune invited her to visit and advised her of the forthcoming Association of Social Anthropology meeting to be held at Oxford in September; while it is uncertain whether she took him up on this offer, he again wrote to her the following year: “Anytime you happen to be over here again if you wish to stay with us please feel free to say so and do so and we’ll be glad to have you. Eileen says not to expect the best housekeeping”.⁶⁷

1957 saw the publication of Peter Worsley’s article “Margaret Mead: Science or Science Fiction? Reflections of a British Anthropologist”. In this, Worsley noted

⁶⁶ La Fontaine, Jean. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 4 August 2005.

⁶⁷ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 28 August 1957.

that “There is little doubt that the American and British reading public gets its knowledge of anthropology almost exclusively from the works of Margaret Mead”. However, he also remarked that professional anthropologists “are liable to react to the mention of Margaret Mead’s name with, at best, a smile, and probably with some more positive expression of distaste”. In answering his own question of what “people find attractive in Mead’s work”, he listed her style, subject matter, and attack on ethnocentrism. However, he found her virtues were also her vices, noting that while she was capable of producing the type of work which purists demand, she appeared to have chosen not to. Instead her work was populist and gave rise to suspicion that “facts have been tailored or selected to fit a preconceived case”.

Worsley sent a copy of this article to Fortune, who immediately wrote to Mead: “I expect reviews sometimes make you irate - It is not uncommon if they do - However if so, that is not their purpose and there is sometimes common sense or uncommon sense in them - What then is your estimate of Worsley?”⁶⁸ On not receiving a reply, Fortune again wrote to her re-asking the question. When Mead did respond, it was to say she had not had time to find the article, but would write at more length when she had seen it. There the matter seems to have ended.

Fortune was intrigued by news reports in October 1957 that in a village near Goroka, people were literally “laughing themselves” to death. The locale was within a day’s walk of where Fortune had been in 1935, and he was eager to investigate the matter for himself. Seeking the assistance of Mead, he applied to the Wenner-Gren Foundation for funding for the trip back to New Guinea. Isaac Schapera had already offered his support for the application, and Fortune felt confident that he would

⁶⁸ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 28 August 1957

succeed. However, Fortune's grant was deferred when the Foundation received no replies from the referees.⁶⁹ Fortune wrote again to Mead in March 1958, but this appears to have been unnecessary as the letter was annotated: "Note: M.M. says he getting grant so no action required".⁷⁰

Around that time Fortune commenced corresponding with Daniel Carleton Gajdusek, the medical researcher subsequently credited with identifying the disease called 'Kuru' after the Fore⁷¹ word for trembling. According to Gajdusek:

[Fortune] was one of the early anthropologists to get in touch with us about our work on kuru. . . . On one occasion I visited him in Cambridge, England and had a wonderful evening there with him. His staccato letters and cables are amusing, intelligent, and at times extravagant.⁷²

In his initial letter, Fortune detailed the chemical analysis of salt imported into the Kamano area in 1935, and questioned whether the potassium ingested could result in depolarisation of nerve cells. Admitting that he was not a biologist, and with limited knowledge, he wondered why the pathology described by Gajdusek did not manifest among the nearby Kamano. Was the manufactured salt of the Fore distinct from the analysis he had described?⁷³ Gajdusek was pleased to hear from Fortune, saying he had been planning to write to him, having been informed of his knowledge of the area by Margaret Mead. While interested in knowing "exactly what type salt preparation" Fortune's analysis referred to, Gajdusek remarked that ". . . we have

⁶⁹ Unfortunately, the Wenner-Gren records pertaining to this appear to no longer exist, and the names of the referees are unknown.

⁷⁰ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 7 March 1958.

⁷¹ The Fore people had been previously studied by Ronald and Catherine Berndt in 1951-53. See Berndt, C. H. 1953 and Berndt, R. M. 1954, 1955, 1958, 1962, 1964.

⁷² APS: B G13j Gajdusek Papers, Fortune Folder, Biographical Sketch, April 1989.

⁷³ APS: B G13j Gajdusek Papers, Fortune to Gajdusek, letter dated 21 May 1958.

been completely unable to establish any link between salt consumption or lack thereof, and Kuru”. Heavy metal poisoning also had been investigated and there was no indication of potassium intoxication.⁷⁴

Fortune planned to leave Rotterdam for New Guinea on 18 July 1958. He had read the Berndt’s work on family histories and Kuru sorcery⁷⁵, and was interested in the possibility of the *Zone’man* bird, which was used in Kuru sorcery, as a possible carrier of the Kuru virus. If the bird was restricted to the Fore area, there was the possibility that magicians had made a connection between the bird and the disease. As Fortune states, “When they pick on a particular species of bird for sorcery for a specific disease, it may be nonsense or it may be insight about a conceivable carrier. One is never certain”.⁷⁶ Gajdusek was pleased to hear that Fortune was going back to the field, and “anxious to take advantage of [his] offer to help with the Kuru studies”. Specifically, he wanted Fortune to send him exact details of “family history, place, age, circumstance, etc. of any cases [he] currently observed or traced back into the past”. He was also keen to receive any “suggestions and ideas that Fortune may have as a result of [his] sojourn in the Kuru region.”⁷⁷

Fortune was to spend nearly seven months in the Kuru area, recording new cases as he came across them, updating information on existing cases, and sending this information back to Gajdusek. Names of people, their relationship to others, deaths and gender were all assiduously collected. By this time, Gajdusek felt familiar enough with Fortune to write “If I were sure that the ‘R’ stood for ‘Robert’, I should

⁷⁴ APS: B G13j Gajdusek Papers, Gajdusek to Fortune, letter dated 29 May 1958.

⁷⁵ See Berndt C.H. 1953; Berndt R.M. 1958.

⁷⁶ APS: B G13j Gajdusek Papers, Fortune to Gajdusek, letter dated 28 June 1958.

⁷⁷ APS: B G13j Gajdusek Papers, Gajdusek to Fortune, letter dated 15 October 1958.

start calling you by your first name”. Gajdusek was keen to meet Fortune, and asked for details of his itinerary, suggesting that if possible he should return via the United States and spend time at the National Institute of Health, “long enough for our comparison of notes and data and decisions on any collaborative effort you may be interested in”.⁷⁸

By the end of January, Fortune felt he had done all he could in recording family histories at Okapa, and advised Gajdusek that he was now departing for Dobu, after which he would return to Port Moresby for his flight to Rome. Fortune left this area and returned to Dobu before Gajdusek arrived, but not before advising he had noted that pregnant women with Kuru appeared to never die before reaching term. His curiosity aroused, Fortune asked whether Gajdusek intended to use artificial insemination to check whether pregnancy arrested the progress of Kuru. He also suggested that an inability to ‘cure’ Kuru would diminish respect for the ‘white man’.⁷⁹ Gajdusek chose to ignore the question of using artificial insemination; it is difficult to know whether Fortune was joking in asking it, or whether he seriously thought such an experiment would be useful. Ethically it would have raised many questions. Fortune was not to meet Gajdusek in person until after his return to Cambridge. However they continued to correspond over the next several years, discussing various medical matters relative to Kuru, and exchanging copies of publications.

In early 1959, when Fortune arrived at Esa’ala, the air and sea port in North Normanby Island near Dobu, he chanced upon two Tewarans whom he had known

⁷⁸ APS: B G13j Gajdusek Papers, Gajdusek to Fortune, letter dated 18 December 1958.

⁷⁹ APS: B G13j Gajdusek Papers, Fortune to Gajdusek, letter dated 1 January 1959.

as children three decades earlier: “We recognised and identified one-another, and I embarked with them and a boy who was with them in their overseas going outrigger canoe, and paid my Tewara Island friends a visit that extended to three months”. One of these young men was Melisabua, “the youngest, and then only surviving son of Yogalu and Magiledani”, and brother to Kinosi. These latter three had been friends and informants to Fortune in 1928. However, where once there had been forty-four persons living in four hamlets in 1928, there were now only twenty-one living in two new hamlets “on the northern side of the island”. When one of the women of the village died eight days after giving birth, Fortune fed the child on powdered milk, and subsequently took him to the hospital in Begasi.

Back at Cambridge from 1959, Fortune continued to work on Kuru. He wrote to the Reverend John James, whom he had met at Purosa the previous year, seeking further information regarding a particular family’s history of Kuru. James responded giving the details Fortune had requested, saying:

First I will enclose the information you requested regarding the Kuru patients. The mother (Bitinta) of Amakiora died July 2nd, 1959. Amakiora died at Moki, September 10th, 1959. I checked with Tarubi, the doctor boy here at Purosa, and he said that the grandmother had also died of Kuru a number of years ago. He says he remembers when they buried her and it was before he had gone away to study to be a doctor boy. He said it was definitely Kuru and not a kus or other sickness. So there you have 3 generations in a row. You can take it from there... Everything here is much the same as when you left. Carroll is gone. I don’t know yet who is replacing him. They had a nice young kiap (Gavin Carter) but he's gone also to open a new patrol in the Chimbu area. And as ever people are still dying with Kuru. Thanks for the provisions you left with us. We will be able to utilize them.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923 John James to Fortune, letter dated 26 November 1959.

In 1960, Fortune published two papers, “Statistics of Kuru” (1960a) and “Folk Medicine in the Dobuan Islands”(1960b), along with a correction to his 1947 paper “The Rules of Relationship Behaviour in One Variety of Primitive Warfare”. The year 1962 saw the publication of Singh Uberoi’s (1962) *Politics of the Kula Ring: An Analysis of the Findings of Bronislaw Malinowski*. Fortune was perturbed by Uberoi’s use of material from *Sorcerers of Dobu*, which he felt had been taken out of context to substantiate Uberoi’s points. He felt that, at the very least, Uberoi owed him an apology for using the texts without seeking his permission.⁸¹ In what appears to have been a draft of his own review of Uberoi’s work, Fortune suggested that only those who have chosen to make a systematic study, in person, among a particular people, have the right to claim authority. He felt that authors who ‘scissored’ other works for their substance ran a major risk of misinterpretation and expressed anger at the way in which his Dobu material had been used by others, including Benedict.⁸²

Ruth Benedict gave an ugly slant to a procedure by which young Dobuan couples decided to marry, telling us that the event is forced upon the young man by the old witch, the young girl’s mother, blocking the door, much as if it were an equivalent to an American Pioneer shotgun marriage which she discussed. As it was, an act of sitting in the doorway of a home to block an immediate exit of those inside was done by agreement with them and was not a hostile act directed at them.⁸³

Fortune also occupied his time in writing a new preface to his *Sorcerers of Dobu*, which was to be reissued by Routledge & Kegan Paul in 1963. Ann Chowning agreed to write a review of this new revised edition. Mead had spoken with her about it and then written to George Spindler, editor of *American Anthropologist*, suggesting

⁸¹ Uberoi had requested, and received permission from the publishers, Routledge, but Fortune felt he also should have been approached.

⁸² ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923

⁸³ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923 folder “recent notes”

that he ask Chowning to do so. Mead also pointed out that, as the new edition contained a new preface, and “a few bits of new matter,” which in her opinion were “a difficult weave of old quarrels with Malinowski and new interests. . . Ann Chowning feels, and I agree that they are sufficiently incomprehensible to the young anthropologist that they may detract from the serious acceptance of the book”.⁸⁴

Spindler passed the letter on to Bill Sturtevant who, in turn, wrote to Chowning:

It seems to me important to have a review from you, not only for the reasons Mead mentions, but also because of the rumours, which I suppose must be fairly widespread, that the original was not to be taken seriously as ethnography but rather was a document indicative of Fortune’s own psychological difficulties (a slander which I heard in classes from Linton - I suppose he was the originator).⁸⁵

As Linton was Chair of the Department at Columbia from 1937-1945, and subsequently Sterling Professor at Yale, his view on Fortune must have been widely disseminated. Fortune’s lectures at Cambridge probably did little to dispel the rumours. Tales of Fortune lecturing to an empty room, or with only one or two students present, were common, and by this time in his career he had become disillusioned with anthropology. With guaranteed tenure until retirement, he may have decided it was preferable to simply stay where he was, regardless.

As his retirement approached, Mead decided that it would be advantageous to have his papers copied and included in her own archive, which on her death would go to the Library of Congress. She wrote asking Fortune whether he would be:

interested in putting the rest of your Manus notes in order for an archive. . . They all become increasingly valuable through the years as more material is added. . . . I am planning to make a master file of all the materials, published and unpublished, that we have, with reference to, for example, the collection of artifacts you made for the

⁸⁴ LOC: MMP Q 16 Mead to George Spindler, letter n.d.

⁸⁵ LOC: MMP Q16 Bill Sturtevant to Ann Chowning, letter dated 13 May 1963.

Sydney Museum, and the collection of your best photographs which is now in the Haddon Collection in Cambridge.⁸⁶

She also suggested that if Fortune was interested, then she could probably get him a consultant's fee of £250, plus the costs of xeroxing. Fortune responded that he had insufficient material to warrant this. Perhaps if he added his Arapesh, Mundugumor, Chambri, Dobu, Kamano and Chin Hills material then he could justify the fee. Mead was delighted and sent Fortune the necessary forms to apply for the grant, although she appears to have wanted only those papers that were germane to their collaborative research. Dobu material, she suggested, would be better left at Cambridge. In addition, if Fortune had found his lost negatives of Manus, then they too should be copied. The Arapesh photographs were not a problem as she already had copies of them. Also, she had prints of all his Dobuan photographs.⁸⁷ Fortune duly copied what he could find of his notes and forwarded them to Mead, telling her that he would look for any other photos when he had time. In the interim, he planned to revisit Dobu during 1970, on a grant from the Social Science Research Council.

1970 was to be Fortune's final teaching year, but he chose instead to have it as a sabbatical and travelled with Eileen to Dobu and New Zealand. His diary for the period May 1970 to January 1971 consists of seemingly inconsequential notes, written irregularly over the pages rather than in formal lines, interspersed with numerical calculations. Apart from this document, little else is known about this trip. Gavin Fortune, Barter's son, remembers that Reo and Eileen borrowed Barter's car to travel around New Zealand visiting friends and family.

⁸⁶ LOC: MMP Q1 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 3 September 1967.

⁸⁷ LOC: MMP A3 Mead to Fortune, letter n.d.

On their return to Cambridge, Fortune was now officially retired. Although his last trip had been largely funded by the SSRC, he failed to provide a full report on his work. Kay Weinberger, writing on behalf of the council, stated:

The Council normally expects a rather fuller final report than the one which you sent us. This should explain how the research was conducted and provide a detailed account of the findings. I note, that you are planning to publish on your research in the near future. We would be glad to receive copies of this publication in lieu of a final report.⁸⁸

However, there was no publication. Instead, on the advice of Mead, Fortune began work on a revised introduction to *Sorcerers of Dobu*, which he hoped would be republished with a new subtitle “Three Times Visited”. Mead agreed to organise a request to the American publisher, E. P. Dutton & Company, New York, which had produced the first paperback copies in 1963.⁸⁹ Although Fortune never completed his new introduction, fragments of it remain; it appears to be addressing all of the criticisms which he believed had been launched against this work. In turn, he criticises Uberoi and Malinowski, as well as Chowning, though no argument is complete. In a letter to Mead, he said that he had nearly completed the introduction, in which he had relied largely on an unpublished diary by Miss Jane Tinney, a Methodist missionary who was based on Dobu, from 1892 to 1902.⁹⁰

Fortune never published anything once he retired. Instead, he spent his time tending his fruit trees, working on miscellaneous papers in the mornings and taking afternoon naps. A bout of pneumonia in New Zealand in 1971 had left him easily

⁸⁸ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923 Kay Weinberger to Fortune, letter dated 29 June 1971.

⁸⁹ LOC: MMP Q1 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 29 October 1972.

⁹⁰ ANU: PMB 633 Jane Tinney - Diary, 1892-1902

tired by physical work.⁹¹ In 1975 he received visits from a number of people including Jean Houston⁹² and her husband Robert Masters, and Rhoda Metraux and David Lipset. Fortune also gave a twelve-week course on “Myth and Superstition” at the Eastern District Workers’ Educational Association, in which he discussed Grimm’s Fairy Tales in conjunction with Frazer, Myth and History, and Irish, American, Australian and Pacific Island mythologies. The course appears to have been successful because the following year he gave another course on anthropology.

However, the failing health of Eileen precluded any further courses. She had been in ill health for some time, with bouts of shingles, a stomach ulcer, and arthritis. In 1977 Eileen was diagnosed with breast cancer and underwent surgery, which initially appeared to be successful. Her surgeon was optimistic, although not all doctors agreed, and the cancer returned. Eileen died on 17 January 1978.

Ethel John Lindgren and Mina Lethbridge⁹³, both long time friends of Eileen and Reo, became his support and strength at this time. Mead sent her condolences and said she knew how lonely he must be, and wondered whether he might not move back to New Zealand.⁹⁴

⁹¹ LOC: MMP N102 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 29 October 1973.

⁹² Jean Houston was one of the founders of the Human Potential Movements. She was heavily influenced by Mead and wrote a magazine article “The Mind of Margaret Mead”. Her husband Robert Master was Director of Research of The Foundation for Mind Research, which he co-founded.

⁹³ Ethel John Lindgren was the wife of Mikel Utsi and is best known for her research in Manchuria and Outer Mongolia. She also was responsible for the reintroduction of reindeer to Scotland

Mina, also known as Cleo, and her husband Tom Lethbridge had long been friends of the Fortunes. Mina purchased the cottage at Duck End from Reo after the death of her husband. They remained very close friends up until Fortune’s death. Thomas Charles Lethbridge was Keeper of Anglo-Saxon antiquities at the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at Cambridge until 1957 when he turned his attention to the occult. His best known work is *The Power of the Pendulum* (1978).

⁹⁴ LOC: MMP A3 Mead to Fortune, letter dated 21 March 1978.

Fortune replied that he would stay in Cambridge, but “hoped to miss the coming winter by going to New Zealand for a holiday”. After all, he had property and tenants at Cambridge. He was well respected by his tenants, and they liked him well enough to invite him “out for a meal once or twice a year”. In addition there was the Kula Conference at King’s College, Cambridge, to be held the next month and for which he had written a paper.⁹⁵

This short, unpublished, and seemingly incomplete paper began with a history of the ‘Kula’ as described by non-native people, such as Bromilow, the Reverend Gilmour, Seligman, Malinowski and himself. He then distinguished between ‘Kula’ items which remained within the circle of exchange, and ‘Kitom’ used to buy wives and favours. If a person found an exceptional shell and made it into a bracelet and named it, he had the choice of putting it into either the ‘Kula’ or the ‘Kitom’ circuit. If he chose the former, then only he had the right to withdraw it to use as ‘Kitom’, and then only after it had been three times around the ‘Kula’ circle and returned to him for the third time. Fortune then diverged from his original intent of discussing the ‘Kula’ to challenge the writings of Malinowski and Uberoi on Trobriand paramount chiefs. There is a possible connection between this paper and the pages of text which were on his table when he died.

After the Kula conference, Fortune flew to New Zealand to spend the next six months with his brother Barter, escaping the harsh English winter. During this time, he and Barter travelled extensively around New Zealand, and he gave seminars at Victoria University in Wellington, and the University of Auckland, on his Kamano work. He wrote almost daily to Mina Lethbridge, though their relationship was

⁹⁵ LOC: MMP A3 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 15 June 1978.

purely platonic. Mina had long wanted to visit New Zealand and presumably Reo would have been recounting his travels to her.

It was while he was in New Zealand that he received the news of Mead's death. Rhoda Metraux, who was Mead's constant companion in her later years and was with her at her death, wrote to him: "My dear Reo, I don't know whether Margaret wrote to you at length or at all in the last months, but I do know you were often in her thoughts. She had hoped to hear that you had decided to return to New Zealand or just to hear from you"⁹⁶

Fortune returned to Cambridge in May 1979, where both Mina and Ethel John 'mothered' him: "Ethel and I have done our best to look after Reo since Eileen's death. He was terribly lost and very lonely".⁹⁷ It was Mina's decision to move from Devon where she had lived for the past twenty years and return to Cambridge. She purchased from Reo his cottage at Duck End, with the sale finalised on 31 October 1979. Within a few weeks of the sale, Reo fell down the stairs at Wolfson College and was hospitalised with a broken leg. Mina and Ethel John were both at Adenbrook hospital while a plate was put in Reo's leg, and remained there until such time as he had returned to the ward. Both were frequent visitors to the hospital. However, complications set in and he died on 25 November 1979. Mina was thankful that she was there and "that he knew someone cared, because apart from Ethel, few people in Cambridge bothered much about him."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: Rhoda Metraux to Fortune, letter dated 13 December 1978.

⁹⁷ Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers. Mina Lethbridge to Ralph Bulmer, letter dated 9 December 1979.

⁹⁸ Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers. Cleo (Mina) Lethbridge to Ralph Bulmer, letter dated 9 December 1979.

Chapter Twelve

Life After Death

Fortune's funeral took place at the Cambridge crematorium on 4 December 1979, and was attended by a small number of friends and colleagues. Among the flowers were those given in memory of "a kind and thoughtful landlord from his present and former tenants of Duck End and Church Lane".¹ Over the coming months, obituaries were to be written by Raymond Firth (1979), Peter Gathercole (1979), Michael Young (1980), and Peter Lawrence (1980).

Fortune left the bulk of his estate to his brother Barter, who recommended that Reo's former Cambridge student and specialist in Papua New Guinea, Ralph Bulmer, be appointed to evaluate the papers:

There could be no-one who could surpass him, by background, in judgmental ability to determine that which might have commercial value, that which might properly be left with my brother's Cambridge College, what material, if any should properly go to the American Museum of Natural History, and what should come back to New Zealand as appropriate biographical data of family memorabilia.²

Bulmer, by then Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Auckland, travelled to England in mid December where he spent time with Raymond and Rosemary Firth. They discussed Fortune, and Bulmer wrote some days later that when he said "that most of us had very ambivalent feelings about Reo, including a measure of guilt", it did not necessarily apply to those of his contemporaries who had been subjected to his "most erratic and outrageous phases". On the other hand, he felt

¹ Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers, Folder Fortune. Single page detailing attendance at Fortune's funeral.

² Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers, Folder Fortune. Barter Fortune to D.F. Porter, letter dated 29 November 1979.

that those who knew Fortune during the 1960s and 1970s found that “such friendship, interest, and encouragement as he was shown could have a very positive response”.

Bulmer could see clearer now the reasons for Fortes’ and Leach’s exasperation with Fortune, and recalled how everyone “told, with great relish, countless funny stories about his eccentricities”. He also noted that it had been Ethel John Lindgren and her husband Mikel Utsi, along with Tom and Mina Lethbridge, who treated Fortune “socially as a genuine friend for some ten or fifteen years before anyone else in Cambridge got round to doing so”.³

Bulmer also travelled up to Cambridge, where he found it “distressing to find what a shocking condition some quite important materials (field notes etc.) were in: robins had made nests on one heap in the garage; mice had reduced the contents of one trunk, in the garage, to confetti and some papers had suffered greatly from damp.”⁴ Sometime between 20 December 1979 and 7 January 1980, Fortune’s house was broken into. Bulmer advised Barter:

The intruders fossicked in all the drawers, cupboards and boxes (which Porter and Cleo had packed for removal), and stuffed things into a wooden chest and carry-bag, evidently intending to transport these away. But perhaps because they were disturbed, they didn’t carry off the loot they had stacked up.⁵

Bulmer decided that all papers be offered to the Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand, with the proviso that “the Fortune and Pope families should be invited to

³ Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers, Folder Fortune .Ralph Bulmer to Raymond Firth, letter dated 29 December 1979. Mina Lethbridge also used the name Cleo.

⁴ Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers, Folder Fortune. Bulmer to D. F. Porter, letter dated 23 December 1979. (Porter was the solicitor acting for the estate).

⁵ Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers, Folder Fortune. Bulmer to Barter Fortune, letter dated 15 January 1980.

reclaim, if they wish, such of Eileen's, Mrs Popes's and indeed Reo's papers etc. as do not have direct bearing on Reo's research and professional career."

While Fortune had been relegated to the 'has beens' of anthropology by many of his peers, his papers assumed a new life after his death, with requests from a number of organisations eager to have them for their archives, and from others looking for material relating to his relationship with Mead. Jane Howard visited Cambridge on January 7-8 1980, and Bulmer was happy for her to visit Bonde Mteko,⁶ but she was not given access to the papers. Alan Macfarlane told Bulmer that Fortune had intended donating his papers to the Social Anthropology Department Archive at Cambridge, but given that he had not personally given the papers while he was still alive, Bulmer decided that this indicated a 'lack of enthusiasm on his part'. Rhoda Metraux and Mary Catherine Bateson wanted the papers relating to his marriage and joint fieldwork with Mead to become part of the Mead Collection.⁷ Donald Tuzin and Fitz John Porter Poole advised that they were establishing a Melanesian Studies Archive at the University of California San Diego, and enquired as to the possibility of obtaining copies of particular unpublished papers.⁸ Similarly a number of other scholars made requests for access to the papers in the months following Fortune's death.

⁶ Fortune had named his house Bonde Mteko without ever explaining its meaning.

⁷ Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers, Folder Fortune. Bulmer to D. F. Porter, letter dated 23 December 1979.

⁸ Lena Bulmer: Ralph Bulmer Papers, Folder Fortune. Fitz John Porter Poole to Ralph Bulmer, letter dated 10 June 1982.



Figure 34 Reo and Eileen Fortune's house at Madingley Road, Cambridge, England August 2004. The house has not changed externally since the time they lived there.



Figure 35 Still clearly visible is the name "Bonde Mteko". Fortune never explained the meaning of this name.

Through the 1980s and 1990s, Fortune became little more than a footnote in discussions about Mead. When I first raised the possibility of researching Fortune's life and work with an eminent Melanesianist, he dismissively replied: "Fortune was completely mad and made no significant contribution to anthropology. In fact he retarded the development of Melanesian anthropology by holding on to tenure at Cambridge". By the late 1990s, however, there was a resurgence of interest in Fortune, and since that time various pieces on aspects of his career have been published (Gray 1999; Abrahams and Wardle 2002; Bashkow 2003a, 2003b; Lohmann 2009. Bashkow and Dobrin 2007a, 2007b; Roscoe 2003; Wardle 2004; Kuehling 2005; Thomas 2009).

Remembering Fortune

I do not know how I may appear to others, but to myself I appear to be like a small boy playing by the seashore with any curiously and intricately shaped shell that took my fancy, while an ocean of truth lay undiscovered before me; and sometimes like a small boy who was a mathematician and a church organist at the age of ten to twelve, but who fell into the quicksand of Latin, rugby football, cricket, marksmanship with the .303 rifle, philosophy, zoology and social anthropology. . .⁹

Peter Riviere recalls how Fortune's reputation suffered during the 1950s, when a story began to circulate inferring that "when his lectures were cancelled for a term, that 'men in white coats' had come and taken him away."¹⁰ Jean La Fontaine remembers Fortune as a misfit:

⁹ ATL: Fortune, Reo Franklin, 1903-1979: Papers MS-Group-0923: Single page on which the above text is written. n.d.

¹⁰ Riviere, Peter, Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 3 May 2007.

His lectures (and his conversation) were difficult to follow because they had no logical thread or at least not for long. Nur [Yalman] and I had a competition once to see who could take coherent notes of a Fortune lecture the longest. I won - with ten minutes . . . The students found Reo extraordinary but tolerated him as a sort of departmental pet, but looking back it must have been difficult to run the department with him in it.

La Fontaine had entered the department in 1951, during Meyer Fortes' first year as

Professor:

It was a very small department - there were less than ten students in the first year, including those who wished to be archaeologists. Reo Fortune was, so to speak, 'left over' from the previous regime but he had permanent tenure so could not be replaced. . . Reo had a very sweet smile and was eager to communicate so it seemed hard for him to have to find no-one coming to his lectures, but in the end that is what happened.¹¹

Similarly, Raymond Smith, now Emeritus Professor of Anthropology at the

University of Chicago, recalls attending the occasional lecture given by Reo:

generally speaking, few, if any, students attended his lectures since he was considered to be distinctly odd and largely incoherent. But after all he was not the only odd person in that department. . . Everybody liked G.I. Jones . . . J. H. Hutton was less likeable because less modest but no more respected.

Smith had decided to study British Guiana: "The only course for Part II of the trips that remotely matched my interests was Fortune's course on American Indians".

Smith negotiated a revised reading list, signed up, and "for the ensuing year was virtually the only member of his class. It was quite odd because he delivered a weekly formal lecture with me as the audience". When he presented his essays, Smith went to the cottage at Duck End where he drank tea with Reo and Eileen. "I cannot say that I remember much about that except that once one got beyond the obscure utterances that Reo was given to, one began to suspect that there was an

¹¹ La Fontaine, Jean. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 4 August 2005.

intelligence there. . .”.¹² Fortune “always seemed to have a conversation going on in his head that was different from the one with you”. And certain themes were sure to be repeated . “There was also a persistent preoccupation with blood money and he often claimed that he had killed a man in New Guinea and should really return there”.¹³

This confession to having killed a man was proved false in 1951 when Fortune returned to the Kamano. What actually had happened back in 1935 was as follows: when he shot at the man during a threatening situation, Fortune hit the shafts of his arrows which took the net-bag off his shoulder, and the man fell to the ground in shock. Fortune thought he had killed him, but the man later got up and went to live with relatives in another village, where he subsequently was killed by others. However, at the time of the incident, Fortune was sure that he had been the slayer.¹⁴

John S. Parker, a student reading mathematics at Cambridge between 1963 and 1967, remembers Fortune as:

an elderly white- haired man who habitually attended mathematics lectures and advanced seminars. His occasional questions and contributions indicated that he had very little grasp of what was going on. . . The man was usually referred to (behind his back) as “Fred Fortune” and was regarded as a bit of a joke. But I was told by a fellow mathematics student who was very well known for his accurate information about most things in the University that he was in fact the distinguished anthropologist Reo Franklin Fortune who had become to a degree demented and was convinced that he was now a mathematician.¹⁵

¹² Smith, Raymond. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 11 August 2005.

¹³ Smith, Raymond. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 18 August 2005.

¹⁴ LOC: MMP S2 Fortune to Mead, letter dated 7 October 1951.

¹⁵ Parker, John S. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 19 November 2003.

Although many made fun of Fortune's attempts at understanding mathematics, he is recognised as the author of "Fortune's Conjecture" (Gardner 1980; Golomb 1981; Guy 1994:11; Abrahams and Wardle 2002). The *Internet Encyclopaedia of Science* defines the conjecture as:

A conjecture about prime numbers made by the New Zealander social anthropologist Reo Fortune (1903-1979), who had a reputation for unstable behavior bordering on the psychotic . . . Fortune proposed that if q is the smallest prime greater than $P + 1$, where P is the product of the first n primes, then $q - P$ is prime. For example, if n is 3, then P is $2 \times 3 \times 5 = 30$, $q = 37$, and $q - P$ is the prime 7. These numbers, $q - P$, are now known as Fortunate numbers. The conjecture remains unproven but is generally thought to be true.¹⁶

Abrahams and Wardle (2002) remark that Fortune was "extremely eccentric", and while he never published the conjecture himself, it was apparently well known in mathematical circles at Cambridge during the 1960s. John Conway recalls Fortune attending seminars on number theory:

I'm afraid that the reason that we were interested was that he asked such silly questions! The speaker would usually be some mathematician with an international reputation, here to speak about his recent already-famous new result, and Dr Fortune's distinguished appearance suggested that he was probably the only one of the famous Cambridge mathematicians the speaker didn't quite know by sight. So Fortune obviously couldn't have meant whatever silly thing he said, and the speaker would valiantly try to clear up whatever his misunderstanding seemed to be, until a follow-up question revealed that indeed Reo had meant exactly that silly thing.¹⁷

John Kesby, who was examined by Fortune for his B.Litt. degree in 1963, regarded Fortune as "rigid and dogmatic, with no sense of humour . . . apparently unable to see himself as sometimes funny, unable to laugh at himself." When Kesby returned to Cambridge in 1968, he found that "the Cambridge anthropologists did

¹⁶ http://www.daviddarling.info/encyclopedia/F/Fortunes_conjecture.html accessed 10 January 2008.

¹⁷ Conway, John. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 29 February 2008. Conway holds the John von Neumann Chair of Mathematics at Princeton University.

indeed regard R.F as ‘difficult’, and as far as [he] knew, they kept the students away from him, giving him no teaching to do”.¹⁸

Marilyn Strathern remembers Fortune as “the best dressed (smartest) man in the Dept., with that going politeness and courtesy too, and that already marked him out”. By the time she enrolled in the department in 1960, Fortune’s “intellectual contribution was regarded as negligible”. However, people still “spoke of how brilliant he’d been in his early linguistic work, but the time with M. Mead was generally regarded as his undoing”.¹⁹

Margaret Andrew, a friend of Mina Lethbridge, attended a football match with Peter Gathercole and Fortune. Fortune “endeared himself” to her and she found him “a very warm-hearted man, very friendly”. Although she hesitated to say it, she admitted that she had heard the rumour that Margaret Mead had “used a lot of his work and put her name to it”.²⁰

Donald Tuzin, while a graduate student (1968-69) at University College, London, had been planning to conduct research among an Arapesh-speaking group in the Sepik region. His supervisor, Phyllis Kaberry, introduced him to Fortune. Tuzin remembers how Fortune:

generously offered to introduce me to the Arapesh language, based on the linguistic work he had conducted there in the 1930s. The offer led to my journeying to Cambridge about six times during the year, to meet with Reo in tutorials lasting about two hours each. Reo was extremely enthusiastic - excited even - at the prospect of someone going back to the Arapesh and being able to use his grammar in a direct, practical way. He was a perfect tutor.

¹⁸ Kesby, John. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 23 March 2005.

¹⁹ Strathern, Marilyn. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 14 November 2007.

²⁰ Andrew, Margaret. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 31 December 2004.

Tuzin was impressed, firstly, with “What an extraordinarily gifted linguist he was”, and secondly, “what an acute linguistic memory he had, going back nearly forty years”. Tuzin also commented on the negative comments he had heard from others, but noted “That was never my experience with him; he was lucid, extravagantly helpful, and a thorough gentleman.”²¹

David Lipset interviewed Fortune while researching material for his biography of Gregory Bateson. In notes appended to his interview transcript, Lipset describes Fortune as “a cross between Ben-Gurion and the wizard of oz”, and very soft spoken. Although Fortune initially was reluctant to have his comments taped, he subsequently relented. Lipset notes that “he was conspicuously silent about the subject of his encounter with GB and MM. . . . [and] his gentle humor made me feel that the last thing I wanted to do was to ask a blunt question about the situation he clearly was not going to volunteer information about”²².

On her return from fieldwork in New Guinea, in 1978, Elizabeth Mandeville visited Fortune at his home, where he “offered me some very old cake, which he said had ‘gone sour’ but which I might find edible”. She wanted to discuss things she had experienced among the Kamano:

Because at that time there was a general denial that Cannibalism existed . . . Reo was surprised that the violence of the Kamano society was in question. His memories coincided with those of many people that I knew . . . We talked about kinship and locality, and he confirmed my view that marriage within a village was a new phenomenon. . . . He had under his bed several biscuit tins which he got out and showed me to contain manuscripts; I longed for him to

²¹ Tuzin, Donald. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 17 December 2003.

²² Lipset, David. Unpublished transcript of an interview with Reo Fortune, Dec 14, 1976. I am grateful to David for providing me with this.

give them to me to look at, even to borrow, but he just stroked and patted them, held them to his chest and then put them away.²³

Debbora Battaglia also has fond memories of Fortune. She considered him to be:

the father of the academic phase of my life that launched me into the Massim. He was passionate that I should search for a particular form of patrilateral marriage that he felt, logically, must exist. I responded to his sense of intellectual mission as to a kinship oracle's pronouncements: I was in my mid-20s, you know. And our humor clicked. He delighted me. Once, after returning to Cambridge from New Guinea (he was then in his 70s), he told me how he asked the UPNG librarian how to locate a copy of *Sorcerers of Dobu*, and when asked if he had a card, told the person at the desk that he was himself Reo Fortune. The person told him he couldn't be because he was dead. I don't believe that he was ever successful at convincing the librarian otherwise.²⁴

²³ Mandeville, Elizabeth. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 1 December 2004.

²⁴ Battaglia, Deborra. Personal Communication to the Author, email dated 26 June 2007

Chapter Thirteen

Conclusion

The purpose of the present study has been to provide, first, a balance to the largely negative commentaries about Fortune made by other contributors to the history of anthropology; and second, a critical overview of his actual contribution to the emergent modern discipline especially, in the period 1925 to 1945. This study is presented in the form of a biography. It is apt, therefore, that a recently published special edition of *Reviews in Anthropology* is devoted to “Biographies of Anthropologists”. Roger Lohmann, in his introduction to the issue, regards biographies of anthropologists as not only providing “information about anthropologists, but also data for anthropology because they are studies of human agents enmeshed in social and cultural contexts, comparable to life histories of ethnographic informants” (2008:90).

Writing this biography has not been easy. Fortune reputedly burned many of his papers before his death and those that remained had been poorly stored, so that many of his fieldwork notes had been fodder for rodents and birds. Those that remained are housed in the archives of the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, and have only recently been properly catalogued and made available. A search of overseas archives, and in particular the Margaret Mead collection at the Library of Congress, proved more fruitful in providing details of his relationships with Mead and other anthropologists. Yet despite these informative sources, there still remain gaps with details of his time in China, and in particular, Burma. His remaining unpublished works are mainly fragments. Further, many of his fieldnotes

were handwritten in the vernaculars of the peoples he studied and therefore were unable to be assessed directly by me. Fortune does not appear to have been a typist, so that typed manuscripts without identification may or may not have been his own work. Several typescripts in Mead's collection are marked "Reo's Notes", which presupposes that Mead or someone else typed them.

Fortune began his academic career with the publication of *The Mind in Sleep* (1927), in which he challenged the previous authorities on dreams and developed his own sophisticated theory of cultural ambivalence. Unfortunately, this work was overlooked in his lifetime and it is only recently that Lohmann (2007, 2009) has brought it to the attention of anthropologists. Lohmann (2009) regards Fortune's work on dreams as showing a young man who is quite sure of himself, not afraid to question the authorities such as Rivers and Freud, and in doing so developing a deep understanding of the conflicts between dreams and the waking state. He says of *The Mind in Sleep* that "Fortune's psychological theory of dreaming, though dated and imperfect, is a provocative and sophisticated anthropological theory of cultural ambivalence" (2009:295), and suggests that the work should be given further consideration by psychological anthropologists. This recognition of the duality of the human mind, Lohmann argues flowed over into Fortune's ethnography, enabling him to perceive the psychological contradictions inherent in social communities. Although Fortune never explicitly applied this theory to his ethnography, I would agree that it is evident in all three.

Fortune's three ethnographies also hint at a theory of, what I have chosen to call, 'cultural darkness', viz. that there is a dark side to all cultures which, when explored, reveals a fear of supernatural retribution which serves as a form of social

control. It was this focus on the 'darker' side of cultures that prompted Kroeber to remark that he suspected readers, and even some ethnologists, were depressed or frightened by Fortune's writing with its emphasis on the "black side of things".

Although Fortune was the product of a colonial society and his anthropological research was conducted when British colonialism was at its height, his ethnographic works reflect someone who was uncomfortable with aspects of colonial control. This is evident in his correspondence with J.H.P. Murray, which outlines the belief that his published work on Dobu would be used against the Dobuans. In his later ethnographic excursions and writings, however, especially in China, he seemed willing to compromise his earlier principles in respect to colonial and other authorities.

Omaha Secret Societies (1932b), Fortune's second published ethnography, is a sophisticated ethnohistorical study and once again reflects Fortune's assurance and willingness to challenge accepted authorities. His *Manus Religion* (1935), meanwhile, broke with traditional ethnography by presenting his field data as a diary of religious events in which he used a form of discourse analysis, presenting the voice of the people with copious verbal citations that anticipated practices which nowadays are assumed to be 'post-modern' (Marcus 1986:181). The lack of explicit theoretical commentary in Fortune's Dobu and Manus works is commented on by Barker (2007:7), but he nevertheless describes the latter text as providing "the earliest fully realized study of the moral dynamics of a Melanesian society". Molloy (2008:114), meanwhile, suggests that it was only "by poaching what was to have been Fortune's piece", that Mead was able to write her important essay "Kinship in the Admiralty Islands"(1934).

In recent years there has been a resurgence of interest in Fortune's fieldwork and unpublished manuscripts. In particular, Dobrin and Bashkow (2007a, 2007b) have made extensive use of unpublished Arapesh material in the Fortune Collection. Their analysis, along with that of Roscoe (2003), supports Fortune's "Arapesh Warfare" (1939) in countering Mead's assertion that the Arapesh were peace-loving. In addition, their analysis of an unpublished manuscript, "Pigs for Dance Songs", emphasises the depth of empathy Fortune had for the peoples whom he studied. Although Fortune was claimed by the (British) functionalists as their own, Dobrin and Bashkow consider that while "Fortune was an outsider to American anthropology, he was a true Boasian in his empathetic ethnographic approach" (2006:149). Given Fortune's disapproval of "subordinating ethnographic material to theory", and the fragmentary nature of his unpublished material, they suggest that Fortune, while trying to "organise his Arapesh material according to the conventional rubrics... found it difficult to abide by the structure he imposed giving us some clue as to why the monograph was never completed" (p.146). However, this does not really take into account, as Benedict made clear to Fortune, that Mead had published already on the Arapesh and therefore no funding was available for the publication of another monograph by Fortune.

Any biography of Fortune needs to consider his relationships with others. Undoubtedly, the most important was his relationship with Margaret Mead. I began with an open mind regarding Margaret Mead, but as my work progressed I came to dislike her more and more, and ended feeling sorry for her. While Fortune had long been relegated to Mead's shadow, the Mead that I discovered was manipulative, self-

centred and unable to develop empathy with the people she studied. Living and working with Mead must have been difficult.

It was his meeting with and subsequent marriage to Mead which led to Fortune's interest in the discipline of anthropology. However, this relationship has been widely perceived as psychologically and personally detrimental to each, according to which of Mead's biographers one reads. It subsequently became the source of his disillusionment with the theoretical stances being advocated during the 1930s and 1940s. Although he was perceived as having never developed a lasting theoretical model of his own, and seldom made his thinking explicit, Fortune's theorising on cross-cousin marriage was highly regarded, by Levi-Strauss (1969) amongst others. Similarly, his explication of the incest taboo provided a new dimension to already existing theories, and as Lohmann indicates, his dream works contain a theory of cultural ambivalence relevant to current psychological anthropologists. His historical ethnography, *Omaha Secret Societies* (1932b), makes transparent the contradiction between the theory and practice of initiation into the various secret societies. However, on the negative side, accusations were widely circulated among Fortune's colleagues that he transferred his own paranoid feelings into his ethnographies.

After the events in the Sepik and his subsequent divorce from Mead, Fortune sought to find biological reasons for social practices, largely in an effort to refute Mead's 'racist' theory of the 'squares'. He apparently felt that if he could discover biological causes, they would shed light not only on social forms, but also on Mead herself. In this respect he was venturing a theory of biological determinism to counter Mead's cultural determinism as espoused in *Sex and Temperament* (1935). The

problematic result was that the publication of his two papers titled “Social Forms and their Biological Basis” (1941a, 1941b) appears to have ended his chances of continued employment at Toledo. When he wrote a sequential article, “Arapesh Maternity” (1943), while employed at Toronto, his employment there also was terminated.

Academic positions following the Depression were in short supply. Malinowski, once powerful in England, was powerless in the USA. When he attempted to bring Fortune to Yale in 1941, others worked behind the scenes to block this. Benedict, too, supported Fortune, recommending him to lesser known colleges without success, but Mead preferred that he remain as far away as possible. It was not until 1948 that he received a tenured academic position, at Cambridge University.

His students at Cambridge, at first intrigued by this ‘modern’ anthropologist, came to regard him as unintelligible, and stopped attending his lectures. Similarly, his colleagues found him difficult. His reluctance to adopt the newer theoretical approaches of Lévi-Strauss and Leach, which signalled a shift to a decidedly post-functional anthropologist, only exacerbated already tense relationships.

Fortune’s relationships with his colleagues were often punctuated by disagreements, some of which he took very seriously. A reverence for honesty and truth, instilled in him from childhood, was hard to shake and he consequently freely spoke his mind, much to the chagrin of those on the receiving end. From his first meeting with Radcliffe-Brown in 1927 he disagreed with him on the use of psychology in ethnographic studies, and he came also to regard Malinowski with disdain, challenging the latter in publications (1964a, 1964b, 1964c) and questioning the veracity of his reporting. His falling out with Raymond Firth in 1950 might have

remained private, but Firth chose to involve others which, once again, damaged Fortune's reputation.

Fortune's failure to publish anything of substance after his divorce from Mead may be attributed to several things, not least of which is the possibility that he lost the one person who could drive him to write. Although Mead appropriated many of his fieldnotes, thereby pre-empting his publication of material, she could and did know how to motivate him. Although the research for *Manus Religion* (1935a) was funded by the ANRC, it was Mead and Benedict who ensured its publication, and similarly it was Ruth Benedict who oversaw the publication of his *Arapesh* (1942). However, while apparently encouraging Fortune to publish, Benedict also was working to prevent publication of anything that may have impacted adversely on Mead's reputation.

Although Singh Uberoi obtained permission from Routledge to use Fortune's work in his book on the Kula (Uberoi 1962), Fortune was outraged that Uberoi had not also requested permission from him. But there were other instances of his work being used by others which seemingly went without comment from him. His Manus manuscript was used by Jeanette Barsky, a student of Mead, as were his notes from which he had intended to compile a Manus grammar.

Mead had stated, in her *Growing up in New Guinea* (1930), that Fortune was writing a complete ethnology of the Manus people. However, she still made full use of his fieldnotes in the preparation of her "Kinship in the Admiralty Islands" (1934). She then stated, in the preface to this new work, that Fortune was intending to write on the language. Benedict's use of the Dobu material depicted an arguably different culture from that which Fortune had written about, yet he remained silent and never

publicly challenged her interpretation, choosing only to disavow himself from it when a French edition was mooted shortly before her death in 1948.

The Fortune who has emerged from this research is a man proud of his accomplishments, but in many respects also his own worst enemy. His pride prevented him from accepting further financial help from Malinowski and Firth in 1934, and it was only by the use of subterfuge that Mead was able to support him. Pride again saw him ignore Kroeber's advice in 1941 regarding publishing his papers on social forms, so as not to endanger his position at Toledo. He might have prevented the dispute with Firth in 1950 by being up-front regarding the reasons why he wanted Peter Lawrence to work in the Highlands of New Guinea, but, once more, his pride took precedence.

His belief in the importance of absolute honesty and truth meant that he failed to see that others did not always hold these values in the same way. Mead was very accomplished at constructing a truth for whatever situation she was in, often telling Fortune one thing and her friends another. After Fortune and Mead parted, Benedict too was not averse to bending the truth in order to protect Mead so that Fortune, while believing she was his friend, became entangled in a web of deceit.

Rumour and innuendo contributed to Fortune being perceived as mentally unstable, but his contribution to ethnography cannot be ignored. Fortune had difficulty in containing his thoughts from an early age. He often seemed to have multiple trains of thought simultaneously operating in his mind. This appeared, to his listeners, to affect his ability to form coherent sentences, and may have motivated him as a young man to join the debating club at Victoria in an effort to develop his capacity for more coherent argument. Both Mead and Bateson commented on his

thought processes, with Bateson comparing him to William Blake. Others too have commented on the fact that he sometimes seemed to have a different conversation going on in his head from that which he was having with them. But this does not equate to madness. Several of his colleagues have commented on his eccentricity but as the late Edith Sitwell, a notable English eccentric herself, stated:

Eccentricity is not, as dull people would have us believe, a form of madness. It is often a kind of innocent pride, and the man of genius [is] . . . frequently regarded as eccentric because [he is] entirely unafraid of and uninfluenced by the opinions and vagaries of the crowd. (1965:126).

Now, eighty years after Reo Fortune first ventured into the field, scholars are revisiting his ethnographies and finding new insights into the cultures he studied. In the process, it is likely that he may finally be granted the anthropological attention and scientific respect that he was so often denied during his own lifetime.

Manuscripts and Archives

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

Fortune Papers MS-Group 0923

American Philosophical Society Library, Philadelphia

Franz Boas Papers B:B61

Daniel Carleton Gajdusek Papers B:G13j

Australian National University, Canberra

ANU :3.4.0.3 Part 1

ANU: Academic Advisory Committee Minutes

ANU :2001/15 Records of The Australian National University Interim Council

Bancroft Library, University of California Berkeley, Berkeley

Records of the Department of Anthropology CU-23

Cambridge University Library, Cambridge England

University Archives: Min.V.93 Minutes of the Applications Committee of the Faculty of Archaeology and Anthropology

Columbia University Library, New York

Carnegie Corporation Box III A No.148 Fol II Fortune, Dr Reo F 1934-1941

Columbia University Department of Anthropology Records 1930-1985

Jane Howard Papers Ms Coll Howard

Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

Margaret Mead Papers and the South Pacific Ethnographic Archives

London School of Economics, British Library of Political and Economic Science, London

Firth Papers: Firth; Sir; Raymond William (1901-2002); Knight; anthropologist

Malinowski Papers: Malinowski; Bronislaw Kasper (1884-1942); anthropologist

Seligman Papers: Seligman; Brenda Zara (c1882-1965); anthropologist, and Seligman; Charles Gabriel (1873-1940); anthropologist

National Archives of Australia, Canberra

NAA: A518 A806/1/5 Papua - Scientific - Visit of Reo Franklin Fortune, Anthropologist

NAA: A518 N806/1/1 Part 1 Scientific - General University of Sydney - Chair of Anthropology

NAA Series A518 Q849/1/3

NAA: A1928 (A1928/1) 934/17 Research. The Australian National Council. ANRC Minutes June-October 1929

NAA: A7034/48 Territory of New Guinea

National Library of Australia, Canberra

NLA: MS482 Australian National Research Council

NLA: MS788 Papers of Ernest William Pearson Chinnery, 1897-1971

NLA MS483/2 Papers of Camilla Wedgewood - Correspondence 1928-1949

Australian Joint Copying Project: Haddon: Australian and Pacific Papers M2728-2759

Rockefeller Archive Center, Sleepy Hollow, New York

Rockefeller Foundation 1.1 Projects Series 410/D Australian National Research Council

University of Sydney, Sydney

University Archives:

P.112 WEDGWOOD Camilla Hildegard [1901-1955]

P.015 HOGGIN Herbert Ian Priestley [1904-1989]

P.129 RADCLIFFE-BROWN Alfred Reginald [1880-1955]

P.130 ELKIN Adolphus Peter [1891-1979]

G.001/1 Senate, Minutes 1851-1987

G.001/11 Senate, Special Committees 1883-1936

G.002/1 Professorial Board, Minutes 1883-1975

Bibliography

- Abrahams, R. and H. Wardle
2002 Fortune's 'Last Theorem'. *Cambridge Anthropology* 23(1):60.
- Adams, W. Y. (editor)
1998 *The Philosophical Roots of Anthropology*. CSLI Publications. Stanford.
- Aitken, B.
1934 [Untitled: Book Review: Omaha Secret Societies, by Fortune, R. F.]. *Folklore* 45(4):364-366.
- Amit, Vered
2004 *Biographical dictionary of social and cultural anthropology*. New York: Routledge.
- Anon
1924 Report of the Debating Society. *The Spike*, vol.45:60-61
1931 Anthropological Notes and News. *American Anthropologist* 33(4):662-664.
1933 Notes and News. *American Anthropologist* 35(3):555-557.
1943 From Bombed Canton to Toronto University. *New Zealand Free Lance*, 1939:11.
- Arnold, J. K.
1931 *A Grammar of the Language of Edugaura*. Edward George Baker, Government Printer, Port Moresby, Papua.
- Banner, L. W.
2003 *Intertwined Lives: Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, and their circle*. Knopf, New York.
- Barker, J.
1987 T. F. McIlwraith and Anthropology at the University of Toronto 1925 - 1963. *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 24(2):252-268.
2007 Introduction: The Anthropological Study of Morality in Melanesia. In *The Anthropology of Morality in Melanesia and Beyond*, edited by J. Barker, pp. 1-24. Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot.
- Barker, J. (editor)
2007 *The Anthropology of Morality in Melanesia and Beyond*. Ashgate Publishing Limited, Aldershot.

- Barnard, A.
2000 *History and Theory in Anthropology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Barnes, M. H.
1992 Primitive Religious Thought and the Evolution of Religion. *Religion* 22(1):21-46.
- Barnes, R. H.
2005 *Two Crows denies it : a history of controversy in Omaha sociology*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Barrowman, R.
1999 *Victoria University of Wellington 1899-1999: A History*. Victoria University Press, Wellington.
- Bashkow, I.
2003a Arapesh Warfare: Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune among the New Guinea Arapesh. Paper presented at the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania, Vancouver.

2003b The Great Arc of Human Possibilities and a Small Circle of Friends: The Social Microcosm of Mead's Sex and Temperament. In American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Chicago.
- Bashkow, I. and L. Dobrin
2007a The Historical Study of Ethnographic Fieldwork: Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune among the Mountain Arapesh. *History of Anthropology Newsletter* 34(1):9-16.

2007b The Anthropologist's Fieldwork as Lived World: Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune among the Mountain Arapesh. *Paideuma* 53:79-87.

Forthcoming The Life and Lives of Ethnography: Margaret Mead, Reo Fortune, and the New Guinea Arapesh.

Forthcoming The Truth in Anthropology Does Not Travel First Class': Reo Fortune's Fateful Encounter with Margaret Mead. *Histories of Anthropology Annual*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Bateson, G.
1932 Social Structure of the Iatmul People of the Sepik River. *Oceania* 2:245-259; 401-453.
- Battaglia, D.
2007 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 26 June 2007

- Belich, J.
2001 *Paradise Reforged : a history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000*. Allen Lane ; Penguin, Auckland, N.Z.
- Benedict, R. F.
1935 [1934] *Patterns of Culture*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
1936 Review: Manus Religion by R. F. Fortune. *Review of Religion* 1:48-50.
- Bergson, H.
1915 *Dreams*. Translated by E.E.Slosson. T. Fisher Unwin.
- Berndt, C. H.
1953 Socio-Cultural Change in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 9(1):112-138.
1966 The Ghost Husband: Society and the Individual in New Guinea Myth. *The Journal of American Folklore* 79(311):244-277.
- Berndt, R. M.
1954 Kamano, Jate, Usurufa and Fore Kinship of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea: A Preliminary Account. *Oceania* XXV(Nos 1-2):22-53.
1955 116. Interdependence and Conflict in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. *Man* 55:105-107.
1958 A 'Devastating Disease Syndrome': Kuru Sorcery in the Eastern Central Highlands of New Guinea. *Sociologus* VIII:4-28.
1962 *Excess and Restraint: social control among a New Guinea mountain people*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
1964 Warfare in the New Guinea Highlands. *American Anthropologist* 66(4):183-203.
- Blackwood, B.
1935 *Both Sides of the Buka Passage*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Bowker, G.
1998 Constructing the Biographical Subject: The Case of Malcolm Lowry. In *Writing the Lives of Writers*, edited by W. Gould and T. E. Staley, pp. 266-276. Macmillan Press, London.
- Britain, Ian
2002 Life writing. *Meanjin* 61(1):2(2).

- Cairns, H.
1932 Primitive Men. In *The Evening Sun*, Baltimore.
- Campbell, Shirley F.
2002 *The art of Kula*. Oxford: Berg.
- Carter, I. G.
1932 [Untitled] (Book Review: Sorcerers of Dobu, by R. F. Fortune). *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 164:271.
- Cassidy, R.
1982 *Margaret Mead: a voice for the century*. Universe Books, New York.
- Centennial Committee, St .Andrews.
1982 *People of His Pasture: A history of the Parochial District of Bulls-Rongotea*. St Andrew's Centennial Committee, Bulls.
- Chao, P.
1983 *Chinese Kinship*. Kegan Paul International Ltd, London.
- Chowning, A.
1964 [Untitled] (Book Review: Sorcerers of Dobu: The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific, by R. F. Fortune). *American Anthropologist* 66(2):455-457.
- Clifford, James
1982 *Person and myth : Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian world*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Codere, H.
1956 The Amiable Side of Kwakiutl Life: The Potlatch and the Play Potlatch. *American Anthropologist* 58(2):334-351.
- Coleman, Simon, and Peter Collins
2006 *Locating the field : space, place and context in anthropology*. Oxford ; New York: Berg.
- Conway, J.
2008 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 1 March 2008.
- Corbett, C. H.
1964 *Lingnan University, a Short History*. Trustees of Lingnan University, New York.

- Crapanzano, V.
1980 *Tuhami, Portrait of a Moroccan*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Cressman, Luther
1988 *A Golden Journey: memoirs of an Archaeologist*. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Crook, T.
2007 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 24 July 2007.
- Daniel, G.
1986 *Some Small Harvest*. Thames & Hudson, London.
- "Daphne"
1937 Varsity Romance and a Wedding in Hong Kong. In *New Zealand Free Lance*.
- Darnell, Regna
2004 Review: [untitled]. *Ethnohistory* 51(4):827-829.
- Darnell, Regna, and Frederic W. Gleach
2005 *Histories of anthropology annual*. Volume 2. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press.
- Denzin, N. K. and Y. S. Lincoln
1998 *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry*. Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks, Calif.
- Devereux, G.
1940 Review: [Yao Society: A Study of a Group of Primitives in China. R. F. Fortune ed.]. *American Anthropologist* 42(4):683-684.
1967 *From Anxiety to Method in the Behavioral Sciences*. Humanities Press, New York.
- Dobrin, L.
1999 Lexical Splitting in the Kinship Vocabulary of the Buki (Arapesh) Languages. *Language and Linguistics in Melanesia* 28:99-118.
2001 Arapesh. In *Facts About the World's Major Languages: An Encyclopedia of the World's Major Languages, Past and Present*, edited by J. Garry and C. Rubino, pp. 33-38. H.W. Wilson.
2003 Arapesh Warfare: Mead and Fortune's Clash of Ethnographic Temperament. In American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting, Chicago.

Forthcoming. (with Ira Bashkow) The Truth in Anthropology Does Not Travel First Class': Reo Fortune's Fateful Encounter with Margaret Mead. *Histories of Anthropology Annual*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.

Dobrin, L. and I. Bashkow

2006 "Pigs for Dance Songs": Reo Fortune's Empathetic Ethnography of the Arapesh Roads. In *Histories of Anthropology Annual vol 2.*, edited by R. Darnell and F. W. Gleach. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, Nebraska.

Dorsey, James Owen

1884 Omaha sociology. *3rd Annual Report of the Bureau of American Anthropology*:205-370.

1891 *Omaha and Ponka Letters*: Smithsonian Institution Bureau of Ethnology.

Editor

1933 83. Growing Up in New Guinea. *Man* 33:76.

Ellis, H.

1911 *The World of Dreams*. Constable and Company, London.

Eriksen, T. H. and F. S. Nielsen

2001 *A History of Anthropology*. Pluto Press, London.

Errington, F. and D. Gewertz

1985 The Chief of the Chambri: social change and cultural permeability among a New Guinea people. *American Ethnologist* 12(3):442-454.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E.

1937 *Witchcraft, oracles and magic among the Azande*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

1949 96. Two Nuer Ritual Concepts. *Man* 49:74-76.

Fardon, Richard

1999 *Mary Douglas : an intellectual biography*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Feigenbaum, Dorian

1934 Clinical Fragments. *Psychoanalytic Quarterly* 3:363-390.

Firth, R.

1932 Book Review "Sorcerers of Dobu". *Oceania* 3:236-239.

1980 Dr R. F. Fortune Contribution to the development of social anthropology. In *The Times*, London.

Fletcher, Alice C.

1897 A Study from the Omaha Tribe: Import of the Totem. In *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*. Pp. 577-586: Smithsonian Institution.

Fletcher, A. C. and F. La Flesche

1972 [1911] *The Omaha Tribe*. University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln,.

Forde, C. D.

1934 36: (Book Review: Omaha Secret Societies., by R. F. Fortune). *Man* 34:28-29.

Forrester, J.

2006 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 8 October 2006.

Fortune, R. F.

1924 The Age of School-Entry. *Education Gazette* (June 2nd):92.

1925 Dream Problems. Unpublished M. A. thesis Victoria University

1926a The Stoic. *The Spike* (Victoria College Review) 25(1):37.

1926b The Psychology of Dreams. *The Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* June:119-140.

1926c The Effect of Sleep on the Ability to Perform Muscular Work. *The Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy* iv(1):35-46.

1926d Retardation in the Schools. *Education Gazette* (July 1st, 1926):104-107.

1926e The Symbolism of the Serpent. *International Journal of Psychoanalysis* 7:237-243.

1927a *The Mind in Sleep*. G. Routledge and Sons, London.

1927b On Imitative Magic. unpublished thesis for the Diploma in Anthropology. Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, England.

1930 The Last choice. In *Kowhai Gold: An Anthology of Contemporary New Zealand Verse*, edited by Q. Pope. Dent, London.

1930 Pithecanthropos, We are here. In Margaret Mead Papers Box A-3 Folder Fortune. Library of Congress., Washington D.C.

- 1931 Manus Religion. *Oceania* 2:17-108.
- 1931 The social organization of Dobu. Thesis (PH D), Columbia University, 1931.
- 1932a *Sorcerers of Dobu: The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific*. G.Routledge and Sons, London.
- 1932b *Omaha Secret Societies*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- 1932c Incest. In *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, edited by E. R. A. Seligman, pp. 620-622. MacMillan, New York.
- 1933 A Note on Some Forms of Kinship Structure. *Oceania* 4:1-9.
- 1934 Culture in Male Descent and in Female Descent. In LSE: Malinowski Papers 7/2 Non-African Papers, London.
- 1934a Critical Anthropology. In *Congr s International Des Sciences Anthropologiques et Ethnologiques*, p. 277. Royal Anthropological Institute, London.
- 1934b 54. Five Tribes of New Guinea, in Some of Their Aspects. *Man* 34:42-43.
- 1935a *Manus Religion: an ethnological study of the Manus natives of the Admiralty Islands*. American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
- 1935b Notes on Early Beliefs in Cases Of Illness. *Native Medical Practitioner* (March).
- 1935c 150: (Book Review: Scientific Research and Social Needs., by Huxley, Julian; Bragg, William). *Man* 35:140-141.
- 1939a Arapesh Warfare. *American Anthropologist* 41(1):22-41.
- 1939b Introduction to Yao Culture. *Lingnam Science Journal* 18:343-355.
- 1939c Yao Society. *Lingnan Science Journal* 18(3,4):343-455.
- 1941a Social Forms and their Biological Basis. *American Sociological Review* 6(4):571-572.
- 1941b Social Forms and their Biological Basis. *American Sociological Review* 6(5):725-726.
- 1942 *Arapesh*. American Ethnological Society Publication 19. Augustin, New York.

- 1943 Arapesh Maternity. *Nature* 152:164.
- 1947a 115. The Rules of Relationship Behaviour in One Variety of Primitive Warfare. *Man* 47:108-110.
- 1947b Law and Force in Papuan Societies. *American Anthropologist* 49(2):244-259.
- 1951 Theories of structure of Social Groups. In Ordinary Meeting. Royal Anthropological Institute, London.
- 1951a [Untitled] (Book Review: The Foundations of Social Anthropology, by Nadel, S. F.). *African Affairs* 50(200):251-252.
- 1951b 236: (Book Review: Social Anthropology: The Science of Human Society and Culture., by Slotkin, J. S.). *Man* 51:142.
- 1953 221: (Book Review: Djanggawul: An Aboriginal Religious Cult of North-Eastern Arnhem Land., by Berndt, Ronald M.). *Man* 53:140-141.
- 1954a Studies in Social Anthropology. *Nature* 174:72-74.
- 1954b Betrothal by mother-in-law. In *Primitive Heritage: An Anthropological Anthology*, edited by M. Mead and N. Calas, pp. 240-246. Victor Gollanz, London.
- 1955 85: (Book Review: An Introduction to Anthropology., by Beals, Ralph L.; Hoijer, Harry; Roediger, Virginia More.). *Man* 55:75.
- 1956 Annual Im Thurn Memorial Lecture: Man On His Nature, From The Point Of View Of Anthropology. Lecture presented to The Scottish Anthropological and Folklore Society, Edinburgh.
- 1959 252: (Book Review: An Introduction to Social Anthropology, Vol. II., by Piddington, Ralph). *Man* 59:162.
- 1960a Statistics of Kuru. *Medical Journal of Australia*.
- 1960b Folk Medicine in the Dobuan Islands. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 69:31-33.
- 1960c 146. New Guinea Warfare: Correction of a Mistake Previously Published. *Man* 60:108.
- 1961 Dobuans Abroad: Letters from Dobuan Islanders. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 70:314-320.

- 1963 *Sorcerers of Dobu : the social anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific*. Rev. ed. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- 1964a Malinowski and 'the Chief.'. *Man* 64:90-91.
- 1964b Malinowski and "the chief". *Man* 64:102-103.
- 1964c Malinowski and 'The Chief.'. *Man* 64:186.
- 1972 *Sorciers de Dobu: anthropologie sociale des insulaires de Dobu dans le Pacifique*. Translated by Nicole Belmont. Francois Maspero, Paris.
- 1983 Preface. In *Chinese Kinship*, edited by P. Chao. Kegan Paul International Ltd, London.
- n.d. Among the Kamano. In Fortune Papers :80-323-355: Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington.
- n.d. The Christ. In Fortune Papers 80-323-25: Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington.
- n.d. Dance Songs 1st copy - interpreted. In Fortune Papers 80-323-07: Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand.
- n.d. The Divination of Sorcery in the New Ireland Area of Melanesia. In Fortune Papers 80-323-04: Alexander Turnbull library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington.
- n.d. Purari Warfare and Custom. In Papers of E.W.P. Chinnery NLA MS766/20/26, National Library of Australia, Canberra.
- n.d. This Substantial Pageant: A Study in the Culture of Two Communities of New Guinea. In Fortune Papers 80-171-2 Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand.
- n.d. Two related Legends of Basima and Dobu. In Fortune Papers 80-323-07: Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand, Wellington.
- Freud, S.
1913 [1900] *The Interpretation of Dreams*. Translated by A. A. Brill. G. Allen & Company, Ltd., London,.
- Gacs, Ute
1988 *Women anthropologists : a biographical dictionary*. New York: Greenwood Press.

- Gaillard, Gérald
2004 *The Routledge dictionary of anthropologists*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Gammage, Bill
1998 *The sky travellers : journeys in New Guinea 1938-1939*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press.
- Gardner, M. J.
1980 Mathematical Games. *Scientific American* 243(6):18-28.
- Gathercole, P.
1979 Obituary: R.F. Fortune 1903-1979. *RAIN* (37):9.
- Glaser, B. G. and A. L Strauss
1967 *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*. Aldine Publishing Company, New York.
- Golomb, S. W.
1981 The Evidence for Fortune's Conjecture. *Mathematics Magazine* 54(4):209-210.
- Goody, J.
1995 *The Expansive Moment : the rise of social anthropology in Britain and Africa, 1918-1970*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge ; New York.
- Graburn, N. H. H.
2008 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 2 February 2008.
- Gray, G.
1999 'Being honest to my science': Reo Fortune and J.H.P. Murray, 1927-30. *The Australian Journal of Anthropology* 10(1):56-76.
2007 *A Cautious Silence: the politics of Australian anthropology*. Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra.
- Greenwood, J.
1865 *Savage Habits and Customs*. Third ed. S.O. Beeton, London.
- Griffiths, D. J. F.
1977 The Career of F.E. Williams, Government Anthropologist of Papua, 1922-1943. M.A. Thesis, Australian National University.
- Grosskurth, P.
1988 *Margaret Mead*. Penguin, Harmondsworth.

- Grundy, I.
 1998 'Acquainted with all the Modes of Life': The Difficulty of Biography. In *Writing the Lives of Writers*, edited by W. S. Gould, Thomas E. Macmillan Press, London.
- Guy, R.
 1994 *Unsolved Problems in Number Theory*. Springer, New York.
- Hage, Per, Frank Harary, and Brent James
 1986 Wealth and Hierarchy in the Kula Ring. *American Anthropologist* 88(1):108-115.
- Hallpike, C. R.
 1979 *The Foundations of Primitive Thought*. Clarendon Press, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Handler, Richard
 2000 *Excluded ancestors, inventible traditions : essays toward a more inclusive history of anthropology*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hamilton, B.
 2001 *Palmerston North Boys' High School, 1902-2001*. Palmerston North Boys High School, Palmerston North, N.Z.
- Harris, M.
 1968 *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: a history of theories of culture*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London
- Harrison, Ira E., and Faye Venetia Harrison
 1999 *African-American pioneers in anthropology*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Hart, C. W. M.
 1932 174 (Book Review: Growing up in New Guinea by Margaret Mead) *Man* 32:146
 1933 153 (Book Review: Sorcerers of Dobu., by Fortune, R. F.). *Man* 33:149-150.
- Hatch, E.
 1973 *Theories of Man and Culture*. Columbia University Press, New York.
- Hays, T. E.
 1992 *Ethnographic Presents: pioneering anthropologists in the Papua New Guinea Highlands*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

- Herskovits, M.
 1932 Melanesian Poets and Poisoners. *The Nation* 135 (PT 3508):288-289.
 1973 *Franz Boas; the science of man in the making*. Clifton [N.J.]: A. M. Kelley.
- Hogbin, H. I.
 1936 Book Review "Manus Religion". *Oceania* 7:394-395.
- Honan, Park
 1985 Beyond Sartre, Vercors, and Bernard Crick: Theory and Form in Literary Biographies. *New Literary History* 16(3):639-651.
- Honigmann, J.
 1976 *The Development of Anthropological Ideas*. Dorsey Press, Homewood, Illinois.
- Howard, J.
 1984 *Margaret Mead: a life*. Simon and Schuster, New York.
- Huberman, A. M. and M. B. Miles
 1998 Data Management and Analysis Methods. In *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*, edited by N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Sage Publications, London.
- Hyatt, Marshall
 1990 *Franz Boas, social activist : the dynamics of ethnicity*. New York: Greenwood Press.
- Inglis, Fred
 2000 *Clifford Geertz : culture, custom, and ethics*. Cambridge ; Malden, Mass.: Polity Press.
- Jackson, Michael
 2006 *The accidental anthropologist : a memoir*. Dunedin, N.Z.: Longacre Press.
- Jarvie, I.
 1964 *The Revolution in Anthropology*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- Jonsson, H.
 2006 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 9 March 2006.
- Kesby, J.
 2004 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 23 March 2005.

- Kituai, August Ibrum K.
 1998 *My gun, my brother : the world of the Papua New Guinea colonial police, 1920-1960*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.
- Kristmundsdottir, Sigridur Duna
 2006 Far from the Trobriands? : biography as field. In *Locating the field : space, place and context in anthropology*. S. Coleman and P. Collins, eds. Oxford ; New York: Berg.
- Kroeber, A. L.
 1931 Review: [untitled: Growing up in New Guinea]. *American Anthropologist* 33(2):248-250.
- Kuehling, S.
 1998 The Name of the Gift: Ethics of Exchange on Dobu Island. Ph.D., Australian National University.
 2005 *Dobu : Ethics of Exchange on a Massim Island, Papua New Guinea*. University of Hawaii Press, Honolulu.
- Kuklick, H.
 1991 *The Savage Within*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
 1999 Assessing research in the history of sociology and anthropology. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 35(3):227-237.
 2008a The British Tradition. In *A New History of Anthropology*, edited by H. Kuklick, pp. 52-78. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.
 2008b *A New History of Anthropology*. Blackwell Publishing, Oxford.
- Kuper, A.
 1973 *Anthropology and Anthropologists*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
 2007 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 3 June 2007.
- La Fontaine, J.
 2005 Personal communication to the Author: Email 4 August 2005.
- Langham, I.
 1981 *The Building of British Social Anthropology: W.H.R. Rivers and his Cambridge disciples in the development of kinship studies, 1898-1931*. Dordrecht (distributed in the USA by Claire Boston Inc), Boston.

- Langness, L. L.
1965 *The Life History in Anthropological Science*. Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York.
- Langness, L. I. and Gelya Frank
1981 *Lives: an anthropological approach to biography*. Chandler and Sharp Publishers Inc. Novato, California
- Lapsley, H.
1999 *Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict: The Kinship of Women*. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.
- Lawrence, P.
1980 Reo Franklin Fortune: Obituary. *Oceania* 51:2-3.
- Layton, R.
1997 *An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Leach, Jerry W., and Edmund Ronald Leach
1983 *The Kula : new perspectives on Massim exchange*. Cambridge [Cambridgeshire] ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Leahy, M.
1935 The Central Highlands of New Guinea. *The Geographical Journal* p.229-.
- Leahy, M. C.
1937 *The Land That Time Forgot: adventures and discoveries in New Guinea*. Funk and Wagnalls, New York.
- Lee, C. B.
1939 Local History, Social Organization and Warfare. *Lingnam Science Journal* 18(3):357-369.
- Lee, K. K.
1939 The Yao Family in Birth, Marriage and Death. *Lingnam Science Journal* 18(3):371-382.
- Lenoir, Raymond
1924 Les Expéditions maritimes, institution sociale en Mélanésie occidentale. *L'Anthropologie* 34:387-410.
- Lepowsky, M.
2003 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 11 November 2003.

- Levin, Michael, Gail Avrith, and Wanda Barrett
 1984 *An Historical Sketch Showing the Contribution of Sir Daniel Wilson and Many Others to the Teaching of Anthropology at the University of Toronto*. Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, Toronto.
- Lévi-Strauss, C.
 1955 *Tristes tropiques*. {Paris}: Plon.
- 1969 [1946] *The Elementary Structures of Kinship (Les structures Élementaires de la Parenté)*. Revised ; ed. Eyre & Spottiswoode, London,.
- 1978 *Myth and Meaning*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London.
- Lin, K.-Y.
 1939 The Economics of Yao Life. *Lingnam Science Journal* 18(4):409-424.
- Linton, R.
 1936 [Untitled] (Book Reviews; Oceania and Asia / Reviewed Work: Both Sides of Buka Passage, by Blackwood, Beatrice. / Reviewed Work: Manus Religion, by R. F. Fortune). *American Anthropologist* 38(3):497-498.
- Lipset, D.
 1980 *Gregory Bateson: the legacy of a scientist*. Prentice Hall International, New Jersey.
- Lohmann, R.
 2000 The Role of Dreams in Religious Enculturation among the Asabano of Papua New Guinea. *Ethos* 28(1):75-102.
- 2005 The Afterlife of Asabano Corpses: Relationships with the Deceased in Papua New Guinea. *Ethnology* 44(2):189-206.
- 2007 Dreams and Ethnography. In *The New Science of Dreaming*. D. Barrett and P. McNamara, eds. Pp. 35-69, Vol. 3. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- 2008 Introduction: Biographies of Anthropologists as Anthropological Data. *Reviews in Anthropology* 37(2) 89-101.
- 2009 Dreams of Fortune: Reo Fortune's Psychological Theory of Cultural Ambivalence. In *Gang of Four, Gregory Bateson, Ruth Benedict, Reo Fortune and Margaret Mead in Multiple Contexts.*, edited by G. Sullivan and S. Tiffany, Special Issue *Pacific Studies*, 32 (2-3):273-98.

- Lombard, J.
1972 *L'Anthropologie Britanique Contemporaine*. n.p., Paris.
- Lowie, R. H.
1933a [Untitled] (Omaha Secret Societies, by R. W.[sic] Fortune).
American Anthropologist 35(3):529-533.

1933b Queries. *American Anthropologist* 35(2):288-296.
- Maahs, A. and A. Frerichs
ca. 1950 *Trail Blazing in New Guinea* [film].
- Macintyre, Martha
1983 *The kula : a bibliography*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Malinowski, B.
1920 51. Kula; the Circulating Exchange of Valuables in the Archipelagoes of Eastern New Guinea. *Man* 20:97-105.

1922 *Argonauts of the Western Pacific : an account of native enterprise and adventure in the archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. Studies in economics and political science, no. 65. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London England.

1944 *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*. The University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Mandelbaum, D. G.
1973 The Study of Life History: Gandhi. *Current Anthropology* 14(3):177-196.
- Mandeville, E.
2004 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 1 December 2004.

2007 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 26 April 2007.
- Mann, Thomas L., and Library-Anthropology Resource Group (Chicago Ill.)
1988 *Biographical directory of anthropologists born before 1920*. New York: Garland Pub.
- Marcus, G. E. and M. M. J. Fischer
1986 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Marcus, Julie
1993 *First in their field : women and Australian anthropology*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press.

- McDowell, N., M. Mead and R. F. Fortune
 1991 *The Mundugumor : from the field notes of Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune*. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington.
- McIlwraith, T.
 2005 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 27 April 2005.
- McLean, A.
 1992 In the Footsteps of Reo Fortune. In *Ethnographic Presents*, edited by T. E. Hays. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- McLeod, M.
 2008 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 22 February 2008.
- McNeish, J.
 2003 *Dance of the Peacocks : New Zealanders in exile in the time of Hitler and Mao Tse-tung*. Vintage, Auckland, N.Z.
- Mead, M.
 1928 *Coming of Age in Samoa; A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization*. Morrow, [New York].
- 1930 *Growing Up in New Guinea*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, London.
- 1932 An Investigation of the Thought of Primitive Children, with Special Reference to Animism. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 62:173-190.
- 1934 Kinship in the Admiralty Islands. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 34(2):139-349.
- 1935 *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*. Mentor ed. New American Library, New York.
- 1938 The Mountain Arapesh i An Importing Culture. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 36 Part 3.
- 1940 The Mountain Arapesh: ii Supernaturalism. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 37(3).
- 1947 The Mountain Arapesh: iii Socio-Economic Life; iv Diary of Events in Alitua. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 40 Part 3.
- 1949 The Mountain Arapesh: v The Record of Unabelin with Rorschach Analyses. *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 41 Part 3.

- 1959 *An Anthropologist at Work Writings of Ruth Benedict*. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.
- 1972 *Blackberry Winter*. Angus and Robertson, London.
- 1977 *Letters from the field, 1925-1975*. 1st ed. Harper & Row, New York.
- Miller, Patricia McClelland
- 1979 The Individual Life. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 4(3):70-74.
- Mills, David
- 2008 *Difficult folk? : a political history of social anthropology*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Molloy, M. A.
- 2000 "Lords of an Empty Creation" Manus, America and the Depression. *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 109(3):233-250.
- 2008 *On Creating a Usable Culture: Margaret Mead and the emergence of American cosmopolitanism*. University of Hawai'i Press, Honolulu.
2009. 'More Like Fighting than Waiting' Mead, Method, and the Proper Object of Knowledge in Anthropology. In *Gang of Four, Gregory Bateson, Ruth Benedict, Reo Fortune, and Margaret Mead in Multiple Contexts*, edited by G. Sullivan and S. Tiffany, Special Issue. *Pacific Studies* 32 (2-3):325-47.
- Montague, S.
- 2003 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 18 December 2003.
- Munn, Nancy D.
- 1990 Constructing Regional Worlds in Experience: Kula Exchange, Witchcraft and Gawan Local Events. *Man* 25(1):1-17.
- Murray, J.
- 1952 *Palmerston North High School : historical survey, 1902-1951*. H.L. Young, Palmerston North, N.Z.
- National Geographic Society (U.S.), and Sky Visuals (Firm)
- 1991 *Kula ring of power*. Woolloomooloo, Australia: One World Films,.
- Nasaw, David
- 2009 Introduction. *The American Historical Review* 114(3):573-578.

New York Times

1937 Tribal Etiquette Told At Columbia. *New York Times* p. 8.

Oliver, W. H.

1988 Social Policy in New Zealand: An Historical Overview. In *Volume 1. New Zealand Today. Report of The Royal Commission on Social Policy Te Komihana A Te Karauna Mo Nga Ahuatanga-A-Iwi. April 1988:1-46.* 1. 4 vols. The Royal Commission on Social Policy, Wellington.

O'Shea, John M., and John Ludwickson

1992 Omaha Chieftainship in the Nineteenth Century. *Ethnohistory* 39(3):316-352.

Pace, David

1983 *Claude Lévi-Strauss, the bearer of ashes.* Boston: Routledge & K. Paul.

Parker, J.

2003 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 19 November 2003.

Penniman, T. K.

1965 *A Hundred Years of Anthropology.* 3rd rev. ed. Duckworth, London.

Persson, Johnny

1988 Political Implications of Kula Exchange: A Reply to Hage, Harary, and James. *American Anthropologist* 90(1):155-159.

Pope, Q.

1930 *Kowhai Gold; An Anthology of Contemporary New Zealand Verse.* Dent, London,.

Powdermaker, H.

1932 [Untitled] (Book Review: Sorcerers of Dobu, by R. F. Fortune). *American Anthropologist* 34(4):724-726.

1966 *Stranger and friend; the way of an anthropologist.* New York: W. W. Norton.

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.

1945 Religion and Society. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 75(1/2):33-43.

1958 [1923] The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology. In *Method in Social Anthropology*, edited by M. D. Srinivas. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

- Radford, Robin
 1987 *Highlanders and foreigners in the upper Ramu : the Kainantu area 1919-1942*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press.
- Rampersad, Arnold
 1992 Design and Truth in Biography. *South Central Review* 9(2):1-18.
- Raybeck, Douglas
 1996 *Mad dogs, Englishmen, and the errant anthropologist : fieldwork in Malaysia*. Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.
- Renwick, W.
 1993 Pope, James Henry 1837 - 1913. In *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, edited by C. Orange, pp. 393-395. vol. 2. Bridget Williams Books Limited and Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, New Zealand.
- Ridington, R.
 1987 Omaha Survival: a vanishing Indian tribe that would not vanish. *American Indian Quarterly* 11(1):37-51.
 1988 Images of Cosmic Union: Omaha ceremonies of renewal. *History of Religions* 28(2):135-150.
 1993 A Sacred Object as Text: Reclaiming the Sacred Pole of the Omaha Tribe. *American Indian Quarterly* 17(1):83-99.
- Ritter, S. M.
 1934 [Untitled] (Book Review: Sorcerers of Dobu: The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific, by R. F. Fortune). *The American Journal of Psychology* 46(1):170-171.
- Rivers, W. H. R.
 1923 *Conflict and Dream*. International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd, London.
- Riviere, P.
 2007 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 3 May 2007.
- Róheim, G.
 1950 *Psychoanalysis and Anthropology : culture, personality and the unconscious*. International Universities Press, New York.
- Roscoe, P.
 2003 Margaret Mead, Reo Fortune, and Mountain Arapesh Warfare. *American Anthropologist* 105(3):581-591.

- Sapir, E.
1928 Observations on the Sex Problem in America. *American Journal of Psychiatry* 8:519-534.
- Seligman, C. G.
1910 *The Melanesians of British New Guinea*. Cambridge,.
- Shostak, M.
1981 *Nisa, the life and words of a !Kung woman*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Shostak, Marjorie, and Nisa
2000 *Nisa, the life and words of a !Kung woman*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Sitwell, E.
1965 *Taken Care of; the autobiography of Edith Sitwell*. 1st American ed. Atheneum, New York,.
- Smith, B.
1953 Biographer's Creed. *The William and Mary Quarterly* 10(2):190-195.
- Smith, R. T.
2005 Personal communication to the Author: Email 9 August 2005.
- Srinivas, M. D.
1958 *Methods in Social Anthropology: selected essays by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown*. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Strathern, M.
2007 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 14 November 2007.
- Stewart, William
2009 *Biographical dictionary of anthropologists*. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland.
- Stocking, G. W.
1968 *Race, culture, and evolution; essays in the history of anthropology*. New York,: Free Press.
- 1984 Radcliffe-Brown and British Social Anthropology in G.W. Stocking (editor) *Functionalism Historicized: essays on British Anthropology*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.

- 1993 Margaret Mead and Radcliffe-Brown: society, social system, cultural character and the idea of culture 1931-1935. *History of Anthropology Newsletter* 20:2

Stocking, G. W. (editor)

- 1974 *The Shaping of American Anthropology 1883-1911*. Basic Books Inc, New York.
- 1983 *Observers Observed: essays on ethnographic fieldwork*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.
- 1985 *Objects and Others: essays on museums and material culture*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.
- 1986 *Malinowski, Rivers, Benedict and Others: essays on Culture and Personality*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.
- 1989 *Romantic Motives: essays in anthropological sensibility*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.
- 1991 *Colonial Situations: essays on the contextualization of ethnographic knowledge*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.
- 1992 *The Ethnographer's Magic and Other Essays in the History of Anthropology*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.
- 1995 *After Tylor: British Social Anthropology 1888-1951*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin.

Strauss, A. and J. Corbin

- 1998 Grounded Theory Methodology: An Overview. In *Strategies of Qualitative Research*, edited by N. K. Denzin and Y. S. Lincoln. Sage Publications, London.

Suzuki, P.

- 2002 Margaret Mead and Reo Fortune on the Omaha Reservation Summer 1930. Paper presented at the Western Social Science Association Conference, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Thomas, C.

- 2005 Friends, Colleagues, Enemies? Human Relations in the Professional Career of Reo Franklin Fortune. Paper presented at the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania Conference, Lihu'e, Hawaii.

- 2007 Speaking the Unspeakable: when anthropologists become taboo. Paper presented at the Association of Social Anthropologists of Aotearoa/New Zealand Annual Conference., The University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand.
- 2009 Rediscovering Reo: reflections on the life and anthropological career of Reo Franklin Fortune. In *Gang of Four, Gregory Bateson, Ruth Benedict, Reo Fortune, and Margaret Mead in Multiple Contexts*, edited by G. Sullivan and S. Tiffany, Special Issue, *Pacific Studies* 32 (2-3):140-162.
- Townsend, G. W. L.
1933 The Administration of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea. *The Geographical Journal* 82(5):424-434.
- Turner, Edith L. B.
2005 *Heart of lightness : the life story of an anthropologist*. New York: Berghahn Books.
- Tuzin, D. F.
2003 Personal Communication to the Author: Email 17 December 2003.
- Tylor, Edward B.
1871 *Primitive culture: researches into the development of mythology, philosophy, religion, art, and custom*. London,: J. Murray.
- Uberoi, J. P. S.
1962 *Politics of the Kula Ring : an analysis of the findings of Bronislaw Malinowski*. Manchester University Press, Manchester.
- Wang, W. C.
1939 Yao Religion and Education. *Lingnam Science Journal* 18(4):397-408.
- Wardle, Huon
2004 Reo Fortune. in V. Amit, (ed). *Biographical Dictionary of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. Routledge, London.
- Watson, J. B.
1964 Introduction: Anthropology in the New Guinea Highlands. *American Anthropologist* 66(4):1-19.
- Weiner, Annette B.
1976 *Women of Value, Men of Renown*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

- Williams, F. E.
1930 *Orokaiva Society*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Williams, H. W., W. Williams and New Zealand. Advisory Committee on the Teaching of the Maori Language.
1971 *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*. 7th ed. A. R. Shearer Govt. Printer, Wellington.
- Wissler, C.
1926 Report of a Visit to Research Institutions in New Zealand and Australia during the year 1925 Under the auspices of the Division of Studies, Rockefeller Foundation, and in co-operation with the American Museum of Natural History. In Rockefeller Archive Centre, New York.
- Wohlgemuth, A.
1923 *A Critical Examination of Psycho-Analysis*. G. Allen & Unwin, London,.
- Wong, S. L.
1939 Phonetics and Phonology of the Yao Language Description of the Yau-Ling Dialect. *Lingnam Science Journal* 18(4):425-455.
- Worsley, P.
1957 Margaret Mead: Science or Science Fiction? Reflections of a British Anthropologist. *Science and Society* 21(7):122-134.
- Young, M. W.
1979 Reo Fortune 1903-1979. *Cambridge Anthropology* 3(1):105-108.
1980 A Tropology of the Dobu Mission (in memory of Reo Fortune). *Canberra Anthropology* 3(1):86-104.
1983 *Magicians of Manumanua : living myth in Kalauna*. Studies in Melanesian anthropology ; University of California Press, Berkeley.
2004 *Malinowski : odyssey of an anthropologist, 1884-1920*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
n.d. Remembering Mr Poten, A Legendary Anthropologist. Unpublished
- Znaniecki, F.
1941 The Changing Cultural Ideals of the Family. *Marriage and Family Living* 3(3):58-68.