

## THE FIELDWORK PHOTOGRAPHS OF JENNESS AND MALINOWSKI AND THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN ANTHROPOLOGY

TERENCE WRIGHT

### 1. *Introduction*

If asked to select a name and date for the founding of modern anthropology, we would probably be expected to settle for Malinowski and 1914, the year in which he began his pioneering fieldwork in the Trobriands. However, we may well be encouraged to widen our enquiry—to shift emphasis from the vision of the individual anthropologist, and direct attention towards the socio-historical determinants of anthropological theory. Set against this background is an aspect of anthropological practice that is often overlooked—fieldwork photography. Here the camera has been used more often as a mute recording device, considered to be a transparent method of visual note-taking. But the last decade has seen renewed interest in photography's contribution to ethnography. No longer serving a simple

Malinowski's photographs appear with the kind permission of his daughter, Mrs H. Wayne. Jenness's photographs appear by courtesy of the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford. All quotations from Jenness's letters are from those in the Marett Papers in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. I should like to thank Elizabeth Edwards for her constructive comments on earlier drafts of this article. An exhibition of Jenness's photographs, *Wamo, d'Entrecasteaux Islands New Guinea, 1911-1912: Photographs by Diamond Jenness*, is to be held at the Pitt Rivers Museum from 1st June 1991 to early 1992.

illustrative function, the photograph can be now regarded as a reflector of the anthropologist's standpoint.

In so far as photographs reflect theoretical outlook, the examples used in this article would appear to refute the notion of a gradual process of circumstantial change. The pre-1914 photographs of Diamond Jenness, dull and uninspired, closely follow the prescribed routines of nineteenth-century ethnography. Yet the photographs of Bronislaw Malinowski himself, taken just two years later, represent the post-1914 era. They display an active gathering of information, through which he evolved his own style and line of enquiry. From this cursory glance at the photographs, we might be forgiven for falling in line with popular opinion—for it would be easy to construe that indeed Malinowski 1914, marked the watershed for anthropology.

While this article looks at the photographs in the light of prevailing anthropological theories, it also considers the images in conjunction with the accounts of the ethnographers themselves. And some details, which initially may appear trivial, become especially relevant in the context of the photographs. At the same time as addressing some general issues pertinent to ethnographic photography, the article suggests the inadequacy of theoretical polarization and simplistic causality.

To obtain a clearer picture, it is necessary to look beyond the photographs to the anthropologists' written accounts: to Jenness's correspondence with R. R. Marett and to Malinowski's diaries. The comparability of sources is questionable, for it may be considered unfair to attempt to equate Malinowski's diaries, renowned for their candid nature, with Jenness's letters to Marett, who was, after all, his supervisor: they could hardly be as revealing. Furthermore, in its unusual form, as textual manifestation of inner speech, the aim of a diary is primarily self-referential, yet at the same time addressed to a nondescript persona. In the case of Malinowski they have reached a readership not of the author's intention. But perhaps we should not be seduced by the intimacy of Malinowski's personal mode of address, and should not feel that it precludes insight into his working methods as an anthropologist.

The photographs of Diamond Jenness, now collected in the Pitt Rivers Museum, University of Oxford, were taken during a period of fieldwork in the D'Entrecasteaux Archipelago of Papua in 1911-12. Jenness was based on Goodenough, or Nidula, Island. His anthropological work in the area of south-east New Guinea followed his studies for the Oxford Diploma in Anthropology in 1910. The expedition was funded by various Oxford colleges and private individuals, including Henry Balfour, the curator of the Pitt Rivers Museum. It was expected of Jenness that he make a collection of artefacts for the museum. His photographs, 576 in all, cover the period of a year—from 1st December 1911, when he arrived in New Guinea, to December 1912, which marked the conclusion of the expedition.

Only once, in *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* (Jenness and Ballantyne 1920), the book which resulted from his fieldwork, does Jenness refer to photography: 'Once when we had run out of tobacco we engaged a native to carry the camera

and its outfit two or three miles, promising him a stick of tobacco the following day. We never saw him again for a month' (ibid.: 207). Some may consider that this in itself is telling with regard to his approach to ethnology and equally, perhaps, to photography. That Jenness, in particular, makes few comments about his approach to photography is tantalizing, yet hardly surprising: general commentary about the use of photography in fieldwork has been seriously neglected by anthropologists.

Malinowski, however, is an exception. Working a couple of years after Jenness, and in the same geographical area, Malinowski's photographs form a second anthropological collection that is very different in both the approach taken to the subject of enquiry and the use of the camera. In Kaberry's essay (1957) on Malinowski's contribution to fieldwork methods one might have expected some acknowledgement of the role of photography, but she makes just a single passing reference to it. And Malinowski's own writings provide little critical insight about his use of the medium. Nevertheless, from his collection of photographs in the archives of the London School of Economics, we know he was a prolific photographer and, from his diaries (Malinowski 1967), published ten years after Kaberry's essay, we know that photography was a major preoccupation of his.

By the time either Jenness or Malinowski was working in Melanesia, the use of photography in the service of ethnographic fieldwork was commonplace. Initial attempts to record 'exotic' people and places had given way to more serious attempts to study other cultures. These developments were paralleled by the use of the photography archive for the study of the lives of others. In 1874, The British Association for the Advancement of Science produced, under the direction of Tylor, the first edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology, for the Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands* (BAAS 1874). Later a committee was formed for the collection, preservation, and systematic registration of photographic material of anthropological interest, a report of this committee being published in the BAAS Report of 1882. Two years later anthropology was established as an independent section of the association (Stocking 1987: 263).

During the same period the *British Journal of Photography* of 1889 mentions two uses of photographic archives: to provide 'a record as complete as it can be made...of the present state of the world' and to provide 'valuable documents' for the future. In 1892, Im Thurn addressed the Anthropological Institute on the subject of 'Anthropological Uses of the Camera', one of these being 'for the accurate record, not of the mere bodies of primitive folk...but of these folk regarded as living beings' (Im Thurn 1892: 184).

## 2. *Jenness*

To return to Jenness, we find that because he made so few references to his photographs, we have to look more to the context in which he was operating.

While this may involve some conjecture, it is safe to assume that Marett exerted a considerable influence. In 1911, as Reader in Social Anthropology in the University of Oxford, Marett played a significant part in forming Jenness's approach to anthropology. In his role as academic supervisor he communicated by letter with Jenness in the field. We have at least one side of the correspondence—Jenness's replies to Marett's letters are held in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

Marett's own writings may be used to suggest other formative influences. From his *The Diffusion of Culture* (1927: 4) we get a clear (if perhaps slightly exaggerated) portrayal of how he saw his supervisory role in relation to field-workers such as Jenness. Marett wrote: 'the man in the study busily propounded questions which only the man in the field could answer, and in the light of the answers that poured in from the field the study as busily revised its questions' (*ibid.*). Furthermore, we can presume that Marett's book *Anthropology* (1912) reflects the content of his anthropological seminars during the period from 1908 to 1910 in which Jenness studied for the Diploma in Anthropology. A few key points from this book indicate the sort of anthropology that influenced Jenness: 'anthropology is the child of Darwin, Darwinism makes it possible. Reject the Darwinian point of view, and you must reject anthropology also' (*ibid.*: 8). Elsewhere (*ibid.*: 74), Marett expresses the importance of establishing the cranial index, and later, we find him neither embracing nor completely rejecting Galton's theory of eugenics, popular at this time.<sup>1</sup> Rather, he positions himself at a comfortable distance: 'to improve the race by way of eugenics, though doubtless feasible within limits, remains an unrealised possibility through our want of knowledge' (*ibid.*: 95).

Marett's influence was not limited to academic matters. He was instrumental in helping Jenness fund the expedition. On 1st March 1911, he circulated a letter to the heads of various Oxford colleges requesting financial support, giving a succinct description of the aims of the project:

It has been ascertained that, by using as his base the mission station established in the D'Entrecasteaux Islands, he will have a most favourable opportunity of studying the natives of this almost unknown region.... In return for such pecuniary aid Mr. Jenness promises to make over to the Pitt Rivers Museum whatever specimens he may secure of native handiwork...and present his researches in the form of a Report.

It was considered good fortune that the mission station was run by Jenness's brother-in-law, the Rev. A. Ballantyne, who with Jenness was to become co-author of *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* (1920).

1. Galton (1890) had evolved a technique which he called 'analytical photography', the 'objectivity' of the camera being used to establish racial types through the superimposition of photographic images.

On 27th May 1911, in a note to Marett, Jenness outlined his programme:

- 2 months general examination of D'Entrecasteaux
- 8 months specific study of Goodenough Island
- 2 months study of trade relations with neighbouring islands—e.g. Trobriand Islands

Much of their correspondence at this time concerned the acquisition of a phonograph, and a 'tintometer' or pigmentation meter. Although it seems that Jenness was placing much of his faith in the available anthropological technology, there is little evidence of concern over his photographic preparations, except that in the event of his death the camera, along with other equipment, should be left to the Oxford Committee for Anthropology.

Before embarking on the expedition Jenness spent a short while at his home in New Zealand, there practising his photography. In a letter to Marett of 7th November 1911 he wrote: 'I have taken some photos of some of our curios, & shall take prints of them with me'. On his way to Goodenough Island, he stopped off at Samarai and wrote another letter to Marett (dated 16 Dec. 1911), mentioning: 'I have some notebooks & my anatomical instruments, as well as a camera & 2 or 3 dozen plates'. While waiting here for his voyage to Goodenough Island he practised his anthropological techniques on the Samarai natives. Marett included Jenness's 'findings' in his preface to *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux*:

While waiting...for the pearl-trader's cutter that was to take him on to Goodenough, he gets to work with his anthropological instruments on the native patients in the hospital, and is put out a little on finding that a shock of frizzly hair makes it hard to get one's head-measurements right to the last millimetre. (Marett 1920)

However, in the letter from Samarai, Jenness mentions other things on his mind that created difficulties in obtaining measurements: 'full measurements would have been rather difficult—in some cases impossible, owing to the different maladies.'

His work at the hospital also presented him with the opportunity to cut his photographic teeth. The patients were photographed full-face and profile (Figs. 1 and 2). He fulfilled the requirements of his 'scientific' approach either by putting the distant field of vision out of focus or by setting the subject against a minimal background, a favourite location being in front of a light galvanized shed presumably situated in the hospital grounds: 'I photographed several & the plates have turned out fairly well on the whole' (16 Dec. 1911).

As far as can be told from his letters to Marett, this appears to be his sole evaluation of his photographic method. From the institutionalized subject, Jenness would have found little resistance to photography. Along with his concern to measure the patients, his photographic treatment of the subject was intended to obtain 'scientifically valid' information. This is also evident in the Samarai Hospital photographs in which the subjects appear to have been 'pre-numbered' (Fig. 3). When he first arrived at the Bwaidoga Mission Station on Goodenough he employed his practised technique. The resulting images were later to be included

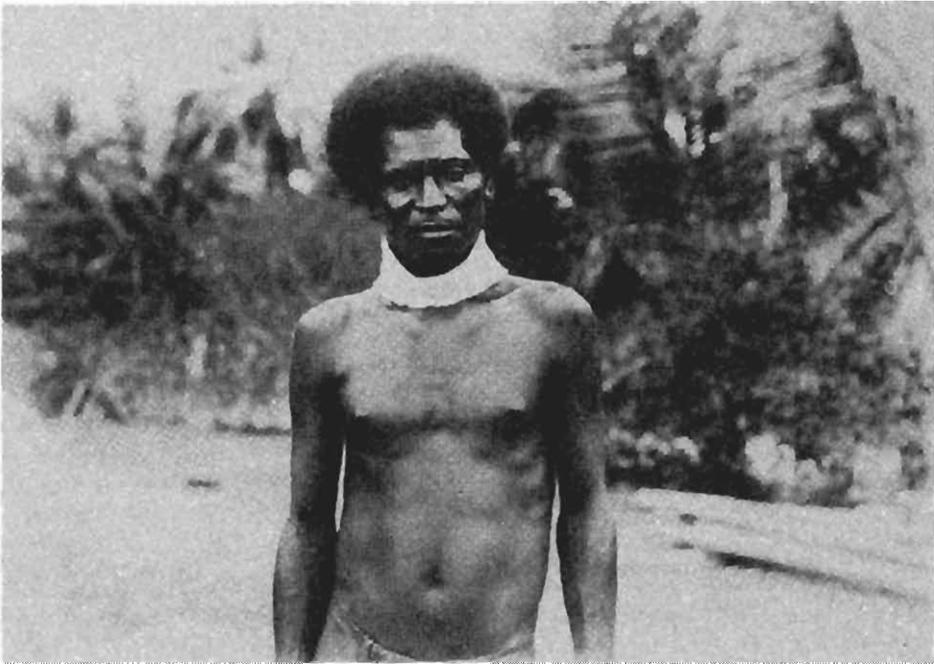


FIG. 1. Diamond Jenness, *Patient at Samarai Hospital: Full Face*

in the *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* under 'The Natives—Their Physical and Mental Characteristics'. His association with the Goodenough Mission certainly established him in a position of authority as a photographer, giving him the opportunity to recruit subjects. Besides a dozen such anthropometric photographs, Jenness obtained the head indices and heights of 60 people and full measurements of six or seven.

As well as identifying with the 'spiritual authorities', in the form of the Mission, Jenness allied himself to civil authority by becoming friends with the policeman from Wagifa, a small island off the south-east coast of Goodenough. He went for trips in his boat, a photograph of which appears in *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* (facing p. 18). It was part of police duties to report on cannibalism, a practice which was met with harsh penalties. During the period on Goodenough, Jenness and Ballantyne took it upon themselves to check out reports of cannibalism. It may seem surprising that despite his close associations with the authorities of church and government he should feel that: 'the natives have confidence in me & regard me more as one of themselves' (letter to Marett, 26 July 1912).

While Marett's influence was sustained by correspondence throughout the duration of the expedition, Jenness also received in May 1912, from the publishers, a copy of Marett's *Anthropology* published that year. Almost a year later, in a



FIG. 2. Diamond Jenness, *Patient at Samarai Hospital: Profile*

letter of March 1913, he wrote: 'I enjoyed your "Anthropology" immensely and have been recommending it to everyone, so that they can judge for themselves whether I am biased.' While this comment could have been a form of appeasement—in the same letter he announces that his report would not be ready: he is off to the Arctic—the overall form of *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* was foreshadowed by Marett's *Anthropology*. With minor modifications, most of the chapter headings were those used by Marett and are in a similar sequential order.

At this early stage of his anthropological career, it may well be that Jenness's amateurish approach to fieldwork in general did not enable him to make the most of the photographic possibilities. Not all the disasters that affected his work were of his own making, though his reliance upon available technology—of which the camera was a part—and perhaps the influence of Ballantyne, his brother-in-law, made him less able to cope in times of adversity. Ballantyne comes across as a rather domineering, clumsy individual, and much of Jenness's experience of Goodenough seems to have been coloured by Ballantyne's impressions. The letters to Marett mention Ballantyne's aid with translation and regret that he did not live to see the publication of *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux*: 'so great, indeed, was the assistance he rendered me that we agreed to collaborate. I am therefore responsible for the form of this report, but any merit that may be found in it is due almost entirely to Ballantyne' (Jenness and Ballantyne 1920: 12-13). While some allowance



FIG. 3. Diamond Jenness, *Patient at Samarai Hospital: Profile*

must be made for modesty on Jenness's part, the strains of duty were apparently felt by many, and *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* was something of a family effort: 'owing to my absence in the Arctic, much of the labour that preceded the final drafting of the report fell upon my two sisters, Miss G. and Miss A. Jenness' (ibid.).

While the expedition was largely unsuccessful, Jenness should not be held entirely to blame. There were problems with the phonograph. In May it was producing 'poor results', by July—'the phonograph has had its day'—it had run out of cylinders. Enough material, however, remained in one form or another for Jenness to bring out a second publication on the songs of Bwaidoga (Jenness and Ballantyne 1928). Neither the results nor the fate of the 'tintometer' are recorded. Furthermore a drought—'the most disastrous known for many years'—hit the island. This resulted in a three-month famine from May to July 1912. And finally a large number of specimens, on their way to the Pitt Rivers Museum, were destroyed by a fire on board the *SS Turkina* just off Rio de Janeiro.

One does not need to read too much between the lines to detect a sense of despondency and an accompanying loss of interest. Duty-bound to produce the report and final publication, there follows a list of excuses to Marett, though it is fair to say that many were justifiable. And, despite the interruptions of the Arctic expedition and the 1914-18 War, whenever possible his correspondence with

Marett continued: 'I am looking forward each day for the letter that will put me into a uniform. There is only one thing I am afraid of, I may be too late to see active service' (March 1917). And in a letter from Germany (18 Dec. 1918): 'with regard to the photos—a complete catalogue of my photos is nearly completed'.

The impression of Goodenough in *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux* is of an island where the traditional pattern of life has broken down. The islanders no longer respect the totemic laws of marriage, nor observe tribal taboos, and chiefs are unable to maintain their authority over a people who have relinquished their faith in indigenous religion. In part, this loss of 'traditional' lifestyle appears to contrast with the much later work of Young (1983: 11) who finds an 'ever-renewed and inexhaustible corpus of Kalauna oral literature...greatly enriched since European contact by the addition of Bible stories', while in the area influenced by the 'Bwaidoka' (*sic*) Methodist Mission it was no longer regarded important to keep the myths secret (*ibid.*: 264-5).

When the book by Jenness and Ballantyne was finally published in 1920 a favourable, though not outstanding, review was published in *Man* (Barton 1921: 111). Nowhere did the photographs receive special mention.

Earlier, Jenness had mentioned his debt to Haddon for 'much counsel and assistance'. In October 1932, in return, Haddon requested a number of Jenness's plates featuring canoes. They provided reference material for a drawing of a canoe: 'Jenness has kindly lent me a large number of photographs, and it is from these sources that the following account has been compiled' (Haddon 1937: 272). So Jenness's expedition photographs were not necessarily without purpose, but their primary function of transparent note-taking is reinforced by this use of his images.

### 3. Malinowski

The work of Jenness on Goodenough pre-dated Malinowski's time in the same geographical area by almost three years. Malinowski also took photographs as part of his fieldwork. Yet with Malinowski's photographs one is immediately impressed by their degree of accomplishment. Not only are his images clear and to the point, but they supply information which extends beyond the scope of the text. If one were to go so far as to describe Malinowski as the 'better' photographer, would this be a simple consequence of his being the 'better' ethnographer? Was he more accomplished in his use of the medium? Or had anthropology itself changed?

From Malinowski's diaries, it is clear that he took a keen interest in photography. He suggests it served two purposes: ethnographic recording, and a personal point of contact with the outside world: 'I am no longer in love erotically with Z. If I could choose one of them as a companion at present, purely



FIG. 4. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Billy Hancock* (LSE XXV: 12)

impulsively, I would without hesitation choose T. A great part in this is played by the marvellous photos I have taken along' (Malinowski 1967: 64). And again: 'violent surge of longing when I look at her photos.... Strong feeling of her personality' (ibid.: 67). However, for Malinowski the role of photography as a point of contact may have been a two-way process. A number of his photographs had been printed in picture-postcard form, some showing him as a photographer. On a number of occasions Malinowski photographed Billy Hancock, a local trader and close friend. Much of their time together was spent discussing photography, taking photographs, and developing their pictures. In one such instance, Hancock is photographed while taking a photograph of a group of islanders (Fig. 4; XXV: 12).<sup>2</sup> Presumably they then changed places, for in another image Malinowski is seen photographed in the same position (Fig. 5; BXVII: 4). From available evidence, this would seem to fit an occasion mentioned in the diaries when Malinowski casually remarks that he and Billy used up six rolls of film in less than a day (ibid.: 71).

To be photographed 'as a photographer' may also suggest an expression of self-assurance and confidence in his use of the medium (and in Malinowski's case, some might say, his characteristic tendency towards arrogance and narcissism). But there is further evidence of his concern with imagery in his written portrayals of the environment. Not only are they very 'visual', but he uses the terms of pict-

2. The numbers given for Malinowski's photographs refer to the catalogue in the London School of Economics.



FIG. 5. Billy Hancock, *Bronislaw Malinowski* (LSE BXVII: 4)

orial representation: 'the subtle thin line of the horizon breaks up, grows thicker, as though drawn with a blunt pencil' (ibid.: 142). This description is built upon practical foundations, for Malinowski had also made drawings as part of his fieldwork (ibid.: 116). Other descriptions seem to be more evocative of photography: 'the damp velvety sheen of vegetation, the marvellously deep shadows, the freshness of the stones darkened by the rain, the outline of the mountains through the curtains of rain, like shadows of reality projected on the screen of appearances' (ibid.: 90).

These examples serve to indicate a familiarity with the characteristics of visual expression gained through firsthand experience, rather than suggesting that Malinowski's ethnographic photographs are in some way 'picturesque'. Although his method displays concern for the pictorial elements of the photograph, his aim was to fit the significant information efficiently into the frame. Fortunately this did not rely upon rigid formulations, neither of nineteenth-century 'pictorialist' photography, nor of the early editions of *Notes and Queries*.<sup>3</sup>

Malinowski's way of working and process of selection may be established from the photographs used for publication. These may be compared with the other photographs he took on the same particular occasions. For example, the photograph

3. For example, the photographs of E. H. Man. His work is described by Stocking (1987: 259) as representing the 'first fruits' of *Notes and Queries*.

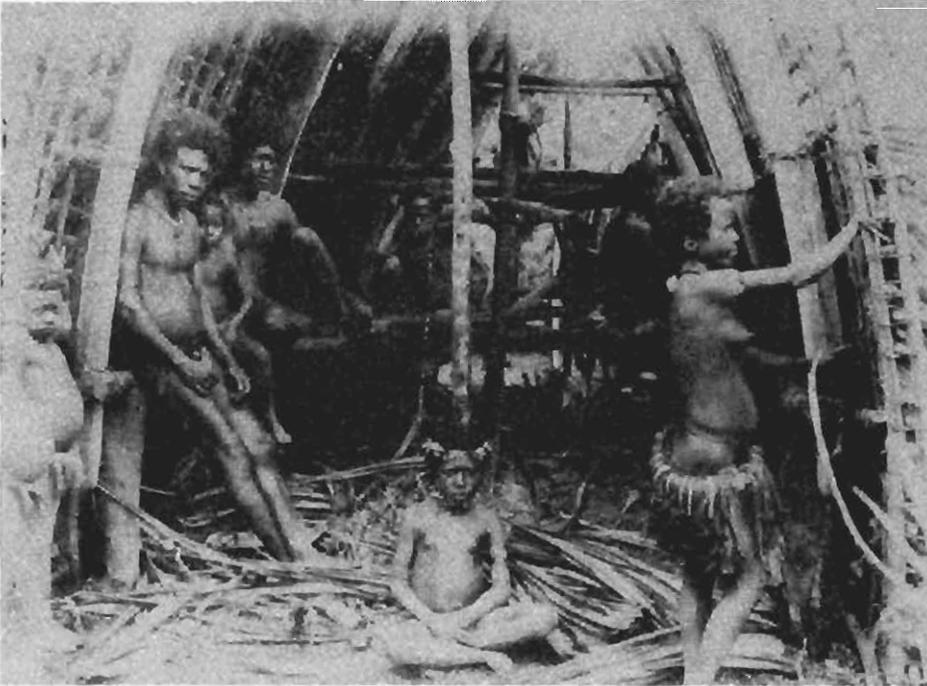


FIG. 6. Bronislaw Malinowski, *House Building* (LSE XXVI: 8)

of 'House Building' in *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (Malinowski 1935: Pl. 92) was taken from a sequence of three (XXVI: 8, 9, 10). From the positions of the people concerned, it seems the photographs were taken in fairly quick succession (Figs. 6, 7 and 8). After the first, he changed camera angle, then took two shots more that are almost identical. The second of the three (Fig. 7; no. 9) was the one used.

While this appears to be typical of his picture-taking,<sup>4</sup> evidence of his photographic technique drawn from the photographs themselves can be reinforced by his diary account. To illustrate this, I cite various entries from which we can build up an impression of his method. First, he 'looked around, noticing things to photograph' (1967: 256). He would then plan his photographs (ibid.: 231) and spend long periods working at them: 'I worked honestly for 3 hours, with camera and notebook, and learned a great deal, lots of concrete details' (ibid.: 217). He would develop and print the film: 'today devoted to photography' (ibid.: 272), occasionally with the assistance of Billy Hancock (ibid.: 182, 221), and then evaluate the results.

4. For other examples, compare 'Working a Shell' and 'Men Holding Amulets (Mwali) on Pole' from *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1920: Plates L, LI, LII, LX) with LSE XIX: 28-30; XIX: 7-8; and 'Fishing' from *Coral Gardens and their Magic* (1935: Plate 5) with LSE XXII:1-5.

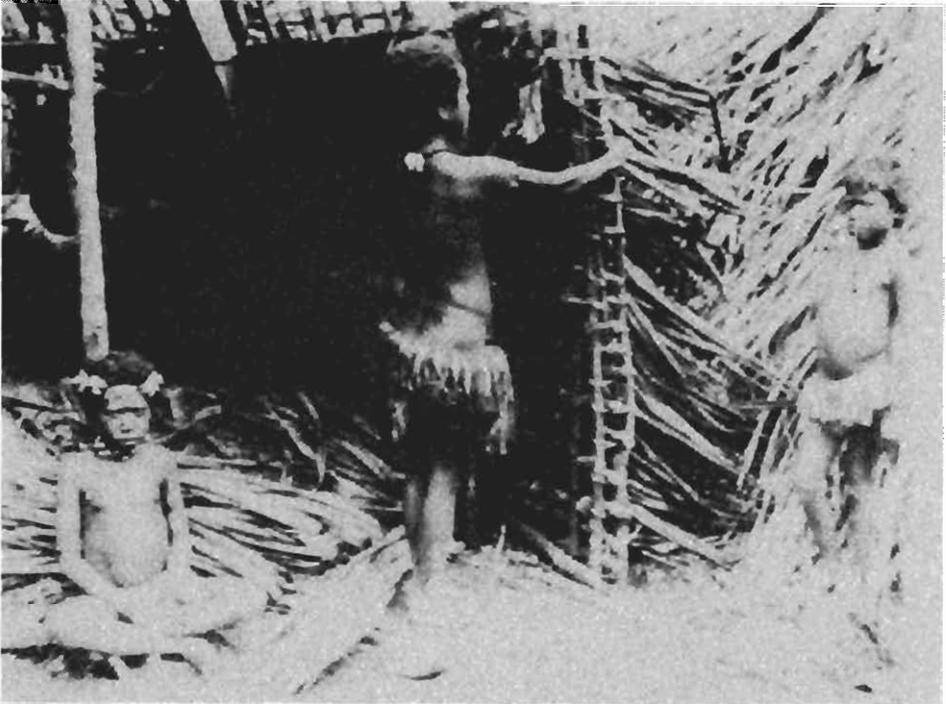


FIG. 7. Bronislaw Malinowski, *House Building* (LSE XXVI: 9)

Sometimes he was 'mortified by the poor results' (ibid.: 195), at others he was delighted to produce 'photographs which are a success!' (ibid.: 237). Although he may have 'wasted time examining Bill's new camera' (ibid.: 275), he knew when to stop: it is 'good for the Ethnographer sometimes to put aside camera, notebook and pencil, and join in himself in what is going on' (1922: 21). Jenness's approach to photography relied upon technology to establish scientific objectivity—later used to illustrate his book. In contrast, Malinowski's images, though impressionistic and at times self-critical, are informative in their embellishment of the text.

With regard to the social role of the anthropologist, Malinowski took a very different approach to that of Jenness, both to missionaries and to government. He maintained that the anthropologist should 'ruthlessly' avoid the mission and government stations and 'live right among the natives' (1932: xvii). And although in this regard he did not necessarily heed his own advice, it does lead directly to Malinowski's criticism of Jenness and Ballantyne. In quoting from their *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux*, he accuses them of 'dangerous and heedless tampering with the one authority that now binds the natives, the one discipline they can be relied upon to observe—that of their own tribal tradition' (1922: 467n.).

The incident concerned the Ulekufugo—a cult which was destroyed by Ballantyne when he removed and accidentally broke the *manumanua* pot which

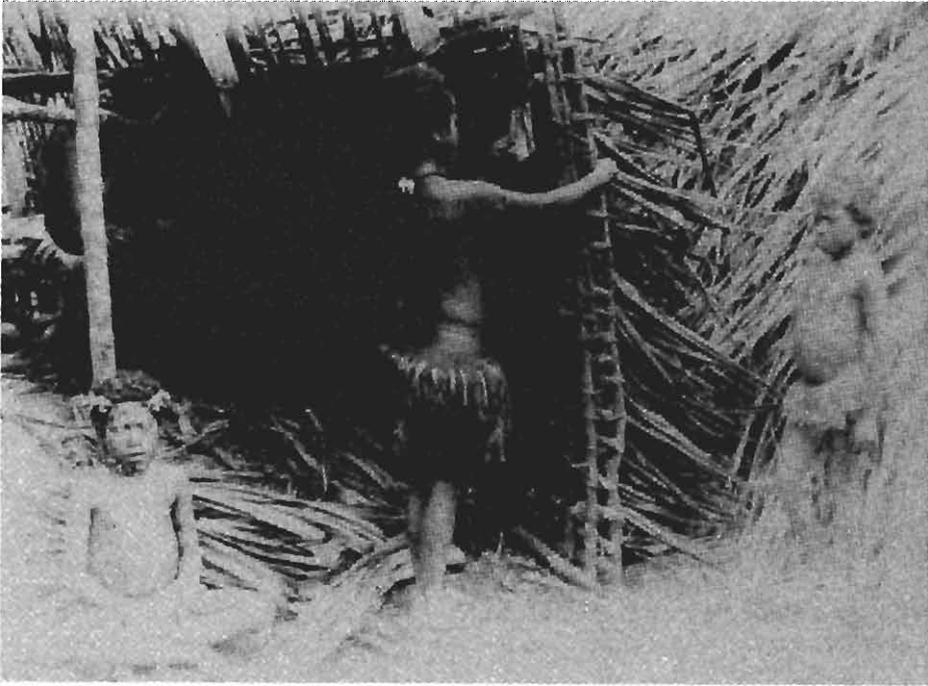


FIG. 8. Bronislaw Malinowski, *House Building* (LSE XXVI: 10)

'ruled the rain and sunshine' and exerted 'its influence in the crops' (Jenness and Ballantyne 1928: 131n.). Young is in accord with this assessment of the function of *manumanua*: 'this ceremony was designed to banish famine and anchor food in the community' (1983: viii). At the least, it would seem very bad luck for all concerned that Ballantyne's breaking of the pot was followed by 'the most disastrous [drought] known for many years' (Jenness: letter to Marett 4 May 1912), and subsequent famine.

#### 4. Conclusion

The differences I have identified between the photographs of Jenness and Malinowski can be accounted for by Malinowski's concern for visual enquiry combined with a more flexible approach to fieldwork.<sup>5</sup> Nevertheless, Langham

5. Malinowski's interest in visual documentation might also be suggested by his later interest in the Mass Observation Project, to whose founders he gave 'wise advice' (Firth 1957: 7).

(1981: 327), amongst others, has made the suggestion that anthropology itself underwent radical changes during this period:

I would go so far as to suggest that the seminal year for the discipline was not 1922, when *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and *The Andaman Islanders* were published. Rather it was 1912, when the fourth edition of *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* appeared, containing the brilliant contributions in which Rivers gave the first clear statement of what later came to be identified as the procedural and theoretical basis of British Social Anthropology.

The six editions of *Notes and Queries*, which had a substantial influence upon fieldwork practice, are now particularly valuable as a historical source, reflecting the theories of the many influential figures in British anthropology who contributed in their time (see Coote 1987). The appearance of the 1912 edition of *Notes and Queries* fell between the times of the expeditions of Jenness and Malinowski. The fourth edition of 1912, edited by Barbara Freire-Marreco and John Linton Myres, reflected a radical change in attitude in anthropology, in particular a change from the evolution of religious thought to a new emphasis on kinship and social organization. It also adopted a more professional approach. Much of the first three editions took the form of instructions for amateur collectors of data.

We have firm evidence that both ethnographers used *Notes and Queries* in their fieldwork.<sup>6</sup> From his letters to Marett, we know that Jenness referred to the book. In addition, he found 'Frazer's little book of Queries was immensely useful tho' of course it only supplied broad lines of enquiry' (letter to Marett, 26 July 1912). And Malinowski would compare his photographs to the recommendations of *Notes and Queries* which, in turn, appears to have inspired his photography: 'Read some more N & Q and loaded my camera' (1967: 30). While it may be significant that they were using different editions, the evidence from the photographs themselves suggests that it would be too simplistic to attribute the differences in the photographs exclusively to *Notes and Queries*.<sup>7</sup> The approach to photography developed by Malinowski is entirely in keeping with his methodology of 'participant observation'—clearly distinct from Jenness's attempts to gather evidence for Marett's evolutionism.

For Jenness, while many of the difficulties he encountered in this, his first expedition, could not have been predicted, he seems to have been poorly equipped for any problems that might have arisen. His research conformed to that of the

6. The influence of the 1912 edition on Malinowski has been pointed out by Urry (1972: 52).

7. Not only was Malinowski more prolific in his use of photography—we learn that for a particular trip he took food for six weeks as well as 12 rolls of film and 3 dozen plates (Malinowski 1967: 218), compared with Jenness's initial expedition supply of 'a camera & 2 or 3 dozen plates' (16/12/11). We find Jenness taking the 'orthodox' approach, following closely the recommendations of *Notes and Queries* for dry plates rather than cellulose film in hot climates, whereas Malinowski was prepared to hedge his bets.



FIG. 9. Diamond Jenness, *Man Climbing a Tree, Goodenough Mission*

'old-school' ethnographer, an approach that was soon to be eclipsed by the new social anthropology—of which Malinowski was arguably the founder (Langham 1981). Jenness, with prescribed methods and rigid objectives, seemed to lack the flexibility that would enable him to cope with novel or difficult situations. In particular, this is reflected in his use of photography. Guided by an aim for clearly defined types of pictures, his camera imposed a structure on the subject, with little room to explore it or let it determine the image in any way. Yet further, his photographs reveal a photographer detached from his subject: usually taken from a distance, his images show little evidence of intimacy or involvement (Fig. 9).

Of course, the techniques of anthropological fieldwork have advanced considerably over the last seventy years. Yet in spite of the changes in photographic technology, the photographs of Diamond Jenness are neither better, nor worse, than those of many contemporary anthropologists. So, to be fair to Jenness, I should allow him the last word. In a letter to Marett written on 21st February 1919 he wrote: 'the work I did in the Arctic had made me realize how much I had left undone in Papua, how much better the report might have been if only I had known how to set about the fieldwork. I ought to have obtained more information, more knowledge of the natives....'

## REFERENCES

- BAAS 1874. *Notes and Queries on Anthropology, for the Use of Travellers and Residents in Uncivilized Lands*, London: Edward Stanford.
- ... 1882. *First Report of the Committee Appointed for the Purpose of Obtaining Photographs of the Typical Races in the British Isles*, London: BAAS.
- BARTON, F. R. 1921. Review of Jenness and Ballantyne 1920, *Man*, Vol. XXI, p. 111.
- COOTE, JEREMY 1987. 'Notes and Queries and Social Interrelations: An Aspect of the History of Social Anthropology', *JASO*, Vol. XVIII, no. 3, pp. 255-72.
- FIRTH, RAYMOND (ed.) 1957. *Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- FREIRE-MARRECO, B., and J. L. MYRES (eds.) 1912. *Notes and Queries on Anthropology* (4th edn.), London: The Royal Anthropological Institute.
- GALTON, F. 1890. 'Analytical Photography', *Nature*, Vol. XVIII (2nd August 1890), p. 383.
- HADDON, A. C. 1937. 'D'Entrecasteaux Islands', in A. C. Haddon and J. Hornell, *Canoes of Oceania*, Vol. II: *Canoes of Melanesia, Queensland, and New Guinea*, Honolulu: Bishop Museum.
- IM THURN, E. F. 1892. 'Anthropological Uses of the Camera', *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXII, pp. 184-203.
- JENNESS, D., and A. BALLANTYNE 1920. *The Northern D'Entrecasteaux*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- ... 1928. *Language, Mythology and Songs of Bwaidoga*, New Plymouth, New Zealand: Avery and Sons.
- KABERRY, PHYLLIS. 1957. 'Malinowski's Contribution to Field-Work Methods and the Writing of Ethnography', in Firth (ed.) 1957.
- LANGHAM, IAN 1981. *The Building of British Social Anthropology: W. H. R. Rivers and his Cambridge Disciples in the Development of Kinship Studies, 1898-1931* (Studies in the History of Modern Science 8), Dordrecht : Reidel.
- MALINOWSKI, BRONISLAW C. 1922. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- ... 1932. 'Introduction' to R. F. Fortune, *Sorcerers of Dobu: The Social Anthropology of the Dobu Islanders of the Western Pacific*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- ... 1935. *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, London: Allen & Unwin.
- ... 1967. *A Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- MARETT, R. R. 1912. *Anthropology*, London: Williams & Norgate
- ... 1920. 'Preface' to Jenness and Ballantyne 1920.
- ... 1927. *The Diffusion of Culture* (Frazer Lecture in Social Anthropology), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- STOCKING, GEORGE W. 1987. *Victorian Anthropology*, New York: Free Press.

URRY, J. 1972. 'Notes and Queries on Anthropology and the Development of Field Methods in British Anthropology 1870-1920', *Proceedings of the Royal Anthropological Institute for 1972*, pp. 45-57.

YOUNG, M. W. 1983. *Magicians of Manumanua: Living Myth in Kalauna*, Berkeley: University of California Press.